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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

THE PERFORMATIVE POWER OF TRANSLOCAL CITIZENSHIP

Žiga VODOVNIK¹

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ABSTRACT

The Performative Power of Translocal Citizenship

In topical debates on migration and global, world and cosmopolitan citizenship, the article introduces the anarchist idea of translocal citizenship. With its vision of communitarian nomadism, the concept aims at an idea and praxis of municipalized citizenship that is constituted beyond the nation-state, sometimes in opposition to it, but always surpasses the parochial forms of political community that make global connectedness impossible.

KEY WORDS: citizenship, democracy, anarchism, alter-globalization movement, globalization

IZVLEČEK

Performativna moč translokalnega državljanstva

Članek v aktualne razprave o migracijah in globalnem, svetovnem ter kozmopolitskem državljanstvu posega z rekuveracijo anarhističnega koncepta translokalnega državljanstva, ki z vizijo komunitarnega nomadizma cilja na idejo in prakso municipaliziranega državljanstva. To se konstituira mimo države, včasih nasproti njej, vedno pa se oddaljuje od ideje nacionalnosti, pri tem pa seveda presega parohialne oblike politične skupnosti, ki ne upoštevajo ali pa celo onemogočajo globalno povezanost.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: državljanstvo, demokracija, anarhizem, alterglobalistično gibanje, globalizacija

1. INTRODUCTION

“What touches all ought also to be approved by all.”
– Johannes Althusius, *Politica methodice digesta*, 1603

Two decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall, and in the middle of a global financial and economic crisis, we are discovering a deeper crisis of politics *per se*, where the crisis is not understood as the incompetence of politics to mitigate the contradictions inherent to the current economic model, but as its incompetence to transcend the very same economic model. We could also say that we are witnessing a triple crisis of politics – a crisis of participation, representation and, consequently, legitimacy. Following

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Nicos Poulantzas (2008: 294–322) and his warning that, with the word crisis becoming overused, the word is also losing its content and clarity, we should at the outset theoretically elaborate the concept of crisis and our own understanding of it. In the past a crisis – economic and political – has merely been perceived as an anomaly or rupture within the harmonious working of a self-regulatory system, as a dysfunctional moment that will be overcome when the balance of the system is restored. This conception of crisis results in myopia that overlooks many crises that do exist but are not perceived as such because of their positive role in consolidating and reproducing the status quo, despite their undemocratic and even anti-democratic inclinations; and, by contrast, equates with a crisis various ruptures that are inherent to the hegemonic economic paradigm and do not represent a threat to its functioning since they are a permanent part of its consolidation and reproduction.

The current crisis is therefore an economic and political crisis in the proper meaning of the word, a “crisis of crisis”, since we face such a concentration of contradictions inherent to the system that they now represent a threat to its stability and very survival. A new meditation about political alternatives – on the level of theoretical paradigms, as well as political praxes – is therefore more than appropriate. A myriad of innovative solutions can be found within the alter-globalization movement (AGM). Gustavo Esteva described the AGM as “one no and many yeses” since many different movements, in many different places, are united in their critique of neoliberal globalization, whereas their aspirations, goals and visions are diverse (Esteva in Kingsnorth 2004: 44).

When the first World Social Forum was convened in 2001 under the event’s official slogan “Another World is Possible”, Naomi Klein (2002: 193) remarked that the various groups and collectives gathered in the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre were not cheering for a specific other world, just the possibility of one: “We were cheering for the idea that another world could, in theory, exist.” Although the AGM is a diverse “coalition of coalitions”, as Klein described it, and unites various collectives and movements that were often oppositional in the past, the AGM has still managed to develop its own collective identity and practice. According to Giorel Curran (2006: 2), “post-ideological anarchism” represents the main current within the AGM and at the same time is its best response to the reconfigured ideological landscape that renders doctrinal purity obsolete. “Post-ideological anarchism” adopts ideas and principles from classical anarchism very flexibly and non-doctrinally, and simultaneously rejects its traditional forms to construct genuinely new autonomous politics. David Graeber (2004: 214) also ascertains that anarchism represents not only the main locus of creativity within the AGM, but also the movements in new (post) ideology that are immanent in the anti-authoritarian principles underlying its political practice.

The main aim of this article is to rescue democracy and citizenship from the narrow statist confines. Since today, with acceleration of global migration and globalization processes, it is possible to talk about separation of political membership from the idea of the state and its constitution according to entirely new criteria, we will intervene in topical debates on post-national citizenship with the “anarchist” concept of translocal citizenship or subaltern cosmopolitanism. In the long run, with its vision of communitarian nomadism, the concept may prove to be the single most subversive theoretical and political innovation the “post-Seattle” alter-globalization movement (AGM) has recuperated. Translocal citizenship does not represent the depoliticization of political membership, but is – acknowledging the mobility of the *demos* – instead a substantive understanding of the concept that in past decades has too often been reduced to a legal or contractual status that does not anticipate political activity. Since translocal citizenship highlights the performative dimension of citizenship, it is constituted beyond the nation-state, sometimes in opposition to it, but always transcending the parochial forms of political community that make global connectedness impossible (cf. Fisher and Kling 1993; Castells 1994).

Intrinsic to this aim is an attempt to provide a preliminary reflection on the main coordinates of a “new” citizenship. We therefore address in our analysis the mechanical link between rights and duties, as well as the relationship between equality and difference. We will upgrade the idea of *differentiated citizenship* (Young 1989) and *differentiated universalism* (Lister 1998b) with the innovative meta-right of *equal difference* (Santos 2007). Yet we should emphasize that our imagining of a “new” citizenship

should not be understood as a total break from all previous conceptions of citizenship. “New” citizenship should not be understood as a *novum*, but as a new constellation of its basic tenets whereby an explication of the original intent and meaning of citizenship represents one of its major characteristics. “New” citizenship is therefore as much a thing of the past as it is of the future, as much a thing of continuity as it is of discontinuity.

In the last part, our preliminary attempt to imagine a new citizenship will follow Arjun Appadurai (2004: 273) and his warning that nowadays many concepts and categories are too elusive for traditional disciplines, classical theories and Western epistemologies and the analysis must therefore be founded on a new, more flexible epistemology. Imagining a new citizenship further supports Appadurai’s thesis that research in the globalization era is a peculiar optical challenge since it reveals this task is not simply a political challenge but, above all, an epistemological one. We therefore argue that in imagining a new citizenship, conceptual clarity and theoretical thoroughness are insufficient since this task demands a wider epistemological or cognitive transformation. We will indicate beneficial directions for the epistemological transformation within the social sciences in Raimon Panikkar’s idea of diatopical hermeneutics and, above all, in Boaventura de Sousa Santos’ theory of the sociology of absences. Santos, namely, ascertains that we are witnessing epistemological ignorance and the suppression of knowledge, a form of *epistemicide*, that strengthens the status quo and at the same time dismisses, discredits and trivializes arguments and solutions not in line with the hegemonic epistemological position – a hegemonic notion of truth, objectivity and rationality. “The sociology of absences” thus rescues and reveals the diversity and multitude of political practices and ideas that may inform a credible new counter-hegemonic conception of the discipline suitable for the globalized world.

In short, our analysis will not examine a particular aspect of new citizenship or attempt to constitute a new citizen upon a particular issue. Our aim and thesis is therefore not to advocate ecological citizenship (van Steenberg 1994), cultural citizenship (Turner 1993), cosmopolitan citizenship (Held 1995) etc., but it rather attempts to imagine citizenship holistically and without the state. We will not offer a modest modification of the traditional conception of citizenship as a special relationship between the state and citizen whose contents are certain rights and duties, but will instead offer a new understanding of citizenship within the AGM or translocal polities, where the mechanical link between rights and duties is finally loosened, as is the relationship between equality and difference.

2. CITIZENSHIP BEYOND THE NATION-STATE?

Political membership beyond the state is, according to Scott (2009: 3–4), the regularity of history, despite an inscription on the political map with nation-state and consequently with the sedentarization or administrative, economic and cultural standardization of fluid political entities. In addition, Harold Barclay (1996: 12) concludes in his anthropological study of non-statist polities that such a conceptualization of citizenship and political community is by no means unusual and, furthermore, “it is a perfectly common form of polity or political organization. Not only is it common, but it is probably the oldest type... and one which has characterized most of human history.” In the past many intellectual currents preceding the AGM still subsumed *politics* under *statecraft*, a mistake that has attracted considerable criticism. It has resulted in a theoretical purism and anti-intellectualism that has rejected every in-depth reflection on key political concepts such as political power or even citizenship. Persistent compliance with an idea of prefiguration within political praxis resulted in a reductionist examination of concepts that were perceived as anomalies of the past that have no place in the project of horizontal political organization and consensus decision-making.

But, according to Murray Bookchin (2007: 93–94) and James Scott (2010: ix–x; 1–39), politics and statecraft are not only significantly different, but are in fact in opposition to each other. Historically, politics has not and could not be developed within the state since it has always been closer to a philo-

sophical concept of praxis as a free and creative activity of individuals within fluid polities. Only in our present has politics been integrated by the state and strengthened the belief that there is no distinction between the political realm and the statist realm, even though the modern state was born exactly as a reactionary response to Renaissance humanism, and has always been an obstacle to global democracy (cf. Mertes 2002). Moreover, for Richard Day (2005: 38), the struggle to dismantle community through demutilization that is being waged between the AGM on one hand, and state and corporate forms on the other, is indeed the struggle of the (post)modern condition.

Although the etymological origin of the word citizenship – from *civitas, civitatus*, to the modern *citoyen* – always linked political membership to smaller and more fluid polities, we still find it difficult to understand the relationship between citizenship and the state in societies where the leveling of political membership to national or even ethnical identity results from a linguistic or semantic similarity between both concepts. We often forget that at the very beginning, citizenship was not related to the state but solely meant a specific “urban relationship” between rights and duties in the city (Delanty 2000: 12). *Citizenship* therefore meant political membership in a *city*. It is thus erroneous to talk only about a “citizen of the state” since we can also identify other types of citizenship that are built on different – e.g. territorial or functional – criteria.

A new imagining of citizenship and its constitution upon different criteria necessarily leads us to enquire into the relationship between the nation-state and citizenship, and the relationship between democracy and citizenship. It therefore leads to a familiar question that does not allow unambiguous answers: Is representative democracy within nation-states in an era of globalization and unprecedented mobility of the *demos* still a proper framework for “full membership of a community”? Do the fragmented sovereignty (Tilly 1990), post-sovereignty (Scholte 2000) or partial erosion of sovereignty (Santos 2005) of nation-states also indicate a crisis and even the decline of citizenship (Touraine 2000), or rather a crisis of the state and representative democracy?

If we understand democracy and citizenship in broader terms – not simply as a specific institutional design and legal status, respectively – then we can negate the above thesis. This is especially so if we understand both concepts outside of the political sphere (an achievement of the 18th century) so they also include a social and economic dimension, and we understand them instead as practice. If we bear in mind acceleration in the rate of international migration, we can agree with Ruth Lister (1998a) when she writes that to avoid a partial integration of a new political subject into the polity – and therefore rising numbers of *denizens* or *margizens* – we should once again understand citizenship not only as a legal status but also as a practice. We should add that it is not enough to understand performative citizenship as a practice *per se*, but as a *praxis* or a philosophical category of practice. Praxis, namely, differs considerably from the epistemological category of practice, which can, in fact, mean an activity that remains entirely alienated.

Although the word *praxis* is commonly used in everyday language and appears relatively clear and understandable since it is primarily used as a synonym for activity, creation, work, habit, experience, training etc., its meaning within philosophy, especially praxis-philosophy, is considerably more profound and specific. *Praxis* is equated only with free, universal and creative activity with which man creates and transforms his world and consequently himself. The key characteristic of *praxis* as a normative concept therefore lies in the fact that this activity represents a goal and purpose in itself. It is an activity that is supposed to be unique to mankind and through which man obtains his main distinctiveness from other living beings. Of course, freedom in this case should not be understood in a negative sense as an absence of external obstacles and limitations, but rather in a positive sense whereby the creative moment of this action is emphasized. *Per analogiam* with Gajo Petrović's definition of praxis (1978: 64), performative citizenship or citizenship understood as praxis “is the most developed form of creativity and the most authentic form of freedom, a field of open possibilities and the realm of the truly new. It is the very ‘essence’ of Being, the Being in its essence”.

The performative citizenship closely resembles the idea of “infrapolitics” that, according to James

Scott (1990: 184), “provides much of the cultural and structural underpinning of the more visible political action on which our attention has generally been focused”. It is as much a product of political necessity as of political choice, so we should understand the infrapolitics of a new (performative) citizenship not only as a form of political resistance under the conditions of tyranny, but also as “the silent partner of a loud form of public resistance” of modern democracies. Performative citizenship is not part of the mainstream, and although many times it is hard to detect this “immense political terrain that lies between quiescence and revolt”, it is still real politics, “in many respects conducted in more earnest, for higher stakes, and against greater odds than political life in liberal democracies” (*ibid.*, 200). The political struggles of *Sans-Papiers* in France, the Erased in Slovenia, “illegal” immigrants in the United States *et cetera*, only attest this further.

3. IMAGINING A NEW CITIZENSHIP

A reconfiguration of the relationship between equality and difference will, according to Gerard Delanty (2000: xiii), be one of the most important aspects of a new citizenship. Citizenship is nowadays perhaps the most important point of contest about the identity and recognition of (group) differences that cannot be resolved by the current model of multiculturalism, or can rather only be resolved in times of economic growth. Today it is obvious that the multicultural project in its hegemonic form did not succeed. Yet, contrary to the plethora of conservative and nationalistic objections to multiculturalism, we can detect its limitations, *inter alia*, in its following characteristics:

1. it is an inappropriate framework for new citizenship because it still places citizenship within the framework of the nation-state;
2. it overlooks that the *integration* of “others” can, at the same time, lead to their *exclusion* or *subjugation*;
3. it is still a Eurocentric approach to the reconfiguration of equality – a difference that is unable to understand Western universalism simply as another particularism;
4. it is the prime expression of the cultural logic of global capitalism; and
5. it tends to be apolitical, thus ignoring the problem of power relations, inequality and exclusion and, with an emphasis on tolerance that does not demand active participation and cooperation with others, it results in “repressive tolerance” (Marcuse 1965).¹

In contrast, a new citizenship also rejects the paradigm of universalism since it only results in the homogenization and uniformity of polities, but not also in social justice and the inclusion of their members. Universal citizenship and the related enlargement of the scope of the political subjects have certainly represented an important political achievement. We should still understand this process within its historical context as this would reveal that it has not been initiated to empower new political subjects but to reflect a deep concern about the fate of the new political innovation – the modern nation-state. The concept of a uniform, homogeneous citizenship emerged as a political tool and is, according to James Scott (1998: 32), merely a poor abstraction that can be compared to the invention of meter, kilogram and other units of measurement, standards and reforms needed for the administrative, economic and cultural standardization of heterogeneous and fluid political entities. We can thus understand universal citizenship as a political equivalent to the meter that was introduced with a revolutionary decree stating: “The centuries-old dream of the masses of only one measure has come true! The Revolution has given the people the meter” (*ibid.*). If the universal meter swept away differences in the units that it measures, then universal citizenship swept away and denaturalized differences among “unmarked”

¹ For more on the limitations of multiculturalism as a political project and a description of social reality, see Santos, Nunes and Meneses (2008: xxiii–xxiv).

and “one-dimensional” citizens. Hence, the affirmation of equality and universalism also does not mean emancipation since it can result in a loss of identity. Affirmation of differences and relativism can, conversely, result in another anomaly – in the justification of discrimination and subjugation. Is there any solution to the so-called “politics of difference”?

Worth mentioning here is Will Kymlicka's liberal theory of minority rights, as outlined in his seminal *Multicultural Citizenship* (1995), which represents an important contribution to the debates on “the dialectic of nation-building and minority rights”. Kymlicka admits that his theory has sometimes been criticized as “insufficiently liberal, and too willing to compromise universal liberal principles to accommodate particularistic and often non-liberal sentiments, identities and aspirations”, while sometimes as “too tied to universal liberal values, and insufficiently sensitive to contextual factors and to cultural differences” (Kymlicka 2001: 49). Since Kymlicka's examination of the “principles for distinguishing the claims of various sorts of minority groups” (2001: 1) is possible within a liberal-democratic framework only, and implicitly reflects the characteristics of a specific polity, we will not proceed any further here. The same holds true for Charles Taylor's short but still detailed reflection of the philosophical assumptions underlying the *politics of universalism* and the *politics of difference* respectively, where the possible “fusion of horizons” could be found in the *politics of equal respect*. Since in this article we cannot address all of the issues that may fairly be raised in a thorough reading of Taylor's “politics of recognition”, and, above all, since Santos' theory of “equal difference” in many aspects follows Taylor's theory, but at the same time surpasses the shortcomings of the liberal and statist position, we will not delve into this either.²

The errors and limitations of universalism along with relativism can be eliminated with the use of diatopical hermeneutics (cf. Panikkar 1999). Diatopical hermeneutics can be understood as a *dé-tournement* of perspective that, instead of one (hegemonic) position from which we determine the relationship between equality and difference, proposes a plethora of such perspectives and “dialogical dialogue” between them. It builds on the thesis that *topoi* – places of (self)understanding within a certain culture and tradition or, to put it differently, forms through which we think, although we do not think about them – cannot be understood with tools and categories of other *topoi*, but at least we can gain a better understanding of them by traversing between various *topoi*. In moving between *topoi* (dia-topoi), Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2008: 28) identifies the meta-right of equal difference. The meta-right of equal difference is based on two axioms that transcend the old relationship equality *versus* difference in a genuinely new relationship of equality *et* difference: first, it stresses difference when equality would threaten our identity and, second, it stresses equality whenever diversity would result in inferiority and discrimination. The differences that would remain when inequalities and hierarchy vanish thus become a powerful denunciation of the differences that the status quo reclaims in order not to disappear.

Yet the reconfiguration of equality and difference is not the only key characteristic of a new citizenship. Another important novelty is a loosening of the mechanical link between rights and duties or, rather, the constitution of citizenship beyond this link. Within different theories of citizenship we find various understandings of the link between rights and duties – e.g. the preponderance of duties within the republican tradition and the preponderance of rights within the liberal one – but it is always established and perceived entirely mechanically. Citizenship as a special status is thus impossible without a burden of corresponding duties. Although such a definition of citizenship may seem logical and reasonable, it is highly problematic in many aspects. With the current processes of economic globalization the nation-state is being forced to redefine its position and purpose, thereby also significantly transforming the arena of political participation. What is left from Marshall's triad of citizenship rights is largely only political rights, and we can therefore understand objections that citizenship is nowadays merely a legal status without a performative dimension. Since citizenship and citizenship rights are allocated only to subjects able to accept corresponding duties, a national citizenship is not open to subjects who are

2 See also Kymlicka (1995); Kymlicka (2001); Taylor (1994).

unable to be bearers of duties. This logic of reciprocity ensures, *inter alia*, that children, future generations, or nature cannot become full members of a community. Identifying an individual as a subject with rights and duties furthermore prevents the identification of group rights and group identity, and results in the exclusion of all indigenous communities that do not want to enter into a polity without their particular group identities.

4. TRANSLOCAL CITIZENSHIP AND SUBALTERN COSMOPOLITANISM

The new concept of citizenship moves away from the nation-state as its territorial reference point, but simultaneously rejects its continuation within some new supranational entities. We could argue that it rejects the very notion of permanence and continuity and therefore builds on the municipalized political praxes of the “newest social movements” (Day 2005). Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2007: xv) agrees that we can find many important innovations – on both political and theoretical levels – within a network of local initiatives (urban or rural) that have gradually developed ties of mutual recognition and interaction. For Santos, this network represents the beginning of a translocal yet truly global network of direct democracy that, in its fight against social exclusion and the “trivialization of citizenship”, has recuperated an idea of alter-globalization, direct democracy and subaltern cosmopolitanism.

After the protests against the World Trade Organization summit in Seattle in the late fall of 1999, the mainstream media tried to dismiss the protesters and their demands with distorted reports that depicted them as “global village idiots” (*The Wall Street Journal*), “a guerrilla army of anti-trade activists” (*The Washington Post*), or even as “a Noah’s ark of flat-earth advocates, protectionist trade unions, and yuppies looking for their 1960s fix” (*The New York Times*).³ Despite the vast amounts of media coverage and books and articles on the AGM, the movement’s innovative solutions and proposals have still not been properly addressed. That writing about the AGM and its political aspirations is a demanding and perilous endeavor – particularly because the AGM is a colorful coalition of ecologists, indigenous activists, farmers, feminists, trade unionists, NGOs and other initiatives that, according to Esteva, offers “one no, and many yeses” – is still a very poor excuse for any further neglect of this task.

The AGM was born, or at least came to world attention, when the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into force. On January 1 1994, the indigenous people of Chiapas, Mexico, chose to start a war against oblivion, as the NAFTA – which enabled the buying of communal land and simultaneously banned subsidies for indigenous farm cooperatives – would bring the “summary execution” of all indigenous people in Mexico. The Zapatista uprising and the later *encuentro* against neoliberalism and for humanity (*Encuentro Intercontinental por la Humanidad y contra el Neoliberalismo*) mark the birth of the AGM or the “movement of movements”. The *encuentro*, organized in the Lacandon jungle in 1996 by the EZLN, resulted in an appeal for an

intercontinental network of resistance, recognizing differences and acknowledging similarities [that] will strive to find itself in other resistances around the world. This intercontinental network of resistance will be the medium in which distant resistances may support one another. This intercontinental network of resistance is not an organizing structure; it has no central head or decision maker; it has no central command or hierarchies. We are the network, all of us who resist (Marcos in de León 2001: 125).

An important outcome of the Zapatista *encuentro*, one that is still often overlooked, was the global network called the *People’s Global Action* (PGA), which unites anarchist collectives in Europe and elsewhere

³ For more about the media representation of the AGM, see McNally (2006).

with groups ranging from Maori activists in New Zealand, fisherfolk in Indonesia, or the Canadian postal workers' union, and that would become one of the main organizers of the counter-summits from Seattle and Prague to Quebec and Genoa (Graeber and Grubačić 2004). The network includes many movements and collectives that cannot be reduced to a single ideological platform but, as can be seen from its *Hallmarks*, the organizational principles of the PGA are identical to the main anarchist ideas:

1. A very clear rejection of capitalism, imperialism and feudalism; all trade agreements, institutions and governments that promote destructive globalization.
2. We reject all forms and systems of domination and discrimination including, but not limited to, patriarchy, racism and religious fundamentalism of all creeds. We embrace the full dignity of all human beings.
3. A confrontational attitude, since we do not think that lobbying can have a major impact in such biased and undemocratic organizations, in which transnational capital is the only real policy-maker.
4. A call to direct action and civil disobedience, support for social movements' struggles, advocating forms of resistance which maximize respect for life and oppressed peoples' rights, as well as the construction of local alternatives to global capitalism.
5. An organizational philosophy based on decentralization and autonomy (PGA 2001).

The story of the AGM continued with the growing (international) recognition of the Brazilian landless farmers' movement (*Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra*) and the Indian Karnataka State Farmers' Association (*Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha*); together with the strengthening of the global coalition of small farmers *Vía Campesina*; the restoration of the international network for the democratic supervision of financial markets and institutions ATTAC (*Association pour la Taxation des Transactions par l'Aide aux Citoyens*); revolts against privatization of the water system (and rainwater) in Bolivia, privatization of the energy system in South Africa, the "Washington Consensus" policies, and neoliberalism in Argentina; the creation of the international research and education institution The International Forum on Globalization; the organization of the first World Social Forum (*Fórum Social Mundial*) in Porto Alegre, that was followed by regional social forums in Europe, Africa, and Asia; leading to the biggest protests in the history of mankind when on February 15, 2003 over 20 million people all over the world protested against the war in Iraq.

The common denominator of the various movements and collectives that comprise the AGM and its most interesting contribution on the political and theoretical level can be found in their new understanding of political community and political membership – the idea of translocal citizenship. Nowadays, when within the top 100 economies we find more multinational corporations than national economies, the nation-state ceases to exist as the only centre of sovereignty and arena where key political decisions are made. At the same time, the altered local – regional – global nexus makes it possible to finally separate political membership from the nation and its constitution according to entirely new criteria. Translocal citizenship therefore does not represent the depoliticization of political membership but a substantive understanding of a concept that in past decades has been reduced to a legal status without substance. It is yet another outcome of the AGM's focus on prefigurative politics as an attempt to create the future in the present through political and economic organizing alone, or at least to foresee the social changes to which we aspire. It is indeed an attempt to overcome current limitations through the construction of alternatives from the bottom up, since it foresees a renewal of the political power of local communities, and their federation into a global non-statist network as a counterbalance to nation-states and corporate power.

Translocal citizenship resonates the theory of the German anarchist writer Gustav Landauer, who already early in the 20th century revealed that for political emancipation we should overcome the negative fetishization of the state, since the people do not live in a state, but rather they are performing and creating the state (Landauer 2010: 249). According to Landauer, an author not well known outside anarchist circles, the state is rather "a condition, a certain relationship among human beings, a mode of

behaviour” that must be theoretically addressed and not rejected merely due to our theoretical purity or ontological principles. Therefore, a state is not something that can be destroyed by means of a revolution, which is why it is necessary to build libertine enclaves next to it, or to postulate a revolution as a “peaceful and gradual creation of counterculture” opposite to the idea of “a revolution as a violent mass rebellion”. It is impossible to attain a free society merely by replacing an old order with a new one since it can only be attained by spreading the spheres of liberty to such an extent that they finally prevail over all social life. If the state is in all of us, then we can only abolish it by revising our behavior.

One can overturn a table and smash a windowpane; but they are puffed-up word-spewers [*Wortemacher*] and gullible word-adorers [*Wortanbeter*], who hold the state for such a thing – akin to a fetish – that one can smash in order to destroy. The state is a relationship between human beings, a way by which people relate to each other; and one destroys it by entering into other relationships, but behaving differently to each other... [W]e must recognize the truth: we are the state – and are it as long as we are not otherwise, as long as we have not created the institutions that constitute a genuine community and society of human beings (Landauer in Graham 2005: 165).

Within the AGM, the prefiguration of alternatives is also accepted through Hakim Bey’s popular conceptualization of the spontaneous and subversive tactics of Temporary Autonomous Zones (TAZ) “which liberates a part (of land, of time, of imagination) and then dissolves itself to re-form elsewhere/elsewhen, before the State can crush it” (Bey 2003: 99). According to Jeffs’ (1997: 368–369) elaboration of Bey’s theory of TAZ, the political change should be “detrterritorialized, decentralized, and delinearized on all political, economic, social, libidinal, and, last but not least, narrative levels, and small and nomadic forms of resistance introduced, also because there is not a single place in the world, which has not been delineated by the nation state. ... [TAZ] is invisible to the state and flexible enough to vanish, when determined, defined, and fixated.”

Such emancipation does not have to postpone its mission for fulfillment of the necessary precondition – the maturity of objective historic circumstances, or the formation of some coherent subject or class – since it builds on the supposition that every individual is capable of co-creating the world with their, even if very small, gestures (cf. Jeffs 1998: 22–23). Going back to Landauer, the necessary change “concerns every aspect of a human life, not only the state, class structure, industry and trade, art, education. ... The path to a new, better social order runs along a dark and fatal road of our instincts and *terra abscondita* of our souls. The world can only be formed from the inside out” (Landauer in Marshall 1993: 411–412).

The concept of translocal citizenship represents a significant departure from classical theories of citizenship because it builds on *inclusion* and *participation* rather than on *identity* and, instead of *equality*, it accentuates *differences*, or “equal differences”. Yet translocal citizenship should also not be understood as another postmodern conception of political membership characterized by relativism and particularism that, according to Rizman (2008: 37), only detects diversity, difference, fragmentation, conflict and opposition, but not also commonality, equality, integration, consensus and integration. Referring to Darren O’Byrne (2003: 227), it “embraces plurality without being relativistic, universality without being deterministic, and identity without being unduly subjectivistic.” Translocal citizenship thus represents a critique of the universalistic assumptions within the liberal tradition, or their upgrade with differentiated universalism that draws close to Habermas’ idea of “constitutional patriotism”. Considering that translocal citizenship offers a different understanding of political community and stresses its constant reinvention, we should instead conclude that translocal citizenship represents a form of “unconstitutional patriotism” that in its replacement of *ethnos* with *demos* follows a significantly more radical definition of democracy than Habermas’. It does not equate democracy with a particular constitutional system only, nor with a particular constellation of centers of power within a society, but instead understands democracy in Westian terms – as a verb, and never as a noun (cf. West 2005: 68).

5. CONCLUSION – NEW CITIZENSHIP AS AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL CHALLENGE

Our attempt to imagine a political membership in the 21st century soon revealed that a new citizenship is not only a political question but an epistemological one, since exclusion, oppression and discrimination have not only economic, social and political dimensions but also cultural and epistemological ones (Santos, Nunes and Meneses 2007: xix). As opposed to past practices, political control and domination are today not grounded solely on economic and political power, but foremost on knowledge or the hierarchization of knowledge. They also do not aim at the exclusion of others, but rather at specific ways of their inclusion that result in a certain constellation of a political community and the asymmetry of power within it.

When imagining a new citizenship, conceptual clarity and theoretical thoroughness are thus insufficient since this task demands a wider epistemological or cognitive transformation. Particularly beneficial directions for the epistemological transformation within the social sciences can be found in the idea of diatopical hermeneutics (Panikkar 1999) and, above all, in Boaventura de Sousa Santos' theory of "the sociology of absences". We are witnessing epistemological ignorance and the suppression of knowledge, a form of *epistemicide*, that strengthens the status quo and at the same time dismisses, discredits and trivializes arguments and solutions not in line with the hegemonic epistemological position – a hegemonic notion of truth, objectivity and rationality. Santos (2004: 238) reasonably warns that there is no global social justice without global cognitive justice. What is therefore needed is an epistemological transformation that will broaden the spectrum of (relevant) political solutions and innovations.

According to Santos, the solution is "the sociology of absences" which transforms impossible into possible objects, absent into present objects, or irrelevant into relevant objects. If the production of the non-existence, ergo the hegemonic conception of political science and sociology, is founded on:

1. a monoculture of science that turns modern science and high culture into the sole criteria of truth and aesthetic quality, respectively;
2. a monoculture of linear time that dismisses as "backward" whatever is asymmetrical and contrary to whatever is declared "forward";
3. a monoculture of classification that attempts to naturalize social differences and hierarchies;
4. a monoculture of the universal and the global that trivializes all particular and local practices and ideas, and renders them incapable of being credible alternatives to what exists globally and universally; and
5. a monoculture of capitalist production and efficiency that privileges growth through market forces and dismisses other systems of production as non-productive (*ibid.*, 233–239)

then "the sociology of absences" should be founded on the following epistemological assumptions:

1. an ecology of knowledges that recognizes other knowledge and criteria of rigor that operate credibly in social practices;
2. an ecology of temporalities that understands linear time as only one of many conceptions of time and that it is not even the most commonly adopted one. The rejection of linear time places other and different political and social practices on the same level as political and social practices of the West since now they become another form of contemporaneity;
3. an ecology of recognition that rejects the colonial ideas of race and sexuality, and tries to articulate a new nexus between the principles of equality and of difference, thus allowing for the possibility of equal differences;
4. an ecology of the trans-scale that rejects the logic of the global scale and recuperates particular and local practices and ideas as relevant alternatives;

5. an ecology of productiveness that refutes the hegemonic paradigm of development and infinite economic growth. It recuperates and validates alternative systems of production, popular economic organizations, workers' co-operatives, self-managed enterprises etc., which have been trivialized by the capitalist orthodoxy of productivity (*ibid.*, 239–240).⁴

"The sociology of absences" thus rescues and reveals the diversity and multitude of political practices and ideas that may inform a credible new counter-hegemonic conception of the discipline suitable for the globalized world. Paraphrasing Eduardo Restrepo and Arturo Escobar (2005), such an epistemological transformation calls for a critical awareness of both the larger epistemic and political field in which disciplines have emerged and continue to function, and of the micro-practices and relations of power within and across different locations and traditions of individual disciplines. We should add that the shift would also result in the acceptance of new methodologies, research foci and research ambitions which would be a first step towards the pluralization and decentralization of political science.

Although our epistemological position is not a sweater that we simply take off to be replaced by another, as already warned by Furlon and Marsh (2002), the difficult task of changing "a skin, not a sweater" is a prerequisite for a new imagining of citizenship. If we return to Gustav Landauer (2010: 88), the necessary change "concerns every aspect of a human life, not only the state, class structure, industry and trade, art, education. ... The path to a new, better social order runs along a dark and fatal road of our instincts and *terra abscondita* of our souls. The world can only be formed from the inside out."

In the article we have argued that on the margins of the political map various "subterranean" collectives and movements are developing a genuinely new political alternative, and with it also a new understanding of political membership that can be and needs to be worked out first on a more manageable scale, *ergo* within local communities. A new citizenship is not leveled to a legal status, but is rather as a performative status, that is constituted beyond the nation-state, sometimes in opposition to it, but which always transcends the parochial forms of political community that make global connectedness impossible. In times of global migration and unprecedented mobility of the *demos*, this idea can indeed be understood as a much-needed *panacea* for the shortcomings of national citizenship. We have sought to indicate that a new citizenship closely resembles the idea of "infrapolitics" that provides much of the underpinning of the more visible political action on which hegemonic political theories have generally been focused. The conclusion we draw from it is that a new citizenship is already here, it is only upon us to rescue it from the shackles of our epistemological ignorance.

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4 For a further elaboration of the sociology of absences, see Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "The World Social Forum: Toward a Counter-Hegemonic Globalisation (Part I)," in *World Social Forum: Challenging Empires*, ed. Jai Sen et al. (New Delhi: The Viveka Foundation, 2004), 235–245; Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *The Rise of the Global Left: The World Social Forum and Beyond* (London: Zed Books, 2006); Boaventura de Sousa Santos (ed.), *Cognitive Justice in a Global World: Prudent Knowledges for a Decent Life* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007); Boaventura de Sousa Santos (ed.), *Another Knowledge Is Possible: Beyond Northern Epistemologies* (New York, NY: Verso, 2008).

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POVZETEK

PERFORMATIVNA MOČ TRANSLOKALNEGA DRŽAVLJANSTVA

Žiga VODOVNIK

Članek v razprave o postnacionalnem državljanstvu posega z idejo translokalnega državljanstva, saj izhaja iz predpostavke, da danes ni mogoče govoriti zgolj o večplastnosti državljanstva, ampak končno tudi o njegovem ponovnem odmiku od nacionalnega in konstituiranju po novih kriterijih. Gre torej za idejo in prakso municipaliziranega državljanstva, ki se konstituira mimo države, včasih nasproti njej,

vedno pa se oddaljuje od ideje nacionalnosti in pri tem seveda presega parohialne oblike politične skupnosti, ki ne upoštevajo ali pa celo onemogočajo globalno povezanost.

Cilj prispevka tako ni naivna negacija kategorije državljanstva, ampak prispevek k afirmaciji drugačnega razumevanja in prakticiranja državljanstva oziroma političnega članstva v globaliziranem svetu. Predvsem gre za osvoboditev demokracije in državljanstva iz ozkih etatističnih okvirov. S tem ciljem je neločljivo povezan poskus preliminarne refleksije temeljnih koordinat »novega državljanstva«. Translokarno državljanstvo kot »novo državljanstvo« seveda ne pomeni popolnega preloma z vsemi predhodnimi koncepcijami državljanstva, torej ne gre za *novum*. Prej ga je treba razumeti kot njegovo ponovno vsebinsko polnjenje z ekspliciranjem izvirnega pomena in namena državljanstva, ki ga ni bilo mogoče izenačevati s statusnim oziroma pravnim determinizmom. Zato je »novo državljanstvo« posledično vsaj toliko stvar preteklosti kot stvar prihodnosti, vsaj toliko stvar kontinuitete kot stvar diskontinuitete.

Članek osvetljuje vprašanje reartikulacije odnosa med enakostjo in različnostjo, kjer lahko idejo diferenciranega državljanstva oziroma diferenciranega univerzalizma nadgradimo z inovativno konfiguracijo metapravice enake različnosti. Vendar rekonfiguracija odnosa enakost–različnost ni edina značilnost »novega državljanstva«. Pomembna novost je tudi rahljanje vezi med pravicami in dolžnostmi oziroma razumevanje državljanstva onkraj te mehanske vezi. Članek v tem pogledu poudarja omejitve logike recipročnosti, ki onemogoča, da bi polnopravni člani politične skupnosti postali *inter alia* otroci, prihodnje generacije, narava. Spremenjeni *nekus* med lokalnim, regionalnim in globalnim prav tako kliče po elaboraciji oziroma natančnejši konceptualizaciji postnacionalnega državljanstva. »Novo državljanstvo« namreč dokončno opušča nacionalno državo kot svojo teritorialno referenčno točko, pri tem pa se ne konstituira v okviru nekih novih supranacionalnih entitet. Lahko bi zapisali, da zavrača idejo fiksnosti in teritorialnosti, zato že nekaj časa glavne teoretske in praktične nastavke črpa iz municipaliziranih praks najnovejših družbenih gibanj.

Avtor tako konstatira, da translokarno državljanstvo pomeni odmik od klasičnih teorij državljanstva, saj namesto na identiteti temelji na vključenosti in participaciji, namesto enakosti pa poudarja različnost oziroma enako različnost. Translokarnega državljanstva kljub temu ne smemo razumeti kot postmoderno koncepcijo političnega članstva, ne gradi namreč na relativizmu in partikularizmu, saj zgolj zavrača univerzalistične postavke liberalne koncepcije državljanstva oziroma jih nadgradi z diferenciranim univerzalizmom, ki se deloma približuje Habermasovi ideji »konstitucionalnega patriotizma«. Glede na radikalno razumevanje politične skupnosti in poudarjanje njenega konstantnega izumljanja je translokarno državljanstvo »protiustavni patriotizem«, ki *ethnos* nadomešča z *demosom*, ob tem pa sledi dosti bolj radikalnemu razumevanju demokracije kot Habermas.

V zadnjem delu članek pri poskusu zamišljanja »novega državljanstva« sledi opozorilu Arjuna Appaduraija, da so danes številni koncepti in kategorije preveč izmuzljivi za tradicionalne discipline, klasične teorije in zahodnjaške epistemologije, zato mora njihova analiza temeljiti na novih in bolj elastičnih epistemoloških predpostavkah. Ker je raziskovanje v dobi globalizacije po Appaduraiju v prvi vrsti optičen izziv, tudi obravnava »novega državljanstva« kmalu pokaže, da njegovo zamišljanje ni zgolj političen, temveč v prvi vrsti epistemološki izziv. Pri iskanju novih epistemoloških predpostavk, ki so nujne pri zamišljanju in analiziranju »novega državljanstva«, članek sledi Boaventuri de Sousa Santosu in njegovi teoriji sociologije odsotnosti.

Če povzamemo, članek ne obravnava posameznega vidika »novega državljanstva« oziroma poskusa konstitucije »novega državljanja« na podlagi partikularnega vprašanja. Cilj članka tako ni zagovarjanje ekološkega državljanstva, kulturnega državljanstva, kozmopolitskega državljanstva, ipd., pač pa skuša državljanstvo misliti holistično. Ne gre torej za nadgradnjo tradicionalnega razumevanja državljanstva kot posebne vezi med državo in državljani, katere vsebina so pravice in dolžnosti, ampak za razumevanje državljanstva znotraj translokalnih političnih skupnosti, kjer je mehanska vez med pravicami in dolžnostmi končno razrahljana, kot je razrahljan oziroma modificiran tudi odnos med enakostjo in različnostjo.

MATERIALNA ŽIVLJENJA IN POTOVANJA ŽENSK V DHËRMIJU/DRIMADESU, JUŽNA ALBANIJA

Nataša GREGORIČ BON¹

COBISS 1.01

IZVLEČEK

Materialna življenja in potovanja žensk v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu, južna Albanija

V zadnjem desetletju so številne raziskave migracij osvetlile fenomen množičnih izseljevanj iz Albanije, vendar se jih je doslej le nekaj osredotočilo na vlogo žensk v teh procesih. Članek obravnava vlogo in pomen žensk skozi materialne tokove med migrantkami iz Dhërmija/Drimadesa v južni Albaniji in njihovimi možmi, ki ostajajo v rodni vasi. Materialni tokovi niso le emblemi, pač pa tudi dejavni agensi migrantskih svetov, saj prispevajo k oblikovanju transnacionalnih zakonskih zvez, nujnih za vzpostavitve in vzdrževanje materialnih tokov. Tokovi so del širših recipročnih menjav, vzdržujejo in poustvarjajo zakonske zveze in širše družbene odnose ter delujejo kot zavarovalne police, saj utrjujejo bivanje in dinamično prisotnost odsotnih migrantk.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: materialni tokovi, ekonomija daru, migrantski svetovi, migrantke, južna Albanija

ABSTRACT

The Material Lives and Journeys of the Women of Dhërmi/Drimades, Southern Albania

In the past decade, numerous migration studies have explored the phenomenon of mass migrations in Albania. Only a few of them have focused on the role of women in these processes. The article discusses their role and meaning through the material flows between women migrants from Dhërmi/Drimades and their husbands who stay behind in their natal village in southern Albania. Material flows are not only emblems but also agents of migrant worlds as they contribute to the formation of transnational marriages that are necessary for the construction of material flows. Material flows form a part of reciprocal relations as they preserve and reconstruct marriage and social relationships in general. They act as insurance policies and reaffirm the habitation and the dynamic presence of the absent women migrants. KEY WORDS: material flows, gift economy, migrant worlds, women migrants, southern Albania.

Z Marijo¹ sva sedeli na terasi pred hišo vaškega učitelja Nasa² in opazovali vrt, ki se je bohotil v spomladanskem soncu. Naso se je mudil v kuhinji in pripravljajl *qeras/kerasmo*³ (pijača in/ali jed za dobrodošli-

¹ Dr. antropologije, znanstvena sodelavka; Inštitut za antropološke in prostorske študije, Novi trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana; e-naslov: ngregoric@zrc-sazu.si.

² Marija je prevajalka in mi je med letoma 2004 in 2005 predvsem v prvih tednih terenskega dela pomagala pri intervjuvanju vaščanov. Tudi zdaj mi pogosto priskoči na pomoč pri prevajanju albanskih in grških tekstov. Več o Mariji glej Gregorič Bon (2008: 20–21).

³ Naso ali daljše Anastas. Iz spoštovanja do anonimnosti sogovorcev sem spremenila njihova imena.

⁴ Albanske besede in besede v krajevni grščini so zapisane poševno. Ker je večina prebivalcev Dhërmija/Drima-

co). Čez nekaj minut se je na pragu pojavil s kozarcema soka v rokah, ju počasi in previdno položil pred naju, se nasmehnil in pripomnil:

Ko je moški sam doma, gostu prinese pijačo kar z rokami in ne na pladnju, kot to stori njegova žena. To naredi iz spoštovanja do svoje žene. V skladu s tukajšnjimi običaji večino dela opravlja ženska, medtem ko njen mož sedi v kavarni in se druží s prijatelji.

Naso je za trenutek postal, se zazrl v daljavo in zrecitala kitico iz pesmi *Moja vas (Fshati im)* priznanega albanskega pesnika Andona Zaka Čajupija:

Moški, ležeč v senci
igrajo karte in debatirajo,
nesreča jih ne more doleteti,
saj živijo od svojih žena.⁴

Smehljaje se je obrnil k nama in dodal: »Pijta, pijta! Je dober sok, ga je žena prinesla ,od zunaj' (*nga jashhtë/apo okso*)«.

Podobno kot v Albaniji znani in danes že pokojni pesnik Čajupi,⁵ imata tudi Naso in njegova žena Frosina dolgoletne izkušnje z življenjem in delom v migraciji. Nekaj let po razpadu komunizma leta 1990 sta skupaj z otroki emigrirala v Atene v Grčijo. Ker oba prihajata iz ene od vasi občine Himarë/Himara,⁶ sta upravičena do Posebne ,osebne izkaznice soetničnosti' ali t. i. *Eidiko Deltio Tautotitas Omogeneis*.⁷ Ta jima omogoča prosto prehajanje albansko-grške meje, ki je za druge prebivalce Albanije kljub liberalizaciji viznega sistema nekoliko teže prehodna.⁸ Podobno kot večina prebivalcev Himarë/Himare in

desa dvojezična (poleg albanskega, južnega narečja (Tosk), uporabljajo tudi krajevno obliko grščine), pri posameznih terminih navajam oba izraza. Najprej je naveden izraz v albanščini, ki mu za poševnico (/) sledi ustrezen izraz v krajevni grščini.

4 *Burrat nën hie, lozin, kuvendojnë, pika që s'u bie, se nga gratë rrojñë!* (Čajupi 1990).

5 Andon Zako Čajupi (1866–1930) se je rodil v vasi Sheper, v zgornji Zagoriji, v južni Albaniji. Pri šestnajstih letih (leta 1882) je emigriral v Egipt, kjer je v Aleksandriji študiral francoščino. Leta 1887 je odšel v Švico in v Ženevi vpisal študij prava. Po končanem študiju se je poročil in zaposlil kot odvetnik. Po ženini smrti leta 1892 se je vrnil v Aleksandrijo, kjer je bil aktiven član Albanskega bratstva v Egiptu in si prizadeval za osamosvojitve Albanije izpod otomanske nadvlade. Številne njegove pesmi so angažirane, prežete z albanskim patriotizmom in s tematiko življenja v izseljenstvu.

6 Občina Himarë/Himara združuje osem vasi, in sicer: Palasa, Dhërmi/Drimades, Ilias, Vuno, Himarë/Himara, Kudhes, Pilur in Qeparo. Za več informacij o občini, o vasi Dhërmi/Drimades in njenih ljudeh glej Gregorič Bon (2008: 45–98).

7 Glede na prevladujoče javno in politično mnenje v Grčiji so prebivalci Himarë/Himare, podobno kot s strani Albanije tudi uradno priznana manjšinska območja v Gjirokastru, Delvini in Sarandi, obravnavani kot del grške soetnijske. Status grške soetnijske se deli na podlagi kulturnih korenin (»skupni zgodovinski spomin« in/ali povezave z »domovino in kulturo izvora«), grškega potomstva (ki ga morajo grško govoreči Albanci dokazati z rojstnim krajem enega ali obeh staršev oziroma starih staršev; rojstni kraj mora biti na območju Severnega Epirja), jezika in religije (prav tam). Odlok grškega ministrstva za notranje zadeve določa, da lahko grški Albanci na osnovi pridobitve statusa grškega izvora zaprosijo za ,Posebne osebne izkaznice soetničnosti' ali t. i. *Eidiko Deltio Tautotitas Omogeneis* (Tsitelikis 2003: 7; Kondis in Manda 1994: 20–21). Te izkaznice grško govorečim prebivalcem v Albaniji in Grčiji dajejo dvojno, torej albansko in grško državljanstvo. Poleg tega pa imajo lastniki takšnih osebnih izkaznic tudi pravico, da »prosto« prečkajo albansko-grško mejo, bivajo in delajo v Grčiji, uživajo socialno in zdravstveno varnost in se brezplačno izobražujejo. Za podrobnejše informacije o Posebnih osebnih izkaznicah soetnijske glej Gregorič Bon (2008: 36–37).

8 Kljub liberalizaciji viznega režima, sprejeti decembra 2010, morajo albanski državljani ob prestopu državne meje predložiti garantno pismo fizične ali pravne osebe ali pa povabilno pismo pravne institucije v državi, v katero potujejo. Poleg tega morajo tudi dokazati, da imajo dovolj finančnih sredstev, bodisi s seboj ali pa na bančnem računu.

drugih krajev širom Albanije sta kljub fakultetni izobrazbi v Grčiji opravljala različna priložnostna dela. Naso je kot učitelj zgodovine in filologije v tujini opravljal gradbena in druga fizična dela, njegova žena Frosina, nekoč učiteljica geografije, pa je še sedaj hišna pomočnica. Ko je Naso leta 2003 ostal brez dela, se je vrnil v rodno vas Dhërmi/Drimades, kjer sta skupaj s Frosino na zemlji, podedovani od njenega očeta,⁹ začela graditi hišo. Pri gradnji sta sodelovala tudi sinova, ki sta tako kot Frosina Nasu sporadično pošiljala denar. Frosina se v rodno vas vrača le dvakrat letno, in sicer decembra, med božičnimi prazniki, in avgusta, med poletnimi počitnicami, večino leta pa preživi v Grčiji. Kljub temu, da so po uvedbi liberalne demokracije tudi v Albaniji na voljo različne iz tujine (predvsem Grčije in Italije) uvožene dobrine, Frosina skladno z običaji iz Aten vselej prinese tudi stvari od zunaj¹⁰ oziroma *gjëra nga jashte/plaçka* ali *pragmata apo okso* (npr. hrano, kot je feta sir, smetana za kavo, piškoti, bonboni, ipd., ter tudi pijačo, oblačila, obutev, tehnične stvari, itd.) in svoje mesečne prihranke ali evre (od 300 do 500); denar Naso vlaga v gradnjo hiše.

Po razpadu komunizma se je Albanija soočala z množičnimi emigracijami, najboljšežnejšimi v letih 1991, 1997 in 1999¹⁰ (Vullnetari 2007: 32–35). Številne študije migracij na tem območju ocenjujejo, da je po letu 1990 emigrirala skoraj četrtina prebivalstva (Bajraba 2000; King 2003; King in Vullnetari 2009; Vullnetari 2009: 2). Mnoge med njimi trdijo, da emigracija v Albaniji poteka ponavadi tako, da moški emigrirajo prvi, pozneje pa se jim pridružijo tudi žene z otroki (King, Dalipaj in Mai 2006; King in Vullnetari 2009); po navedbi večine avtorjev je ta vzorec značilen predvsem za severni del Albanije. Prispevek Julie Vullnetari (2009) je med redkimi študijami, ki v procesih migracij z albanskih ruralnih območij raziskuje zlasti vlogo in pomen žensk. V svojem članku ugotavlja, da albanske migrantke aktivno sodelujejo v migracijskih procesih, saj so pogosto nosilni »steber« migracije in sodelujejo pri odločanju, kdo v družini bo migriral in kdo ne (ibid.).

V pričujočem prispevku opredeljujem vlogo in pomen žensk v procesu migracij v vasi Dhërmi/Drimades v južni Albaniji, in sicer predvsem skozi materialne in finančne prilive, ki jih žene sporadično pošiljajo ali prinašajo svojim v vasi živečim možem. Materialni tokovi¹¹ tako prestopajo geopolitične in družbene meje, poustvarjajo obstoječe odnose, obnavljajo zakonske zveze in ustvarjajo materialno bogastvo. Delujejo kot materialna prisotnost odsotnih žena, saj materializirajo transnacionalne vezi z možmi, ki ostanejo »doma«, in hkrati približujejo transnacionalni svet nenehnih sprememb. Izhajajoč iz predpostavke Valentine Mazzucato (2010), ki trdi, da so materialne in finančne naložbe del recipročnih družbenih odnosov, članek zagovarja idejo, da materialni tokovi delujejo po principu ekonomije daru, opredeljene po uveljavljenem antropologu Marcelu Maussu ([1922] 1990). Materialni tokovi so del recipročnih menjav in delujejo kot zavarovalne police, saj zagotavljajo bivanje in dinamično prisotnost odsotnih migrantk.

9 V Dhërmiju/Drimadesu je sorodstvena struktura idealnotipsko patrilokalna, kar pomeni, da se ženska po poroki preseli v hišo svojega moža. Idealnotipsko zemljišča in hišo dedujejo le moški potomci, vendar v praksi pogosto prihaja do izjem (glej Gregorič Bon 2008: 91–96).

10 Padec komunističnega režima konec leta 1990 je povzročil množične migracije, ki so se leta 1991 stopnjevale do t. i. eksodosa albanskega prebivalstva. Kolaps piramidnih investicijskih shem in splošna ekonomska kriza leta 1997 sta povzročila ponoven porast migracij. Leta 1999 so se množične migracije pojavile še tretjič, in sicer kot posledica politične krize na Kosovu in sprejema okoli 500.000 kosovskih beguncev (gl. Vullnetari 2007: 32–34).

11 Trenutno v slovenskem znanstvenem diskurzu še ni povsem uveljavljenega enotnega izraza za denarne in materialne prilive (*ang. remittances*), ki jih migranti sporadično pošiljajo v državo izvora. Tatjana Pezdir (2004) in Maja Lamberger Khatib (2009) v razpravah o finančnih in materialnih prilivih Bošnjakov in Arabcev v Sloveniji uporabljata termin remitence. Ker se v slovenskem jeziku podobna različica te besede, to je remitent, nanaša na meničnega koristnika oziroma upnika in ker se glagol remitirati nanaša na odstop menice oziroma določitev meničnega upnika (gl. Bunc 1991: 371), bom v danem članku angleško besedo *remittance* prevajala opisno, tako kot jo prevajajo kolegi na Inštitutu za slovensko izseljenstvo (gl. Milharčič Hladnik in Mlekuž 2009). Zaradi kompleksnosti pomena in njegove premakljive in fluidne narave se v danem članku pogosto naslavljam na materialne tokove, ki jih opredeljujem kot gibanje denarja, dobrin, storitev, znanja, idej, ipd. iz države izseljenstva v domačo državo in nazaj.

Podatki, predstavljeni v članku, temeljijo na dolgotrajnejših antropoloških terenskih raziskavah v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu v obdobju med letoma 2004 in 2011. V nasprotju z enim primerom pogovora s povratnico sta vloga in pomen migrantk v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu v članku predstavljena skozi pogovore z njihovimi zakonskimi partnerji in skozi materialne tokove, ki se kažejo v postopnji gradnji ali obnovi in opreми hiš ter nenazadnje v različnih potrošnih dobrinah, kot so hrana, pijača, oblačila, ipd., ki jih migrantke pošiljajo iz Grčije.

OD MATERIALNIH TOKOV DO MIGRANTSKIH SVETOV

Materialni in finančni prilivi, ki jih migranti pošiljajo in vlagajo v državo izvora, so pomemben del globalnih tokov, saj so pogosto glavni vir prihodka v gospodinjstvih in ekonomijah v številnih državah v razvoju (Wong 2008: 355). Glede na poročilo Svetovne banke so tudi v Albaniji omenjeni prilivi med najpomembnejšimi sredstvi, s katerimi posamezna gospodinjstva¹² premoščajo ekonomske težave (De Soto idr. 2002: xiv). Med letoma 1993 in 2004 so materialni in denarni prilivi sestavljali okoli šestino bruto domačega proizvoda (de Zwager idr. 2005: 21; King, Dalipaj in Mai 2006: 414). Leta 2001 je bila Albanija po višini materialnih in finančnih prilivov četrta na lestvici (za Tongo, Lesotom in Jordanijo) (Sander 2003: 15). Materialni in finančni prilivi v Albaniji so dvakrat večji od vrednosti izvoženega blaga in pokrivajo sorazmerno velik del tržnega primankljaja (Nikas in King 2005).

Šele v zadnjih nekaj desetletjih so študije migracij osvetlile tudi ekonomski in družbeni pomen materialnih in finančnih prilivov (Durand, Parrado in Massey 1996; Piorine 1997; Ahmed 2000; Cornell in Conway 2000; Kuptsch in Martin 2004; Adams in Page 2005). V antropološki literaturi študije materialnih in finančnih prilivov poudarjajo dva pomembna vidika, in sicer transnacionalnost (Conway in Cohen 1998; Cohen in Conway 2001) in konstrukcijo družbenih odnosov ter ekonomijo daru (Adepoju 1974; Russell 1984; Cliggett 2005; Trager 1998; Conway in Cohen 1998; Lamberger Khatib in Pezdir 2009). V članku se osredotočam na slednji pomen in materialne ter finančne prilive pojmem kot del recipročnih menjav. Podobno kot darila tudi materialni in finančni prilivi vzpostavljajo in ohranjajo družbene odnose med darovalci/pošiljatelji in obdarovanci/prejemniki. Obdarovanje ustvarja recipročnost oziroma obvezo vrnitve (Mauss 1990). Darovalca in obdarovanca zaobjame v družbeni okvir, prežet s številnimi obveznostmi in pomeni (Derrida 1997; Mauss 1990). Materialni in finančni prilivi na eni strani premoščajo geografsko razdaljo med pošiljatelji oziroma migranti in prejemniki, oziroma tistimi, ki ostanejo »doma«, utrjujejo in obnavljajo vezi med njimi ter kompenzirajo odsotnost migrantov. Na drugi strani pa pripomorejo k izboljšanju ekonomskega položaja prejemnikov oziroma tistih, ki ostanejo doma.

V razpravi o recipročnosti materialnih in finančnih prilivov zambijskih migrantov Lisa Cliggett (2003) predstavi termin »darovalni prilivi iz držav destinacije« (ang. *gift remitting*) in pojasnjuje, da darovalni prilivi zambijskih migrantov ustvarjajo strateške zveze, ki delujejo kot zavarovalne police za prihodnost, saj zambijskim migrantom zagotavljajo občutek stabilnosti v svetu hitrih sprememb in množičnih migracij (2003: 543).

Materialni in finančni prilivi ne vključujejo le materialnih menjav, temveč tudi obnavljajo in ohranjajo družbene mreže (Lamberger Khatib in Pezdir 2009) ter ustvarjajo materialno prisotnost odsotnih migrantov. Prav skoznje migranti konstruirajo svojo pripadnost kraju izvora. Ker so prilivi recipročni, fluidni in raznoliki, jim bolj ustreza termin materialni tokovi. V nasprotju s prilivi materialni tokovi namreč vključujejo dimenzijo trajanja, materializirajo interakcijo oziroma odnos med migranti in tistimi, ki ostajajo doma, ter spregovorijo o družbenih, kulturnih in ekonomskih posebnostih destinacij, od koder

¹² Gospodinjstvo opredeljujem po Lamberger Khatibovi in Pezdirjevi (2009); definirata ga znotraj konteksta migracij, kjer vsaj en član določenega gospodinjstva migrira in z njim vzdržuje tesne stike. V tem primeru ima gospodinjstvo bi-lokalno ali več-lokalno strukturo (2009: 116).

prihajajo. Materialni tokovi odstirajo pomen materialne kulture in gibanj ter razgrinjajo t. i. migrantske svetove.

„Migrantske svetove“ (ang. *migrant worlds*) Basu in Coleman (2008) definirata kot preplet migracij in materialne kulture. Migrantski svetovi ne odražajo le materialnosti migracij, temveč tudi njihove materialne učinke v novem kraju oziroma destinaciji. Upodabljajo prepletenost gibanj, ljudi in stvari. Predpostavljajo, da »svet« kot fragmentiran in občutljiv niz materialnih in nematerialnih predpostavk in sredstev lahko postane mobilni oziroma premakljiv in preveden z ene geografske lokacije na drugo, čeprav se v samem procesu prevajanja že tudi preoblikuje (ibid.). Migracija se odraža v predmetih (gl. Lunaček 2010; Toplak 2008), jedeh (gl. Debevec 2010; Milharčič Hladnik 2010; Mlekuž 2010; Repič 2010), jeziku, praksah in odnosih, ki uravnavajo in hkrati ustvarjajo kontekste gibanj in (na)selitev. Določene oblike materialnosti označujejo status in tvornost samih migrantov (Basu in Coleman 2008: 232). Materialni tokovi vključujejo predmete, ki utelešajo značilnosti posameznikov, hkrati pa tudi posamezniki utelešajo značilnosti predmetov.

Tudi materialni tokovi migrantk iz Dhërmija/Drimadesa utelešajo njihove značilnosti, in obratno, odražajo njihovo navidezno prisotnost v izvornem kraju in prostoru ter nadomeščajo njihovo odsotnost. Preden se osredotočimo na te tokove, bom na kratko predstavila pomen in vlogo žensk v študijah migracij v Albaniji.

ŽENSKÉ IN MIGRACIJE V ALBANIJI

Vse do zgodnjih sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja so študije migracij migrante obravnavale kot enotno kategorijo, ki se ne razlikuje glede na spol ter družbeno in kulturno ozadje (gl. Cukut Krilić 2009: 37). Šele pozneje so zgodnje feministične študije, katerih avtorice so bile prav migrantke (Erel in Kofman 2005: 72), osvetlile vlogo in pomen žensk v migracijskih tokovih. Večina teh študij je poudarila pomen migrantk kot dejavnih akterk migracijskih procesov, katerih migracijske izkušnje so odvisne od političnih, ekonomskih, zgodovinskih, družbenih in kulturnih kontekstov.¹³

Julie Vullnetari (2009: 13) ugotavlja, da tudi številne študije migracij v Albaniji predstavljajo ženske kot pasivne udeleženke migracijskih procesov. Mnoge študije poudarjajo, da migracije v Albaniji temeljijo predvsem na moških, ki migrirajo prvi, pozneje pa se jim pridružijo njihove zakonske partnerke z otroki (King idr. 1998, 2006; De Soto idr. 2002; Bonifazi in Sabatino 2003; King in Vullnetari 2009). Patriarhalno sorodstvo, ki naj bi bilo temeljni sorodstveni vzorec albanske družbene ureditve na številnih območjih (Backer 1983; Young 2000), je verjetno eden od pomembnejših razlogov, da materialni tokovi temeljijo na moških kot glavnih pošiljateljih (King idr. 2006; King in Vullnetari 2009: 28). King in Vullnetari (2009: 29) navajata, da so moški tisti, ki pošiljajo materialne in finančne prilive, jih prejema in z njimi upravljajo, medtem ko ženske pri tem igrajo stransko vlogo, saj je ponavadi večina njihovega prihodka namenjena podpori moževih sorodnikov. Omenjeni trend se danes postopoma spreminja in albanske migrantke lahko bolj liberalno upravljajo s svojimi prihodki – z vednostjo moža ali naskrivaj.

Vullnetari (2009) trdi, da imajo migrantke, ki prihajajo iz Albanije, bolj aktivno vlogo v migracijskih procesih in v pošiljanju materialnega in denarnega bogastva, kot jim to pripisuje večina migracijskih študij v Albaniji. Na podlagi intervjujev in življenjskih zgodb številnih migrantk, ki izhajajo z ruralnih območij južne Albanije, Vullnetari ugotavlja, da igrajo aktivno vlogo v migracijskih procesih, se samostojno odločajo za migracijo in da je v državi destinacije njihova vloga bolj aktivna, kot se je mislilo (2009: 21).

Podobno sliko kažejo tudi izsledki raziskav v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu. Podatki iz cenusa prebivalstva, ki sem ga opravila med daljšo terensko raziskavo (med letoma 2004 in 2005), izkazujejo, da nekatere zakonske zveze temeljijo na t. i. transnacionalnih odnosih, kjer žena dela in živi v Grčiji, njen mož pa v

13 Za podrobnejši pregled študij, ki se ukvarjajo z vlogo žensk v migracijskih tokovih v Evropi in po svetu ter nena-
zadnje v Sloveniji glej Cukut Krilić (2009: 43–81).

Dhërmiju/Drimadesu, od koder navadno izvirata oba ali vsaj eden od zakoncev.¹⁴ Kljub temu, da je številno tovrstnih, t. i. transnacionalnih zakonov, sorazmerno majhno (glede na podatke cenusa prebivalstva sem zabeležila 10 od 60 zakonskih zvez), so njihove zgodbe dovolj zgovorne izjeme in odslikavajo migracijske svetove v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu.

V nadaljevanju besedila razgrinjam pripovedi zakonskih partnerjev odsotnih migrantk in pripoved povratnice, ki opisujejo vlogo in pomen migrantk bodisi skozi njihovo odsotnost ali pa skozi materialne tokove. Kljub temu, da ima večina žensk, ki so se izselile v Grčijo, dvojno državljanstvo (status grške soetničnosti in državljanstvo Republike Albanije), jih v pričujočem besedilu naslavljam kot migrantke, saj v svojih opisih migracij v Grčijo in sezonskih obiskov Albanije pogosto navajajo prehajanje albansko-grške državne meje.

ODSOTNO PRISOTNE

Frosina

Tistega dopoldneva, ko sva z Marijo klepetali z Nasom, katerega zgodbo sem deloma že predstavila v uvodnem delu, Frosinine odsotnosti nisva okusili le s sokom, temveč tudi v Nasovi pripovedi. V našem pogovoru in številnih poznejših klepetih je le redko omenjal Frosino, ki je živela in delala v Grčiji. Frosinina odsotnost torej ni bila le fizična, temveč tudi diskurzivna. V opisovanju sistema dedovanja je Naso poudaril, da skladno z vaškimi običaji ženske načeloma ne dedujejo, pač pa opravljajo večino gospodinjanskega in fizičnega dela. Pozneje, ko sem ga prosila za podatke, ki so predstavljali del cenusa prebivalstva (zemljiško lastništvo, družinski člani in njihov kraj bivanja, itd.), ki sem ga v terenski raziskavi med letoma 2004 in 2005 opravila v vsakem gospodinjstvu v vasi, je kot nekaj povsem običajnega pripomnil, da je zemlja last njegove žene, saj jo je podedovala po očetu. V številnih poznejših pogovorih, ko je Naso opisoval gradnjo hiše, ki je potekala od leta 2002, je vselej govoril v prvi osebi in pri tem ni omenjal Frosine, ki je v gradnjo vlagala mesečne prihranke (od 50 do 100 evrov); te mu je navadno izročila med kratkimi obiski vasi. Od padca piramidnih investicijskih shem leta 1997 in ekonomske krize, ki je pripeljala do popolne izgube državnega nadzora, Frosina tako kot večina državljanov Albanije ni več zaupala bančnim nakazilom in je denarne prihranke prinašala sama ali pa preko sorodnikov, najpogosteje sinov, ki so obiskali vas.¹⁵ Šele ko sem Nasa prosila, naj mi natančneje opiše gradnjo in posamezne investicije v hišo, je omenil Frosinine prispevke in tudi njeno fizično delo, ki ga je opravila v vasi med svojim letnim dopustom.

Leta 2002 sta Naso in Frosina vse prihranke iz dotedanjega dela v migraciji namenila za postavitve skeletne konstrukcije hiše, vse do prvega nadstropja. Po letu dni se je Naso vrnil v vas in najel delavce, da so pozidali prvo nadstropje in izdelali omete in tlake v treh manjših sobah. Eno med njimi je Naso pobelil in jo začasno opremil s posteljo, z manjšo kuhinjo in jedilno mizo, ki jo je Frosina kupila v Atenah in pripeljala s taksijem. Med Frosininimi počitnicami v vasi je z njeno pomočjo v kopalnici položil talne ploščice in namestil umivalnik. Po praznikih se je Frosina vrnila v Atene, kjer je živela v najemniškem stanovanju, ki sta ga najela skupaj z Nasom, ko je ta tam še živel. Kadarkoli se je kateri od sorodnikov, ki je živel v Atenah, vračal v vas, je Frosina preko njega poslala denar za gradnjo hiše (od 100 do 300

14 V preteklosti, še zlasti v komunističnem času, je bila večina porok v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu endogamnih. V vasi velja rek: *Paputsia apo ton topo sou kai as enai balomenos, 'čevlji iz tvojega kraja, čeprav so zakrpani', s čimer vaščani menijo, da se je bolje poročiti z nevesto, ki izhaja iz istega kraja kakor ženin (apo ton topo), pa čeprav ni več »devica«.* Lokalni izvor ženina in neveste ter njuna pravoslavna veroizpoved sta za prebivalce vasi torej pomembnejša od nevestine nedolžnosti. Za več informacij o porokah v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu glej Gregorič Bon (2008: 90–91).

15 Kot navaja Dalakoglou (2010: 775, fn. 8), naj bi bila neformalno pošiljanje denarja in drugega materialnega bogastva dandanes splošno razširjena praksa v Albaniji. Glavni razlog za to je ekonomska kriza iz leta 1997.

evrov), hrano (polnjene paprike, mesne, sirove in zelenjavne pite, pločevinke rib in mesa, piškote, pivo, sok, kavo) in včasih tudi kose manjšega pohištva, ki ga je kupila bodisi na razprodaji ali pa ga je odnesla iz najemniškega stanovanja. V enem od poznejših pogovorov je Naso omenil, da se bosta po Frosinini upokojitvi¹⁶ (predvidoma leta 2006) in vrnitvi iz Aten preselila v večji, bivanju namenjeni prostor, opremila pa ga bosta s pohištvom iz atenskega najemniškega stanovanja. Pojasnil je, da sta s Frosino zelo navezana na to pohištvo, ki sta ga postopoma kupovala med svojim bivanjem v migraciji. Kot je pripomnil, se v njem skriva tudi njuno nepozabno bivanje v Atenah.

Naso, ki je med letoma 2003 in 2006 v vaški osnovni šoli honorarno poučeval albanski jezik in književnost, je le redko obiskal Frosino v Atenah, kar je opravičeval z dolžnostmi v šoli in ženino prezaposlenostjo. Ker Dhërmi/Drimades leži nedaleč od grškega otoka Krfa in v dosegu grških mobilnih omrežij, se je s Frosino preko grškega mobilnega omrežja Vodafone pogovarjal vsaj enkrat dnevno.

Konec leta 2005, pred božičnimi prazniki, so bili v hiši končani ometi in tlaki ter položene ploščice v bivanjskem prostoru in na terasi. Tedaj se Frosina ni vrnila z avtobusom tako kot ponavadi, temveč s taksijem, v katerem je pripeljala klubsko mizico za dnevni prostor in manjšo omaro za jedilnico. Upokojila se je maja 2006 in s pomočjo svojih sinov iz atenskega najemniškega stanovanja pripeljala še preostalo pohištvo – kuhinjo, jedilnico in kavč.

Ko sem v enem od najinih pogovorov vprašala Nasa, ali pogreša Frosino, je odgovoril da ne, in dodal, da se kljub temu, da živita narazen, vsak dan slišita po telefonu in si nenehno pošiljata različne stvari. »Ravno včeraj mi je žena preko bratranca, ki živi v Atenah in se je za nekaj dni vrnil v vas, poslala polnjene paprike in nekaj denarja, s katerim bom plačal delavce, ki delajo omete v sosednji sobi«. Pošiljke niso bile le enosmerne, saj je tudi Naso preko sorodnikov, ki so se vračali iz Aten ali so tja potovali, Frosini pogosto pošiljal domače olivno olje, olive, pomaranče in mandarine.

Sofia

Nekoliko drugačna je Nikova zgodba, ki je skupaj s Sofio in z otroki, ki so v času komunizma živeli v glavnem mestu Tirani, emigriral v Grčijo. Tako kot večina najstnikov iz vasi, ki niso našli prave perspektive v življenju in delu v vaški kmetijski zadrugi,¹⁷ se je Niko vpisal na srednjo agronomsko šolo v Draču. Pozneje se je kot agronom zaposlil v Tirani in se poročil s Sofio, ki je prav tako kot Niko prihajala iz Dhërmija/Drimadesa, od koder se je izselila po poroki in se zaposlila v mestni pekarni. Po padcu komunističnega režima leta 1990 sta se Niko in Sofia vzajemno odločila, da skupaj s tremi otroki (dvema sinovoma in hčerko) emigrirata v Grčijo. Ker tedaj grško ministrstvo za notranje zadeve še ni izdalo odloka o možnosti pridobitve statusa grškega izvora in Posebnih osebnih izkaznic soetničnosti, je Nikova družina ilegalno prečkala albansko-grško mejo čez gorovje Pindus, ki razmejuje južno Albanijo in severno Grčijo. Niko se spominja, da je bila pot izjemno naporna, prežeta s strahom in tihim upanjem na boljše življenje. Kljub temu, da so bili otroci tedaj že v najstniških letih, je bila zanje pot čez gorovje še posebej utrujajoča. Skupaj z vodičem, ki so mu plačali približno 200 evrov današnje vrednosti, so hodili tri dni in noči. Hribi so bili pokriti s snegom in bilo je zelo mrzlo, se spominja Niko. Četrty dan so dosegli Grčijo, kjer so jih v Janini pričakali sorodniki, ki so emigrirali pred njimi. Prvi dve leti so živeli pri njih, nato pa so se preselili v Atene, kjer sta Niko in njegova žena naprej živela v najemniškem stanovanju skupaj z družino najmlajšega sina. Medtem ko je Niko v Atenah opravljal različna fizična dela (pleskanje, tesarstvo, zidar-

16 Skladno z Odločbo Vlade Republike Grčije števil. 106841/1983 (Tsitselikis 2003: 7) večina upokojujencev v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu in drugod na območju Himarë/Himare prejema pokojnino od grških oblasti.

17 Ko so v komunizmu uvedli kolektivizacijo zasebne lastnine in osnovali kmetijske zadruge (leta 1957), mnogi domačini, rojeni po letu 1945, niso več videli svoje prihodnosti v življenju na vasi in v zadrugnem delu. Veliko se jih je vpisalo na tehnično šolo v Vlari, nekateri pa so šli študirat na univerze v Tirani ali Skadru, saj je bila to ena redkih priložnosti za selitev v mestno okolje.

stvo), je Sofia delala kot hišna pomočnica. Dopoldan je pospravljala hiše, popoldan pa je pazila na vnuka oziroma sinova svojega najmlajšega sina, ki sta tedaj obiskovala osnovno šolo. Leta 2000 so se sinova in hči z družinami odločili, da se preselijo v Washington, kamor se je že pred leti odselil Nikov starejši brat. Slednji je nečakoma našel zaposlitev in jih začasno sprejel v svoj dom. Tedaj je Niko dopolnil 65 let in se upokojil, ob tem pa se je tudi odločil, da se vrne v rojstno vas svojih staršev. Sofia je sklenila, da se pridruži otrokom in se preseli v Ameriko, kjer jim bo pomagala pri vzgoji vnukov. Niko je na moje vprašanje o ženini odločitvi, da migrira v Ameriko, pripomnil, da se mu to zdi dandanes povsem običajno, saj veliko vaščanov živi samih v vasi, medtem ko so njihove žene v migraciji bodisi zaradi delovnih obveznosti ali pa jim preprosto ne ustreza več življenje na vasi, kjer se morajo soočiti z dnevnimi izpadi elektrike in vode ter neprijetno vlago in vetrom pozimi. Sofia in otroci so na podlagi statusa političnih beguncev dobili dovoljenje za bivanje in delo v ZDA, kar pa jim onemogoča, da bi se vračali v rojstno vas, kjer živi njihov oče in mož. Danes Sofia skupaj z otroki in njihovimi družinami živi na Floridi, od koder občasno pošilja prihranke in druge dobrine, kot so zdravila, oblačila, električni pripomočki, ipd.

V številnih srečanjih in pogovorih je Niko le redko omenjal ženo. Njeno ime sem ujela predvsem tedaj, ko se je stavek nanašal na katero od stvari, ki jih je poslala iz ZDA. Poleg materialnih stvari je občasno preko bančnih transferjev pošiljala tudi denar (približno od 200 do 600 USD letno), ki ga je Niko vlagal v gradnjo hiše. V prvih letih življenja na Floridi je Sofia skoraj vsak mesec pošiljala pisma in fotografije o njihovem življenju v ZDA, pozneje pa so fotografije skupaj z razglednicami začele prihajati bolj poredko, nekajkrat letno. Zdaj se Niko in Sofia približno dvakrat tedensko pogovarjata po telefonu. Ponavadi ga pokliče Sofia, saj, kot pravi Niko, so klici iz Amerike v Albanijo cenejši.

Leta 2000, ko se je Niko vrnil v vas, je leto dni živel v hiši svojega očeta – hiša sedaj pripada najmlajšemu bratu – in postopoma gradil svojo hišo na zemlji, podedovani po očetu. S pomočjo pokojnine in ženinih denarnih pošiljk je zgradil dve nadstropji. O gradnji, razporeditvi sob in opremlenosti se je tako kot Naso s svojo ženo posvetoval po telefonu. Po letu dni, ko je bila hiša zgrajena do drugega nadstropja, se je vanjo vselil. Čez pol leta se mu je pridružila mlada družina s severa Albanije in se vselila v prvo nadstropje, medtem ko Niko živi v drugem. Družina mu pomaga pri vsakdanjih opravilih, skrbi za gospodinjstvo, vrt in okolico hiše. Čeprav ne kaže, da se bo Nikova žena kdaj vrnila, je njun odnos še naprej enak. Kadarkoli mu kdo od znancev sporoči, da potuje na Florido (na službeno pot ali na obisk k sorodnikom), ga Niko prosi, naj ženi in otrokom odnese nekaj litrov oljčnega olja, olive, med in žganje.

Violeta

Podobno izkušnjo kot Niko in Naso ima tudi Dimitris. Njegova žena Violeta živi v Grčiji skupaj s sinom, hčerko in njeno družino. V vas se vrne le poleti, ko se pridruži sinu in hčerki, ki vsako leto za približno deset do štirinajst dni obišejo svojega očeta. Pozimi, navadno od konca decembra do konca februarja, ko je v vasi mraz, dež in vlaga, se Dimitris tudi sam preseli v Atene. Tam Violeta skupaj s hčerko in njeno družino ter sinom živi v najemniškem stanovanju. Tako kot večina migrantk opravlja delo hišne pomočnice. V Atene je odšla leta 2000, ko je v Vlari, kamor se je preselila po poroki z Dimitrisom, ostala brez zaposlitve. Odločitvi za migracijo je botrovala tudi Dimitrisova invalidska upokojitev, ker si je v delovni nesreči poškodoval hrbtenico. Ker sta vedela, da ne bosta mogla shajati le z njegovo pokojnino (približno 50 evrov mesečno), sta se odločila, da si Violeta poišče delo v Atenah in tam ostane vse do upokojitve, ker bo le tako po grški zakonodaji pridobila pravico do mesečne pokojnine v višini 250 evrov.

Dimitris in Violeta izvirata iz Dhërmija/Drimadesa. V času komunističnega režima se je Dimitris vpisal na poklicno šolo v Vlari in se izučil za kovinarja. Po končanem šolanju se je zaposlil kot kovinarski tehnik in se poročil z Violeto, šiviljo v tovarni spodnjega perila. Poročila sta se, kot pravi Dimitris, deloma iz ljubezni, deloma pa so se o poroki dogovorili njuni starši. »Tedaj se nismo poročali le iz ljubezni, temveč tudi iz spoštovanja do svojih staršev in da bi ohranili krščanstvo.«

Isto leto, ko se je Violeta preselila v Atene, se je Dimitris vrnil v Dhërmi/Drimades, v hišo, ki jo je po-

dedoval po svojem očetu. Ker je bila stara in zapuščena, saj v njej že vrsto let nihče ni bival, jo je Dimitris začel postopoma obnavljati. Ker s pokojnino, ki jo Dimitris prejema v Albaniji, ne more pokriti stroškov za prenavo strehe, sanacijo sten in nekaterih tlakov, večino kapitala za prenavo investirata Violeta in najmlajši sin, ki je trenutno še samski in živi v Atenah skupaj z Violeto ter s sestro in njeno družino. Preko sorodnikov in znancev, ki se vračajo v vas ali potujejo skoznjo, Violeta in najmlajši sin pošiljata denar (običajno po 300 do 500 evrov), s katerim Dimitris postopoma obnavlja hišo. Poleg denarja pošiljata tudi manjše dele pohištva, kot je na primer klubska mizica, ogledalo za kopalnico, ipd. Spomladi, ko se Dimitris vrne iz Aten, pripelje tudi material za obnovo hiše (barvo za okna, strešnike, ipd.). Violeta vsako poletje pospravi celotno hišo, očisti okna in dvorišče, stene pobeli z apnom, uredi vrt, presadi rože, ipd. Po upokojitvi se namerava vrniti v vas, čeprav se bo, kot pravi Dimitris, po letih bivanja v mestu le stežka navadila na življenje na vasi. Dimitris in Violeta se vsak dan slišita po telefonu in dogovarjata o delih, ki jih je treba opraviti na hiši, in o drugih vsakdanjih stvareh.

Lambrini

Lambrinini izkušnji migracije sem lahko prisluhnila neposredno, saj že dalj časa živi v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu, kamor se je po dveh letih življenja in dela v Atenah vrnila leta 1995. V nasprotju s Frosino, Sofio in z Violeto je Lambrini vse svoje življenje živela v vasi, kjer je delala kot upravnica in skrbnica trgovine na drobno, ki je bila del vaše kmetijske zadruge. Njen mož Jorgos je v sosednji vasi Palasa poučeval v osnovni šoli, pozneje pa je postal ravnatelj osnovne šole v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu. Po razpadu komunističnega režima so trgovino zaprli, tedanja vladajoča politična elita pa se je odločila za njeno prodajo. Tedaj sta imela Jorgos in Lambrini le 300 lekov prihrankov, kar ni zadostovalo za odkup trgovine, ki jo je država odprodajala za 20.000 lekov. V želji po nakupu sta se odločila, da Lambrini emigrira, Jorgos pa kot ravnatelj osnovne šole ostane v vasi. Lambrini je prosila brata, ki se je leta 1991 izselil v Grčijo, naj ji najde začasno zaposlitev v Atenah, s katero bo lahko v kratkem času zaslužila denar za odkup trgovine. Spomladi leta 1993 je Lambrini zapustila vas in družino ter za dve leti odšla v Atene, kjer ji je brat priskrbel delo negovalke ostarele gospe. Zanj je skrbela noč in dan in pri njej tudi živela. Pravzaprav je spoznala zelo malo atenskega življenja, saj je ves čas skrbela za nepokretno gospo. Ni ji bilo lahko, pogrešala je otroke in moža, s katerimi ni imela rednih stikov, ker tedaj še ni bilo mobilnih telefonov. Za njene mlajše otroke je skrbela najstarejša, tedaj 19-letna hči. V dveh letih dela v Atenah je Lambrini le enkrat za teden dni, med božičnimi prazniki, obiskala svojo družino. Del denarja, ki ga je prejemale kot mesečno plačilo, je preko sorodnikov pošiljala Jorgu, preostanek pa je vlagala v prihranke, namenjene odkupu trgovine, ki jo danes upravlja. Poslani denar je Jorgos vložil v obnovo hiše, ki sta jo z Lambrini zgradila na zemlji njegovega očeta že v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja. Po vrnitvi iz Aten je Lambrini odkupila trgovino, jo deloma prenovila in začela prodajati hrano. V najinem pogovoru leta 2005 je omenila, da želi trgovino še razširiti in prodajati tudi druge stvari, kot npr. orodje, oblačila, ipd. Kljub temu, da je Lambrini uradna lastnica vaše trgovine, ki jo je leta 1995 odkupila od države, jo večina vaščanov imenuje »Jorgova trgovina«.

Nekaj let po Lambrinini vrnitvi v vas so v Atene emigrirali njeni otroci. Sin se je po petih letih življenja v Atenah, kjer je končal srednjo šolo, vrnil v vas, se poročil in naselil v družinsko hišo, medtem ko sta hčerki ostali v Grčiji. Kadarkoli rabita pomoč, se obrneta na Lambrini, ki se po potrebi za mesec dni ali več preseli k njima.

MATERIALNA ŽIVLJENJA IN POTOVANJA MIGRANTK

Predstavljene zgodbe prikazujejo, da migrantke, ki prihajajo iz Dhërmija/Drimadesa, niso le pasivne udeleženske migracijskih procesov, kot to trdijo številne študije migracij v Albaniji (King idr. 1998, 2006; De Soto idr. 2002; Bonifazi in Sabatino 2003; King in Vullnetari 2009). Primeri Frosine, Sofie, Violete in

Lambrini razkrivajo njihove dejavne ekonomske in družbene vloge, ki pa so v pripovedih zakonskih partnerjev kot tudi v vaškem diskurzu pogosto prikriti. Tako na primer Naso, Niko in Dimitris le redko eksplicitno govorijo o materialnih in denarnih prilivih, ki jih njihove žene pošiljajo iz Grčije in Amerike. Prikritost prilivov je opaziti tudi v diskurzu vaše skupnosti. Vaščani trgovino, katere lastnica in upraviteljica je Lambrini, imenujejo z imenom njenega moža Jorga. Materialne tokove svojih žena Naso, Niko in Dimitris jemljejo kot nekaj samoumevnega. Podobno kot Madeleine Wong (2006: 367) ugotavlja o ganskih migrantih, tudi v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu možje materialne tokove svojih žena pojmujejo kot zakonsko obveznost in pravico.

Denar, pohištvo, hrana, pisma, razglednice, fotografije, telefonski klici kot tudi Frosinina, Sofiina in Violetina skrb materializirajo njihovo prisotnost kljub dejanski odsotnosti. Svoje zakonske obveznosti žene in partnerke izpolnjujejo posredno, in tako premoščajo svojo fizično odsotnost. Kot prikazujejo opisani primeri, tokovi ne vključujejo le pošiljanja denarja in dobrin, temveč materializirajo tudi ženino skrb za moža in ustvarjajo »transnacionalne zakone«.

Kot navajam v uvodni besedi in kot prikazujejo etnografski primeri v nadaljevanju, materialni tokovi, tako kot Maussov (1990) dar, sledijo načelu recipročnosti. Udeležence zavezujejo k sprejemanju in vračanju bogastva, s čimer se vzpostavlja sistem menjave, ki poustvarja, potrjuje ali obnavlja zakonske zveze in družbene odnose. Materialni tokovi migrantk iz Dhërmija/Drimadesa delujejo skladno z ekonomijo daru. So recipročni, saj v zameno za pohištvo, denar, hrano in skrb migrantke Dhërmija/Drimadesa od svojih mož prejema hrano, kot je domače oljčno olje, olive, žganje. Obenem podobno kot ugotavlja Cliggettova (2003) o zambijskih migrantih, tudi materialni tokovi v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu delujejo kot zavarovalne police, saj migrantkam zagotavljajo stabilno mesto, kamor se lahko vrnejo po upokojitvi ali izgubi dela. Frosina in Sofia si s pošiljanjem različnih dobrin in prihrankov ter z njihovim vlaganjem v gradnjo hiš zagotavljata »varno« naložbo za prihodnost. Podobno varnost si zagotavljata tudi Lambrini in Violeta; vrnitev slednje je sicer zaradi geografske razdalje in političnih omejitev manj gotova.

Materialni tokovi so del vzajemnih odnosov, pravic in obveznosti, saj ustvarjajo in vzdržujejo zakonske zveze in družbene odnose. Marilyn Strathern je v odmevni monografiji z naslovom *Spol daru* (*The Gender of the Gift*) raziskovala pomen žensk in spola v Hagnu na Papui Novi Gvineji. Ugotovila je, da delo in trud, ki ga ženske vložijo v vzrejo prašičev (ki so simbolno bogastvo in predmet poročnih in drugih izmenjav v Hagnu), nista nikoli povsem odtujena in ločena od samega produkta, torej prašiča (1990: 154). Čeprav v povsem drugačnem kontekstu, sta tudi v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu delo in trud, ki ju Frosina, Sofia, Violeta in Lambrini vlagajo v pridobitev materialnega in denarnega bogastva, njihov neodtujljivi del. Materialni tokovi z drugimi besedami delujejo kot podaljšek migrantk, saj nadomeščajo njihovo odsotnost iz Dhërmija/Drimadesa. Njihovi možje ne morejo razpolagati s trudom in z delom, ki ju migrantke vložijo v pridobitev materialnega bogastva (kot so denar, pohištvo, hrana, ipd.), temveč lahko uživajo le njihovo skrb in razpolagajo s poslanim bogastvom. Marcel Mauss v delu *Esej o daru* (1990) navaja, da samojske preproge, baker s severozahoda, plašči in orožje Maorov ostanejo del prvotnih lastnikov tudi tedaj, ko krožijo med ljudmi in so predmet menjave. Te predmete poimenuje *immeuble* (francoska beseda, ki so jo v srednjem veku v pravu uporabljali za nepremičnine oziroma statično lastnino), saj so neodtujljivo bogastvo, ki se ne more ločiti od prvotnega lastnika ali proizvajalca. Podobno so tudi materialni tokovi v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu neodtujljivi del njihovih pošiljateljic oziroma darovalk, saj s svojo prisotnostjo nadomeščajo njihovo odsotnost in jih vzpostavljajo kot navidezno prisotne.

Kljub temu, da je danes na albanskem trgu mogoče kupiti številne uvožene dobrine iz različnih delov Evrope in Azije, prebivalci Dhërmija/Drimadesa cenijo prav dobrine, ki jim jih iz tujine pošiljajo migranti, in se z njimi ponašajo. Komunistični režim, ki ni dovoljeval uvažanja »tujih« dobrin, in dvajsetletna omejitev prehajanja državnih meja¹⁸ sta pustili trden pečat, še danes prisoten v albanski družbi. Številni prebivalci Albanije, še zlasti generacija, rojena pred letom 1990, razumejo dobrine, ki jih kupijo

18 Med letoma 1990 in 2010 je bilo za večino državljanov Republike Albanije prestopanje državnih meja omejeno z dolgotrajnim postopkom za pridobitev vize.

zunaj Albanije ali pa jih pošljejo migranti, kot dobrine »od zunaj«. Podobno jih razume tudi Naso, čeprav ima posebni status grške soetničnosti, ki mu omogoča prosto prehajanje albansko-grške meje. Sok, ki mu ga je Frosina poslala iz Grčije, ima zanj tako kot pohoštvo simbolno vrednost, saj odraža geopolitično moč destinacije, od koder prihaja.

Večji delež denarja, ki ga Frosina, Sofia in Violeta še danes pošiljajo iz Grčije, njihovi možje vlagajo v gradnjo, prenavo in opremo hiš v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu, ki si jih skladno s prevladujočim patrilinearnim sorodstvom in patrilokalnim vzorcem bivanja tudi lastijo. Tako Naso, ki gradi hišo na zemljišču svoje žene, kot tudi Niko, Dimitris in Jorgo opisujejo gradnjo ali prenavo hiše v prvi osebi ednine in eksplicitno ne omenjajo finančnih prispevkov svojih žena. Dimitris Dalakoglou (2010: 772) poudarja, da je gradnja hiš pomemben odraz materialnosti migracij v postkomunistični Albaniji. Proces gradnje, ki v Albaniji pogosto traja vrsto let, zagotavlja nenehno bivanje in dinamično ter navidezno prisotnost migrantov v kraju izvora (2010: 761). Kljub temu, da imajo ženske pomembno vlogo pri gradnji hiše, le ta ostaja prikrita javnosti, saj navadno ne sodelujejo pri konkretni izvedbi gradbenih del (2010: 775 op. 8). V Dhërmiju/Drimadesu in širom Albanije je hiša običajno last moškega, tudi v primerih, ko njeno gradnjo v celoti omogoči ženska. Hiše in druge nepremičnine, kot je na primer trgovina, ki jo vodi Lambrini, so simbolni kapital, s katerim se ponašajo prav moški. Iz tega sledi, da je Nasov, Nikov, Dimitrijevi in Jorgov družbeni status med drugim odvisen tudi od dela njihovih v migraciji živčih žena.

Zbrane pripovedi kažejo na večplastno odsotnost žensk, ki se ne odraža le v naraciji njihovih zakonskih partnerjev, temveč tudi v fizični odsotnosti iz vaškega vsakdanjega življenja, v odsotnosti njihovih vlog v javnem življenju in nenazadnje v odsotnosti njihovih glasov v pričujočem besedilu. Z izjemo Lambrini so zgodbe Frosine, Sofie in Violete predstavili njihovi zakonski partnerji. V Dhërmiju/Drimadesu je vloga ženske marginalna, v smislu termina, ki ga opredeljuje Sarah Green (2005). Marginalnost, kot navaja Greenova, je »kočljiva beseda« in je na nek način le šibko povezana z »drugostjo« in »različnostjo« (2005: 1). Marginalnost pogosto vzbuja pomen neenakega mesta in neenakih odnosov. Ni povsem jasno, kje konkretno se nekdo nahaja in od kod je, in prav to mu omogoča, da je le deloma viden in le deloma povezan (ibid.). Podobno so vidne in povezane s svojimi možmi in krajem izvora Frosina, Sofia, Violeta in deloma tudi Lambrini. Čeprav je njihova vloga tako v kraju destinacije (Atene) kot tudi kraju odhoda (Dhërmij/Drimades) pomembna, je v diskurzu in praksah vaščanov še naprej prikrita ali celo nevidna.

SKLEP

Vsebina članka prikazuje, da so migracijski procesi v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu deloma drugačni kot v drugih predelih Albanije. V naprotju s številnimi migrantkami, ki prihajajo iz severnega dela Albanije, imajo migrantke iz Dhërmija/Drimadesa večjo svobodo pri razpolaganju z materialnim bogastvom, ki ga zasluzijo z delom v migraciji. To je še zlasti poudarjeno v Lambrininem primeru, ki je denarne prihranke, zaslužene z delom v Grčiji, namenila za odkup vaške trgovine, ki jo je upravljala v obdobju komunizma. Kljub temu, da Naso, Niko in Dimitri materialne tokove svojih žena razumejo kot neke vrste zakonsko obveznost in pravico, njihove žene oziroma migrantke z njimi razpolagajo na svoje načine in se svobodno odločajo kdaj, kako in kaj bodo poslale svojim možem. Članek pojasnjuje, kako se osebni odnosi migrantk in njihovih zakonskih partnerjev, ki ostajajo doma, vzpostavljajo preko materialnih tokov. Ti vključujejo migrantke v družbene mreže v kraju izvora in se z njimi tudi utrjujejo. Materialni tokovi torej niso emblemi, pač pa dejavni agensi migrantskih svetov. Tako kot materialni tokovi prispevajo k oblikovanju transnacionalnih zakonov in družbenih odnosov, tudi ti zakoni in odnosi vzpostavljajo in ohranjajo materialne tokove. Nedokončane hiše, vaška trgovina, hrana, pohoštvo in druge dobrine razgrinjajo migrantske svetove Frosine, Sofie, Violete in Lambrini ter deloma pričajo o njihovem življenju v Grčiji in številnih povratkih v rojstni kraj. Svetovi, ki jih materializirajo, so le odsevi njihovega življenja v migraciji, saj so, kot trdita Basu in Coleman (2008), v toku iz ene geografske lokacije v drugo vselej preve-

deni in preoblikovani. Razmestitev in odsotnost posameznikov lahko nadomestijo objekti (Povrzanović Frykman 2009: 107). V Dhërmiju/Drimadesu so ti objekti materializirani v tokove, ki so del asimetrične menjave in obdarovanja med migrantkami in njihovimi zakonskimi partnerji. Denar, hiša, pohištvo, hrana, telefonski klici, pisma, razglednice in fotografije premoščajo geografsko, fizično in čustveno razdaljo med zakoncema in odražajo ter vzpostavljajo njun zakonski odnos. Gledano simbolno, materialni tokovi personificirajo odsotne migrantke in materializirajo njihovo prisotnost. Skladno s predpostavko, da so objekti lahko materialni izraz pripadnosti (Povrzanović Frykman 2009: 107), materialni tokovi v Dhërmiju/Drimadesu odražajo pripadnost migrantk, hkrati pa tudi odsevajo njihove selitve in potovanja. V sodobnem svetu hitrih, nenehnih sprememb in migracij je torej prav fluidnost materialnih tokov tista, ki ustvarja stabilnost pošiljateljic dobrin oziroma migrantk.

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SUMMARY

THE MATERIAL LIVES AND JOURNEYS OF THE WOMEN OF DHËRMI/DRIMADES, SOUTHERN ALBANIA

Nataša GREGORIĆ BON

The paper explores the role and meaning of women in migration processes in the village of Dhërmi/Drimades in southern Albania. Their role and meaning are viewed through the material and financial resources which the women migrants sporadically send or bring to their husbands who have stayed behind. Material and financial resources are defined as material flows, connecting various geopolitical borders and boundaries and reaffirming, recreating and reshaping the relationships between the women migrants and their husbands. They are the material presence of the absent wives which materialise the transnational links and bonds between spouses and make the transnational world of continuous change more closely felt. To paraphrase Valentina Mazzucato (2010), who sees material and financial incomes as part of reciprocal social relations, I argue that material flows work following the principles of the gift economy as defined by Marcel Mauss ([1922] 1990). Material flows are part of the reciprocal relations and as such they reaffirm and recreate marriage relationships and social relationships in general, and work as insurance policies as they reaffirm the habitation and the dynamic presence of the absent migrants.

The ethnographic material presented in this paper is based on a long-term anthropological study carried out in Dhërmi/Drimades between 2004 and 2011. Except for one case-study where I describe the story of a returnee, the roles and meanings of migrants from Dhërmi/Drimades are represented through conversations with their husbands and the material flows seen in the construction or rebuilding of houses or different goods such as food, drink, clothes, etc. which are sent back by women migrants.

LITERARNA ZAPUŠČINA SLOVENSКИH IZSELJENCEV V DRUGIH DEŽELAH EVROPE

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IZVLEČEK

Literarna zapuščina slovenskih izseljencev v drugih deželah Evrope

V preglednem članku avtorica uvodoma oriše najstarejša obdobja slovenskega izseljenskega literarnega ustvarjanja v drugih delih Evrope. Nato na kratko povzame zgodovino slovenskega izseljenskega časopisja v Zahodni Evropi pred drugo svetovno vojno ter literarni prispevek najpomembnejših avtorjev v tem času. Sledi zgoščen pregled slovenskih izseljenskih pisateljev v drugih delih Evrope po drugi svetovni vojni, na koncu pa avtorica poskuša osvetliti še nekatera vprašanja njihove literarne dvojezičnosti. Pomemben vidik te študije je primerjava položaja obravnavanih pisateljev, in sicer na treh ravneh: med različnimi zgodovinskimi obdobji, med različnimi celinami in med pisatelji različnih narodnosti.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: slovenska književnost, slovenski izseljenci, Evropa, sodobna književnost, literarna dvojezičnost

ABSTRACT

The Literary Legacy of Slovenian Emigrants to Other European Countries

Following a brief introduction to the earliest periods of Slovenian émigré literature in other parts of Europe, a short history of Slovenian ethnic periodicals in Western Europe prior to the Second World War is presented, along with the major Slovenian émigré authors of the time. The following section discusses contemporary Slovenian émigré writers in the rest of Europe, while the last part of the article focuses on the questions concerning their literary bilingualism. An important aspect of this study is a comparison of the writers' position, made on three levels: between different periods of time, between continents and between writers of diverse ethnic-cultural backgrounds.

KEY WORDS: Slovenian literature, Slovenian emigrants, Europe, contemporary literature, literary bilingualism

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UVOD¹

Književno ustvarjanje slovenskih izseljencev v drugih delih Evrope je bilo v letih 2009–2010 deležno posebne pozornosti raziskovalcev in širše kulturne javnosti in v matični Sloveniji. 3. decembra 2009 je v Ljubljani potekal hrvaško-slovenski posvet z naslovom »Kulturna dediščina med migranti v Evropi«, ki je prinesel nekaj svežih pogledov tudi na predmet pričujočega članka. V začetku septembra 2010 pa je k temu dodal svoj tehtni prispevek tudi festival Vilenica, največji mednarodni literarni festival v Sloveniji. Vilenica namreč v zadnjih letih posveča posebno mesto predstavljanju književnosti v slovenskih zamejskih narečjih in slovenske književnosti, ki nastaja v izseljenstvu. Po predstavitvi porabske, režijske in beneške literarne ustvarjalnosti ter književnega dela slovenske manjšine na Hrvaškem se je z letom 2009 začel niz predstavitev književne produkcije slovenskih izseljenskih skupnosti. Najprej je bila predstavljena slovenska skupnost v Argentini, ki je ustvarila največji korpus literarnih besedil. Leta 2010 pa je bil ta sklop vileniškega programa usmerjen k pisateljem, ki živijo in ustvarjajo v državah Evropske unije. Prvi del predstavitve je bil v okviru literarne matinee,² spremljevalni program pa je med drugim vključeval tudi okroglo mizo »Slovenski pisatelji v Evropski uniji«. ³ V vseh teh primerih pa je vendarle šlo le za krajše splošne predstavitve, ki so – vsekakor zaradi omejenega časa, ki jim je bil odmerjen – v celoti obšle starejšo in tudi nekoliko novejšo zgodovino literarnega ustvarjanja Slovencev v drugih delih Evrope, predvsem tisto od najzgodnejših začetkov pa do konca druge svetovne vojne. Slovenska literatura v drugih delih Evrope pa se nikakor ni začela šele z letom 1945. Gre namreč za ustvarjalni proces, katerega začetki sovpadajo z začetki slovenske tiskane besede in ki ga niti vojne v Evropi niso mogle prekiniti.

V tem preglednem prispevku bom torej najprej na kratko predstavila »predzgodovino« slovenskega izseljenskega literarnega ustvarjanja v drugih delih Evrope. Nato bom orisala zgodovino slovenskega izseljenskega časopisja v Zahodni Evropi v obdobju pred drugo svetovno vojno ter literarni prispevek najpomembnejših avtorjev v tem času. Sledil bo zgoščen historični pregled slovenskih izseljenskih pisateljev v drugih delih Evrope po drugi svetovni vojni, pri čemer se bom omejila na šestnajsterico najkakovostnejših avtorjev. Na koncu bom poskušala osvetliti še nekatera vprašanja njihove literarne dvojezičnosti. V članku bom uporabila metodo pregledne študije: glavna spoznanja svojih dosedanjih raziskav bom soočila z relevantnimi spoznanji drugih avtorjev in jih poskušala dopolniti z rezultati maloštevilnih novejših raziskav v okviru obravnavane tematike. Metodološka in vsebinska novost je v primerjavi položaja obravnavanih avtorjev v različnih zgodovinskih obdobjih, pa v primerjavi položaja slovenskih izseljenskih pisateljev v drugih deželah Evrope s položajem njihovih pišočih rojakov v drugih delih sveta, nazadnje pa tudi v primerjavi njihovega položaja s položajem priseljenskih pisateljev v Sloveniji.

STAREJŠA ZGODOVINA SLOVENSKEGA LITERARNEGA USTVARJANJA V DRUGIH DELIH EVROPE – PRIMER SLOVENCEV NA DUNAJU

Starejšo zgodovino slovenskega literarnega ustvarjanja v drugih delih Evrope bi lahko obravnavali v okviru treh sklopov. Prvi sklop je posledica dejstva, da so vsi slovenski književniki, ki so se vpisali na uni-

1 Članek je delni rezultat aplikativnega raziskovalnega projekta »Ustvarjanje spomina in ohranjanje kulturne identitete med slovenskimi izseljenci« – pravkar potekajoči projekt s šifro L6-2203 sofinancirata Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije in Urad za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu iz državnega proračuna – ter raziskovalnega programa »Narodna in kulturna identiteta slovenskega izseljenstva«, ki ga prav tako financira ARRS.

2 V gradu Štanjel so na literarni matineji 4. septembra nastopili Lev Detela, Maruša Krese in Brina Svit.

3 Na okrogli mizi, ki jo je vodil Lev Detela, so poleg mene sodelovali Maruša Krese, Brina Svit in akademik dr. Boštjan Žekš, minister za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu.

verzitetni študij kadarkoli pred letom 1919, ko je Slovenija dobila svojo prvo univerzo, študirali v drugih delih Evrope. Mnogi so tam tudi ostali, kar pomeni, da so tam službovali, ustvarjali, objavljali in pustili svoj pečat v različnih delih tedanje Evrope.

Največ Slovencev je seveda študiralo na Dunaju, ki pa prav do ustanovitve ljubljanske univerze nje ni bil tujina, ampak prestolnica njihove domovine. V 16. stoletju so npr. slovenski študentje predstavljali skoraj četrtnino vseh študentov na dunajski univerzi, leta 1535 je bil njihov delež celo več kot 70-odstoten (Ožinger 1994: 36). Poleg tega preseneča tudi veliko število tamkajšnjih slovenskih magistrstov in docentov, pa tudi kanonikov v dunajskem stolnem kapitlju, zlasti v 16. stoletju, ko je njihovo narodno poreklo celo izzvalo proteste domačih nacionalistov (Simoniti 1994: 27). V 16. stoletju je poučevala na dunajski univerzi večina Slovencev, ki so pripadali akademskemu krogu barona Herbersteina; drugi iz tega kroga so se uspešno uveljavili v drugih krajih cesarstva. Približno takrat sta se na dunajsko univerzo vpisala tudi Trubar in Bohorič.

Od 18. stoletja so se vpisovali na dunajsko univerzo najpomembnejši slovenski književniki in jezikoslovci, od preroditeljev pa vse do predstavnikov slovenske moderne. V zgodnejših obdobjih sodijo mednje skoraj vsa znamenita imena, od Pohlina, Linharta in Kumerdeja do Kopitarja, Miklošiča, Murka, Čopa in Prešerna. Od 2. polovice 19. stoletja so tu vpisali študij Trdina, Valjavec, Levstik, Jenko, Mencinger, Erjavec, Pleteršnik, Stritar, Jurčič, Levec, Kersnik in Gregorčič, pa Mahnič, Trstenjak, Murko, Milčinski, Debevec, Krek, Murnik, Govekar in Vidic. Sledijo jim Cankar, Murn, Župančič, Jerajeva in Pregelj. V prvem desetletju 20. stoletja je na dunajski univerzi študirala izredno močna generacija slovenskih znanstvenikov, rojenih v letih 1876–1890, ki so se pozneje uveljavili v različnih humanističnih vedah, predvsem literarnih in filoloških. V zadnjih letih pred prvo svetovno vojno oziroma takoj po njej so na Dunaju študirali tudi književniki Majcen, oba Albrehta, Velikonja, Lokar, Prežihov Voranc, Gruden, Grum in Kreft.

Povsem razumljivo je torej, da so nekateri od njih ostali na Dunaju daljši čas, tudi po več desetletij ali celo vse do smrti. Najznamenitejši med temi so Pohlina, Kopitar, Miklošič, pa fizik, pesnik in esejist Jožef Štefan, ki je živel na Dunaju do smrti leta 1893. Na Dunaju so študirali in nato službovali tudi Stritar, Trstenjak, Murko in Vidic, pozneje tudi Kidrič. Prežihov Voranc, ki je pred prvo svetovno vojno na Dunaju obiskoval zadružno šolo, pa je prav v svojih emigrantskih letih med obema vojnama napisal večino svojih najpomembnejših del.

Slovenski študentje v drugih delih Evrope so v času študija ali malo zatem izdajali celo vrsto slovenskih literarnih revij, na Dunaju npr. od Levstikovega *Pavlihe* in Stritarjevega *Zvona* v sedemdesetih letih 19. stoletja pa vse do ilegalnega literarnega glasila, ki ga je med drugo svetovno vojno na dunajski univerzi osnovala skupina slovenskih literatov, ki se je formirala okrog Janeza Remica (Pibernik 1991). Še danes pa Klub slovenskih študentk in študentov na Dunaju občasno izdaja literarno glasilo *Punt*, včasih pa izda tudi kako antologijo svojih del, npr. *Smrt samokruhnosti: Pesmi in proza* (Leben 1993).

IZSELJENSKA PERIODIKA IN NAJPOMEMBNEJŠI PISCI PRED DRUGO SVETOVNO VOJNO

Drugi sklop starejše zgodovine slovenske izseljenske književnosti v drugih delih Evrope ni vezan na študij Slovencev na tamkajšnjih univerzah, torej na študijska leta slovenskih književnikov, in je z zgoraj omenjenim sklopom bogate književne produkcije tako vsebinsko kot po obsegu povsem neprimerljiv. Gre namreč za največkrat anonimne izvirne izseljenske leposlovne prispevke, ki so bili objavljeni v slovenski izseljenski periodiki v Evropi med obema vojnama. V tem času je v Zahodni Evropi izhajalo deset t. i. »jugoslovanskih« izseljenskih listov, v njih so sodelovali tudi Slovenci (Drnovšek 1992: 273–282), in okoli dvajset komunističnih oziroma levo usmerjenih delavskih listov, v katerih so prav tako sodelovali Slovenci; nekateri od teh listov so imeli celo slovenske priloge (Drnovšek 1992: 289–302). Od petih katoliških glasil za slovenske izseljence sta dve izhajali v Sloveniji, tri pa v Zahodni Evropi (Drnovšek 1995:

449). Z vidika leposlovnih prispevkov sta najzanimivejša mesečnika *Naš zvon* (1925–27), ki je izhajal v Vestfaliji, in *Rafael* (1931–1935), ki je izhajal v Heerlenu na Nizozemskem z različnimi podnaslovi – nazadnje kot *Glasilno jugoslovanskih izseljencev v zapadni Evropi*. Kljub »jugoslovanskemu« podnaslovu pa je izhajal izključno v slovenskem jeziku. Leta 1935 se je heerlenski *Rafael* združil z ljubljanskim *Izseljenskim vestnikom* in odtlej izhajal kot *Izseljenski vestnik Rafael*.

Besedila v teh publikacijah še nimajo opaznih umetniških ambicij, zanimiva so predvsem kot zgodovinski dokument, v katerem se slikovito zrcalijo izkušnje in občutki slovenskih izseljencev, zlasti v rudarskih predelih Zahodne Evrope. To se enako močno odraža v pesniških poskusih kot v kratki prozi. Prav zaradi tega so slovenski izseljenci v Vestfaliji, Porenju in drugod te pesmi zelo radi recitali na svojih kulturnih prireditvah, npr. na srečanjih rudarskih žena, ipd. Med vsaj občasno podpisanimi avtorji literarnih in polliterarnih prispevkov v teh revijah, zlasti pesmi, črtic, uvodnikov in esejističnih poročil z obiskov izseljenskih skupnosti, sta Antonija Rože, ki je objavljala pesmi, tudi priložnostne (npr. Rože 1933), in nastopala z govori v slovenski javnosti v Franciji, ter urednik *Našega zvona* Janez Evangelist Kalan (Žitnik 1999: 91). Njegova Vestfalska pisma in nekateri uvodniki so značilen primer polliterarnega žanra, ki bi ga lahko označili kot esejistično kombinacijo leposlovnih in reporterskih prvov, napisano v izrazito individualnem slogu.⁴ In prav po razpoznavnem slogu teh prispevkov lahko sklepamo, da je Kalan tudi avtor nekaterih anonimno objavljenih črtic.

*

Tretji sklop »starejše« slovenske izseljenske književnosti v Evropi časovno deloma sovпада z drugim sklopom, predstavljajo pa ga najkvalitetnejši ustvarjalci slovenskega izseljenskega leposlovja v Evropi v prvi polovici 20. stoletja, ki pa svojih prispevkov niso objavljali v omenjenih izseljenskih glasilih. Mednje se uvrščata predvsem pesnik in umetnostni zgodovinar Vojeslav Mole, ki je 33 let živel v Krakovu, ter pripovednik, pesnik in literarni zgodovinar Janko Lavrin iz Velike Britanije. Lavrin je pesmi in prozo v letih 1906–09 objavjal v praškem *Domačem prijatelju* in deset let pozneje v čikaškem *Času*, zelo zanimiva zbirka njegovih avtobiografskih črtic pa je izšla posthumno.⁵ Mole pa je objavil tri samostojne leposlovne knjižne izdaje, in sicer dve pesniški zbirki in avtobiografijo. Med drugim je leta 1919 v Omsku soustanovil tednik *Naš list*.⁶ V tem obdobju je pomembno tudi delo dveh Slovencev v Franciji, in sicer literarno in prevajalsko delo slikarja Vena Piona in v francoščini objavljena poezija (12 pesniških zbirk) ter nekaj prevodov zdaj že tudi pokojnega Vladimirja Kavčiča – Jeana Vodaina. Oba sodita – tako kot Mole in Lavrin – med predvojne izseljence, vendar sega težišče literarnega oziroma prevajalskega dela vseh štirih v čas po drugi svetovni vojni.

OBDOBJA PO DRUGI SVETOVNI VOJNI

Večina tistih piscev iz vrst povojnih emigrantov, ki so objavljali že pred odhodom iz domovine, je nadaljevala s pisanjem in z objavljanjem že v begunskem obdobju 1945–50, saj so v avstrijskih in italijan-

4 Med primeri izrazitega avtorskega sloga je, denimo, tudi Kalanov govor v Ljubljani, objavljen leta 1927 (*Naš zvon* 3(10): 6).

5 Razen piscev gesel v *Slovenskem biografskem leksikonu*, *Enciklopediji Slovenije*, *Enciklopediji Jugoslavije* in bibliografskih prispevkov v *Letopisu SAZU* (v letnikih 8 in 37) so študije o Lavrinu in krajše portrete tega znamenitega izseljenca prispevali različni avtorji, med drugim Vera Brnčič (1976) ob Lavrinovi devetdesetletnici, ob njegovi smrti deset let pozneje (oziroma ob posmrtnem izidu Lavrinovih črtic) pa Rado L. Lenček (1985; 1986), Dušan Moravec (1986), Aleksander Skaza (1986/87), Harry Leeming (1987) in Vladimir Gajšek (1988), v novejšem času npr. tudi Viktor Baranovski in Irina Khlebnikova (2009).

6 O Moletu so v Sloveniji med drugim pisali Stele (1970), Cevc (1974), Jutršek (1987), pozneje npr. tudi Jež (2002), pomemben vir pa je tudi Moletova biografija z bibliografijo (Anonim. 1962).

skih taboriščih izdajali celo množico glasil in natisnili celo nekaj izvirnih leposlovnih knjig (Žitnik 2007). Med tistimi, ki so se – bodisi neposredno iz domovine ali po bivanju v taboriščih – umaknili v evropsko zdomstvo, so na literarnem področju najpomembnejši Vinko Beličič, Stanko Janežič in Franc Jeza, ki so ustvarjali v Trstu, Vladimir Truhlar in Rafko Vodeb, ki sta delovala v Rimu, Metod Turnšek, ki se je leta 1956 preselil iz Trsta na Koroško, in Dimitrij Oton Jeruc, ki se je po več evropskih postajah ustalil v Belgiji. Nekateri od njih, zlasti duhovniki, so se po več desetletjih vrnili v Slovenijo, Janežič že leta 1969, Truhlar in Vodeb pa v sedemdesetih letih.

V začetku petdesetih let se je izselil v Nemčijo uspešni pripovednik Igor Šentjunc, ki je objavil v nemščini 23 večinoma zgodovinskih, pa tudi ljubezenskih in kriminalnih romanov; nekateri so prevedeni v različne evropske jezike. V obeh jezikih, slovenskem in nemškem, pišejo oziroma so pisali povojni izseljenski avtorji Venčeslav Šprager in Maruša Krese v Nemčiji, pesnica Tea Rovšek - Witzemann na Dunaju ter pokojna pesnica in pisateljica Milena Merlak Detela in njen mož Lev Detela, ki sta se izselila na Dunaj leta 1960. Detela je kot pesnik, pisatelj, prevajalec in urednik s svojimi 40 slovenskimi in nemškimi knjigami med plodovitejšimi in izvirnejšimi, zagotovo pa tudi med literarno drznejšimi sodobnimi slovenskimi izseljenskimi pisci (Žitnik Serafin 2010). V zadnjem času sta se Maruša Krese in Lev Detela, ki sta najprej uspela v nemško govorečem prostoru, dodobra uveljavila tudi v okviru slovenske matične kulture. Maruša Krese je leta 2008 celo prejela slovensko literarno nagrado fabula.

Za slovenske dvojezične pisatelje je tudi sicer značilno, da so zaradi dolgoletne blokade slovenskega emigrantskega slovstva v matični Sloveniji najprej uspeli v jeziku nove domovine oziroma v širšem govornem prostoru tega jezika, šele nato, večinoma od konca osemdesetih let, pa tudi v Sloveniji. Podobno so tudi tisti, ki so pisali samo v slovenščini, najprej prodrli v slovenski izseljenski in zamejski tisk, v matično Slovenijo pa šele po ukinitvi te blokade, ki pa je veljala seveda samo za t. i. politične emigrante.

Med povojnimi izseljenskimi avtorji, ki živijo v Franciji, sta v Sloveniji najbolj znana fotograf, filozof in esejist Evgen Bavčar ter priljubljena dvojezična pisateljica Brina Svit (Brina Švigelj Merat), ki od leta 1980 živi v Parizu. Njeni romani izhajajo med drugim tudi pri elitni francoski založbi Gallimard, prevodi njenih del v različne jezike izhajajo tudi drugod, njena slovenska dela in slovenski prevodi njenih francoskih romanov pa izhajajo v vedno novih izdajah in ponatisih tudi v Sloveniji. V Angliji je skoraj 25 let živela pesnica in esejistka Ifigenija Simonovič, ki se je leta 2003 vrnila v Slovenijo. Literarna zapuščina in aktualno delo slovenskih pisateljev v drugih delih nekdanje SFRJ pa še čakata na resnejšo literarnozgodovinsko in literarnokritično obravnavo. Na Švedskem ustvarja nekaj avtorjev, ki jih poznamo predvsem po njihovih revijalnih objavah; občasno izdajo tudi kako knjigo.⁷ Seveda je tudi med vodilnimi slovenskimi književniki kar nekaj takih, ki so krajši ali daljši čas bivali ali pa še bivajo v drugih delih Evrope, vendar jih zaradi njihove bolj ali manj neprekinjene vpetosti v matične založniške programe nikoli nismo šteli za izseljenske avtorje.

Na že omenjeni okrogli mizi o slovenskih pisateljih v Evropski uniji je Detela (2010) v uvodnem razmišljanju med drugim poudaril, da se položaj slovenskih pisateljic in pisateljev v evropskem prostoru oziroma v današnji EU po svojih strukturnih pogojenostih razlikuje od položaja drugih slovenskih izseljenskih avtorjev predvsem v Argentini, vsekakor pa tudi v ZDA, Kanadi in Avstraliji. Za slovenske pisce v čezoceanskih deželah je (bila) namreč značilna močnejša vključenost v širše kulturno delovanje tamkajšnjih slovenskih skupnosti, v izseljenska društva s številnimi lastnimi kulturnimi pobudami, literarnimi in drugimi prireditvami in marsikdaj tudi lastnimi glasili. Posebno v Argentini je slovenska literarna in duhovna misel dobila pred petinpetdesetimi leti poseben zagon z ustanovitvijo Slovenske kulturne akcije in kulturne revije *Meddobje*, ki je povezovala številne zdomske (pretežno katoliško usmerjene) avtorje, ki so se priselili v Argentino po drugi svetovni vojni. V tej reviji, ki še vedno izhaja, so poleg argentinskih Slovencev sodelovali oziroma občasno še sodelujejo tudi izseljenski avtorji iz drugih držav obeh Amerik,

7 O slovenskih pisateljih na Švedskem piše Avgušтина Budja (1999), ki poleg svojega dotedanjega dela med drugim podrobneje predstavlja tudi literarno ustvarjanje Marije Hriberšek, Mihaele Hojnik, Adija Golčmana in Toneta Jakšeta.

Avstralije, Azije in v posameznih primerih tudi Evrope, včasih tudi iz Slovenije. Ob tem Detela priznava, da je energija njihovega literarnega poslanstva zaradi odmiranja generacije, ki je bila v prvih desetletjih po drugi svetovni vojni zelo aktivna, povsod po svetu bistveno oslabela.

Slovenski izseljenski avtorji v Evropi so bili, kot ocenjuje Detela, nekakšni osamelci,⁸ saj se je njihov položaj po odhodu glavnine slovenskih protikomunističnih kulturnikov čez oceane – in s tem po prenehanju razgibanih kulturnih in literarnih dejavnosti v begunskih taboriščih v Avstriji in Italiji – razlikoval od položaja med seboj bolj povezanih in številčno močnejših zamejskih avtoric in avtorjev na Koroškem, Goriškem in v Trstu. Detela (prav tam) pravi:

Mnogi emigrantski avtorji, ki se niso izselili v Ameriko ali Avstralijo, so sicer živeli med zamejskimi Slovenci v Trstu, Gorici in v Celovcu oziroma na Koroškem, vendar so iz različnih, velikokrat tudi ideoloških in mentalnih razlogov ostali dokaj distancirani do tamkajšnjih slovenskih organizacij in skupin. Predstavljali so nekakšen samosvoj kozmos, več ali manj so ostali poseben *corpus separatum* s samosvojimi literarnimi značilnostmi – npr. Vinko Beličič⁹ in Franc Jeza v Trstu ali Metod Turnšek na Koroškem.

Seveda sta – kljub skupni izkušnji ločitve od doma – literarna osamelost in samohodstvo mnogo razumljivejša pri Dimitriju Otonu Jerucu v Belgiji in Sašu Jermanu v Angliji kot pa pri pravkar naštetih izseljenskih piscih v zamejstvu, saj v Belgiji in Veliki Britaniji ni bilo tako močnih slovenskih skupnosti z dovolj razvejano kulturno infrastrukturo, da bi literarno ambicioznejšim avtorjem zagotavljala potrebno podporo. Med t. i. osamelce ali – še bolje – samohodce lahko brez večjih pomislekov štejemo tudi sodobne, še vedno aktivne slovenske literarne ustvarjalce v drugih delih Evrope. Čeprav v državah, v katerih živijo ti avtorji, obstajajo slovenske skupnosti, katerih delovanje tudi v današnjem času še ni zamrlo, se z njimi praviloma ne povezujejo ali pa to storijo le izjemoma oziroma bolj ali manj priložnostno. To pa ne velja za večino slovenskih avtorjev na Švedskem, saj je zanje – prav nasprotno – značilna vitalna povezanost s tamkajšnjo slovensko skupnostjo ter z njenimi organizacijami in društvi.¹⁰

VPRAŠANJE JEZIKA

Za izseljenske pisatelje prinaša kvalitetna literarna dvojezičnost, ki je sicer praviloma privilegij izobražencev, še najzanesljivejšo možnost za prodor do različnih ciljnih publik. V Nemčiji se nekateri najuspešnejši slovenski zdovski pisci, npr. Šentjerc in Šprager, tako rekoč niso povezovali s tamkajšnjo slovensko skupnostjo, večinoma zato, ker so se želeli ograditi od njenih notranjih ideoloških sporov. Zaradi tega so, kar zadeva uporabo materinščine, živeli v jezikovni osami, kar je še prispevalo k njihovi odločitvi, da se – zato da bi prodrli v večinsko kulturo nove domovine – odrečejo pisanju v materinščini in se v celoti posvetijo pisanju v nemščini. Šentjerc je bil, kot sem že omenila, pri tem zelo uspešen.

Tisti, ki so v izseljenstvu postali izrazito dvojezični pisatelji, pa so izbrali zanesljivejšo, vendar težjo

8 Med »osamelce« šteje Detela predvsem pesnika Dimitrija Otona Jeruca, ki je po drugi svetovni vojni živel v Nemčiji, Franciji in nato Belgiji ter leta 1989 v osamljenosti umrl v Bruslju, dvojezičnega pripovednika Saša Jermana, ki je leta 1973 umrl v Londonu, ter teologa, publicista, esejista in urednika Franceta Dolinarja (1915–1983), ki je deloval v rimskem begunstvu.

9 Strinjam se z Detelovo sodbo glede samosvojih literarnih značilnosti v Beličičevem delu. Težko pa bi v širšem družbeno-kulturnem smislu prištevali k »osamelcem« človeka, ki je kot dolgoletni profesor slovenščine na znanstvenem liceju France Prešeren v Trstu in kot ena glavnih gonilnih sil slovenskega Radia Trst A zasedel trajno mesto v samem osrčju slovenske skupnosti v Trstu.

10 Značilen primer avtorice, ki je tesno vpeta v delovanje slovenske skupnosti na Švedskem, je pesnica Avgušтина Budja. Zgovorne pa so tudi skupinske antologije slovenske poezije in proze na Švedskem, med katerimi so, denimo, slovenska s konca sedemdesetih let 20. stoletja (Budja, Hriberšek, Jakše in Zavodlov 1979) ter dvojezične ali večjezične oziroma »jugoslovanske«, dve iz osemdesetih let (Šesti festival poezije in proze 1983 in *Sedmi festival poezije in proze* 1984) in ena iz leta 1990 (*Ett öppet fönster/Odprto okno*).

pot do različnih bralcev. V jeziku nove domovine so zaradi slabših osebnih povezav z založniki običajno težje objavljali kot tamkajšnji matični pisatelji, s svojo priseljsko skupnostjo in z njenimi mediji se večinoma niso povezovali, kar bi sicer lahko olajšalo njihovo pot do objav, tako da je bil njihov prodor 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. Slovensko in mednarodno javnost je vidno razgibala družbenokritična pesnica in prozaistka Maruša Krese, ki živi med Berlinom, Gradcem in Slovenijo – avtorica več knjig v slovenščini in nemščini, »bivanjsko razpeta v globalni svet« (Detela 2010). Književna dela v slovenščini in nemščini so objavili tudi že omenjeni trije avtorji, ki živijo na Dunaju, ter Venčeslav Šprager, ki živi na Bavarskem in ki je ob okrepljenih stikih z rojstno deželo v zadnjih letih v tolikšni meri obnovil in utrdil svoje znanje materinščine, da lahko zdaj objavlja dvojezična dela že tudi brez pomoči prevajalcev in lektorjev (npr. pesniško zbirko *Augenblicke/Trenutki*, Šprager 2006). Tudi »naša največja pisateljska zvezda« (Hratar 2006) Brina Svit, ki je v osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih 20. stoletja objavila tri romane v slovenščini – *April* (1984), roman v pismih *Navadna razmerja* (1988) v soavtorstvu s Petrom Kolškom ter roman *Con brio* (1998), ki je bil nominiran za nagrado kresnik – zadnja leta napiše tudi kakšno delo najprej v francoščini in ga nato sama prevede v slovenščino, npr. roman *Odveč srce* (Svit 2006). Nasprotno pa sta bila njena romana *Con brio* (Svit 1998) in *Smrt slovenske primadone* (Svit 2000) za izdajo založbe Gallimard prevedena iz slovenščine v francoščino (oba je prevedla Zdenka Štimac).¹¹

Določeno število kakovostnih izseljskih 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 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 priseljske literature, je bil literarni prispevek povojnih slovenskih zdonskih 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 priseljski pisatelji v Sloveniji,¹² 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 priseljskih 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 obravnavali na občnem zboru 29. marca 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

11 Brina Svit, ki je zagotovo najproduktivnejša avtorica slovenskega izseljenstva (in med najproduktivnejšimi slovenskimi avtoricami nasploh), je doslej prejela že vrsto literarnih nagrad in priznanj, med drugim nagrado Maurica Genevoixa Francoske akademije za roman *Un cœur de trop* (2006) ter belgijsko nagrado Licorne in nagrado neodvisnih knjigarjev Folie d'encre (Topolovec 2008) za francosko verzijo romana *Coco Dias ali Zlata vrata* (2007). Pri založbi Gallimard je doslej objavila kar šest romanov, in sicer *Con brio* (1999) in *Mort d'une prima donna slovène* (2001), ki sta prevedena iz slovenščine, ter *Moreno* (2003), *Un cœur de trop* (2006), *Coco Dias ou La porte dorée* (2007) in *Petit éloge de la rupture* (2009), ki jih je avtorica napisala v francoščini.

12 Tako kot uspešneje integrirani pisatelji v Sloveniji, ki so se priselili z območja drugih držav, večinoma zavračajo oznako »priseljski« avtor (morda tudi zato, ker večinoma ne delujejo v tesni povezavi s skupnostmi njihovih rojakov v Sloveniji), velja to tudi za sodobne slovenske avtorje, ki živijo v evropskem izseljenstvu. Tudi Maruša Krese in Brina Svit namreč odločno zavračata nalepko »izseljska« avtorica.

ni Slovenec po narodnosti, vendar piše v slovenskem *ali v svojem maternem jeziku*.¹³ 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).

Prepričana sem, da lahko takšno dopolnilo vsaj nekoliko pospeši 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.

Kljub tej novi možnosti pa v trenutku, ko to pišem (januarja 2011), na portalu Društva slovenskih pisateljev med člani še vedno ne bomo našli priseljenkih pisateljev, čeprav so se nekateri – npr. Lidija Dimkowska – pravkar včlanili na osnovi zgoraj citirane sprostitev pogojev za članstvo. (K tej sprostivi je s svojimi pobudami poleg Dimkovske pripomogla tudi Stanislava Repar, pesnica, pisateljica, urednica, prevajalka in publicistka slovaškega rodu, ki se je preselila v Slovenijo leta 2002.) Izjema je Josip Osti, ki že mnogo let piše v slovenščini, zaradi česar njegovo članstvo tudi po starem Temeljnem aktu DSP ni bilo nikoli sporno. Mnogo več članov tega društva pa je iz vrst slovenskih izseljenkih avtorjev, zlasti tistih, ki živijo v drugih delih Evrope. V zadnjih letih lahko na portalu DSP najdemo med člani vse tu obravnavane sodobne avtorje – razen mednarodno najodmevnejše Brine Svit.

SKLEP

Slovenskih pisateljev iz generacije, ki se je ob koncu druge svetovne vojne izselila iz Slovenije v druge dele Evrope, danes skoraj ni več. »Pravzaprav stojimo na grobovih tega svojevrstnega literarnega pojava, ki je bil še močno živ v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja,« pravi Detela (2010). Kot sem že omenila, pesnik, pisatelj in dramatik Lev Detela, ki se je po izselitvi v Avstrijo leta 1960 tudi sam naslonil na slovensko izseljensko skupnost in je še danes sourednik globalne slovenske zdomske kulturne revije *Meddobje* s sedežem v Buenos Airesu, ugotavlja, da energija literarnega poslanstva povojnih slovenskih emigrantov zaradi odmiranja generacije, ki je bila v prvih desetletjih po drugi svetovni vojni tako zelo aktivna, povsod po svetu slabi. In vendar je prav Detela, ki se tudi sam prišteva k »zadnjim predstavnikom iz vrst tako imenovanega drugega vala emigrantskih slovenskih pisateljev, ki pred demokratizacijo in osamosvojitvijo Slovenije v svoji rodni domovini niso bili priznani,« presenetljiv primer ustvarjalca, katerega energija tudi po petdesetih letih kontinuiranega pisanja in objavljanja še ne kaže nikakršnih znakov upadanja. Nasprotno, letno povprečje števila njegovih novih knjig se v zadnjem času celo povečuje. Nekoliko manj to velja za njegove slovenske vrstnike v drugih delih Evrope. Maruša Krese je po nagrajeni zbirki proze *Vsi moji božiči* po triletnem premoru leta 2009 objavila novo zbirko *Vse moje vojne*, Šprager pa se po štiriletnem premoru pravkar dogovarja z graško Pavlovo hišo o izdaji novega pripovednega dela. S tem oba avtorja vzdržujeta nekoliko manj intenziven tempo objavljanja, kakršen je bil navsezadnje značilen tudi za njuna pretekla ustvarjalna obdobja. To pa seveda ne velja za skoraj neprekinjeni pisateljski zagon Brine Svit, najmlajše od tu obravnavanih avtorjev in avtoric.

Kakovostna ustvarjalna dvojezičnost še naprej ostaja najboljše zagotovilo za opazno prisotnost v dveh literarnih in kulturnih sistemih. Notranja odmevnost književnih del v okviru posamezne izseljenske skupnosti, ki je bila še do nedavnega tako pomembna za ohranjanje slovenstva v izseljenstvu, danes v vse bolj »razrahljanih« izseljenskih skupnostih preprosto ne deluje več. Morda se bo izkazalo, da ima nekdam tako produktivna skupinska energija v slovenskem izseljenstvu ustrezno protiutež v izjemni individualni motivaciji najprodnornejših posameznikov, med njimi tudi sodobnih slovenskih izseljenkih pisateljev, zlasti tistih, ki so se bili – brez opore na družbeno-kulturno mrežo slovenske priseljenke skupnosti v njihovi

13 Poudarila avtorica.

novi domovini – prisiljeni najprej povsem samostojno uveljaviti v tujejezičnem govornem prostoru, šele nato pa so lahko s svojim literarnim delom vzbudili večjo pozornost tudi v matični Sloveniji.

To žalostno pravilo pa v primeru priseljskih avtorjev v Sloveniji ne drži. Zanje velja ravno nasprotno: v Sloveniji se lažje uveljavijo predvsem tisti priseljski književniki (pa še to ne vsi), ki so se pred prihodom dobro uveljavili že v svojih rojstnih deželah. Z drugimi besedami: Slovenija je na področju pripuščanja izseljskih in priseljskih pisateljev med vidne ali celo »naše« očitno zelo previdna. Najprej počaka, kaj bodo rekli drugi, saj je potem mnogo varneje sprejeti odločitev o tem, kdo si zagotovo zasluži priznanje.

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SUMMARY

THE LITERARY LEGACY OF SLOVENIAN EMIGRANTS TO OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

Janja ŽITNIK SERAFIN

In 2009–2010, the literary creativity of Slovenian emigrants living in other parts of Europe was placed in the spotlight of Slovenian academic and broader public attention on more than one occasion. On 3 December 2009, a Croatian-Slovenian colloquium titled “Cultural Heritage among Migrants in Europe” was held in Ljubljana, and it shed some new light on the subject. In the beginning of September 2010, the Vilenica Festival – the largest international literary festival in Slovenia – also contributed substantially to the promotion of this literature in Slovenia. Vilenica accords special place to Slovenian literature originating from beyond Slovenia’s national borders. In recent years, the festival has featured Porabian, Režijan, Veneto-Slovenian and Croatian-Slovenian literature (among others). The presentation of Slovenian émigré literature was introduced as part of the program in 2009. The Slovenian community in Argentina, which contributed the largest body of original Slovenian literary works, was chosen to be presented first. In 2010, the Vilenica audience was introduced to the phenomenon of Slovenian writers who live and work in the countries of the European Union. The first part of the presentation took place

within the Literary Matinee at Štanjel Castle. The opening address by Lev Detela was followed by literary readings introducing Maruša Krese and Brina Svit. The accompanying program included a roundtable at which Lev Detela discussed the topic with Krese and Svit, Minister of Slovenians Abroad Boštjan Žekš, and the author of this article. Because of the time limitations, all these presentations were compelled to neglect the entire "prehistory" of the contemporary literary opus of Slovenians in other parts of Europe. For this reason, the literary creativity of Slovenian emigrants in other European countries could be misinterpreted as a creative process that started after the Second World War, while in fact it is as old as Slovenian literature itself.

To make up for this shortcoming, the "prehistory" of Slovenian émigré literature in other parts of Europe is outlined in the opening sections of this article. Following a brief introduction of the earliest periods of this process, a short history of Slovenian ethnic periodicals in Western Europe prior to the Second World War is presented, along with the major Slovenian émigré authors of the time. The following sections discuss contemporary Slovenian writers in the rest of Europe, while the last part of the article focuses on questions concerning their literary bilingualism. An important aspect of this study is a comparison of the writers' position, made on three levels: between different periods of time, between continents and between writers of diverse ethnic-cultural backgrounds.

REPREZENTACIJE ALEKSANDRINK V PROZI MARJANA TOMŠIČA

Katja MIHURKO PONIŽ¹

COBISS 1.01

IZVLEČEK

Reprezentacije aleksandrink v prozi Marjana Tomšiča

Tomšičev roman *Grenko morje* (2002) in zbirka kratke pripovedne proze *Južni veter* (2006) prikazujeta različne usode aleksandrink, vendar sta skorajda vsem likom skupna dožemanje bistva lastne identitete preko odnosa do telesa in razpetosti med grehom in pokoro. Reprezentacije aleksandrinstva kot fenomena, ki naj bi povzročil moralni propad žensk, so v navedenih delih prisotne na več ravneh: v naslovu, zasnovi literarnih oseb, pripovednih postopkih, temah in motivih, podobju, jeziku in govoru književnih likov.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: aleksandrinke, Marjan Tomšič, reprezentacije ženskosti

ABSTRACT

Representations of *Aleksandrinke* in the Prose of Marjan Tomšič

In his novel *Grenko morje* [Bitter Sea] (2002) and in the collection of short stories *Južni veter* [Southern Wind] (2006), Marjan Tomšič presented Alexandrianism as a state of being torn between sacrifice and pleasure. Representations of Alexandrianism as a phenomenon which was supposed to cause the downfall of women are present on numerous levels: in the title, in the scheme of characters, in the narratological categories, in themes and motifs, in the imagery, in the language and in the speech of the characters.

KEY WORDS: *aleksandrinke* (Alexandrian women), Marjan Tomšič, representations of womanhood

UVOD

Zgodovinski fenomen izseljevanja v Egipt od druge polovice 19. do petdesetih let 20. stoletja je v slovenski književnosti doživel malo odmeva. Najzgodnejša tematizacija je najbrž kratka pripoved Marice Gregorič Stepančič *Šumi Nil* (1901), sledi ji Aškerčeva pesem *Egipčanka* (1909), po prvi svetovni vojni pa je nastal najdaljši prispevek o aleksandrinkah v povesti *Žerjavi* (1932), ki jo je napisal France Bevk. V vseh treh literarnih besedilih je protagonistka aleksandrinke. Bevk predstavi v svoji povesti v materinski vlogi

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žensko, ki odide v Egipt dojit in tam tudi ostane.¹ V kolektivnem spominu se je podoba aleksandrinke velikokrat poenotila s podobo dojlje, čeprav je bilo med vsemi izseljenkami le približno tretjina dojlj, sicer so delale še kot varuške, služkinje in spremljevalke v premožnih družinah (Škrlj 2009: 147, 164). Materino mleko je v oblikovanju kolektivnega spomina na fenomen aleksandrinstva postalo simbol za materinsko ljubezen in njegova odtegnitev je pomenila na dejanski, predvsem pa na simbolni ravni zapustitev otroka. Zaradi tega so bile aleksandrinke pogosto stigmatizirane kot slabe matere, a hkrati tudi kot žrtve ekonomsko-socialnih razmer. Vendar je bila ta podoba obrobna in je postala bolj razvidna šele s knjigo Dorice Makuc *Aleksandrinke* (1993). V njej so aleksandrinke končno dobile svoj glas, čeprav je v knjigi veliko besed namenjenih tudi vlogi Katoliške cerkve in zaslugam šolskih sester v Egiptu.

Sodoben (neznanstveni) diskurz o aleksandrinkah se je zato pogosto sprevrgel v retoriko o žrtvah² in posledično v željo po postavljanju spomenikov,³ kar se povsem odmika od sodobnih migracijskih študij, ki poudarjajo, da je

znatraj heterogenosti ženskih migracijskih valov edina skupna značilnost žensk ta, da jih ne moremo več dojemati kot pasivne žrtve okoliščin, pač pa kot aktivne pri sprejemanju odločitev glede spremembe svojega, in v veliki meri tudi življenja svojih družin (Milharčič Hladnik 2007: 39).

V tem smislu je svoj roman *Grenko morje* (2002, ponatis 2004) zastavil in napisal Marjan Tomšič. Kot je zapisal v uvodu v knjigo, se je navdihoval tudi v pripovedih, ki jih je zapisala Dorica Makuc. Vendar je te zgodbe v svoji domišljiji precej predelal. Tako najdemo pri omenjeni avtorici o raznašalcu vode Louisu le stavek, da ga je mati pustila na začetku stoletja pred vrati aleksandrinskega zavoda sv. Jožefa, Tomšič pa je iz tega podatka oblikoval zgodbo o ženski, ki je bila zlorabljena (v knjigi je natančen opis, kako je Vanka morala delodajalca Yuseffa najprej oralno zadovoljiti, nato jo je posilil, na koncu pa je naredila samomor). Toda zaradi spremnega besedila, v katerem je pisatelj poudaril, da je štirinajst let zbiral gradivo pri aleksandrinkah in njihovih družinah, so knjigo številni bralci in bralke, na žalost pa tudi del literarne kritike, razumeli kot zgodovinsko pričevanje o aleksandrinkah. Roman je namreč v preprosti, realistični formi populariziral do takrat precej tabuizirano tematiko,⁴ združeval pri bralnem občinstvu priljubljene teme o žrtvujoči se ženski, razpeti med materinstvo in ljubezen do drugega moškega, predvsem pa kopicil bolj ali manj dražljive podobe spolnosti ter (spolnega) nasilja. Najbrž je tudi iz teh razlogov doživel pri slovenskem bralstvu izjemen uspeh in avtorja spodbudil k pisanju nadaljevanja v obliki kratkoprozne zbirke *Južni veter* (2006). Nobena recenzija ali literarnovedna raziskava pa ni ne ob romanu ne ob zbirki problematizirala Tomšičevih podob aleksandrink kot stereotipnih in enodimenzionalnih.⁵ V pričujočem prispevku bom skušala zapolniti to vrzel. Z raziskavo reprezentacij aleksandrink

1 Prim. Jože Pogačnik (1988: 177–185).

2 Prim. Černe (2002, 2005), Horvat (2003).

3 Sonja Starc je o *Grenkem morju* Marjana Tomšiča zapisala: »Postavi jim spomenik, v katerem prekipevajo življenje, vitalnost in občudovanje junaških aleksandrink, ki so znale sprejeti življenje spravljivo, kot dar.« Tudi Marjanca Ajša Vižintin je v povzetku referata, predstavljenega na 21. Primorskih slovenističnih dnevih v Bukovici 8. 4. 2011 zapisala: »Tenkočutno prikazana tematika dolgo časa zamolčanih usod nekaterih primorskih žena in njihovih družin po odprtju Sueškega prekopa prinaša v slovenski kolektivni (leposlovni) spomin nov spomenik, dodatno osvetljen tudi s polstrukturiranimi intervjuji z Marjanom Tomšičem.«

4 Prim. Škrlj (2009: 145, 149): »Ko je iskala sledi svoje tudi slovenske identitete, zgodbo o svoji ljubljeni varuški in zgodbe o aleksandrinkah, sem ji razložila, da je bila ta tema dolgo časa zamolčana, aleksandrinke pa deležne raznih obsojanj in obtoževanj, kar jo je močno začudilo.« – Koprivec (2006: 110): »Ma ženske niso hotle govorit o tem (...) niso hotele govoriti o tem navzven. Med sabo so govorile, ampak same, če moža ni bilo zraven. Niso hotle, je bila taka tema.« – »Za molkom se torej ni skrivala samo zgodovinska nepomembnost aleksandrink, njihovo dolgoletno sramotenje, temveč tudi strah pred njihovo preveliko močjo.«

5 Kot izjemo lahko najbrž navedemo misel Irme Planjšek Sagadin, ki je opozorila: »Veliko je namreč omemb žalosti in bolečine in »tistega neznosnega hrepenenja«. Nedvomno resnično, le da obstaja tudi tista druga, v knjigi zaznavna, a manj poudarjena plat zgodbe, ki pomeni veliko osebnostno pridobitev znanja, omike, svetovljanstva,

na različnih besedilnih ravneh bom skušala utemeljiti trditev, da je podoba aleksandrink pri Tomšiču kljub navidezni glorifikaciji še vedno zavezana tradicionalnim podobam imaginirane ženskosti, razpete med žrtvujočo, skupnosti predano mater, in uničujoče spolno bitje, ki zaradi nesposobnosti, da bi nadzorovala svoje seksualne nagone, prinese trpljenje ali celo pogubo svojim najbližjim in velikokrat tudi sebi.

POJEM REPREZENTACIJE V LITERARNI VEDI

V pričujočem prispevku bom izhajala iz kulturološke opredelitve reprezentacije, ki jo je mogoče uporabiti kot metodološko izhodišče za literarnovedne raziskave. Kulturološka definicija reprezentacij poudarja, da jezik deluje kot reprezentativni sistem, je eden izmed posrednikov, s katerimi v kulturi reprezentiramo misli, ideje in čustva. Izražanje reprezentacij v jeziku je eden izmed temeljnih procesov, s katerimi ustvarjamo in širimo pomene (Hall 1997: 1–11). Pri tem se je treba zavedati, da reprezentacija ni zgolj preslikava resničnosti, ampak jo oblikujeta tudi avtoričin ali avtorjev specifičen pogled na svet, ki je posledica njune vpetosti/ujetosti v različne družbene sisteme.⁶

Literarnovedne študije raziskujejo reprezentacije določenega fenomena ali skupine v književnem besedilu na vsebinski ravni in razkrivajo formalne ter slogovne postopke, ki izpričujejo stopnjo avtorjeve/avtoričine umetniške moči in izvirnosti.⁷

Reprezentacije aleksandrink sodijo v raziskovalno polje, ki je povezano z reprezentacijami ženskosti. V zahodni tradiciji je ženska razumljena kot »uganka«, iz česar sledi, da so ženski liki v literarnih in likovnih umetninah pogosto le navidezno v ospredju, medtem ko avtorjev te literarne osebe in njihova spolna identiteta dejansko ne zanimajo, temveč vanje projicirajo svoje stiske in krizna stanja, zaradi česar lahko v primerih nekaterih besedil govorimo tudi o transgresiji spola (prim. Flaubertovo kreacijo Emme Bovary).

Marjan Tomšič je s svojimi reprezentacijami v fenomenu aleksandrinstva izpostavil predvsem odnose med spoloma. Avtorice in avtorji večine recenzij so trdili, da so njegovi ženski liki tenkočutno prikazani, Tomšič naj bi aleksandrinkam postavil celo spomenik,⁸ saj se je vživel v dušo ženske, ki je razpeta med greh in dolžnost. Toda prav stigmatizacija aleksandrink kot grešnih lepih Vid je povzročila številne težke trenutke v življenju žensk,⁹ ki jim je bila vsakršna promiskuiteta tuja in je naporna služba največkrat niti ni dopuščala.¹⁰ Nasprotno so v Tomšičevih zgodbah vse ženske (razen osrednjega lika Merice,

ekonomske samostojnosti in samozavesti; vsega tega pa so bili v marsikaterem primeru deležni tudi otroci aleksandrink« (Planjšek Sagadin 2003: 17).

6 Ob raziskovanju reprezentacij aleksandrinkih je pomembno tudi upoštevanje spoznanja, da ženskost in moškost nista enotni in enopomenski kategoriji, saj temeljita na skupini, ki ni homogena in ki predstavlja presečišče različnih identitet. V zvezi s tem je treba opozoriti na ugotovitev Val Plumwood (*Feminism and the Mastery of Nature*. London, New York: Routledge, 1993), da je osnovno reprezentacijsko ali pripovedno sredstvo dualizem, pri čemer je položaj drugosti v hierahični strukturi natančno določen, gre torej za podrejenost in manjvrednost.

7 V zgodnjih študijah so se raziskovalke (Kate Millett, Susan Koppelman Cornillon, Elaine Showalter, Shoshana Felman, idr.) posvečale predvsem reprezentacijam ženskosti v delih avtorjev, novejše pa se posvečajo tudi tekstem pisateljic (Bielby in Richards: 2010).

8 Navajam nekaj primerov iz recenzij, v katerih je bil Tomšič pohvaljen zaradi svojega upodabljanja ženskih likov: »Pisatelj je namreč s svojim bogatim literarnim obzorjem prepričljivo dokazal, da je predvsem velik mojster pri poznavanju in opisovanju ženske psihe in ženske vloge v težkih zgodovinskih časih. Ne gre tu namreč za kake ideološko prepojene zgodbe, gre zgolj za resnične življenjske dogodke, ki jih Tomšič opisuje z izredno spoštljivostjo in humanostjo« (Cergol 2003: 8). – »Tomšič ostaja mojster poglobljanja v žensko duševnost, njene misli, dvome, razpetost med domom in tujino, dolžnostjo in užitkom, preverjenim neznanim« (Tucovič 2006: 13). – »Hočem reči: tenkočutno je predstavil »žensko dušo« v posebnih položajih [...] Samo liki dobre klasike se lahko primerjajo s portreti Merice, Vande, Ane ... in morda še katere druge v tej knjigi« (Horvat 2003: 86).

9 Prim. Škrj (2009: 178, 179, 183).

10 Prim. Škrj (2009: 149, 157): »Aleksandrinkin sin, Rafael Rojč, se spominja: »V Zaloščah so na to gledali kot na

izčrpanih stark in šolskih sester) prikazane le kot spolna bitja, ki se ne morejo upreti skušnjavi ali jih doleti spolno nasilje. Merica je ena izmed redkih migrantk v romanu *Grenko morje*, ki po vrnitvi uspešno nadaljuje življenje, vendar je zanjo značilna tudi identifikacija z vlogo žrtve. Tomšič tako utrjuje podobo aleksandrinke kot žrtve ali kot ženske, ki je podlegla promiskuiteti ali čustvom, ki jih ne more obvladovati, čeprav se zaveda, da vodijo v moralni propad. Velikokrat je aleksandrinca pri Tomšiču žrtev moške pohote (največkrat so nasilneži muslimani ali predstavniki vzhodnoevropskih narodov – Poljaki, Grki, Romuni).¹¹ Takšne upodobitve v slovenski književnosti niso nove. Omenila sem že, da je Anton Aškerc v pesmi Egipčanka prikazal dekle Malko, ki je v Egiptu postala prostitutka, živila razkošno življenje, a na koncu spoznala, da ni ravnala prav, saj je izgubila svojo mladost. Tudi Marica Gregorič Stepančič se je navezala na podobo Egipta kot prostora, v katerem cvetita zvodništvo in prostitucija, vendar se njen glavni lik temu upre in se vrne domov:

Zaželela si je smrti. Ne, delati je treba! Smrti si žele le bitja brez energije, ki ne vidijo v svojem strahu nobene rešilne steze, a ona ni brez energije.

Načrt je bil storjen.

Komaj se je jela svitati zarja, že je bila na nogah. Odšla je na tihem naravnost na kolodvor. Mimogrede je vprašala, kdaj se odpelje vlak v Port–Saïd (Gregorič Stepančič 1901: 352).

Podobo ženske, ki se v Egiptu prodaja za denar, je oživil France Bevk v povesti *Žerjavi*, v kateri osrednji lik Francka ostane v Afriki kot ljubica moškega, ki ga ne ljubi. Literatura je tako utrjevala predsodkov polno zgodbo, ki ni nastala na podlagi dejanskih zgodovinskih podatkov. Gotovo je med dekleti in ženskami, ki so odšle v Egipt, kakšna postala tudi prostitutka ali so jo spolno zlorabili, vendar množičnost tega pojava, o katerem je pisal leta 1910 pater Benigen Snoj (Makuc 1993: 63–64), ni zgodovinsko izpričana. Precej verjetno pa se zdi, da sta zavist do aleksandrinke, ki so presegle ozkost in zaostalost ruralnega okolja, in strah pred njihovo ekonomsko močjo spodbudila nastanek podobe aleksandrinke, ki je zaznamovana s promiskuitetnostjo,¹² kar je bila seveda privlačna literarna tema, ki je v slovenski in svetovni književnosti imela bogato tradicijo.¹³ S tem so avtorji na imaginarni ravni potrdili svojo dominacijo in se živeli v vlogo stvarnika, ki kaznuje zlo, zato ni presenetljivo, da so tudi slovenski književniki (Aškerc, Bevk in Tomšič) v svojih delih prikazali oziroma poudarili prav to podobo aleksandrinke in jo s tem še bolj zasidrali v kolektivni spomin. Vendar sta Aškerc in Bevk le na enem liku pokazala na moralni propad aleksandrinke, medtem ko je Tomšič s kopičenjem tragičnih usod aleksandrinke in njihovih družin ustvaril podobo aleksandrinstva kot fenomena, v katerem je spolna promiskuiteta prevladovala in povzročila ne le odtegnitev materine dojke, temveč razkroj tradicionalne družine.

Reprezentacije aleksandrinstva, s katerimi je avtor prikazal moralni propad žensk, so v njegovem romanu *Grenko morje* in v zbirki kratkih zgodb *Južni veter* prisotne na več ravneh: v naslovu, zasnovi literarnih oseb, naratoloških kategorijah, temah in motivih, podobju, jeziku in govoru književnih likov. V nadaljevanju članka se bom posvetila posameznim sestavnim delom romana *Grenko morje*, zaradi

nekaj povsem normalnega. Le redke izjeme so to postavljale pod vprašaj, češ da te ženske opravljajo še neka druga dela (...) Malo je bilo prisotno tudi to, da te ženske nepošteno služijo denar, (tiše) se prostituirajo«. Ko sem v pogovoru ta namigovanja omenila Claudii Roden, je vzdihnila »Kdaj le? Saj so bile od jutra do večera in vse dni v tednu zasedene z nami otroki. Če so imele prosto, so šle v cerkev ali k nunam.« »Sobarice so imele več časa, praviloma dva dneva v tednu.«

11 Glej tudi Tabela 1.

12 Katja Škrjli piše, da »čeprav obstajajo določeni indici celo o trgovini z belim blagom v Egiptu, je zelo verjetno, da je bilo šikaniranje posledica strahu pred emancipacijo žensk in poskus diskreditacije žensk, ki so imele v svojih rokah ekonomsko moč in s tem v družini možnost odločanja« (Škrjli 2009: 149).

13 Slovenski pisatelji in predstavniki drugih književnosti so največkrat prikazovali ženske like v vlogi spolnih bitij, ki ne nadzorujejo presežka svoje seksualne energije in so zato skoraj vedno kaznovane. Prim.: Mihurko Poniž (2008).

prostorske omejenosti se ne bom dotaknila govora in jezika v romanu – ta vidik bi gotovo natančneje obdelal jezikoslovec ali jezikoslovka, zato upam, da bo v prihodnosti predmet posebne raziskave. V svojo analizo in interpretacijo bom vključila tudi primer iz zbirke kratke pripovedne proze *Južni veter*, vendar glede na to, da to delo ne prinaša nobenih novosti glede reprezentacije aleksandrink in je njegova umetniška izpovednost še šibkejša od romana *Grenko morje*, ne bo v ospredju moje raziskave.

NASLOV ROMANA

Naslovu se je posvetila Sonja Starc v članku *Grenko morje* Marjana Tomšiča (O naslovu metafori) in ugotovila, da naslov romana bralcu sporoča, kako nemila je bila usoda aleksandrink, da so bile »žrtve socialnih ali družinskih razmer, pahnjene v žrtvovanje samih sebe, svojih teles, čustev za ohranitev ali izboljšanje materialnega stanja družine«. Pridevnik *grenko* se namreč nanaša na nekaj neprijetnega, kar se »razširi še s težkim, žalostnim, trpečim, krutim, nesrečnim, ko se ta veže na življenje« (Starc 2003: 40). Raziskovalka tudi meni, da bi lahko *grenko morje* prištel med konceptualne metafore, za katere je značilno, »da v svoji podstati izražajo način (koncept) razmišljanja in dojemanja sveta v nekem kulturnem okolju« (Starc 2003: 42). Pri tem prepozna naslednji miselni vzorec: izseljevanje pomeni nesrečo/nesrečno življenje, vendar dodaja, da naj bi bralec spoznal pisateljovo problematiziranje naslovne metafore, ki se glasi, da za vse aleksandrinke migranstvo ni bila le grenka izkušnja. S tem naj bi Tomšič aleksandrinke predstavil na nov način in jim s tem postavil spomenik. Trditev o avtorjevem problematiziranju naslovne metafore se mi zdi premalo podprta s primeri iz teksta.

Res je, da se zgodbe *Merice*, *Ane* in *Vande* navidez srečno končajo, vendar je vsaj za *Ano* in *Vando* vprašanje, ali je življenje, ki ga živita, res osrečujoče, ali je le kompromis glede na dane možnosti. Ana sklene dogovorjeni zakon, pripovedovalec navede njeno trezno razmišljanje o prednostih takega zakona, a da bi svojega moža ljubila, o tem nikjer ne govori. V pismu *Merici* sicer piše, da so *Georges*, ona in *Verica* srečni skupaj, vendar se zdi, da ta sreča izvira iz hvaležnosti življenju, da ji je na pot postavilo možkega, ob katerem je lahko uresničila svoje poslovne sposobnosti, in ne iz ljubezenskega čustva do njega (saj o tem v romanu nikjer ne beremo). Enako spoznanje bi lahko prenesli tudi na *Vando*. Tudi njena »sreča« je v tem, da je našla pravega možkega, ki jo lahko spolno zadovolji, vendar mora zato pristati na vlogo tretje žene. O tem, ali ga ljubi, kakšna so njena čustva do njega, ne izvemo nič. Egipt torej *Ani* omogoči, da spozna možkega, ob katerem uresniči svoj poslovni talent, *Vanda* pa v lahko v novem svetu realizira svojo erotično energijo, ki bi ji doma najbrž prinesla težave. Tudi za *Merico* izseljenska izkušnja ni le grenka. Sicer zelo trpi zaradi ločitve od svojega otroka in moža, vendar doživi tudi lepe trenutke z družino, v kateri služi, in dobi po *Pierru*, ki je bil vanjo zaljubljen, zapuščino, s katero si zagotovi družinski mir. Če torej konec romana še enkrat povzamemo, lahko metaforo o *grenkem morju* razumemo tudi tako: če ženska najde možkega, ki se vanjo zaljubi oziroma se mu zdi primerna partnerka, in se njegovim pričakovanjem odzove (je njegova poslovna partnerka, ljubica ali nedosegljiv ideal), je njena izkušnja (vsaj v časovnem izseku, ki ga prikaže pisatelj – torej, ko *Merica*, *Ana* in *Vanda* uresničujejo to podobo) pozitivna.

Vse druge ženske, ki jim poti niso prekrizali pravi moški, pa svoje izseljenstvo doživljajo kot niz neprijetnih doživetij. Naslov romana torej reprezentira aleksandrinstvo predvsem kot *grenko izkušnjo*, ki je posledica tega, da so ženske spolna bitja, odločilno povezana z naravo (kot matere dojilje ali/in kot seksualna bitja). In čeprav ponudi romaneskno dogajanje z *Anino* in *Vandino* zgodbo drugačno razumevanje nekaterih migrantskih usod, ostaja v ospredju podoba žrtvujoče se in pogosto tudi spolno zlorabljenе aleksandrinke, ki toči *grenke solze* zaradi ločitve od domovine in družine.

LITERARNE OSEBE

V romanu *Grenko morje* tečejo trije pripovedni prameni, vendar je največ pripovedovalčeve pozornosti namenjene Meričini zgodbi. Ana in Vanda sta sicer tudi osrednja lika, vendar Merica izstopa glede na prostor, ki ga pisatelj nameni njeni predstavitvi. V zgodbo so vpletene še številne bolj ali manj kratke zgodbe aleksandrinsk. Nekatere so le mimogrede omenjene za ponazoritev kakšne trditve ali spoznanja (npr. o težkem delu varušek) in jim ni namenjena posebna pozornost. Veliko je oseb, ki se v dogajalni zgodbi ne pojavijo, vendar o njihovih usodah pripovedujejo liki v romanu ali pa njihove zgodbe oživijo v spominu ali zavesti drugih aleksandrinsk. Te zgodbe so velikokrat, kot opozarja tudi Sonja Starc, vzorčne oziroma modelne. V vseh je izpostavljena ženska kot spolno bitje, ki zaradi svoje lepote vzbudi pozornost moralno pokvarjenega, največkrat muslimanskega moškega (izjema sta samo Egipčan iz zgodbe Katje Peskove in mož ter tast Marjuče Skobčeve, ki nimata negativnih atributov). Skoraj dvajset aleksandrinsk zaznamuje le njihov odnos do moških. V romanu, še bolj pa v zbirki *Južni veter*, tako močno prevladujejo zgodbe, v katerih so ženske spolno in psihično zlorabljene.

Tabela 1: Aleksandrinke in njihove usode v romanu *Grenko morje*

IME	NJENA »ALEKSANDRINSKA« ZGODBA	KONEC NJENE ZGODBE
Merica Mavrič	Osrednja oseba, veliko moli, trpi, premaga ljubezensko skušnjava do gospodarja Pierra.	Vrne se domov, po začetnih težavah zaživi normalno življenje. Pierre umre in ji zapusti premoženje.
Ana Cerič	Postane vodja služinčadi, spozna francoskega ladjarja Georgesa in se z njim poroči. Dogovorjeni zakon.	Loči se od prvega moža in vzame k sebi hčerko Verico, ki jo Georges sprejme. Skupaj vodita njegovo podjetje.
Vanda Joštova	S prevaro jo spravijo v bordel, od tam jo reši bogat Egipčan.	Je priležnica bogatega Egipčana in ji to ustreza.
Marija Pušpan	Zaljubi se v Sudanca Alija Ibrahima.	On se zapije, z njim ima dva otroka, za preživetje opravlja najnižkotnejša dela.
Pavla Robidova	Zaljubljena v Grka.	On jo ima za sužnjo, je popolnoma ponižana.
Vanka (Louisova mama)	Zlorabil jo je njen delodajalec Yusuff.	Vrgla se je v vodnjak, »za sestre usmiljenke ni vedela, tudi tega ne, da imajo kristjani v Kairu svojo cerkev«.
Katica Pepčeva	Posilil jo njen delodajalec.	Izve za šolske sestre in one jo rešijo.
Fanica Grilova		Končala je v haremu.
Julka Marčelotova		»Prodaja se za soude.«
Rutja Nemcova	Zaljubila se je v Armenca Hagopa Karkuliana.	On jo zapusti in ona umre za tifusom.
Silverija Beškova	Posilili so jo na ladji: dva Poljaka in en Romun.	»Potem so jo sestre v azilu Franca Jožefa komaj spravile k sebi.«
Katja Peskova	Zaljubi se v Egipčana in se z njim poroči.	V Egipt pride še njen (bivši) mož, vsi skupaj srečno živijo.
Zofija Škofova	Poročila se je s Sirijcem.	Za njo so se izgubile vse sledi, doma sta ostala mož in hči.
Valentina Oreškova	Zaljubi se v angleškega oficirja.	On jo zapusti, njej se zmeša, reši jo sestra Elizabeta.

Bernarda Lipnikova	Osvajata jo grški trgovec Panepolus, osvoji jo njegov sin, uprizorijo lažno poroko.	Za vse izve sestra Elizabeta, se odpelje po Bernardo, a ji ne more pomagati, ker se ji je zmešalo. Bernardino blaznost ozdravi šele Neža, ki ji je bil v Lurdu podarjen dar ozdravljanja bolnikov.
Milena Baškova	Vdala se je Fathiju Saad Muli, ker je za to dobila denar za domače v stiski.	Mula se poroči z njo, a jo trpinči, pretepa, pobegne k sestram, ki jo pozdravijo in ji najdejo drugo službo.
Helena Golobova	Poroči se z Osmanom Mohamedom Salehom.	Odslovi jo, ker mu ni mogla roditi sina.
Marjetka Batonova	Poroči se z angleškim bankirjem.	Doma pusti pet otrok in moža Hermana.
Hedvika Bartolič	Bila je prodajalka vijolic, poročena s hrvaškim grofom.	Ima zaničevalen odnos do aleksandrink.
Marjuča Skobčeva	Poročena z Ahmedom Khalilom.	Ima z njim hčer Mirijano, ki umre zelo mlada, njen mož, zdravnik Osman, je ne more pozabiti.
Uršula Roženkrautova		Vrnila se je v Solkan, a se spet odpeljala, zapustila dva otroka. Nikoli več se ni vrnila.
Malka (Vandina teta)		Tretjič v Egiptu, zaradi varovanja je zapustila svojega otroka, ki zato grozno trpi.
Julka Marčeto	plesalka	
Frančiška	Ostala zvesta možu, a on ji ni verjel.	
Katarina Soldatova	Ostala zvesta možu, a on je kljub temu ljubosumen.	
Emilija Bavcon	služkinja	Zgled potrpežljivosti.
Franka Dickinson	prodajalka vijolic	
Pepca Lebanova	varuška	Le omenjena.
Verica Kuštrinova	varuška	Le omenjena.
Tinca Saričeva	varuška	Le omenjena.
Maša Kogojeva	varuška	Le omenjena.
Roška	varuška	Postane sestra Klara.
Jucka	kuharica	

Tabela 2: Usode aleksandrink v kratki pripovedni prozi *Južni veter*

Olgica Novakova	Pleše striptiz v moškem klubu, a samo dvakrat, potem se odloči, da bo s tem prenehala.	
Natalija Frletičeva		»Nazadnje je končala v bordelu, v najbolj smrdljivem.«
Bruna Kokalj		Ladja naleti na mino in jo razstreli.
Veronika Burolin	Živi v bordelu.	Umre v uličnih nemirih.
Marjeta Pinoso	Nekdanja aleksandrinka, zvodnica.	
Anita Lojkova	Zaljubi se v Maura, ki jo s prevaro prisili v prostitucijo.	Zblazni, polije se s petrolejem in zažge.
Magdalena	Izginila, policija jo je iskala in našla.	
Merica	Izginila, policija jo je iskala in našla.	

Amalija Kamba	Pohotneža je zadovoljevala z usti (enako kot Vanka v <i>Grenkem morju</i>).	
Zofija Sirkova	Poročena, mati, zaljubi se v svojega gospodarja Hasana Ahmeda Selima.	Zakon s Hasanom je srečen, imata hčerko, ko on umre, se Zofija vrne domov.
Agatina mama	Prostitutka, tudi svojo hčer proda kot prostitutko.	
Agata	Prostitutka.	
Ester	Gospodar in gospodarica jo zlorabita, zanosi.	Ester izgine, ne najdejo je nikoli, a njena prijateljica Šadja prižiga zanjo sveče in moli za mir njene duše.
Tereza Mahkota, Karlova mati	V Egiptu je zašla na nepravo pot, vsa krivda, kot pravi, je v njej.	Karlo ima uničeno življenje.
Marjetka Balantova	Prisili so jo, da je prodajala svojo enajstletno hčer.	
Angelca Ocepkova	Slekla se je pred pijano gospodo.	
Julija Munih	Julija posvari patra Klementina pred svojo razuzdano gospodarico.	
Lojzka Čuferjeva	Naj bi napisala Lavri pismo, ki jo je zvbilo v Egipt.	
Lavra Maheron	Prostitutka v Egiptu.	K njej zaide njen sin Vid, incest.
Florjana iz Grapolja	Naskrivaj pobegnila v Egipt.	Doma je pustila moža in tri otroke.
Suzana H.	V Egiptu je trikrat zanosila s Francozom Michelom.	
Lojzka Maceletova	Spravila Suzano H. v Egipt.	
Merica, Francka, Ančka, Ema ...	One znajo reči »ne« moškimi.	
Eva Jurjeva	Služi kot garderoberka, le omemba.	
Dragica Blaškova in Angela Lavričeva	Iz Egipta sta se vrnili bolni.	
Nadica iz Šempasa	Varuška otroka, ki ga je Suzana H. dojila.	
Estera Orešek	V Egiptu so jo posilili.	

Ker je pripovedovalčeva pozornost usmerjena v zgodbo kot model, literarne osebe, ki se v njih pojavljajo, ne zaživijo kot polnokrvne osebe. Kot takšne se nam razkrijejo predvsem Merica, Ana in Vanda, ki se tudi največkrat pojavijo v vlogi fokalizatorja, kot bom pokazala v poglavju o pripovednih postopkih.

Že Alenka Jovanovski opozarja, da vsaka izmed omenjenih treh literarnih oseb predstavlja del triade, za katero bi sicer pričakovali, da je uresničena v vsakem človeku. Tako naivno Vando determinira njena čutnost, Ana obvladuje vsa svoja čustva in čute z razumom, Merica pa vse doživlja skozi čustva, torej jo vodi srce ali duša.¹⁴ Tako se zdi, da so tudi osrednje literarne osebe pravzaprav zreducirane na en sam način odzivanja na svet in v resnici niso prikazane kot celovita bitja. Pri tem ne smemo spregledati, da je pripovedovalčeva naklonjenost najbolj intenzivna ob Meričini zgodbi, saj prav ona uteleša idealno ženskost. Merica je namreč trpeča mati, ki se nikakor ne more sprijazniti z (začasno) izgubo otroka, je pasivno bitje, šele na koncu izrazi svojo voljo, ko obišče Pierra in (za okolico) čudaško aleksandrino Pepco Lebanovo. Osrednja oseba torej dela tisto, kar od nje pričakujejo drugi, seveda le tako dolgo, dokler je to skladno z moralnimi predpisi Katoliške cerkve (Pierra zavrne, ker je poročena ženska). Je nedotakljiva,

¹⁴ Jovanovski (2003: 206).

čista in lepa, saj ji celo župnik pravi, da je »preveč lepa za Egipčane« (6). S svojo milino in nežnostjo pa povsem očara tudi Pierra:

Do bolečine pa ga je vznemirjal izraz na njenem obrazu, ko je povedala tisto o vonju vode. Kolikšna milina, kako ljubko sramežljiva lepota! Lepota, ki ni od tega sveta in nas prav zato prizadene bolj od vsega. Njen dotik povzroča viharje v naših srcih in dušah.

S temi mislimi se je poslovil od Henryja in se počasi odpravil proti svoji sobi. »Vijolica, ja. Prelepa, čudežno lepa vijolica,« je zajokal vase. »Nedosegljiva, nedoumljiva ...« (Tomšič 2002: 140)

Merico Pierre dojema kot uganko, v njej vidi uresničenje kolektivne fantazme o večni ženskosti kot moškimi nedoumljivi in nedosegljivi skrivnosti. Naj se bralec ali bralka še tako trudita, v Meričini upodobitvi ne bosta našla nobene slabe lastnosti, kar nas napeljuje k sklepu, da gre za povsem idealiziran lik, pri katerem ob natančnem branju ugotovimo, da gre pravzaprav za izjemno bližino podobi device Marije, o čemer bom pisala v razdelku o motiviki.

V romanu beremo tudi o nenavadnih Meričinih sanjah, v katerih drži v naročju črnega psička, surov moški glas pa ji trdi, da je to njegov otrok in ga mora podojiti, sicer bo ubil njenega sina. Še bolj čudne so sanje Olgice Novakove v *Južnem vetru*, ki sanja, da doji starca. Motiv ženske, ki daje svoje mleko starcu, izvira iz katoliške tradicije, in sicer gre za t. i. laktacijo sv. Bernarda.¹⁵

Ambivalenten odnos do ženske telesnosti izražata tudi upodobitvi Ane in Vande. Obe zaznamuje seksualnost. Prvo oznako Ane poda že na začetku romana Merica:

Po vasi se govori, da se je Ana, ko je bila prvič v Egiptu, kurbala z Arabci. Jaz tega ne verjamem. Res je radoživa in, tako, bolj korajžna, ma da bi šla z drugim, pa še celo z Arabcem, nak, to pa že ne (6).

Tudi Ana sama poudarja svojo čutnost tako v odnosu do drugih moških kot v spominih na spolnost s svojim možem. V teh delih romana ji je dano spregovoriti o lastni seksualnosti, bolj problematično je pripovedovalčevo povezovanje lastnega pogleda na Ano z župnikovim, iz katerega se razvije njegova domneva o tem, da Anina odločitev za poroko s Chevalierjem ne izvira iz razumske odločitve ali ljubezenskega čustva, temveč iz spolne nepotešenosti:

Morda se je prav zaradi te njene žerjavice (nanjo jo je bil opozoril župnik Ivan Dobravec) zgodilo, da ni ostala hladna, ko jo je po enem letu njenega sedanjega bivanja v Aleksandriji začel osvajati Georges Chevalier, eden stalnih hotelskih gostov (172).

Ker v odlomkih, kjer je Ana postavljena v vlogo prvoosebne pripovedovalke, ni njenih premišljevanj, se zdi, da pripovedovalec in župnik Dobravec vesta o Ani več kot ona sama, kar tudi njeno razumnost postavlja pod vprašaj oziroma jo skrči na sposobnost presojanja in urejanja preprostih dejstev, medtem ko ji globlja samorefleksija ni dostopna.

Še bolj preprosta v svojem doživljanju sveta, v katerem se je znašla, je Vanda. V Aleksandrijo je s šestnajstimi leti odšla še kot neizoblikovana osebnost. Tudi ona se je od doma odpravila opremljena s svarili pred razuzdanimi arabskim svetom: »Saj je rekel stric Pepe, da Vanda ne bi smela v Egipt. Je preveč lepa, je rekel, in premlada. Jo lahko ukradejo in bo končala v kakem bordelu. Ali pa v haremu« (6). Te podobe Vanda ponotrani, saj se ji sanja, da se je izgubila in ne more najti prave poti. Prizor na ladji, ko sprejme zlatnik, že nakazuje njeno očaranost nad materialnimi dobrinami, ki se pozneje razvije v čaščenje čutnih užitkov. Vando pripovedovalec torej oblikuje v lik dekleta, ki si želi udobnega življenja

¹⁵ Sv. Bernardu iz Clairvauxa naj bi se v sanjah prikazala devica Marija ter iztisnila mleko iz svoje dojke in z njim poškopila Bernardove ustnice. Med Marijine čudeže sodi tudi ozdravitev meniha z mlekem iz njene dojke (Warner 1990: 197–199; Rubin 2010: 350).

in se zelo hitro sprizajni s situacijo, v kateri se je znašla, ko jo s prevaro spravijo v bordel. Tam bi lahko končala kot kakšna od junakinj iz modelnih zgodb, vendar ima srečo in naleti na kultiviranega Arabca, ki jo je pripravljen sprejeti za tretjo ženo. Tudi v Vandinem liku pripovedovalec ni izrazil potenciala zgodbe o ženski, ki se odloči izživeti svojo spolnost, saj so njena spolna doživetja opisana skozi optiko in pogled moškega, ki opisuje dražljive prizore z vidika opazovalca in ne udeleženke v dogajanju. Njegov opis kopanja deklet v haremu razkriva zahodnoevropski (moški) pogled na harem, ki je fantazmatski, saj je ta prostor funkcioniral popolnoma drugače, kakor je bil prikazan v evropski književnosti in umetnosti.¹⁶ Tomšičev opis presenetljivo spominja na sliko Turška kopel (1821) francoskega slikarja Jeana-Augusta-Dominiqua Ingresa,¹⁷ saj beremo:

To, kar jo je hkrati preplašilo, a tudi prijetno vznemirilo, so bila dekleta, ki so malo prej prišumela k njej. Zdaj so bile te mladenke gole in so se smeje in otroško igrivo lovile, prhale ali kalužale v bistri in očitno zelo topli vodi, saj se je iz nje kar močno kadilo. Dve sta pritekli k njej in jo, kot da je to del zabavne igre, začeli vleči proti plitvini. Pridružila se jim je še ena in Vanda se pozneje ni mogla spomniti, kako jim je uspelo, da so jo kar mimogrede slekli in se kar naenkrat znašle v bazenu, kjer so jo živahno klepetaje in smeje oblivale, jo božale in nagajivo poljubljale po ramenih in sploh po celem telesu (151).

Pripovedovalec Vando v nadaljevanju predstavi kot bitje, ki živi le za spolni užitek in je popolnoma brez lastne volje oziroma razuma, njena dejanja naj bi usmerjala duša, ki pri Tomšiču ni nasprotje telesnosti:

Odločitev se je rojevala znotraj, v globini duše; kadar pa se to dogaja, nimajo utemeljitve razuma nobene veljave. Takrat smo v rokah usode, ki zasleduje nam nedoumljive cilje. Naj pamet še tako kriči, človek bo šel na pot, čeprav ve, da je tvegana in morda celo pogubna (190).

Vandino prvo ljubezensko noč pisatelj prikaže z besedami Mahmuda Saleha Paše: »Mislil je, da bo imel z Vando, preden jo bo ukrotil, dosti več problemov. ›Ljubko bitjece. Ubogljivo, voljno in dovolj razumno,‹ je ugotavljal. Spomini na minulo noč so bili nadvse prijetni« (215). Na koncu romana še izvemo, da se je Vanda prilagodila svetu, v katerem živi. Da ji je lažje, je poskrbelo tudi srečno naključje – Salehu je rodila sina.

Vsem trem ženskim likom je torej skupna ustrežljivost, (plemenita) ponižnost, sposobnost, da se podredijo moškim, s katerimi so se zvezale, in da jim rodijo moške potomce. Nobena med njimi ni upornica, ki bi se za uresničitev svojih želja ali sanj uprla tradicionalni podobi ženske kot spolnega bitja, ki ga vodi in določa narava. Vse tri osrednje osebe v tem smislu izpolnijo svojo reproduktivno funkcijo in se ji podredijo kot zakonske žene.

KOMPOZICIJA

Osrednja zgodba je Meričina, vse druge so epizodne, s svojo številčnostjo potrjujejo, da so ženske spolna bitja, ki ne delujejo razumsko oziroma uspejo samo tiste, ki svoje nagone zatajijo. Zaplet sledi fabuli (trivialnega) ljubezenskega romana: ženska, razpeta med dva moška, mora ohraniti svojo čistost kljub skušnjavi, višja sila poskrbi za popolno odstranitev neprimerne moškega, za svojo krepost je junakinja na koncu nagrajena.

16 Prim. Baron (2005); El–Azhary Sonbol (2006); Grosrichard (1985); Said (1996). Drugačen pogled na harem razkrivata sliki Henriette Browne *Prihod v harem v Konstantinoplu* (1860/61) in Adolpha Yvona *V haremu* (1877), kjer ni razgaljenih žensk.

17 Maroška profesorica sociologije Fatema Mernissi je o tej sliki zapisala, da predstavlja zahodnoevropski pogled na harem, saj se v njem ženske nikoli niso sprehajale gole, temveč največkrat oblečene v hlače in tuniko (2001: 104–105).

PRIPOVEDNI POSTOPKI

Pripovedovalec je moški, kar je razvidno šele proti koncu romana: »Vse, kar je potem sledilo, je bilo dolgo in naporno vračanje. Vračanje Merice k Ivanu in Mihcu. Bilo je polno težkega molka, sumničenj in poniževanj ter žalitev, o katerih pa ne bi rad pisal« (281). Modelne zgodbe pripovedovalec največkrat vpelje s preprostim uvodom: »Zgodba Valentine Oreškove pa je takšna [...]« (165) Gre torej za linearno pripoved, v katero so pregledno vključene modelne zgodbe in retrospektivna vračanja osrednjih treh likov v preteklost. Takšna pripovedna struktura je primerna tudi za manj zahtevnega bralca ali bralko, v čemer lahko vidimo tudi del Tomšičevega uspeha pri širši bralski publiki.

Pripoved je tretjeosebna, na nekaterih mestih preide v prvoosebno. Tretjeosebni pripovedovalec ima dober pregled nad dogajanjem v romaneskni resničnosti. Dogajanje opazuje v sedanjosti in pripoveduje o dogodkih v preteklosti. Velikokrat pripoved zasučje v prvoosebno obliko, in zdi se, da spregovorijo ženski liki, vendar je izbor tem in dogodkov seveda avtorjev in osredinjen na že omenjeni odnos do moških in otrok. Mesta, kjer so fokalizatorke aleksandrinke, so v romanu najbolj prepričljiva (in primerljiva z dejanskimi izpovedmi aleksandrink, kakor jih je zabeležila Dorica Makuc), čeprav v njih ne manjka moraliziranja, vendar ga seveda lahko pripišemo čustvenemu in intelektualnemu obzorju literarnih oseb. Njihova razmišljanja in notranji govor je pogosto v obliki vprašanj in klicev, zato delujejo živo in ohranjajo bralčevo/bralkino pozornost. Vendar je potrebne precej bralske spretnosti, da se ne ujamemo v past, da pripovedovalca enačimo z osebami, ki dogajanje opazujejo. V uporabi fokalizacije¹⁸ pri Tomšiču ne vidim inovativnosti, saj se ne pojavlja na prepričljiv način, ki bi problematiziral žensko doživetje lastnega telesa, temveč gre za estetsko ali celo voajersko ugodje moškega gledalca, ki izpostavlja telesnost. Pripovedovalčev pogled je usmerjen na prizore, ki so mu sicer skriti in imajo zato posebno draž, kot je razvidno iz naslednjih odlomkov iz romana:

Pred enim tednom se ji je sanjalo, da je šla skozi vas in so se ji videle prsi in noge do bokov. Vlekla je to cunjico skupaj, da bi čimveč skrila, prikrla, a kakor jo je vlekla, tako se je ta trgala in spet in spet razgajala telo (87).

Zdaj sedi na divanu in si odpenja gumbe. Dojka zdrsne iz nedrčka in je na modri obleki kakor snežno bel oblak (48).

Ko se je Vanda vrnila z dišečim mazilnim oljem, je Hanuma že bila pripravljena na cartanje. Ležala je na trebuhu in bila do pasu gola. Deklica je pokleknila k njej, nalila v dlan nekaj olja, ga poduhala in ga počasi skapljala na hrbet (66).

In navrela je strast tudi v njeno telo, pa ni vedela, kaj naj z njo počne. Odtihotapila se je v svojo sobo, se tam spet slekla in se začela božati; pač tako, kakor ji je zvodniško večkrat namigovala in jo na to napeljevala Hanuma (183).

Tomšič ni izkoristil možnosti narativnih strategij, kakor je to značilno za modernistični roman, temveč ohranja tradicionalne pripovedne strukture, v katere vključuje svoj, včasih zelo ideološko zaznamovan pogled, ki pa ga manj zahtevni bralec ali bralka ne doživljata kot zunajliterarno kategorijo, temveč ga

18 Fokalizacija je po G. Genettu izraz za gledanje, polje in gledišče. Za naratologinjo Mieke Bal je fokalizacija aspekt zgodbe, naratolog odkriva, kdo je subjekt, ki literarno dogajanje gleda (torej fokalizator), in kdo je subjekt, ki ga nato verbalizira (pripovedovalec). Fokalizacija je tako odnos med gledanjem in tistim, kar je videno (1997: 146). Mieke Bal loči med zunanjo in notranjo fokalizacijo, obe pa se pojavljata tako pri zunanem kot pri notranjem pripovedovalcu. – Preskoki iz enega tipa fokalizacije v drugega pomenijo oženje ali širjenje vidnega polja, skupaj tvorijo fokalizacijski kod nekega teksta in pomenijo premike v narativnem sistemu. Zunanja fokalizacija pomeni, da dogajanje opazuje nekdo, ki ni del upovedenega sveta in ima zato do pripovedovanja časovno in s tem tudi izkušensko distanco. Notranja fokalizacija pa pomeni, da dogajanje gleda nekdo, ki je del upovedenega sveta, zato je njegova percepcija zožena.

sprejemata kot potrditev »večnih« resnic (dobra mati je tista, ki doji svojega otroka, nekatere ženske so rojene prostitutke, ipd). V *Grenkem morju* ni drugačnega, večperspektivnega tipa pripovedi, ki bi problematiziral utrjene, tradicionalne podobe o aleksandrinkah kot o spolnih promiskuitetnih bitjih in žrtvah. Stereotipizacija ni podvržena ironiji ali drugim načinom potujitve. Konzervativne, na nekaterih mestih celo rasistične izjave, niso soočene s kritičnim odzivom, ki bi razkril, da gre za orientalizem. Ko sestra Marcelina govori o Arabcih kot o vrabcih in jo sestra Doloroza dopolni, da so kot otroci, »ampak zelo predni otroci« (30), njune besede niso z ničemer problematizirane. Ker so šolske sestre v romanu prikazane kot zgled, lahko bralec ali bralka dojemata te besede kot izjavo, ki odraža resnično stanje. Pisatelj bi lahko s prepletanjem in soočanjem različnih pogledov tako na aleksandrinke kot na svet, v katerem so živele, razkril stereotipe, s katerimi so bile te podobe obremenjene. Vendar Tomšič te stereotipe celo utrjuje s poudarjanjem odrešilne vloge, ki jo je imela Cerkev oziroma šolske sestre kot njene predstavnice, z nizanjem izjav o veri, ki edina lahko žensko obvaruje pred zdrsom v brezno nemorale (kakor je ta pojem opredeljevala Katoliška cerkev)¹⁹ in s prikazom žensk, ki niso sposobne refleksije o lastnem položaju, saj jim erotična odvisnost od moškega zamegli pogled in sposobnost racionalne presoje. Na ravni pripovednih postopkov Tomšič z izpostavljenostjo Meričine idealne zgodbe in nizanjem številnih modelnih zgodb zlorabljenih migrantk aleksandrinstvo reprezentira kot razpetost med sledenjem maksimam Katoliške cerkve in izživetostjo čutnosti. Meričina zgodba potrjuje, katera pot je prava (čeprav je edina svojega spola), saj ne prizadene nikogar (razen morda sebe in Pierra, toda njega trpljenja kmalu odreši smrt). Vse druge zgodbe so zgled, kako se žensko življenje odvije, kadar ni skladno s pravili katolicizma. Ženska kot razumno bitje, ki sledi svojim lastnim pogledom na svet, je le delno uresničena v Ani, vendar kot sporoča pripovedovalec, tudi na njeno odločitev ni vplival razum, temveč tista žerjavica, na katero jo je opozoril že župnik Dobravec.

MOTIVIKA

V romanu se prepleta več motivov, ki jih lahko skoraj vse vključimo v ris lepovidskega motiva, zato bom zaradi prostorske omejenosti tega prispevka pozornost usmerila le v ta motiv, in se vprašala, kako avtor preko njega reprezentira aleksandrinstvo.

V pesmih o lepi Vidi se odraža negativen odnos moških avtorjev do ženske migracije, ki povzroča psihični in moralni propad žensk, posledica česar sta lahko samo zaslužena kazen in obžalovanje. Vendar premislek o imaginariju lepe Vide razkrije še eno podobo – podobo žalostne in doječe matere, ki se v slovenskem mitu transformirata v podobo žalostne matere, ki doji tujega otroka. Ta nastavek, ki je mitu inherenten in ga je v svoji pesmi o Lepi Vidi artikuliral že France Prešeren, je kot izhodišče vzel Marjan Tomšič in ga preoblikoval v lik aleksandrinke. Merica se srečno vrne domov, kar je v lepovidskem mitu redkost.²⁰

19 »Tako je govoril in me žalostno gledal. In še je rekel, da naj molimo, kajti življenje tam doli bo polno skušnjav in nevarnosti in *le molitev nas lahko obvaruje vsega hudega*« (6–7). – »Evelina Pajkova se je uprla, zbežala je, se *zatekla k sestram na Rue Menasce*« (15). – »Vanda se je vdala in šla s sestro gor po stopnicah. Prišli sta v veliko sobo, odtod pa v kapelo. Nad oltarno mizo je visela slika svetogorske Matere Božje. Tu je sestra rekla Vanji, mladenki: ›Glej, nate preži v tem mestu veliko nevarnosti. Zelo mlada si, še skoraj dekletce. In lepa si, preveč lepa za to mesto; imaš svetle lase in modre oči. To je tvoja past, ne pozabil! *Pred vsemi nevarnostmi in skušnjavami te lahko reši samo Ona!*« In je pokazala na Marijo. ›Reši pa te lahko le, če boš vsak dan molila k njej. Vsak dan; zjutraj, popoldne, popoldne, zvečer!« (31–32). – »Sreča v nesreči je bila v tem, da je za to ›komedijo‹ že naslednjega dne izvedela sestra Elizabeta« (177). – »To se ni dogajalo v Aleksandriji, ampak v Kairu. Tam ni poznala nikogar, da bi se zatekla k njemu in mu potožila. *Za sestre usmiljenke ni vedela*, tudi tega ni vedela, da imajo kristjani v Kairu svojo cerkev, kjer se sestajajo in imajo maše« (74). – »Katica kar ni mogla verjeti. Potem vso noč ni spala. Le o tem je razmišljala, kaj naj stori. *Šolske sestre, svetovalke in zaščitnice slovenskih Egipčank, takrat še niso bile tako zelo znane*, kakor so postale pred prvo vojno. *In Katica zanje sploh ni vedela*« (111). Vsi poudarki so avtoričini.

20 Da so v samem mitu nastavki tudi za drugačno žensko usodo, priča ljudska pesem iz Kroepe na Gorenjskem, v kateri se Vida s sončevo pomočjo srečno vrne domov, kjer jo čaka sin (Štrekelj 1980: 130–131).

Merica je bliže Mariji kot Evi, čeprav je tudi ona kot biblična predhodnica podvržena skušnjavi. Vendar skušnjavo premaga prav z atributi, ki jo približujejo materi božji. Marija se v krščanstvu pojavlja v različnih podobah, je figura, ki jo opredeljujejo, kot je opozorila že Marina Warner, mehkoča, nežnost, sprejemanje, usmiljenje, tolerantnost in odpoved (1990: XXIV) – Devica Marija je za mnoge simbol idealne ženske. Ženskam so jo že od tretjega stoletja predstavljali kot zgled in ta podoba se je v krščanskih deželah brez težav utrjevala skozi stoletja vse do danes, čeprav gre za konstrukt, idealizirano reprezentacijo ženskosti, ki z dejanskimi ženskami v resnici nima skoraj nič skupnega, saj jo opredeljuje prav to, da je, kot M. Warner poudari že v naslovu svoje odlične monografije, edina svojega spola.

Merica je torej utelešenje marijanske ženskosti. Najprej jo spoznamo kot žalostno mater, kot mater Doloroso, ki je izgubila svojega otroka, za katerim joče, vendar je, v nasprotju z Marijo, tudi obremenjena z zavestjo, da je s tem, ko je otroka zapustila, storila greh:

»Pa saj to je nenaravno!« si je govorila sinoči. »Nenaravno! Nobeno živo bitje ne počne tega, razen človek. Ne pusti svojih mladičev, zato da bodo pili mleko neki drugi mladiči. Nekakšen dojenček tam nekje. Nekje. Daleč. V neki Aleksandriji« (5).

Kakšen greh! On pa je doma lačen. Zdaj sigurno joče, me išče s svojimi usteci, hlasta po moji dojki (11).

Jaz se vozim v Afriko, moj otrok pa je tam, doma ... (11)

V tej podobi se Merica sicer pojavlja v celotnem romanu, vendar kmalu v ospredje pride nova podoba: podoba ‚doječe Marije‘ – *Marie lactans*.²¹ V romanu je zelo veliko mest, ki izpostavljajo Merico kot dojiljo. Meričino mleko je, podobno kot Marijino, prikazano kot vir sreče in blagostanja, ženska je metonimično zreducirana na dojko.²²

Pripovedovalec ni le opazovalec doječe ženske, temveč o dojenju izreka tudi sodbe, ki niso brez ideološkega podtona, saj o odnosu Meričene gosposdarice do lastnega sina piše:

Tu in tam se je s sinom malo poigrala, ga pobožala po laseh, ga kaj vprašala, a globljega odnosa z njim ni znala ustvariti. Najbrž zato ne, ker mu ni mogla dajati mleka, ki je najtesnejša vez med materjo in njenim otrokom (245).

Vendar so v romanu prisotne tudi druge marijanske podobe, ki se izražajo v Meričinih molitvah.²³ Protagonistki se v najtežjih trenutkih prikaže mož Ivan v podobi Kristusa, ki je Marijin sin, a tudi nebeški ženin.

Ko se Merica odpravi k umirajočemu Pierru, si nadene obesek v obliki križa, nežno rožasto obleko in plašč iz nebeško modre svile. Meričina bližina Mariji je poudarjena tudi z vizijo Marije kot nebeške kraljice:

21 Prim. Warner (1990: 192–205).

22 »Ti moj Bog, kako se je ta črviček vjedel v dojko! Sigurno je slutil, da pije zadnjič. Ni in ni nehal piti. Kar tresel se je, kot drobcena šiba v hudem vetru. Potem pa je kar naenkrat nehal piti, spustil je dojko in se zagledal vame« (11). – »Ma, kako je cuzal. Vjedal se je v dojko, drobceni ročici pa sta se mu tresli.« – »Dojki sta napeti, polni mleka« (23). – »Otrok je v hipu utihnil. Obrnil je obrazek priti Maričinim prsim, vsrkal njen vonj in onemel« (39). – »Dojka, preporna mleka, se mu kar sama ponudi. Otrok se strastno vsesa« (49). – »Ročico je položil na dojko, razprl je prstke in jih je le tu in tam malo premaknil. Kakor da bi se hotel z otipom prepričati, da je dojka še tam, da je vse v redu« (84). – »Sedla je na klop pod oreh in mu ponudila dojko. Električna, blaga in mila je šla skozi njeno telo. Otrok pa je pil, pil, pil in nebo je bilo jasno, čisto in veter je bil še bolj blag kot prej« (284).

23 »In molila je. Njene blede ustnice so se komaj opazno premikale: »Marija, Mati Božja, prosim te, ostani ob meni, ne zapusti me niti za hip. Brani me, varuj me, vodi vse moje misli, vsa moja dejanja. Tako prosim tudi tebe, ljubi moj priprošnjik sveti Jožef. Jaz se grozno bojim, glej, krhka sem kakor bilka v vetru. Če mi ne bosta stala ob strani, ti in Marija, se bom zlomila, bom zgorela v plamenih. Sveti Jožef, varuj me, bdi nad nami vsemi. Amen, amen!« (28).

»Kristus moj Bog, kaj naj storim?!« je zaječala in zahlipala. Tedaj je zagledala ženo v dolgi beli obleki, ki se je spuščala proti njej. [...] Njen obraz je bil ožarjen od znotraj in od zunaj, temne oči so zrle nekam v daljavo, mimo Merice, tudi skoz njo. In dolga, do tal segajoča, široka in snežno bela obleka se je svetlikala, kot da bi bila srebrna (274).

Konec tudi Merico postavi na mesto kraljice, ki zavlada svojemu okolju in tako utelesi še eno marijansko podobo – *Mario Regino*.

SKLEPNE UGOTOVITVE

Marjan Tomšič je na različnih ravneh svojega romana aleksandrinstvo reprezentiral kot razpetost med žrtvovanjem in užitkom. V slovenski književnosti je prvi pisatelj, ki se je temu fenomenu posvetil v kar dveh obsežnih delih. Čeprav v njegovem romanu aleksandrinke – v nasprotju z dolgoletnim molkom resničnih migrantk – končno spregovorijo, so ves čas ujele v razmerje do moških in otrok. Večino med njimi je pisatelj prikazal ali kot žrtve pokvarjenih islamskih oziroma vzhodnoevropskih moških ali kot spolna bitja, ki sledijo le svojim nagonom. S poudarjanjem njihovih nesrečnih življenjskih zgodb pa je poveljal vlogo Katoliške cerkve kot institucije, ki naj bi edina skrbela za ohranjanje moralne integritete aleksandrink. Tomšičeve reprezentacije aleksandrinstva niso skladne z izsledki zgodovinskih, etnografskih in socioloških raziskav, temveč izražajo njegov povsem osebni pogled na ta fenomen, kar je nena zadnje v književnosti povsem legitimni avtorski postopek. Le da je Tomšič sam s poudarjanjem natančnega študija virov, pri čemer se morda niti ni zavedal lastne ujetosti v (velikokrat kolektivne) fantazije in fantazme o ženskosti, hote ali nehote ustvaril mnenje, da je njegova knjiga preslikava resničnosti. S tem je na svojo stran gotovo pridobil nezahtevne bralce in bralke, ki jih pritegnejo le »resnične« zgodbe, marsikateri potomki in potomcu aleksandrink pa ponovno odprl nikoli zaceljeno družinsko rano, ki je nastala prav zaradi stigmatizacije aleksandrink kot žensk, ki naj ne bi bile sposobne nadzorovati svoje seksualnosti ali so se z njo okoriščale.²⁴

Recepcija Tomšičevih reprezentacij aleksandrinstva priča tudi o moči in učinku literarnega besedila na bralsko občinstvo. To razkriva, da je literatura s subtilno manipulacijo, še zlasti če je literarna veda in kritika ne razkrijeta kot zunajliterarno kategorijo, še vedno pomemben dejavnik v procesu oblikovanja kolektivnega spomina.

Ob koncu dajem besedo aleksandrinki Mariji Černe:

Že ko sem bila majhna, so na aleksandrinke gledali, kot da so šik (*lepe in elegantne*). Tudi jaz sem dobila veliko šik stvari, ko sem delala dol. Ene so zaradi tega šle z velikim veseljem. So komaj čakale, da postanejo aleksandrinke. [...] Šle smo pa predvsem zato, da bi zaslužile več, tukaj v Gorici si dobila 50 lir, v Egiptu 300, zato smo šle, zaradi denarja. [...] Tudi ni bilo vse tako slabo, kot piše ta v tej knjigi (*Marjan Tomšič: Grenko morje*). Tudi ni bilo teh haremov, kakor piše v tej knjigi. V mojih časih tega ni bilo več. Jaz sama tudi ne vem, da bi se kakšna izgubila, se je govorilo, ampak jaz vem samo za eno, da se je poročila z drugim. Z muslimanom, a je živel po evropejsko. Je prišla prilika, je bilo drugo življenje tam (v Škrj 2009: 183).²⁵

24 V tem prepričanju me potrjujejo pozitivni odzivi potomk aleksandrink in drugih Tomšičevih bralk na moj referat in diskusijski prispevek Barbare Skubic na simpoziju ob 21. Primorskih slovenističnih dnevih 8. aprila 2011.

25 Za pregled besedila in pripombe se zahvaljujem Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik, Barbari Skubic in Katji Škrj.

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SUMMARY

REPRESENTATIONS OF ALEKSANDRINKE IN THE PROSE OF MARJAN TOMŠIČ

Katja Mihurko Poniž

In the collective memory, the images of *aleksandrinke* (at home in Slovenia, the emigrants to Alexandria, Egypt were named after their presumed final destination) were often the same as those of wet nurses, although only approximately a third of all the emigrants actually were wet nurses (Škrlj 2009: 164). In the shaping of the collective memory of the phenomenon of Alexandrianism, mother's milk became a symbol of mother's love and the withdrawal of milk on the literal, but mostly on the symbolic level meant the abandoning of a child. For this reason, *aleksandrinke* were often stigmatized as bad mothers, and at the same time as victims of economic and social conditions. However, images of *aleksandrinke* as victims were marginal and became more widespread only upon the publication of *Aleksandrinke* by Dorica Makuc (1993). In this work, the *aleksandrinke* were finally given a voice, even though much of the book is dedicated to the role of the Catholic Church and to the recognition of the nuns who were working as missionaries in Egypt.

Consequently, modern, nonscientific discourse about *aleksandrinke* often turned into rhetoric about victims and into the wish for erecting monuments. Representations of Alexandrianism as a phenomenon which was supposed to cause the downfall of women are present in Marjan Tomšič's novel *Grenko morje* [Bitter Sea] (2002) and his collection of short stories *Južni veter* [Southern Wind] (2006) on numerous levels: in the title, in the cast of characters, in the narratological categories, the themes and motifs, the imagery, the language and the speech of the characters.

In his novel, Tomšič presented Alexandrianism as a state of being torn between sacrifice and pleasure on various levels. He is the first writer in Slovenian literature who concentrated on this phenomenon in two lengthy works. In *Bitter Sea*, in contrast to the long silence of the actual migrants, the *aleksandrinke* finally speak, despite the fact that they are trapped in their relationships with men and children at all times. Most of them are depicted either as victims of corrupted Muslim and Eastern European men or as sexual beings who only follow their instincts. By stressing their ill-fated life stories, the writer glorified the role of the Catholic Church as the only institution which tended to the moral integrity of the Alexandrians. Tomšič's representations of Alexandrianism are not consistent with the findings of historical, ethnographic, and sociological research; however, they express the author's personal point of view regarding this phenomenon, which is a perfectly legitimate *modus operandi* for authors in literature. However, by stressing the painstaking study of the sources, Tomšič himself – deliberately or not – created the opinion that his book was a mirror image of reality, and at the same time he perhaps did not even realize his own entrapment in the often collective fantasies and phantasms about womanhood. In this way, he gained many casual readers on his side who were only drawn to the "true" stories, and furthermore, he also re-opened the never-healed family wounds of many a descendant of the *aleksandrinke*; wounds that created made due to the stigmatization of the *aleksandrinke* as women who were incapable of controlling their sexuality or who used their sexuality to their own advantage. The reception of Tomšič's representations of Alexandrianism testifies to the power and the effect which a literary text has on its readers. This reveals that literature through subtle manipulation is still an important factor in the process of the forming of the collective memory, especially if literary science and criticism fail to reveal it as fiction.

KRIZA POJMA POLITIČNEGA PREDSTAVNIŠTVA SKOZI PRIMER NEDRŽAVLJANOV

Andreja VEZOVIK¹

COBISS 1.01

POVZETEK

Kriza pojma političnega predstavništva skozi primer nedržavljanov

Prispevek problematizira klasičen pojem političnega predstavništva in ga postavlja v okvir sodobnega kritičnega teoretskega premisleka. Pri tem reflektira prispevke različnih teoretikov: Laclaua, Agambena ter Hardta in Negrija, ki vsak na svoj način reflektirajo vlogo in krizo predstavništva v sodobnih družbenih okoliščinah. Avtorico prispevka zanima predvsem, kakšno vlogo, če sploh, politično predstavništvo igra v procesu vznika singularnosti in subjektivacije ter kakšno vlogo ima pri tem proces identifikacije. Zato pojem političnega predstavništva razdeli v odnosu do procesa identifikacije, singularnosti in politične subjektivacije. Prispevek odgovarja na to, kako iz omenjenih treh teoretskih vidikov ontološko premisliti pojem predstavniške politike in krize, v kateri se je znašla.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: subjektivacija, identifikacija, predstavništvo, hegemonija, poimenovanje

ABSTRACT

The Crisis of the Notion of Political Representation: The Case of Non-Citizens

The paper questions the classical notion of political representation, and places the notion of political representation in the context of contemporary critical theory. In doing so, it considers the contributions of various theorists: Laclau, Agamben and Hardt & Negri, who each in their own way reflect the role and the crisis of representation in contemporary social contexts. The contribution is primarily interested in what role, if any, political representation plays in the process of emergence of singularities and subjectivization, and what role it plays in the process of identification. The notion of the political representation is explored in relation to the process of identification, of singularity and political subjectivization. This paper therefore explores the aforementioned three ontological conceptualizations in relation to the so-called crisis of political representation.

KEY WORDS: subjectivization, identification, political representation, hegemony, naming

UVOD

Temeljni cilj pričujočega prispevka je teoretsko premisliti pojem političnega predstavništva. Gre za pojem, ki ga dobro poznamo predvsem iz klasične politične teorije Thomasa Hobbsa in Jean-Jacquesa Rousseauja. V politološki misli je pojem predstavništva v veliki meri vezan na politična razmerja in politične sisteme ter na pojmovanja demokracije in državljanstva. V pričujočem prispevku pojem predstav-

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nštva predstavljamo v okviru sodobne kritične teorije. Ob vse bolj razširjeni predpostavki, da je politično predstavništvo v krizi, želimo pogledati na samo ontološko plat pojma predstavništva. Na tem mestu ne bomo imeli prostora za dialog s klasičnim razumevanjem predstavništva, zato nas bodo zanimale možnosti premisleka v kontekstu nekaterih osrednjih avtorjev sodobne kritične teorije. Namenoma bomo ob strani pustili klasično razumevanje systemskega razumevanja politike in predstavništva ter se osredotočili na polje političnega kot ontološko primarnega. Politika in politična realnost se namreč v klasičnih politoloških analizah navezujeta na državljanske pravice, volitve, določene oblike političnega predstavništva in različne ideološke mehanizme. Politika se dojema kot ločen sistem, ki mu pravimo politični sistem. Navadno pričakujemo, da politika pripada od družbe ločenemu sistemu, ki ga tvorijo agenti, kot so parlament, politične stranke, sindikati itd., in ga dojemamo v kontekstu arene hegemonskega liberalnodemokratskega diskurza. Takšna razumevanja politike pa spregledajo, da se politika dogaja za formalno odgovornostjo uveljavljenih političnih in institucionalnih hierarhij. To se dogaja predvsem pristopom, ki enačijo politiko z državo, s političnim sistemom in politično kariero. Vsa področja, na katerih se sprejemajo odločitve – področja zasebnega, podjetništva, znanosti, vsakdanjega življenja, itd., so področja političnih konfliktov in bojov (so področja subpolitike). Subpolitično delovanje razkraja opisano sliko delovanja političnega sistema in mu je zato treba odpreti pot v sfero politike. Subpolitika se od politike razlikuje v tem, da zunanjim političnim agentom dopušča sooblikovanje družbe in politike (Beck 1997: 97–104). Prav zato politike ne moremo reducirati na politični sistem (oziroma, kot temu pravimo, na politično realnost), temveč jo moramo dojemati kot inherentno in določujočo za vsako družbo. Skladno s tem pri definiciji *političnega* izhajamo iz Clauda Leforta (1988). Po mnenju Leforta pri definiranju politike zgolj kot področja političnih institucij izgubljam politično samo. Bistvo te trditve je, da institucije politične realnosti predpostavljajo zatiranje konstitutivnosti politike, s tem pa ignorirajo politično ontologijo družbenega (Lefort 1988: 11). Za Leforta politično ne meji na določeno domeno družbenega prostora.

V tem okviru Ernesto Laclau, ki izhaja iz Antonia Gramscija, Leforta in Carla Schmitta, govori o primarnosti političnega kot anatomiji družbenega sveta. Politično je zanj trenutek osnovanja družbenega. Politika pomeni sprejemanje odločitev na kontingentnem nedoločenem polju. Vsaka odločitev že vključuje hegemonске operacije. Zato bo za nas, kot je tudi za Laclauovo šolo, politično primarno ontološka in ne zgolj družbena kategorija. Imamo namreč veliko sedimentiranih družbenih oblik (institucije, vrednote, prakse), ki so zabrisale sledi začetnega političnega osnovanja (Laclau 2005a: 154). Politično je torej svet kontingentnih artikulacij, ki pa jih do neke mere omejuje razsežnost družbenega, torej sedimentirano polje družbenih praks (Laclau 2006a: 112). Prestavitev premisleka političnega predstavništva iz systemske na ontološko raven je pomembna predvsem zato, ker se v praksi vse bolj kaže kriza klasičnih oblik predstavništva. Kriza je zlasti očitna, ko imamo opraviti s heterogenimi skupinami nedržavljanov (bodisi, da gre za azilante, (delavce) migrante, izbrisane, itd.), ki nimajo državljskih pravic in so brez systemskega političnega predstavništva. Nezmožnost systemskega predstavljanja teh izključenih skupin je danes največji vzrok za krizo klasične predstavniške politike, ki se kaže predvsem v nezaupanju do državnih politikov in političnih institucij.

V nadaljevanju zato reflektiramo prispevke in pojme različnih teoretikov: Laclaua, Giorgia Agambena ter Michaela Hardta in Antonia Negrija, ki vsak na svoj način reflektirajo sodobno vlogo in krizo predstavništva v odnosu do subjektivacije.¹ Odločitvi za izbor obravnavanih avtorjev so botrovali predvsem njihova relevantnost in širša prepoznavnost v tujem in domačem prostoru, njihovo tematiziranje pojma predstavništva in relevantnost razlik v njihovih ontologijah. Začeli bomo z Agambenom, nadaljevali pri Hardtu in Negriju in končali z Laclauom. Zanimalo nas bo predvsem, kakšno vlogo politično predstavništvo igra v procesu vznika singularnosti in subjektivacije ter kakšno vlogo ima pri tem proces identifikacije. Zato v nadaljevanju pojem političnega predstavništva razdelamo v odnosu do procesa

¹ Agamben, Laclau ter Hardt in Negri subjektivacijo pojmujejo različno, zato na tem mestu ni mogoče govoriti o enotni definiciji. Njihove različne poglede razložimo v nadaljevanju.

identifikacije, singularnosti in politične subjektivacije. Prispevek odgovarja na to, kako iz omenjenih treh teoretskih vidikov ontološko premisliti pojem predstavnštva in krize, v kateri se je znašlo, kako misliti politično subjektivacijo in emancipatorne boje.

POLITIKA DESUBJEKTIVACIJE

Skušajmo pravkar navedena vprašanja nasloviti tako, da vzpostavimo dialog med Agambenovo in Laclauovo ontologijo. Razprava bo potekala v treh korakih. Ontološkega premisleka predstavnštva se bomo najprej lotili z razumevanjem Agambenovega dualističnega razmerja med suvereno oblastjo in *homo sacrom*. To razmerje bomo pozneje postavili nasproti Laclauovemu razumevanju odnosa med družbeno heterogenostjo in homogenostjo. Nato se bomo v danem okviru lotili še vprašanja politične subjektivacije. Pri tem se bomo osredotočili predvsem na Agambenovo pojmovanje de-subjektivacije, ki za Agambena nastopi v danih okvirih pojmovanja sodobne družbe kot biopolitične paradigme. Agambenovo de-subjektivacijo bomo nato postavili nasproti Laclauovi subjektivaciji, ki poteka skozi t. i. *logiko poimenovanja*.

Ker na tem mestu nimamo prostora, da bi podrobneje razlagali vso kompleksnost Agambenovih pojmov, bomo ključne ideje povzeli v treh tezah, ki jih Agamben poda v svojem prvem delu *Homo Sacer* (2004). Prvič, za Agambena je izvorni politični odnos *izključitev*. Zanj je izključitev izredno stanje, področje nerazlikovanja med zunanostjo in notranostjo, izključitvijo ali vključitvijo. Drugič, temeljno delovanje suverene oblasti je proizvodnja *golega življenja* kot izvornega političnega elementa oziroma praga artikulacije med naturo in kulturo, med *zoë* in *bios*. Tretjič, taborišče je biopolitična paradigma današnje zahodne družbe (Agamben 2004: 196).

Pojasnimo na kratko zgornja tri izhodišča. Kadar imamo opraviti z Agambenovim razmerjem med *homo sacrom* in suvereno oblastjo, imamo pravzaprav opraviti z biopolitičnim odnosom *par excellence*. Mesto suverene oblasti se nahaja na pragu tega, kar se hkrati nahaja zunaj in znotraj pravnega reda ali norme. Za Agambena, ki sledi Schmittu, je izjema prav paradigma *Homo Sacer*, saj pomeni

*./.../ vrsto izključitve. Je posamezen primer, ki je izključen iz splošne norme. A to, kar ustrezno definira izjemo kot to, kar je izključeno, ni zato absolutno brez odnosa z normo; nasprotno, norma ohranja odnos z njo v obliki začasne razveljavitve. Norma se uporabi na izjemi z neuporabo, z odklikom od nje. ./.../ V tem smislu je izjema resnično, po etimologiji, *izvzeta* [presa fuori] (ex capere), in ne preprosto izključena» (Agamben 2004: 27).*

Izredno stanje, »materializirano« v ideji zahodne družbe kot taborišča, se ne nanaša več na zunanjo in začasno situacijo, saj teži k temu, da se zamenja s samo normo. Sodobna družba kot taborišče tako postane prostor, kjer izredno stanje začne postajati pravilo (Agamben 2004: 182). Pri Agambenu ves čas srečujemo odnos izjeme, ki se kaže v coni nerazlikovanja med zunanjim in notranjim, vključenostjo in izključenostjo, torej prostorom, ki lahko vključuje le z izključitvijo. Za Agambena je učinek suverene oblasti, ki vlada taboriščni biopolitiki, t. i. *golo življenje*. To je življenje prej omenjenega *Homo sacra*, ki v Agambenovih poznejših delih dobi podobo muslimana² ali taboriščnika. Za Agambena je *Homo sacer* sprva paradigma, v kateri se, v njegovem naslednjem delu, naselijo muslimani (Agamben 2005a). Bistvo eksistence muslimanov je, da so lahko umorjeni, ne pa tudi žrtvovani, kajti žrtev je vedno že figura, ki jo je mogoče reprezentirati znotraj pravnega reda mesta. Če bi bili muslimani lahko reprezentirani, bi bili vključeni, a bistveno je, da so muslimani iz tega reda izključeni. Misliti muslimana kot žrtev bi namreč pomenilo njegovo divinizacijo, pravno presojanje njegovega umora pa bi ga vključilo v pravni red me-

2 Pojem musliman, torej taboriščnik, Agamben izbere zaradi podobnosti sključene telesne drže taboriščnikov v Auschwitzu z muslimanom pri molitvi.

sta. Muslimana lahko ubijemo, ne da bi zagrešili umor.³ Muslimani zase ne morejo govoriti, ker so mrtvi ali nemi, hkrati pa ne morejo biti predstavljeni, saj so edino oni sami avtentične priče Auschwitzta. Za te obsojence na smrt ali zapornike v taborišču to pomeni dokončno izključitev iz politične skupnosti. Prav zato, ker so brez pravic in pričakovanj, ki jih ponavadi pripisujemo človekovi eksistenci, a vselej biološko živi, so postavljeni v mejno področje med življenjem in smrtjo, med zunanostjo in notranostjo. Telo muslimana je razrešeno svojega normalnega političnega statusa in je v izrednem stanju prepuščeno najskrajnejšim peripetijam (Agamben 2004: 172–173).

Vprašanje, ki se nam tu poraja, je, kako je mogoče muslimana misliti kot subjekt. Kaj je Agambenov subjekt? Nikakor se namreč ne moremo znebiti občutka, da je Agambenov subjekt pravzaprav ultimativno desubjektiviran. »Se pravi, da je neka točka, na kateri človek, čeprav na videz ostaja človek, neha biti človeški. Ta točka je musliman, in taborišče je njegovo mesto *par excellance*« (Agamben 2005a: 40). Če je v izrednem stanju edini možni obstoj človeka t. i. golo življenje (Agamben 2005b), se moramo ponovno vrniti k tematizaciji izrednega stanja kot izvornega političnega odnosa. Ta izvorni politični odnos sodobne družbe Agamben (2004) imenuje tudi *inbando*, a *bandono*, ki pomeni ‚na milost in nemilost nekoga‘. Hkrati pa pomeni tudi ‚svobodno‘ (*correre a bandono*). Beseda *in bandit* tako združuje prej omenjeno dvojnost, saj pomeni ‚izključen‘, ‚izobčen‘ in hkrati ‚odprt za vse, svoboden‘. Izobčenje je hkrati odbojna in privlačna sila, ki drži skupaj oba pola suverene izjeme: golo življenje in oblast, *homo sacer* in suverena. Zato lahko pomeni insignijo suverenosti in tudi izgon iz skupnosti (Agamben 2004: 121). Bandit kot »subjekt« je torej umeščen v izrednem stanju kot coni, ki ni ne zunaj in ne znotraj. V nasprotju z gverilo ni ne vključen in ne izključen. Agambenov *in bando* je nerelacijski, njegove žrtve so prepuščene svoji izoliranosti (Laclau 2005b: 3), saj pripadajo popolnoma heterogenemu polju. V političnem vedno obstaja moment negativnosti (tisto, kar je sistemu zunanje), ki zahteva konstrukcijo odnosa zunanje/notranje in postavlja suverenost v dvoumen položaj glede na pravni red. Vendar, ali lahko status političnega subjekta razložimo zgolj znotraj ali zunaj pravnega reda mesta. Agamben ima prav, ko pravi, da vsak na novo vzpostavljeni pravni sistem proizvede tudi skupine, ki so iz njega izključene. Nazoren primer so npr. izbrisani. Vendar, ali je morda ravno redukcija na pravni status problematična, ko razmišljamo o njihovi politični razsežnosti? Če sledimo za trenutek Lacanovi ideji, da se ostanki lacanovskega Realnega vedno kažejo v obliki »nič« – v obliki tega, kar je potisnjeno v stran oziroma je izpuščeno iz pomenske verige, potem govorimo o tem, čemur Lacan (v Laclau 2008a: 125) pravi *caput mortuum* označevalca. Ker signifikacija pomeni vpis enega označevalca namesto drugega, je *caput mortuum* tisto, kar ostane iz pomenske verige izključeno in pravzaprav določa samo strukturo verige. Obstoj nečesa zunaj verige je prvi pogoj obstoja njenega notranjega člena.

Laclau (2005b: 3) si ob tem zastavi ključno vprašanje: »/A/li artikulacije razsežnosti, na podlagi katerih Agamben razmišlja o strukturi ›bandita‹, izčrpajo sistem možnosti, ki jih ta struktura odpira? Z drugimi besedami: ali ni Agamben nemara izbral zgolj eno izmed teh možnosti in jo hipostaziral tako, da je pridobila edinstvene značilnosti?«

Agamben je pravzaprav muslimane postavil zunaj sistema razlik, ki konstruirajo pravni red. Vendar tisti, ki je postavljen zunaj sistema, ni nujno postavljen zunaj vsakega sistema, postavljen je npr. zgolj zunaj pravnega sistema. V tem primeru nimamo opraviti z brezpravnostjo kot protipravnostjo, temveč govorimo o dveh zakonih, ki se med seboj ne prepoznavata. Ni treba, da je zunanje tudi zunaj kakršnegakoli reda (ni nujno popolnoma heterogeno), gre zgolj za to, da je ta »zunanji« le zunaj reda mesta (Laclau 2005b: 3–4). V tem kontekstu lahko sledimo ugotovitvi, da z vidika potrditve zanikanje ni njeno nasprotje. »Ne« ni nasprotno »da-ju«, temveč sta zgolj različna. Da bi lahko rešili omenjeno ontološko zagato, moramo vpeljati Laclauov pojem *heterogenosti*.

Kot že omenjeno, je, tako za Lacana kot tudi za Laclaua, vse elemente (npr. elemente A, B) mogoče razložiti le s pomočjo igre razlik samih. Glede na to, da imamo opraviti s povsem razlikovalnimi iden-

³ Agamben pojasni, da gre pri *homo sacro* za obskurno figuro arhaičnega rimskega prava »... v kateri je človekovo življenje vključeno v ureditev zgolj na način njegove izključitve« (2004: 17).

titetami, moramo določiti celoto, znotraj katere so te identitete konstruirane kot različne. Ker Laclau ne predpostavlja središča strukture, morajo totalizirajoči učinki izhajati iz vzajemnega delovanja razlik samih. V kolikor imamo razlikovalno celoto, mora biti njena totalnost navzoča v vsakem posameznem dejanju pomenjenja. Totalnost moramo ločiti od nečesa Drugega, kar ni ona sama, in s tem doumeti njene meje. Ker totalnost že sama po sebi zaobseže vse razlike, bi bila druga razlika, ki naj bi proizvedla zunanost in šele omogočila konstruiranje totalnosti, glede na slednjo notranja in ne zunanja, nezmožna totaliziranja. Edina možnost za resnično zunanost je v tem, da zunanost ni še en nevtralni element, ampak je izključen element. Element, ki ga totalnost iz sebe izloči, zato da se lahko konstituira in zariše svoje meje. Pri tem je pomembno razumeti, da *vis-à-vis* izključenemu elementu vse razlike postanejo vzajemno ekvivalentne. Skupno jim je namreč zavračanje izključene identitete. Vsa identiteta se oblikuje nekje med logiko ekvivalence in logiko razlike, med homogenostjo in heterogenostjo. Na mestu totalnosti odkrijemo to napetost samo, neuspelo identiteto. Totalnost je objekt, ki je nemožen in hkrati nujen. Kljub temu še vedno obstaja potreba, da bi ta nemožni objekt dobil dostop do polja predstavnštva celotne verige. Tako lahko ena razlika prevzame nase predstavnštvo totalnosti. Na ta način je njeno telo razcepljeno med partikularnost, kar še vedno je, in univerzalnim pomenjenjem, katerega nosilec je. To operacijo imenujemo hegemonija. V tem smislu hegemonika identiteta postane nekaj, kar pripada redu praznega označevalca (Laclau 2008a: 63–64; Laclau 2007: 41–50).

Na več načinov se dogajajo poskusi prisvajanja praznega označevalca, zato je hegemonika operacija vedno začasna in netotalizirajoča. Vedno imamo torej opraviti s spodletelim poskusom totalizacije. Povedano drugače, totalnost je vedno le horizont in ne temelj neke družbene konstrukcije. Družbena homogenost konstituira simbolno orodje družbe – to je tisto, čemur bomo rekli logika razlike. Ena izmed oblik heterogenosti se pojavi, ko partikularna družbena zahteva ne more biti uresničena v danem sistemu. Vpis te zahteve v pravni red mesta je ponavadi izražena preko predstavnštva. Zahteva je namreč prekoračenje tistega, kar je razlikovalno predstavlljivo v sistemu. V tem primeru je heterogeno tisto, čemur primanjkuje sleherne razlikovalne umeščenosti v simbolnem redu (je enakovredno lacanovskemu Realnemu), pravi Laclau (2008a: 97). Zahteva ne more biti vključena niti v verigo ekvivalenc, ker trči ob partikularistične cilje, ki so že vezni člen te verige. Veriga ekvivalenc ni samo v nasprotju z antagonistično silo ali zatiralnim režimom, ampak tudi z nečim, kar nima dostopa do prostora predstavnštva (Laclau 2008a: 124). Radikalna zahteva (npr. zahteva izbrisanih ali delavcev migrantov) je skoraj popolnoma v rokah predstavnštva in zanje ne moremo trditi, da spadajo v polje popolne heterogenosti, saj v njihovem imenu govori zagovorniški diskurz, ki jih predstavlja. Za primer izbrisanih bi lahko rekli, da so se v polju popolne heterogenosti nahajali pred letom 1994, torej preden je prišlo do predstavnškega posega Helsinškega monitorja Slovenije, institucij, organizacij ter posameznikov.

Dejali bi lahko, da je zahteva izbrisanih ali nevidnih delavcev (IWW) sicer heterogena glede na pravni red ali zakon mesta, a le do točke, ko se ne more vpisati v pravni red zakona. Vsekakor ni radikalno heterogena, ker jo predstavnški diskurz prenese na polje antagonizma, ki je vedno že polje vpisa v simbolni red. Kot smo prej pokazali na podlagi kritike Agambena, pravni red ni edini možni zakon, v katerega se lahko vpisuje določena zahteva ali se konstituira določena identiteta. Če subjekta ne reduciramo na golo življenje, potem lahko hitro vidimo, da bo subjekt imel zahteve, ki bodo presegle okvire golega življenja. Zahteve bodo delovale znotraj variabilnega polja, ki ga suverena oblast ne more ignorirati. Ko se zavedamo tega polja heterogenosti, iz katerega lahko vzniknejo zahteve, takrat se pojem suverenosti začne preoblikovati v pojem hegemonije. Ta je za Laclaua dinamična, saj je podvržena polju kontingenca, zato nikdar dokončno ne totalizira razmerij moči.

Lahko sklenemo, da je Agamben z ignoriranjem polja heterogenosti pravzaprav izločil možnost vznika političnega, saj sodobno družbo reducira na odnos suverene oblasti in golega življenja. Na drugi strani Laclau (2005b) opozarja na »prostor«, ki se nahaja med suvereno oblastjo in golim življenjem. Ne odpre se samo v trenutkih »organske krize«, kot temu pravi Gramsci, temveč tudi v trenutkih, v katerih neka družbena gibanja oblikujejo partikularistične politične prostore in si sama dodelijo svoj »red«. Ta se deloma nahaja zunaj, deloma pa znotraj pravnega reda države.

Točka razpoke torej ni zgolj zanikanje pravnega statusa nedržavljanov, zato gre razpoke iskati v drugih razsežnostih zanikanja konstituiranja identitete teh ljudi. Lahko gre npr. za zanikanje povsem vsakdanjih in življenjskih stvari, kot so zanikanje pravice do dela, pokojnine, porodniškega dopusta, zdravstvenega zavarovanja, potovanja, prebivališča, družinskega življenja, partnerstva, itd. Na to kaže tudi vzrok nastanka problema. Zatiralni režim zadane v samo srž antagonističnega odnosa, ki v prvi vrsti zanika konstituiranje identitete tistega, ki ga izgrajuje kot svojega Drugega. Če vsi ti prej naštetih segmenti ne bi bili zanikani, potem antagonističnega odnosa, o katerem tu govorimo, ne bi bilo. Antagonizem se oblikuje šele med odnosom zatiralnega režima, subjektom in identiteto, ki je zunaj teh odnosov. Tudi v tem smislu imamo v družbenih antagonizmi opravi s heterogenostjo, ki ni dialektično nadomestljiva. Antagonistična meja vključuje heterogenega drugega, ki je dialektično nenadomestljiv. Opozicija med A in B ne bo nikoli zares postala odnos med A in ne-A. B-jevstvo B-ja se nikoli ne bo moglo vključiti v to dialektiko (Laclau 2008a: 135). Subjekti bodo vedno nekaj več kot golo nasprotje zatiralnega režima oziroma oblasti. Če smo dosledni, kot pravi Laclau (2008a: 132), tu nimamo opravi s z dialektičnim zanikanjem, v katerem zanikani element opredeli identiteto zanikajočega. »Ljudstva brez zgodovine« oziroma muslimani, če uporabimo Agambenovo terminologijo, ne določajo, kaj so zgodovinska ljudstva. Odnos med izključenimi subjekti in zatiralnim režimom ni dialektičen. Antagonizem ni inherenten odnosu migrantskih delavcev ali izbrisanih na eni in zatiralnega režima na drugi strani. To je razlog, zakaj je heterogenost konstitutivna; ne more je namreč preseči nikakršen dialektični preobrat. Če želimo opravi s z dialektično rešitvijo in statičnim potrjevanjem binarne opozicije, je vpeljava heterogenosti nujna (Laclau 2008a: 133).

Najpomembnejša točka antagonizma je meja vsake objektivnosti. Antagonistični odnos nastane npr. med državo in nedržavljanom ter »konstitutivno zunanostjo« tega odnosa, ko nedržavljan ne more uživati državljskih pravic, ker mu njegova pravna ali ekonomska situacija onemogoča izpolnjevanje osnovnih življenjskih potreb. Družbeni antagonizem vznikne, ker družbeni agenti občutijo, da jim »sovražnik« preprečuje doseganje njihove lastne identitete in z njo povezanih interesov. Spodletelo identiteto vzajemno izkusita tako antagonistična sila kot sila, ki je antagonizirana.

Odnos med pravnim redom in izbrisanimi ni odnos popolne izključenosti. Kot pravi Laclau (2008b), je popolno izključenost mogoče doseči le, če mislimo, da je pravni red totalizirana koherentna celota. Vendar, če pravni red vidimo kot navzkrižno razpokan in prežet z mnogimi antagonizmi, potem bo zunanje tega reda vzniknilo nekje vmes, in sicer tako, da boj izbrisanih ali nevidnih delavcev ne bo omejen na njegovo obrobje. Heterogeni elementi bodo sposobni izvesti homogenizirajoče operacije. Med »zunanostjo« in »notranostjo« ni nepremične meje, temveč stalno premeščanje mej, ki vedno na novo določajo mejo med notranostjo in zunanostjo. Menimo, da so vse te razsežnosti in elementi vpisani v heterogenost, ki je konstitutivna za antagonistični odnos med zatiranim in zatiralnim režimom. In če za Laclaua ni nečesa takega, kot je radikalna zunanost, je za Agambena radikalna zunanost prav temelj njegove teorije. Za Agambena bi bili izbrisani ali migrantski delavci akterji, ki so popolnoma izpuščeni iz zakona mesta ali pravnega reda, zato pa reducirani na golo življenje in nezmožni delovanja. Agamben namreč zanika vse strukturne možnosti, ki jih odpira vsaka novonastala družbenopolitična situacija, in pri tem zapira možnost za emancipatorni naboj (Laclau 2005b).

Kajti če pogledamo možnosti vpisa muslimana v simbolni red, naletimo na paradoksalno situacijo. Agamben namreč govori o paradoksu pričanja in zapiše: »1. Musliman je priča, ki bi lahko povedala vse. To implicira protislovni trditvi: Musliman je nečlovek, tisti, ki v nobenem primeru ne bi mogel pričati; 2. Tisti, ki ne more pričati, je prava priča, je absolutna priča« (Agamben 2005a: 106). Za Agambena je subjekt pričanja konstitutivno razcepljen. To pomeni biti »subjekt desubjektivacije« in zato je priča etični subjekt, tisti subjekt, ki priča o desubjektivaciji. »In nedodeljivost pričanja je samo cena za ta razcep, nerazdružljivo blizkost muslimana in priče, nezmožnosti in zmožnosti izreči« (Agamben 2005a: 106). Kot ugotavlja Šumič-Riha (2005: 133), se za Agambena vprašanje pričevanja postavi šele z njegovo nemožnostjo, pričevanje postane etičnopolitični problem, ko v vlogi priče nastopi golo življenje samo: musliman. Golo življenje ni več obravnavano v registru politike oziroma političnega, ampak v registru etike.

Če povzamemo: Agambenov proces subjektivacije se lahko zgodi zgolj z desubjektivacijo; odnos med pričo in desubjektiviranim je paradoksalen, saj je ujet v paradoks priče nezmožne pričanja, kar onemogoča, da bi se katerakoli emancipatorna zahteva vpisala v pravni red mesta. Kot poudarja Jelica Šumič-Riha (2005: 133–134), vprašanje golega življenja ni več vprašanje političnega, temveč postane tematizirano v polju etike. Agambenov musliman je po mnenju avtorice prevladujoči trend v postmodernistični in postlacanovski misli, trend depolitizacije ter »etizacije« krivice. Trend, ki bi ga lahko najbolj opredelili kot premik iz politične subjektivacije v estetsko sublimacijo »žrtve«.

Da bi lahko bolje prezentirali ontološko dimenzijo pojma predstavnštva, si pogledjmo še ideje Hardta in Negrija. Avtorja, tako kot Agamben, izhajata iz foucaultovsko navdahnjenih pojmov biopolitike in biooblasti, vendar nasprotno od Agambenovega desubjektiviranega subjekta govorita o »produkciji subjektivnosti«. Zanju je subjekt subjektivnost, ki producira, pri čemer je motor te produkcije subjektivnosti ravno odpor subjekta do oblasti (Negri 2008: 37).

POLITIKA MULTITUDE

Ugotovili smo, da iz Agambenove desubjektivacije ne more vznikniti nikakršen subjekt. Zlasti ne politični subjekt, ki bi, npr. v slogu gverile, z vstopom na politično areno zahteval svoje pravice. Pri Agambenu gre predvsem za »subjekt« ali celo objekt, ki sproža zanimanje gledalca šele, ko se njegova potencialnost zatakne v totalnost biopolitične paradigme taborišča. Kajti nemožnost vstopa agambenovskega »subjekta«, ki je v govoru desubjektiviran, v polje simbolnega, nam preprečuje, da njegov »subjekt« mislimo v navezavi na identiteto oziroma proces identifikacije. Ta nastopi šele z vstopom subjekta v diskurzivno, torej v trenutku, ko subjekt postane subjekt izjavljanja. Nasprotno je identiteto mogoče misliti pri Hardtu in Negriju ali Laclauu. Zato se zdi smiselno predstaviti možnosti preboja subjekta v polje, kjer bo lahko artikuliral svojo zahtevo. Tukaj imamo sedaj na voljo dve poti; pot, ki jo predlagata Hardt & Negri, in tisto, ki jo predlaga Laclau. Za Hardta in Negrija je to imanentistična pot etičnega projekta multitude. Avtorja na eno stran postavita biooblast, na drugo pa biopolitiko odpora. Slednji producira subjektivnost in vodi v alternativne oblike osvobojanja (Hardt & Negri 2009: 31). Laclauova pot pa je bolj transcendentalno obarvana perspektiva. Pogledjmo najprej pot do osvoboditve, kot sta si jo zamislila Hardt & Negri. Za osnovno referenco njenega pristopa bomo vzeli *Commonwealth* (2009), saj menimo, da je v veliki meri nadgradnja idej iz njenega zgodnejšega dela *Imperij* (2003). V pričujočem prispevku nas zanimajo predvsem modusi subjektivacije, zato bomo ideje Hardta & Negrija (2009) uokvirili v to problematiko.

Osnovni namen Hardta & Negrija je artikulacija etičnega projekta demokratične politične akcije proti Imperiju. Imperij je zanju brezmejna in razsrediščena entiteta, ki ji nasprotuje multituda. Slednja ima značilnost multiciplite in je kot niz singularnosti nosilka revolucionarnega projekta transformacije. Pri tem je njun osnovni politični projekt vzpostavitev »skupnega«⁴ (*common*), ki odpira nove prostore politike (Hardt & Negri 2009: ix, 31). Kot zapišeta sama, je multituda nekaj, kar ne predpostavlja hegemonskega razmerja, temveč je nekakšen *a priori* »biti proti« (gl. Negri & Hardt 2003), za katerega ni povsem jasno, kako in zakaj se artikulira, bolj je jasno, proti čemu se artikulira. Vendar pojdemo po vrsti in najprej predstavimo temeljne poudarke njune misli. Poleg že omenjenih *multitude* in *skupnega* bo za nas zanimivo njuno razumevanje procesa *postajanja*, pojem singularnosti, ki ga postavita nasproti pojmu identitete, ter njuno nasprotovanje ideji političnega predstavnštva. Vsi pojmi so med seboj ne-ločljivo povezani in lotili se jih bomo hkrati.

Najprej je tu vprašanje identitete, ki za Hardta in Negrija, tako kot tudi za Laclaua in Agambena, ni več locirano v modernem razumevanju identitete. Ne sprašujeta se, »kaj smo«, temveč, »kaj smo v

4 Ker tu ni prostora, da bi razlagali temeljne pojme, bralca napotujemo na izvirnik. Naj povemo le, da pojem skupnega avtorja vpeljeta kot nadomestek za opozicijo med zasebnim in javnim, na kateri temelji politika (gl. Hardt & Negri 2009: viii, 89, 111–112).

procesu postajanja«. V tem smislu sledita imanentizmu Spinoze, Nietzscheja, Deleuza in Foucaulta. Prav imanentistična pozicija predstavlja osnovno paradigmatško razliko Laclaua. Slednji namreč sledi teoretski poti, ki je presek med mislijo Jacquesa Derridaja in Jacquesa Lacana. Pri Lacanu, Derridaju in Laclauu namesto imanence vedno obstaja neka negativnost ali temeljna razcepljenost (npr. konstitutivna zunajnost ali Realno), ki določa subjekta in strukturo ter opredeljuje razumevanje identifikacije.

Hardt & Negri menita, da se je treba osvoboditi izpod esencialističnega razumevanja identitete. Zanju je ključna produkcija subjektivnosti kot take, ki vedno nastaja znotraj dispozitiva. Po njunem mnenju mora zato biti etični horizont preusmerjen iz posedovanja *identitete* v *postajanje drugo* (Hardt & Negri 2009: x-xi). Menita, da je *postajanje* (becoming) vedno predhodno *biti* (being), zato pojem identitete zamenja ta konstanten proces postajanja (2009: 124). Denimo postajanje telo brez organov, kot bi se izrazila Deleuze & Guattari. Skozi produkcijo subjektivnosti je multituda sama avtor svojega procesa *postajanja drugo* (becoming other) in predstavlja neprekinjen proces kolektivnega samospreminjanja (2009: 173). Tako avtorja pojem identitete zavrneta kot modernističnega in na njegovo mesto postavita pojem *singularnosti*. Zanju je identiteta instrument kapitalistične mistifikacije in represije, ki skuša streti delovanje v smeri konstruiranja multitudine in skupnega. Singularnosti ne moremo zvesti na identiteto, kot multituda ne more postati nek unificiran kolektivni subjekt (Hardt & Negri 2009: 319–320). K temu razlikovanju pritiče tudi njuno terminološko razlikovanje med *emancipacijo* in *osvoboditvijo*. Medtem ko naj bi emancipacija stremela le k *prostosti* (freedom) identitete, torej k prostosti »biti to, kar si«, pa osvoboditev meri k svobodnosti samodeterminacije in samospreminjanja, k svobodnosti, ki determinira to, kar lahko postaneš. Medtem ko identiteta deluje po logiki »imetja« (imeti, posedovati identiteto), singularnost sledi logiki *postajanja*. Identitete so emancipirane, medtem ko se singularnosti lahko osvobodijo (Hardt & Negri 2009: 338–339). Politike, pripete na identiteto, tako preprečujejo produkcijo subjektivnosti, nasprotno pa osvoboditev terja prevzemanje kontrole nad produkcijo subjektivnosti, kar ji omogoča napredovanje (Hardt & Negri 2009: 331). Singularnost, ki je vedno v procesu postajanja, je sama po sebi konstanten tok in multiciplitet, ki jo zaznamuje tudi njen odnos do multiciplitet zunaj nje. Vedno je v odnosu z drugimi singularnostmi, s katerimi tvori družbo. Samo taka singularnost je po mnenju avtorjev lahko nosilec revolucije.

Ker pa multituda tako za Laclaua kot tudi za Hardta in Negrija ni spontan politični subjekt, temveč projekt političnega organiziranja, je treba narediti korak od »biti« multituda k »delati« multitudine (Hardt & Negri 2009: 169). Kako delati multitudine, je vprašanje, ki si ga avtorja sama postavljata, in obenem tudi vprašanje, ki je bilo v preteklih letih na njiju večkrat naslovljeno. Avtorja odgovorita z razlago horizontalno organiziranih multiciplitet, ki so sposobne političnega dejanja. Multituda je oblika politične organizacije, ki po eni strani poudarja multicipliteto družbenih singularnosti v boju za osvoboditev, na drugi strani pa skuša koordinirati skupna dejanja, da bi ohranila medsebojno enakost na horizontalno organizirani strukturi (Hardt & Negri 2009: 110, 166).

Vprašanje, ki se vedno znova poraja, je, kako misliti multitudine, oziroma kako singularnosti lahko delujejo za skupni politični cilj, če ob tem predpostavljamo, da se ohranja horizontalna in rizomatična struktura multitudine. Če vzamemo za primerjavo kar Laclaua, ugotovimo, da je vsem trem izhodiščni prvi pogoj razumevanja družbenega pravzaprav njeno radikalno heterogeno družbeno polje. Hkrati politično dejanje zahteva, da se singularnosti artikulirajo, da bi definirale in strukturirale politične odnose med njimi. Laclau (2008a: 211–216) ter Hardt in Negri (2009: 167) ugotavljajo, da do razhoda obeh pozicij pride pri razumevanju Laclauovega ljudstva in hegemonije. Po mnenju Hardta in Negrija naj bi Laclau zagovarjal idejo vznika *vodilne hegemonске sile* (leading hegemonic force), ki se mora vzpostaviti, da bi vodila proces in rabila kot točka identifikacije za vse singularnosti. Hardt in Negri menita, da je Laclauova hegemonija poenotenje pluralnih singularnosti, ki multitudine spremeni v ljudstvo. To prav zaradi poenotenja postane sposobno političnega dejanja. Hardt in Negri se izrazita predvsem proti multitudini, ki se artikulira v ljudstvo. Kako se to v resnici zgodi, pri Laclauu pokažemo v naslednjem poglavju. Izrazita se tudi proti organiziranju multitudine v nek protihegemonski politični subjekt. V kolikor se lahko strinjamo, da je za Laclaua multituda figura na poti k politiki, vendar ne politična figura (Hardt & Negri

2009: 166–167), se ne moremo strinjati s Hardtovim in z Negrijevim redukcionističnim razumevanjem ljudstva, hegemonije in predstavnštva.

Njuno (ne)razumevanje se kaže v kritiki, ki jo izrazita do pojma predstavnštva in hegemonije. Menita, da predstavnštvo in hegemonija ne moreta zaobjeti heterogenosti oziroma multiciplite akterjev. Navedeta primer bolivijjskih delavcev in njihovih razmer, saj v tem primeru ne moremo več govoriti o razredu, ki bi ga lahko vertikalno organizirali v centralizirano strukturo. Po njunem mnenju zgolj nek segment delavcev (npr. rudarjev) ne more hegemonsko reprezentirati interesov celotnega delavskega razreda. Trdita, da ima multituda značilnost multiciplite, v nasprotju s koherentnostjo razreda (Hardt & Negri 2009: 110). S tem se povsem strinjamo, a to še zdaleč ni konec zgodbe o hegemoniji.

Nadalje poudarjata (gl. Hardt & Negri 2009: 305), da so potrebe biopolitične produkcije neposredno v konfliktu s političnim predstavnštvom in hegemonijo. Dejanje predstavljanja (in tukaj je tudi ena izmed zmot, kajti predstavnštvo ni zgolj dejanje, temveč logika) hegemonizira singularnosti in krči produkcijo skupnega s spodkopavanjem potrebne svobode in pluralnosti, o katerih smo prej govorili. Ljudstvo bi lahko ohranilo obstoječe skupno, vendar za produkcijo novih instanc skupnega potrebuje multitudo. Potrebuje srečanja, sodelovanje in komunikacijo med singularnostmi. Kajti hegemonija, ki nastaja z razdvajanjem med predstavniki in predstavljenimi, je po njunem mnenju nova prepreka k produkciji skupnega. Ne samo, da vse tovrstne hierarhije spodkopavajo biopolitično produkcijo, tudi vsaka instanca hegemonije ali kontrole, vršene nad multitudo in produktivnim procesom, slednjo onemogoča. Njuna redukcija pri razumevanju hegemonije je še očitnejša, ko pravita, da je demokracija – in ne aristokracija (s tem namreč predpostavljata, da sta hegemonija in predstavnštvo nujno negativna, ker naj bi prihajala od zgoraj navzdol) vzpostavljena skozi predstavnštvo in hegemonijo – potrebna za produkcijo skupnega in razširitev produktivnih sil. Vznikniti morata skupno in multitudo, ki delujeta znotraj demokratične produkcije subjektivitete, ki jo zaobjema moč odločanja.

Kot alternativo hegemoniji tematizirata organizacijo singularnosti, saj vseeno priznavata, da singularnost potrebuje neke vrste organizacijo. Menita, da je organizacija singularnosti potrebna za politično dejanje in sprejemanje odločitev. Organizacija ni spontana, čemur ne moremo oporekati. Poudarjata, da hegemonija, unifikacija, oblikovanje suverena in unificirane oblasti – čeprav so to država, stranka ali ljudstvo,⁵ niso nujen prvi pogoj za politiko. Zanju spontanost in hegemonija nista edini alternativni. Multituda lahko razvije moč, da se organizira skozi konfliktne in sodelujoče interakcije singularnosti v skupnem (Hardt & Negri 2009: 175). Kako singularnosti medsebojno delujejo, pojasnita s pojmom 'križišč' (*intersections*), ki pripomorejo k nastanku multiture. To ni aliansa ali koalicija, kajti multitudo sestavljajo srečanja singularitet znotraj skupnega. Medtem ko alianse in koalicije ne morejo preseči fiksacije na identitete, ki se borijo za emancipacijo, pa »križišča« ne združujejo identitet v smislu njihovega povezovanja v verige (tu aludirata na Laclauove verige ekvivalenc), temveč spremenijo singularnosti v proces osvoboditve, ki okrog njih vzpostavlja skupno (Hardt & Negri 2009: 350).

Izpostavimo nekaj temeljnih paradoksov oziroma težav, ki jih dojemamo kot nekonsistentnosti perspektive, ki jo ponudita Hardt & Negri.

Prvo vprašanje, ki ga je vredno nasloviti, se navezuje na organiziranje singularnosti. Sprašujemo se, kaj je tista »sila«, ki vpliva na to, da se bodo singularitete artikulirale v »križiščih«, ki jih omenjata Hardt & Negri. Zdi se, da je politična artikulacija prepuščena popolnemu naključju. Avtorja namreč ne predvidevata nikakršne logike artikulacije, kot jo najdemo pri Laclauu, npr. take, ki bi delovale s pomočjo lacanovskega »objekt mali a« ali bi po laclauovski logiki politične artikulacije artikulirala skupne zahteve singularitet.

Drugič, vprašati se je treba, kakšno je razmerje med imperijem in multitudo. Hardt & Negri se ne sprašujeta o ontoloških vprašanjih vzpostavitve družbenega antagonizma med imperijem in multitudo.

⁵ Tu je treba poudariti, da ljudstvo seveda ni enako kot stranka ali država, že samo zato, ker je ljudstvo drugača dvema predhodno oziroma je pojem konstituiranja političnega kot ontološke kategorije, medtem ko sta stranka in država, kot smo pokazali uvodoma, povsem empirično-sistemska kategoriji.

Osredotočata se samo na empirično raven konflikta multiture proti imperiju in s privzemanjem tega konflikta kot danega, anahronistično reproducirata »zablodo« marksizma. V mislih imamo predvsem marksistično ločevanje razrednih esenc, ki temelji na povsem esencialistični logiki identitetnega dualizma. Gre za logiko, za katero avtorja sama ves čas pravi, da ji nasprotujeta. Kot smo že pokazali, ne le, da antagonizem ni objektivno razmerje, temveč je razmerje, v katerem se pokažejo meje vsake objektivnosti. Z zornega kota vsake izmed obeh antagonističnih sil njen nasprotujoči ni objektivna prisotnost, ki dosega polnost svoje identitete, temveč ravno nasprotno, predstavlja tistega, zaradi katerega ne more polno konstituirati svoje identitete. To pomeni, da dokler ostanemo znotraj perspektive ene izmed obeh antagonističnih silnic, se nam antagonistični moment kaže kot spopad, ki nakazuje nezmožnost družbe, da bi dosegla popolno objektivnost. Z drugimi besedami, nakazuje nezmožnost dokončne totalizacije razmerij med identitetami. Da bi antagonizem označili kot objektivni, bi to od nas zahtevalo nevtralen oziroma objektivni pogled na odnos. Če želimo antagonizem razlagati kot družbeno konstitutiven in ne derivativen, je prav takšna objektivizacija razmerij to, čemur se je treba izogniti (Laclau 2006a: 104–105). Laclau (2008a: 212) v zvezi s tem poudarja, da je Hardt-Negrijevski *a priori* »biti proti« Imperiju, ki rabi za utemeljitev enotnosti nekega političnega subjekta, privzema isto mesto, kot ga ima pri Laclauu hegemonika artikulacija. Vendar je sama kategorija »biti proti« problem, ki smo ga prej naslovili prek Laclauovega razumevanja družbene heterogenosti. Šele ko konflikt premislimo v ontoloških okvirih antagonizma, se lahko znebimo esencializma, ki se tudi po Hardtu in Negriju kaže kot temeljni moderni problem pojma identitete.

Tretjič, izpostavljamo problem razumevanja pojma predstavnštva, proti kateremu avtorja zavzemata kritično stališče. »Težava« je ravno v tem, da Hardt in Negri kritizirata klasično razumevanje predstavnštva, ki predpostavlja polno konstituiranost identitet oziroma akterjev, še preden proces predstavnštva sploh nastopi. Ob tem se ravno sama ujama v podobne esencializme. V tem smislu Hardt in Negri razumeta predstavnštvo zgolj deskriptivistično in ga popolnoma zavrneta. Kajti problem deskriptivizma je ponovna esencializacija pozicij v sami relaciji oziroma procesu predstavnštva (v smislu fiksirane relacije označevalec–označenec). V nadaljevanju kompleksneje pojasnimo to logiko, saj menimo, da v praksi tudi multitura ne more delovati povsem heterogeno. V tem primeru namreč ne bi moglo priti do artikulacije politične zahteve. Seveda se ni težko strinjati z njuno kritiko klasičnih identitetnih esencializmov, kjer imamo res opravka s »posedovanjem identitete«, vendar je proces pojmovanja identitete, vsaj v teoriji, že presegel tovrstne anahronizme. Denimo po logiki psihoanalize se to »posedovanje« lahko vedno artikulira samo v fantazmatskem, v simbolnem pa vedno ostaja samo želja oziroma spodleteli poskus »posedovati identiteto«. Identiteto je torej treba razumeti le kot neskončen proces vedno znova spodletelih identifikacij.

Četrtoč, menimo, da gre pri Hardtu in Negriju za redukcionistično razumevanje logike hegemonije, saj avtorja ostajata na ravni konceptualnega opredeljevanja hegemonije. Iz tega izhaja tudi njuno razumevanje hegemonije kot nekega negativnega ustroja moči, ki dokončno prejšje oziroma hegemonizira in totalizira družbeno polje ter zatira demokratičen proces osvobajanja. Iz njune kritike hegemonije izhaja zmotna predstava, da mora biti hegemonija v rokah nekega konkretnega družbenega akterja ali subjekta. V praksi se to velikokrat zgodi, a Laclau je daleč od tega, da bi hegemonijo posebljal. Kot zapiše tudi Smith (1998: 184–185), je pri Laclauu ključno prav to, da hegemoniki »akter« ni konkreten subjekt, temveč historična sila, ki je subjektu vedno predhodna. Hegemonija in oblast torej nista vedno instrumenta v rokah »zlobnih« posameznikov ali skupin, temveč sta pogoj možnosti nastanka vsake subjektivnosti (tudi protioblastne). Treba je govoriti o hegemoniki zahtevi, ideji ali praznem označevalcu, brez katerega verjetno tudi multitura Hardta in Negrija ni zmožna artikulirati političnega boja. Logika hegemonike artikulacije namreč predstavlja način delovanja političnega. Hardt in Negri preprosto ne vidita, kakšne implikacije ima lahko hegemonika artikulacija, če nanjo gledamo skozi *logiko poimeno-*vanja, ki jo predstavimo v nadaljevanju.

POLITIKA PREDSTAVNIŠTVA

Sedaj želimo v okviru zgoraj navedenih kritik izpostaviti teoretsko pot, ki gre od Derridaja in Lacana do Laclaua. Namesto imanence imamo tu vedno že opraviti z neko negativnostjo, ki določa subjekt in strukturo ter opredeljuje razumevanje identifikacije, predstavnštva in hegemonije. Predlagamo, da začnemo s predstavnštvom, kot ga razume Laclau. Laclau (2007: 99) pravi, da je predstavnštvo:

/P/proces, v katerem nekdo drug – reprezentant – »nadomesti« in hkrati »utelesi« reprezentirano. Zdi se, da so pogoji za popolno reprezentacijo izpolnjeni, kadar je reprezentacija neposreden proces prenosa volje reprezentiranega, kadar je akt reprezentacije povsem transparenten glede na to voljo. To pa predpostavlja, da je volja polno konstituirana in povsem transparentna glede na to voljo. /.../ Prav tukaj se začne težave. Ne predstavnik ne predstavljeno namreč ne moreta izpolniti pogojev za popolno predstavnštvo – in to ni rezultat tega, kar je mogoče empirično doseči, temveč same logike, inherentne procesu predstavnštva. Predstavnštvo je razbito in zamegljeno »ogledalo«, ki ga nenehno moti heterogeno »Realno«, saj ga predstavnštvo ne more simbolno obvladati. Predstavnštvo torej nikdar ne more biti popolno (Laclau 2008a: 126).

Za Laclaua je predstavnštvo vedno dvosmerni proces: na eni strani je to prenos med predstavljenim in predstavnikom, na drugi strani pa med predstavnikom in predstavljenim. V nasprotju s klasičnimi pojmovanji predstavnštva, kot je npr. Rousseaujevo, ki je demokracijo razumel kot enosmerno, transparentno in neposredovano, je bistvo Laclauove teorije zanikanje konceptualne narave predstavnštva in razumevanje predstavnštva skozi *logiki poimenovanja* in *'dopolnila' (le supplément)*. Ker v tem okviru nimamo opraviti s fiksnimi korelacijami med označevalcem in označencem ali med predstavljenim in tistim, ki predstavlja, na tem mestu zavračamo deskriptivistična razumevanja političnega predstavnštva in privzemamo Laclauov antideskriptivistični pogled. V njem je enotnost objekta retroaktivna posledica njegovega *poimenovanja*. Glavna poanta je zavračanje konceptualnega prekrivanja med imenom in stvarjo. To zagovarja prej omenjeni deskriptivizem in se manifestira skozi Saussurjevo relacijo med označevalcem ter označencem. Po antideskriptivistični logiki sta namreč identiteta in enotnost subjekta posledica operacije poimenovanja, v kateri ime postane temelj stvari (gl. Laclau 2008b). To je prvi pogoj nastanka prave singularnosti (Laclauov neobjavljeni rokopis). V tem smislu zahteva nekega subjekta nikoli ni nek *a priori* (npr. Hardt & Negrijev naravni »biti proti« Imperiju), temveč se ta »biti proti« artikurira šele skozi logiko poimenovanja. Ta identiteto vzvratno konstruira skozi proces hegemoničnega označevalca.

Ko določen element prevzame predstavnštvo, imamo opraviti s hegemonskim razmerjem. Za nas minimalni objekt analize ni akter, temveč *zahteva*. Zahteva predpostavlja, da družbena skupina ni ultimativno homogen referent, temveč gre njeno enotnost razumeti kot artikulacijo heterogenih zahtev. Družbena dejanja tako razumemo kot zahteve, ker je vsak subjekt subjekt manka. Subjekt vedno vznikne v asimetriji med nezmožnostjo polno konstituirane družbe in partikularnostjo mesta izjave (Laclau 2006b: 654–655). Zahteva transcendentira akterja, določen element pa mora nastopiti kot nosilec pomena celotne verige. V tem primeru ena specifična zahteva prevzame vlogo praznega označevalca. Posledično mora ta zahteva do neke mere opustiti svoja partikularistična nagnjenja in vsaj začasno prevzeti značilnosti univerzalnega. V tem smislu je prazni označevalec tisti, ki deluje kot ime in retroaktivno konstituira objekte, ki jih predstavlja. Če povzamemo Laclauove besede: poimenovanje, ki ni omejeno z nobenimi apriornimi konceptualnimi mejami, je tisto, ki bo glede na kontingentnost hegemonskih artikulacij retroaktivno determiniralo, kaj je poimenovano (Laclau 2000: 57). Iz tega izhaja, da logika predstavnštva ne temelji na ideji predstavljanja »izvirnik«, temveč na Lacanovi logiki *poimenovanja* in Derridajevi logiki *dopolnila*. Če nekdo mora biti predstavljen, je to rezultat dejstva, da je njegova temeljna identiteta konstituirana v prostoru A in da se bodo odločitve, ki lahko vplivajo na to identiteto, sprejemale v prostoru B. Toda v tem primeru je njegova identiteta nepopolna identiteta in razmerje predstavnštva – daleč od tega, da bi se nanašalo na povsem razvito identiteto – je dopolnilo oziroma supplement, ki je nujen za konstituiranje te identitete. V tem smislu se identiteta predstavljenega pre-

obrazi in razširi pri predstavljanju (Laclau 2007: 100). Bistveno pri uvajanju logike dopolnila v razumevanje procesa predstavnštva je predvsem to, da dopolnilo izpodbija razumevanje predstavnštva kot totalizirajočega odnosa, kajti kot kaže tudi antideskriptivistična logika poimenovanja, v tem odnosu vedno nekaj »uhaja«. Vedno obstaja nekaj nereprezentabilnega, ki ves čas uhaja tudi v odnosu med predstavljenim in predstavnikom. V tem smislu je tudi Laclauovsko ljudstvo vselej nekaj več kot le čisto nasprotje oblasti. Obstaja namreč neko Realno ljudstva, ki se upira simbolni integraciji (Laclau 2008a: 135). Ali, kot izvorno zapiše Derrida (1998: 179):

Toda dopolnilo dopolnjuje. Dodaja se le zato, da bi nadomeščalo [*remplacer*]. Intervenira oziroma vsili se namesto-nečesa [*à-la-place-de*]; če zapolnjuje, potem zapolnjuje tako, da zapolnjujemo neko praznino. Če reprezentira in ustvarja podobo, potem to počne preko predhodnega umanjkanja prisotnosti. S tem, ko dopolnilo dopolnjuje in nadomešča [*vaicaire*], je pomočnik, podrejena instanca, ki *nadomešča* [*tient-lieu*]. /.../ Nekje se nekaj ne more zapolniti *sámo s seboj* in se dovrši zgolj s tem, da se pusti zapolniti z znakom in *pro cura*. Znak je vselej dopolnilo same reči.

Vloga predstavnika bo vedno prekoračila preprosto zrcaljenje interesa predstavljenega in v derridajevski logiki bo to dopolnilo v procesu predstavljanja postalo vse bolj pomembno in konstitutivno za identiteto ter zahtevo predstavljenega. Derridajeve misli strni Grilc (1998: 409), ki pravi, da se dopolnilo: »/.../ nahaja zgolj na samem izvoru, da je morda celo pred njim in da ga nikakor ne moremo omejiti na nek naknadni dodatek. Dopolnilo je vedno že tam, kjer je izvor«. Z drugimi besedami, predstavnik je vedno že na mestu predstavljenega.

Vidimo torej, da Laclauovo pojmovanje predstavnštva skozi logiko dopolnila in poimenovanja v osnovi predstavlja ravno to karakterističnost Derridajevega dekonstrukcijskega branja, ki se giblje v dinamiki »dodajanja« na način dopolnila. Dopolnila, kot tistega »več« oziroma presežka na eni strani in zapolnjevanja vrzeli, domnevno praznega, primarnega manka reprezentiranega, ki se kaže v seriji spodletelih reprezentacij. V teh je totalnost odnosa med predstavljenim in predstavnikom lahko samo horizont. Kot že omenjeno, identiteta se kaže le skozi serijo spodletelih identifikacij in je lahko fiksirana le v fantazmatiskem. Tako sta presežek in dopolnilo vedno v nekem »dialektičnem odnosu« s konstitutivnim mankom.

Podobno deluje prazni označevalec, ki pri Laclauu nastopi kot nosilec ekvivalenčne verige. Dobimo neprestan boj in napetost med univerzalnostjo praznega označevalca, ki se izgrajuje kot predstavnik, ter partikularističnimi težnjami zahtev, ki so vpete v ekvivalenčno verigo. Če je partikularistična razsežnosti zahtev zelo šibka, potem elementi lahko postanejo politično desubjektivirani.

Laclau na najbolj bazični ravni logiko odnosa med predstavljenim in tistim, ki predstavlja, prenese na logiko retorične operacije. Retorična premestitev se namreč zgodi, ko preneseni izraz zamenja dobesednega. Klasična retorika prenesen izraz, ki ni nadomestljiv z dobesednim, imenuje *katahreza* in s tem kaže na figurativnost jezika. To argumentacijo lahko oblikujemo, če sprejmemo dejstvo, da ima vsako prevračanje pomena v svoji osnovi potrebo izraziti nekaj, česar dobesedni pomen ne sporoča. V tem smislu je katahreza več kot posebna figura: je skupni imenovalc retorike. To je mesto, na katerem Laclau (2008a: 65) retoriko povezuje s praznimi označevalci in hegemonijo. V hegemonskem razmerju ena partikularna razlika vzame nase predstavljanje totalnosti, ki jo presega. Če se prazni označevalci porajajo iz potrebe po poimenovanju objekta, kar je nemogoče in hkrati nujno, in se porajajo od tiste ničelne stopnje pomenjenja, kar je osnovni pogoj vsakega označevalnega procesa, potem je hegemonška operacija skoz in skoz katahrezična. Vsako predstavnštvo in konstrukcija »ljudstva« sta v bistvu katahrezična (Laclau 2008a: 65).

Sedaj nam preostane samo še to, da mislimo emancipatorične projekte skozi vznik singularnega. Kot smo ravnokar pokazali, prazni označevalec, ki se vzpostavi prek logike poimenovanja in začasno totalizira ter daje hegemonsko univerzalnost neki verigi ekvivalenc, uhaja konceptualnim opredelitvam družbenega. Nima konceptualnega korelata in lahko tvori zgodovinsko singularnost. Trenutek singularnosti je tisti, ki se upira univerzalnosti. A kljub temu ta singularnost ni nekompatibilna s hegemonškim tipom univerzalnosti, predvsem zato, ker univerzalnost ni temelj, temveč horizont (Laclau neobjavljen rokopis: 2008b).

SKLEP

Vrnimo se torej k začetnemu vprašanju. Kako misliti krizo predstavnštva v sodobnih »demokracijah«? Pokazali smo na tri zelo različne poglede. Agambenovskega, kjer je predstavnštvo zgolj ujeto v esencialistični paradoks prave priče, nezmožne pričati, in subjekta, ki prav tako ne more pričati, ker je mrtev. Pokazali smo na kritiko predstavnštva Hardta & Negrija, za katera je edina možna oblika predstavljanja hegemonika totalizacija. Zaključili smo z Laclauom, ki pokaže, da je predstavnštvo možno misliti kot logiko in ne kot koncept, kot antideskripcijo in ne kot deskripcijo. Zanj se mora multitudine vedno artikulirati v ljudstvo, da lahko artikulira politično zahtevo. Skušali smo pokazati na smiselnost tretjega načina razumevanja predstavnštva, ki hkrati zanika klasična esencialistična pojmovanja, a vendar ne goji utopične ideje politične artikulacije multitudine brez predstavnštva.

Če pogledamo, kaj nam kaže praksa, ugotovimo, da o krizi predstavnštva lahko govorimo ravno zaradi totalizirajočega razumevanja odnosa predstavnštva, ki se ne artikulira skozi politično, multitudine ali ljudstvo, temveč ga omejujejo anahronistične sistemske oblike predstavljanja. Primer je sistemska politika, ki že po definiciji zastopa samo državljane, ne pa tudi nedržavljanov. Slednji predstavljajo pomembno potencialnost za nastanek političnega subjekta – nosilca osvoboditve, revolucije ali, če želite, emancipacije. Tako se v praksi pogosto zgodi popolna predstavnška hegemonizacija zahteve, ki je ne artikulirata multitudine ali ljudstvo, temveč zgolj predstavnška telesa političnih struktur. Če predstavnštvo razumemo kot tako, ki deluje samo od zgoraj navzdol, torej od predstavnikov k potencialnemu ljudstvu, je ta odnos za vzpostavitev ljudske zahteve poguben. Enosmerni odnos namreč subjekt desubjektivira, viktimizira in pasivizira, s tem pa nenavsezadnje zatire politični upor. Vendar kljub temu menimo, da rešitev ni v opustitvi ideje predstavnštva, temveč v njegovem preoblikovanju v smeri, ki smo jo nakazali s pomočjo Laclaua. Tudi v praksi je namreč predstavnštvo dvosmeren proces, proces, ki teče od spodaj navzgor, proces, ki subjektivira in ki ga artikulira ljudstvo, oziroma, ki artikulira ljudstvo kot tako. Torej proces, ki nikdar ne postane hegemonija, temveč je hegemonija v postajanju, bolje rečeno, je napetost med partikularnostjo singularitet in univerzalnostjo ljudske zahteve.

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SUMMARY

THE CRISIS OF THE NOTION OF POLITICAL REPRESENTATION: THE CASE OF NON-CITIZENS

Andreja VEZOVIK

This paper challenges the classical notion of political representation and places it in the context of contemporary critical theory. The aim of the paper is to explore political representation through the work of various authors. First of all, the paper considers the contributions of Laclau, Agamben and Hardt & Negri, who each in their own way reflect the role and the crisis of political representation in contemporary social contexts. For Laclau, the notion of representation is explained by *the logic of naming*, focusing on the emergence of hegemonic signifiers in the field of social heterogeneity. For him, political representation is strongly associated with the process of identification and political subjectivization as well as with the counter-hegemonic collective identities emerging as singularities in specific socio-political contexts. The theory of representation is therefore understood as a two-way dynamics between those represented and their representatives. By contrast, Agamben understands subjectivization as de-subjectivization: "the subject" (the Muslim) can only emerge from the biopolitical paradigm of the modern Camp. For Agamben the representative is trapped in the so-called Levi's paradox of the witnesses being unable to testify, while the question at issue is whether it is possible to think of political subjectivization in terms of emancipation through a totally de-subjectivized living dead. Hardt & Negri's notion of representation is radically different from the Laclauian, as well as from Agamben's. In Hardt & Negri the idea of a hegemonic logic of representation is "replaced" by the Spinozist/Deleuzian concept of multitudes emerging as singularities and challenging the neo-liberal order. If for Laclau the subject is still bound to the notion of identity and understood as a series of failed identifications, for Hardt & Negri identity is no longer at issue as the subject is always in the process of Becoming (a body without organs, as Deleuze & Guattari would put it), and oriented towards an ethical project aiming at liberation.

The author of this paper is primarily interested in what role, if any, political representation plays in the process of the emergence of singularities and subjectivization and what role it plays in the process of identification. The notion of political representation works in relation to the process of identification, of singularity and political subjectivization. This paper, therefore, aims to answer how to ontologically rethink political representation in the context of the so-called crisis of political representation in which it has found itself.

TEMATSKI SKLOP

Migration, Social Policy
and Social Work

Migracije, socialna politika
in socialno delo

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

MIGRATION, SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL WORK. INTRODUCTION TO THE THEMATIC SECTION

Mojca VAH JEVŠNIK¹

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ABSTRACT

Migration, Social Policy and Social Work. Introduction to the Thematic Section

The complex intertwinement of migration, social policy and social work can be approached and addressed in several manners. The author proposes a few directions for research within this relatively new multidisciplinary field that can be followed by scholars and policymakers and presents a few specific themes that have proved to be of significance in times of globalisation, increased (economic) competitiveness between states and world regions, and changing welfare regimes.

KEYWORDS: migration, social policy, social work, welfare state

IZVLEČEK

Migracije, socialna politika in socialno delo: Uvod v tematski sklop

K prepletu tematik kot so migracije, socialna politika in socialno delo, lahko pristopamo z različnimi pristopi in na različne načine. Avtorica ponudi nekaj usmeritev za raziskovanje tega relativno novega multidisciplinarnega področja, ki jim lahko sledijo tako raziskovalci kot oblikovalci politik, in predstavi nekaj specifičnih in perečih problematik, ki jih srečujemo v času globalizacije, strukturnih sprememb sistemov blaginje in (ekonomske) kompetitivnosti med posameznimi državami in regijami sveta.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: migracije, socialna politika, socialno delo, država blaginje

INTRODUCTION

The inspiration for the thematic section was the international conference *Chains of Migration. Challenging Identity Normativity*, which was organised by the Faculty of Social Work of the University of Ljubljana in March 2011. The papers that were presented by a number of invited scholars mainly focused on themes that transcended the individual fields of migration, social policy and social work, and used a multidisciplinary approach to combine them. Such intertwinement opens new research possibilities that are well worth exploring due to their increasing significance within the academic and policymaking circles. This short contribution explores only some of the possibilities for approaching the research on migration, social policy and social work and suggest some specific research themes which are relevant

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in current times. In conclusion, the articles featured in the thematic section, which cover a wide range of different issues but nevertheless stay within the discussed framework, are presented in brief.

APPROACHING THE RESEARCH ON MIGRATION, SOCIAL POLICY AND SOCIAL WORK

The complex intertwinement of migration, social policy and social work can be approached and addressed in several manners: using the overarching concept of globalisation and its diverse effects on global migration dynamics and the presumed reconstruction of welfare state regimes due to erosion of national solidarity and decreasing consent for redistribution;¹ focusing on social policy and its general concern with variations in how welfare services for immigrants are financed, organised, delivered and consumed within political territories (Yeates 2001); or, for example, considering individual users of social services seeking assistance in destination countries due to the specific social problems they or their family members are facing as (undocumented) migrant workers, asylum seekers, refugees, trafficked persons etc. This distinction between the macro, meso and micro perspectives is the first that comes to mind.

It can also be approached by taking into consideration specific flows of migration in terms of geography, namely from south to north and vice versa, south to south and north to north, and the consequences of these flows for national social policies and social work practice. Migration affects social policy and the provisioning of services in both sending and receiving countries. The main focuses of research in receiving countries have been on the issue of integration of migrants and the impact of immigration on the welfare state in times of globalisation and increased economic competitiveness between world regions and individual states (Banting and Kymlicka 2006; Kim and Zurlo 2009; Legrain 2007). Migrants' claims for recognition and the adoption of multiculturalism policies have been perceived as controversial, in part because they could potentially make it more difficult to sustain a robust welfare state by eroding the interpersonal trust and social solidarity that sustain redistribution. However, although the research shows that there is no general tendency for recognition to undermine redistribution, the negative discourse still persists (Banting and Kymlicka 2006). Moreover, Keith Banting's research shows that there is no evidence that countries with large foreign-born populations had more trouble managing and developing their social programs than countries with small immigrant communities (Banting 2005). Thus it all comes down to finding scapegoats for the unfavourable economic situation that welfare states have been facing in the past few decades.

In the most recent years, migration and social policy researchers as well as policymakers in the respective fields have emphasised the need for addressing another issue that requires the intertwining of approaches and policies: demographic ageing, its effects on welfare state regimes in countries in the north, labour shortages and the need to attract migrant labour. Especially in European welfare states, the demographic situation presents major challenges for economic development and the restructuring of public policies. One of the main concerns is the provision of health and care services for the increasing

1 Welfare states not only strive to provide social security and to ensure a more just and egalitarian society, but are also political projects of nation building. Gösta Esping Andersen notes that "many countries became self-proclaimed welfare states, not so much to give a label to their social policies as to foster national social integration" (Esping Andersen 1996: 2). Considering that all nation states, regardless of the different principles according to which they developed, are socially constructed, a number of different mechanisms must have been employed by states to ensure the integration of their citizens. Apart from social integration, the so-called inherent national identity plays an important role. Thus, despite significant evidence proving otherwise, immigrants are still considered a threat to national solidarity and therefore a threat to the welfare state.

numbers of elderly. In light of the decreasing role of the state in direct provision of care services and the fact that women, who have traditionally cared for dependent members of their families, are increasingly participating in paid employment, the question of elderly care and childcare needs to be systematically addressed, especially in policymaking circles.² What has been observed as a result of high demand of care in European households and in the public and private sectors is the expansion of low-paid employment of immigrant women carers (Yeates 2009). Mostly recruited by market-driven migrant recruiting agencies, these women are vulnerable to various types of abuse, including racism and xenophobia, and often require assistance from social work and other public institutions. And as all three policy sectors of the so-called welfare mix (informal, public and private) are relying on migrant labour for the provision of care services, migration and social policy need to become more harmonised, social work practice better informed and care migration no longer perceived through the prism of methodological nationalism,³ but transnationalism⁴ and globalisation of social reproductive labour.⁵

Shifting the perspective to sending countries reveals that here, too, migration, social policy and social work are closely connected and should not be located in separate domains. In the case of care migration, the countries of the South are usually the sending countries, struggling with care drain and the issue of children left behind, i.e. children separated from one or both parents who have found work abroad. A care drain has also been observed within the European Union, most notably in Romania, where women from specific regions (most notably the north-eastern Iasi region) decide to find employment in the care and other sectors in Western European countries and leave their children with grandparents or relatives. A recent report written by Romanian social workers and psychologists reveals that parental absence for longer periods of time can have significant negative effects on their psychosocial development, attendance and performance in school, they are more vulnerable to various forms of abuse and exploitation, including trafficking, and they tend to resort to criminal activities in higher numbers than their peers. (Alternative Sociale Association 2008) The absence of parents also leaves grandparents overburdened and in need of increased medical and social assistance, putting further strain on medical staff, social workers and non-governmental organisations. On several occasions I have encountered the opinion that arrangements of such transnational families bring more benefits than harm, as remittances are contributing significantly to the social development of poor countries. But owing to the fact that remittances are transferred to individual families and taxes are not deducted, this income does not directly contribute to the improvement of public health and care services.

There is also the complex issue of return migration and reintegration of migrants. Although returnees potentially face significant social problems linked to economic and social exclusion, reintegration has received relatively little scholarly attention.

2 Selma Sevenhuijsen argues that care has “entered policy agendas through a variety of channels, ranging from the reform of health care and welfare policies, to new programmes regulating the parental leave and social care for the elderly.” (Sevenhuijsen 2003: 13)

3 Methodological nationalism refers to the nationalisation of the global regime of nation states, meaning that the boundaries of the nation state define the unit of analysis. (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2003)

4 Perez Orozco argues that it is no longer possible to discuss and explain care within the context of national borders as an autonomous element of a socioeconomic system (Perez Orozco 2009), as it has been increasingly recognised that “financing, organisation and provision of a range of care services within one country cannot be adequately studied and explained without reference to their transnational qualities or to wider geo-political, geo-economic and geo-social dynamics.” (Yeates 2009: 6)

5 Care labour as one form of social reproductive labour is an essential component of wider societal processes through which social relations are maintained and which creates and sustains people as physical, social and cultural beings.” (Yeates 2009: 5-6)

INTRODUCTION TO THE THEMATIC SECTION

The most common approach to addressing the migration—social policy—social work nexus is to consider individual phenomena that have significance for social policy and social work theory and practice. Five such cases are presented in this thematic section. They cover a wide range of different issues that have relevance for this multidisciplinary research field, but nevertheless stay within the discussed framework.

Processes of decision-making on length of stay are discussed by Claudia Schneider and Deborah Holman, using data from a longitudinal study of migrant workers from A8 and A2 countries in the East of England. The authors conclude that apart from the maximisation of economic benefits, strong normative principles and goal orientation, another important factor in the decision making process is a positive perception of the wider social situation in the UK. Ana M. Sobočan discusses transnational adoptions using the case of Slovenian parents who have adopted children from abroad. Her focus is on the complex processes of identity formation and social integration of children in the new environment, as well as on the issues of belonging, ethnicization and coping strategies. She argues that there is much more to belonging than citizenship or legal kinship. The issue of identity and belonging is also discussed by Mojca Pajnik. She uses the narratives of immigrants from ex-Yugoslav republics in Slovenia to argue that due to specific contexts, the general identity labels used to describe migrants' experience cannot grasp the complexity of their realities.

The role of the state in ensuring successful reintegration of returning migrants in the Republic of Macedonia is addressed by Suzana Bornarova. She argues that reintegration requires major social and economic adjustments by returnees, especially vulnerable groups including children, older people, single parents, people with special needs and victims of trafficking, who are often exposed to the risk of social exclusion, marginalisation and poverty. She moves on to present readmission agreements between states and concludes with a recommendation that the Macedonian government develop and implement a comprehensive and efficient migration policy, and work towards improving cooperation between ministries. The thematic section concludes with an article by Svetlana Trbojevik and Natasha Bogoevska, who touch upon the complex issue of seasonal migration of Roma and related social problems, including unfavourable health and sanitary conditions and social, educational and cultural exclusion, which all have a strong impact on their integrity and identity formation.

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POVZETEK

MIGRACIJE, SOCIALNA POLITIKA IN SOCIALNO DELO: UVOD V TEMATSKI SKLOP

Mojca VAH JEVŠNIK

Namen kratkega prispevka je predstavitev nekaterih možnosti in pristopov k raziskovanju na področju multidisciplinarnega polja, ki združuje migracije, socialno politiko in socialno delo v obdobju globalizacije, ekonomske krize in kompetitivnosti med državami in regijami sveta ter temeljnega preoblikovanja režimov blaginje. V članku, ki je hkrati tudi uvod v tematski sklop, je na kratko predstavljenih pet prispevkov, ki obravnavajo različne tematike v okviru obravnavanega področja.

COMPLEX AND MULTI-LAYERED PROCESSES OF DECISION MAKING ON LENGTH OF STAY: EUROPEAN CITIZENS FROM A8 AND A2 COUNTRIES IN THE UK

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ABSTRACT

Complex and Multi-layered Processes of Decision Making on Length of Stay: European Citizens from A8 and A2 Countries in the UK¹

This article focuses on post-2004 migration to the UK from A8 and A2 countries and discusses the complex, multi-layered and bounded nature of migrants' decision making on length of stay. It argues that the maximisation of economic benefits is only one factor amongst many which influences decision making. Following a 'bounded rationality' approach the article considers the following three dimensions of decision making: perception of environment, goals and normative principles. Data from a longitudinal study of migrant workers in the East of England will be used to illustrate migrants' decisions on length of stay. The study combined a mixed methods approach with a longitudinal panel approach and the article will present findings from three phases of semi-structured interviews (a core group of 30 A8/A2 citizens over three years) and two surveys (161 participants in year 1 of which 61 responded in year 2). The article concludes that the maximisation of economic benefits is only part of a complex bundle of factors which influence decisions on length of stay. A positive perception of the wider social situation in the UK (influenced partly by participants' transnational experience), a strong goal orientation (in the context of personal life and education) and strong normative principles (reflected in aspirations, determination, resilience and a certain flexibility regarding notions of identity and belonging) have been highlighted as important factors in decision making processes on length of stay.

KEY WORDS: A8/A2 migration, decision making, length of stay, bounded rationality

IZVLEČEK

Kompleksni in večplastni procesi sprejemanja odločitev o dolžini bivanja: Evropski državljani iz držav A8 in A2 v Združenem kraljestvu

Članek se osredotoča na migracijo v Združeno kraljestvo iz držav A8 in A2 po letu 2004 in govori o kompleksni, večplastni in omejeni naravi odločanja migrantov o dolžini bivanja. Trdi, da je maksimizacija ekonomskih koristi le en dejavnik me mnogimi, ki vplivajo na sprejemanje odločitev. Članek sledi pristopu 'omejene racionalnosti' [bounded rationality] in tehta naslednje tri dimenzije sprejemanja odločitev:

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dojemanje okolja, cilje in normativna načela. Za ilustracijo odločanj migrantov o dolžini bivanja bodo uporabljeni podatki iz longitudinalne študije delavcev migrantov v vzhodni Angliji. Študija kombinira pristop mešanih metod z longitudinalnim panelnim pristopom, članek pa bo predstavil izsledke iz treh faz polstrukturiranih intervjujih (osnovna skupina 30 državljanov držav A8/A2 v obdobju treh let) in dveh raziskav (161 sodelujočih v prvem letu, od katerih jih je 61 odgovorilo v letu 2). Članek ugotavlja, da je maksimizacija ekonomskih koristi le del kompleksnega snopa dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na odločitve o dolžini bivanja. Pozitivno dojemanje širše družbene situacije v Združenem kraljestvu (na katero delno vplivajo transnacionalne izkušnje udeležencev), močna usmerjenost k ciljem (v kontekstu zasebnega življenja in izobrazbe) in močna normativna načela (ki se odražajo v težnjah, odločnosti, odpornosti in določeni meri fleksibilnosti kar se tiče identitete in pripadanja) so bili označeni kot pomembni dejavniki pri procesu sprejemanja odločitev o dolžini bivanja.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: A8/A2 migracija, sprejemanje odločitev, dolžina bivanja, omejena racionalnost [bounded rationality]

INTRODUCTION

This article presents a discussion of some of the issues and findings from the three year longitudinal study on European citizens from chiefly Accession 8 (A8) countries² in the East of England, with a focus on decision making processes regarding length of stay (LOS). Migrants' decisions on length of stay can be temporally classified as before, during and after a 'migration phase'. In the context of the intra-migration of European citizens, migration is understood as a fluid concept whereby individuals may be part of several 'migration phases' with shorter or longer intermissions in countries of origin (COO). This article's main focus is on migration decisions which have been taken by A8 (and A2) European citizens *during* their stay in the UK.

The understanding of migrants' decision making processes has been researched by various migration scholars (e.g. Al-Ali and Koser 2002; Constant and Massey 2002 and 2003; Dustmann 2001; Eade *et al.* 2006). In the context of economic migration theories (such as neo-classical and the new economics of labour migration) migrants have been viewed as 'egoistic utility-maximisers'; reflecting a substantive rational choice approach rather than a procedural approach which considers both egoistic and altruistic goals and principles in the context of 'bounded rationality' (Simon 1985).³ This article follows the procedural approach and addresses, the complex, multi-layered and bounded nature of decision making by conceptualising decision making processes as an interplay between perception of the environment, goals and normative principles (see Sen 1982; Simon 1985; Schneider 2006):⁴

- The perception of the environment relates in our study to the migrants' conceptualisation of characteristics of their surrounding structures and their relationship to these structures. Structures (including economic, social and political developments) relates to their COO and the UK. To what extent the wider environment (local, regional, national and international) is perceived as offering opportunities or barriers is also investigated.

2 A8 refers to the eight East and Central European countries that acceded to the European Union in May 2004 (Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Hungary and Estonia). A2 refers to Bulgaria and Romania, acceding to the EU in January 2007 and whose citizens are subject to different employment eligibility criteria in the UK to A8 citizens.

3 For a discussion on 'egoistic utility maximisation' in migration theory see, for example, Constant and Zimmermann (2009).

4 Knowledge is a further dimension which has not been included in this article. The three dimensions of perceptions, goals and normative principles have been also utilised by Schneider (2006) to analyse politicians' decision-making processes in the context of German asylum policy.

- Goals refer to both egoistic and altruistic matters which could be short, medium or long term in nature. Goals are prone to change according to shifting structural circumstances in migrants' countries of origin, host countries or third countries. For example, typical goals of migrants are 'to learn English', 'to earn better money' or 'to have an adventure'.
- Normative principles refer to fundamental value schemes which are less easily challenged by changes in the structural realm; identity, aspirations and a belief in self-reliance have been classified under this dimension. At times, short term goals may contradict normative principles of migrants. For example, after arrival the majority of the research participants were keen to make a living in the UK irrespective of what job they occupied; however, after two or three years many showed dissatisfaction as they increasingly felt a contradiction between their more fundamental life ambitions and aspirations and their short term goals. As a consequence, migrants considered moving to a third country, contemplated a career move and/or considered further education and training.

The three dimensions (i.e. perception of environment, goals and normative principles) structured the development of the study's conceptual framework and the development of data collection instruments for the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the study. The three dimensions also structure the documentation of our findings below where we focus, in particular, on *perceptions* of environment.

METHODOLOGY

The longitudinal study used a mixed methods approach combining quantitative with qualitative methods of data collection. Over the three years, the research carried out three phases of data collection with interviewees and two phases with survey respondents. Interviews and surveys were also supplemented with stakeholder interviews and analyses of Polish blogs.⁵

Initially, expecting some attrition, 40 interviewees were recruited with the aim of maintaining 30 participants across the study period. By the third year of the study 30 interviewees from the original cohort remained. The participants of the 'core group' reflected diverse backgrounds with regard to countries and areas (rural/urban) of origin, date of arrival, area of settlement in the UK (rural/urban and different regions within the East of England), skills, educational and employment background, language proficiency, age, gender and marital status. Semi-structured interviews of approximately 90 minutes duration were conducted each year.

The survey in year 1 was completed by 161 European citizens from A8 and A2 countries; unfortunately, only 61 participants re-engaged in the second year of the survey. Although the response rate of 38% in the second year of the survey is low, it reflects a typical problem of longitudinal research which applies a panel study approach, intensified by the particular characteristics of migrants' mobility (see, for example, Thomson and Holland 2003). Questionnaires were made available in English, Polish and Russian to capture the experiences and decisions of participants who had lower levels of English proficiency. The survey cannot claim statistical representation due to the small size of the sample and a non representative sampling method. However, the objective of the survey was to provide a further evidence base for the qualitative findings rather than statistical representation. Due to the small sample size the findings focus on descriptive (rather than inferential) statistics highlighting percentages and percentage differences between year 1 and year 2.

The following outlines the key findings from our qualitative and quantitative research. The findings presented in this article represent individual level data (rather than data relating to structural levels or linking individual data with structural data) looking at decisions of length of stay and factors which may

⁵ Data from stakeholder interviews and Polish blogs will not be part of this article.

have an impact on these decisions, i.e. participants' perceptions of the social, economic and political context in the UK and their home country, their goals and normative principles.

DECISIONS ON LENGTH OF STAY (LOS): AN OVERVIEW

The findings of the two samples who responded to both surveys indicated that during the span of one year views on LOS had become more concrete. While 57% selected in year 1 'I have no specific plans, let's see', in year 2 only 28% had this attitude. Instead, people were more likely to state that they would stay up to three years and slightly more participants also said that they intended to stay indefinitely.

The survey looked at both subjective factors (self-identified by participants) and objective factors (variables relating to LOS). With regard to subjective factors participants who responded to year 1 and 2 of the survey self-identified similar factors as being important for their decision making on LOS (although the ranking changed slightly between year 1 and year 2): 'I like the area where I live' (Y1: 43%; Y2: 44%); 'I have settled in the UK' (Y1: 35%; Y2: 40%); 'I have a good social life in the UK' (Y1: 35%; Y2: 34%) and 'I find it easy to access services' (Y1: 33%; Y2: 37%). However, in year 2 participants placed more emphasis on the following factors: 'My job does not reflect my skills' (Y1: 18%; Y2: 37%); 'I miss my home country' (Y1: 20%; Y2: 36%); 'I need to earn more money' (Y1: 22%; Y2: 32%) and 'It's difficult to find work in home country' (Y1: 16%; Y2: 30%). In both years of the survey participants were more likely to self-identify factors which supported a stay in the UK rather than a move to their COO or a third country. Subjective factors also showed that social considerations were as important, if not more important, than economic considerations.

The following objective factors (comparing different variables with length of stay) related to a longer stay in the UK (i.e. longer than 3 years or indefinitely):

- Participants who indicated that their skills were reflected in employment were more likely to stay longer (Y1: 39%; Y2: 39%) than those who did not see their skills reflected (Y1: 12%; Y2: 32%).
- Year 2 highlighted that migrants who were older (30–39) were more likely to stay longer (or indefinitely) than those who were younger (20–29); although this finding was not confirmed in year 1.
- Having children made a clear difference and participants with children wanted to stay longer (Y1: 29%; Y2: 50%) than those without children (Y1: 13%; Y2: 21%).
- Those who did not identify strongly with their COO were also more likely to stay longer (Y1: 27%; Y2: 44%) compared to those who indicated a stronger national identity (Y1: 16%; Y2: 24%).
- Respondents who were married (Y1: 27%; Y2: 36%) or divorced (Y1: 28%; Y2: 40%) were more likely to stay longer than those who were single or co-habiting.

The next and main section will look at perceptions, goals and normative principles as influential factors for decision making processes.

PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTEXTS IN COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN

In both years participants of the overall samples expressed negative views regarding the economic situation in their respective home countries with a fairly large number ranking it as being 'negative' or 'very negative' (Y1: 40%; Y2: 53%); around 30% in both years selected neither good nor bad. The overall samples show that perceptions had become more negative by year 2. However, those who responded to both years (with the majority being Polish) had a less negative view of their home country's economic

situation by year 2 (Y1: 68%; Y2: 47%). Migrants' perceptions of the political situation in their home countries were ranked by 58% in year 1 and 52% in year 2 as being negative or very negative (around 30% in both years thought it was neither good nor bad and 10% didn't know). Similar to the findings relating to the economic situation, the perception of participants who responded to both years was less negative by year 2 (Y1: 64%; Y2: 49%). Participants were also concerned about the social situation in their home countries with 54% in year 1 and 48% in year 2 perceiving it as 'negative' or 'very negative' (around 30% viewed it as neither good nor bad). Respondents who participated in both years had similar views of their home country's social situation in both years (Y1: 52%; Y2: 51%). In year 2 participants indicated that their perception of their home country had a strong (37%) or very strong (17%) influence upon their decision making on LOS.

A number of interviewees in year 1 were despondent about the political, economic and social situations in home countries and the negative impacts on their personal situations. The majority of interviewees from Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic were critical of the political situation in their home countries and distrusted politicians. Some also criticised the close link between the media and the government in COO. It was commonplace for interviewees to comment on how corruption, discrimination and ponderous bureaucratic practices combined to make life very difficult, especially for individuals without powerful connections. In year 2 many interviewees – especially from Hungary, Poland and Slovakia – were hopeful that a political change might lead to better economic and social situations in their COO. However, by year 3 interviewees, from Poland and Hungary in particular, remained critical of political developments in COO. Interviewees from both countries referred to issues such as right-wing politics, intolerance towards minorities, homophobia and bureaucracy; they often contrasted these developments with their experiences in the UK and highlighting 'tolerance' as a positive aspect in the UK.

The employment situation in COO continued to be viewed as being bad or very bad; although the economic situation in countries such as Slovakia and Poland was viewed in a less negative way than, for example, in Latvia and Lithuania. However, the perception of the economic situation in COO is influenced by a high level of relativism. Interviewees not only compared the situation in their home countries with the situation in the UK but they also placed their perception in the context of prospects in other countries. For example, an interviewee from Slovakia described the economic situation in Slovakia as relatively good when compared to Poland and Russia, however not so good when compared to Germany and the UK.

With regard to the perception of social situations in COO a number of interviewees criticised the levels of intolerance and xenophobia in home countries towards minorities and contrasted this with a more open and tolerant situation (regarding gender, ethnicity, age and marital status) in the UK. With regard to social relations the picture varied; while some still felt that their strongest personal contacts were with the family and/or friends in COO, many said that, although they had regular face-to-face or virtual contact with their family and/or friends in COO, they had developed stronger contacts with people in the UK (often co-nationals or nationals from other A8/A2 countries).

Although the perceptions of COO were generally quite negative it should be emphasised that the majority of interviewees missed their home countries and that specific areas such as health provision and schools were perceived by many interviewees as superior to that in the UK.

PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONTEXTS IN THE UK

As highlighted above, interviewees placed emphasis on their perception of the social situation in the UK which, for the large majority, remained a positive or very positive experience throughout the three years

of the study. In general interviewees viewed their location of living as positive: people are friendly; good provision of facilities including shops and leisure facilities; and, a good infrastructure were mentioned as positive experiences. A common theme in the interviews was also the advantage of living close to work, spending less time (than in their COO) on commuting and having more time for leisure and other activities. A small number of interviewees mentioned social issues in their local area which they perceived as being negative, e.g. drug-taking in the neighbourhood, occurrence of crimes such as burglary and abuse from local residents outside their home. As noted, interviewees viewed tolerance and diversity as a positive feature of British society, often contrasted with their experiences of discrimination and intolerance (e.g. relating to age, gender, sexual orientation, forms of co-habiting before marriage and xenophobia) in COO. However, this general picture of a 'tolerant UK' was also contrasted with the ongoing (at least since 2005) discriminatory representation of European citizens from A8/A2 countries in large parts of the British press; and experience of direct and indirect discrimination in the context of employment, housing and health by some of the interviewees. With regard to social relations people in the UK were generally viewed as being friendly and polite. However, interviewees emphasised throughout the study that British people had a different concept of friendship and the British were not perceived as individuals one could discuss problems with. This view of different understandings of friendship had been present from the first year of the study and after three years none of the interviewees seemed to have changed their perceptions.

Overall the study showed that the recession in the UK had a relatively small impact on decisions on length of stay. Although participants reflected on issues such as decreasing wage differentials between the UK and COO and on changes regarding the job market they did not consider a return to their COO or a move to a third country because of the recession. The fact that the economic situations in COO were considerably worse than in the UK meant that in relative terms the UK economic situation was perceived in a fairly positive light. Despite the continuing recession and government plans to cut public spending, participants felt that there were still (in comparison to COO) many opportunities and advantages in the UK including job opportunities, financial advantages and educational opportunities (although the latter will be significantly affected by increase in tuition fees to a maximum of £9000 per year from 2012 onwards). Several interviewees highlighted their good relations with work colleagues and their employer. A small number of participants described situations where they felt unprotected in employment and had experienced discrimination in the work place. Opportunities regarding self-employment in the UK were also emphasised by several participants. They thought it was relatively straightforward to become self-employed in the UK as there was less bureaucracy than in COO.

Some interviewees were interested in British politics and followed political developments. Views regarding the current and the previous government were mixed. Participants especially commented on migration policies developed by British governments. While some feared that the recession would lead to increasing unemployment and a stop on immigration, others thought that there would be no immigration restriction for EU citizens in the future. Only a very small number of interviewees voted in the council elections. While several participants stated that they were not interested in (British) politics, others explained their non-participation with reference to: lack of knowledge regarding political programmes/ ideas of candidates and/or the registration process; uncertainty about whether they were registered; and, uncertainty about their right to vote as a foreign national. The interviews highlighted that there is a need to inform European citizens from outside the UK about their political rights.

The survey confirmed the data from the qualitative study and showed that the social situation in the UK was viewed by the majority of the overall sample as being 'positive' or 'very positive' in both years (Y1: 67%; Y2: 68%); followed by a 'positive' or 'very positive' perception of the economic situation in the UK (Y1: 49%; Y2: 47%). Surprisingly, the perception of the economic situation had not changed between year 1 and year 2 while the political situation in the UK was perceived in a less positive light in year 2 with 28% perceiving it as 'positive' or 'very positive' compared to 40% in year 1 (the year 2 survey was carried out in the context of the pre-general election campaign period which might have influenced

the responses). Between 30% and 40% selected neither good nor bad for the perception of the social, economic and political situations in the UK.

The positive outlook on the UK is best understood in the context of transnationalism which 'broadly refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation states' (Vertovec 1999: 447). The findings of our study highlight how the perceptions of the social, political and economic situation in receiving (and sending) countries are influenced by migrants' transnational experiences. The majority of interviewees contrasted their positive or very positive perception of the social and economic situation in the UK with a negative or very negative perception of their COO. In this sense their transnational experience contributed to the positive or very positive view of the UK which impacted strongly on their decisions to stay for a long(er) time in the UK.

PERCEPTIONS OF OPPORTUNITIES AND BARRIERS

For interviewees, the frame of reference when considering barriers and opportunities was knowledge and past experience of life in home countries (or for those who had lived and worked in other countries prior to coming to the UK, the COO and a third country) along with positive comparisons with COO and the opportunities presented by migration. Employment opportunities (even modest opportunities) and pay levels in the UK remained relatively well perceived compared to COO and, coupled with negative views on housing, food and other costs in home countries, presented continued disincentives for returns to COO. Opportunities for personal development – education, career development, language acquisition – and the ability to live independently and feel in control of one's own life were also important 'stay' factors for a number of largely female interviewees. More broadly, the freedom of movement afforded by EU membership was perceived as an opportunity by interviewees.

In both years participants of the survey highlighted a number of employment constraints: non-recognition of skills and qualifications, lack of promotion, lack of career opportunities, discrimination at work and language barriers. Constraints and barriers which did not relate directly to employment included family constraints, barriers regarding health and housing, and constraints relating to the representation of European citizens from the A8/A2 countries in the British media. In particular, personal constraints relating to family in the COO and negative representation of A8/A2 migrants in the British media were linked to a shorter stay. It should be noted that a large number of participants in both years indicated that they did not experience any constraints or barriers (Y1: 39%; Y2: 38%).

GOALS

Throughout the three years participants indicated very high levels of 'goal orientation' which corresponded with their high levels of ambitions and aspirations. There is clear progress noticeable from year one to year three with regard to goal formulation and goal achievement. While interviewees who had arrived recently were (understandably) concerned about immediate issues such as finding employment and accommodation and learning English, in the second year they were already formulating goals which emphasised 'quality of life' (with regard to employment, housing, education, personal and social life). By the third year many interviewees had achieved their goals reflected in the high number of qualification gained by year 3, a fairly large number of marriages and/or child births by year 3, some employment progressions and a small number of property acquisitions. Aiming for and achieving these goals in the UK were often associated with a longer or indefinite stay in the UK.

The surveys showed that the majority saw their careers in the UK (Y1: 61%; Y2: 62%); followed by education in the UK (Y1: 36%; Y2: 34%). A similar number of respondents wanted to set up a business in their home country (Y1: 17%; Y2: 15%) and in the UK (Y1: 13%; Y2: 15%). Less than 10% intended to

further their study in their home country (Y1: 7%; Y2: 8%). As mentioned before, the significant rise of student fees in the UK will affect ambitions regarding higher education in the UK and possibly persuade more A8/A2 citizens to seek opportunities in COO or third countries.

In a study of Polish migrants in London, Eade, Drinkwater and Garapich (2006) constructed a four-fold typology of migrant goals: 'hamsters' (one-off migrants) accounted for 16 per cent of those questioned in their study; 'storks' (circular migrants) accounted for 20 per cent; 'searchers' (open options) 42 per cent; and 'stayers' (self-explanatory) 22 per cent. Using the same typology, we asked interviewees to identify their own broad migration goals. Similar to Eade *et al's* findings, the majority of our interviewees located themselves in either the searcher or stayer categories, but there was also a significant number who situated themselves *between* the searcher and stayer categories. The benefit of a longitudinal study is that we were able to chart how these identifications changed over time. Interviewees were able to recount how their migration goals had changed over the period of the study; for example, for some, shifting from the hamster category, to the searcher category and 'settling' in the stayer category.

NORMATIVE PRINCIPLES: IDENTITY AND DETERMINATION

As noted, the longitudinal study classified different conceptions of identity, characteristics of determination and aspirations under the concept of normative principles.

Whilst public, political and often academic discourses label people who have arrived from the A8 and A2 countries as 'migrant workers', interviewees did not generally identify with this concept (nor necessarily with the concept of East European). Instead, a large number perceived themselves as European citizens (often in combination with their national identity). This finding appears to underpin the normalisation of living and working in another country; considered as unexceptional as working in a major city in the home country for some of our interviewees. The longitudinal aspect of the study showed that identity and belonging were shifting and fluid categories which were affected by changes in participants' personal and wider contexts such as their social networks or the socio-political situation in COO. For example, several interviewees in year 3 emphasised that their well developed social networks in the East of England contributed to a feeling of belonging. As outlined above interviewees from Poland and Hungary were often critical regarding the levels of intolerance and discrimination in their COO and identified more closely with the values of tolerance and diversity experienced in the UK or in the East of England. However, reflections relating to concepts of belonging/not belonging, insider/outsider or citizen/stranger were not necessarily perceived as clear-cut notions associated with geographical dimensions; different aspects of belonging and identity cut across 'places' such as the UK, COO, the East of England or the 'region of origin'.

Both the qualitative and quantitative research findings emphasised a high level of determination and resilience amongst migrants. Although many migrants experienced barriers relating to language, employment, housing and health, they showed a strong determination to cope with barriers and constraints. The survey in year 1 and year 2 highlighted that the majority of participants felt that they were coping well or very well. Interview findings revealed that 'self-help' and 'self-reliance' were important coping strategies. The expectation that the migration process might be difficult and the fact that many interviewees identified themselves as optimists, positive thinkers and active planners explains partly why the experience of barriers did not impact very strongly on LOS. The high level of aspirations and ambitions (with regard to personal life, employment and educational careers) also contributed to their determination to deal with barriers in the UK; illustrated by the fact that a large number of participants had improved their English language skills, their employment positions, their educational qualifications and their housing situation by the end of year 3 of the longitudinal study.

CONCLUSION

As recent studies of A8 migrants have highlighted (e.g. Eade *et al.*; Holman and Schneider 2008; Spencer *et al.* 2007), migrants' decision making processes regarding return or stay are complex and multi-layered. The findings from the longitudinal study of A8/A2 citizens residing in the UK showed that care needs to be taken not to overemphasise the economic factors with regard to decision making processes of new European citizens from the A8 (and A2) countries. Although these new European citizens are often labelled as 'migrant workers', they are individuals who are embedded in complex personal, social, political and economic situations both in their home countries and in the UK; the so-called 'migrant workers' (economic migrants) will not necessarily leave the UK due to an economic recession. Reasons for the lack of a 'mass return migration' are likely to lie in the negative perceptions of social, economic and political factors in COO, and *relatively* positive perceptions of the social, economic and political situation in the UK. Transnationalism, reflected in participants' ongoing comparative evaluations of the economic, political and social situations and experiences in COO and the UK, is therefore crucial for the understanding of decision making processes on length of stay. A perspective which merely focuses on the objective situation in the UK ignores the complex bundle of factors which impact on migrants' perceptions and influence decisions and actions. Participants' goals showed high levels of aspiration and ambition with regard to their personal life, educational qualifications and careers. The three year study indicated that participants were 'goal achievers'. Short-term goals formulated in the first year of the study (such as improving language skills and accommodation) were fulfilled by a large majority of interviewees by year 2 so that they could move on to their medium term goals (including educational qualifications and finding a job which reflected their skills). This does not mean that A8 and A2 citizens in the UK do not experience barriers (besides opportunities). The non-reflection of skills in employment, problems regarding the recognition of qualifications and language barriers (even if participants had a good level of English) continued to be perceived as barriers in year 3. However, the study indicates that, in particular, perceived employment barriers were 'compensated for' through positive perceptions of especially social factors and/or personal factors and did not have a strong influence a LOS. Participants' normative principles such as aspirations, ambitions, high levels of determination and well developed coping strategies also explains why barriers did not affect LOS to a large extent. Overall, the study has shown that short-term economic goals do not necessarily take priority in decision making processes on LOS. Perceptions of the wider social, political and economic situation in the UK and COO (influenced by participants' transnational experience), goals (relating to educational qualifications, careers and personal lives), high levels of aspiration and determination, and a feeling of being European citizens are important aspects to understand the decision making processes of A8/A2 citizens residing in the UK. In the final year of the study the new UK coalition government of Conservatives and Liberals (elected in 2010) announced that university fees will be increased to up to £9000. It will be seen whether this change will have a greater impact on length of stay than the economic recession as many participants compensated their downgrading in employment with educational and training opportunities in the UK.

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POVZETEK

KOMPLEKSNI IN VEČPLASTNI PROCESI SPREJEMANJA ODLOČITEV O DOLŽINI BIVANJA: EVROPSKI DRŽAVLJANI IZ DRŽAV A8 IN A2 V ZDRUŽENEM KRALJESTVU

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Članek se osredotoča na migracijo v Združeno kraljestvo iz držav A8 in A2 po letu 2004 in govori o kompleksni, večplastni in omejeni naravi odločanja migrantov o dolžini bivanja. Trdi, da je maksimizacija ekonomskih koristi le en dejavnik med mnogimi, ki vplivajo na sprejemanje odločitev. Članek sledi pristopu 'omejene racionalnosti' [bounded rationality] (glej Simon 1985) in tehta naslednje tri dimenzije sprejemanja odločitev: dojemanje okolja, cilje in normativna načela.

Za ilustracijo odločanj migrantov o dolžini bivanja so uporabljeni podatki iz longitudinalne študije delavcev migrantov v vzhodni Angliji. Longitudinalna (panelna) študija je uporabila pristop mešanih metod in izvedla polstrukturirane intervjuje z osnovno skupino 30 državljanov držav A8/A2 (živečih v Združenem kraljestvu) v obdobju treh let, dve raziskavi (161 sodelujočih v prvem letu, od katerih jih je 61 odgovorilo v letu 2) in intervjuje z deležniki v vsaki od grofij vzhodne regij v drugem in tretjem letu. Intervjuje in ankete dopolnjujejo analize poljskih blogov.⁶

V celoti je študija pokazala, da kratkoročni ekonomski cilji niso njuno prioriteta v procesih odločanja za dolžino bivanja (LOS). Izsledki so pokazali, da so bili pozitivna percepcija širše družbene situacije v Združenem kraljestvu (na katero vpliva predvsem transnacionalna izkušnja udeležencev), močna usmerjenost k ciljem (v kontekstu zasebnega življenja in izobrazbe) in stroga normativna načela (ki se odražajo v aspiracijah, odločnosti, odpornosti in določeni stopnji prilagodljivosti glede idej o identiteti in pripadanju) pomembni dejavniki pri procesih odločanja o dolžini bivanja.

Četudi so državljani držav A8/A2, ki bivajo v Združenem kraljestvu, pogosto označeni kot ‚delavci migranti‘, so posamezniki, vpeti v kompleksne osebne, družbene, politične in gospodarske situacije tako doma, kakor tudi v Združenem kraljestvu; tako imenovani ‚delavci migranti‘ ne bodo nujno zapustili Združenega kraljestva zaradi gospodarske recesije. Razlogi za odsotnost ‚masovne povratne migracije‘ verjetno leži v negativnih percepcijah družbene, gospodarske in politične situacije v državah izvora (COO) in *relativno* pozitivni percepciji družbene, gospodarske in politične situacije v Združenem kraljestvu. Transnacionalizem, ki se pri sodelujočih odraža v nepretrganem primerjalnem ocenjevanju družbene, gospodarske in politične situacije v COO in v Združenem kraljestvu, je torej ključnega pomena za razumevanje procesa odločanja o trajanju bivanja. Perspektiva, ki se osredotoča zgolj na objektivni položaj v Združenem kraljestvu, ignorira ‚transnacionalno izkušnjo‘, ki vpliva na percepcijo migrantov in vpliva na njihove odločitve in dejanja.

Triletna študija je tudi pokazala, da so sodelujoči ljudje, ki ‚dosegajo cilje‘. Sodelujoči so pokazali visoko stopnjo aspiracij in ambicij v zvezi s svojim zasebnim življenjem, izobrazbenimi kvalifikacijami in kariero. Kratkoročni cilji, oblikovani v prvem letu raziskave (na primer izboljšanje jezikovnega znanja in bivalnih pogojev), so bili pri veliki večini intervjuvanih do drugega leta izpolnjeni, zato so se ti lahko premaknili k svojim srednjeročnim ciljem (vključno z izobrazbo in iskanjem zaposlitve, ki bo ustrezala njihovemu znanju). To ne pomeni, da državljani držav A8 in 2 v Združenem kraljestvu ne naletijo na ovire (poleg priložnosti). Zaposlitev, ki ne odraža dejanskih spretnosti, težave pri priznavanju kvalifikacij in jezikovne ovire (celo pri udeležencih z dobrim znanjem angleščine) so se v tretjem letu še vedno kazale kot ovire. Vendar pa raziskava kaže, da so bile (percipirane) ovire pri zaposlovanju ‚kompenzirane‘ skozi pozitivno percepcijo posebej družbenih dejavnikov in/ali zasebnih dejavnikov in niso močno vplivale na LOS. Normativna načela udeležencev, na primer aspiracije, ambicije, visoka stopnja odločnosti in dobro razvite strategije za spopadanje s težavami prav tako razložijo, zakaj ovire LOS niso močno prizadele. V zadnjem letu raziskave je nova koalicijska vlada konservativcev in liberalcev (izvoljena leta 2010) objavila, da se bodo univerzitetne šolnine povečale na do 9000 funtov. Videli bomo, ali bo imela ta sprememba večji učinek na dolžino bivanja kakor gospodarska recesija, kajti mnogi sodelujoči so kompenzirali nazadovanje v službi s priložnostmi za izobraževanje in usposabljanje v Združenem kraljestvu.

⁶ Podatki iz intervjujev z deležniki in poljski blogi niso del tega članka.

TRANSNATIONAL ADOPTIONS AND MIGRATION: INTERSECTIONS AND CHALLENGES. THE SLOVENIAN CASE

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ABSTRACT

Transnational Adoptions and Migration: Intersections and Challenges. The Slovenian Case

The paper addresses the topic of the situation of transnationally adopted children in their receiving country. Exploring the ways in which a person becomes a part of a national group and/or culture and drawing on research in the area of transnational adoptions and ethnicization, as well as possible coping strategies, I contend that there is much more to belonging than citizenship or legal kinship.

KEYWORDS: transnational adoptions, kinship, migrants, nationality, identity

Izveček

Mednarodne posvojitve in migracije: Presečišča in izzivi. Primer Slovenije

Avtorica v prispevku raziskuje položaj mednarodno posvojenih otrok v državi, v katero so bili posvojeni. Z raziskovanjem načinov, na katere posameznik postane del določene nacionalne skupnosti in/ali kulture, s povzemanjem raziskav na področju mednarodnih posvojitvev in etnizacije kot tudi možnih strategij za ravnanje dokazuje, da pripisana pripadnost zahteva več kot le državljanski status ali pravno legalizirane sorodstvene vezi.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: mednarodne posvojitve, sorodstvene vezi, migranti, nacionalnost, identiteta

INTRODUCTION

Migration is one of the constants of human societies. In this paper I will not attempt to refer to the vast body of theory and research that now exists on this topic, but will focus on a specific combination of migration, identity (formation) and transnational¹ adoptions of children. This paper opens this debate

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¹ In this paper, transnational adoption signifies adoptions of children in the international arena: a type of adoption in which an adult or a couple become the legal and permanent parents of a child who is not of the same nationality/from the same country as the parents. In the literature on this topic, adoptions of children from other countries than their parents' are labelled with different terms: transnational, international, and intercountry are the most frequent. Additionally, terms like transracial, interracial or interethnic are used to mark situations where the parents are for example white and the children are not. I am aware that terms such as ethnicity, race etc. are highly contested, but here they will be mostly used to mark otherness, differentness etc. (i.e. also with respect to: who 'has ethnicity', who 'is racialized'). The word interracial is also used occasionally in this paper, in

in the Slovenian sphere,² posing the questions which I propose should be answered in future research and presenting issues that need to be considered, by referring to selected research on transnational adoptions and analysis of excerpts of narratives on adoption, collected through interviews with adoptive parents during Slovenian research of social parenthood (Rezar and Klun, in: Zaviršek et al. 2008) and Slovenian research on the procedures, organization and standards of adoption (Sobočan, in: Zaviršek et al. 2009). I will use research material which was not collected principally for the purposes of this paper, but has nevertheless not been yet used (except for an interview by Rezar), and moreover has not been analysed through the perspective which I will pursue in this paper.

The interest in bringing all three themes (migration, identity, transnational adoptions) together was inspired by the question: what makes a person a migrant in the social-symbolic sense? This question has undoubtedly been answered many times (perhaps also in conflicting ways) by many theorists and researchers, but, even more importantly, has been experienced in different ways by millions of persons worldwide (according the World Migration Report of the International Organization for Migration, the number of international migrants in 2010 reached 214 million). Does citizenship make a person also a part of a nation? Does legal kinship make a person also symbolically part of a family's and community's genealogy? Transnational adoption of children is a site where, through the experiences and social identities of parents and children, we can observe, study and address the intersections and divisions which are tied to and created by kinship and national belonging. One of the central issues which comes to the fore is in what ways and to what extent are social identities and with that also social inclusion/exclusion, racism, nationalism etc. generated, reproduced and challenged. Put more simply, what is at play is how the divisions into 'us/them' are constructed and maintained in society and how they are questioned and reworked. Through the perspective of these challenging and multifaceted questions, too broad and complex to be answered in this short paper, I will discuss and present the narratives of parents in Slovenia who have adopted children from other countries. This paper will try to answer, through an analysis of these narratives, what the strategies of creating kinship and belonging of adoptive parents entail, what kinds of ideologies and matrixes the narratives on adoption reflect, and what are the implications of the anticipated social identities of their transnationally adopted children. These insights are crucial in building understandings about (social) identity formation in adopted children, migrant identities and adoption across national borders.

In 2009, I conducted seven interviews with parents from seven families with the experience of transnational adoption. Six families were two-parent families, and one family was a single-parent family; the interviews were conducted exclusively with women (which was not the objective, but was the agreement between the partners in the families which were being interviewed). At the time of the interview, the adopted children were between 11 months and 6.5 years old (6 children); one family was still in the adoption process. The interviews were from 70 to 180 minutes long, were taped, transcribed and anonymized. Despite the fact that I am quoting only excerpts in this paper, the analytical insights I want to present relate to the entire interview with each interviewee. The interview method used was a narrative interview, as a form of unstructured, in-depth interview with specific features; the respondents were informed that I am interested in their experience of adopting, but they could choose to stress those issues which they themselves found important inside this experience. I chose this method, which is based on sharing of 'power' in constructing the interview between interviewer and interviewee, because I wanted to leave an open space for the development of respondent-relevant topics (this was an explora-

cases when I am referring to or quoting authors who have used it in their research.

² To my knowledge, until now, no one has done research on children adopted from other countries in Slovenia, exploring thoroughly the psychological, social and other implications of their adoptive status, in a longitudinal, standardised study. Researchers have interviewed adopted individuals and their parents (Zaviršek et al. 2008, Zaviršek et al. 2009) and such research is a source of understanding and exploring questions, issues and themes which require further investigation.

tive study), and also because the narrative interview works well with sensitive, contested themes. The sample available to me (I reached respondents with the help of the snowball method) is very small and unrepresentative,³ but it can nevertheless offer insights into the experiences of adoptive parents and families.

FAMILIES AND NATIONS

Transnational adoption is a site of intersection of (among others, such as race, class, (dis)ability – health etc.) systems: family and nationality. An adopted child becomes part of a (new) family and a (new) nationality not through birth, but through legal instruments and choice (of the adoptive parents). This means that sites of transnational adoption can be used to consider the (re)construction of family and nation. Both systems are closely interlinked: as shown by Balibar (1988) a nation is imagined as a family; and on the other hand families are sites of national reproduction, and the family plays a key role in the process of creating individual and national identities. Luke and Luke also see positive sides of this – a potential in families that are formed across racial and ethnic divides, and also unequal borders of nation and wealth, to become “key sites where new forms of cultural, social class, and gender identity are reconstructed” (ibid. 1998, cited in Dorow 2006: 360). Still, it is questionable to what extent positive outcomes contributing to more equality in our society can be achieved in the current structural (economic, societal etc.) reality. The opportunities and promises of families, which carry their potential in the fact that they create the most intimate (but also legally recognized) relationships across barriers of blood ties (and all that those imply and convey), are not necessarily or automatically radical and revolutionary, as they may just as well be seen through the lens of the child as both an object and subject that is, as Eng (2003, cited in Dorow 2006: 363) claims, “performing the ideological labour of reproducing the white heterosexual nuclear family.” As the flow of adopted children is from the East and South to the West and North, from ‘third’ countries to the USA, Europe and Australia, etc. the white heterosexual nuclear family, challenged by this arrival, is also functioning as a site of reproduction of specific cultures, nationalities and ideologies, through their daily practices and family histories. In discussing adoptions from China to the United States, Dorow (2006) demonstrates to what extent actually the racial stratifications are reproduced and how ongoing encounters with “intimate relations of difference push at the boundaries of white privilege and weak multiculturalism” (ibid: 357). She sees transnational adoption as a site for examining racialized relationships, for it forms intimate family units across nations, and it is actually through the medium of race that ideas about a cohesive nation, normative citizenship and desirable kinship formation are exchanged and mobilized (Dorow 2006).

Zerubavel (1997) identifies the family as the main mnemonic community, and listening to family members telling past experiences also “implicitly teaches one what is considered memorable and what one can actually forget” (ibid: 87). Remembering and identifying with collective past is also part of attaining and sustaining a required social identity. This is also how nations are characterized, by “the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories” (Renan 1990, cited in Misztal 2010: 28). Misztal, who analyses the importance of both forgetting and remembering in nation-building, identifies on the one hand the drive to preserve and share personal memory (which we can observe in the growth of blogs, family history websites etc.) and on the other side also for the construction of a global civil society, a cosmopolitan citizenship (ibid. 2010: 26): in the first case, the preservation of personal histories also means selective remembering; in the second, the selective remembering is a necessary tool in the project of

3 However, the number of families in Slovenia which have adopted transnationally is also not very high. Since 2005, 33 children have been adopted from abroad (11 from Russia, 8 from Macedonia, 5 from Ukraine, 3 from Serbia and Montenegro, 2 from Romania, 2 from Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1 from Croatia and 1 from the USA (data from the Civil Register, 2010).

a diversified and inclusive co-existence of histories. Nevertheless, this is not a risk-free endeavour; as Berking (2003: 257) points out, what is deliberately forgotten is always in danger of being remembered by third parties. Thus creating new genealogies through transnational adoptions also carries all these elements: in a precarious psychosocial situation, remembering proves to be both 'risky' but also necessary in the creation of an identity, which will most likely be ethnicized from the outside, with the person being 'reminded' of their otherness, of their history.

What are the roles of remembering and forgetting in the situation of a transnational adoption? As Eng (2003, cited in Dorow 2006: 376) claims, restoring a collective history is crucial in the process of social and psychic development of persons who have been transnationally adopted (envisaged also as creating an ethical multiculturalism). On the other hand, it is questionable to what extent this can be accepted in a particular society, and I refer here to the differentiation between formal and moral citizenship (terms coined by Schinkel), in the times when citizenship has become, as identified by Schinkel (2010: 270; also referring to Bjornson 2007 and Van Huis and De Regt 2005), a thoroughly cultural matter. Citizenship is no longer a consequence of a particular legal status, with its entitlements, but it foremost burdens the individual with "the duty of cultural allegiance and national loyalty." (Schinkel 2010: 279). Nevertheless, would even cultural allegiance and national loyalty be enough for a person to be completely accepted in a society in which s/he is considered a foreigner, or are these just false promises and demands, which are even more ready to exclude? Can and when do migrants really actually belong to the group of non-migrants?

DISCOURSES ABOUT AND PRACTICES OF TRANSNATIONAL ADOPTION

As one of the most important reasons for migration is, according to Hoffmann-Nowotny (1973, cited in Schuerkens 2005: 535), the uneven economic development of different regions of countries, might the reason for transnational adoptions also lie in global inequalities – the needs of children caught in war, poverty, welfare, reproductive politics etc., and on the other hand the desires of (often childless) parents, who have the means, resources and motivation to take care of a child?

However, children that are placed with (western) families through transnational adoption seem to be a much more welcomed and accepted group of migrants in comparison with adults (and their children) seeking asylum and betterment of their socio-economic situation, or even simply survival (which is not a direct consequence of the migration). Interestingly, Bell (2010) has critically examined the discourse of hospitality towards immigrants, as a complex and power-laden relationship between those 'coming' and those 'welcoming', a relationship "of unequal power in which the host is sovereign." (ibid.: 240). Bell refers to Derrida (2002, in *ibid.*), who speaks of hospitality as dependant on this sovereignty, enacted within the power to choose one's guests and also to limit the conditions of welcome.

The idea of choosing one's guests can be related to the critical approaches to the policies, ideologies and discourses attached to transnational adoptions. Dorow (2006) for example, in a critical analysis of transnational adoptions in the case of the US, has reflected on the racialized identities of 'desirable' children, where transnationally adopted children are portrayed as resilient and children, who can be adopted domestically in the US (usually children of colour) as 'crack babies' of welfare-supported mothers. Dorow supports her analysis by quoting Patton (2000, in Dorow 2006: 363) who has convincingly argued that the shift towards promoting transnational adoptions, favouring the consumptive choices of white heterosexual families while vilifying single black mothers, actually enacts a nation, which is both safely white and convincingly colour-blind. Moreover, as Ortiz and Briggs (2003 in Dorow 2006: 363) assert, such adoption policies are "consonant with the cultural erasure of race as an explicit category for the consideration of historically structured patterns in inequality." At the same

time, Dorow (2006: 364) argues that children involved in transnational adoption processes are constructed as victims of poor countries, wars, dysfunctional welfare systems and natural catastrophes, and their difference (and exoticism) makes them both “rescuable and valuable.” (ibid.) As identified by Dubinsky, adoption agencies trade “on the vulnerability and cuteness of waiting children, always pictured as isolated, alone, devoid of parents, communities, nations, waiting for rescue” (2008: 340), while their own countries are imagined as ‘unsuitable for children’ (Noonan 2007, cited in ibid.: 341). Bergquist (2009) identifies a long tradition of ‘rescuing’ children (from the mid-19th century in the US, or the Australian measures resulting in the ‘stolen generation’), removing them from unhealthy and uncivilized environments. In examining the responses to war, famine, natural disasters etc. from Vietnam in the mid 1970s to the more recent crisis in Sudan, Bergquist (2009: 642) also comments on actions, portrayed as heroic humanitarian efforts, such as e.g. operation ‘Babylift’,⁴ transporting 2500-3000 children on flights to the USA, Canada, Europe and Australia in a campaign which lasted over three weeks (where it was later revealed that many of the children characterised as ‘orphans’ had living parents). How the background of such ‘actions’ can be analysed on many levels is also reflected in what Dorow (2006) found through the narratives of U.S. parents adopting from China: that these children (girls) are especially ‘wanted’, as they have been abandoned in their country of origin, thus have no known family ties and can be more easily ‘remoulded’ into new kin and nation. She quotes one adoption agency as advertising: “Adopting a Chinese child is very simple. There will be no birth mother knocking on your door. In China, it is a crime to abandon a child. If a birth mother changes her mind and comes back to a welfare home for the child, she will be put in prison.” (ibid. 369). Through such statements a mentality is constructed in which Chinese birth mothers become a racialized medium for ‘baggage-free’ children (Dorow 2006), and the children become subjects which will be saved and objects who can easily be appropriated. Further critical views would align with international concerns about ‘baby selling’, ‘kidnapping’ and forced labour, trafficking of children and violations of their rights (see: Lammerant, Hofstetter 2007), as well as views that transnational adoption is a form of colonialism and cultural imperialism that treats children as economic commodities (Tessler et al. 1999, in Lee 2003: 714). And, in regard to being treated as economic commodities, the question of their ‘quality’ soon arises, again introducing a set of ideologies and discourses on transnational adoptions. For example, Lee refers to an (American) public opinion survey of 1416 people, of whom 47% believe that international adoptees have more medical and behavioural problems than domestically adopted children (2002, in Lee 2003: 714). The latter result is interesting in contrast with the general idea of the potential adoptive parents in the US who would rather adopt from Asia than domestically (because these children are abandoned due to state reproductive policies, and are thus much healthier than children of teenage drug addicts in the US – cf. Dorow 2006); still, it has to be noted that this survey reflects a general public opinion, and not the expectations and hopes invested in transnational adoption by adoptive parents. The public opinion, which is surely not exclusive to the US, reflects the imagination of people about the unknown, not ‘ours’, which is pathologized, because it is the ‘Other’.⁵

4 Similarly also in the case of the ‘evacuation’ of ‘orphans’ from Darfur (L’Arche de Zoé in 2007), or recently Haiti etc.

5 Surely, this view is fuelled by some countries’ decision to allow only un-healthy and thus un-wanted children to be adopted outside their countries, which on the other hand speaks of the other side of the equation: the policies of countries of origin, which are recently under growing scrutiny. Nevertheless, the focus of this paper is the policies and ethics of receiving countries.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD: EXPERIENCES OF TRANSNATIONAL ADOPTIONS IN SLOVENIA

In a very generalized way, a common belief about transnational adoptions could be identified as follows: receiving countries are engaged in humanitarian acts by 'saving' the 'needy' children from countries of origin which don't want them (because they are not healthy or, in some countries, female), can't afford to take care of them and are sometimes also ready to sell them. This view is also very interesting through the perspective of nationalities and nationalisms, because it gives an image on the one hand of nations that are ready to give up their members to other nations, and on the other hand of nations that are ready to accept them and give them their own 'nationality'. Nevertheless, there is no linear and 'problem-free' way between becoming a legal citizen and a legal member of a family within a certain national context and actually becoming an 'authentic' member of a nation. The situation has to be considered from at least two perspectives: internal and external.⁶ The external would entail the attitude, relationships etc. towards a person who might have unfamiliar (that is not similar to the dominant ones) facial characteristics, skin or hair type etc.⁷ and might consequently symbolically and socially not be accepted as being 'one of us'. The internal would entail how one feels in his/her situation, reflecting on the external attitudes, exploring one's own relationship with the birth origin, etc., i.e. thinking about one's nationality.

Let me use an example from an interview with a parent who adopted a Roma child (interview conducted by I. Rezar, see: Zaviršek et al. 2008).

Well, as I said we did not have any particular problems, despite the fact that the child is much darker. If I was seen with him, they would ask: where is the mother from; if they saw him with his mum, they would ask: where is the father from? Some react in a very normal way, others don't – mostly strangers. One of such examples is: "this one is not yours!" but this might be just some kind of a saying, something that people say when they are aware that a child is biologically not from both of the parents. Well, to such comments we respond: "Yes, this one is ours!"

This excerpt reflects many important issues, but I would especially like to stress the following: as this parent has learned from experience, darker skin (skin that is darker than 'our' skin, actually) is a prerequisite for inconvenient questions, especially from strangers (who don't feel affiliated to this family, and who also don't see any obstacles, such as consideration of the feelings of those involved, to asking the

6 I use these terms because I don't attempt to speak about concepts such as individual / social identity. Identity formation is too complex to be presented here, where I only refer to different levels of experiencing one's otherness. Moreover, to speak of identity would entail studying the whole of a person's conception and expression of their individuality or group affiliations. Furthermore, the attempt to discuss the formation of the social identity of adopted persons would necessitate a (longitudinal) focused study with adopted children themselves, which has to date not been carried out in Slovenia.

7 I am aware of the essentialism and the difficulty to map out what is in this sense familiar and what not; but in my paper, the point of reference is Slovenian society, which is extremely (ethnically, not to mention racially) homogeneous; a society in which people are confident enough to say that they can 'recognize' foreigners by their physical appearance (even if they mostly do not know how to explain that). So, by this delineation I am referring to practices that are the consequence of such 'recognizing'. I understand the term 'ethnic' in this paper as one with which I mark the divide in our society between persons based on their perceived 'otherness', 'being different' (usually the trigger for that are their physical characteristics). The 'ethnicity' of the parents in these examples is the ethnicity of the dominant group in our society (I don't problematize this from the perspective of how they themselves perceive it, but from the way in which they are recognized as being part of the majority). Nevertheless, much of the literature on transnational adoption does not problematize the concept of ethnicity, and 'assigns' it uncritically to the adopted children whom they are speaking about.

questions that are firing their imagination). He also finds such reactions understandable (and probably as such also justifiable) to some extent, because we are all socialized into appreciating and promoting the superiority and importance of blood ties (cf. Zaviřšek 2009). At the same time, as a parent who actually does not have biological ties to his child, he also feels that he has to at least symbolically win this battle for his son and himself. The experiences of these and other parents whose children are visibly physically (ethnically) different from their parents, thus actually show that legal kinship and national belonging through citizenship are not enough for the child to be recognized as 'really' being of his/her parents and of the dominant (ethnic) group, if the parents are part of it.

Let us now look at another example, on the other side of this very same coin, in an excerpt from an interview with a parent of a transnationally adopted child (conducted by the author, see: Zaviřšek et al. 2009): "She looks very much like me. I don't know if this is why the people at the children's home matched us, but she really looks a lot like me."

This is a very short excerpt, but it is nevertheless indicative of a very common narrative: the desire to have children of one's own, the desire to protect the child (from being labelled as different, as not a "real" child of her/his parents) and the desire to protect oneself (from the stigma of not being able to reproduce and have biological children). Moreover, it also indicates the 'selective' choices of professionals involved in the process of adoption, who are, supposedly, also trying to 'protect' the child by 'matching' him or her with the adoptive parents.⁸ This cautiousness speaks of the existing 'dangers': stigma on the basis of being recognized as not being blood-related and the consequent fear that the child will be less integrated, less included and less belonging to the family, the community and the nation.

The policies of countries of origin which give up children to adoption go as far as the following (interview with a parent adopting transnationally, conducted by the author, see: Zaviřšek et al. 2009): "Actually, you can change everything. Name, date and place of birth. Completely new history."

The parents can choose to completely 'adapt' their adopted child to their own history, appropriating him or her to some extent to the records of their own lives, de-naming (as the name might carry ethnic markers) and re-naming her or him (as the new name might fit the new ethnic group and family history better, and would also carry the symbolic weight of the act of naming a child, just like a newborn).

Nevertheless, some parents recognize the importance of the child's own history (interview with a parent adopting transnationally, conducted by the author, see: Zaviřšek et al. 2009):

We would need support from a psychological perspective, which takes into the account the inter-ethnic and inter-racial view, for example how to make easier for the child the fact that in one day her whole world has changed – in the morning she was still in her institution, where she knew all the scents, tastes, people. In the evening she was in another country... I asked the people at the children's home to give me her blanket, so we could take it with us, so she would have something of her own.

This short reflection involves recognizing some of the very important elements of the child's (future) identity building and the stress associated with completely changing a known environment. The parent expresses the need for a structured, accessible and professional post-adoption support, missing in many, if not most of the countries and identifies the difficulties that are inherent in the process of adoption (both for the child and the parent), that is, not ignoring them as a consequence of parental desires and fantasies. Moreover, this parent recognizes the importance of creating space and building, gathering what is important and available for the child to have a chance to recreate his/her own history.

Such considerations actually take into account the human rights of the child. Lammerant and Hofstetter (2007) have written extensively on the rights and realities of adoptable children around the

⁸ A similar kind of selection is also present in fertility clinics (across Europe, but possibly also elsewhere), where the prospective mothers applying for donated sperm have only a limited range of donors available for their choice: this sample is selected by the professional workers to fit the physical characteristics of the woman.

world in their policy paper and report, in which they also investigate six European receiving countries and their policies, standards and practices in transnational adoption. "All countries, whether they are receiving or of origin, have the obligation to take proactive measures in order to guarantee each child the respect of the double subsidiarity" (ibid.: 4), with which they stress the children's right to respect for their family life. This includes searching for all possibilities and measures for the child to be able to remain with his/her family, then be adopted in her/his country, and thirdly, be adopted transnationally. More importantly, they also call for a just, transparent and ethical adoption process, as well as the post-adoption follow-up (Lammerant and Hofstetter 2006).

CONTESTED IDENTITIES

Adoption as a just and ethical process cannot happen without taking into account the myriad of inter-playing structural and social contexts. Reduction of stress and negative psychological impacts lies on the one side in the hands of adoptive parents, but more importantly, also in the professional and social responses and support to this unique situation, that so tightly connects the private and the public, the intimate and the state. Looking at children that have been adopted as migrant persons, whose troubles don't end when they legally became a part of a family in the dominant society, might be helpful in envisaging the support they might need.

This is to say that adoption opens core psychological themes for everyone involved in this process – the birth parent(s), adoptive parent(s) and the child (such as: "loss and grief, rejection, guilt and shame, identity confusion, and relationship and intimacy challenges") and is seen as influencing the ways in which developmental tasks are approached and resolved (Silverstein and Kaplan, 1988 in: Zamostny et al. 2003: 660-661). In their review of research on adoption and adopted persons, Zamostny et al. (2003) also refer to authors reporting on various forms of psychological distress in adults who had been adopted (levels of depression, obsessive-compulsive symptoms, lower self-esteem, a higher level of employment problems in comparison to non-adopted adults). Nevertheless, it is extremely hard to measure or even identify the complex factors influencing such outcomes: not only the mere fact of being adopted, but the various structural and interpersonal issues have an impact on a person's development and identity formation. One of such factors is for example the already mentioned discrimination and stigma connected to non-biological ties of the newly created kinship (cf. Zaviřšek 2009), racial and ethnic issues etc. Moreover, it is interesting, as Zamostny et al. (2003) also note, how persistent is research on adopted persons as a homogenous group, but at the same time also a failure to produce reliable understandings of the complex psychological processes involved in being adopted. In Sweden, Hjern, Lindblad and Vinnerljung (2002) conducted a vast study on the outcomes of transracial international adoptees (by using the Swedish national registry data for 11,320 adopted persons, 2343 Swedish-born siblings, 4006 immigrant children and a general population of 853,419 Swedish-born residents), from which it can be concluded that race and discrimination may have played a role in the overall adjustment of adopted persons (that is, similar to other immigrants, and not connected by the mere fact of being adopted). In Denmark, Laubjerg, Christensen and Petersson (2009) conducted a similar research, including 13,534 adopted persons (international and domestic) and 839,989 non-adopted persons; one of the conclusions of their study is that "openness and respect of the initial identity, family and cultural history are indicators for healthy identity creation and development during a lifetime" (ibid.: 611).

For this reason it is important to study and moreover develop support and education for parents, teachers and other significant persons in a child's environment that relates to how adopted persons negotiate their identities and sense of place in society. The formation of identity is a complex process fraught with many different aspects, such as uncertainties, conflicts, ambivalences etc. Jenkins (2000: 8) for example speaks about internal and external moments of the 'dialectic of identification', where how we identify ourselves and how others identify us are constantly interwoven in an ongoing interplay of

these processes. Jenkins (*ibid.*) also identifies two ideal models of identification: self or group identification (which is internally oriented) and categorization by others (externally oriented). According to some researchers, ethnic identity begins to form at around age six (Bernal et al. 1990; Cole 1992, in Huh and Reid 2000: 76-77). The study by Huh and Reid (2000) attempted to answer the question of what kind of ethnic identities are developed by children who have experienced transracial adoptions. They developed levels of ethnic identity formation, with the first stage identified as recognizing and rejecting differences, where children (mostly when they entered a new environment, i.e. kindergarten) would be faced with being of different ethnicity, but would not understand what that means, and would sometimes also reject being different (not wanting to continue contacts with the ethnic group of their origin for example). Huh and Reid explained the second level as the beginning of ethnic identification: sometimes also developed by attitudes towards the child's appearance or prescribed ethnicity (i.e. teasing at school), where the role of the parents is crucial in helping him/her to develop a positive attitude towards her/his ethnicity. At the age of 9-11, Huh and Reid identified acceptance of difference vs. ethnic dissonance, marked by either a positive attitude towards the difference and being proud of one's origins which one is learning about and getting to know; or by confusion regarding how to indicate one's own ethnicity, downplaying the difference, believing that one is seen by other people just as a human being, not ethnically marked (which is usually supported by a low level of parents' interest in the child's ethnic history or emphasising their sameness). The next level the authors describe is integrating ethnic heritage and dominant culture, which comes with cognitive ability of abstract thinking (age 12-14); at this stage, young adults are able to articulate their attitude towards their ethnic origin, they learn about the stereotypes attached to it etc. All in all, in Huh and Reid's study (*ibid.*) it becomes clear that parental involvement in cultural learning and encouragement in interest in the ethnic background of children was crucial in their development of ethnic identity. The work of Huh and Reid does not seem to problematize ethnicity or the concept of ethnic identity itself, nevertheless, I present their research as an insight into the processes of othering.

Importantly, the works on othered, ethnicised identities that I have come across speak of the ethnicized identity as one that is also a minority identity, in contrast to the dominant or mainstream identity. The latter is not assigned any ethnic connotation, it is, therefore ethnicity-free. This common view of who "has" ethnicity and who doesn't is especially poignant in the case of transnationally adopted children, as usually their parents are ethnicity-free, and they themselves have to deal with being recognized by the environment (but not also necessarily by their parents) as having ethnicity, i.e., they are being 'othered' by their environment. According to Huh and Reid (2000), some parents reject the differences between themselves and their adopted child, seeing no colour, race or nationality in their children. Knowing who we are develops through a complex interplay between what has been told to us by the closest persons (parents, family, carers) in the earliest age, what has been told to us by our wider environment (school, community etc.), our own perceptions and reflections on this, simultaneously as we are also being socialized, that is, in a process in which we learn the values, attitudes and behaviour of a certain culture – skills and competences to function in this culture. Many transnationally adopted children find themselves in a conflicting situation: they are socialized or almost exclusively socialized into one culture, but not addressed or socially recognized solely as members of one culture, one ethnicity, one nationality. As Friedlander et al. (2000) and Lee (2003) have shown, children who can be racially differentiated from their (adoptive) parents, and are living in the community which is predominantly racially close to their parents and not themselves, may develop weaker ethnic identity as well as some confusion about their race and ethnicity. Transnationally adopted children sometimes struggle with 'the transracial adoption paradox' – a term coined by Lee (2003), who claims that these children experience being a racial minority but at the same time being identified as part of the dominant culture (by being part of a family which is part of the dominant group), which are two conflicting levels. How is it dealt with? Early studies on transracial adoption in the US found that adoptive parents would likely downplay the unique racial and ethnic experiences of their adopted children of different race (Lee 2003:

721), where the children would become culturally assimilated or acculturated into the majority culture (Gordon 1964, cited in Lee 2003: 721). What can probably be claimed to be one of the fairly realistic consequences of that was identified by adoptive parents in a relatively old study: they described their children as being apathetic, embarrassed or confused about their racial background (Chartrand 1987, cited in Huh and Reid 2000: 76). According to Lee (2003: 722), there is a lack of empirical research on how transracial adoptive parents teach children coping skills for dealing with racism and discrimination. Citing a number of authors, Lee (*ibid.*) lists the following: downplaying of racist comments, making derogatory comments about racists, and in fewer cases, taking a more active role in the community to promote social justice. Moreover, studies show a positive correlation between active promotion of their children's races and ethnicity and positive adjustment and racial/ethnic development (Yoon 2001; DeBerry et al. 1996, cited in Lee 2003: 722).

As research shows, children who are adopted at a very early age may experience very little difficulty acquiring cultural competence in the environment in which they live (cf. Friedlander et al. 2000 for the USA). Nevertheless, cultural competence is not what is in question here: what I want to bring to the foreground is the conflict arising precisely against a background of having such cultural competence, but at the same time being recognized as 'other', as 'from somewhere else'. Thus, not even formal citizenship or legal kinship ties to 'the majority', nor even cultural competence would suffice in preventing a person from being recognized as a 'foreigner'.

What is necessary then is to deal constructively with this situation, not trying to ignore it, but to focus on the best coping strategies and approaches in order to minimize identity conflicts and other psychological distress. For example, Thomas and Tessler (2007) speak of bicultural competence, which has been viewed as advantage for immigrants and other ethnic minorities (in American society), and in their study explore whether bicultural socialization is also an advantage and how it occurs with children in families formed through international and transracial adoption. In their longitudinal survey of parents who adopted children from China in the 1990s, they have tried to explore whether adoptive parents (who are European Americans, raised in the dominant culture), can provide bicultural socialization to their children, who are of an ethnic minority (even when their attitudes toward connecting their children with their birth culture are positive, but this is not quite enough). Thomas and Tessler (2007: 1191) refer to a number of authors who claim that most immigrant and minority families help to transmit their own ethnic identity as a part of bicultural socialization, where this is supported by sharing of race, physical similarities and cultural heritage (these are also strong identification points for the children). Nevertheless, it is less likely that the same happens in families where children have been transnationally adopted, because this involves parents transmitting ethnic identity which is not their own, against the background that they would probably rather transmit only their own. Very little research exists on the bicultural competence in intercultural transracial adopted children (Thomas and Tessler 2007; but see also: Lee 2003; Scroggs and Heitfield 2001). Thomas and Tessler (2007) define bicultural competence as consisting of three elements: knowledge of cultural values, ability to communicate, and a sense of being grounded in the culture (citing LaFramboise et al. 1993). Knowledge of cultural values may be acquired through being exposed to a certain community, learning through cultural artefacts, visits to the culture of origin, celebrating holidays, language learning etc.; communication ability can emerge through language lessons and similar, where language functions as a strong identification point; groundedness is constituted by durable social and support networks and the ability to establish and utilize them in both cultures (Thomas and Tessler 2007: 1193-1194). Bicultural socialization should enable persons with a history of being transnationally adopted to function in both cultures, the dominant one and the one of origin, and also to negotiate between them. Thomas and Tessler (2007) refer to various authors who claim the positive psychological outcomes for children whose parents engage in bicultural socialization (such as higher self-esteem, more positive racial and ethnic identities, higher educational achievements, higher level of adult adjustment). Nevertheless, it is important to remember that bicultural socialization must be supported in many ways: by professionals, educators and others,

as well as by challenging and changing the prevailing images and ideologies (connected to the nation, blood-ties etc.), which is the whole society's task.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have touched upon the issues of migration, identity formation and national belonging in the context of transnationally adopted children. Transnational adoption of children is a site where we can observe, study and address the intersections and divisions which are tied to and created by kinship and national belonging, through the experiences and ethnic identities of parents and children. One of the central issues which comes to the fore is in what ways and to what extent are ethnic identities and with that also social inclusion/exclusion, racism, nationalism etc. generated, reproduced and challenged. As I tried to show through the narratives, different expectations enter the site of the situation where a family adopts a child from abroad: expectations about sameness and belonging. These two are questioned by the environment, which is aware of some children's otherness, and fortified by the parents, who, based on their emotional ties, fight for the symbolic status of their children against the rule of the blood relatedness. More simply, what is at play is how the divisions into 'us/them' in society constructed and maintained and how they are questioned and reworked. The parents which I interviewed used various strategies to deal with the processes of the 'othering' of their children: from showing that they really do belong together to trying to think of the child's psychological needs connected to his/her history. These are symptoms of the 'othering' which occur through the dominant systems of kinship creation, where blood ties are seen as the carriers of family reproduction and reproduction of the same ethnicity/nation. Using examples from international research on transnational adoptions, I tried to present some of the many ideas stemming from studies on the outcomes from transnationally adopted children worldwide (but mostly US), as well as possible strategies and coping mechanisms that can equip these children and young people to manage their double-bindedness more successfully. Further research will be needed in exploring how children who have been transnationally adopted experience and deal with belonging to their families, but not also being 'the same' as them in the eyes of the environment. In Slovenia as well, research is needed to investigate how these children and young people are being 'othered', and what are the mechanisms of exclusion they experience and how they deal with them. The effects as well as the responsibilities of the environment in which these children, young people and adults live, should not be ignored. The fact that their belonging is limited is a consequence of their being excluded through social practices and attitudes. As Leinaweaver and Fonseca (2007) claim:

The psychic and political space occupied by the sacral child is enormous. When children appeared on the international political stage in the early 20th century, our notions of children's rights moved from legal reforms (such as education) to the broader sense that all children had a right to a childhood. Today, nations are increasingly judged by their ability to provide for their citizens a universal (and tightly defined) 'childhood'. Symbolic children – whether they are transnationally adopted, labouring, soldiers or sex workers, to name a few globally significant examples – have come to represent an unequal world, with little consideration of the circumstances – created by adults – which produced them. (ibid.: 342)

What is most important in the adoption process is to focus on the best interest and rights of the children, establishing co-responsibility between the receiving countries and countries of origin, and even more importantly, to try to create an environment with opportunities, in which there is room for more than one-dimensional identities, without racism (whether individual or institutional) and exclusion.

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POVZETEK

MEDNARODNE POSVOJITVE IN MIGRACIJE: PRESEČIŠČA IN IZZIVI. PRIMER SLOVENIJE

Ana M. SOBOČAN

Prispevek se v kontekstu mednarodnih posvojitvev otrok dotika tem migracije, identitete in narodne pripadnosti. Mednarodna posvojitev otrok je mesto, kjer skozi izkušnje in etnično identiteto staršev in otrok lahko opazujemo, preučujemo in se lotevamo presečišč in ločnic, s katerimi so povezane in jih ustvarjajo sorodstvene vezi in narodna pripadnost. Ena od osrednjih tematik v ospredju je, na kakšen način in do katere mere se ob tem ustvarjajo, reproducirajo in subvertirajo etnične identitete in s tem tudi družbena vključenost/izključenost, rasizem, nacionalizem, itd. Povedano preprosteje, gre za razumevanje, kako se ustvarja in vzdržuje ločevanje med »mi/oni« in kako se te ločnice prevprašujejo in preoblikujejo. Prispevek podpirajo intervjuji z osebami, ki so v Sloveniji posvojile otroka iz tujine: predstavljeni so izseki iz teh intervjujev in kratke razprave o njih. Tuje raziskave o mednarodnih posvojitvah predstavljajo nekatere od številnih idej, izhajajočih iz študij o položaju otrok, ki so bili v svetu (predvsem v ZDA) mednarodno posvojeni, pa tudi strategije in načine ravnanja, ki so lahko koristni za otroke in mlade pri soočanju s svojim dvojnimi položajem (obenem »tujci« in »domači«). Učinkov kot tudi odgovornosti okolja, v katerem ti otroci in mladi živijo, se ne sme zanemariti; dejstvo, da je njihova »pripadnost« omejena, je posledica njihove izključenosti na podlagi družbenih praks in drže.

NARRATING BELONGING IN THE POST-YUGOSLAV CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

Narrating Belonging in the Post-Yugoslav Context

The article questions the validity of the notion of multiple or shifting migrant identities. I argue that such usages of identity in some transnationalism and migration regime studies and in policymaking may serve to label migrants as different. What is ignored by such accounts is that belonging is not free-floating but is situated and contextually bounded, while making "positive" identitary claims may mask the actual structural inequalities. Alternative conceptualizations are explored in which I use the concept of narration and storytelling that better describes migrants' contextualized realities. The theoretical argument is coupled with empirical research in which various types of belonging in the post-Yugoslav context are explored using biographical interviews with migrants who live in Slovenia.

KEY WORDS: identity, hybrid identity, migrant belonging, narration, former Yugoslavia

IZVLEČEK

Naracije o pripadanju v postjugoslovanskem kontekstu

Članek prevprašuje veljavnost pojma multiplih ali hibridnih identitet, pri čemer je v ospredju argumentacija, da takšna raba v nekaterih študijah transnacionalizma in migracijskih režimov lahko poustvarja migrante kot druge in drugačne. Česar ta raba ne izpostavi, je, da pripadanja niso nekaj abstraknega, ampak so situirane in kontekstualizirane izkušnje, medtem ko stavljenje na »pozitivne« identitete lahko učinkuje kot maskiranje strukturnih neenakosti. Besedilo se posveča alternativnim konceptualizacijam z uporabo naracije in pripovedovanja zgodb, ki bolje kot identitete zaobjamejo kontekstualizirane realnosti migracij. Teoretska argumentacija je podkrepljena z rezultati empirične raziskave, kjer je v ospredju razprava o pripadanju v post-jugoslovanskem kontekstu na podlagi biografskih intervjujev z migrant v Sloveniji.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: identiteta, hibridna identiteta, pripadanje migrantov, naracija, nekdanja Jugoslavija

INTRODUCTION

Basing my argument on critical analyses of identity as a concept, mainly taken from the literature of social theory (esp. Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Anthias 2002, 2001; Yuval-Davis 2006; Delanty et al. 2008), I take a sceptical view towards the value of various kinds of postmodernist or poststructuralist "fluid"

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conceptualizations of identity that have been flourishing in the last two or three decades. While on the one hand attempts to make the concept more fluid by arguing for “constructed”, “multiple” or “negotiated” identities allow various identities to proliferate and produce the intermeshing of various forms of subjectivity, on the other they force us to question the very analytical value of the concept. In particular, it is questionable whether the notion of fluid identities allows us to see that migrants’ living experiences are contextually bounded and often dependant on external categorization. As sociological analyses (ibid.) have shown, hybrid identities might appear as “too bright”, connoting the belief that migrants can always negotiate their identities, and this bypasses situations when migrants’ lives are shaped by unequal power relations, ethnic bias and racial exclusion. These relations are contextually bounded and the above mentioned literature has rightly criticized that hybridity might obscure the real-life alienation marginalized groups are faced with. It is thus an important unwanted consequence of the use of fluid or hybrid identities that such conceptualizations may mask structural inequalities that are produced by social power relations. For example, pursuing the notion of bright identities can excuse political institutions from being truly active in the field of preventing inequality.¹ Also, they may downplay the problematical character of imposed identities or of processes of external identifications, such as labelling migrants as “third country nationals”, “Muslims”, “Bosniaks” etc. that reproduces “otherness” and can also serve the goals of populist and racist rhetoric.

It would be too presumptuous, in regard of numerous theoretical debates and historical developments, to simply argue against the concept of identity and its utility. This is not the intention of this article. After all, identity claims played an important role in mobilizing the civil society movements of the 1960s, 70s and 80s that helped to bring issues of the oppression of minorities and marginalized groups into the public agenda. At the same time, it’s nothing new to argue that the concept of identity has been overused, that it has become a cliché and that it is “in crisis” (Erikson 1968). The profusion of identity claims can make us question the theoretical and analytical validity of the concept when this is applied to understandings of contemporary globalization and transnationalization processes experienced by populations. Some studies of migration and transnationalism (cf. Ong 1999; Bauböck 1994; Levitt 2001; Pries 2001) or of EU migration regimes (O’Neill 2006) have used the notions of multiple, hybrid or fragmented identities where it appears that these categories are naturalized in their use, i.e. in the studies, but don’t really deal with potential problems with notions of identity. When “flexible citizenship” is promoted in transnationality studies (Ong 1999) one questions whether it really points to the “nonessentialized nature of culture” (ibid.) The opposite could also be true, i.e. that arguing for multiple identities might obscure the situations when migrant cultures are stigmatized for being essentialist. This is certainly not the only way to use identity,² but it is a way of dealing with it when understanding migrants’ transnationalisms. A notable exception is *Transnationalism and Identity* by Vertovec (2001) who focuses on theorizing links between transnationalism and identity (see also Benton and Gomez 2008). My purpose here is to look critically at transpositions of the notion of hybrid or multiple identities to migration studies, particularly in studies of migrants’ transnational and migration regimes. I am there-

1 One example are recently adopted integration programs in some EU member states when migrants who fail to pass integration tests are denied social benefits or a visa (see Kontos 2011 for the example of Germany). The analyses have shown how migrants are expected to manoeuvre, be fluid and adaptable to various integration tests. Migrants can’t question the tests but only fulfil the obligations, which points to unequal power relations and a lack of shared responsibility in the relation between the migrant and the state (policies).

2 Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 6–7) distinguish five uses of identity: 1. identity used to understand that action might be governed by self-understandings rather than self-interest; 2. identity denoting sameness among group members; 3. identity understood as a vital aspect of self-hood, a foundational dimension contrary to superficial attributes of the self; 4. identity-stimulating developments of collective self-understanding, specifically in social movement literature where identity generates solidarity that makes collective action possible; and 5. identity understood as a fragmented and hybrid self. For an analysis of various uses of identity in theory but also in empirical research, see Fearon (1999).

fore concerned with one of the ways identity is used in literature on migration that has been inspired by constructivist, poststructuralist or postmodernist attempts, including cultural studies (particularly influenced by Foucault 1972; Butler 1990; Hall 1990, 1996) that aim at rescuing identity from the traps of universalism and essentialism. The inspiration for this article comes not only from interesting theoretical debates over identity, but from migrants' own narrations as well. The empirical argument of the article stems from the research that used biographical narrative interviews to capture stories of migrants in Slovenia.³

EXPLORING ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTUALIZATIONS

If we accept the notion that identities are constructed and in constant flux, how can we explain the situated, not abstract, belonging of migrants? That is, how are multiple migrant identities congruent with the uniform migration policy that still has the effect of labelling migrants as a group of non-integrated outsiders (cf. Balibar 2004)? I am therefore expressing scepticism towards the usefulness of the notion of multiple or shifting migrant identities. I argue that such usages of identity may serve to demarcate migrants as different. What is ignored by such accounts is, first, that narrations of belonging are not free-floating but are situated and bounded up in and by particular contexts. Second, notions of multiple identities connote "bright" identities, always capable of adjusting to circumstances. Such identities promoted, for example, in the studies on cosmopolitanism (cf. Hannerz 1996) are well captured by the notion of "plastic citizenship" (Lazaridis and Konsta 2011), where identities are believed to be adjustable to any circumstances. As such they apparently result in empowerment. But, speaking in the context of migration, they might appear as concepts that tend to underplay the real-life exclusion, alienation and ghettoization of migrant populations that is produced by unequal power relations. Having a fragmented identity doesn't stop marginalization, and "plastic identities" should be critically scrutinized for their potential to obscure exclusion. Bright conceptualizations of identity can best serve the migrating elite, the contemporary cosmopolitans who hold the right passports and whose jobs are classified as being of national or global importance (cf. Hannerz 1996).

Uses of the notion of multiple identity (fluxual, negotiated, multilayered, fragmented, shifting, hybrid etc.),⁴ when this is not critically scrutinized but, for example, just transposed into policy, don't do away with essentialism but actually reproduce the essentialism problem in identity. The reason for this is that the mere semantic additions to identity can't restore the analytical value of the concept, as they don't recognize the seriousness of the problem of essentialism (cf. Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Anthias 2002). Lack of recognition results in the notion of multiple identity actually reproducing the essentialist stratum "through the back door" (Anthias 2002: 494) and it shifts attention away from the context. It is also too simplistic to label migrant identities as fragmented or multiple since this would make us believe that certain identities, that is migrant identities, are more prone to being multiple than others. Also, such labelling of migrants' multiple identities in the above mentioned transnationalism and migration regime studies and in policymaking without proper reflection neglects the many migrant *narrations* that are "hard" and "highly situated", and not "soft" and "free-floating". Such understanding of identity can thus be critically viewed as shifting the focus of analysis away from "hard" social context, not to mention specifically the "hard" policies migrants are subjected to.

3 Biographical narrative interviews were conducted in Slovenia as part of the 6FP project FeMiPol, Integration of Female Immigrants in the Labour Market and Society: Policy Assessment and Policy Recommendations, 2006–2008, and within the project PRIMTS, Prospects for Integration of Migrants from "Third Countries" and their Labour Market Situation: Towards Policies and Action. For more on this, see project websites available at <http://www.femipol.uni-frankfurt.de/>, <http://www.primts-mirovni-institut.si>.

4 Cf. Anthias (2001) for an inspiring critique of the notion of "hybridity".

I acknowledge that the various attempts to “rescue” identity have not been ill-intentioned. Conceptualizations of hybrid identities in poststructuralism, cultural studies or studies on globalization in particular had the intention of reformulating identity with the purpose to discharge it from objections of essentialism. These reformulations, however, start from a point that recognizes identity as an indispensable concept. Interestingly, Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 9) are of different opinion and, in contrast to Judith Butler, Stuart Hall, Alberto Melucci and others who have been using and reconceptualising identity in its fluidity, argue against the concept being indispensable, and urge us to “go beyond identities”, particularly “in the name of the conceptual clarity” (ibid.: 36). “If one wants to examine the meanings and significance people give to constructs such as “race”, “ethnicity”, and “nationality” ... it is not clear what one gains by aggregating them under the flattening rubric of identity” (ibid.: 9).

It’s not my intention here to argue for or against identity but to challenge the ascription of the notion of hybrid identities to migrants. Treating migrant identities as *de facto* multiple can have the effect that is precisely the opposite to what hybrid identities want to do, that is, the avoidance of essentialism. Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 11) remind us that “weak or soft conceptions of identity are routinely packaged with standard qualifiers indicating that identity is multiple, unstable, in flux, contingent, fragmented, constructed, negotiated, and so on. These qualifiers have become so familiar – indeed obligatory – in recent years that one reads (and writes) them virtually automatically. They risk becoming mere placeholders, gestures signalling a stance rather than words conveying a meaning” (ibid.: 11).

Along these lines it seems that mere labelling of migrant identity as a fluid one has become nearly a meaningless phrase, particularly when such labelling is just adopted and not analysed or evaluated. The result might be the poor treatment of migrants’ narrations and self-perceptions of belonging or their reduction to the “one-dimensionality” of meaningless multiplicity. The various prefixes to identity don’t really solve the “problem of identity”. By adding prefixes we preserve identity and, unless the concepts of hybrid and multiple migrant identities are thoroughly reflected in their transpositions to migration studies, these studies simply add to further mystifications around migrant identities.

Are we to preserve the concept, to denounce it, or to propose a new one? Although all seem tempting options, the solutions they offer are too linear, which is the reason that I don’t find it very productive to choose between them. Despite this fact, or maybe because of it, I would like to explore some alternative conceptualizations to postmodernist identity claims that might offer a more valid theoretical approach to understanding migrants’ belonging. In their claims against the indispensability of identity, supported by the belief that it is “fruitless to look for a single substitute,” Brubaker and Cooper (ibid.: 14–21) propose alternative analytical idioms as “three clusters of terms” that I also find useful for grasping migrants’ belonging.

First, they define *identification and categorization* as concepts that invite us to specify the agents that do the identifying. The terms refer to a number of different situations in everyday life (to characterize oneself, to place oneself in a category, to locate oneself in relation to others etc.). Relational identification refers to positioning oneself in a relational web while categorical identification means identifying by claiming membership (class, race, ethnicity, nationality, citizenship, etc.). They also distinguish self-identification from identification and characterization of oneself by others. Secondly, they propose *self-understanding and social location* as an alternative to identity that point to a notion of “situated subjectivity”, i.e. the question of one’s sense of oneself, of social placing and of one’s action. Since identity implies “sameness across time or persons”, self-understanding, to the contrary, may vary across time and space but may also be stable. Thirdly, the authors propose *commonality, connectedness, and groupness* as more differentiated terms that better capture belonging to specific groups where commonality denotes the sharing of connectedness, the relational ties among people, and groupness the sense of belonging to a specific bounded group. Rather than celebrating fluidity, these notions are used to grasp the multiple forms of commonality and the different ways in which actors make meaning out of them (ibid.). The three sets of terms provide an interesting alternative to identity, a concept that, according to the authors, has lost its analytical value to its ambiguity, contradictory meanings and reifying

connotations (ibid.: 34). Let me add that I find this combination of clusters as a response to claims of identity interesting. However, it should be noted that the issues addressed by the clusters are nothing new, and that notions of ethnicity, issues of collective identity and debates over groups have a long and contested history (cf. Barth 1969; Cohen 1974; Anderson 1983; Jenkins 1991). The argument of this article is on the one hand inspired by interesting theoretical debates about identity that have recently emerged in social theory literature and gender studies (cf. Anthias 2001, 2002; Yuval-Davis 2006; Somers 1994; Fearon 1999; Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Delanty et al. 2008; in the Slovenian context see Lukšič-Hacin 1999; Milharčič Hladnik 2007; Milharčič Hladnik and Lukšič-Hacin 2011), and on the other hand it is based on research that used biographical narrative interviews to capture stories of migrants in Slovenia. I limit my empirical material to interviews that were conducted with migrants who have come to Slovenia since 2000 from the former Yugoslav republics, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Macedonia and Croatia, with the purpose to be able to explore the mosaic of belonging and of “post-Yugoslav belonging”. In her research on British-born youngsters of Asian and Cypriot background, Floya Anthias (2002) claimed that the “narrated sense of belonging and not belonging could not be captured by the notion of identity” (ibid: 492). The analysis of the interviews with migrants from the former Yugoslavia has also shown that the notion of identity is too contested a term to capture the meanings of the migrants’ narrations. While Brubaker and Cooper (2000) propose *commonality*, *connectedness* and *groupness* as analytical categories, Anthias replaces the notion of identity used in addressing issues that are usually linked to “collective identity” with notions of *location and positionality* (or *translocational positionality*). She further argues that identity is of limited “heuristic value” since it does not capture the situational character of narration, its non-fixity, its revisions and changes. Its conceptual disability lies in the fact that it “moves the analysis away from context, meaning and practice” (ibid: 492).

Anthias claims that translocational positionality, unlike identity, captures “spatial and contextual dimensions, treating the issues involved in terms of processes rather than possessive properties of individuals (as in ‘who are you?’ being replaced by ‘what and how have you?’)” (ibid: 494). The concept involves identification but it also values “lived practices” that shape identification. It is particularly useful in migration studies because it refers to types of belonging that are clearly shaped around the constructions of ethnicity, gender and class (cf. Yuval-Davis 2006, 2007). This is an interesting concept that helps us to dismiss personal circumstances, such as ethnicity, as a possessive property of individuals (migrants as holders of ethnicity) or an inherent characteristic of a person. The value of the concept should specifically be sought in its capacity to treat identity as a process and to centralize the analysis around context. Particularly for migration studies it is important, as stressed by Anthias (2002: 499), that locations are also “dislocations and alterity” that refer to various types of physical and symbolic belonging that are not fixed in time and space.

NARRATIVE: CAPTURING CONTEXTUALIZED IDENTIFICATION THROUGH STORYTELLING

This section is devoted to the exploration of the notion of narration that is put forward as a more appropriate concept that affords a more accurate study of migrants’ belonging and identifications. While staying with identity, Margaret Somers proposes the inclusion of the concept of narrative with the purpose to destabilize the dimensions of time, space and relationality. She proposes the notion of “narrative identity” (Somers 1994). I find the concept of narrative of great value particularly for understanding migrants’ belonging. A narrative is positioned and it clarifies senses of belonging that cut across territorial and cultural boundaries. Narrations don’t represent but rather take as a starting point an individual’s activity in the world. Some authors (for example Milharčič Hladnik 2007) claim that the narrator’s identity is positioned and constructed through narration. Narration as such is not an attribute of identity as

claimed by Somers but in a Bourdieudian sense an expression per se of one's belonging or affiliation. Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 12) make an interesting point when they question why Somers links narrative to identity; they ask: "what does this soft, flexible notion of identity add to the argument about narrative" and "why it is identities that are constituted through narratives".

Considering this criticism brings us to a proposition to treat narrative, or, "storytelling" to use a formulation by Hannah Arendt (1967) as an account of more or less situated belonging to the world, to society, to people etc. (cf. Pajnik 2008). I propose that it suffices to speak of a narrative in itself without linking it to identity. The concept of narrative identity implies that identity is constructed through a narrative. Somers argues that people construct identities by locating themselves in stories. Such an approach tends to obscure the great potential of the narrative that actually goes beyond making identity claims.

My proposition is to conceptualize narrative as such, not linking it to identity, which shifts some of the arguments proposed by Somers: if a narrative or storytelling is conceptualized as a process of positioning and expressing various types of belonging in time and space, then it seems that the concept doesn't need identity as some omnipotent, far-reaching goal. I argue that the full accounts of stories are better used and explained by the concept of "narration" and not "narrative identity". Unlike identity, the concept of narrative urges us always to view stories in relation to the context in which they are told. The way in which a story is told is as important as its content. On another occasion, it would be a different story with a different meaning and told in a different manner, which is to say that stories are told in time and space. They are composed of situated fragments that address various practices and actions, accounts of the world, the nation, the state, the family, economic and social life etc.

Read with Arendt, it is narration, not identity, that should be seen as a performance, as a citizens' activity that is of public value. Storytelling both as a concept and also as a method of analysis (i.e. the biographical narrative interview, cf. Pajnik and Bajt 2009) actually leaves more room than the concept of identity to express and define belonging, and as such appears broader and more useful than identity. It embraces the process of "telling", it is about telling a story in one's own terms in time and space. It is a process that produces meaning for specificities in context. "The narrative is also both a story about who and what we identify with (a story about identification) and is also a story about our practices and the practices of others, including wider social practices and how we experience them" (Anthias 2002: 498–499).

The narration of belonging places the actor in the world and within social structures that also shape narrator's life in reality. Stories as they are told usually don't have a structure of a text that has a beginning, plot and end, but are fragmented accounts about various aspects of living in the world. Stories are positioned in time and locations, they provide differing accounts of the self and relations of the self to various others, and they also are about social structures or constraints in society (Mishler 1986). Actually, what is of particular value in the concept of narration is that it not only refers to personhood, to the individual, but it also invites us to explore personal accounts that are of a systemic nature. The method is suggestive of ways in which individuals experience and cope with social realities. Its emphasis is on individuals' personal history, knowledge, experiences, constraints, assumptions and decisions of that structure their lives. The narrative suggests that social order is not just transmitted, but it is experienced and explored. The system is played out in a narrative, in interaction with personal experiences and practices; notions of the system reappear through the lives and strategies of individuals. As such, the method explores the intertwining of the system and the lifeworld (Habermas 1998), thus exploring interaction and communication between social structures and the subjectivity of the individual agency (cf. Mitchell 1980).

Narration as it is proposed here can be conceptualized as offering room to accommodate all three analytical idioms proposed by Brubaker and Cooper. Given that, let me stress that I'm not simply advocating the changing of identity into a narrative. This would not solve any "identity" dilemma. The narrative, or, "the narrative of belonging", I propose, might be used both as complementary to other

expressed concepts (such as those of Brubaker and Cooper or of Anthias) or as a substitute to them, since the concept is vast enough to offer various concretizations, but I particularly advocate its use in migration studies. For the purpose of understanding migrants' belonging in a transnational world, I thus propose to substitute the notions of migrants' hybrid identities with the conceptualizations of migrants' affinities, experiences of commonality and division, and their belonging through *narration*.

SITUATED BELONGING OF MIGRANTS FROM FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Here I explore empirically migrants' narratives of belonging as they appear in the narratives. The narrations that are discussed below with the purpose to provide grounds for the proposition to use the concept of narrative in studying migrants' belonging are taken from biographical narrative interviews that were conducted in 2006–2010 with migrants who have come to Slovenia since 2000 from the former Yugoslav states. These demonstrate how migrants negotiate various identifications that stem from the narratives, including referencing their ethnic belonging, gender, sexual orientation etc. All of these accounts are expressed in a context, so the story is not suspended in time and space. To the contrary, using narration enables us to analyse migrants' belonging while considering the peculiarities of time and space.

In the excerpt below we can see how irritated Ada⁵ was by a proposal to change her surname to disguise its Bosnian origins. We can clearly see in her narrative her readiness to fight racism and her determination not to disguise herself, but rather stress her particular ethnic belonging. She felt offended, vowing never to do such a thing:

So at the Employment Service they also told me, because I went there I don't know how many times [...] I mean, I'm glad if I get any answer. And I realized why. And then she said: "Why doesn't anyone take you?" I'd like to know it, too. Because nobody tells you, like, "you were not selected." I understand this too. She said: "But why, how?" She said: "You know what! Why don't you change your family name? You'll never get a job with a family name like this!" [...] So I said, "No, I won't" [...]. And even if I did. If my family name was, I don't know, some Slovenian family name, they'd know from my accent, so there's no point. I would be lying to myself, not others. (Ada)

Her reaction is similar when she speaks to her daughter about the school environment where Ada often fights against discrimination. When the daughter, doing her homework, asks Ada what she likes to eat, Ada responds by purposely stressing her liking for a typically Bosnian dish:

Ana [the daughter] was very excited: "Mom, mom, I need to speak about you for two minutes [for homework]!" I said: "Go on." "What do you like to eat most?" I said, *burečki*. *Burečki*, do you know what it is? A kind of *burek* [filled pastry, a typical Bosnian dish], with meat filling, prepared a bit differently, you pour yogurt over it and then garlic. [...] And it's wholly Bosnian. Nowhere else except in Bosnia. "I can't tell them that!" Then you can say that I most like to eat blood sausages with sauerkraut." [a typical Slovenian dish] And she said: "But you don't eat that." [...] Or, for example, if we go somewhere, she always sends a postcard, like, to her schoolmates, a teacher, from Rimini, from Paris, but never from Sarajevo, to anyone. "Ana, let's buy a postcard!" "Oh, well, don't feel like it." (Ada)

We can see from the narrative how specific contexts shape Ada's positioning. When being offended in Slovenia, she would stress her Bosnian belonging. On another occasion, when she explains how she was

5 The names have been changed to hide the interviewees' identities.

told by her fellow Bosnians that her child only needs to speak good Bosnian, and that Slovene is not important, she explains how such situations make her say that she would never go back to Bosnia again. "And if I go down there [to Bosnia] I'm always in disputes and then I say: 'I'll never come back again!' And of course, I can't wait to return." These situations make Ada narrate her "in-between" feelings (for a conceptualization of such narrations see Milharčič Hladnik 2007; Cukut Krilić and Mlekuž 2009):

So, it's slightly, I mean, this feeling, you don't feel at home here, because it's not it and you'll never feel at home. Down there you also don't feel at home, because for them you're a Slovene, and for them here you're a Bosnian. So you aren't at home anywhere. (Ada)

When her daughter speaks about being a Slovene, she says:

Ana said that she was Slovene. I said: "Ana, you aren't a real Slovene. Your mother is Bosnian, your father is Bosnian, your surname ends in -ić, born to Bosnian parents, and you are probably Bosnian too." "No, I was born in Ljubljana, I'm Slovene." I said: "Darling, you are and you are not. You're somewhere in between. You are neither one nor the other." And this bothers her a lot. She is in search of herself. (Ada)

What could be coined "survival strategies" clearly emerges from narratives when interviewees express their distancing from a particular identity that they couch in ethnic terms based on their real-life situations (for the heterogeneity of ethnic identities see Lukšič Hacin 1999). Being faced with discrimination in the process of searching for work, Ada tends to reinforce her Bosnian belonging, while on other occasions she would clearly distance herself from her place of birth. The "in-between" narrations, which in some interviews tend to have an ethnic context and in others are associated with family or work contexts, have, in Ada's narration, a positive connotation when she is expressing "what and how" she is. Alternatively, similar narrations might be expressed by a story about "what and how" one is *not*, like in the case of Rudina.

You know how I feel now, I'm no one here and no one there, because coming here changed me a lot. I'm not at all the person that I used to be, even one percent, I changed my thinking, I changed everything, I am not the person that I used to be there, even though I said I was not 100% in that culture, but now? I am not at all, but still I can't say that I'm 100% Slovenian, I belong here but, but I don't like 100% belong here. When I'm here I don't feel I'm at home in one way, but when I go there I don't feel at home either. It's very bad, because now I don't know where I am from, where I belong. You know, when I go there it's about two, three weeks and I have a problem that I can't stay with my friends there, because they are just talking about things, not that I couldn't stand, but I just felt that they are wasting time [...], but here is one thing, it's too much business oriented, not just at the business school [Rudina is enrolled in a business school], but all the people talk about and do is business, how to get money. There they are more family oriented. So that's why I'm telling you that I don't know where I belong, because I could never live without my parents, of course I couldn't live without them, but for example talking with them, we talk every day, maybe twice or three times a day and I still can't understand people that do not talk for a week, or once a week. I just don't make any decisions without talking with them, so I still have that connection with my parents. But one the other hand I cannot be only like family oriented, a woman that works at home, even now things have changed and women are working there, but still when they go home they are closed, they are family. I am pro-work and pro-family but still you have to have some time for your own, which I miss there, or here I miss the family, so in that way I'm still kind of in the middle. (Rudina)

Rudina's narrative shows how she negotiates her belonging through her current and past experiences. She has come to Slovenia for her business studies and she relates her belonging to her studies, saying that her life is not "only about business and making money" but also about "friends and family". Being confined to her business-school environment in Slovenia, her narration about Slovenia being all

about business is clearly an expression of her particular school-related experience (the issue of context is clearly important here). She ascribes values of friendship and family to her encounters in Kosovo and explains how both work and family are of equal importance to her. Her words are a clear example of how she negotiates her experiences and values that she perceives as “being in the middle” (ibid.).

In general, her story expresses positive aspects of being able to share different cultural worlds. Still, her “in-between” positioning is not just fun for her. Her account also tells us that she has the problem of not belonging anywhere “100 percent”, which seems to cause stress for her. Discomfort is a result of the inability to fit “100%” into either cultural environment. “It’s very bad, because now I don’t know where I am from, where I belong...”

Constantly negotiating her belonging, Melanija has a strong positioning of home that for her is strongly associated with her past life:

Once you leave your home and your birthplace, where your roots are, behind, it doesn’t matter if you’re in Vojvodina, Slovenia, Italy, England or America. You don’t feel at home anymore. We like it here because we used to visit my husband in the summer and the children are, like, delighted with Slovenia. I think that many things are in better shape, many, many things. You know what? In Croatia we had a good life, when we came to Vojvodina we were, like, picked on, refugees and so on, like “Where do you come from?” and “Who are you?” and “Why are you here?” I don’t know, perhaps other people’s experiences are different, [but] this is how I felt. (Melanija)

Rudina’s experience of Slovenia being all about business is also related to her sense of loneliness after she first arrived for her studies. Her story is about feeling detached from Slovenes who seemed much better off, and she chooses to socialize at first with Romanians:

When I came in Slovenia, the first week, actually it was an introductory week, so we were not doing much. I was the only one from Kosovo, there were two from Romania and the others were from Slovenia, and the Slovenians were staying together, the Romanians were staying together, so I was like feeling that I’m not part of this place. I mean for that one week, I was not accepted, of course, I mean it’s like that everywhere, they knew each other. And then I started to hang around with the Romanians. When the lectures started the Slovenians were much better in English, they had had a lot of experiences and they had travelled all around the world, for me coming to Slovenia was the first, not the first, I was in Turkey for a holiday, but I came here all on my own, because my father wanted me to become independent, to go on my own and find my way around. And I felt really alone all the time, really. And then I started to hang around with Romanians, and as I said, the Slovenians had travelled, they had had experiences, [and] I was just feeling like I’m not part of this world, I should go back. (Rudina)

Capturing Slovenia and the Slovenes in the framework of business changes when Rudina’s narrative switches to her “fitting in” to the new environment. When she mentions that her best friend is Slovenian she denounces viewpoints that the Slovenes are cold and all just about business, adding that this was her impression *as a student at the business school* which doesn’t apply in general. Here we can see a very located sense of the expressed belonging where the identification is about specific social locations that are embedded in particular environments.

In narrating their stories, the interviewees stress both positive and negative attitudes towards their belonging, demonstrating in this way both their difference from and closeness to the environment in question.

A moment of distancing is either related to culture or specifically to a lack of opportunities to study and work. In expressions of cultural difference we can sense in Rudina’s story, in contrast to, for example, Ada’s story, her wish to hide from “Albanian culture”, where she at the one hand identifies herself as Albanian and at the same time distances herself from being “a real” Albanian – here she seems to internalize the imposed categorization over what being an Albanian means. The second part of the narrative shows distancing as a result of lack of opportunities:

[...] but I didn't want to be the same as them, I wanted to be different, I don't know, I don't have that Albanian culture, I'm Albanian but I'm not like real Albanians are. Maybe because my parents had travelled a lot and took positive things from that, we are kind of different, not different, but kind of more social, and when I had a chance to come to Slovenia, [...] my father works with Slovenians a lot and my mother had breast cancer and she had surgery in Slovenia, so they have a different attitude towards the Slovenians.

[...] if I'm there, I'm going to be there forever, and that was not what I wanted. I wanted to go somewhere and study, of course I'm not planning to just forget about Kosovo, of course helping there, working as well for there, but the main reason that I'm here to help there is, because from there it's hard to help there, because you have no opportunity, there are not many opportunities, it's just, how can I say, you just become one of them and I never wanted to be one of them. Not because they are bad at all, just you don't have any opportunities. (Rudina).

Ana felt secluded in her home environment in Croatia and reflects on how she has always felt that she doesn't belong there. Being a woman, a foreigner and a lesbian in Slovenia, she expresses how she is currently better off in Slovenia. Her both positive and negative experiences are expressed through her located feelings about specific cultural environments. Reflecting on her narration we can see how rich her accounts are and how they're more meaningful than a positive statement of identity would be. Also, Ana's lesbian identification that is addressed in the first fragment below is much more than a simple positive statement, and she clearly expresses that her social relations are not limited to simple identity labelling. Again, it is the context that helps us understand her critical reflection on outside identification that reduces personalities to one-dimensional claims which is a reality that she clearly rejects. The second part of her story reflects Ana's strong feelings about closed borders where general statements on peoples' movement are intertwined with her personal need to leave Croatia.

I don't socialize, I don't socialize with people because of their sexual orientation, ethnicity or anything like that, I'm not interested in it at all anymore. I was interested when I was twenty, going to a lesbian club. I was interested. But now I'd never go again to a lesbian club. Because there, a generation of women who have the same problems as I had when I was twenty comes there. They need women's support, lesbians like themselves, so they need to... socialize there a bit, dance, and meet people and fall in love and all that. And once you go through it, I mean, I think there is no need, like, to keep yourself arrested in one position, remain there all your life and become entangled and unable to escape, like that. Be a lesbian, a foreigner, be this or that. So it's how it was [...] but what I think is very important is that these possibilities do exist. Because people need it. That's why I've again mentioned Metelkova, it played such an important role at a certain point in my life. In that way, too. Now I don't need it anymore, but I support it. Because I know how important it was for me, you know. And how important it is now for some other people, you know, who are in a similar situation, like that. (Ana)

It is terrible if you are hemmed in by these borders, states, so you cannot go anywhere else, and not because they'd not let you go, but because you're from this fucking country. It is a really, really terrible feeling. [...] I mean, yes, I knew, one thing I knew when I was growing up, that is that I didn't want to grow up in, didn't want to live in Dalmatia. I was sure about it. So even then, when I was 19, I wanted to leave, you know. I don't know, it's not important where. It was Zagreb, but I think that in a way I wanted to stay away from that, from that Dalmatian distress. I mean, I didn't like it. Of course I like all that, I mean, the region as such, it's really beautiful and I adore the sea, but that strange patriarchal Christian atmosphere always, always oppressed me in a way. I didn't feel good. And I lived in what you could call the survival mode. So I didn't speak much because I knew that if I told something about myself, some truth about myself, that it wouldn't be good for me. So I always had to, like, I always had to make decisions, compromises, to be able to survive. And, I don't know, perhaps it was one of the reasons for coming here. I feel better here. Even though I had bad experiences and difficulties getting those papers. But I finally feel that I no longer, that I don't have that obligation any more to justify my moves and my life. (Ana)

Ivana, who left Croatia with her family for Slovenia fleeing the war, tends to deal with her discomfort by reasoning that a person is still a person regardless of any attributions of identity. Her war-related experiences are much more meaningful than any attributions of identity and they also are specifically bounded by time and space. Ivana seems to deal with her experiences of war by shifting attention from difference to “human sameness”, which might be considered her “survival strategy”.

For me, nationalism, or religion, or skin colour, nothing has influence on us and we don't want it, and with such people you simply want to show them that it's not important. If you can speak with them at all, with some there is no chance of speaking about it. And naturally, the war was just another experience [demonstrating] that nationalism, ethnicity, or other, is unimportant. Because that war in Croatia, when it happened, it was, I don't know why it happened. People still LIVE. Croats and Serbs, who were the greatest enemies, in the SAME villages where they lived until now – only many Serbs went away – they AGAIN live together. And I don't understand WHY the war broke out. I cannot understand that.

If you are a refugee, but you're a human, like them. And like that. Like that, yes, many things. I think many people are good and I want to absorb only positive things from others, and I want to give only good things to others. Now, what others think about us, I don't know that. I say that many people are really good. Really many people are good. [...] For me, money is not a value, for me the value is in a human being [...] I say, all that's needed is a healthy attitude of one person towards another. To some degree, it doesn't need to be much. Only a healthy attitude of one person towards another. That someone understands you, that they're okay. (Ivana)

Many stories of migrants in Slovenia have a strong labour-market related component that shows how they are continuously dismissed as a replaceable workforce that is only needed in terms of economic profits, and that should disappear when profits are no longer high enough.⁶ Migrants performing 3D jobs talk about working long hours, having low salaries or not receiving any. The narratives also express the fear experienced by migrant workers when their employers threaten to reduce their salaries or withhold them entirely. For migrants, the constraint imposed by their immigrant status is a significant burden, whether their status is that of a contractual worker or seasonal worker, whose short-term duration and correspondingly limited residence permit put them in an even more precarious position. Deprived of any other alternatives, since their work contracts tie them to one specific employer, who is usually also the one who arranged their work permit, the migrant workers need to endure harsh working conditions in order not to risk losing their job and consequently their work permits. Most of our interview partners were tied to short-term work contracts, which further exacerbates hardships in employment relations, and nearly all have had some experience with undocumented work. They mention work accidents, experiences with bad attitudes on the part of their bosses or co-workers, unfair treatment, poor living conditions and a lack of social contacts. Many faced insurmountable obstacles when trying to arrange their legal and administrative affairs, which often caused anxiety for them. Not earning much and being under stress to earn enough money to send home, many migrants eat poorly and reside in unsuitable housing that does not allow them to have a decent rest. When combined with hard physical labour and long working hours, this results in health problems which only accumulate due to the lack of health care options.

Analyses of the interviews show that the migrants' precarious labour market positions strongly determine their narratives. When interpreting the accounts of belonging of migrants who endure harsh living and working conditions, it is necessary to keep in mind the fact that some of the migrants could hardly survive through the month. The interviews point to the fact that these precarious positions need to be considered as a strong context in which the narrations occur. In particular, the migrants' bad economic position, resulting in some cases in a total absence of any kind of social life or contacts outside

⁶ Particularly interviews conducted within the Prints project.

work, reminds us that narratives cannot be understood fully if context is ignored. Also, there were cases where by far the largest part of the interview was devoted to reflecting on work-related experiences.

And when we came, all of it, he registered us, the same day, everything we needed, just like that. But I saw that it was not what he promised to us, he didn't have a company or, we didn't have a clue. And there was this apartment, it was a sort of, like, primitive, it wasn't an apartment at all. But ok, we can [endure it] for some time, to see what's going on. "No work today, no work tomorrow, there'll be some tomorrow, there'll be some today" and so on for three days. I could see things were not getting anywhere, and on the fourth day he said he had work for us, but in fact he had a company that rented out workers. And then you have to work five days for one company, and then for another, and then... you know. And the money he promised to us, that we will have, nothing like that, nothing close to it. (Tomislav)

At my job I do the dirtiest part of the work, I wash dishes. I make salads, sweets, and I do all of that in the same day [...]. But I work three, three jobs in 8 hours, and this boss is not thankful for that. [...] When everybody goes to party, I work, I mean, I am, I have no time for myself, I have no time for a friend, I cannot go out because I don't have weekends. I work 8 hours, and after 8 hours I always stay another hour, you know, and all that... (Tamara)

Say, a business owner earns 10 euros per an ordinary worker and pays him 2.5 euros, and when you calculate all that it's, er, for nothing. And the average salary in Slovenia is 500, 520 euros, but how to live on that... I cannot understand it. I have a wife and two children, and my salary is around 550 euros. I have an apartment here, I pay 100 euros for it, I need 250 euros for food, how then can I feed my wife and children. It's not that I complain about Slovenia, but I know that it can be better. As I said, I worked in Slovenia before, before the war, in 87, 88, I worked for the railways and at that time I earned much more, and it was much better. (Fikret)

Family is the most pronounced common feature of belonging in all interviews and it is more pronounced when the families are far away. Here, the accounts of longing to be reunited with a girlfriend, children or parents are strong. A strong wish to be reunited with a family member is in some cases accompanied by a narration about the economic situation that prevents families from living together. Conditions at work often prevent our interviewees from visiting their relatives in Bosnia, Croatia or Serbia, which causes additional distress.

Well, I'd like [...] to stay here and to have my girlfriend here. My girlfriend to be here. But this is a bit more difficult. You have to try hard for it. So we'll see. I mean, nothing binds me to Serbia. Nothing binds me to Serbia. Only, only the apartment. But here too I can arrange it, see. I could rent it out and it'd be even better for me [...] Well, the plans are, I don't know what the plans are. Either to stay here, if I get an opportunity here, or to return to Belgrade. I have no other plans, see. Perhaps I could stay here, and in a few years bring my girlfriend here, when she completes her studies, at least here she could find something, some job. (Marko)

As far as life in Slovenia, one could live here and I came to Slovenia for work. I had a wish, I'm married, I have two children, I wanted to bring my wife and my children to Slovenia. It's difficult to obtain those papers, for them to come here. As far as papers and all that it could be worked out somehow, but you cannot support them, you know, I couldn't support my wife and two children with my salary. So I cannot bring them to Slovenia. I wouldn't like to bring them like this, because I cannot support them, so it's better if they are not here. [...] And it's not, I mean, I'm not fulfilled, I mean, I'm not satisfied. I'm not satisfied with my salary. I'm not. And I'm not satisfied because I live apart from my family. I'd like to be with my wife, with my children, but I'm not. (Fikret)

I came here, I got a tourist visa, to come, my husband was here; he came in May, so we were not used to it that one is here and one there, or to being separated [...] we were always together, so it was difficult for us, so I came here on a visit, and I was here two weeks, then we looked to see if there is any work, if I could find some job. [...]

Now it's difficult for me, because the children are not here, but I hope it will work. The children, coming here, I enrolled them in school, the international school, because they said that's okay, that all foreigners are there. Foreigners, nobody said this to me before, that I was a foreigner, but it's how they talk, so... I learnt to speak Slovenian a bit, they say I try hard and I am learning. I've been here for six months so every month I go there, to Macedonia for one week, and then back. So it's all very difficult, but when you have a goal, you have to succeed, you have to [...] And children, whoever can bring children, it's not good for children to live alone at this time, so it's not really the best of the best... I hope that the children will be here and that everything will be alright and all that. It's our goal, to be here. If the children don't come, I'll go there, the victims are me and my husband, and the children, but if they don't come here I'll go back. No matter how it is there I must go back. That's it. It's not Macedonia, it's Slovenia, the family and the children, what is most [important]. (Filipa)

CONCLUSIONS

The article considers the notion of identity, particularly the conceptualizations of hybrid and shifting identities that are believed to do a good job of describing the multifarious types of belonging of contemporary subjects and their ties to various social, cultural and political contexts. The critical appraisal of postmodernist interpretations of identity used in some research on transnationalism and migration regimes (cf. Ong 1999; Levitt 2001) as well as in policymaking (i.e. current debates on integration, cf. Kontos 2011), I argue, does not apply well to the situation of migrant populations. The notion of hybrid identity is too loose to reflect the contextualized and often highly situated life experiences of migrants (Anthias 2002).

The empirical evidence presented in this article points to the complex interrelationships that shape migrant belonging in the post-Yugoslav context. I have explored alternative conceptualizations and have argued that these, in particular the notion of narrative, are analytically more appropriate to capture migrants' belonging (see Milharčič Hladnik 2007 for the Slovenian context). In contrast to a positive notion of hybridity and of hybrid identities that are supposed to allow us to adjust to any circumstances and choose our identities freely as we feel best fits our ideas, the migrants' narratives reveal how belonging is not free-floating and waiting for us to choose and adjust, but how it is shaped by very specific circumstances that determine the lives of migrants (Pajnik and Campani 2011). Experiences of war, leaving the country of birth to study, fleeing for economic reasons to be able to sustain the family, leaving a strict environment that doesn't allow the expression of difference – all these are very specific circumstances that need to be considered when analysing migrant transnationalism and transnational belonging. Precisely because the contexts are so particular, general identity labels used to describe migrants' experiences can't fully assess the complexity of their realities.

Let me stress once again that this article is not a plea for abandoning the concept of identity. To the contrary, the argument aims at contributing to the debates about the usefulness of identity in explaining the complex interrelationships of migrating individuals; it should help us understand the concept better and encourage us to elaborate on its particular applications. Too often, identity is simply assumed. Consequently we have witnessed the naturalization of the concept, with its side effect being the decline in endeavours to grasp the concept analytically. The migrants' storytelling presented in this article is as much a story about identity as it is a story against it. I have used the concept of narrative and of storytelling to explore migrants' belonging but, perhaps most importantly, identification in all its complexity was made by the actors themselves.

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POVZETEK

NARACIJE O PRIPADANJU V POSTJUGOSLOVANSKEM KONTEKSTU

Mojca PAJNIK

Članek prevprašuje veljavnost pojma multiplih ali hibridnih identitet, pri čemer je v ospredju argumentacija, da takšna raba v nekaterih študijah transnacionalizma in migracijskih režimov lahko poustvarja migrante kot druge in drugačne. Česar ta raba ne izpostavi, je, da pripadanja niso nekaj abstraknega, ampak so situirane in kontekstualizirane izkušnje, medtem ko stavljenje na »pozitivne« identitete lahko učinkuje kot maskiranje strukturnih neenakosti. Besedilo se posveča alternativnim konceptualizacijam z uporabo naracije in pripovedovanja zgodb, ki bolje kot identitete zaobjamejo kontekstualizirane realnosti migracij. Teoretska argumentacija je podkrepljena z rezultati empirične raziskave, kjer je v ospredju razprava o pripadanju v post-jugoslovanskem kontekstu na podlagi biografskih intervjujev z migranti v Sloveniji. Besedilo je kritično do uporabe pojma hibridne identitete v nekaterih študijah migracij in na področju politik, kjer konstruktivistične, poststrukturalistične in postmoderne konceptualizacije hibridnosti lahko implicirajo, da so migranti samoodgovorni za integracijo. Besedilo razpravlja o identiteti teoretično in empirično na podlagi naracij migrantov.

RETURNING MIGRANTS IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA: THE ISSUE OF REINTEGRATION

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ABSTRACT

Returning migrants in the republic of Macedonia: the Issue of Reintegration

The Republic of Macedonia has been facing increased flows of returnees following their legal or illegal emigration abroad. This has led to the recognition of the issue of their social, economic and cultural reintegration into society. In order to respond to the needs of the returnees, the Government has developed a Programme for Reintegration of Returnees in Accordance with the Readmission Agreements. It is expected that this programme will add to the activities of the non-governmental organisations in assisting returnees and their families upon their voluntary or forced return in a more organised and systemic way.

KEY WORDS: illegal migration, reintegration, voluntary and forced return, returning migrants, readmission agreements

IZVLEČEK

Migranti povratniki v republiki Makedoniji: Vprašanje reintegracije

Republika Makedonija se sooča s povečanim tokom povratnikov, ki so bili zakoniti ali nezakoniti migranti v tujini. Zato družba prepoznava vprašanja njihove socialne, ekonomske in kulturne reintegracije v družbo. Da bi se odzvali na potrebe povratnikov, je vlada pripravila *Program za reintegracijo povratnikov v skladu z dogovori o ponovnem prevzemu oseb*. Pričakujemo, da bo *Program* pripomogel k dejavnostim nevladnih organizacij pri bolj organizirani pomoči povratnikom in njihovim družinam pri njihovi prostovoljni ali prisilni vrnitvi.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: nezakonita migracija, reintegracija, prostovoljna in prisilna vrnitev, migranti povratniki, dogovori o ponovnem prevzemu oseb

INTRODUCTION

The article addresses a topic which is gaining increasing attention on the policy agenda in the Republic of Macedonia. With the intensified migratory movements of the Macedonian population, especially illegal migration, the return of Macedonian citizens into the country has also increased. Until recently the non-governmental sector has been the only major source of support for the returnees. Governmental involvement in migration issues in general began in 2009, while the issue of the reintegration of returnees

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was addressed for the first time in an organised manner only in 2010. A Programme for Reintegration of Returnees according to the Readmission Agreements signed between Macedonia and destination countries was drafted in 2010. Having been directly involved in the development of this Programme, in this article the author draws on experiences, information and qualitative data from interviews with returnees and relevant stakeholders (NGOs, ministries) carried out for the purposes of the programme.

The overall objective of this article is to depict the scope of migratory movements and returns to Macedonia and the challenges faced by the returning migrants and their families upon return (with a focus on children and the elderly), as well as the policy responses in place to facilitate their reintegration.

The article is structured so as to cover the above topics, starting with estimates on emigration and illegal migration in the first chapter. The second chapter presents the current situation of the returnees. It gives data on the scope of returns to Macedonia and the challenges returnees face upon return. Particular emphasis is placed on the most vulnerable groups of returnees: children and the elderly. The third chapter is devoted to the policy responses as a form of support for the reintegration of returnees into society. It first presents data on the signing of the Readmission Agreements with EU and non-member states. It then elaborates the planned public measures designed to facilitate the reintegration of Macedonian citizens upon their return to the country. The article concludes with a Ways Forward chapter which summarises the main achievements in the domain of reintegration of returnees and the challenges that remain to be addressed in future.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION: ESTIMATES ON EMIGRATION AND ILLEGAL MIGRATION

The migration of citizens of Macedonia is not a recent phenomenon. Several events have caused large flows of migration over the years. The Balkan wars of 1912-1913, the First World War, the Second World War and the Greek Civil War (1945-1949) all led to mass emigration to the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In the sixties and seventies, Macedonian emigration was triggered mainly by poor economic conditions, and the main destinations were Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Sweden, while smaller numbers found their way to Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands and Norway (IOM 2007).

The transition period and poor economic performance following the 1990s triggered several different types of migratory movements. Unfavourable socio-economic conditions, deteriorating living standards, rising poverty and unemployment were the key push factors for a large part of the Macedonian population to search for ways out through economic migration, predominantly to the European countries.

According to the 2002 population census, 35,000 Macedonians have gone abroad. However, this number appears improbably low. In 2007, the Government of Macedonia put the number as high as 400,000, or 20% of the population. There are no indications that this trend will be reduced in the coming years. A survey commissioned by IOM Budapest in 2009 showed that 10.5% of the Macedonians stated a definite intent to emigrate in the future (IOM 2009). The latest relevant comprehensive data for the number of emigrants by individual countries are those from the World Bank. These data show that the number of Macedonian citizens in receiving countries all over the world in 2010 amounts to 447,138 persons. According to this data the emigration rate is about 21.8%. This means that a considerable share of the total population of Macedonia is residing abroad (Janevska and Bornarova 2011).

In this process of increased emigration, illegal emigration has also been increasing. Due to the restrictive immigration policies of the European countries, the number of Macedonian illegal emigrants returning to Macedonia through voluntary and forced returns has increased.

Data on illegal migration as one of the key reasons for intensified flows of returns to Macedonia is scarce. From 2002 to 2006 (inclusive), the Ministry for Internal Affairs has apprehended 12,903 irregular

migrants, either intercepted at the Macedonian border or discovered at official border crossings (both exit and entry). The top countries are Albania and Serbia and Montenegro (including Kosovo). As shown in the table below, a large number of illegal migrants are Macedonians (811 in 2006 alone) (IOM 2007).

Table 1: Number of irregular migrants discovered at Macedonian border or on the territory of Macedonia in 2006 by nationality

NATIONALITY	Apprehended at official BORDER CROSSING	Apprehended after crossing BORDER	Total
Albania	1,529	2,623	4,152
Serbia and Montenegro (incl. Kosovo)	79	71	150
Macedonia	210	601	811
Greece	19	–	19
China	8	–	8
Bulgaria	6	–	6
India	4	–	4
Other	11	7	18
TOTAL Macedonia			1,270
TOTAL (2002-2006)	5,931	7,512	12,903

Source: MOI (2007). Official data from the Ministry of the Interior, Sector for Analytics, letter no.15.2-145; 01.02.2007

According to foreign data sources, in 2005, 2,050 Macedonian citizens were readmitted to Macedonia after failing to migrate illegally to Western Europe. Other sources (see the table below) offer additional figures.

Table 2: Irregular Migration of Macedonians to the EU

	Denmark	Greece	Italy	Slovenia	Bulgaria	Romania
Macedonian citizens apprehended within the EU 15 and in non-EU MS 2003		1,051		397		
Number of Macedonian citizens refused entry to the EU 15 and non-EU MS, 2003	1,466	1,019	599	2,031	303	246
Number of Macedonians Removed from the EU 15 and non-MS, 2003	1,117		307			

In the recent period there have also been an increased number of Macedonian citizen returnees (the majority are poorly informed Roma and Albanian asylum seekers) who immigrated mostly to European countries following the liberalisation of the visa issuing process. According to the UNHCR, the number of asylum seekers from Macedonia increased considerably after the visa liberalisation, which entered into force in 2010. The number of asylum applications from Macedonia submitted in 44 industrialised countries increased from 908 in 2009 to 6,351, of which 5,773 were submitted in the EU27. Most of the applications submitted in 2010 were to Germany, Belgium and Sweden (Germany 2,466, Belgium 1,082, Sweden 908, France 590, Switzerland 403, Netherlands 389, Austria 194, Norway 93) (UNHCR 2010). To respond to this situation, which is unfavourable for Macedonia, a Coordinative Body comprised of relevant institutions was established in 2011 to monitor the situation and undertake concrete measures for reducing this trend. The measures predominantly refer to the provision of information to citizens in cooperation with local NGOs, through media campaigns, direct contacts, distribution of brochures etc. However, given the short-term absence from the country of this category of returnees, the question of their reintegration cannot be considered an issue and thus will not be elaborated further in this article.

THE CURRENT SITUATION OF RETURNEES

The Scope of Returns

Several factors determine the intensity of the Macedonian emigration abroad and returns to Macedonia. Among them are the changes in the immigration policies of the receiving countries, as well as increased selectivity in accepting migrants, mainly in terms of age structure, educational level and occupation. No less important are visa policies and particularly asylum policies in destination countries, particularly in the last decade.

The *re-migration trends* since 1990 register a tendency of decline. Census data show that the number of returnees from abroad decreased from about 20,800 (1981) to 14,000 persons (1994). The statistical evidence on returnees in Macedonia is scarce, particularly concerning voluntary returns.

Some data on this category of returnees can be obtained by the IOM country office. Between 2002 and 2006, 142 individuals returned to Macedonia through IOM voluntary assisted return programmes. In the period from 2006 until August 2009 IOM assisted 84 voluntary returnees (MLSP 2010).

The Ministry of the Interior (MOI) has records on the number of returnees in the country, in particular on *forced returns*. According to existing data on the number of returnees to Macedonia pursuant to the Readmission Agreements, provided on the basis of the reports on deported persons from the border crossing points, the total number of returnees shows a slight increase: 582 (2007); 593 (2008); 682 (2009); 691 (up to 30 November 2010). The data refers to the number of entries into the country, which does not correspond with the number of returnees because there are returnees who enter the country several times in the course of the year. The majority of the returnees in the period from 2007-2010 were Macedonian citizens deported from Germany (766), Switzerland (524), Greece (194), Croatia (168), and Italy (139) (MOI, 2010).

Challenges upon Return for Returnees: Focus on Children and the Elderly

The successful reintegration of returnees into society is important not only for their personal well-being, but for Macedonia as a country as well, considering its obligation to protect this category of the population and ensure full respect of their human rights. In general, it should be noted that for most returnees this process is not a routine practice but implies major social and economic adjustments. This process is particularly problematic for returnees who have stayed in a foreign country for an extended period of time, thereby having lost all links to Macedonia as their country of origin. Without adequate readmission and adjustment to the old-new environment, most of the returnees would be exposed to the risk of social exclusion, marginalisation and poverty. This is especially true for vulnerable groups such as the elderly, children, single parents, children with special needs, and victims of human trafficking. From this perspective, it could be assumed that insufficient measures for facilitated readmission and societal reintegration and the increasing flow of incoming returnees (resulting from the readmission agreements and strict migration policies) could possibly result in the worsening of the socio-economic situation of this category of population, children and the elderly being at the greatest disadvantage.

For *returning children*, the process of integration is often quite demanding. Being born and raised in a different society and culture requires adaptation to the new environment. The process of socialisation is often disrupted as it requires the adoption of norms and values which are often different from those of the destination country where the children were born. Educational integration is of crucial importance for returning children. Despite the fact that Macedonian legislation prescribes unhindered access to the educational system for all children, returning children are at a disadvantage. This is due to an unequal start resulting from the need to adapt to the system and the educational environment,

as well as language barriers, which in turn affect the children's educational achievements. They have to adjust to the new educational system in which the content, teachers' attitudes and teaching methods differ from those they are used to. Learning the language in which the classes are taught is particularly problematic for foreign-born children who do not speak Macedonian. There are also significant problems regarding the recognition of prior educational qualifications (diplomas, certificates). This problem is most noticeable among forced returnees who often lose personal documentation in the process of deportation. Issuing a document from abroad is a complex and costly procedure which most of them cannot afford. Finally, the most disadvantaged are returning children who have never attended school due to their status of illegal residence abroad and who have the hardest time in beginning their delayed education and catching up with their peers.

For *elderly* returnees, the issue of social security and welfare is of key importance. Access to social security depends on the social security agreements between Macedonia as a country of origin and the destination countries. Macedonia has social security agreements with 15 countries¹ as an independent country and with 7 countries² through succession and taking over agreements from the former Yugoslavia. The agreement with Australia entered into force on 1 April 2011, while the one with Canada is still in the process of ratification. Social security agreements with the European countries refer to old age, family and disability pensions, health insurance, unemployment insurance and child protection (child care allowances) as well as rights relating to occupational illness and work-related injuries. With the overseas countries (such as Australia and Canada) the agreements refer only to pension insurance (PDIF 2010).

Social security is available for those older people who have been employed full time in some of the above destination countries. However, those returning from countries with which Macedonia has no social security agreement, those who worked in the informal economy (e.g. domestic workers) and those with illegal residence in the destination countries are excluded from the social security scheme. For the migrants not covered by social security, general social welfare measures designed to assist the most vulnerable and financially insecure are in place (i.e. social welfare benefits).

POLICY RESPONSES TO SUPPORT REINTEGRATION OF RETURNEES

Until recently, there has been no official policy designed to regulate migratory movements and assist returning migrants. Policymaking relative to migration in general has intensified in the last several years. The Resolution and the Action Plan on Migration were adopted in 2009. The Agreement on the Status and Activities of the Migration, Asylum and Refugees Regional Initiative was also ratified and considerable number of readmission agreements have been signed (MARRI 2007). Overall, a number of policy documents, strategies, action plans, and programmes related to migration have been officially adopted. However, their implementation is either held back as a result of the lack of financial resources or is lagging behind.

Readmission Agreements with EU and non-Member States

The Readmission Agreements concentrate on issues relating to the procedure for the return of illegal migrants, those whose temporary protection period has expired or rejected asylum seekers, from the beginning of the return procedure until their return to the country of origin. In accordance with the As-

1 Croatia, Turkey, Slovenia, Switzerland, Denmark, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Germany, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Czech Republic, Netherlands, Romania, Poland, Luxembourg and Belgium.

2 France, Hungary, Slovakia, Italy, Sweden, Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

sociation and Stabilization Agreement, which implies responsibility for readmission of persons residing illegally abroad, Macedonia and the European Community signed an Agreement on the Readmission of Persons Residing Illegally (hereinafter Readmission Agreement), which was ratified by Macedonia in 2007 and entered into force on 1 January 2008. The Readmission Agreement aims at establishing rapid and effective procedures for the identification and safe and orderly return of persons who do not, or no longer, satisfy the conditions for entry to, presence in, or residence in the territories of Macedonia or one of the Member States of the European Union, (with the exception of Denmark, and with a recommendation for signing Readmission Agreements with Switzerland, Iceland and Norway, according to the same criteria set forth in the Readmission Agreement and in compliance with the Agreements for accession of the above countries in the EU toward the implementation, application and development of the Schengen Acquis), and to facilitate the transit of such persons. According to this Readmission Agreement, Macedonia is obliged to readmit both own nationals, third country nationals and stateless persons. The Readmission Agreement regulates the reciprocal obligations of the EC for readmission of own nationals, third country nationals and stateless persons, as well as the readmission procedure, transit operations, costs, data protection and implementation and application provisions. In accordance with the provisions for implementation and application, the Readmission Agreement foresees the establishment of a Joint Readmission Committee, charged with the task of monitoring the application of the Agreement, deciding on implementing arrangements, regular exchanges of information on the implementing Protocols drawn up by individual Member States and Macedonia and recommending amendments to the Agreement and its Annexes (Official Gazette No. 141/07).

The Joint Committee was established pursuant to the provisions of the Readmission Agreement. The first meeting was held in June 2008, when the Macedonian delegation was represented by representatives of the Ministry of the Interior, MFA and Ministry of Labour and Social Policy, while the European Community was represented by officials from the Department for Borders and Visas, the Joint Committee of the EC, other representatives from the European Commission and the EU Delegation in Skopje. A second meeting, with similar delegations, was held in November 2008 in Brussels.

In addition to the one with EC, Macedonia has also signed readmission agreements with other countries. To date, Macedonia has signed 21 Readmission Agreements: with 14 EU member states, 2 Schengen signatory countries and 5 non-member states. There are ongoing negotiations for signing agreements with Iceland and Ukraine, and readmission agreements are planned to be signed with other countries (Russian Federation, Turkey). A draft text has been drawn up for introducing a Protocol for the Implementation of the Readmission Agreement between Macedonia and the European Community, to be delivered to all EU member states, with exception of Estonia because the procedure for unification of the text with this country has already been initiated (Government of Macedonia, 2009).³ Negotiations have started for signing Readmission Agreement with Montenegro, and in the meantime the Ministry of the Interior has received recommendations and a draft text for signing Implementation Protocols on the Readmission Agreement between Macedonia and the EC concerning the readmission of persons residing illegally from Hungary and Netherlands. The Ministry of the Interior has already submitted its views on the draft texts in this regard.

However, the provisions and obligations of the Readmission Agreement signed with the EC have priority over the provisions of any other bilateral agreement or arrangement on the readmission of persons residing illegally abroad signed between Macedonia and any other Member State, if the provisions of the bilateral agreement are incompatible with the Readmission Agreement (Official Gazette of Macedonia No. 141/07).

³ Macedonia has signed bilateral readmission agreements with the following countries: Italy, Slovenia, Switzerland, France, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Germany, Romania, Albania, Spain, Poland, Austria, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Moldova, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Public Measures to Facilitate Reintegration

Bearing in mind the absence of a systematic and organised state response to the reintegration problems of the returnees, in 2010 the Government of Macedonia adopted a Programme for Reintegration of the Returnees under the Readmission Agreements. The purpose of the programme is to support the implementation of the Agreement with the EC on the readmission of illegal migrants, as well the implementation of other readmission agreements with third countries. In addition to this overall objective, the programme's specific objectives are:

- Establishment of necessary technical, human and institutional capacities at national and local level for readmission, protection and sustainable integration of returnees;
- Provision of an institutional and systematic framework for support and assistance by the relevant institutions;⁴
- Facilitation of sustainable reintegration of returnees, thereby preventing reoccurrence of irregular migration;
- Enabling and accelerating access to existing rights within the protection system;
- Offering support for the social and economic independence of returnees, and preventing dependency on the system (particularly from a social point of view);
- Provision of opportunities not only for passive reintegration, but also for active contribution of the returnees in the local community and use of the human capital in the long term;
- Serving as a starting point for designing different information-sharing modalities for provision of information to the returnees on the services offered by the programme;
- Contributing to enhancement of the data collection system through the establishment of a database for forced and voluntary returned migrants (MLSP 2010).

The beneficiaries of the programme are returnees who are nationals of Macedonia and who do not, or no longer, satisfy the conditions for entry into, presence in, or residence in another country, and who are undergoing the readmission process in compliance with the readmission agreements, as well as voluntary returnees.

The programme offers wide-ranging forms of assistance and support to returnees in several areas:

1) *Legal aid and personal documentation*: provision of legal aid and support in obtaining personal documents (registering place of residence, birth certificates, citizenship etc.), personal ID card with temporary place of residence; support in issuance and recognition of foreign diplomas; accelerated procedures for issuing documentation in a period of 30 days.

2) *Social protection*: establishment of a Reception Centre; provision of social support services in the Reception Centre for returnees; information and facilitation of access to available types of social support for returnees.

3) *Economic support/employment*: referral for the purpose of registering with the State Employment Agency and local employment centres; informing returnees about their rights and obligations, employment opportunities, occupations in deficit; preparation of individual employment plans; inclusion in existing active labour market measures; organisation of workshops for active job seeking and adopting techniques for successful job placement and labour market adjustments; inclusion in training and lectures (computer skills, foreign languages).

4) *Health care*: screening of the general health condition of returnees and members of their families and entering of the assessment results in a database; referral to competent institutions for additional treatment or information; provision of basic health protection package immediately upon readmission

⁴ Establishment of a Coordinative Body for Returnees, a National Centre for Reintegration of Returnees and two additional Local Centres for Reintegration of Returnees is anticipated.

of the returnees, for a period of maximum 60 days; informing returnees on the possibilities for obtaining health insurance.

5) *Education*: assessment and registering of the returnees' educational status in a database; provision of information about existing educational opportunities, scholarships/mentorship, educational programmes, quotes etc. with an aim to provide access to educational institutions and services for minors, young adults, adults and older people; provision of access and integration of returnees in educational institutions, according to their age, physical and intellectual abilities, as well as previous educational background; provision of free school meals for children of returnees in social risk; supporting the process of obtaining and recognising foreign diplomas and certificates; provision of free textbooks for primary and secondary school students; organisation of lectures in the respective languages of the returnees; inclusion of returnee children in extended school programmes; assistance in obtaining immunisation documentation required for school enrolment etc. (MLSP 2010).

However, despite the comprehensiveness and potential benefits of the programme, its actual implementation is in the initial phase due to budget constraints. In cooperation with IOM a Guidebook was prepared and it was promoted before the relevant institutions in order to familiarise them with the forthcoming obligations arising from the programme. The interested returnees with problematic housing conditions are not yet accommodated in a separate Centre for Reintegration of Returnees, but within the existing Centre for Asylum seekers, as the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy has concluded agreement with this Centre to cover this category of persons as well due to unused capacity. The current gap in the provision of public measures of support to the returnees is filled in by the activities of the non-governmental organisations.

The Role of Non-Governmental Organisations in the Reintegration of Returnees

The first organisation involved in the provision of support to illegal migrants returning to Macedonia after its independence was the Caritas office in Skopje (Caritas foreign projects department in Essen, Germany). In 1990 the Government of Macedonia signed an agreement with the Government of Nordrhein-Westfalen for organised return of illegal Roma migrants in this part of Germany. In 1990 the Government of NRW established the Bureau for Management, Mediation and Economic Development in the largest Roma settlement in Macedonia — Shuto Orizari, to be in charge of the return of migrants. After a preparatory period in 1991, during 1992 and the beginning of 1993 a total of 126 Roma families returned to Macedonia and were accommodated in apartments (fully equipped prefabricated houses) with the right to live in them for 10 years free of charge and purchase them afterwards. In the period up to 1997 a comprehensive support programme was in place (assistance in employment, job skills acquisition, pre-school and school enrolment of children etc). However, despite the enormous efforts invested in facilitating the integration of these Roma families into the society, over time the houses were ruined, the household appliances and furniture sold, and most of the Roma families re-emigrated and left Macedonia again. Following the completion of this project, Caritas has continued to work on assisting returnees, but on a smaller scale and with a reduced intensity.

Since 2006, Macedonian emigrants who wish to return on a voluntary basis have been assisted by the IOM office established in Skopje in 2004. IOM implements the Assisted Voluntary Return Programmes (increasingly promoted by the host countries as a response to tackling illegal immigration) through which voluntary returnees receive return and reintegration support, i.e. support for housing, health care, education, vocational training and establishment of small businesses. Further, upon the request of the host country, IOM provides information on reintegration opportunities to Macedonian migrants who wish to return to Macedonia voluntarily, with a focus on employment, education, health etc. (MLSP 2010).

WAYS FORWARD

Given the current unfavourable socio-economic conditions in the country, the emigration of Macedonian citizens will undoubtedly continue in future, with illegal migration following this trend. In parallel, as a result of the increasingly restrictive immigration policies of the destination countries, the flows of illegal migrants returning to Macedonia are also expected to rise in future.

In such a situation, Macedonia has to find an adequate response to these challenges. The returnees left without proper support and assistance are at risk of becoming dependent on social welfare schemes. Therefore, specific policy measures are required to organise, facilitate and support their return and reintegration. Such measures have already been designed, but their implementation is lagging behind, while their contents may be further improved. In order to be effective, return and readmission must fit smoothly into a comprehensive and sustainable migration policy based on a common understanding of the principles and key issues concerning the readmission and return process. Consequently, common standards should be established in order to facilitate the further development of measures and regulations which can strengthen the activities, co-operation and coordination of the authorities involved, and to allow enhanced regional co-operation as well as co-operation with other countries, the EU and international and non-governmental organisations. Moreover, the return and reintegration measures at national level should be extended to cover all phases of the return process, starting with pre-departure measures and return measures (pre-return advice and counselling, safeguards for a safe and non-violent return with respect of human rights) and particularly with reception and reintegration in cases of re-admittance (training/employment assistance; follow-up assistance and post-return counselling).

In addition, the return and reintegration agenda Macedonia has been pursuing in the last several years obviously requires joint co-operation among the labour, finance, education and other relevant ministries, in co-operation with social partners and civil society. In this regard, co-ordination at the central level as a prerequisite for effectiveness in policymaking, implementation and evaluation of the programme outcomes, requires upgrading. As a lack of relevant data on illegal migration and returns is hampering endeavours to effect change in this area, efforts should be invested to support empirical research and establish a statistical database on migration flows which would considerably improve policymaking and the targeting of population groups affected by return migration.

Last but not least, as many policy documents are still only paper-based due to continuing budget constraints, Macedonia has to improve budget planning to ensure timely and purposeful allocation of the anticipated budget resources for the implementation of the strategic documents. Fund-raising capacities at national level should be strengthened, given the fact that the utilisation of foreign funds available to Macedonia is negligible. In this respect, EU Funds could be increasingly used to support the implementation of the policies, measures and activities envisaged within the already adopted strategic documents.

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POVZETEK

MIGRANTI POV RATNIKI V REPUBLIKI MAKEDONIJI: VPRAŠANJE REINTEGRACIJE

Suzana BORNAROVA

Makedonija je tradicionalno država emigracije in procesi emigracije v njej kontinuirano potekajo zadnjih pet desetletij. Najintenzivnejša emigracija je bila opažena v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja. Časovni interval od leta 1990 do danes pa je značilno obdobje, v katerem je bil zaznan najmočnejši emigracijski val od začetka ekonomske emigracije. Obdobje tranzicije, zniževanje življenjskega standarda, visoka stopnja nezaposlenosti in naraščajoča revščina so potisnili velik del makedonskega prebivalstva v iskanje nezakonitih poti za izseljevanje v tujino, pretežno proti bolj razvitim evropskim državam. Zaradi restriktivnih politik priseljevanja v teh državah se je velik del makedonskih državljanov, ki so protizakonito bivali v tujini, vrnil v Makedonijo, bodisi zaradi pomoči pri prostovoljnem vračanju bodisi zaradi postopkov prisilnega vračanja.

Povratniki, posebej tisti, ki se vrnejo po dolgem obdobju bivanja v tujini, se ob vrnitvi soočajo s številnimi težavami, s katerimi se ni nihče primerno ukvarjal. Dostop do sistemov socialnega varstva, zdravstvenega varstva, trga dela in izobrazbe je pogosto otežen. V položaju, ko nimajo podpornih mehanizmov, ki bi jim olajšali reintegracijo v družbo, so povratniki in njihove družine izpostavljeni tveganju, da zdrsnejo v revščino, družbeno izključenost in ponovno emigracijo. Še posebej ranljivi so otroci in starejši. Integracija v izobraževalni sistem je eden izmed ključnih izzivov, s katerimi se ob vrnitvi srečajo otroci. Do tega pride zaradi neenakega začetnega položaja, ki je posledica potrebe po prilagoditvi sistemu in izobraževalnemu okolju, pa tudi jezikovnim pregradam, ki vplivajo na izobraževalne dosežke otrok. Za starejše povratnike pa je ključno zagotavljanje socialne varnosti (torej pokojnine) in socialnega skrbstva.

Kljub temu v Makedoniji do nedavnega ni bilo uradne politike, oblikovane za reguliranje migracijskih gibanj in za pomoč vračajočim se migrantom. Ob odsotnosti sistematičnega in organiziranega odziva države na reintegracijske probleme povratnikov to vrzel trenutno premošča angažiranost različnih nevladnih organizacij. CARITAS in IOM sta pri zagotavljanju podpore za makedonske državljane – povratnike najbolj dejavni.

Leta 2010 je Vlada republike Makedonije sprejela *Program za reintegracijo povratnikov v skladu s sporazumi o ponovnem prevzetju oseb*. Namen programa je podpora uvajanju sporazuma z EU o ponovnem prevzetju nezakonitih migrantov, pa tudi uvajanje drugih sporazumov o prevzetju oseb s tretjimi državami. Upravičenci *Programa* so povratniki, državljani Makedonije, ki ne – ali ne več – izpolnjujejo pogojev za vstop, navzočnost ali bivanje v drugi državi in so v postopku ponovnega prevzetja v skladu s dogovori o ponovnem prevzetju, pa tudi prostovoljni povratniki. Program nudi najrazličnejše oblike pomoči in podpore povratnikom na različnih področjih: zagotavljanje pravne pomoči in podpore pri pridobivanju osebnih dokumentov, socialna zaščita, ekonomska podpora/zaposlitev, zdravstvena oskrba in izobraževanje.

MIGRATION, SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND IDENTITY ISSUES OF MACEDONIAN ROMA

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ABSTRACT

Migration, Social Exclusion and Identity Issues of Macedonian Roma

The key aspects of issues related to Roma identity are inevitably linked to traditional migration on one hand and the long-term exposure of Roma to discrimination and social exclusion on the other. Therefore, the debate about identity issues, which are also disputable within the framework of the Roma community, would not be feasible without a brief review of the historical patterns of the movement of the Roma, processes of change during the migration waves and preservation of awareness of belonging to a group with specific ethnic and cultural features.

The contemporary analysis of the identity issues of Roma in Macedonia has an ambitious goal: through the application of three approaches used in the research of Roma, to give an overview of the causes and effects of the socio-economic status of Roma, migration and issues related to identity.

KEYWORDS: Roma, migration, identity, social exclusion

IZVLEČEK

Migracija, socialna izključenost in vprašanja identitete makedonskih Romov

Ključni vidiki vprašanj, povezanih z identiteto Romov, so neizogibno povezani s tradicionalno migracijo na eni strani in dolgotrajno izpostavljenostjo Romov diskriminaciji in družbeni izključenosti na drugi. Zato debata o vprašanih identitete, ki so diskutabilna tudi v okviru romske skupnosti, ne bi bila mogoča brez kratkega pregleda zgodovinskih vzorcev o gibanju romske skupnosti, procesih sprememb v času valov migracije, pa tudi ohranjanja zavesti o pripadanju eni skupini s specifičnimi etničnimi in kulturnimi potezami.

Sodobna analiza vprašanj identitete Romov v Makedoniji ima ambiciozen cilj: skozi aplikacijo treh pristopov uporabljenih v raziskovanju Romov želi dati pregled vzroka in učinkov socio-ekonomskega statusa Romov, migracije in vprašanj povezanih z identiteto.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Romi, migracija, identiteta, socialna izključenost

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INTRODUCTION

The intensive migration movements within Europe have emphasized the need for an analysis of issues related to identity. In response to the primary question of “who are we?”, peoples or nations often give the traditional answers that have the most meaning to them. They define themselves on the basis of ancestors, religion, language, history, values, customs and institutions. They identify with cultural groups: tribes, ethnic groups, religious communities, nations and civilizations at the broadest level (Huntington, 1996).

The postmodern perspective convoluted the theoretical analysis of identity by insisting on a plurality of identities that distinguish individuals from others. An individual identity depends on a defining source as well as the context in which it is constructed. The perception that individuals or groups have of themselves differs from the perception that other groups or individuals have of them. The discourse involves debates about multiple identities. “Adopting the internal plurality of identities and plural forms of individuality is a necessary prerequisite for life in a plural society, which does not entail the need to subordinate oneself or draw the lines of demarcation between oneself and others, or within oneself. We need internal plurality in order to be able to handle the controversial systems of sense” (Ule 2000: 307).

The issue of identity comes up whenever Roma are the focus of debate. According to Märginean et al. (2001), “there are three important approaches in the Roma research field: (1) the socio-economic perspective, which is based on the assumption that Roma people live in poverty and have low life quality. The indicators include income level, professional qualifications, participation on the labour market, educational level, health protection, and living conditions. (2) The institutional perspective. This approach raises aspects related to the institutionalized discrimination of the Roma in relation to public authorities and services. Discriminatory behaviours appear against a background of negative prejudice and stereotypes. (3) The identity perspective focuses on the identification of the characteristics of Roma ethnic identity; on one hand the analyses focus on a strictly cultural component and on the other hand the studies analyze the social component regarding the manner of living together.”

The issue of identity gains importance when Roma are considered as a socially excluded group. Actually, when Roma are subjects of migration, all three of the above-mentioned approaches should be taken into consideration. And the issue of identity cannot be understood in debates about migration without the aforementioned historical perspective and a discussion of the contemporary socioeconomic position of Roma within Macedonian society.

MACEDONIAN ROMA IN NUMBERS

In contemporary Macedonian society, each ethnic group has its own indigenous position, determined by the tradition, culture, establishment, and social acceptance of the group. The demographic structure of population indicates that the Republic of Macedonia is a multi-ethnic society with 64.18% Macedonians, 25.17% Albanians, 3.85% Turks, 2.66% Roma, 1.78% Serbs, 0.84% Bosnians, 0.48% Vlachs and 1.04% declared as other nationalities (53,879 persons) (State Statistical Office 2003). The percentage of Roma population in the Republic of Macedonia in 1994 was 2.20%, which indicates a significant growth in a short period of time of 0.46% compared to 2002. Nevertheless, these official figures (Open Society Institute 2008) have been disputed by the representatives of Roma communities. The formal representatives of Roma point out that the numbers are not realistic, especially bearing in mind the fact that there are still some unregistered (without country of residence) persons within these communities. According to the Commission of European Communities (2009), there are between 3000 to 5000 unregistered persons in Macedonia, most of them of Roma background. These people lack personal documents such as birth certificates and health insurance or employment cards which are necessary in order to collect benefits from social security, healthcare and other social services. There are also some 2,500 Kosovo Roma living in Macedonia as refugees.

The population of the Republic of Macedonia is unevenly distributed, with more than one third of its citizens living in the capital city Skopje. This also applies to distribution of ethnic Roma, where 23,475 (43.6% of all Roma) live in Skopje, and more precisely, 13,342 (24.8%) live in the municipality of Shuto Orizari. This municipality is the largest settlement of Roma in Europe. "Roma in Shuto Orizari have achieved certain minority rights owing to their compact (some say segregated) residence, most notably in a higher degree of political participation in local affairs" (Open Society Institute 2008). The uniqueness of this community lies in the fact that it is the only Roma-governed community in Europe. Despite the political integration, data from Shuto Orizari indicate a low level of social and economic integration. According to the OSI report from 2007, Shuto Orizari, the largest Roma settlement, "has no large businesses and unemployment is widespread." Unfortunately this trend is even higher in other Roma communities. One estimate shows that around 20 per cent of Roma have regular employment, while the rest are unemployed and are involved in unregulated trade. The main occupations are petty trading, handicrafts and self-employment. In general, Roma occupy the lowest positions on the labour market. Most of the employees in the communal hygiene sector in Skopje are Roma. Roma women often work as cleaning women in private apartments in middle-class households in the city of Skopje. Roma also engage in collecting recycling materials. There are no discernible patterns of seasonal work for the Skopje Roma (Open Society Institute 2008). This community, the largest organized Roma community, is often a testing ground for various community-based programs.

Other communities with a high concentration of Roma include: Bitola 2613, Gostivar 2237, Vinica 1230, Debar 1079, Kichevo 1630, Kochani 1951, Kumanovo 4256, Prilep 4433, Tetovo 2357, Shtip 2195, Centar 977, Cair 3240, Djorxe Petrov 1249, Gazi Baba 2082 and others (State Statistical Office 2003).

Based on other indicators, Roma communities have the highest concentration of young people and are the fastest growing ethnic communities in the country. Most Roma practice Islam and are bilingual. They attend schools in the Macedonian language.

PATHS OF ROMA MIGRATION IN MACEDONIA

There is little historical written data on how Roma settled in Europe or more specifically in Macedonia. It is reasonable to believe that the process of migration of Roma from the Indian subcontinent was long and evolved in phases. On this migration path Roma travelled from Kabulistan, Iran, Armenia, Phrygia, and Laconia, from where they reached Byzantium. On another migration path Roma travelled through the Arab countries, from where a small portion of Roma reached the banks of the river Nile in Egypt and later began settling on the Peloponnesian peninsula (Djuric and Mefailleskoro-Demir 2005). The first record of Roma settling the Balkans was in the middle of the 11th century (Vukanovic 1983) but a larger wave of migration took place in the middle of the 13th century, during the rule of the Serbian King Stefan Dechanski. However, the most significant migration of Roma happened during the Ottoman Empire. The status of Roma within the Ottoman Empire did not differ from the other subjected groups, where the differences were mainly based on religious affiliation.

The Second World War can be considered the most devastating period for Roma in Europe. The Fascists were promoting a campaign of sterilization and eradication of Roma, and according to some estimates around 400,000 European Roma were killed in concentration camps (Djuric and Mefailleskoro-Demir 2005). In Macedonia, Roma were victims of genocide and extermination alongside the Jews and Macedonian and Serbian Orthodox Christians (Savich 2010).

After the end of the Second World War in Macedonia, which was now part of the new Yugoslavia, Roma started developing permanent residences, mostly on the outskirts of larger cities. The demand for a workforce gave the opportunity for employment of Roma, mainly in low-skill jobs in the industrialization process. A natural disaster, Skopje's earthquake in 1963, contributed to establishment of the Shuto Orizari settlement. This settlement was primarily intended to be a compound for the victims of

the earthquake, but soon after the earthquake Skopje experienced an influx of internal migrants. During this period Roma began settling in the area of Shuto Orizari as well as in several other municipalities in Skopje.

The late 1960s are marked with labour migration of people from Southern Europe, including Yugoslavia, toward Western Europe. A significant number of Roma migrants participated in this labour force. The economic and political crisis in Yugoslavia in the mid 1980s caused a number of Roma to seek asylum in Germany and Scandinavia. Also, the phenomenon of trafficking in Roma children originating in Macedonia, was recorded during this period. Italy became a country of destination for children who were forced into begging and petty thievery.

The "Schengen wall" visa regime introduced by the European Union in the mid 1990s stimulated migration. Also, due to the economic and social changes in Macedonia a large number of Roma who were employed as unskilled workers lost their jobs and were forced into casual migration. Mostly in order to do small-scale trading, some Roma travelled back and forth to countries like Bulgaria and Turkey as well as to the organized markets in various cities throughout Macedonia. The end of the wars in ex-Yugoslavia (2001) enabled the free movement of people and brought about work-related seasonal migration.

Currently, since the (partial) fall of the Schengen wall in 2009, the practice of asylum-seeking migration to European Union countries has reappeared. Roma from Macedonia and Serbia represent a large segment within these waves of asylum seekers.

DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF ROMA IDENTITY

The issue of Roma identity is inevitably linked with the long history of movement from one place to another. Ethnic groups undergo many transformations during the migration process and adopt multiple identities due to the interactions of individuals from different groups. A study of Roma in Eastern Europe points out that the "ethnic identity of the entire East European Romany population is multi-dimensionally diverse and difficult to define" (Barany 1998: 313). This analysis will mainly focus on the national, ethnic and cultural identity of Roma in Macedonia.

National identity

The basic issue of Roma identity is connected to their (lack of) national identity. The lack of construct of Roma national identity is mainly due to the long discontinuation of contact with India as their country of origin. This led to difficulties of identification with their long-lost homeland. The initial activity for unification of Roma began in 1878, when Roma from Germany, Spain, Italy and Russia formed an organization for protection of their interests and freedom of trade and travel. Soon after, similar initiatives appeared in England, Bulgaria, Romania, USA, Serbia, etc. Almost one century after the initial activities, the First World Roma Congress was held in London with the main goal of spiritual identification of Roma (Kenrick 1971). The basic gains of the Congress were in acceptance of "Roma" as a common name, the adoption of a common flag and anthem. For the first time at this Congress a connection was made to their homeland, India. In 1977, the Human Rights Commission in Geneva adopted a resolution in which they verify Roma as an Indian historical, cultural, national, and linguistic minority that enjoys the protection and rights declared in the United Nations Documents (Djuric and Mefailleskoro-Demir 2005).

However, some ethnic groups in Macedonia, such as Egyptians, who share a number of similar identity features with Roma ethnic groups, deny an affiliation with Roma identity and a connection to India. The impact of residing in Egypt probably had stronger influence on their identity. That is, in some parts of Macedonia, the connection of this group with Egyptian identity is generated from one of the varia-

tions used to represent Roma. Linguistic support for this identity is found in the English word "Gypsy", the French "gitan" as well as the word "guptzi" used as a synonym for Roma in the colloquial language of some Macedonian dialects. The adoption of this identity in Macedonia had strong political impact on a particular group that insists on being identified as Egyptians in the official census. (State Statistical Office 2003)

Ethnic identity

Contemporary academic and political debates include discussions of issues related to group identity based on ethnic identity, especially in the case of social exclusion and discrimination. The concept of ethnicity entered into the sociological and political discourses partly as a reaction to observed racial disparities. It is often seen as justified, because in a way it avoids biological determination and application in relation to the self-defining of the members. According to Vermeulen and Slijper (2000), ethnic identity is understood as social identity that is characterized by belief in a common culture, shared history and common ancestors. Devic (2003) believes that ethnic identity is the main basis for political solidarity recognized at the institutionalizations of all levels of government, and that groupings based on ethnic and cultural lines can create territorial concentrated interest groups. Thus, an ethnic community is defined as a population whose members have a feeling of belonging, share common ancestors and a common cultural heritage or traditions, and is recognized by others as such.

Often, ethnicity is related to the particular situation. People can have different ethnic identities in various situations. It is possible simultaneously to be English, British and European, stressing one of these identities more in various aspects of everyday life or in various periods. One can declare differently depending on the situation or as a reaction to the conduct of others. This is evident in the case of the European Roma population. Moreover, a study of the Roma in Eastern Europe points out that the "ethnic identity of the entire East European Romany population is multi-dimensionally diverse and difficult to define" (Barany 1998: 313). The term ethnicity is almost always connected to minorities, not with majorities. Some connect this with the common experience shared by minorities regarding the racism or discrimination they have been subjected to. Nonetheless, this stand neglects discrimination that occurs within communities, such as discrimination based on gender differences (Yuval-Davis and Anthias 1992).

Basically, ethnic differences are not constituted on material inequalities. The data on people's occupation, income, wealth, or housing conditions do not reveal ethnic affiliation. Socio-economic analyses are not used in the constitution of ethnic identity, except in the case of extreme segregation, when this type of information offers certain conclusions. But even in such cases few will argue that these characteristics are in their essence 'ethnicity' in the way that is usual for socio-economic analysis (Geoff 2000). Nonetheless, in the case of the Roma, socio-economic analysis is commonly used in the construction of Roma identity. The traditional image of the Roma is associated with the nomadic lifestyle, engaging in harvesting activities, musicians, crafts such as blacksmithing, etc. Occupational activity influenced the construction of particular group identities and stratification within Roma subgroups, dividing them into "kovachi"¹, "chergari"², "jambasi"³ etc.

1 Blacksmiths

2 The poorest Roma with a nomadic lifestyle

3 Horse breeders

Cultural identity

Lofgren defines culture as “a common world of experiences, values and meanings that constitutes certain social group”. The word “common”, according to Vermeulen and Slijper (2000), perhaps seems problematic, because culture is very often incompletely conceptualized by many political philosophers and replaced with cultural, which refers to a vision that denotes cultures as strictly defined, homogeneous, integrated and relatively distinct units. Culture is very often associated with what is called essentialism, and refers to the idea that culture has essence, character and even a soul. Culture has the capacity to absorb new ‘foreign’ elements which are accepted as own character features. However, culture is essentially unchanging.

Culture within the culturalist vision is treated mainly as autonomous field independent of political and economic structures. Within the conventional expression of the national government it is expected that a ‘people’ who are governed by state institution are largely culturally homogeneous and have a strong common linguistic, religious and symbolic identity (McCrone 2000). On the contrary, in the case of the Roma in Macedonia, the discontinued contact with the homeland, frequent migration waves and different cultural influences from the countries of residence have dissolved the homogeneity of Roma culture. The division into clans based on family ties, profession, dialects and way of life (sedentary or nomadic) introduces heterogeneous elements and, as some authors point out, has contributed to the diversity of Roma culture (Chiriac 2007). In the long migration process the Roma have absorbed a number of elements from cultures they have come in touch with such as Persian, Armenian, Arab, Greek and Old Slavic (Djuric and Mefailleskoro-Demir 2005). Although language, religion, myths and music represent a significant future of their culture, they have been subjected to constant change under the influence of the dominant culture in the countries that they have passed through or resided in for a longer period of time (Mefailleskoro-Demir 2002).

This situation is present in different cities in Macedonia where Roma have established communities. For instance, a large number of young Roma from Prilep do not speak the Romany language, and as a result of this, the elders of the community have set requirements for the local authorities to introduce Roma language and culture as an elective subject in primary education (Donevska et al. 2010). In addition to shared language, religion is another cultural element that often plays an important part in defining identity and maintaining group cohesion. Similar to Romany language, Roma religion is not consistent with in Roma communities. Generally, the Roma have adopted the religion of the mainstream society (Chiriac 2007). The vast number of Roma in Macedonia traditionally practiced Islam or Orthodox Christianity, but recently there is a noticeable growth of Roma attendance at some of the Protestant Churches.

SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND MIGRATION OF ROMA

The frequent migrations of Roma are a strong indicator of their unfavourable social and economic position in Macedonian society. These trends of migration of Roma are generally connected to the inability to secure the basic means of existence in their place of residence. Also, migration is closely connected with the treatment and acceptance of the Roma in the permanent and/or temporary place of residence. Frequently, due to discrimination experienced in the society, Roma have been exposed to ghettoization and harassment from dominant groups and local authorities. Unfortunately, social perceptions of the problems associated with Roma impose a distorted viewpoint, locating the reasons for the unfavourable situation within the Roma community and their subculture rather than the society (Donevska et al. 2010). On the contrary, Roma should be recognized as long-standing ethnic minorities with a history of discrimination (Boswell 2005).

Poverty and social exclusion are crucial factors for migration of Roma in contemporary Macedonian

society. This corresponds to the claims of the German refugee rights organization Pro Asyl, according to which the main reason for the increase number in asylum applications from Serbia and Macedonia is “the extreme poverty and continued exclusion suffered in particular by Roma in these states... Roma communities in the Balkans and much of Europe face inadequate housing conditions, with widespread discrimination leading to forced evictions, lack of access to social housing and underemployment” (quoted in Angelos 2011).

Indicators for Roma exclusion in Macedonia

Roma migration is closely connected to experiencing different aspects of social exclusion⁴ in Macedonian society. This can be verified through numerous indicators.

The position of Roma in Macedonia has varied throughout history. It probably improved most in the former Yugoslavia, when many Roma were integrated into society as unskilled labourers. Unfortunately, few took advantage of the era of free education in order to improve their position in society. The transitional period cast many to the outskirts of society as superfluous remnants of the unskilled labour force. The activity rate among Roma is 50.4%, whereas the unemployment rate among Roma is 78.5 % and they are represented at only 0.42% within the structure of the public sector. The fact is that poverty among Roma is higher than it is among other groups and is based on a number of accumulated factors that are incorporated in the history, tradition and their permanent social exclusion. However, the participation of Roma ethnic communities in the informal economy is quite high, indicating limited employment opportunities in public administration (Gerovska-Mitev et al. 2007). Roma have the lowest incomes and the highest mortality rate. An estimated two thirds or 63% of Roma households live below the poverty line. (Ibid.: 23)

The statistical figures on the level of education among Roma have been traditionally low. According to the census data from 2002, 23% of Roma are without education, 28.6% with incomplete primary education, 37.4% primary, 9.7% secondary, 0.2% post-secondary and 0.2% higher secondary, faculty or university (State Statistical Office 2003). In 2002, over half or 51.8% of the adult Roma population had either no education at all or had not completed even elementary education, as compared to only 18.0 % for the total population. Roma children have a lower literacy rate and have a low rate of inclusion, attendance, and enrolment in primary (61%), and secondary education (17%) (Commission of the European Communities 2009).

On average, the Roma in the Republic of Macedonia have a younger population compared to the average age of population. Owing to different fertility and mortality rates compared to the national average, there is a higher proportion of Roma children in their groups, and a lower proportion of older persons. The reproduction rate among Roma is twice as high as the national average, but the mortality rate among children is twice as high as other ethnic groups. Life expectancy is shorter and Roma are more prone to chronic illness (Ministry of Labour and Social Policy 2005).

The living conditions are below the standard level. The vast number of Roma (95%) are mostly

4 The concept of social exclusion, especially in a European context, has been used since 1970, primarily for the purpose of systematic analysis that will help in planning social policy (Atkinson 2000). Being socially “excluded” means to be socially ‘separate’ from other groups and lifestyles. In order to understand social exclusion it is necessary to have the understanding of social division that produces social exclusion (Geoff 2000). A deep penetration into social exclusion reveals that exclusion is a political acronym associated with scarcity and is often used as a synonym for poverty and deprivation. Poverty and unemployment are usually pointed to as sources of exclusion. But exclusion cannot be reduced only to these two sources; rather it incorporates factors such as health, education, income, access to services, housing, debt, quality of life, dignity and autonomy, which interacts with various forms and degrees of social exclusion. Economic, social, socio-political background and origin are associated sources of exclusion.

concentrated in poorer and suburban areas. In the area of housing, Roma are mostly facing problems of unclear ownership status of property located outside of urbanized planning zones, lack of basic infrastructure, and lack of access to services (Lakinska 2000).

Roma in Macedonia are faced with conditions of direct or indirect discrimination. This situation is reflected in numerous areas due to which Roma are not in position to fully integrate into the society.⁵

Social inclusion measures for Roma in Macedonia

The problem of poverty and social exclusion is causing the emigration of Macedonian Roma to EU countries. Since the fall of the Schengen wall in 2009 this trend has increased at an alarming rate. In response to this trend the European Commission warned Serbia and Macedonia that the asylum increase puts the Balkan visa-free scheme in jeopardy (Jovanovska et al. 2010) and required that the respective countries take appropriate preventive measures. The second aspect that needs urgent action is the immigration process: Macedonia hosts nearly 1,600 refugees, mostly of Roma ethnicity, who left their homes as a result of the 1999 conflict in Kosovo (UNHCR 2011).

The need to implement measures for the social inclusion of Roma in Macedonia has been recognized in the past. A series of strategic activities, programs and projects has been carried out in the last two decades aiming at the development of the capacities of Roma communities, utilization of human capital and reduction of social exclusion. The focus was generally placed on the process of strengthening Roma communities through the implementation of programs for the provision of support to Roma in the educational process.

The Decade for Roma Inclusion (2005–2015) and the National Strategy for Roma are the main strategic documents that focus on Roma inclusion in Macedonia. Their main goals are focused on empowerment and integration of the Roma population into the social and economic life, decrease of poverty and marginalization of the Roma population as well as the continuous development of Roma communities.⁶

In this regard FOSIM played a key role in developing and strengthening the human and social capital of the Roma population, primarily by developing offspring organizations. Their work with the Roma is based on a strategic approach focused on developing programs, establishing the structure, staffing for independent work and ensuring sustainability.

CONCLUSION

Recognition of the cause and effect connections between the phenomena of migration, identity and social exclusion of Roma in general, and more specifically in the Republic of Macedonia, poses the need for attention in approaching and resolving these issues. The state should be responsive to the requests for programs directed toward the fight against discrimination and protection of the rights of smaller, socially excluded ethnic groups such as Roma. Regardless of the number of activities undertaken, ad-

5 E.g. the police do not respond to fights against Roma, some local policemen are constantly harassing them but there is no effect from reporting the policemen, cases have been reported of prohibited access to night clubs, swimming pools and restaurants, Roma are restrained from court procedures (Ministry of Labour and Social Policy 2005).

6 Programs implemented by the Ministry of Education and Science targeting Roma are focusing on: scholarships for continuing education of the Roma children, organizing courses for the teachers, training sessions aimed at preventing a large portion of the children leaving the school at early age, organizing after-school classes. Programs implemented by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy focus on: opening of day-care centres for children on the street, supporting activities of some NGOs working with Roma children, helping in securing free educational materials, provision of free meals at schools, and provision of social benefits.

addressing the issue of the exclusion of Roma requires continuous and systematic efforts of governmental and nongovernmental institutions. The success of the policies, programs and services depends on the active participation of Roma in the process of their identification (Trbojević 2007). Also, it is important for the services to be localized and adapted to the population living in a certain area as well as to be participative.

The social inclusion of Roma should incorporate “the principle of ‘explicit but not exclusive targeting’, which is based on the belief that without a specific Roma target, the policies, programs and projects may not reach the Roma population. On the other hand, policies and programs exclusively aimed at the Roma may be segregating and, as a result, disapproved of by society as a whole. It is important to ensure that the general services are not exclusive. Explicit targeting means that policies must be sensitive to the culture and characteristics of the Roma population, and must always empower the beneficiaries to gain access to general programs. A good balance between Roma access to broader programs and to programs adapted to those who cannot gain access to general resources is the most adequate approach” (Report on the 2nd European Roma Summit 2010).

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POVZETEK

MIGRACIJA, SOCIALNA IZKLJUČENOST IN VPRAŠANJA IDENTITETE MAKEDONSKIH ROMOV

Svetlana TRBOJEVIK
Natasha BOGOEVSKA

Članek predstavlja pregled procesov migracij Romov v Republiki Makedoniji. Besedilo želi predstaviti fenomene povezane z migrantskim gibanjem Romov s pomočjo treh pomembnih perspektiv, ki so karakteristično uporabljene pri raziskovanju Romov: socio-ekonomski pogled, institucionalni pogled in identitetni pogled. Celostni pristop prinaša možnost za raziskavo in identifikacijo vzročne povezave med pojavom revščine in socialno izključenostjo Romov in migracijo, pa tudi njihov vpliv na vprašanja identitete.

Članek podaja demografske podatke o Romih v Makedoniji, pa tudi kratek zgodovinski pregled o poteh gibanja Romov v Makedonijo in iz nje. Analiza kaže, da so v procesu migracije skupine Romov podvržene različnim transformacijam in zaradi interakcij s posamezniki in kulturami različnih skupin sprejemajo multiple identitete. Študija o Romih v vzhodni Evropi pokaže, da je »etnična identiteta celotne vzhodnoevropske romske populacije multidimenzionalno raznolika in jo je težko definirati« (Barany 1998: 313).

Posebna pozornost je namenjena vprašanju nacionalne, etnične in kulturne identitete Romov v Makedoniji. Ta vprašanja postanejo pomembna, ker so rezultat pomanjkanja konsenza tako v znanstvenih krogih, kakor tudi v romski skupnosti. Temeljno vprašanje romske identitete je povezano z njihovo nacionalno identiteto. Pravzaprav je pomanjkanje oblikovanja nacionalne identitete Romov v veliki meri posledica dolge prekinitve stikov z Indijo kot njihovo državo izvora. To je privedlo do težav pri identifikaciji Romov s svojo dolgo izgubljeno domovino, pa tudi do razlik temelječih na njihovem kraju bivanja in na delitvi na klane, utemeljeni na dominantni poselitvi.

Članek želi postaviti migracijska gibanja makedonskih Romov v sodobno perspektivo in jih povezati s fenomenom revščine in socialnega izključevanja. Pogoste migracije Romov so močan kazalnik njihovega težkega družbenega in ekonomskega položaja v makedonski družbi. Ti trendi migracije Romov so na splošno povezani z nezmožnostjo zagotavljanja osnovnih sredstev za življenje v kraju bivanja in prepoznanimi primeri diskriminacije in stigmatizacije. Vprašanje socialne izključenosti in migracije Romov je v zadnjih dveh desetletjih v središču interesa oblasti, kajti Romi predstavljajo hitro rastočo etnično skupino v Republiki Makedoniji (2.66% vsega prebivalstva). Kljub uradnemu priznanju in prepoznavanju problemov pa ukrepi, ki jih je v tem času sprejela država, ne dosejajo pričakovanih rezultatov.

KNJIŽNE OCENE

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Povod za izdajo zbornika *Razprave o medkulturnosti* je med drugim deseta obletnica Fakultete za humanistične študije Koper, Univerze na Primorskem (UP FHŠ), ki že od svojih začetkov raziskuje vprašanje večkulturalizma in medkulturnega stika. Gre za prvi zbornik, ki se neposredno ukvarja s tematiko medkulturnosti, vsebuje pa prispevke 22 predavateljev in predavateljic UP FHŠ. Delo *Razprave o medkulturnosti* tvorijo prispevki družboslovno-humanističnih disciplin, ki so tako teoretično-pregledne narave kot študije primerov in se neposredno ukvarjajo s kompleksnimi fenomeni medkulturne, večkulturne in prekukulturne stvarnosti.

Monografija v uvodu ponudi bralcu v kritični razmislek koncepte, ki so aktualni v večkulturni globalizirani družbi, v nadaljevanju pa sledijo članki o medkulturnosti iz različnih družboslovnih oziroma predvsem humanističnih znanosti. V nadaljevanju je delo razdeljeno na tri sklope. V prvem so prispevki, ki predstavljajo z različnih zornih kotov, če citiram urednika, »kompleksne medkulturne, večkulturne in prekukulturne stvarnosti, poskuse družbenih in političnih soočanj ter regulacij kulturnih, rasnih, verskih in jezikovnih pluralnosti (multikulturalizem) in nenazadnje razvoj konceptov, teoretičnih modelov in epistemoloških orodij za soočanje z vprašanji medkulturnosti, večkulturnosti in prekukulturnosti v okviru posameznih ved«. V drugem sklopu so analize medkulturnosti, ki temeljijo na študijah primerov, v zadnjem pa zbornik v dveh prispevkih obravnava »razmerje med dvema sodobnima intelektualnima kulturama, in sicer naravoslovno-tehniško in humanistično-družboslovno«.

Prvi je prispevek Irene Lazar, Arheologija in medkulturnost, ki nas seznani, da segajo prvi intenzivni medkulturni odnosi v obliki gospodarskih in kulturnih stikov že v dobo starih civilizacij Sredozemlja in Bližnjega vzhoda, v obdobje med približno 1500 in 1200 pr. n. št. Ti odnosi in stiki se kažejo v različnih oblikah, bodisi v obliki predmetov bodisi kot preplet različnih kulturnih vplivov v vsakdanjem življenju ali kot širjenje religioznega sveta.

Sledi antropološki pogled v poglavju Alenke Janko Spreizer z naslovom Antropologija in medkulturnost. Avtorica nas opozori, da je pojem kulture v razpravah socialne in kulturne antropologije srednjega pomena, a se interes za raziskovanje večkulturnosti pojavi relativno pozno, konec 20. stoletja, pri večini pa šele nedavno. Antropologi teorijo multikulturalizma gradijo na izhodiščih kulturnega relativizma predvsem v okviru razprav o migrantih in migracijah, politikah identitet in manjšinskem vprašanju.

Naslednji sestavek je Sociologija in medkulturnost, v katerem Mateja Sedmak nakaže, da sega zanimanje za »tujca« v sociološki znanosti že v 19. stoletje, intenzivneje pa se je začela ukvarjati z vprašanji družbenega usklajevanja rasne, verske in kulturne raznolikosti v okviru čikaške šole v dvajsetih letih 20. stoletja. Razvoj teorije večkulturnosti v okviru sociološke znanosti sega od teorije asimilacije in ohranjanja kulturnega in rasnega pluralizma v obliki getoizacije pa vse do »idej« medkulturnosti in prekukulturnosti.

Marina Furlan predstavi Psihologijo in medkulturnost, kjer prikaže, da se je psihologija ljudstev kot samostojna veda pojavila že leta 1860. Psihologija je poskušala z raziskovanjem splošnih pravil delovanja človekove psihe in psiholoških značilnosti različnih ljudstev ugotoviti in spoznati dejavnike, ki vplivajo na različno pojavnost človekovega delovanja. V zvezi s tem je preučevala vsebine, ki so tesno povezane s kulturnospecifičnimi vidiki človekovega delovanja in so pozneje postale raziskovalni predmet medkulturne ali prekukulturne psihologije. Avtorica poudari, da je velik del dosedanjega raziskovalnega dela v okviru psihologije vendarle etnocentričen.

Avtor Milan Bufon v poglavju Geografija in medkulturnost piše, da se geografija vprašanja večkulturnosti dotakne zaradi človeške potrebe po teritorializaciji in posledičnem določanju meja med različnimi prostorskimi in družbenimi pojavi. Bralca opozori, da sodijo meje med najpomembnejše in najznačilnejše elemente človekovega odnosa do svojega okolja, prav to pa sta vzrok in posledica za izgradnjo

lokalnih in regionalnih identitet. Podobno kot psihologijo tudi geografsko znanost v dojemaju sveta zaznamuje etnocentrična stalnica, saj se na primer človekova etnocentrična prostorska organizacijska shema na splošno uveljavlja kot sistem centrov in periferij, koncentracije in dekoncentracije ter domačnosti in tujosti.

Sledi prispevek Slovenistika in medkulturnost Vesne Mikolič, ki poudari, da se ob obravnavi jezika z vidika medkulturne slovenistike pogosto vprašamo o utemeljenosti takega pristopa, ter da se termina medkulturna slovenistika drži priokus neologizma. Avtorica prikaže prisotnost in pomen medkulturnih vsebin na različnih področjih slovenskega jezikoslovja in nas sooči z dejstvom, da je medkulturna slovenistika pravzaprav že kar nekaj časa stvarnost slovenističnih ved.

Krištof Jacek Kozak v prispevku z naslovom Literatura in medkulturnost poveže literaturo z idejami medkulturnosti. V prispevku izvemo, da ima literatura eno ključnih vlog pri vzpostavljanju narodne oziroma nacionalne zavesti, zato pri govoru o literaturi ne moremo mimo vprašanj kulturne in jezikovne identifikacije ter narodnosti in nacionalnosti.

Sandra Bašić Hrvatinić v poglavju Medijske študije in medkulturnost predstavi možnosti za oblikovanje novih načinov komunikacije v javnem prostoru. Pri tem poudarja, da mediji ne omogočajo enakega dostopa vsem udeležencem javne razprave, saj je javni prostor postal nekakšen »trg«, na katerem ponudniki idej tekmujejo za medijsko pozornost. Avtorica se v sklepnem delu sprašuje, kako komunicirati razlike in različnost, če temelji množična medijska komunikacija na ustvarjanju občinstev in njihovi prodaji na trgu oglaševanja.

V prispevku Demokratično komuniciranje in medkulturnost nam Peter Sekloča predstavi temeljne pojme diskurzivnega doseganja sporazuma in nekatera druga, z medkulturno mislijo povezana vprašanja, pa tudi problematično korporativno lastništvo medijev.

Sledi poglavje Medkulturno sporazumevanje v »lingvi franki« Neve Čebren, ki razpravlja o možnostih sporazumevanja v lingvi franki, kjer jezik postane sredstvo za sporazumevanje med ljudmi, ki uporabljajo različne materne jezike. Avtorica se zato kritično sprašuje, ali je takšna jezikovna komunikacija v resnici nevtralna oziroma kulturno neoznačena jezikovna koda, ki ne vsebuje lastnega opredeljevanja sveta, in kako ugotoviti, v kolikšni meri poslušalec dejansko dojame pomen sporočila govornika v primeru, ko se oba govornika sporazumevata v tujem jeziku, tj. v skupni lingvi franki.

Naslednji je prispevek z dvojezičnim naslovom Rojstvo in razvoj medkulturne vzgoje / Nascita e sviluppo dell' educazione interculturale, v katerem Nives Zudič Antonič predstavi zamisel medkulturne vzgoje, ki je začela svoj pohod v šestdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja v ZDA in Kanadi. Avtorica poudari, da so prav zahteve jezikovnih manjšin po priznavanju in enakopravnosti pripeljale do tega, da so evropske države postopno zaznale in priznale večkulturnost in razvile koncept medkulturnosti. Raznolikost kultur in jezikovni pluralizem sta postali posebni vrednoti, h katerima teži sodobna Evropa.

Na to poglavje se navezuje tudi prispevek Simone Bergoč z naslovom Izzivi ekolingvistike: Ekopismenost kot cilj jezikovne integracije priseljenih in domicilnih otrok. V njem postavlja v ospredje pomanjkljive pravne okvire in strokovne podlage načrtovanja pismenosti priseljeniških in domicilnih otrok v Republiki Sloveniji. Avtorica proces reševanja problema vidi v ekolingvistiki, katere značilnost je transdisciplinarna perspektiva jezikoslovja, ki je naravnano v smeri ekologije in trajnostnega razvoja v smislu holističnega razumevanja vsestranskih povezav med naravnimi in družbenimi ekosistemi.

Lucija Čok v poglavju Raziskovanje jezikoslovja in medkulturne ozaveščenosti predstavlja izsledke številnih raziskavah Znanstveno-raziskovalnega središča Univerze na Primorskem oziroma Inštituta za jezikoslovne študije, prenos raziskovalnih dosežkov v pedagoške procese in oblikovanje strukture jezikovnega učenja in medkulturnega vzgajanja in ozaveščanja v praksi in znanstveni publicistiki.

Z naslovom Omrežna družba, medkulturnost in prekukulturnost nas na digitalno področje uvede Blaž Lenarčič. Avtor poudarja vpliv komuniciranja preko računalnika na vse domene družbenega življenja, še zlasti na področju sociabilnosti in povezovanja med posamezniki, ker poteka neodvisno od časovno-teritorialnih ovir, ki kot tako posega v medkulturne odnose in vpliva na transnacionalne vsebine posameznikove identitete. Na primeru procesov v virtualnih skupnostih potrjuje tezo, da smo v današnji

družbi priča prehajanju od koncepta medkulturnosti k prekukulturnosti tudi zaradi identifikacije posameznikov s kozmopolitskim državljanstvom.

Sledijo študije primerov, med katerimi je prvi Večkulturnost, garnizijska mentaliteta in kanadski utemeljitveni mit, v katerem nas Marcello Potocco seznanja s kanadskim medkulturnim položajem v teoriji in praksi. Avtor ugotavlja, da se retorika in realnost kanadske večkulturnosti v veliki meri razlikujeta predvsem zaradi prostorskega modela večkulturnosti kot mozaika, ki je v praksi obremenjena z mentaliteto samoizolacije in s problematičnimi hierarhičnimi razmerji v medkulturnem dialogu.

V poglavju Medkulturnost v Latinski Ameriki: Politični interes, etična nuja ali akademska 'moda'? Marija Mojca Terčelj spregovori o medkulturnosti v latinskoameriškem kontekstu. Avtorica ugotavlja, da se nekoč institucionalizirane oblike odnosov, kot na primer socialni, pravni, demografski in kulturni odnosi, danes spreminjajo v medkulturni dialog. Kljub vsemu je predvsem zaradi neenakopravnosti njihovih protagonistov ta presegajoči odnos še zmeraj polno konfliktov, pomanjkljivost pa je tudi v tem, da se kulture še zmeraj predpostavlja kot družbe homogenih otokov.

Karmen Medica nam v poglavju Večkulturalizem vs. večkulturnost v kontekstu novih migracijskih realnosti z različnih zornih kotov osvetljuje učinke novih migracijskih realnosti. Predstavi opredeljevanje uradnih političnih krogov do prisotnosti različnih skupnosti v družbi (*top-down* pristop) in zaznave prebivalcev, ki se z njo neposredno srečujejo (*bottom-up* pristop). Pri tem izhaja iz opredelitev multikulturalizma in večkulturnosti ter predstavi teorije multikulturalizma in njihovo operacionalizacijo v treh državah: Veliki Britaniji, na Švedskem in v Sloveniji. Pri vseh treh primerih poskuša dobiti odgovore na vprašanje, kako se zastavljeni modeli multikulturalizma potrjujejo ali negirajo na lokalnih ravneh v vsakodnevnih stikih in interakcijah med prebivalci nekega okolja.

Študijo primera medkulturnosti iz filma nam posreduje Barbara Zorman v prispevku »Živjet će ovaj narod!«: Reprezentacija nacionalnih identitet v zgodnjem partizanskem filmu. Avtorica nam na primeru filma iz nekdanje Jugoslavije (SFRJ) pokaže problematičnost konceptualiziranja filma v nacionalnem okviru večnacionalne države. V prispevku opozori na preseganje nacionalnih identitet ter odpiranje idealom transnacionalnosti, multikulturalizma in večkulturnosti v zgodnjem partizanskem oziroma jugoslovanskem filmu, torej težnje, ki jih lahko prepoznamo tudi v kontekstu teorije medkulturnosti.

Sledita filozofsko obarvani poglavji, najprej prispevek Roka Svetliča Med univerzalnostjo človekovih pravic in partikularnostjo posameznih kultur. Avtor zagovarja tezo, da diskurz o človekovih pravicah ni več sposoben odgovoriti na temeljna vprašanja politične morale, saj človekove pravice kot kozmopolitsko-univerzalni koncept niso dovolj dobro opremljene za funkcioniranje v konkretnih okoljih, ki so vedno nacionalno-partikularni.

Tomaž Grušovnik okoljsko etiko predstavi v poglavju Odenki zelene: Okoljska etika v medkulturni perspektivi. Čeprav se je okoljska etika kot posebna filozofska disciplina, ki se ukvarja z razširitvijo etike na nečloveška bitja in ekosisteme kot take, začela razvijati šele v drugi polovici 20. stoletja, so moralni nazori, ki obravnavajo odnos človeka do okolja, veliko starejši. Avtor prikaže okoljsko etiko v luči medkulturnosti, med drugim v starejših religioznih tradicijah.

Zadnji sklop obravnava razmerje med naravoslovno-tehniškimi in humanistično-družboslovnimi znanostmi. Polona Tratnik v prispevku z naslovom Umetnost in znanost – divergenca in konvergenca kultur(e) obravnava razmerje med umetnostjo in znanostjo. V njem za izhodišče postavi trditev, da popularne predstave o umetnosti in znanosti narekujejo razumevanje obeh kot dveh ločenih, nepovezanih in avtonomnih družbenih sfer, čeprav so vedno bolj prisotna tudi vprašanja o njunem prepletanju. Avtorica v nadaljevanju poda številne primere vse večjega sodelovanja med obema področjema, izpostavi pa, da so sodobni prav tisti umetniški pojavi in zamisli, ki jim uspeva vzpostaviti povezavo z drugimi polji in disciplinami.

Zbornik se konča s poglavjem Intelktualne vojne v luči Herderjevega pojmovanja kulture. V njem Ernest Ženko analizira razmerje med dvema sodobnima intelektualnima kulturama, naravoslovno-tehniško in humanistično-družboslovno. Kompleksnost sodobnih družbeni dogajanj na prvi pogled podpira trditev, da je Herderjev model kulture, ki je jasno opredeljen s svojimi mejami, stvar preteklosti, toda

avtor poskuša dokazati nasprotno, in sicer, da deloma modificiran model še zmeraj omogoča refleksijo določenih vidikov družbene dejanskosti. V ta namen znotraj tako imenovanih 'znanstvenih vojn' (*Science Wars*), bolj konkretno na primeru afere Sokal, aplicira spremenjeni Herderjev model in predstavi njegove interpretativne prednosti.

Knjiga *Razprave o medkulturnosti* je preišljeno in celovito znanstveno delo, kljub svoji široki zastavitvi pa dovolj pregledno in čitljivo. Z raznolikimi primeri pokaže, da je medkulturnost pravzaprav že del vsakdana večine ljudi, zato je zaradi svoje aktualnosti priporočljivo branje tudi za širšo javnost. Evropsko leto medkulturnega dialoga 2008 je temeljilo na premisi, da je kulturna raznolikost Evrope njena edinstvena prednost, premalo pa se zavedamo, da je medkulturni dialog vseživljenjski proces sprejemanja in razumevanja različnosti, »razprave o medkulturnosti« pa so nujen prvi pogoj za oblikovanje take družbe.

Peter Kopic

Karmen Medica, Goran Lukič in Milan Bufon (ur.), Migranti v Sloveniji – med integracijo in alienacijo, Univerza na Primorskem, Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče, Univerzitetna založba Annales, Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko, Koper, 2010, 270 str.

Knjiga *Migranti v Sloveniji – med integracijo in alienacijo*, ki sta jo izdala Univerza na Primorskem in Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko, je na eni strani zbir izredno aktualnih prispevkov o migrantih v Sloveniji, njihovih izkušnjah, življenju in vsakdanjih problemih, na drugi strani pa analitičnih člankov o širših družbenih pojavih, ki determinirajo migracije ali pa so njihova posledica. Avtorji dvanajstih prispevkov so kot strokovnjaki/nje različnih disciplin, praktiki nevladnega sektorja ali pa kot razmišljujoči posamezniki v fazi lastnega izobraževalnega preiskovanja vsak s svojega specifičnega zornega kota pogledali na koncepte, pojave in subjekte v migracijskem procesu. Vsi so v ospredje postavili človeka, delavca migranta, ki se v iskanju boljše prihodnosti neizogibno ujame v pasti ekonomije, politike in družbenega okolja v sodobnem svetu. Naj že na začetku opozorim, da naslov knjige nekoliko zavaja, saj avtorji pod imenom migranti obravnavajo predvsem delavce migrante, tako imenovane prisilne migrante, nedokumentirane priseljence, begunce in nenazadnje potomce ekonomskih migrantov. Široko zastavljeni naslov tako zajema le del, čeprav velik del populacije, ki ji danes rečemo migranti. Taka obravnava žal utrjuje stereotipno podobo migrantov v javnem in tudi strokovnem diskurzu, v katerem so migranti enačeni z delavci, s prisilnimi migranti, z marginaliziranimi, nedokumentiranimi, brezpravnimi, nesvobodnimi subjekti.

Glede na kompleksnost osnovne tematike, to je migracij, se zdi razdelitev knjige na tri različne, a med seboj povezane vsebinske sklope, zelo smiselna. Avtorji so z različnih vidikov in vrsto pristopov razmišljali, opisovali, analizirali, secirali in ponovno konstruirali ta tako moderen in hkrati vseprisoten ter problematičen koncept. Kot napovesta avtorja predgovora, jih je zanimalo »realno stanje pri nas, poskusili smo pridobiti mnenja predstavnikov vlade, izkušnje nevladnih organizacij, nova znanstvena spoznanja in empirične vpogleda na zastavljeno problematiko« (8). Prvi sklop tako migracijam daje analitični, znanstveni okvir, v drugem sklopu se avtorji lotevajo konkretnih, perečih problemov migrantov, kot so odraz gospodarske krize na migrante, integracijske dileme ali življenjske razmere delavcev migrantov, tretji sklop pa povezuje migracije in globalizacijo s tistim, kar se migrantom pogosto odreka, tepta ali preprosto ignorira, to je s človekovimi pravicami. Poglejmo podrobneje.

V prvem delu knjige so zbrani prispevki, ki so analiza stanja oziroma tako imenovani teoretsko-analitični okvir migracij. Mojca Pajnik v prvem prispevku obravnava koncept državljanstva in z njim tematizira pomembno razmejevanje med političnim in socialnim državljanstvom v povezavi s trgom dela in z migracijami. Avtorica problematizira socialno (ne)državljanstvo kot strategijo krožnega pogojevanja življenj migrantov na primeru Slovenije, pri čemer v razpravo poleg analize politike trga dela in migracijske politike vpleta tudi pripovedi migrantov, to je ljudi, ki posledice politike »brez enega ne dobiš drugega« občutijo na svoji koži. S takšno politiko, trdi avtorica, se vzpostavlja brezdržavljanost migrantov, ki se ne konča niti s pridobitvijo pravnega statusa državljanstva, in zato v sklepnem delu poziva k redefiniciji samega pojma.

Prispevek Karmen Medice se v problematiziranju politike migracij, ki utemeljuje »krožnost« kot vodilni koncept regulacije migracij in s tem dehumanizacijo migrantov navezuje na predhodnjega. Avtorica kritično presoja krožne migracije in trdi, da povzročajo tudi krožnost integracije, se pravi »začasnost, nestalnost, nestanovitnost, nestabilnost in ne nazadnje neuporabnost« (38), ali kratko neintegracijo. S statističnimi podatki podkrepljen osrednji del prispevka o delovnih migrantih v Sloveniji nas popelje v avtoričino razmišljanje o teoretičnih in praktičnih vidikih integracije. Spoznanje, da je treba v Sloveniji na področju integracije še veliko storiti, je podkrepljeno s primeri dobrih praks ali »pozitivnih indikacij in smernic za uspešno integracijo« (50). Izbrani primeri izhajajo predvsem iz držav Evropske unije, slovenskih je le za vzorec. Kljub maloštevilnosti pa dobre prakse, ki prihajajo predvsem iz ne-

vladnega sektorja, vsaj nekoliko izboljšujejo precej črni scenarij prihodnje migracijske in integracijske politike tako na ravni Evropske unije kot tudi v Sloveniji.

Zdravje migrantov je tema, ki je v podobnih tematizacijah migracij ne zasledimo prav pogosto. Prispevek Uršule Lipovec Čebren je zato še toliko bolj pomemben in hkrati izjemno aktualen predvsem v povezavi z odmevno stavko delavcev – podizvajalcev Luke Koper poleti 2011, ko so mediji in raziskovalci Zavoda za zdravstveno varstvo Koper opozarjali zlasti na fizično izčrpanost in slabo zdravstveno stanje stavekajočih delavcev, večinoma migrantov. Avtorica v prispevku analizira nekatere vidike zdravja migrantov in opozarja na nezadostno zagotavljanje njihovih zdravstvenih pravic, opozarja pa tudi na pomanjkanje podatkov in s tem na neraziskanost omenjenega področja v Evropi. Vse to so plodna tla za nastanek vsakovrstnih predstav in konstruktov o zdravstvenem stanju migrantov. Nekatere evropske države so se tudi odločile za politiko striktnega nadzora oziroma kriminalizacije migrantov, predvsem nedokumentiranih, ki jih, kot zapiše avtorica, oblastem prijavljajo kar sami zdravniki. V drugem delu prispevka pa o izkušnjah z zdravstvenim sistemom v Sloveniji o svojih izkušnjah spregovorijo štirje migranti sami.

O zaposlovanju tujcev in priseljevanju v Slovenijo z ekonomskega in s pravnega vidika piše Janez Malačič. V prispevku so skozi oči demografa predstavljeni že večkrat predelani podatki in obdelani vidiki priseljevanja in zaposlovanja. Tudi položaj migrantskih otrok v sistemu vzgoje in izobraževanja v Sloveniji ni neznana tema, vendar je zaradi svoje problematičnosti in posledic za vso družbo vredna vsakokratne poglobljene obravnave. Lotili sta se je Mojca Medvešek in Romana Bešter. Izhajajoč iz lastnih raziskav integracije priseljencev v Slovenijo in statističnih podatkov iz drugih virov problematizirata vključevanje otrok priseljencev v sistem izobraževanja, medkulturno vzgojo, etnično diskriminacijo v šoli, izpostavljata pa tudi probleme migrantov pri učenju slovenskega jezika in njihove možnosti za učenje maternega jezika.

Naslednji sklop knjige pod naslovom Vloga deležnikov: Migracijski »top-down« in »bottom up« združuje tri prispevke, ki temeljijo izključno na realnih življenjskih razmerah migrantov po svetu ali ožje, v Sloveniji. Goran Lukič obravnava položaj delavcev migrantov v luči gospodarske krize, ki pa ni samo ekonomska, temveč je vedno tudi socialna kriza. Po podatkih ILO (Mednarodne organizacije dela) je avtor povzel tako imenovani Začaran krizni krog delavcev migrantov in ga uporabil kot izhodišče za razpravo o socialni integraciji, izolaciji, družbenih konstruktih, strahovladi kapitala in razmerjih moči. Nazorni primeri, ki jih ob tem navaja, so zgodbe brezposelnih poljskih delavcev v Veliki Britaniji, podatki o zniževanju sredstev za integracijo migrantov v Španiji, ukrepi in smrtonosne posledice »zaščite« meje med Mehiko in ZDA, številni smrtni primeri med migranti na poti v Evropo, zapiranje zavrženih migrantov in razmere v zaporih v Severni Afriki. Avtor obravnava spremenjena razmerja na trgu dela kot posledico gospodarske krize in navaja, da običajna, slabo plačana delovna mesta migrantov zdaj zavzemajo nepriseljeni, »domači« prebivalci. V zaključku opisuje posledice proste trgovine kot podpornega mehanizma globalizacije, ki na enem koncu sveta rešuje, na drugem pa jemlje človeška življenja.

Admir Baltić v prispevku o integraciji bošnjaške skupnosti Slovenije najprej v uvodu opiše zgodovino priseljevanja prebivalcev Bosne in Hercegovine v Slovenijo, da lahko v nadaljevanju gradi zgodbo o integraciji (na pravnem, socialnem, ekonomskem in kulturnem področju). Sklop končuje kratek, a nazoren opis življenjskih razmer v samskih domovih, kjer so nastanjeni gradbeni delavci migranti. Fotodokumentirani zgodbi dveh prebivališč nam izpričujeta bedočasnosti migracij, brezbržnost delodajalcev in lastnikov bivališč ter alarmantno odsotnost kakršnihkoli pravilnikov in normativov, ki bi določali življenjske standarde v njih in (vsaj) omejevali izkoriščanje delavcev oziroma kršenje njihovih pravic tudi med njihovim težko zasluženim počitkom.

Tretji, zadnji sklop v knjigi *Migranti v Sloveniji – med integracijo in alienacijo* se povsem osredotoča na človekove pravice, globalizacijo in migracije. Izhodišče prispevka Barbare Gornik je vprašanje, ali so človekove pravice zgolj utopija sodobnega sveta? Po krajši uvodni analizi pristopov k razumevanju in raziskovanju človekovih pravic v antropologiji nas avtorica popelje v samo osrčje koncipiranja, razdeljevanja in politizacije človekovih pravic. Navidezni ekskurz o človekovih pravicah in neoliberalnem diskur-

zu je res samo navidezen, saj je rdeča nit razprave speljana od korporativne države (ki je sicer avtorica ne omenja) k nacionalizmu in nacionalni državi ter spoštovanju ali bolje h kršenju človekovih pravic v njenem okviru. Avtorica na koncu opozarja še na nezanimanje za zaščito pravic migrantov predvsem v državah priseljevanja, kot so države EU, ZDA, Avstralija in Kanada, ki obenem niso podpisnice Konvencije o zaščiti pravic delovnih migrantov. Zato je toliko bolj zanimivo branje naslednjega prispevka, ki obravnava možnost dela in zaposlovanja prisilnih migrantov v Sloveniji. Franci Zlatar v njem obravnava pravico do dela in zaposlovanja, ki izhaja iz korpusa temeljnih človekovih pravic v kontekstu slovenske zakonodaje ter z vidika prosilcev za mednarodno zaščito in oseb s statusom mednarodne zaščite. Glede na odnos držav priseljevanja do pravic migrantov ter prevladujoč neoliberalni diskurz, o čemer piše Barbara Gornik, se zdi avtorjevo razmišljanje o demografskih deficitih, potrebah po delovni sili in nujnosti sprememb migracijske in integracijske politike v Evropski uniji in v Sloveniji, da bi obdržali oziroma privabili več migrantov, nekoliko problematično. Razviti svet s svojo poveljevano neoliberalno politiko grobo izkorišča migrante iz držav v razvoju; pri tem se diskurz pozivanja k odprti migracijski politiki zaradi rastočega negativnega demografskega trenda teh istih razvitih držav kaže kot skrajno sporen: rabimo ceneno delovno silo, da bomo še naprej lahko razvita, to je neoliberalna, izkoriščevalska, kapitalistična družba, hkrati pa nas niti najmanj ne zanima, kdo nam to omogoča in za kakšno ceno. Podobni evropocentrični pogledi, ki so nekoč omogočali nastanek kolonij, danes omogočajo kolonializem kar na domačih tleh.

Ostaneta nam še zadnja dva prispevka, v katerih sta se avtorja osredotočila na migracijsko politiko v Sloveniji. Franci Jazbec obravnava vlogo javne uprave in civilne družbe skozi optiko migracijske in integracijske politike ter razmišlja o razmerjih moči, politiki kot boju za oblast, upravni kulturi in vlogi javne uprave in civilne družbe na področju migracij. Marijanca Ajša Vižintin pa se je osredotočila na potomce priseljencev in njihovo integracijo v izobraževalnem sistemu. V prispevku analizira pomembnejše evropske dokumente o izobraževanju, slovensko zakonodajo, ki ureja področje vključevanja učencev migrantov v šolski sistem, članek pa konča z opisom večletnih osebnih izkušenj učiteljice, ki je v osnovni šoli na Primorskem poučevala manjše število priseljenih otrok.

Na koncu knjige so objavljeni utrinki z razstave fotografij Življenjski pogoji delavcev migrantov v Sloveniji.

Občutki po branju te pronicljive knjige s temeljitim kritičnim težiščem so prej neugodni kot zadovoljujoči; a niti najmanj zaradi knjige same. Bralec se namreč neizogibno vpraša, ali je to takoimenovano realno stanje današnjih migracijskih procesov, v katerih so ljudje le številke in so zaradi pripisanih statusov, kot je migrant, izvrženi na margino sodobne družbe? Realnost ima sicer več obrazov in interpretacij, vendar je prispevke v pričujoči knjigi treba brati kot resno, konsistentno, pronicljivo in utemeljeno kritiko aktualnega dogajanja na eni strani in kot podporo ali potrditev majhnih korakov, ki jih slovenska sodobna družba dela v smeri sprejemanja migracij kot običajnega in nujnega procesa, na drugi. Glasovi migrantov, ki jih slišijo avtorji večine prispevkov in jih omogočajo slišati tudi bralcu, v pričujoči knjigi niso samo subjektivne realnosti kršenja pravic migrantov, prav tako pa tudi niso samo veristična podkrepitev teoretskih tematizacij, temveč predvsem izhodišča za kritični razmislek, poziv k prepotrebni spremembam in nenazadnje klic k ponovni presoji človečnosti sodobnega sveta. Knjiga je tako koristna in nujno branje za vse, ki se ukvarjajo z migracijskimi študijami ali pa se želijo le seznaniti s sodobnim dogajanjem na tem področju v Sloveniji in tudi širše v Evropi.

Kristina Toplak

Italo Pardo in Giuliana B. Prato (ur.), *Citizenship and the Legitimacy of Governance: Anthropology in the Mediterranean Region*, Ashgate, Farnham, 2011, 221 str.

Zbornik, ki sta ga uredila Italo Pardo in Giuliana B. Prato, raziskovalca in profesorja z Univerze v Kentu, je antropološka galerija sodobnega urbanega Mediterana, predvsem pa refleksija in odziv na rastoča občutja nelagodja, ko gre za razmerje med državljanstvom in 'upravljanjem' (*governance*) sodobnih družb. To razmerje, pravijo avtorice in avtorji urbane etnografije, je na mediteranskem območju videti posebej izostreno in se kaže kot pogosto kritično visok demokratični deficit.

V uvodu sta urednika, dolgoletna in priznana raziskovalca Mediterana, sporočila, kateri konceptualni kriteriji povezujejo deset študij primerov: a) pozornost raziskovanju razmerja med birokratskimi, političnimi in zakonodajnimi praksami na eni strani in zaupanju ter državljanskimi pravicami na drugi, b) raziskovanje procesov kriminalizacije vedenja, ki ga ljudje doživljajo kot legitimno, c) proučevanje dejanj, ki so strogo legalna, a jih ljudje doživljajo kot nelegitimna in d) načini upravljanja varnosti in uveljavljanja pravne države. Drugače rečeno, rdeča nit prispevkov, ki sestavljajo zbornik, je ugotovitev, da je usihanje legitimnosti velikih in majhnih vladarjev, velikih in majhnih politik na globalnih in lokalnih ravneh v samem jedru demokratičnega deficita, kar vpliva na razumevanje in prakticiranje državljanstva. Za hip se velja ustaviti še pri pomembnem konceptualnem prispevku zbornika, pri duhoviti, ironični kritiki klasičnega antropološkega razumevanja Mediterana. Sredi prejšnjega stoletja, ko je dekolonizacija antropologom ukradla privilegirana raziskovalna območja, so se množično odpravili na Mediteran, ki je bil ravno dovolj nezahoden, da je še lahko bil eksotičen, ne ravno del »nas«, pa vendar »naša zgodovina«, se pravi natančno na meji med eksotičnim in domačim. V očeh klasične strukturalno-funktionalistične antropologije je bila socialna organizacija mediteranskih družb fevdalno-patronalna, taksonomija moralnega reda pa so našli v razponu med »častjo« in »sramom«. Antropologija urbanega Mediterana, ki se bere v tem zborniku, je do tovrstnega orientalizma posmehljiva in ga analitično prepričljivo zavrača. V prvem prispevku je Italo Pardo z natančno etnografijo nedavne neapeljske »smetiščne krize« pokazal, kako nastane resna kriza legitimnosti oblasti kot kriza principa oblasti same, torej vsake oblasti, ne zgolj tiste, ki je z neodgovornim in s koruptivnim mreženjem povzročila ne le nevzdržen neapeljski smrad, pač pa posegla v pravice do javnega zdravja in zatresla kategorijo državljanstva, ko je velik del lokalne populacije potisnila v območje »državljanstva drugega reda«.

O državljanstvu drugega in tretjega reda govori Alex Weingrod v študiji primerov dveh izraelskih obmorskih mest, Haife in Jafe-Tel Aviva. V procesih turistične eksotizacije obeh mest, v katerih živijo izraelski Judje in Palestinci, se kaže nazorna razlika med multikulturalnostjo in kulturnim pluralizmom: medtem ko je multikulturalnost na tradicionalno nizki ravni, so se razvile drobne, a pomembne oblike sodelovanja med obema etničnima skupinama na lokalni, sosedski ravni, kar pa ne vključuje potopljene, skrite skupine ilegalnih priseljencev, ki gradijo turistično infrastrukturo in so brez vseh državljanskih pravic.

Mateja Sedmak je opisala in reflektirala specifične okoliščine slovenske Istre, v kateri ima etnična heterogenost različne oblike, od formalno razmeroma ustreznih političnih pravic italijanske manjšine, ki pa se dejansko kršijo in ne uveljavljajo, kar dominantni politični sistem dopušča, do neobstoječih političnih pravic priseljencev z območij nekdanje Jugoslavije, ki so pod močnimi asimilacijskimi pritiski. Avtorica je skeptična do evropskih projektov o multikulturalnosti in ohranjanju kulturne različnosti, ki ostajajo na ravni politične retorike.

Podobne vrzeli med politično retoriko in dejanskim uveljavljanjem državljanskih pravic sta Margarida Fernandes in Teresa Morte analizirali v postopkih pridobivanja (in odvzemanja) državljanstva na Portugalskem, pri čemer sta bili zlasti pozorni na vlogo medijev v konstrukciji deviantnosti temnopoltih državljanov.

O politizaciji javnih prostorov, dostopnosti in segregaciji, ustvarjanju sodobnih globaliziranih ne-krajev in kolizijah, ki jih ustvarjajo evropsko dirigirane nacionalne zakonodaje v trčenju z običajnim pra-

vom uporabnikov prostora, pišeta Fernando Monge v primeru barcelonske revitalizacije mesta in Nebi Bardoshi v etnografiji Tirane.

Giuliana B. Prato, Kayhan Delibas in Manos Spyridakis raziskujejo legitimacijske deficite, ki nastajajo in se razvijajo v dirigiranih, pedagoških demokracijah znamenitih »evropskih direktiv« na evropski periferiji (v Albaniji, Turčiji in Grčiji). Pomembne se zdijo njihove ugotovitve, da so odpori »evropski volji«, ki se pogosto interpretirajo kot preostanki »stare mentalitete«, dejansko racionalne adaptacije in strateški odgovori ljudi, ki so stisnjeni med zapovedi visoke evropske politike in neučinkovitost nacionalnih birokracij.

Prav ta aktivacijski moment je ena od odlik zbornika: večina prispevkov bralstvu sugerira, da prebivalke in prebivalci mediteranskih mest niso nemočne lutke, ki jih upravljajo lokalni in bruseljski veljaki, pač pa ljudje z dolgo zgodovino uporov oblastem, kar je že kdaj otežilo, in utegne še kdaj, samodejno reprodukcijo razmerja med vladarji in vladanimi. Zgovoren dokaz za to so nedavni prizori množic s trga Tahrir na drugi strani Mediteranskega morja

Ana Kralj

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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://isi.zrc-sazu.si/?q=node/436>). Članki so recenzirani.

Prispevke, ki morajo biti urejeni po spodnjih navodilih, pošljite na naslov uredništva:
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Članki morajo imeti sestavine, ki si sledijo po naslednjem vrstnem redu:

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- **predlog vrste prispevka** (izvirni, pregledni ali kratki znanstveni prispevek, strokovni članek);
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- **key words** (angleški prevod ključnih besed);
- **članek** (1. skupaj s presledki naj ne presega 45.000 znakov oz. 25 tipkanih strani; 2. celotno besedilo naj bo označeno z »Normal« – torej **brez oblikovanja, določanja slogov in drugega**; 3. pisava Times New Roman, velikost 12, **brez poravnave desnega roba**; 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 za naslovi so brez zamikov, ročno mora biti narejeno morebitno označevanje in oštevilčevanje vrstic in odstavkov; 6. naslove označite ročno, podnaslove prvega reda z velikimi tiskanimi črkami in okrepljeno, podnaslove drugega reda z malimi tiskanimi črkami in okrepljeno);
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- **knjižne ocene**: ime in priimek avtorja ali urednika knjige, ki je predmet ocene, naslov knjige, založba, kraj, leto izida, število strani (male tiskane črke, avtor in naslov naj bosta okrepljena), besedilo naj obsega med 5.000 in 15.000 znaki skupaj s presledki, na koncu v desnem kotu sledi ime in priimek avtorja ocene.

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- **Seznam literature in virov** je v tem primeru na koncu 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). Seznam literature in virov je **brez zamikov**. Upoštevajte naslednji vrstni red in načine zapisov pri različnih navedenih enotah:
 - a) navajanje pri knjigah: priimek in ime avtorja, (leto izida), *naslov knjige*, kraj, založba (primer: Anderson, Benedict (2003). *Zamišljene skupnosti: o izvoru in širjenju nacionalizma*. Ljubljana: Studia Humanitatis.);
 - b) pri člankih v zborniku: priimek in ime avtorja, (leto izida), naslov članka, *naslov zbornika* (ime

urednika), kraj, založba, strani (primer: Drnovšek, Marjan (2004). Izseljenke v očeh javnosti. *Zbornik referatov 32. zborovanja slovenskih zgodovinarjev* (ur. Aleksander Žižek). Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 383–393.);

- c) pri člankih v revijah: priimek in ime avtorja, (leto izida), naslov članka, *naslov revije*, letnik, številka, strani (primer: Brightman, Robert (1995). Forget Culture: Replacement, Transcendence, Relexification. *Cultural Anthropology* 10(4): 509–546.);
- d) seznam literature in virov naj vsebuje vse v članku citirane vire in literaturo in naj ne vsebuje enot, ki v članku niso citirane.

Avtorji naj pri **citiranju v opombah pod črto** upoštevajo naslednja navodila:

- Pri citiranem delu naj navedejo: ime in priimek, *naslov*, kraj, založba, leto izida (primer: Zvone Žigon, *Izzivi drugačnosti: Slovenci v Afriki in na Arabskem polotoku*, Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 2003.).
- Upoštevajo pa naj tudi naslednje: **citati**, dolgi pet ali več vrstic, morajo biti ročno oblikovani v ločenih enotah, zamaknjeni, brez narekovajev; citati, krajši od petih vrstic, naj bodo med drugim besedilom v narekovajih in pokončno (ne poševno); pri navajanju avtorjev med besedilom (ne v oklepaju) prvič navedite ime in priimek avtorja v celoti, sicer navajajte samo priimek avtorja.

Pri citiranju **arhivskega gradiva** morajo biti navedeni naslednji podatki:

- ime arhiva, signatura fonda ali zbirke, ime fonda ali zbirke, ime dokumenta in njegov datum, oznaka arhivske enote, oznaka tehnične enote (primer: Arhiv Republike Slovenije, AS 33, Deželna vlada v Ljubljani, Zapisnik 3. redne seje z dne 14. 2. 1907, a. e.1567, škatla 15.).

Pri citiranju **virov z medmrežja** pa morajo biti navedeni naslednji podatki:

- če sta avtor in naslov enote znana: priimek in ime avtorja, (leto izida), naslov članka, naslov strani in datum ogleda (primer: Becker, Howard (2003). New directions in the Sociology of Art, <http://home.earthlink.net/~hsbecker/newdirections.htm> (1. 2. 2008));
- če avtor ni znan, navedite le naslov članka, naslov strani in datum ogleda (primer: Interaction: Some ideas, <http://home.earthlink.net/interaction.htm> (1. 2. 2008));
- med besedilom prispevka v prvem primeru navedite avtorja, na primer (Becker 2003), v drugem primeru pa le prvo besedo iz naslova članka oziroma vira, na primer (Interaction).

4. Grafične in slikovne priloge

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

INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS FOR THE PREPARATION OF ARTICLES FOR *DVE DOMOVINI / TWO HOMELANDS*

1. Orientation of the Journal

The Journal *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* welcomes the submission of scientific and professional articles, reports, debates and book reviews from the fields of humanities and social sciences, focusing on migration and related phenomena. The Journal, published since 1990, is multidisciplinary and multilingual. Two volumes are published per year in printed and electronic version on the internet (<http://isi.zrc-sazu.si/?q=node/436>). All articles undergo a review procedure.

Articles should be prepared according to the instructions stated below and sent to the editorial board at the following address:

Institute for Slovenian Emigration Studies SRC SASA

P.P. 306, SI Ljubljana;

Telephone: +386 1 4706 485, Fax: +386 1 4257 802;

E-mail: kristina.toplak@zrc-sazu.si, or spelam@zrc-sazu.si

Articles should be submitted in **two printed versions** and an **electronic version**.

Manuscripts that are accepted for publishing by the editorial board of *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* are not to be sent for consideration and publishing to any other journal. Authors are responsible for language and style proficiency. With the publication of articles in Journal *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* authors also agree to publish the articles in electronic version on the internet.

2. Elements of Contributions

Articles should contain the following elements in the stated order:

- **Title** (in capital letters, bold)
- **Name and surname of the author** (after the surname a footnote should be inserted stating: 1. author's education and title (e.g. PhD, MA in History, Research Fellow); 2. author's full postal address (e.g. Institute for Slovenian Emigration Studies, Novi trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana); 3. author's e-mail address, phone and fax number);
- **Type of the contribution** (original, review or short scientific article; professional article)
- **Abstract** (title of the article and abstract, up to 600 characters together with spaces);
- **Key words** (up to 5 words);
- **Article** (1. together with spaces it should not exceed 45.000 characters or 25 typed pages; 2. style

of the entire text should be "Normal"; 3. font Times New Roman, 12, **alignment left**; 4. paragraphs should not be separated by an empty line, empty line should be used before and after every title and intended space for a chart or picture; 5. paragraphs following the titles should not be indented, bullets and numbering of lines and paragraphs should be done manually; 6. titles should be marked manually, headings 1 with bold capital letters, headings 2 with bold small letters;

- **Summary** (title of the article with capital bold letters, name and surname of the author, summary of the article, together with spaces up to 5000 characters).

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

- **Reports from conferences and other events, debates:** title of the event (in bold capital letters), date of the event, name and surname of the author (bold small letters, style of the entire text "Normal"; paragraphs should be indented manually (with the tabulator; paragraphs following the titles should not be indented, bullets and numbering of lines or paragraphs should be done manually), between 5000 and 15000 characters including 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 (small letters, author and title in bold), between 5000 and 15000 characters including spaces, at the end on the right hand corner include the name and surname of the reviewer.

In all texts **avoid** underlining and writing in bold. Italic should be used when emphasising a word or a phrase. Italic should also be used for citing titles of books and newspapers.

3. Citation in Articles

Citations in the journal *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* are possible **either within the text** or in **footnotes**.

When **citing within the text** authors should follow the instructions below:

- **Long citations** (five lines or more) should be typed as an indented paragraph (with the use of "tab"), without quotation marks, the first line of the paragraph after the citation should not be indented; citation shorter than five lines should be included in the main text and separated with quotation marks, in normal font (not in italic).
- When **naming the author** within the text (not in brackets) for the first time, include both full name and surname of the author, then continue using only last name.
- When naming the author in brackets use the following form: bracket, surname, year, colon, pages separated by hyphen, bracket full-stop (Barthes 1999: 91–99); when naming more authors separate their names with semicolon and name them according to the year of publishing in ascending order (Said 1999: 98–99; Ford 2006: 14–45).
- **List of references** should be placed at the end of the written text and arranged in the alphabetical order according to author's surname. Multiple references by one author should be arranged according to the year of publishing. Multiple references by one author published in the same year should be separated with small letters (e.g. Ford 1999a; 1999b). Use the following style:
 - a) books: surname and name of the author, (year of publishing), *title*, place of publishing, publisher (e.g. Žitnik Janja (1995). *Orel in korenine med "brušenjem" in cenzuro*. Ljubljana: Znanstveno-raziskovalni center SAZU.);
 - b) articles in series: surname and name of the author, (year of publishing), *title*, *title of the volume* (name of the editor), place of publishing, publisher, pages (e.g. Drnovšek, Marjan (2004). *Izseljenske v očeh javnosti. Zbornik referatov 32. zborovanja slovenskih zgodovinarjev* (ed. Aleksander Žižek). Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 383–393.);

- c) articles in journals: name and surname of the author, (year of publishing), title, *title of the journal*, year, number, pages (e.g. Brightman, Robert (1995). Forget Culture: Replacement, Transcendence, Relexification. *Cultural Anthropology* 10(4): 509–546.);
- d) list of references should include all cited sources and literature.

When **citing in footnotes** authors should follow the instructions below:

- When citing works state: name and surname, *title*, place of publishing, publisher, year of publishing (e.g. Žitnik, Janja, *Orel in korenine med "brušenjem" in cenzuro*, Ljubljana: Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU, 1995.);
- Long **citations** (five lines or more) should be typed as an indented paragraph (with the use of "tab"), in italic, without quotation marks, the first line of the paragraph after the citation should not be indented; citation shorter than five lines should be included in the main text and separated with quotation marks, in normal font (not in italic); when naming the author within the text (not in brackets) for the first time, include both full name and surname of the author, then continue using only last name.

Citation of **archive material** should include:

- The name of the archive, book or fond number, name of series or fond, name of document and its date, archive unit, technical unit (e.g. Archive of the Republic of Slovenia, AS 33, Deželna vlada v Ljubljani, Zapisnik redne seje z dne 14.2.1907, a. e.1567, škatla 15.)

Citation of internet sources should include:

- when the author and title of the unit are known: name and surname of the author, (year of publishing), title, web page address and date of viewing (e.g.: Becker, Howard (2003). New directions in the Sociology of Art, <http://home.earthlink.net/hsbecker/newdirections.htm> (1.2.2008));
- when the author is unknown, cite only the title of the article, web page address and date of viewing (e.g. Interaction: Some ideas, <http://home.earthlink.net/interaction.htm> (1.2.2008));
- in the first case state the author within the text, e.g. (Becker 2003), in the second case use the first word from the title of the article or source e.g. (Interaction).

4. Graphics and illustrations

- **Photographs, pictures, maps** etc. – with an exception of charts originating from Word programme, which have to be adjusted to the page size 16,5 x 23,5cm – should not be included into the Word document. All illustrative material needs to be numbered and submitted separately in **another folder** with author's name and surname. Please submit the visual material in .jpeg form.
- **Location of illustrative material in the text** should be marked as follows:
Photograph 1: Cook Lisa in New York in 1905 (author: Janez Novak, source: Archives of Slovenia, 1415, 313/14) or Chart 1: Population of Ljubljana after the 2002 census (source: Office for Statistics RS, Statistics, p. 14)).
- For graphic and illustrative material without copyrights, **permission for publishing** needs to be obtained.

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