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LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL RESPONSES TO THE "REFUGEE CRISIS" IN SLOVENIA AND AUSTRIA: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Neža KOGOVŠEK ŠALAMON[I]

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ABSTRACT

Legislative and Judicial Responses to the "Refugee Crisis" in Slovenia and Austria: A Comparative Perspective

The article compares key normative and judicial responses to the 2015–2016 "refugee crisis" in Slovenia and Austria. It does so by comparing the asylum statistics, the main changes to the legislation reflecting populist reactions to the "refugee crisis," and judicial responses to these changes and reactions. The qualitative legal analysis is based on examples of the most important changes and responses. The article considers the populistic context of these changes, as discussed by some political scientists, who demonstrate that with the crisis, a new wave of populism—"the populist Othering of migrants"—emerged.

KEYWORDS: "refugee crisis", constitutional court, Slovenia, Austria, populism

IZVLEČEK

Zakonodajni in pravosodni odzivi na »begunsko krizo« v Sloveniji in Avstriji: primerjalna perspektiva

Avtorica primerja ključne normativne pristope k obravnavanju »begunske krize« v obdobju 2015–2016 ter odzive sodstva na te pristope v Sloveniji in Avstriji. K temu pristopi s primerjavo statističnih podatkov na področju azila, najpomembnejših zakonodajnih sprememb, ki odražajo populistične odzive na »begunsko krizo«, ter odgovorov sodišč na te spremembe in odzive. Analiza je kvalitativna in temelji na izbranih primerih najpomembnejših zakonodajnih sprememb. Članek upošteva populistični kontekst teh sprememb, kot ga razumejo politologi. Ti pokažejo, da se je s krizo pojavil tudi nov val populizma – populistično označevanje migrantov kot Drugih.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: »begunska kriza«, ustavno sodišče, Slovenija, Avstrija, populizem

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INTRODUCTION

This article compares key normative and judicial responses to the 2015–2016 "refugee crisis" in Slovenia and Austria. It compares asylum statistics for the two countries, the main legislative changes reflecting populist reactions to the "refugee crisis," and key judicial responses to these changes and reactions. The main research questions of this paper are: what kind of legislative tools have been used by the two countries to respond to the increased numbers of arrivals; what were the differences and similarities; which legal issues have arisen from these legislative responses; and were these responses compatible with the constitutional, international, and EU law. The legal analysis used to answer these questions is qualitative and critical, based on examples of the most significant developments. It is performed based on international refugee law, EU law, and constitutional norms concerning the following rights: the right to seek asylum, the right to have one's asylum application examined (which derives from Article 6 of Directive 2013/32/EU), the prohibition of torture, degrading and inhuman treatment, non-refoulement, and the right to an effective remedy. The conclusions in this article are based on the synthesis of facts, figures, and analyzed processes. The article considers the populistic context of these changes, as discussed by those political scientists who criticize authoritarian and nationalistic types of populism (there is a need to differentiate between different types of populism, see Tushnet & Bugaric, 2020: 90). They demonstrate that with the refugee and migration crisis, a new wave of populism—"the populist Othering of migrants"—emerged (Pajnik & Šori, 2021: 10). It involved, among others, ideas of closing the state borders, adopting restrictive legislation on asylum seekers, or expulsion of migrants from the country (Pajnik & Šori, 2021: 10). These ideas later materialized in the actual legislative proposals that, jointly with the most important judicial responses, will be discussed later in the paper.

CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Although they are neighboring countries, there are hardly any similarities between Austria and Slovenia regarding asylum statistics. Austria is a country that many migrants and refugees choose as their country of destination (cf. Josipovic & Reeger, 2019: 26). This choice is attested by the 196,767 asylum applications lodged in Austria between January 1, 2015, and December 31, 2020 (Statistics Austria, 2021). During the same period in Slovenia, 13,305 asylum applications were lodged (Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Slovenia, 2020: 21), indicating that not many of the people looking for a better life consider Slovenia a destination country. Instead, most migrants and refugees consider it a transit country where they do not intend to stay. These differences are particularly interesting since Austria and Slovenia have been mainly on the same migration route since 2015, when Hungary erected its razor-wired border fence. Many people on the route who do not decide to apply for asylum in Slovenia do so in Austria. This phenomenon was quite noticeable also during the 2015–2016 migration crisis, when in Slovenia, only 277 people applied for asylum in the entire year, while the number for Austria was 88,340 (Statistics Austria, 2021)—318 times more. Statistics even show that in 2015, at the peak of the "refugee crisis," Austria was the country with the third-largest increase in absolute numbers of asylum applications in the EU (Eurostat, 2015), while Slovenia saw a surprising decrease.

There are also differences between the countries in shares of approved asylum applications. For example, in Austria in 2020, protection was granted in 10,145 (52.5%) out of 19,331 cases decided on merits (AIDA, 2020). In Slovenia, protection was granted in a mere 89 (29%) out of 304 cases decided on merits (Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Slovenia, 2020: 26). The recognition rate in Slovenia has always been comparatively low (cf. Kogovšek Šalamon, 2018).

These differences are unrelated to the countries' legislation, as they share almost the same legal framework. Austria and Slovenia are bound by the 1951 UN Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees (UN General Assembly, 1951) and the EU secondary law in the field of asylum. Both countries must consider this framework when redesigning their respective asylum systems. In the aftermath of the 2015–2016 crisis, this framework has been set aside, which is legally and constitutionally unacceptable.

RESTRICTIVE LEGISLATIVE CHANGES

The differences in statistics could mislead us into believing there could also be differences in the two countries' approaches to responding to increased numbers of arrivals with new legislation. However, many similarities arise. The main reason for these similarities is that Slovenia is evidently replicating Austria's approach. However, there are also similarities in populist political discourses that have come to prevail in both countries in recent years (Pajnik & Fabijan, 2022; Benedek, 2019). The most notable example of similar responses is the legislative amendments intended to allow the authorities to start refusing to receive asylum applications after a certain point in time. Namely, both countries adopted legislation allowing them to declare some de facto "state of emergency" without actually using the term as if this would allow them to no longer abide by the obligation to carry out the asylum procedures for the newcomers. In Slovenia, that the government saw the situation as an actual emergency without formally declaring a state of emergency derives from the fact that it proposed the key legislative changes to be passed in urgent legislative procedures (Pajnik & Šori, 2021) in the absence of public debate.

Researchers show that in Austria and Slovenia, the "refugee crisis" of 2015–2016 represented a crucial inflection point in how the asylum policy was drafted

(Josipovic & Reeger, 2019: 8; Zagorc & Kogovšek Šalamon, 2017). In both countries, refugee protection enshrined in the international protection law remained intact and was not abolished. However, several restrictions were introduced to make it more difficult for people to apply for asylum or to keep their status as asylum seekers, in particular, obstacles to accessing the territory and the asylum procedure and restrictions on the rights of recognized refugees (Josipovic & Reeger, 2017: 8; Zagorc & Kogovšek Šalamon, 2017). Both countries witnessed the peak of the inflow of asylum seekers in 2015. Political leaders thus exploited the peak to politicize refugee protection, making migration and refugee protection one of the most important subjects on the political agendas used to gain political support and electoral votes.

A DISCUSSION ABOUT THE UPPER LIMIT (QUOTA) SYSTEM AS A RESPONSE TO MASS ARRIVALS TO ASYLUM SEEKERS

During the summer of 2015, as growing numbers of asylum seekers arrived at both countries' borders, the authorities initially refrained from specific legislative activity. Both countries' authorities adopted a pragmatic approach to registering newcomers but then waved them through the state territory and assisted them in transit by providing basic care and transportation (Josipovic & Reeger, 2017: 18; Kogovšek Šalamon & Bajt, 2016). In this period, Austria accepted Europe's second-largest number of asylum seekers per capita (Benedek, 2019: 949).

In early 2016, in Austria, the amendment act No. 24/2016 (RIS, 2016) introduced a unilateral quota for the annual admission of persons to the asylum procedure. The justification for the quota was very similar to the justification the Slovenian authorities introduced a year after, as I will show in the continuation. Under the title "Exceptional provisions for the maintenance of public order and the protection of inner security during the enforcement of border controls," the Austrian draft law allows the Austrian Federal Government (together with a committee of the National Council) to pass a government decree that would suspend further processing of international protection applications outside of border control posts and registering points of the police. The decree would allow the authorities to check if the denial of entry violates the principle of non-refoulement. If the assessment was negative (in that there was no danger to their life and safety), people could then be returned to the neighboring countries from which they entered (Benedek, 2019: 951–952).

This new legal option shows that a certain number of foreigners applying for international protection can be automatically considered a "threat to public order and internal security" and a threat to the functioning of state systems (RIS, 2016, Section 36). Accordingly, annual upper limits of new asylum applications for the following four years were introduced in Austria: 37,500 in 2016, 35,000 in 2017, 30,000 in 2018, and 25,000 in 2019. As no upper limit was reached by 2021, no government decree has actually been passed based on this legal amendment.

This politically agreed-upon limit was inspired by what the Austrian Government presented as its "integration capacity," allegedly based on the number of applications received before the 2015 peak (between 11,012 in 2010 and 28,064 in 2014). However, this limit was a response to pressures from right-wing political parties, part of the public, and the media that demanded a cap on the number of asylum seekers received (Benedek, 2019: 951–952).

In Slovenia, which also adopted restrictive legislation following the "refugee crisis," aiming at the closure of the border for asylum seekers at a specific time (which will be presented in more detail below), the numerical upper limit was not publicly discussed or adopted. The difference between the two countries is that Austria discussed the actual numbers of where the reception would end and where the state would no longer accept applications. Slovenia, on the contrary, only introduced the option to stop accepting applications altogether without politically indicating at which point this would happen, opening the door for unpredictable and arbitrary decisions. This situation, however, does not mean that the numbers set in advance are any less arbitrary. Namely, as Benedek (2019) and Josipovic and Reeger (2019) point out, no serious research was presented in Austria to demonstrate that the numbers reflect the actual capacity of the Austrian society to integrate the newcomers. It was a purely political decision. Consequently, legal scholars, asylum law experts, and civil society organizations have heavily criticized this approach, claiming that such upper limits are unconstitutional, contrary to Austria's human rights obligations, and in violation of EU law (Josipovic & Reeger, 2017: 18; Benedek, 2019: 950–951; Agenda Asyl, 2017: 2).

EU law experts Obwexer and Funk (2016) were more lenient toward the Austrian Government. Initially, they characterized the quota as a legal novelty. They argued that EU law fails to provide for an option of passing emergency decrees to sustain public order (European Union, 2012: Article 78) and that such threats indeed may exist during periods of temporary border controls. However, the European Commission must permit the latter under the Schengen Border Code. They also warned that such decrees could be in disaccord with the general obligation of an EU Member State to at least consider an application for asylum, which must take place "with an unreserved adherence to the fundamental rights of private and family life and non-refoulement" (Obwexer & Funk, 2016). However, they then stressed that immediate repulsions to neighboring countries would be possible, but only if the European Court of Justice decisions failed to suggest the possibility of chain-refoulement due to deficiencies in a Member State's asylum system (Obwexer & Funk, 2016). The experts clarified that the Geneva Refugee Convention neither includes a right to have one's asylum application examined nor prohibits sending an asylum seeker to a country where their life or freedom is not threatened. However, Benedek points out that under Article 6 of the EU Asylum Procedure Directive, the responsible EU Member State must provide access to an asylum procedure (2019: 953–954). Benedek also revealed that the Austrian Government ordered the legal opinion provided by Obwexer and Funk to legitimize its introduction of a ceiling to asylum applications. Despite the critical aspects of the legal opinion, the Austrian authorities decided to adopt the legislative change, "making it possible for a populist undermining of the rule of law" (Obwexer & Funk, 2016: 955).

Legal scholar Hilpold (2017: 79) expressed another critical approach when he argued that Article 78 TFEU cannot be interpreted contrary to the Geneva Convention on the Protection of the Status of Refugees and that such an interpretation would also not be in line with the Common European Asylum System. He claimed that the interpretation that the Commission could approve the Schengen exemption provisions (in that a large number of asylum seekers is a threat to public order) would conflate and mix up the Schengen and the Dublin regimes. He concluded that a unilateral quota contradicts fundamental human rights principles and has no legal basis in international and EU law (Hilpold, 2017: 79). This was later confirmed by the European Commission's public statements concerning the quota system introduced in Austria (Josipovic & Reeger, 2017: 19). As Benedek (2019: 949) stated, setting an upper limit of asylum applications and the possibility of suspending its obligations under international and European asylum law are legally doubtful measures, also because they are based on the assumption that the fulfilled quota automatically threatens the maintenance of public order and the protection of internal security, which is impossible to prove. Many authors argued that an international obligation, such as the right to apply for asylum, could not be subject to a quantitative limitation. The result of these legislative changes was, as Benedek (2019: 950–951) states, that the Austrian asylum policy shifted from a "showcase" asylum system to one of the most restrictive in Europe. Benedek (2019: 950–951) and Rosenberger and Gruber (2020) indicate that this change originated from the pressure that the Austrian right-wing Freedom Party imposed on the Austrian Government and that the People's Party started to compete for supporters of the Freedom Party. The authors hence make a clear link between populist discourses and political tendencies and the legislative changes resulting from these discourses.

THE "EMERGENCY REGIMES" AS RESPONSES TO THE MASS ARRIVALS OF ASYLUM SEEKERS

In addition to the support limit, the Austrian authorities prepared to set up a new border regime for future larger numbers of arrivals. Among several amendments to the Asylum Law of 2005 proposed in early 2016, new special provisions addressed the maintenance of public order and the protection of internal security based on Article 72 TFEU. The provisions provide for the Austrian Federal Government to adopt an emergency decree (*Notstandsverordnung*) in cooperation with a committee of the National Council. The emergency decree only needs to state that the maintenance of public order and the protection of internal security are in danger.

In this case, the Government would be given leeway to re-establish border controls and set up "registration offices" at the borders for potential asylum seekers. Based on the decree, before an asylum procedure is opened, the border authorities shall examine whether the person can be prevented from entering the country through "hindrances, refusal, or outright removal" (Benedek, 2019: 955–956). The only exceptions to this rule are if the person can demonstrate that if they are returned, they will be at risk concerning their right to life or the prohibition of torture or inhuman treatment, or if their presence in Austria should be authorized due to the right to protection of private and family life. This limited set of exceptions means that the asylum applications will not be considered except for cases of possible violations of Articles 2, 3, and 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights or if it is impossible to return the person—for instance, if the neighboring state refuses to cooperate. The law provides the right to appeal against the decision at the border and claim judicial review. The Government will not consider the asylum request if the Court finds no violation. The same result prevails if the applicant has made no complaint (Benedek, 2019: 955–956). The reactions of experts, scholars, and liberals to the draft law were critical. The bill, drafted in secret, was finally granted a very short peer review period and then adopted into law with only minor changes. The Austrian Government also argued that the regime would not become operational without the adoption of the "emergency decree," which would "only be unnecessary if the upper limit was unlikely to be reached" (Benedek, 2019: 955–956).

Even though the number of asylum applications dropped, the Austrian People's Party continued to pressure the coalition partner to adopt the emergency decree, which did not happen. Benedek further argues that the pressure had additional political consequences: a candidate of the right-wing Freedom Party at the Austrian presidential elections advocated for stronger measures in the field of asylum and presented migrants as a danger to Austria. Hence, the Austrian Government was trying to show the public that the issue was being addressed. Consequently, the amendments to the asylum law were also passed on April 27, 2016, amid the presidential election campaign (Benedek, 2019: 957).

In September 2016, the draft emergency decree (which the Austrian Government prefers to call euphemistically a "special decree") became public, revealing the arguments that attempted to justify the triggering of the emergency regime should the decree be adopted. In line with Article 36 (1) of the amended Austrian Asylum Law, the justification of the decree mentioned "the existence of a threat to the maintenance of public order, as well as internal security" to justify the derogation from EU law on asylum under Article 72 TFEU. The government also argued that the labor market and social security systems are under pressure due to refugees recognized in 2015 and 2016. Such pressure could lead to an "increased unemployment rate, result in social tensions and unrest, and further threaten the security, public order, and social peace in Austria to the detriment of public institutions and functions" (Benedek, 2019: 959). It also claimed that an even higher number of new arrivals could lead to "higher criminality and to inter-religious and inter-ethnic tension and conflicts" (Benedek, 2019: 959). Benedek (2019: 959) shows that the arguments are exaggerated, indicating that the policymakers do not have substantiated grounds for such measures.

This particular aspect of the Austrian approach is comparable to the Slovenian one since the same formulations and justifications can be found in the Amendments to the Slovenian Aliens Act of January 2017. The relevant difference between the two countries is that the developments in Austria were fueled by presidential elections and the debates surrounding election campaigns. In Slovenia, there were no elections at the time. However, the debates were similarly fierce and pressurized by the extreme right, resulting in the center liberal party of the then Prime Minister Miro Cerar taking a harsh turn into the discourse on fences and emergency legislative measures. Ironically, Cerar extensively used the human rights discourse to defend the exclusionary positions of his government.

As evidence shows, the Austrian legislative approach toward increased arrivals has been dutifully observed and studied by Slovenian political leaders. Continuous cooperation of the EU Member States leaders within meetings and processes of the institutions of the EU (particularly the Council of the EU, but also the European Council) allows for an exchange of ideas on both progressive as well as restrictive approaches to migration management. A popular joke went that the then Slovenian Minister of Interior of the Miro Cerar liberal government, Vesna Györkös Žnidar, an attorney-at-law and former legal defender of protesters during the 2012 uprising in Slovenia, became "radicalized" when attending these meetings. As various EU Member States started to come up with ideas on emergency regimes, upper limits, pushbacks, and the like, Slovenia quickly followed. On January 10, 2017, the Slovenian Government submitted draft amendments to the Aliens Act to the National Assembly (National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, 2017). The amendments were adopted by the National Assembly on January 26, 2017, allowing the Slovenian state to activate the de facto emergency regime that would allow the closure of state borders for asylum seekers in case of mass arrivals.

Similarly, as in the case of Austrian political leaders, who also prefer to use euphemistic terms, such as a "special decree," the Slovenian Government calls the situation that would trigger the new regime a "changed migration situation," due to which "public order and internal security of the Republic of Slovenia may be or are threatened," making the "functioning of central State institutions and provision of their vital functions more difficult" (Aliens Act, 2021: para. 2 of new Article 10a). In the assessment of such a "special migration situation," which should be prepared by the Ministry of Interior, the ministry must consider several factors, such as the circumstances in the countries from which third-country nationals will (intend to) enter Slovenia, the migration situation in the region, the number of third-country nationals residing illegally in Slovenia, the number of foreigners with "permission to remain" (special toleration that protects a person from expulsion but that is not a residence permit) in Slovenia, the number of asylum seekers and the number of persons granted international protection, as well as the integration and accommodation capacities of the Republic of Slovenia for all these persons (Aliens Act, 2021: para. 3 of new Article 10a). An additional factor that must be considered is the possibility of implementing the International Protection Act, as well as any other relevant factor that could affect public order and internal security (Aliens Act, 2021: para. 3 of new Article 10a).

As one can observe, the terminology used in the justification of the new regime closely matches the Austrian terminology. If the state authorities assess that such changed circumstances, which resemble the mass influx witnessed in 2015 and 2016, have arisen, the government shall propose to the national assembly to activate the extraordinary measures, effectively leading to the closure of the borders (Aliens Act, 2021: para. 2 of new Article 10a). The measure will last for six months but may be extended every six months for an indefinite period. This is one of the differences between the Slovenian measure and the Austrian emergency law, which limits extraordinary measures to two years. As in the case of Austria, the Slovenian amendments to the Aliens Act are also based on the presumption that migration may pose a direct threat to public order, internal national security, and the functioning of state institutions, regardless of whether this is an evidence-based confirmed fact or not (Gornik, 2018a: 78; Gornik, 2018b: 162).

As in Austria, in Slovenia, the new emergency legislation has been criticized by legal scholars and civil society, stating that this legislation is contrary to the Geneva Convention, the Common European Asylum System, and the Slovenian Constitution. Scholars also underlined that such provisions constitute a de facto derogation from fundamental constitutional principles, such as the prohibition of torture and inhuman treatment (Zagorc & Kogovšek Šalamon, 2017; Gornik, 2018a). They warned that the act deliberately obfuscates the constitutional guarantees on limitations of human rights in times of state of emergency (Article 16 in connection with Article 92 of the Slovenian Constitution). Namely, the Slovenian law foresees that if the emergency regime is activated, a person's expression of intention to apply for international protection will be rejected as ill-founded if, in the neighboring EU Member State from which the foreigner entered, there are no systemic deficiencies concerning the asylum procedure and reception conditions of asylum seekers which could result in torture, inhuman, or degrading treatment. In such cases, the foreigner will be returned to the state of entry. The appeal against such decisions is allowed but fails to suspend the enforcement of the decision (Aliens Act, 2021: para. 2 of the new Article 10b). This regime is exempt only for health reasons, family reasons, or when the foreigner is a minor (Aliens Act, 2021: para. 3 of the new Article 10b).

These provisions would replace all asylum legislation in force in Slovenia if activated. If the regime is activated, the police will have new powers that they usually do not have in asylum cases: to reject the expression of intention to apply for asylum; to assess whether systemic deficiencies exist in the asylum system of the country the person entered from; to assess whether these systemic deficiencies amount to torture or inhuman or degrading treatment; to assess whether deportation is possible in light of the person's health situation; and to assess whether the person is a minor (Zagorc & Kogovšek Šalamon, 2017).

One of the main differences between the described Slovenian and Austrian amendments is that no quotas or upper limits are defined in the Slovenian amendments. Hence, it is unclear at which point the "emergency regime" would be activated by the National Assembly, rendering the decision affecting constitutionally protected rights an arbitrary one. In contrast, Austria's situation was somewhat more predictable (as the authorities operated with concrete numbers). However, even in this case, it was not completely clear when the regime should be activated by adopting the "special" emergency decree (Benedek, 2019: 960).

THE JUDICIAL RESPONSE

In both countries, courts had an important role in responding to populist responses of the executive and legislative branches. Particularly in Slovenia, the Constitutional Court has declared this emergency legislation unconstitutional. The constitutional review has been requested by the Slovenian Human Rights Ombudsman, led at the time by Vlasta Nussdorfer. On September 18, 2019, the Court delivered decision no. U-I-59/17, assessing the impugned provisions from the perspective of compliance with the principle of non-refoulement (defined in Article 18 of the Constitution). The Court reminded that non-refoulement is an international legal principle that prohibits a state from removing, expelling, or extraditing an individual to a state where the individual would be in grave danger of being subjected to the death penalty, torture, or other inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. The principle of non-refoulement guarantees the applicant the right to enter and reside in the country from which one is requesting protection and the right to access a fair and efficient procedure in which the competent authority assesses whether the removal, expulsion, or extradition of the applicant could violate this principle. The Court explained that a state might only exceptionally expel, remove, or extradite an applicant for international protection to another state without considering the substance of the application if it is convinced that the third state is safe (safe third country concept). A third country is safe if it offers the applicant effective individual protection against a breach of the principle of non-refoulement. The same requirements apply to transferring individuals to another EU Member State. Under the impugned provisions of the Aliens Act, a foreigner who, during special conditions in the country, has expressed an intention to apply for international protection could challenge the presumption of security of a neighboring EU Member State only by referring to the existence of systemic deficiencies in the neighboring country and in case of exceptions as provided for by the amendments. However, the Court noted that the foreigner is, according to the new law, unable to invoke other circumstances that might be relevant from the perspective of protecting the principle of non-refoulement. In its assessment, the Constitutional Court had to consider the circumstances in which introducing a special legal regime was permissible. It ruled that the special situation at the time of the changed situation in the field of migration, as defined in the second paragraph of Article 10a of the Aliens Act, does not mean the existence of a state of emergency in the country under Article 92 of the Constitution. According to the Constitution, the Court underlined that the restriction of human rights could be assessed only in a normal state (Article 15 of the Constitution) and in a state of war or emergency (Article 16 of the Constitution). As the situation regulated by the second paragraph of Article 10a of the Aliens Act does not formally constitute a state of emergency in the country, the Constitutional Court could assess the impugned provisions only following the criteria of constitutional review in force in the normal situation, i.e., in the absence of the formal declaration of the state of emergency. The Court emphasized that the legislator was obliged to regulate the procedure that enables the effective exercise of the non-refoulement. It found that the new regime that would be enacted under the "special migration situation" failed to provide sufficient legal guarantees for foreigners who expressed an intention to apply for international protection. In addition, the contested provisions limited the type and number of circumstances in which the foreigner could challenge the presumption of the security of a neighboring EU Member State to foreigners who claimed that their individual circumstances did not make a safe third country safe for them. Such an arrangement did not enable the effective exercise of the right under Article 18 of the Constitution. Therefore, it constitutes an interference with the right from Article 18 of the Constitution. The rights from Article 18 of the Constitution (freedom from torture) cannot be derogated. Interference with this freedom is always inadmissible. Therefore, the Constitutional Court annulled the second sentence of the second paragraph of Article 10b and the third paragraph of Article 10b of the Aliens Act (Constitutional Court, 2019). As can be observed, the Court, with its decision, reaffirmed the basic principles of asylum law as it is in force on the national and international level, effectively confirming the doubts and criticisms expressed by scholars regarding Austrian legislation.

Despite the Constitutional Court decision, in April 2021, the Slovenian National Assembly adopted the amendments to the Aliens Act once again, with only minor corrections. The adoption of the amendments was received in disbelief by scholars and experts working in the field (Slovenska filantropija, 2020). The special, de facto emergency regime may still be proposed by the Slovenian Government and activated by the National Assembly in case of the "changed migration circumstances" that lead to a "complex crisis." In this, the National Assembly must consider the principle of proportionality. The exceptions are the same as in the case of the 2017 amendments. However, the 2021 amendments also foresaw that the police must allow a foreigner to apply for international protection if one shows the probability of facing a real danger of torture, inhuman, or degrading treatment in a neighboring country and that one has not been able to apply for international protection in that country for justified reasons (Aliens Act, 2021: Article 10b(2)). In all other cases and in the absence of other exceptions (family ties, health reasons, minors), the foreigner would not be allowed to apply for asylum. In this case, they could file an appeal against the decision of the police, which would, however, not have a suspensive effect (Aliens Act, 2021: Article 10b(3)).

This time around, the Human Rights Ombudsman, now led by Peter Svetina, decided not to re-submit the amendments to the Aliens Act to the Constitutional Court for review. Seemingly disappointed as the National Assembly adopted provisions with virtually the same wording, the Ombudsman decided not to claim constitutional review once against but instead decided to notify the European Commission about the legislation, with an explanation: "In light of past experience in 2017, therefore, the question is what would actually be achieved in the event of a re-challenge of the amended regulation and a possible success before the Constitutional Court" (Petrovčič, 2021). Civil society and legal scholars working in the field of asylum and constitutional rights have heavily criticized both the re-enactment of the amendments by the National Assembly and the decision of the Human Rights Ombudsman, stating that the corrections are cosmetic and that if the Constitutional Court reviewed the law, it would once again be declared unconstitutional (Smajila, 2021).

CONCLUSIONS

As Benedek states, all these new measures intend to make the countries less attractive for asylum seekers and thereby reduce the number of applications and the costs for the state. He emphasizes that it will be "up to the Austrian and European Courts to review whether these measures comply with constitutional law, human rights, and European law" (Benedek, 2019: 962). Adjudication of cases will take place in the framework of ever-harsher political rhetoric gaining continuous support among the voters. In both countries, previously moderate political parties repeatedly adopt ever more extreme nationalistic positions, fearing losing popular support if they fail to do so. Erecting fences, adopting emergency legislation, and other asylum law restrictions all worked for that purpose: to attract and keep the voters who also seem to be moving to the right. The result is that, gradually, exceptions become the rule, which could, in fact, finally culminate in derogation from the right to asylum as a whole. As Benedek points out, these policy shifts have been quite remarkable in Austria, which has traditionally been more welcoming and accommodating toward asylum seekers. As for Slovenia, the situation is very different. The idea of asylum as a genuine will of the state as a member of the international community to provide protection because it wants to, not because it must, has never had a domicile in Slovenia. It is a concept that has been understood as imposed on the state by external actors, such as the EU. The state, wanting to progress on the international social ladder, was pretending to diligently follow what was expected, adopting all the necessary asylum legislation and the asylum system in general (Kogovšek Šalamon, 2018).

What is at stake in this situation is the general respect for human rights protection standards stemming from the experience of World War II. It is also a question of respect for the principles of the rule of law, the division of powers, and the checks and balances that should be at work in such situations. It has been revealed by these developments that we can no longer rely upon checks and balances and the respect of one branch of the government toward the other. It takes blunt authorities that show a significant level of pretentiousness to simply disregard the positions of the Constitutional Court. The latter is as powerful as the other branches of power are willing to respect its positions. While it seemed that the Constitutional Court could stand against populist and unconstitutional legislative approaches toward migration management, when populism is on the rise, the courts will not be sufficient to firmly set the constitutional boundaries that must be respected. Generally speaking, the courts cannot be relied upon to perform this task on their own, particularly on the systemic legislative level.

However, in individual cases, the court has played a pivotal role in protecting the rights of persons who used legal remedies to secure their rights enshrined in the legislation on the national, European, and international levels. In Austria, Josipovic and Reeger (2019, 46) underline that not only high courts but also administrative courts responsible for appeals against first-instance decisions of the Immigration Office have acted as safety nets protecting individual rights. The situation in Slovenia was the same (Kogovšek Šalamon, 2018). Hence, on this more individual level, courts seem to be some of the few barriers to populism left.

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POVZETEK

ZAKONODAJNI IN PRAVOSODNI ODZIVI NA »BEGUNSKO KRIZO« V SLOVENIJI IN AVSTRIJI: PRIMERJALNA PERSPEKTIVA

Neža Kogovšek Šalamon

Avtorica primerja ključne normativne pristope k obravnavanju »begunske krize« v obdobju 2015–2016 ter odzive sodstva na te pristope v Sloveniji in Avstriji. K analizi pristopi s primerjavo statističnih podatkov na področju azila, najpomembnejših zakonodajnih sprememb, ki odražajo populistične odzive na »begunsko krizo«, ter odgovorov sodišč na te spremembe in odzive. Analiza je kvalitativna in temelji na izbranih primerih najpomembnejših zakonodajnih sprememb. Članek upošteva populistični kontekst teh sprememb, kot ga razumejo politologi, ki so kritični do avtoritarnih in nacionalističnih vrst populizmov. Ti pokažejo, da se je s krizo pojavil tudi nov val populizma – populistično označevanje migrantov kot Drugih, ki se je odražalo in se še odraža v idejah o drastičnem zapiranju državnih meja, sprejemanju skrajno restriktivne zakonodaje in kolektivnem izganjanju migrantov iz države. V tem kontekstu se avtorica osredotoči na primerjavo sprememb zakonodaje v Sloveniji in Avstriji, ki so bile sprejete po t. i. begunski krizi v letih 2015/16. V obeh državah se je politika na begunsko krizo zaradi javnega mnenja odzvala s sprejetjem novih predpisov, ki bi državnim institucijam omogočili, da bi po prihodu določenega števila prosilcev za mednarodno zaščito omejile dostop do učinkovitega azilnega postopka. Obe sta sprejem zakonodaje utemeljevali z neke vrste »izrednimi razmerami«, ne da bi jih izrecno poimenovali s tem nazivom, v obeh državah pa so bile te zakonske določbe v nasprotju s pravom EU in mednarodnim pravom. V Sloveniji je to izrecno potrdilo ustavno sodišče, v Avstriji pa so ukrepe kot pravno problematične označili različni pravni strokovnjaki, medtem ko se avstrijsko ustavno sodišče o njih ni izreklo, saj jih tudi nihče ni izpodbijal. Izpodbijanje navedenih določb avstrijske zakonodaje bi bilo vsekakor smiselno, saj je postopek ustavne presoje v Sloveniji pokazal, da v prid temu govori vrsta strokovnih argumentov s področja prava mednarodne zaščite. A kot je pokazal primer v Sloveniji, tudi uspešna ustavna zavrnitev določb ni zagotovilo za preprečevanje učinkovanja protiustavnih ureditev. Slovenski zakonodajalec je namreč nekaj let po izdani odločbi ustavnega sodišča razveljavljene določbe v skoraj identični obliki sprejel še enkrat. To sproža številna vprašanja o učinkovitosti varstva ustavnih pravic v obeh državah, o načelih delitve oblasti in o učinkovitosti sodstva. V nobeni od držav sicer zakonodajni ukrepi niso bili aktivirani in uporabljeni v praksi, ostajajo pa veljavni in na voljo državnim organom obeh držav. Medtem ko med ukrepi obstajajo očitne podobnosti, pa so dejanski družbeni konteksti, v katerih so bili sprejeti, povsem različni. Drži, da se Avstrija in Slovenija nahajata na isti begunski poti od jugovzhoda proti severozahodu, toda statistični podatki za obe državi kažejo zelo različno sliko. Medtem ko je med 1. januarjem 2015 in 31. decembrom 2020 v Avstriji za azil zaprosilo 196.767 ljudi, jih je v Sloveniji v istem obdobju zaprosilo samo 13.305.

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MIXED MIGRATION AFTER THE TALIBAN TAKEOVER IN AFGHANISTAN: STATE CAPACITY AND PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS IN BULGARIA

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ABSTRACT

Mixed Migration After the Taliban Takeover in Afghanistan: State Capacity and Public Perceptions in Bulgaria

In light of the Taliban takeover in Afghanistan in August 2021, this paper aims to analyze both the Bulgarian population's attitudes toward newcomers and the capacity of the Republic of Bulgaria to manage mixed migration adequately. Toward this aim, a public perceptions survey was conducted in the cities of Harmanli and Sofia, where four out of five migrant registration and reception centers (RRCs) in Bulgaria are located. The authors argue that the state's difficulties in coping with an increased influx of migrants and their possible integration are mainly due to its apparent refusal to take the lead in this regard and the lack of communication with the local population, especially where RRCs are situated.

KEYWORDS: refugees, asylum seekers, migration, armed conflict, local perceptions, Afghanistan

IZVLEČEK

Mešane migracije po talibanskem prevzemu oblasti v Afganistanu: zmogljivosti države in percepcije javnosti v Bolgariji

Cilj prispevka je analizirati odnos prebivalcev Bolgarije do prišlekov ter zmožnosti Republike Bolgarije za upravljanje mešanih migracij v okoliščinah talibanskega prevzema oblasti v Afganistanu. V ta namen je bila opravljena raziskava javnega mnenja v mestih Harmanli in Sofija, v katerih se nahajajo štirje izmed petih centrov za registracijo in sprejem migrantov v Bolgariji. Avtorja argumentirata, da vzroki za težave države pri spoprijemanju s povečanim prihodom migrantov in njihovo potencialno integracijo ležijo predvsem v dozdevnem zavračanju države, da bi pri tem zavzela proaktivno držo, ter v pomanjkanju komunikacije z lokalnim prebivalstvom, zlasti na območjih, kjer se nahajajo centri za registracijo in sprejem.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: begunci, prosilci za azil, migracije, oboroženi spopadi, lokalne percepcije, Afganistan

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INTRODUCTION

The significant refugee and migration influx of the mid-2010s toward the EU led to disputes and tensions between the member states over its present and future. Nowadays, "the open border" policy issue has become so unpopular that even countries that previously supported it have become more reserved in their actions in terms of accepting asylum seekers. Over the last two years, the situation in the EU in this respect has been relatively calm, mainly due to the COVID-19 pandemic and the related restrictive measures put in place regarding traveling within and between countries. In fact, compared to 2019, in 2020 at the EU level, there was a decrease of 32% in asylum applications (European Asylum Support Office, 2021: 72) and a 24% decrease in first residence permits issued (European Commission, 2021). Nonetheless, with high vaccination rates in most countries in the Western world and the perception that some political shifts favor migration globally, changes have already started. For example, the migrant influx to the United States has increased significantly since the election of Joe Biden as US president (Miroff, 2021; Camarata & Zeigler, 2021).

Against this background, the Doha Agreement of February 29, 2020, and the decision of the NATO Allies of April 2021 to start a withdrawal, among other internal and external circumstances, led to the Taliban's takeover and seizure of power in August 2021. This takeover, in turn, resulted in another impetus for the local people to flee the country. Since then, the health and economic situation in Afghanistan has been deteriorating. The World Food Programme (2021) notes that only 5% of Afghan families (10% among those considered middle class) have enough to eat daily. At the same time, the loss of jobs and skyrocketing prices severely affect most of the population. Even before the withdrawal of the foreign military forces, the humanitarian situation in Afghanistan was already one of the worst at the global level. In fact, at the beginning of 2021 alone, nearly 18.4 million people needed some form of humanitarian assistance (United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, 2021).

Under such circumstances, an increase in mixed migration toward the EU countries was expected, although not at the same pace as it was in the mid-2010s. While one can suggest that most countries are prepared in terms of administrative capacity compared to the situation a few years ago, some are not prepared. We argue that the Republic of Bulgaria is among the latter. Not surprisingly, the worsening living conditions in Afghanistan have caused particular concerns in Bulgaria. To some extent, these concerns can be attributed to the fact that Bulgaria is considered to have the fastest-shrinking population in the world (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019: 12) and the lowest standard of living of all EU member states. At the same time, there is a visible literature gap in the study of public perceptions of where the RRCs are located. Moreover, the state authorities have proved in many cases that strategically important changes, including political ones, regarding irregular migration are undertaken exclusively once a particular (tragic) event has occurred rather than in a proactive and preventive way. Therefore, this paper explores the state's capacity to cope with a new influx of asylum seekers and migrants in general and the local population's perceptions of newcomers in such a situation.

The paper does not consider the armed conflict in Ukraine resulting from the Russian military aggression in February 2022 as it did not happen at the time of writing, nor is any other data available after January 31, 2022.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The relationship between mixed migration, armed conflicts, and voluntary migration has been particularly evident in the EU in the aftermath of the so-called "open-door policy" declared in 2015 by former German Chancellor Angela Merkel. In the literature, the concept of mixed migration was intended in the 1990s to distinguish more clearly those protected by the International Refugee Law from those who were not (Linde, 2011). However, with broader connotations introduced over the years, the concept leads to a risk of amalgamation and confusion between security, economic, and political-related considerations, and humanitarian concerns" (Linde, 2011). The UNHCR (2016) regards mixed migration as "flows of people who travel together, but for different reasons: they are either forced to flee their homes due to armed conflict or persecution or migrate voluntarily in search of a better life." This distinction is still the predominant separating line between forced migrants/refugees and voluntary migrants (International Organization for Migration, 2019: 15).

Concerning mixed movements to and through Bulgaria, it should be noted that, geographically, the country has always been on the path of migrants of different nationalities. In the case of mixed migration from Afghanistan, crossing Bulgaria is part of one of the two primary routes to reach the EU, especially for young people with fewer financial resources (Nimkar & Frouws, 2018: 10).

In general, irregular migration and refugee integration are relatively new topics for scholars in Bulgaria. Since the end of the totalitarian regime in Bulgaria in 1989, emigration and the country's demographic crisis have dominated the academic field. The issue of asylum seekers has become popular among scholars in Bulgaria amid the increased migrant influx due to the armed conflict in Syria. Concerning this, Krasteva (2021: 70–71) notes that despite the small number of refugees on Bulgarian territory, a rapidly growing number of studies in this area is observed. According to her, this "paradoxical characteristic" is mainly due to the active policy of the UNHCR – Bulgaria and the participation of Bulgarian researchers in international projects (Krasteva, 2021: 70–71).

More often than not, the research in this field in Bulgaria has been with a particular focus on policies related to refugee integration and asylum seekers. For example, Nancheva (2016) argues that certain narratives and practices across the

Bulgarian–Turkish border "undermine the notion of protection," while Krasteva (2021: 64) further states that populism and anti-migration discourses have a significant negative impact on integration policies and practices. Other scholars argue that public attitudes affect the implementation of state policies related to international protection and the integration process, apart from the lack of clarity and specificity of the national policies in this respect (Nakova, 2021: 135–135). Health aspects of the refugee and migration influx as a potential threat (Mihaylova-Garnizova & Garnizov, 2018) and terrorism and radicalization have also been among the main research topics (e.g., CSD, 2015).

Some surveys about the Bulgarian citizens' perceptions toward refugees and migrants, in general, have also been conducted. Two of those, one by the UNHCR in 2019 and the other by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS) in 2020, suggest that the lack of direct contact between the majority of Bulgarians and refugees leads to impressions and perceptions among the former toward the latter based mainly on media and social networks (UNHCR, 2020: 5). Both surveys also state that most Bulgarians tend to show more tolerance and acceptance toward refugees than toward economic migrants (UNHCR, 2020: 7).

In another survey, the poor economic conditions in Bulgaria and the likelihood that there could be terrorists among the newcomers were indicated as the main reasons for Bulgarian citizens' reluctance toward possible refugee integration in the country (Kyuchukov, 2016: 8–9). In fact, the public representation of asylum seekers and irregular migrants contributes to forming certain local attitudes toward them. According to Erolova (2017: 369), since 2013, apart from the number of asylum seekers, their public image in Bulgaria has also been influenced by their media coverage and political discourse.

A special focus on asylum seekers and migrants arriving from Afghanistan in Bulgaria, however, can be observed mainly in the mainstream media. To a certain extent, this is understandable, as the Taliban takeover happened in August 2021. Moreover, although in previous years, the Taliban were seen to play a crucial role in the migration movements from the country toward the EU, Afghanistan was regarded as a relatively safe country (Dimitriadi, 2017: 35). This perception was also reflected in a large number of refusals to Afghan asylum applications, including in Bulgaria. However, at the same time, other scholars argue that the civilian population was generally in grave danger all across the country during the presence of the international forces there (e.g., Mesovic & Pichl, 2017).

Generally, the current situation in Afghanistan has not been seen as similar to the situation in Syria from the mid-2010s. Sayed et al. (2021), for example, suggest that a new Afghan refugee influx would mainly depend on the type of rule of the Taliban, including in the human rights area, as well as the economic circumstances. In case such a crisis emerges, it is more likely that, in the short term, it would affect primarily Pakistan and Iran and possibly some central Asian countries (Sayed et al., 2021). In previous migration waves, most Afghans fled to Iran and Pakistan and then returned to Afghanistan with the power shift in the country (Elliott & Segal, 2012: 230). In addition, Villa (2021), among others, states that it is highly improbable that a significant number of refugees from Afghanistan will come to the EU as they also depend on the situation in transit countries such as Turkey and Iran.

On the other hand, despite the involvement of many Western countries in the war in Afghanistan, their role in taking refugees has been limited mainly to individuals who previously worked for them or were part of the State apparatus (Loft, 2021: 12). Lieven (2021) among others, underlines that the United States and their Western allies are supposed to take in and give protection to many Afghans who worked for them during the presence of the foreign military forces in Afghanistan as this is mainly a moral duty. However, some (Batha & Saif, 2021; The Economic Times, 2021) argue that the brain drain from Afghanistan of both men and women who actively participated in the country's development in the last two decades is disruptive for many achievements in numerous public areas such as education and civil rights protection.

ASYLUM SEEKERS' SITUATION IN BULGARIA IN 2021

Despite the COVID-19 pandemic around the world and the related restrictive travel measures, in the second semester of 2021, there was an increase in asylum-seeker applications in Bulgaria. During the first half of 2021, the number of people seeking international protection in the country was 2,277, almost six times higher than in the same period in 2020 (State Agency for Refugees, 2022). Furthermore, in August–December 2021 alone, another 7,864 asylum seekers were registered, while their total number in 2021 reached 10,999 (State Agency for Refugees, 2022). This number is three times that of the total number of asylum applications in 2017–2019. All this suggests that the intra-Afghan peace negotiations failure and the Taliban takeover, with its economic and social consequences in Afghanistan, seriously impacted the number of asylum seekers in Bulgaria in 2021. Most were Afghans, 6,026, followed by Syrians, 3,758 (State Agency for Refugees, 2022), as shown in Figure 1, compared to 1,736 and 1,089 asylum seekers, respectively, from both countries in 2020.

Furthermore, although Syrian citizens were the leading group of asylum seekers in Bulgaria during the civil war in Syria between January 1, 1993, and December 31, 2021, the number of asylum seekers from Afghanistan was the highest, 36,437, followed by that of Syrians, 27,837 (State Agency for Refugees, 2022). These numbers suggest that Bulgaria is familiar to Afghans as a transit country.

In addition, in the first nine months of 2021, five thousand Afghans arrived and/or transited through Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia, and Kosovo in comparison with 10,940 in the same period of 2020 (UNHCR, 2021: 2). To some extent, we can see this decrease as a result of the increased number of Afghans choosing the route to the EU through Bulgaria.

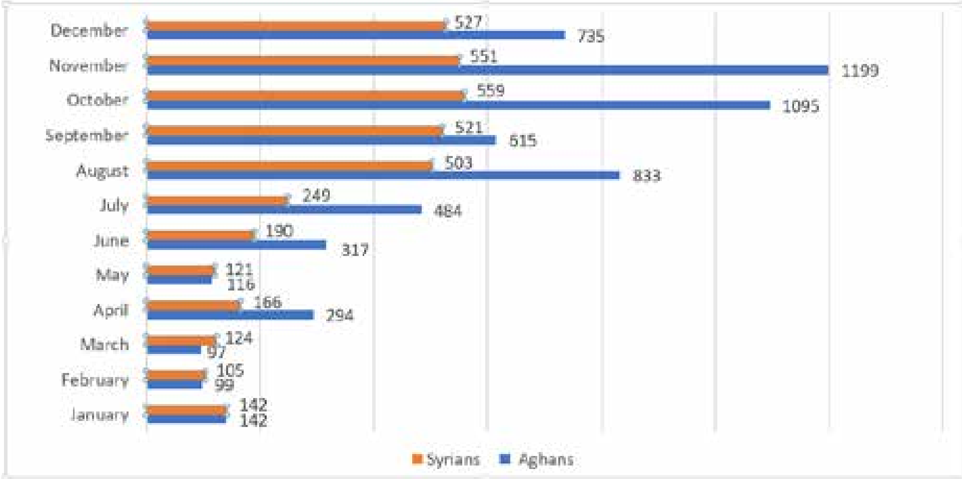

Figure 1: The number of asylum seekers from Afghanistan and Syria in 2021 per month. Data: State Agency for Refugees, 2022.

Furthermore, the number of irregular third-country citizens detained in Bulgaria in 2021 amounted to 10,799, which is 3.1 times greater than in 2020 (Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Bulgaria, 2021a: 2). In this regard, the number of Afghans in the second half of 2021 was 6,111 (Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Bulgaria, 2021a: 3).

The current situation evokes comparisons with the so-called refugee and migrant crisis of the mid-2010s. Although Bulgaria was not so deeply affected by that crisis, mainly because of the intentions of the migrants not to remain in the country, some risks and uncertainties in managing an increase in mixed migration have persisted. This situation is due to two main reasons. On the one hand, the state has not achieved considerable progress in refugee integration. On the other hand, 10,999 asylum seekers in 2021 is a number that had not been registered in the country since 2013–2016, when the numbers were 7,144, 11,081, 20,391, and 19,418, respectively. In contrast, in 2017–2020, the highest number of asylum applications was 3,700 in 2017 (State Agency for Refugees, 2021).

NATIONAL POLICY TOWARD ASYLUM SEEKERS IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE TALIBAN TAKEOVER

Despite Bulgaria's existing normative and legislative base concerning the migration and integration of third-country nationals, the state policy remains unclear or is not consistently implemented. For instance, the National Strategy of the Republic of Bulgaria on Migration and Integration (2008–2015) emphasized that the policy on admission and integration of third-country nationals was based on a consensus reached between all social partners, the non-governmental sector, and academia, including holding a broad public debate on the matter (National Council on Migration, Borders, Asylum and Integration, 2008: 26). However, at the time of writing, such a debate had not been initiated.

Furthermore, implementing a consistent and lasting policy on refugees and asylum seekers was intended to be based on two primary key points: the implementation of the then National Program for the Integration of Refugees (NPIR) and the implementation of the Multiannual and Annual Programs of the European Refugee Fund (National Council on Migration, Borders, Asylum and Integration, 2008: 29). However, the NPIR has not been active since 2013, and it can be considered mainly unsuccessful.

In 2011, the National Strategy on Migration, Asylum and Integration (2011–2020) was adopted, which led to the revision of the then National Strategy on Migration and Integration and its transformation into a Migration and Integration Program (2008–2015) (National Council on Migration Policy, 2011: 43). The new strategy's primary purpose was "to develop a policy framework providing a comprehensive and sustainable regulatory and institutional basis for ensuring the successful management of legal migration and integration while preventing and counteracting illegal migration (National Council on Migration Policy, 2011: 5). Nonetheless, refugee integration was more or less related in the document as a matter of learning the Bulgarian language. The information regarding how to assist those who had been granted international protection in finding a job was mostly generalized without going into further details (National Council on Migration Policy, 2011: 27).

In 2017, an Ordinance on the terms and procedures for concluding, enforcing, and terminating the integration agreement of beneficiaries of international protection was adopted to promote refugee integration. Its success, however, was very limited as no state funding was provided (European Commission, n.d.).

However, it should be noted that refugees see Bulgaria mainly as a transit country. Thus, most of them do not intend to remain. As Iliev (2017: 17) argues, roughly 80–90% of the asylum seekers in Bulgaria go to Western countries or at least plan to do so.

As no state-governed refugee integration policies in Bulgaria can be defined as successful, more NGOs have been involved in refugee integration, with some of their integration activities even more successful than the state's. Consequently, on the one hand, many Bulgarians have lost trust in the state institutions' capacity to cope with the increased number of asylum seekers and their possible integration. On the other hand, NGO activities have surprisingly generated negative perceptions among the local population that has predominantly seen them as external actors. Against this backdrop, what usually follows is the spread of populism with respective consequences for the country's political, economic, and social development.

Furthermore, although the Government Management Program for 2017–2021 ranked the sustainable solution to the migration problem among the country's main foreign policy priorities, one may perceive that the leading role should come from outside and not from the state. The program itself outlined the importance of joint efforts and common decisions at the EU level, including the implementation of all aspects of the March 2016 EU-Turkey Joint Statement, as well as the Partnership Framework with third countries on the European Agenda on Migration (Council of Ministers, 2017: 13).

Since 2016, specific policies related to the situation in Afghanistan have not been adopted. In the National Strategy on Migration of the Republic of Bulgaria 2021–2025, Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan are indicated as key third countries for achieving effective migration governance through dialogue and partnership (National Council on Migration, Borders, Asylum and Integration, 2021: 35). At the same time, though, it should be noted that according to the Updated National Security Strategy, "migration is becoming a long-term and deepening problem with the risk, if left unmanaged, to become a strategic threat to the democratic societies and economies in the transit countries and those of final destination" (Council of Ministers, 2018). Regardless of the likelihood that there could be terrorists among the migrants, such statements can still contribute to growing hostility among the local population toward asylum seekers.

More recently, amid the security and political crisis in Afghanistan in August 2021, the then Bulgarian prime minister Stefan Yanev declared that the country would give asylum to up to 70 Afghan refugees, all of whom had previously worked with the Bulgarian Embassy in Kabul (Council of Ministers, 2021).

METHODOLOGY

This paper includes two anonymous surveys of Bulgarian citizens aged 18 and over currently living in the country and aims to examine their attitudes toward the migrants accommodated in the RRCs, especially in the aftermath of the Taliban takeover in Afghanistan.

The first survey was conducted among 84 residents in different places in the town of Harmanli, of which 50 were interviewed face to face within two days in September 2021, and the rest completed an online questionnaire on October 15–16, 2021. This town was chosen because it houses Bulgaria's biggest RRC for those applying for international protection. Also, it is located only 45 kilometers from the border with Turkey and has a total population of 18,589, according to the 2011 Population Census (National Statistical Institute, 2022). In addition, with the increase of the people accommodated there, the center has attracted the attention of politicians and the public several times, once leading to physical violence and the intervention of the police authorities (e.g., Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, 2016).

The second survey was conducted in October 2021 within four days in different locations in Sofia—Bulgaria's capital and largest city—including close to the RCC. Its sample consists of 136 respondents, of whom 78 were surveyed face-to-face and the rest online, similar to the first survey.

The participation of the respondents was fully anonymous and voluntary. The survey, elaborated in Bulgarian, included sixteen questions, five related to participants' gender, age, religious belief, educational degree, and country of origin. The rest of the questions—requiring an answer based on a five-*point* Likert *scale*—were directly related to the possible increased influx of refugees and migrants as a consequence of the security and economic situation in Afghanistan. The results of the study are presented below.

The study also explores normative documents and official data regarding asylum seekers and irregular migration in Bulgaria.

SURVEY ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Many of those surveyed, respectively, 44.9% in Sofia and 38.1% in Harmanli, were not familiar with the conditions in the RRCs in Bulgaria (Figure 3). In addition, almost three times more people in Harmanli (27.4%) compared to the respondents in Sofia (10.3%) stated that the conditions in those centers were definitely suitable for migrants. At the same time, a total of 31.6% in Sofia and 17.8% in Harmanli consider the conditions in the RRC in Bulgaria unsuitable for the people accommodated in them. Similar to other answers given by the respondents, this perception could be attributed to the fact that many people in Harmanli are in daily direct contact with the migrants from Harmanli's RRC.

Against this background, more than half of the respondents (56% in Harmanli and 58.8% in Sofia) find the actions of the Bulgarian authorities inadequate in terms of the migrants' stay in the country (those expressing certainty were 29.8% and 17.6% respectively). Unlike the replies to the previous question, this could be explained by the overall lack of trust in the state authorities. Regarding this, for example, 67% of Bulgarian citizens consider most or all country's parliament members corrupt and constantly show the lowest level of trust in the state institutions within the EU (Kukutschka/Transparency International, 2021: 14–17).

It is worth noting the difference in the opinions of the people living in Harmanli and Sofia regarding possible discrimination of migrants and refugees by both the Bulgarian authorities and the local population. In Harmanli, 80.9% do not think that the migrants are discriminated against by the Bulgarian authorities or the local people (60.7%), while in Sofia, the percentages are 45.5% and 30.2%, respectively. Only 4.8% in Harmanli state that migrants and refugees are discriminated against by the Bulgarian authorities, while in Sofia, a similar opinion is expressed by 39%, i.e., approximately eight times more people (the difference is four times when it comes to the answer "definitely yes"). In addition, 30.9% of the respondents in Harmanli and 64.7% of those in Sofia think migrants and refugees are discriminated against by the local population.

Moreover, 47.8% in Sofia and 50.2% in Harmanli find that asylum seekers should not be granted free healthcare services during their stay in Bulgaria. The opposite is stated by 37.5% in Sofia and 32.2% in Harmanli. Although the survey itself did not reveal the motive, a few respondents pointed out as a reason for their negative answer that healthcare services are not free of charge, even for many Bulgarian citizens, including themselves. Based on the answers gathered and the authors' own observations, we argue that the responsible institutions failed to present the necessary information to the local population in an acceptable way, i.e., there is poor communication between the state and the Bulgarian citizens in terms of asylum seekers.

Most of the people surveyed in Harmanli (82.1%) and Sofia (64.7%) also consider that asylum seekers must not stay in Bulgaria permanently. The difference between the answers in Harmanli and Sofia is even more visible when it comes to a "definitely no" position: almost twice as many people in Harmanli (60.7%) compared to those in Sofia (36%). At the same time, only 1.2% in Harmanli and 0.7% in Sofia state the exact opposite. The reasons for such public attitudes can be various. For example, "politically correct talk" often sidesteps the real problems, thus creating the conditions to generate fears of refugees (Kyuchukov, 2016: 2) as well as the lack or failure of integration policies, to name just a few.

The abovementioned percentages could also be seen as related to the answers to some of the other survey questions. For example, 77.3% of the respondents in Harmanli state that Bulgaria is not morally obliged to accept refugees from Afghanistan, given the security situation there. At the same time, the percentage rises to 85% when it concerns people fleeing other armed conflict countries. Once again, those saying "definitely no" to this question were significantly more in Harmanli (57.1%) than in Sofia (25.7%) in terms of accepting refugees from Afghanistan, and 48.8% and 27.9%, respectively, for refugees from other conflict-torn states. We argue that such answers are related not only to the reasons stated above but also to the economic difficulties that many Bulgarians experience. Many respondents in Harmanli share the opinion that they feel neglected by the state at the expense of asylum seekers in the allocation of limited state financial resources. Therefore, the state authorities should encourage constructive communication with its citizens rather than creating a feeling among them that they are in a competitive situation with asylum seekers.

Concerning refugee integration, 71.5% of respondents in Harmanli and 58.8% of those in Sofia think that those who have been granted protection cannot be integrated socially and economically. These percentages are 41.7% and 20.6%, respectively, for the "definitely no" answer. Although this question could be seen as misleading as it includes both economic and social aspects, we considered other surveys, such as those previously mentioned conducted by UNHCR and the BAS, regarding the familiarity of Bulgarian citizens with the refugee issue to avoid confusion among the respondents.

The poor performance of the state institutions could be considered a possible reason for the strong doubts about the integration of asylum seekers. In fact, 58.3% of the respondents in Harmanli and 62.5% in Sofia indicate that the state has not done enough to integrate refugees, unlike the 21.5% and 14.7%, respectively, who share the opposite view (Figure 2).

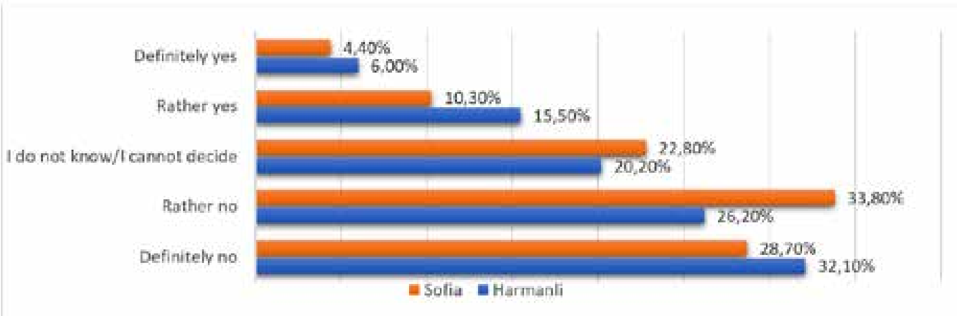

Figure 2: Do you consider the work of the Bulgarian institutions regarding the integration of refugees successful?

The most striking answers were registered to the question of the efficiency of the border fence between Bulgaria and Turkey (Figure 3) constructed by the Bulgarian authorities and completed in 2017. Most (85.7%) of the respondents in Harmanli indicated that the fence had not served its purpose well (70.2% with absolute certainty). In Sofia, these numbers were 81.5% and 48.5%, respectively. Such answers should not be surprising since even the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Bulgaria (2021b) published a video revealing the current poor condition of some parts of the fence.

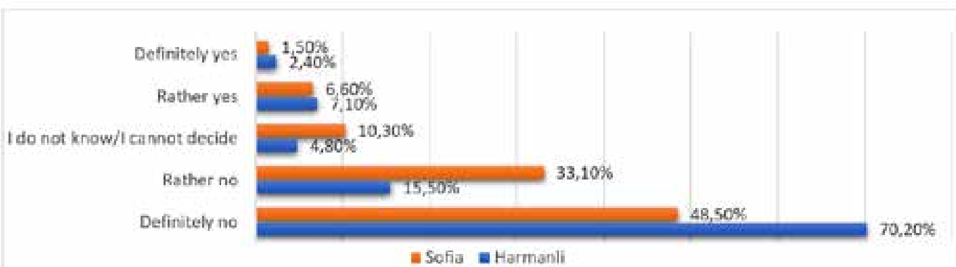

Figure 3: Do you think that the border fence on the Bulgarian–Turkish border stops illegal migrant crossings into Bulgaria?

As the answers show, all respondents expressed certainty toward discouraging the acceptance and integration of asylum seekers and the lack of trust in the state institutions in Harmanli. These results could be explained by the fact that the town is located near the Bulgarian–Turkish border, and the RRC is right in the town center. In addition, the ratio between the number of migrants accommodated there and the town's population can be another reason for the definitive answers to the question.

In addition, the lack of trust in the government institutions is hard to be compensated with some presumably great amount of trust in the EU ones. Especially when Afghanistan's security and economic situation in 2021 further created doubts about the usefulness of the 2016 EU-Turkey migration deal. That agreement raised concerns among members of the EU parliament, humanitarian organizations, and human-rights activists regarding the fate of those fleeing armed conflicts. Moreover, it also led to assumptions that, in this way, a vicious practice can be created and promoted to cope with an increased influx of migrants. Actually, on November 9, 2021, the Russian minister of foreign affairs suggested that the EU should similarly pay Belarus in order for the latter to stop irregular migration through its borders to the member states (Osborn & Antonov, 2021).

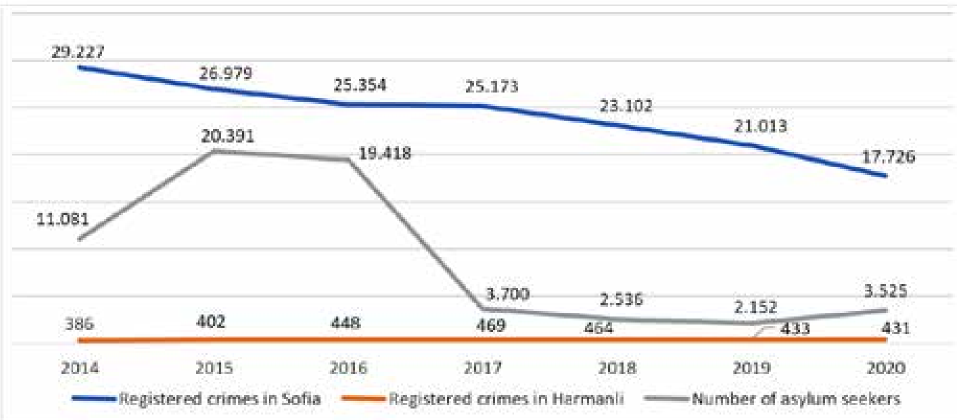

Figure 4: Registered crimes in Sofia and Harmanli vs. the Total number of asylum seekers in Bulgaria in 2014–2020. Data: Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Bulgaria, 2022.

Apart from the survey questions, many of the respondents in Harmanli shared that they were concerned about their own personal security or that of their relatives, mainly children. Those concerns stem from migrants in the RCC freely roaming constantly and at all times, although they were not allowed to leave the RCC after a specific hour of the night. According to locals, "the situation would have been much calmer if the centers were of a closed type." Some could interpret this concern as fear of the "foreign." As Bauman (2016: 14) states, being foreigners, migrants and refugees are dangerously unpredictable; hence, we do not know how to control the situation. At the same time, it could also be seen as a sign of the state's poor capacity to deal with an increased migrant influx.

In light of the above-stated, no positive correlation has been found between the increase in the number of asylum seekers and the registered crimes in Harmanli and Sofia over the last few years (Figure 4). In Sofia, for instance, the number of registered crimes since 2014 has been gradually decreasing, although from 2014 to 2016, a large number of asylum seekers were housed there. On the other hand, in Harmanli, there is a slight increase in crimes, though it is so insignificant that it cannot be linked to the other indicator. Moreover, of all registered crimes in the two cities, only a small part was allegedly committed by foreign citizens (Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Bulgaria, 2022).

CONCLUSION

In 2021, Bulgaria witnessed a significant increase in the number of people seeking international protection, especially in the aftermath of the Taliban takeover in Afghanistan. Taking this fact into account, the state's role in dealing with irregular migration and refugee integration has come to the fore again. It cannot and should not be replaced by an NGO or another type of organization. The state's active role is crucial in contributing to a positive perception of the local population toward asylum seekers and fostering cooperation and coordination between the state, NGOs, and other stakeholders.

Despite some concerns in Bulgaria, it is currently unlikely that many Afghans intend to settle in the country. This assumption is not only based on the two decades of Afghan asylum seekers seeing Bulgaria mainly as a transit country but also on the lack of any significant refugee communities in the country due to a low international protection recognition rate, as Brown and Krasteva (2013: 97) state.

Similar inferences can be made based on refugee integration-related normative documents in Bulgaria. Although the country has adopted several national strategic documents, most were or are literally left only on paper. The state's passivity has resulted in strong doubts and distrust of the people living in Harmanli and Sofia about the Bulgarian institutions' capacity to deal with an increased influx of migrants and refugee integration.

It should be emphasized that such a situation can bring about another rise in populism. Although it is very unlikely to find a positive correlation between the registered crimes in Harmanli and Sofia and the number of asylum seekers in Bulgaria, the demographic crisis in the country and the poor communication between the state and the local population can be exploited by political actors. Most of the answers in the conducted survey suggest that. Therefore, it is necessary to introduce an approach toward both the local population and asylum seekers where a more central role of the state in refugee integration is reinforced and sufficiently visible.

This study has its limitations, particularly regarding the survey population size. Thus, nationally representative studies in Bulgaria on public perception toward asylum seekers from different conflict zones (and not only) would benefit all stakeholders involved in dealing with asylum seekers and refugee integration. Also, the communication between the state authorities and the local population should be further studied. Such studies might help avoid the misrepresentation of information and fake news that contribute to negative attitudes among local citizens.

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POVZETEK

MEŠANE MIGRACIJE PO TALIBANSKEM PREVZEMU OBLASTI V AFGANISTANU: ZMOGLJIVOSTI DRŽAVE IN PERCEPCIJE JAVNOSTI V BOLGARIJI

Atanas Dimitrov, Vasil Pavlov

Povečana negotovost v različnih državah in območjih po svetu se pogosto povezuje s povečevanjem mešanih migracij. Talibanski prevzem oblasti v Afganistanu ni v tem pogledu nikakršna izjema. Ker je v državah članicah EU prišlo do razhajanja mnenj glede begunske in migracijske politike že pri oboroženem konfliktu v Siriji, ne preseneča, da še ena varnostna kriza na Bližnjem vzhodu ni bila sprejeta z navdušenjem. Bolgarija je imela kot država z zunanjo mejo EU glede tega še posebne težave. Talibansko strmoglavljenje vlade v Afganistanu je kljub pandemiji bolezni Covid-19 ter omejitvam potovanj znotraj in med državami po vsem svetu, ki smo jim bili priča v zadnjih dveh letih, povzročilo znatno povečanje prošenj za azil v Bolgariji. Samo v letu 2021 je za azil v tej državi zaprosilo več ljudi kot v celotnem obdobju 2018–2020.

V tej luči avtorja študije analizirata zmožnost države za spopadanje s povečanim prihodom migrantov, vključno z integracijo beguncev. Pri tem zagovarjata stališče, da se Bolgarija še vedno sooča s precejšnjimi težavami na tem področju, kar je mogoče razumeti kot hudo opustitev dolžnosti, zlasti z vidika tako imenovane begunske in migrantske krize sredi prejšnjega desetletja.

Avtorja navajata, da v času pisanja prispevka na splošno niso bile pripravljene nobene posebne strategije ali podobni dokumenti na nacionalni ravni, ki bi obravnavali problematiko beguncev in migrantov po talibanskem prevzemu oblasti v Afganistanu. Poleg tega so bile na področju integracije prišlekov nevladne organizacije aktivnejše od državnih organov.

V takšnih okoliščinah je ključnega pomena odnos lokalnega prebivalstva do prišlekov. Rezultati študije, izvedene na to temo, kažejo predvsem na slabo komunikacijo med državo in lokalnim prebivalstvom ter na nejasno vlogo državnih organov pri soočanju z velikim migracijskim pritiskom na svojih mejah. Avtorja trdita, da je nepripravljenost države, da bi prevzela pobudo in zavzela proaktivno vlogo pri ustreznem upravljanju mešanih migracij, negativno vplivala na percepcije bolgarskih državljanov, ki živijo v Harmanliju in Sofiji (kjer se nahajajo štirje izmed petih centrov za registracijo in sprejem migrantov v Bolgariji).

Vse našteto lahko vodi v porast populizma, do česar je v nedavni preteklosti že prišlo. Zato je nujno oblikovati nov pristop do prosilcev za azil in lokalnega prebivalstva, ki bo okrepil in postavil v ospredje ključno vlogo države pri integraciji beguncev.

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THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC AND REFLECTIONS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF REINTEGRATION STRATEGIES FOR RETURNEE MIGRANT WORKERS

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ABSTRACT

The COVID-19 Pandemic and Reflections on the Importance of Reintegration Strategies for Returnee Migrant Workers

This study aims to analyze the reintegration problems faced by Indonesian Migrant Workers (IMWs). This study was conducted using a qualitative design in Indramayu Regency, Indonesia. Data was collected from IMWs who returned during the pandemic, brokers, and the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency (BP2MI) staff and analyzed descriptively. The results showed that returnee migrants face problems such as the inability to manage remittances, poor investment choices, and the inability to run a business. A comprehensive reintegration policy is needed starting from pre-departure until the migrants return to their country of origin.

KEYWORDS: migrant workers, COVID-19 pandemic, reintegration, Indonesia, return migration

IZVLEČEK

Pandemija bolezni Covid-19 in razmišljanja o pomenu strategij reintegracije vračajočih se delavcev migrantov

Namen študije je analizirati težave z reintegracijo, s katerimi se srečujejo indonezijski delavci migranti. Študija je bila narejena s kvalitativnim pristopom v okrožju Indramayu v Indoneziji. Avtorji so podatke pridobili od delavcev migrantov, ki so se vrnili v času pandemije, posrednikov in uslužbencev indonezijske agencije za zaščito delavcev migrantov (BP2MI) ter jih opisno analizirali. Rezultati so pokazali, da se migranti povratniki srečujejo s težavami, kot so nezmožnost upravljanja z nakazili, slabe odločitve glede investicij ter nezmožnost ukvarjanja s poslom. Potrebna je celovita politika reintegracije migrantov, od obdobja pred njihovim odhodom do njihove vrnitve v državo izvora.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: delavci migranti, pandemija Covid-19, Indonezija, povratne migracije

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INTRODUCTION

The COVID-19 pandemic, which first appeared in Wuhan, China, at the end of 2019, spread rapidly, becoming a global pandemic. Almost all the countries in the world were affected by policies to minimize the spread of the virus. One of the policies that governments adopted in various countries was the limitation of human mobility.

The employment sector was also affected by access restrictions imposed by almost all countries worldwide (Acharya & Patel, 2021; Puppa & Perocco, 2022). Migrant workers, as part of the global workforce, were vulnerable to employment problems. The International Labour Organization (ILO) stated that migrant workers constitute 4.7 percent, approximately 164 million, of the global workforce and some work in countries that required a shutdown during the COVID-19 pandemic (ILO, 2020).

According to the World Bank (2017), Indonesia is the second-largest sending country for migrant workers in Southeast Asia. The Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency (BP2MI) stated that the placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers (IMWs) experienced a drastic decline, especially in the 2020–2021 period (BP2MI, 2021), in addition to around 169,000 IMWs. They were repatriated due to the pandemic (Kompas, 2021). Social restrictions and declining economic conditions in the country of placement have drastically decreased IMW demand. The pandemic led to an increase in work-contract terminations, leading to a rise in Indonesian returnees.

This study focused on the problem faced by IMWs returning to Indonesia during the pandemic. Many of them were unprepared both economically and socially. Previous studies on migrant workers returning to their country of origin showed that the remittances generated are used to support household life back home (Bachtiar, 2011; Faeamani, 1995; Haller et al., 2018; Huy & Nonneman, 2016; Islam et al., 2012; Li et al., 2013; Mas'udah, 2020; Piras et al., 2018; Qin & Liao, 2016; Redehegn et al., 2019). However, studies that provided in-depth discussions on the problems of returnee migrant workers as well as reintegration efforts in their hometowns, specifically in Indonesia, have not received adequate attention from experts.

In the context of Indonesia, the discussion on reintegration strategies is an important issue, especially when it comes to the pandemic. The low education level of most IMWs is a problem for the returnees because approximately 60 percent possess primary elementary and junior high school education (BP2MI, 2021). Due to this, they find it challenging to compete in and enter the competitive domestic labor market. A reintegration strategy is required to reengage and participate in economic activities and maintain household livelihoods. Reintegration is the process of welcoming migrants back into their hometowns and local communities. It entails migrants returning to their hometown's values, reentering its social systems, and reactivating its social networks (Arowolo, 2000; IOM, 2011). Kuschminder (2017a) added another dimension, namely, access to resources and the labor market in the hometown.

Therefore, this study aims to analyze the reintegration problems faced by IMWs who returned during the pandemic. It aids policymakers in preparing reintegration programs to deal with the impact of the pandemic on migrant workers. A comprehensive policy is needed to mitigate and anticipate the problems of IMWs, specifically to ensure that those who have returned to their hometowns are not trapped in poverty again.

Furthermore, this study consists of several parts. Section two provides an overview of the conditions of IMWs during the pandemic. Section three determines the related to remigration and reintegration. The fourth and fifth sections evaluate the methods and analyze the workers' aspirations and problems. The sixth section reflects the relevance of workers' experiences and provides recommendations for developing an appropriate reintegration strategy.

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Indonesian migrant workers in the COVID-19 pandemic period

The COVID-19 pandemic led to global economic crises, with Indonesia experiencing economic recession due to growth contraction for four consecutive quarters, amounting to –2.07 percent in 2020 (BPS, 2021a). Indonesia has undergone three major economic crises in the last 25 years: the monetary crisis from 1997 to 1998 (Tarmidi, 1999), the global financial crisis in 2008 (Green, 2004), and the economic crisis during the COVID-19 pandemic. These crises all led to a loss of jobs and a decline in real incomes and standard of living.

The economic sector, mainly found in urban areas, comprises a larger country's population. Due to the financial crises caused by the pandemic, many migrants were laid off, which forced them to return to the village. However, those who return to the village cannot be fully absorbed in rural economic activities (Breman & Wiradi, 2002). The financial crisis in 1998 showed that many households overcame the effects of unemployment and poverty by sending their family members to work as non-formal workers in Saudi Arabia and Malaysia (Breman & Wiradi, 2002). Hugo (2000) reported that in the first year of the 1998 economic crisis, IMWs increased by 75%. This increase shows that remittances of migrant workers abroad can reduce the negative impact of the financial crisis and that migrating is a coping strategy to get out of poverty.

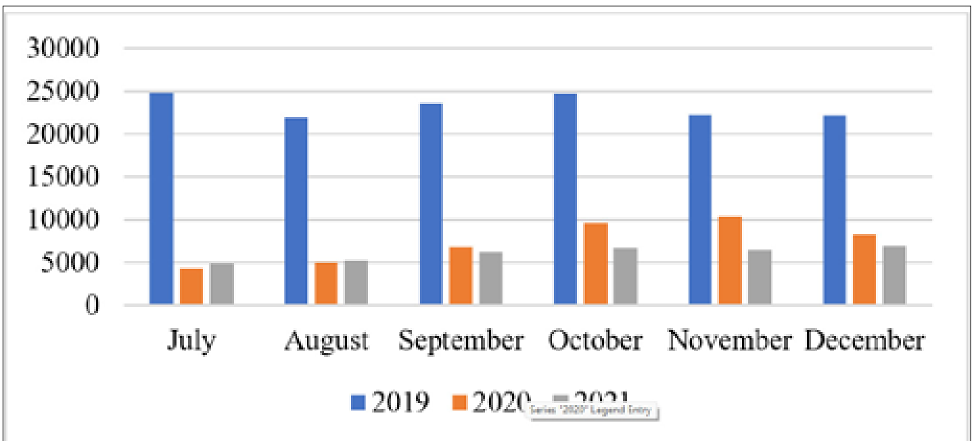
However, the problems faced during the pandemic were more complex, with an increase in the number of poor people due to the rise in the unemployment rate in Indonesia (BPS, 2020a; 2020b). The option to become a migrant worker was unavailable due to the postponement of the placement of migrant workers imposed by the Government of Indonesia and the placement countries.

According to the Indonesian Government, through the Decree of the Minister of Manpower Number 151 of 2020 concerning the Temporary Termination of the

Placement of Indonesian Workers, the termination was carried out by institutions serving the IMW placement process. These include the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency (BP2MI) through the Circular of the Deputy of Placement Number: SE.04/PEN/III/2020, which explained that the temporary suspension was carried out by putting all domestic management service stages, such as registration, verification, and demand for a letter from the agency on hold from March 20, 2020 (BP2MI, 2020). One of the factors to consider in determining this policy is the anticipation of implementing the lockdown policy imposed by the country of placement (Witono, 2021). However, this policy still allows IMW candidates with complete requirements, such as work visas and transportation tickets, to be dispatched as long as the country does not close the entrance for foreign workers.

As a result of the temporary suspension of IMW placement abroad from March to August 2020, 88,783 candidates had their departure delayed; meanwhile, by May 2020, as many as 126,742 had returned to Indonesia (BBC, 2020), both IMW whose contracts had expired or terminated due to the pandemic. This data shows that many candidates are currently in a situation of uncertainty about their source of livelihood.

On July 29, 2020, the Decree of the Minister of Manpower Number 151/2020 was revoked and replaced by Number 294/2020 concerning the Implementation of IMW Placements in the Adaptation of the New Customs Period. Although IMW registration has reopened, the number of placements has not returned to normal compared to before the pandemic, as shown in Figure 1. This is because many placement countries have not opened entrances to migrant workers from Indonesia.



Description: July–December 2019: conditions before the COVID-19 pandemic
July–December 2020 & 2021: conditions during the COVID-19 pandemic

Figure 1: IMW placement data for August–December 2019–2021 (source: BP2MI, 2021).

Several problems occurred along the labor migration chain due to the pandemic, starting from before departure to when the IMW returned to their country of origin, as shown in Table 1. This research focuses on analyzing the problems faced by IMWs when they return home during the pandemic. Many returnees have difficulty moving back to their countries of origin, specifically those planning to extend their contracts. Uncertainty about the source of income certainly affects the financial household condition.

Before Departure	In Placement Country	After Returning to Hometown
Departure uncertainty	The threat of job loss	The threat of not having a job for retired IMW
	Risk of increased workload (in the household sector, care, caregiving)	The decline in the household economy level.
	Stuck in social restrictions on the way home	

Table 1: Problems faced by IMW during the COVID-19 pandemic. Source: Sahude (2020) and summaries of various news in digital media (2020–2021).

This research was conducted in Indramayu Regency, the biggest "migrant area" in Indonesia, with an average annual migration rate of 7 percent (BP2MI, 2021). In summary, the agricultural sector is the primary sector of the economy in the Indramayu Regency. This regency is the highest rice-producing area, producing 25 percent of the national rice production in 2020 (BPS, 2021a). However, the "rice barn" title attached to this regency is not in line with the welfare level of its population, with approximately 13.04 percent living in poverty. It also has one of the highest percentages of poor people in West Java Province, even higher than the average percentage of poor people in Indonesia in 2021 (BPS, 2021b). Economic factors are the main driving force for working abroad. According to the Indramayu Regency Manpower Office, approximately one thousand migrant workers returned to Indramayu every month in 2020 because their contracts had expired (Ashri, 2020). The data also showed that a person experiences uncertainty and is also prone to be trapped in poverty.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Return migration theories

The term "return migration" describes the process of a person returning after migrating out of their country or region of origin (Bovenkerk, 1974; Cassarino, 2004). In line with the increasing flow of international migration, the discussion of return migration has been conducted in various studies, resulting in different theoretical approaches (Cassarino, 2004; Farrell et al., 2012).

The neoclassical economy (NE) theory explains that migration occurrence is not only driven by differences in wage levels between countries of origin and destination but by opportunities to obtain better jobs abroad (Todaro, 1969). Therefore, the NE theory views that return migration occurs due to migrants' inability to meet their expectations regarding obtaining a job and the expected income (Cassarino, 2004). In contrast, the theory of new economics of labor migration (NELM) views that migrants go abroad for a certain period and will return once they achieve these goals, such as earning a better income and successfully accumulating assets and savings (Cassarino, 2004; Stark & Bloom, 1985). Furthermore, King & Kuschminder (2020) reported that the NELM paradigm envisions migrants escaping poverty and establishing a profile of savings and remittances abroad. Upon return, this shift later contributes to the family's economic and social well-being. NE and NELM theories can explain migration from the perspective of migrants and their families without adequate analysis of the wider social context.

Cassarino (2004) stated that a structural approach could be used to analyze return migration based on social, institutional, and contextual factors in the area of origin. Like NELM, the structural approach views the financial factor and the economic resources brought to the area of origin as the critical point of migrants when deciding to return. On the other hand, the structural approach analyzes the successes and failures of returning migrants against the expectations of the surrounding communities (Hunter, 2011).

Hunter (2011) stated that the structural approach focuses on structural conditions in the country of origin and pays less attention to conditions associated with the migration destination. Furthermore, Cassarino (2004) also stated that the structural approach does not describe the interaction between the region and the destination area, despite promoting a transnational approach. The transnational approach can be seen as a form of social contact across national borders carried out by permanent and continuous migration (Hunter, 2011). This approach describes the social nature of migrants toward their hometowns (Farrell et al., 2012). Furthermore, migrants have a dual identity obtained from their original country of origin and destination. This duality means that returnees do not experience many difficulties when reintegrating into their countries of origin (Cassarino, 2004; Farrell et al., 2012).

To round out the discussion of the transnational approach, the social network theory is used with the assumption that returnees are actors who mobilize tangible and intangible resources to the country of origin. In the social network approach, social and institutional opportunities in the home country shape the motivation to return before deciding to return. Returnees use social and economic networks to help organize successful returns (Bilgili et al., 2018; Cassarino, 2004; Kuschminder, 2017b). Furthermore, Bilgili et al. (2018) stated that sending remittances has a significant social component in helping to uphold a favorable and stronger relationship with the social network in migrants' countries of origin for contractual and altruistic reasons. This finding means that returnees who stay in touch with their home country while away and can remit money are likely to have better living conditions once they return (Bilgili et al., 2018).

Several typologies of return migrants on readiness to return have been described by Haase & Honerath (2016) while adopting the explanation by De Haas (2016). These include 1) Involuntary return migrants, usually associated with those without legal status who experience failure of social or economic integration in the country of destination or are deported to the country of origin. Most in this group cannot mobilize resources such as social capital, networks, or knowledge after returning to their hometown. 2) Voluntary but unavoidable, namely migrants whose return appears voluntary but is a consequence of the end of their residence status or expired contract in the destination country. Migrants in this group are usually able to take advantage of the resources obtained from the destination country. However, they are also vulnerable to personal and psychological problems and a lack of motivation to reintegrate. 3) Voluntary return migrants have clear goals to return and have achieved goals, such as savings, skills, education, and business networks during migration. Their reintegration can encourage business development and create job opportunities. From the three typologies above, individual factors for return and reintegration, such as personalized networks in the country of origin, motivation, and successful labor market integration, are central to their willingness and readiness to return.

Return migration, reintegration, and sustainable return

According to Cassarino (2004) and Liao (2019), returnee migrants have the capacity to influence society by leveraging the knowledge and experience they gathered while living overseas. However, this potential can only be realized if the reintegration process goes smoothly. Reintegration issues have become increasingly complex in recent years due to increased international migration, necessitating government intervention (Arowolo, 2000; Preston, 1993).

Reintegration is defined as the process of welcoming migrants back into their hometowns and local communities. This process entails returning to their hometown's values, reentering its social systems, and reactivating its social networks (Arowolo, 2000; Lietaert & Kuschminder, 2021). Haase & Honerath (2016) and Liao (2019) reported several factors that influence the success of reintegration, including the readiness and desire of migrants to return, economic stability, and social ties and networks in the area of origin, as well as motivation to integrate into the local labor market. Successful reintegration in the country of origin, including economic, social, and psychosocial aspects, and the individual's capacity to cope with push factors contribute to a sustainable return (IOM, 2006). Therefore, it is not surprising that a person's socioeconomic situation, as well as the reasons for and aspirations behind their initial departure, have a significant impact on their reintegration processes (Lietaert & Kuschminder, 2021).

Reintegration and sustainable return are two concepts that are frequently discussed together or used interchangeably in the literature. Reintegration is necessary for a significant, sustainable return because it offers a comprehensive strategy that considers the dynamics of the economy, society, and security (Koser & Kuschminder, 2017). Similarly, Kuschminder (2017a) reported that reintegration is a process, not just an "insertion" back into one's previous culture and life.

MATERIAL AND METHOD

This study used a qualitative approach design to emphasize the social context needed to understand the meaning of social actions, events, or statements (Neuman, 2014). Furthermore, it sought to explore the experiences of migrants who returned during the pandemic to understand the realities and problems faced. To achieve this goal, a case study technique was used to explain how the object under study exists and why the case can occur (Yin, 2014).

The study was conducted in Kroya and Juntinyuat subdistricts, Indramayu Regency, West Java Province, Indonesia, one of the largest migrant worker enclaves (BP2MI, 2021). Data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews, and informal discussions with 14 migrant workers (Table 2). Informants were selected from migrants who returned during the COVID-19 pandemic from March 2020 to July 2021, as well as those who could describe the conditions in their surrounding environment. The data collected from these 14 informants were able to represent the problems of migrants who returned during the pandemic. The collection process was stopped because the category was saturated or because gathering new data did not generate new insights and properties (Charmaz, 2006; Creswell, 2014).

No	Gender	Age (Years)	Last Education Level	Length of Migration (Years)	Placement Country
1	Female	38	Elementary school graduate	4	Malaysia
2	Female	26	Senior high school graduate	6	Malaysia
3	Female	29	Senior high school graduate	4	Taiwan
4	Female	22	Senior high school graduate	3	Japan
5	Female	46	Junior high school graduate	6	Hong Kong

No	Gender	Age (Years)	Last Education Level	Length of Migration (Years)	Placement Country
6	Female	30	Junior high school graduate	3	Taiwan
7	Female	37	Elementary school graduate	6	Saudi Arabia
8	Female	25	College	3	Singapore
9	Male	40	Senior high school graduate	12	Taiwan
10	Female	38	Junior high school graduate	10	Taiwan
11	Male	36	Elementary school graduate	6	Qatar
12	Male	38	Elementary school graduate	6	Kuwait
13	Female	28	Elementary school graduate	4	Saudi Arabia
14	Female	46	Elementary school graduate	8	Malaysia

Table 2: Informant identity—returnee migrants during the pandemic.

In-depth interviews were also conducted with the Indramayu District BP2MI Staff, Kroya and Juntinyuat subdistrict officials, brokers, or sponsors in Indramayu Regency, and three prospective migrants whose departures were delayed. Moreover, this study also uses secondary data sourced from various government agencies, such as the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), BP2MI, newspapers, as well as literature related to migration and reintegration. Research into secondary sources was carried out to validate the data obtained from interviews and enrich the information on their conditions during the pandemic.

The collected data were transcribed into Indonesian and analyzed using Nvivo 12 Plus software. In the coding process, the informants' answers were classified regarding "reasons for being a migrant worker," "desire to return," "plans when returning to their hometown," "use of remittances," "how do you live your current life," "satisfaction with your current life," and "are you interested in returning to being a migrant worker." After the coding process, the data was analyzed through a "project map" as a guide to explain the results.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Typology of IMWs who returned during the COVID-19 pandemic

The typology of returnee migrants is grouped through two simple questions, namely "individual desire to return" and "readiness and ability to return" (De Haas, 2016; Haase & Honerath, 2016). Therefore, the analysis results showed that IMWs who returned to Indramayu Regency during the pandemic can be grouped into two categories. The first group is migrants who want to return and have no intention of returning to work abroad by not extending their work contracts which ended during the pandemic. Some of the various reasons are the desire to focus on taking care of their family, trying to find a job in their hometown, running a business, and the contract period has reached its maximum limit. The following is an excerpt from an interview with one of the informants:

> I returned to the village in March 2021 after working in a food packaging factory in Taiwan for 12 years. My work contract can no longer be extended due to the country's regulations, which allow foreigners to work up to four times. I have no plans to work abroad again while waiting for my wife to come home after her employer extended her contract by one year due to the pandemic. It is a pity that my daughters, from babies to 4th grade of elementary school, are being cared for by their grandmothers because their parents are migrants in another country trying to make money. … Alhamdulillah, my dream has come true from working abroad. I have managed to renovate a house, have savings, and also bought a plot of rice fields. My current source of income is from the snack business as well as working in the rice fields. Indeed, the results are not as big as when I worked in Taiwan, but the important thing is that I have savings for the future of my children, and my daily life is sufficient from the results of my efforts here (Informant 9, Y, male, 40 years old).

We can say that those in this first group have personally reengaged in economic and social life in their country of origin because they feel that their goal at the time of migrating had been achieved. In addition, they also have plans to continue their livelihood activities in their area of origin. Migrants of this group can be categorized as voluntary return migrants.

Meanwhile, other groups of returnee migrants have not yet fully returned to their place of origin because they desire to migrate again after the pandemic. This group comprises involuntary return migrants, those whose work has been affected by the pandemic, such as construction workers, who were forced to temporarily return home. However, the social restriction policy in the country of placement has prevented them from operating. Additionally, there is a group of returning migrants who are included in the typology of voluntary but unavoidable, namely, those who returned voluntarily because their contacts ran out and wanted to "rest for a while"

while preparing for the remigration process but got "stuck" by the social restrictions policy. The following excerpt by one of the informants illustrates this situation:

> In May 2021, I went home for Eid as well as to rest and take care of my children, who wanted to go to school. However, when I tried booking my flight back to Taiwan, I could not because the country was still closed. I can only wait and hope that things will return to normal by the end of the year or the beginning of 2022. I am pained that I cannot make money over time in the village. My husband here does not have a permanent job, and he only works as a laborer in people's fields (Informant 7, M, female, 37 years).

This study showed that those who return voluntarily are more prepared because their goals have been achieved. Conversely, groups of migrants who are not ready to return generally have goals that have not been achieved. Hence, they desire to return to work abroad, as shown in Table 3. The results of migration will always be favorable. Many returnee migrants are still dissatisfied with their experience moving since they were unable to use their savings to better their family's standard of living or, worse yet, became indebted to lenders. This situation is especially true for the group of involuntary return migrants. They do not plan to return before their work contract expires but are forced to return due to various conditions. This involuntary return happens not only to IMWs but also to migrant workers from other countries. During the pandemic, many migrant workers were not fully prepared to return to their home countries, as described in the study of Morad et al. (2022) in Bangladesh, Ranjan (2021) in India and China, also Weeraratne (2022) in Sri Lanka.

The explanation above is in line with the NELM theory, which explains the relationship between goal achievement and readiness to return (Cassarino, 2004; Stark & Bloom, 1985). In general, the goals that migrants want to achieve are related to improving economic and social status, such as building a house, having savings, having business capital, owning rice fields, being able to pay debts, and having fees for children's schooling. After these goals are achieved, they voluntarily return. With the resources obtained during working abroad, ideally, they can be used as a provision to carry out livelihood activities in the area of origin.

Typology of Returnee Migrants	The Desire to Return	Readiness to Return	Desire for Remigration	Achieving Goals When Migrating
Voluntary return migrant	√	√	X	√
Voluntary but unavoidable	√	X	√	X
Involuntary return migrant	X	X	√	X

Table 3: Characteristics of returnee migrants by a readiness to return.

The pandemic and reintegration problems of returnee migrant workers

The large number of residents in Indramayu who work as migrants created a real impact on people's lives with a shift in the social structure based on materialism. Furthermore, migrant workers generally come from the lower and middle classes with limited economic access. The remittances generated place them in a higher social class, and as a form of the legitimacy of their new social class, they "show" success in the form of ownership of assets such as houses, vehicles, jewelry, and farmland (Setiadi, 2001).

The structural approach presented by Cerase in Cassarino (2004) and Hunter (2011) explains that migrants return when they have met the expectations of their social environment. This situation is reflected in the use of remittances made by migrant workers and their families to meet the "indicators" of success established by the social environment. More remittances are allocated to fulfill consumptive needs, renovate houses, buy vehicles, etc. The use of remittances for investment purposes, such as savings or children's education, is a common pattern. However, it is also used to pay debts, including those covering departure costs, housing repairs, etc. A house is important for IMWs and their families because it symbolizes success from working abroad and the legitimacy of a new social status. Allocation for savings or investment in the form of productive assets, such as buying land or business capital, is the last order. Mas'udah (2020) stated that there is a shift in the lifestyle of the migrant family after one of the family members works as a migrant worker. They spend more money on consumptive things to show changes in social status.

The pattern of using remittances can potentially become a problem in economic reintegration carried out by returnee migrants, as shown in Table 4. The results of using Nvivo software showed that migrants who are ready to return to economic life in their country of origin are those with productive assets and able to continue their livelihood in their country of origin (Figure 2).

Meanwhile, returnee migrants who do not have productive assets experience greater difficulties surviving in the village because they currently have no source of income. To survive, some use existing savings and work odd jobs in the village. The following is an excerpt from an interview with one of the informants:

> I have worked in Taiwan for three years, and my salary is around 6 million IDR a month. Every month, I send an average of 3 or 4 million IDR home. My husband in the village helps out in *Pak Haji's* rice fields with uncertain income, which is sometimes not enough for daily needs. My husband's salary is used to pay debts, cover daily needs, and pay for the motorbike with little savings. Currently, I cannot work my income has drastically reduced. Working here is difficult. Hence, I was forced to use my savings to cover my daily needs. Hopefully, I can go again because the savings are also only a little, and when finished, I will go into debt (Informant 6, F, female, 30 years old).

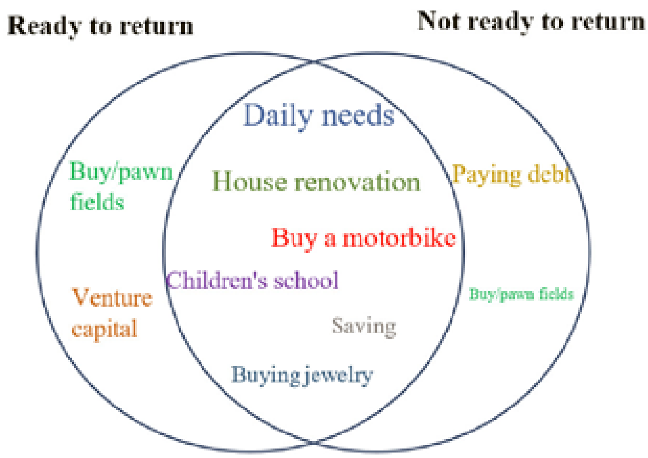


Figure 2: The linkage between migrant readiness to return and use of remittances (source: data analysis using Nvivo 12 software).

The explanation above showed that returnee migrants who are not ready to return still have a fairly large dependence on remittances. The low education level and limited skills also make it difficult for them to work in the formal sector. Moreover, many business sectors were affected during the pandemic, so the opportunity to get a job is also increasingly difficult. Therefore, returnee migrants need to have productive assets, such as land and financial capital, to run informal businesses to support their lives in their country of origin.

Ranjan (2021) showed the importance of owning land for farming households in India and China. According to the study, migrants who own agricultural land feel the impact of the pandemic is lighter because it provides a stable income. Thus, the agricultural sector has become a "mainstay" for returnee migrants. Arifin (2021) stated that based on data from the 2020 National Manpower Survey (Sakernas), there was an increase in the share of the agricultural workforce during the pandemic. However, this also adds to the burden on the agricultural sector, which has been bearing the burden of low labor productivity. Chowdhury & Chakraborty (2021) also Morad et al. (2022) in Bangladesh reported the same thing by stating that migrant workers returned to villages during the pandemic and causing pressure on the rural economy with the tendency to increase the number of poor people. Therefore, a strategy is needed for returning migrant workers to create added value from the agricultural sector.

In addition, the remittances generated can also be used as an opportunity to raise capital to run a business in their hometown. Therefore, these workers no longer need to go abroad. Studies by Yuniarto (2016; 2019) in Malang, East Java and Zid et al. (2020) in Indramayu, West Java, Indonesia; Huy & Nonneman (2016) in Vietnam; and Démurger & Xu (2011) in China showed the success of returnee migrants in running businesses in their hometowns. Furthermore, Adams (2006); Collier et al. (2018); Démurger & Xu (2011); Piracha & Vadean (2010) explained that migrants tend to invest more in entrepreneurial activities than non-migrants. However, many things pose challenges to those running a business. Some returnee migrants feel the businesses are less promising and underdeveloped. One of the obstacles in running a business is limited knowledge and skills. These conditions ultimately shape the view of life in the village, as some do not feel satisfied with their current livelihood, even though they returned voluntarily during the pandemic (Table 4). It is, of course, a concern that although migrants currently feel ready to return, if they cannot overcome the obstacles faced in carrying out their livelihoods in their area of origin, then a sustainable return will not be realized. This thinking is in line with the explanation given by Kuschminder (2017a) that sustainable returns will occur when migrants are contended with their livelihood and are not in an economically vulnerable situation. In this context, the uncertainty of income from farming and other businesses run in the village are vulnerability factors.

<table>
<tr><th>Typology of Returnee Migrants</th><th>Readiness to Return</th><th>Problems Faced</th></tr>
<tr><td>Voluntary return migrant</td><td>Ready</td><td>Current business development</td></tr>
<tr><td>Voluntary but unavoidable</td><td rowspan="2">Not ready</td><td rowspan="2">The pattern of using remittances is oriented toward consumptive needs. Presently, many returnee migrants do not have the productive resources to start their livelihoods.
Dependence on remittances as a source of household income.
Difficult to be employed in the formal sector.
Limited knowledge and skills to start a business.
Changes in the conception of the life in the village, visible by the younger generation's declining interest to work in the agricultural sector.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Involuntary return migrant</td></tr>
</table>

Table 4: Reintegration problems experienced by returnee migrants.

Returnee migrants consciously or unconsciously bring new attitudes, behaviors, and ideas when returning, which for some returnee migrants, does not cause many problems. In general, the social environment does not show resistance to returning migrants as they are also involved in community social activities. During migration, the social ties of the migrants to the area of origin are also reflected in their remittances. However, for some returnee migrants, their departure to other countries has given them a new identity, which makes it difficult for them to reintegrate and reengage in social life. Thus, we see that migrants seeing themselves as part of the social environment in their country of origin is the key to successful social reintegration (Cassarino, 2004; Farrell et al., 2012).

The erosion of identity in the country of origin occurs mostly in young and unmarried migrants, reflected in one of the changes in their conception of agricultural work, as shown in Table 4. The agricultural sector, which has been part of the lives of agrarian communities, is the economic base in rural areas. It lacks attractiveness and is displaced by the desire to work abroad, which is considered faster for improving social status. Although agricultural land is one of the goals to be achieved when migrating, only some migrant households work on the land as a source of livelihood.

This discrepancy can be seen from the results of the analysis in Figure 2 that land ownership does not necessarily indicate the desire of migrants to return and be involved in agricultural activities. Outside of the pandemic conditions, many IMWs, after returning home, choose to be unemployed while waiting to leave instead of working in the agricultural sector. Many IMW candidates have left their livelihoods in the agricultural sector by mortgaging or selling their land for departure costs. The following is an excerpt from an interview with one of the informants:

> I was supposed to go to Poland in April 2021, but I kept procrastinating due to the pandemic. For the cost of leaving, I have paid 60 million IDR to the agent and the capital to go was obtained from the proceeds of pawning my father's rice field. I want to work abroad because the salary is significant. In Poland, I can earn around 12 million IDR a month. If you farm here, getting such an amount is problematic (Informant S, Male, 24 years old).

This reality is also reflected in several studies by Breman & Wiradi (2002) and Setiadi (2001) in Subang, Cirebon, and Yogyakarta Regencies. These studies showed that land ownership is merely another measure of success for migrants and their social status. Still, economically and socially, many migrants are not ready to reintegrate into the village economy.

From the explanation above, reintegration is seen as successful when an individual has reintegrated into the socioeconomic process of rural communities and believes that they will be able to secure their livelihoods and achieve worthwhile goals once they return and feel part of the local community again. The results of this study also show that individual migrants' capacity to desire and readiness to return also determines the success of reintegration. Most forcibly returned migrants also find it challenging to participate in the labor market either as workers in the formal sector or as independent workers because they have not been able to find alternative livelihoods other than re-migrating. Therefore, the reintegration strategy must assist IMWs in preparing for the reintegration process to maximize migration's economic and social potential.

CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The COVID-19 pandemic should be a lesson learned about the need to reduce dependence on remittances as a path out of poverty. The remittances are hoped to encourage returnee IMWs to live a sustainable life in their hometown and improve the living standard of migrants. Ellis & Mdoe (2003) stated that moving out of poverty is a cumulative process often achieved with little progress. Therefore, the ability to manage remittances is essential to initiate and maintain this process.

Several challenges are faced in the reintegration process, such as low skill levels and limited availability of jobs. Retired IMWs hope to be able to run informal businesses as a livelihood source. The results showed that IMWs who returned during the COVID-19 pandemic had several problems related to their reintegration. Some of the issues faced included 1) lack of ability to manage remittances, several cases showed these monies were used to meet consumptive needs and are less allocated in the form of investment; 2) inability to run a business; 3) feeling no longer part of the community in the area of origin.

The success of the reintegration process also needs to be supported by appropriate policies developed to increase individual capacity and create conditions that support the success of the reintegration process. Many programs have been implemented to support reintegration, and most of them are provided in the form of various skills training to run entrepreneurship. However, reflecting on the problems that have occurred, a more comprehensive policy is needed to increase the human resource capacity, especially in the central area of migrant workers.

To ensure that migrants are prepared and have had enough time to consider their future following migration, it is crucial to underline that all reintegration procedures should be in place before they ever leave their home country. By utilizing their social, financial, and human resources before, during, and after migration, migrants can benefit from this prerequisite. Planning for development must incorporate this comprehensive reintegration strategy, especially in migrant source areas.

Prospective migrant workers and their families must be motivated to raise awareness of future livelihoods to ensure they have clear goals and plans to maximize the economic and social remittances. Furthermore, financial literacy for IMWs and remittance recipient communities is essential to ensure proper allocation upon request (Figure 3). Pan et al. (2020) stated that the literacy level of the recipient households determines the ability of households to manage remittances.

The successful reintegration of returnees also requires the involvement of various actors, such as the government, migrant workers and their families, the private sector, and universities, to collaborate to create an ecosystem that promotes sustainable reintegration. It is also important to encourage retired IMWs to be able to run productive businesses, including farming. Apart from technical training activities to improve knowledge and skills, mentoring is also needed for them to live independently. The retired ones also need to be promoted and assisted in creating networks with various parties to strengthen social capital in running a business (Figure 3).

This study does not explicitly discuss returnee migrants who experience physical and psychological problems when working as migrant workers. However, it is crucial to develop a strategy for rehabilitating return migrants with physical and psychological issues, assisting them with economic and sociocultural issues and ensuring prospective migrant workers also know how to migrate safely to guarantee their rights.

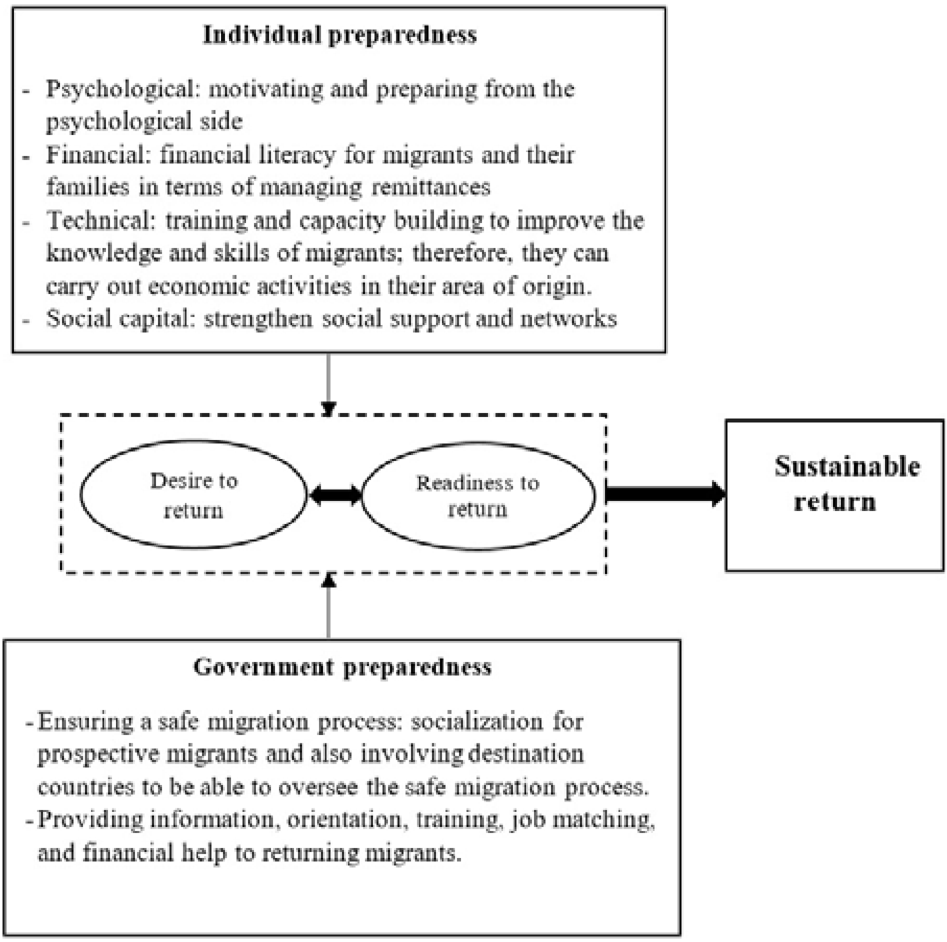


Figure 3: Recommendation of reintegration strategy for returnee migrant workers.

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POVZETEK

PANDEMIJA BOLEZNI COVID-19 IN RAZMIŠLJANJA O POMENU STRATEGIJ REINTEGRACIJE VRAČAJOČIH SE DELAVCEV MIGRANTOV

Rani Andriani Budi Kusumo, Ganjar Kurnia, Iwan Setiawan, Riwanto Tirtosudarmo

Pandemija bolezni Covid-19 je različno vplivala na življenja ljudi skoraj po vsem svetu, vključno s področjem zaposlovanja. Delavci migranti kot del globalne delovne sile so se soočali s težavami pri zaposlovanju. Indonezija je druga največja država izvoznica delavcev migrantov v jugovzhodni Aziji. Zaradi družbenih omejitev in vse slabših gospodarskih razmer v ciljnih državah se je povečalo število odpovedi pogodb o zaposlitvi, kar je povzročilo rast števila indonezijskih povratnikov. Številni delavci migranti, ki so se med pandemijo vrnili v svoje vasi, so bili tako v ekonomskem kot v socialnem smislu nepripravljeni. Razprava o strategijah reintegracije je pomembno vprašanje. Nepripravljenost migrantov na vrnitev na svoja izvorna območja lahko povzroči pritisk na podeželsko gospodarstvo ter s tem povečanje števila revnih. Na individualni ravni je uspešnost ekonomske reintegracije odvisna od volje in pripravljenosti migrantov za vrnitev. Namen te študije je analizirati težave, s katerimi se soočajo indonezijski delavci migranti, ki so se med pandemijo vrnili domov.

V študiji sta bila uporabljena kvalitativni pristop in tehnika študije primera. Izvedena je bila v indonezijskem okrožju Indramayu, eni največjih enklav delavcev migrantov. Podatki so bili zbrani s pomočjo poglobljenih intervjujev s 14 delavci migranti, ki so se vrnili med pandemijo bolezni Covid-19, z uslužbenci agencije BP2MI, z uradniki podokrožij Kroya in Juntinyuat, s posredniki oziroma sponzorji ter s tremi potencialnimi migranti, ki so preložili svoj odhod iz države. Zbrani podatki so bili nato transkribirani v indonezijščino in analizirani s programsko opremo Nvivo 12 Plus.

Rezultati so pokazali, da so se indonezijski delavci migranti, ki so se vrnili v državo med pandemijo bolezni Covid-19, soočali s številnimi težavami, povezanimi z njihovo željo in pripravljenostjo na ponovno vključitev v gospodarske dejavnosti v vasi, vključno z 1) nezmožnostjo upravljanja z nakazili; 2) pomanjkanjem želje oziroma motivacije za ponovno življenje v vasi ter 3) nezmožnostjo poslovnega udejstvovanja. Glede na opisane težave je potrebna celovitejša politika za povečanje zmogljivosti na področju človeških virov, zlasti na osrednjem območju delavcev migrantov.

Potencialni delavci migranti in njihove družine morajo biti motivirani za ozaveščanje o zagotavljanju preživetja v prihodnosti, da imajo jasne cilje in načrte za maksimiranje svojih ekonomskih in socialnih nakazil. Za zagotovitev ustreznega dodeljevanja nakazil po potrebi je pomembna finančna pismenost delavcev migrantov in skupnosti, ki prejema nakazila. Za uspešno reintegracijo povratnikov je

potrebno tudi sodelovanje različnih akterjev pri vzpostavljanju ekosistema, ki lahko spodbuja trajnostno reintegracijo. Prav tako je pomembno spodbujati upokojene delavce migrante k vodenju produktivnih poslovnih dejavnosti, vključno s kmetijstvom. Poleg aktivnosti za tehnično usposabljanje za izboljševanje znanja in veščin je za njihovo samostojno življenje potrebno tudi mentorstvo. Upokojeni delavci migranti pa potrebujejo tudi pomoč pri vzpostavljanju mrež za krepitev socialnega kapitala pri poslovnih dejavnostih.

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MEMENTOS OF A LOVE FARAWAY: EVERYDAY OBJECTS WITH GREAT MEANINGS

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ABSTRACT

Mementos of a Love Faraway: Everyday Objects with Great Meanings

This article explores the role of everyday objects in long-distance relationships (LDRs) that connect two geographically distant partners. Focusing on LDRs within Europe, the study is based on interviews with people in such relationships. The article discusses one of the practices of creating a partner's abstract presence, called recognizing the sentimental value of objects. As part of developing and maintaining intimacy in the relationship, imagining the partner's presence is reinforced through emotional objects. The article contributes to the intersection of material culture and mobility studies by exploring the role of objects in emotionally linking geographically distant partners.

KEYWORDS: emotional objects, long-distance relationships, love, intimacy, abstract presence

IZVLEČEK

Spominki na ljubezen daleč stran: vsakdanji predmeti z velikim pomenom

Avtorica v članku raziskuje vlogo vsakdanjih predmetov v zvezah na daljavo, ki povezujejo dva geografsko oddaljena partnerja. Študija se osredotoča na zveze na daljavo v Evropi in temelji na intervjujih z ljudmi v tovrstnih odnosih. Avtorica obravnava eno izmed praks ustvarjanja partnerjeve abstraktne prisotnosti, imenovano prepoznavanje sentimentalne vrednosti predmetov. Kot del razvijanja in ohranjanja intimnosti v odnosu se predstavljanje partnerjeve prisotnosti krepi s čustvenimi predmeti. Članek prispeva k presečišču materialne kulture in študij mobilnosti z raziskovanjem vloge predmetov pri čustvenem povezovanju geografsko oddaljenih partnerjev.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: čustveni predmeti, zveze na daljavo, ljubezen, intimnost, abstraktna prisotnost

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INTRODUCTION

Love is an emotion that has a great influence on the lives of human beings. A historical review shows that the concept of love is present as a strong inspiration in literature, fine arts, music production, and philosophical thought, which often draws inspiration from ancient Greece, where they questioned the epistemology of love and wrote about its various manifestations (e.g., the idea of the lost half, which is found in love). Even today, love can be conceived as free and inspiring, but on the other hand, especially in societies with a tradition of arranged marriage, falling in love might also be seen as disturbing or even dangerous, as it can threaten the stability of the family (Fox, 1975: 180). Even though Fox's study (1975) was done in a particular social context of arranged marriages, this view on love is also very much the case in "modern Western marriages," where falling in love might threaten an established relationship and can lead to infidelity or pursuing a new partner. Understanding love as a social institution with strong underlying norms, values, and traditions reveals that it can be a commodity or an ideology. In this manner, we could see love as a force that inspires humanity to create priceless works of art, but (for the most part, combined with anger or jealousy) it can also spur horrid acts of violence. As Horvat derives in his book *The Radicality of Love* (Horvat, 2016), love is a wonderful momentum that always threatens to make the social order implode, especially as we are radical social beings who continuously strive to connect to each other in different ways, often in a romantic, intimate, loving way. In light of the mechanisms underlying love, intimacy, and other romantic feelings, multiple psychological theories have addressed the questions of *how* and *why* exactly we connect to one another. Researchers in developmental psychology have posited an object as a key term in early attachment (Ainsworth, 1969; Bowlby, 1982; Fairbairn, 1954; Kernberg, 1976; Klein, 1984; Winnicott, 1953). For Klein (1932), a key author in object-relations theory, an object represents a significant other (e.g., mother) or a part of them (e.g., mother's breast). It subsequently predicts the attachment style later in life, becoming an important (conscious and subconscious) influence on the choice of a romantic partner (Hazan & Shaver, 1987).

As we know, objects that surround us in our daily lives can have significant emotional value. Objects can be bridges to places, feelings, and times that create meaning and comfort for their owner. Most of us hang items on the walls, possess photo albums covered in dust, or wear an inherited piece of jewelry from one of our ancestors. Artifacts, mementos, souvenirs, heirlooms, personal keepsakes, or special functional objects play an important role in remembrance, emotional dynamics, and processes of identity formation for individuals and communities (Csikszentmihalyi & Halton, 1981). Although we are in the field of romantic love and objects, it is important to point out that we will not talk about romantic or sexual attraction to specific objects, called *objectophilia* (Gatzia & Arnaud, 2022), but rather a loving relationship between two people imbued in them. These objects have many names as scholars continuously try to conceptualize their roles in representing or manifesting a significant relationship. We will look at these objects from three different points of view and explore whether they could be perceived as transitional (Winnicott, 1953), biographical (Hoskins, 2013), or memory (Marschall, 2019) objects. Since they encompass emotions and, specifically, sentiments of love imbued in them, I propose they can also be called *emotional objects*. More so, creating objects together is considered a practice of love (Clarke-Salt, 2018), and such objects might play an essential role in emotionally linking geographically distant individuals.

Growing research evidence in psychology suggests that sustaining a satisfying partnership is crucial for physical and mental health (Barr & Simons, 2014; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Berli et al., 2021; House et al., 1988). Although psychological closeness is a key factor in a partnership (Collins & Feeney, 2004: 164), physical closeness is not always possible due to many factors (e.g., overseas employment, academic pursuits, and military duty). Many modern couples live part of their lives together at a physical distance, which we call a long-distance relationship (LDR). Couples can live apart due to study and job mobility since the global society offers increased possibilities for pursuing one's educational and occupational goals. Compared with the past century, when travel options were limited, and communication mainly took place through letters and later through the telephone line, we now have ever-more accessible travel options and information-communication technology (ICT). A palette of options for connecting with loved ones across time and space enables couples in LDRs to more easily navigate or maintain an LDR (Neustaedter & Greenberg, 2012; Pettigrew, 2009). Are mainstream communication tools, however, truly adequate to support the full spectrum of communication needed in intimate relationships? Since physical forms of intimacy (e.g., touching, hugging, sexual contact) are equally crucial as psychological (e.g., self-disclosure) for individuals to express their true selves (Collins & Feeney, 2004: 164), it is worth investigating how they compensate it over distance.

According to some estimates, LDRs represent an increasing share of romantic relationships in late modern Western societies (Arditti & Kauffman, 2004). Partners in such relationships face unique challenges that they overcome with different long-distance intimacy strategies, where objects might play an important role. As current studies focus on everyday objects and their role in creating subjective meaning, little is known in the field of emotional objects. Despite the vast research on material culture, there is a lack of understanding about the influence that objects have on attachment bonds between partners. Two contemporary books, *Love Objects: Emotion, Design and Material Culture* (Moran & O'Brien, 2014) and *The Materiality of Love: Essays on Affection and Cultural Practice* (Malinowska & Gratzke, 2018), delve deeply into the questions of love imbued in objects, but after a broad literature review in the field of psychology, there is still no investigation, particularly into how emotional objects might offer an aide in creating an abstract presence of a geographically distant partner.

The participants in the study shared different experiences with everyday objects, from clothes left behind that still carry the smell of a beloved to a forgotten pistachio shell under the mattress, hard proof that the partner exists somewhere in real life. In the testimonies, unique elements with one's memory of the partner emerged, which can be seemingly completely insignificant, be it a partner's sweater, a typewriter, packed food for a trip, or a forgotten sock. Thus, I aim to focus on understanding the meaning behind ordinary objects that represent a specific aspect of how romantic partners in LDRs negotiate and maintain intimacy or emotional closeness (as a part of love between them). The main goal of this paper is to explore one of the practices of creating an abstract presence of a partner: the perception and use of emotional objects.

METHODOLOGY

The article discusses one of the six practices of creating a partner's abstract presence, called *recognizing the sentimental value of objects*. The other practices are 1) *virtual communication*, 2) *virtual activities and rituals*, 3) *virtual sexuality*, 4) *planning visits*, and 5) *sending surprise packages*, but we will not investigate them further in this article. The presented material with findings based on the data analysis is taken from my research project in which I explore how humans experience and develop intimacy in LDRs (Gostič, Forthcoming). The practices mentioned above result from a grounded theory approach to conceptualizing intimacy at a distance.

The primary purpose of the dissertation is to investigate how partners in LDRs understand intimacy and how they maintain a partnership despite the lack of face-to-face interaction. The doctoral research comprises eighteen semi-structured interviews carried out in Ljubljana, Slovenia (either in person or over video call) in 2019 and 2020. They describe intimacy at a distance through the experience of people who were in such relationships at the time of the interview and met the following criteria: Slovenian was defined as a first language, they were aged from 23 to 32, they had been in an LDR for at least six months, the total duration of the relationship was longer than 12 months, and they had spent a maximum of 30 days together in a time interval of six months. The participants were interviewed separately in cases when both partners from a couple spoke Slovenian as a first language, and both decided to be part of this research. The participants provided their written informed consent to participate in this study. Most interviews lasted around 45 minutes, ranging from 22 to 67 minutes. The interview topics spanned from the perception of intimacy to the maintenance of intimacy using different strategies in LDRs. The questions were open-ended but also focused, e.g., *How do you experience intimacy in your relationship? How does physical distance affect your intimacy?* Or, *How do you develop and maintain intimacy?*

At the beginning of data collection, I conducted the interviews without explicitly asking about specific emotional objects. When it became apparent that most participants found this topic relevant, I added some direct questions about objects with sentimental value. Conducting semi-structured interviews enabled me to navigate more freely around topics that arose and offered me unique insight I could not have conceived or hypothesized alone. I used a constructivist grounded theory approach for data collection, analysis, and conceptualization. As Charmaz (2000: 510) argues, "Constructivism assumes the relativism of multiple social realities, recognizes the mutual creation of knowledge […] and aims toward an interpretive understanding of subjects' meanings." Thus, I aimed to build an understanding of *what* intimacy is and *how* it is maintained over distance directly from individuals in an LDR during the time of the interview.

Eleven of the eighteen participants reported having at least one such item, and the present article is based on unique stories shared by five participants. In connection with the discussed topics, specific quotes are selected from these interviews, which succinctly show the theoretical starting points and connect the findings of previous research with the findings of the present study. The demographic characteristics of the study participants chosen for this article are shown in Table 1.

Code	Gender	Age	Education	Field of work	Duration of the relationship	Duration of separation	End of separation	Relationship type
P1	F	26	MA	research	more than 2 years	2 years	known	monogamous
P3	F	27	BA	student	more than 1 year	8 months	known	monogamous, international
P5	F	27	MA	culture	5.5 years	5 years	unknown	monogamous, international
P9	F	31	MA	culture	more than 2 years	more than 2 years	known	monogamous, international
P17	M	32	MA	NGO	1 year	1 year	unknown	monogamous, international, homosexual

Table 1: The demographic characteristics of the five chosen participants.

The majority of the chosen respondents were women in the developmental stage of emerging adulthood, with a specific focus on explorations in love that involve a deeper level of intimacy than adolescence, according to Arnett (2000: 473). Their education level was higher than a BA degree, and all were employed at the time of the interview, except for one participant who was concluding her studies. The duration of their relationships was at least 12 months long, and the duration of the geographical separation was at least 8 months. Three of five respondents knew the approximate time when the geographical separation would end. All participants categorized their relationship type as monogamous; four were international couples, and one stated he was in a homosexual relationship.

Although they also mentioned digital mementos as important points of reference to a partner (e.g., photos or videos), we will focus exclusively on physical objects. Quotations from the participants are included in the text to highlight theoretical assumptions. They are translated from the Slovenian language, written in italics and followed by a notation in the manner of, e.g., (P5), where P represents the participant, and the number 5 depicts the sequence number of their participation in the study. All names in the quotations have been changed in order to maintain anonymity.

BECOMING EMOTIONAL OBJECTS

The term *object* has a very important place in psychology and psychotherapy. In fact, there is a unique theory in psychoanalytic psychology called *object-relations theory* (Fairbairn, 1954; Kernberg, 1976; Klein, 1984; Winnicott, 1984). It is closely tied to Freud's legacy, who initially identified people in a subject's environment with the term "object" to identify them as the objects of drives. The theory suggests that family experiences during infancy shape how people relate to others and situations in their adult lives. In fact, Bowlby, one of the creators of attachment theory, suggested that attachment to objects can take the place of attachment to people. He was especially influenced by Lorenz's (1935) study of imprinting which showed that attachment was innate (observing that young ducklings form an attachment to the first large moving object that they meet, such as boots or brooms) and therefore had a survival value:

> Lorenz had put his Wellington boots next to duck eggs. As the ducklings hatched out and saw the boot, they became "imprinted" with its image; wherever that boot went, the little ducks would follow. They mistook Lorenz's boot for their mummy. When Lorenz wore his Wellingtons he was slavishly followed by a trail of ducklings, each of whom [was] captivated by the image of the boot (Hill, 1997: 11).

With this innate dynamic in mind, we can also think of things as repositories for the meaning people project onto them (e.g., a cross is just two pieces of wood, but to Christians, it represents a lot more) and a way for people to express themselves through them (Miller, 2008: 1). According to Marschall (2019: 1), they can "represent links with home, loved ones and the autobiographical past, providing a sense of identity continuity." As Belk (1988: 139) states, they might represent parts of ourselves or, in his own words, an "extended self." He provided the first exhaustive argument that possessions were meaningful to people beyond their utilitarian sense, and thus people can become attached to them. Attachment to possessions is commonly understood as a close association that individuals perceive between themselves and a specific object in their possession. That said, it is important to acknowledge that an individual might also associate unpleasant memories, feelings, or images with a specific object. A unique museum in Zagreb (Croatia), called the Museum of Broken Relationships, shows the stories of real people who, after the breakup of a romantic, intimate relationship, donate to the collection of personal artifacts that were once a symbolic representation of a significant relationship. The collection of seemingly unrelated and mundane objects offers a specific insight into the personal lives of people as each object embodies the story of a love that has failed to last (Vištica & Grubišić, 2017).

For Afshar (2014: 1), "things play a momentous role in defining individual and group identity, developing affiliation to or differentiation from others, expressing social status and lifestyle, establishing political and social power, influencing interpersonal relationship and enabling self-development." Couples commonly keep memories in the form of gifts, pictures and other objects that symbolize their shared past and represent an investment in the relationship (Rusbult, 1980: 174). The mere sight of an object with sentimental value can revive a mental image of a partner and provide similar calming effects as actual physical proximity to a partner (Master et al., 2009; McGowan, 2002; Smith et al., 2004).

> *Maybe I keep some physical objects with me, whether they are his or ours. And they remind me that he exists. Because this is what I think, especially in this corona time, this virtual relationship it becomes so ... Abstract almost. And you don't even know how—unfortunately—you forget that this is a physical person. At some point, you're like ... It's a really weird feeling that's hard to describe, so some physical objects—it could be socks that he forgot—remind you that this is a physical person. It's not just a name on your phone screen, he exists. And he's somewhere waiting for you. Or you him. So, things like that are a very good reminder. [...] He has many of them on his bedside table... When I got up one morning and wrote to him that I was going to come ... He saved such things, and it is very nice that he saves such things. I think we both like things like that—because maybe they can be just some seemingly insignificant things, but it seems to me that we both feel that there is some meaning in these objects* (P9).

The above vignette illustrates the physical and abstract nature of LDRs, and how intimacy as a practice of romantic love is embodied, understood, and felt. It is important to point out that we cannot conceptualize intimacy within late-modern Western societies without considering the past social changes and the modern paradigm of individualism. Giddens's book *The Transformation of Intimacy: Sexuality, Love and Eroticism in Modern Societies* (1992) explores how cultural and structural factors influenced the transformation of interpersonal relationships, mainly by separating the private from the public sphere of life. Intimacy, love, and sexuality did not play such a transparently important role in the past as they do today, as it was mainly about following traditional norms (e.g., the requirement of heteronormativity) and satisfying prescribed social structures (e.g., the creation of a nuclear family). Today, for the first time in Western history, the position of women in society is gaining greater equality with men than ever before. According to Giddens (1992), this is shaping the emergence of "plastic sexuality" freed from reproduction and "pure relationship" that presumes sexual and emotional equality between partners.

Like the many other couples in this study, this couple spent much of the early part of their relationship living in different countries, negotiating their relationship and love for each other over distance. The participant speaks about a strange feeling of almost forgetting her partner exists in physical form since the relationship becomes so abstract over time. Contemporary understandings of intimacy include both psychological and physiological aspects of this broad concept. Disclosure with confluent love being dependent on complete openness between partners on the one hand (Giddens, 1992) and of sex as "an expression of intimacy" (Giddens, 1991: 164) on the other, suggest we see intimacy as a "coming together of two people to become one, where the distance between romantic partners, both intellectual and physical, is eliminated" (Clarke-Salt, 2017: 5). It is important to point out the distinction between physical and psychological closeness, as proximity does not necessarily equate to intimacy (Thien, 2005: 453). Thus, physical closeness is not the only relevant factor for developing emotional intimacy. This said, it is compelling to consider how physical and psychological closeness might be created, intertwined, transformed, and maintained in the context of partners who live apart.

Hence, I introduce the term "abstract presence" to denote a psychological presence of a physically distant partner and distinguish between a *conceptual presence* and a *disembodied presence* (Gostič, Forthcoming). They differ in the sense of groundedness in so-called "real life." One can feel a strong connection with their god, their late-loved one, or a person they only met online, but their presence is only conceptual; it is not grounded in real-life experience with the entity or person (or not anymore). Even though it is hard to find "objective" proof that a god, a late beloved or a person they never saw really exists, we cannot argue they do not, in fact, "exist" in one's psyche. A disembodied presence, on the other hand, presents the presence of a specific beloved person that comes and goes in the physical form. In this way, their mental picture of the beloved is "upgraded" with new information every time they see that person.

Similar to my division is one of Illouz (2007: 74–108) as she distinguishes between two styles of romantic imagination: *internet imagination* and *traditional imagination*. Internet imagination is created through verbal or visually mediated communication, which, over time, loses the power of representing an imaginary person (Cooley, 2009). As it is based on much textual and pictorial material, it is overshadowed by language and recognition processes. Illouz (2007; 2012) writes that internet imagination often leads to disappointment when meeting in the real world because the imaginary does (normally) not match reality. Moreover, internet imagination is future-oriented and therefore detached from retrospective, intuitive, tacit knowing. On the other hand, traditional imagination rests both on the live encounter and the partner's imagination, thus representing a mixture of reality and imagination, where both are grounded in the body. She concludes that while traditional romantic relationships combine reality and imagination, online relationships uncouple the two and, paradoxically, make face-to-face contact indispensable. From this point of view, LDRs are interesting case studies of how both types of imagination intertwine in creating intimacy as the experienced traditional romantic imaginaries are accumulated, composed, and sometimes mixed with internet imagination.

As we will see in the next chapter, some couples create memories together and materialize the relationship, giving it substance (e.g., a joint book of the beds in which they slept). In this manner, the objects become substitutes for otherwise lacking physical presence. For some of the study participants, emotional objects represent the central point that connects them with their partners, as we will further discover through reading the testimonies of five participants. We will look at unique stories behind a forgotten sweater, a photo album of beds where they slept together, a snapshot with a written recap of their year together, a pistachio shell, and a bracelet.

SYMBOLIC VALUE OF OBJECTS

The symbolic value of everyday objects can be understood through a psychoanalytic perspective, where the notion of a *transitional object* was first introduced by Winnicott (1953). Transitional or substitute objects play an essential role in early development, especially in the process of separation-individuation (Mahler, 1963), where the child learns to withstand the frustration of short separations from the primary object of attachment (Praper, 1996). According to Winnicott (1953), transitional objects serve to self-soothe, which is an important aspect of learning self-regulation (e.g., for a certain period, the child falls asleep only with a specific blanket or toy). Transitional objects, therefore, serve as a mediator between the external and internal worlds, where creativity and imagination reside.

> *There are some small things ... I have his sweater here [laughs], and I sometimes wear it because it reminds me so much and it makes me feel so good ... Well—I don't know how to say it—some things, which give me the feeling that this is serious, and that this intimacy is perhaps not limited to what we talk about* (P1).

The quote above demonstrates that the traces and evidence of the physical existence of the partner serve to cope with the separation. This participant had been in a relationship with her partner for two and a half years at the point of the interview, and they currently live together. We can see that, for her, intimacy is more than talking; it is remembering her partner, feeling good about the relationship, and knowing that the mutual commitment is serious. In order to make the absent present, the imagination thus relies on perceptions, feelings, and emotions, thereby primarily relying on reality (Illouz, 2007). Sigman (1991) wrote about the importance of keeping physical objects (such as clothes or ornaments) to maintain continuity in relation to distance.

> *It seems to me that at some point when you are in such a relationship, you start clinging to physical objects as well. Even if they are yours, but maybe you connect them—"Ah, I bought this here and there when we were here and there." These are really some such artifacts that remind you physically* (P9).

This particular participant talks about perceiving the continuity of the relationship when she remembers all the places (mental and physical) where they have been together. To keep the notion of continuity, it is a common practice for people to document their lives through writing diaries, letters, or journals. The periods of separation in love relationships can materialize emotion, as some couples create books from their correspondence (Clarke-Salt, 2018: 55). These books might offer a way to note certain aspects of their relationship in real-time and thus allow not only to write but also to re-write their own story. As Hochschild (2012) puts it, the emotional labor invested in making these artifacts shows us how love is constantly being made and re-made. Indeed, it would be interesting to draw conclusions about whether this emotional labor is the same for men as for women, according to their age, frequency of seeing one another, and other determining factors. However, it is crucial to stay aware of the tendency to overgeneralize from the sample to the population, which qualitative methods do not allow us to do. Inductive reasoning is possible, that is, reasoning from an individual to the majority, which does not mean generalization to the entire population.

> *Because our relationship is long-distance or "on the road" (Marko calls it a "traveling relationship"), we don't really have a common nest of our own. Therefore, the beds in which we sleep together during visits/travels are compensation. So, for the first three years of our relationship, we had a notepad in which we pasted photos of all the beds we slept in. Then it died down a bit, mainly because of my lack of systematicity, but I still have it in my mind and take pictures of almost every bed when we travel* (P5).

As we can see from the quote above, creating a shared artifact across distance and time can serve as a ritual that bonds two people together in mutual remembrance. Purbrick (2014: 19) asserts that these commodities represent a mnemonic device that evokes the relationship's qualities and adds value to their owners. The participant used an interesting word to describe the photos of the beds she had slept in with her partner; she sees them as "compensation," which can be understood as a substitute for a nest of their own. As Purbrick (2014: 14) describes, when the object exists, it is present, and so is the person, despite the physical distance: "Having and holding, looking at or touching, a once given thing can overcome the separation of persons over any distance." The album of beds they slept in becomes a monument of their shared experiences, their love, and their commitment to one another.

> *When we got together in September, each of us took one photo every day. Of anything. Then we put them side by side. […] I will send him a couple of photos, and on the back, I will write what we did this year… Because it is hectic, and I write everything in my calendar, but he doesn't. He said, "I forget everything"* (P3).

This participant purposefully wrote a little memoir on the back of the photos to remind her partner of their shared experiences. It shows that she knows him deeply and accepts his characteristic of "being forgetful" and thus wishes to show her care through this gesture. As we can see from the last two quotes, objects can be handmade. These so-called *biographical objects* (Hoskins, 2013) are imbued with the personality traits of their creator and bear the imprint of the time and place where they were created (e.g., a photo album, a diary, postcards, an album with glued travel clippings, memory books from childhood, a guest book from a wedding, a handmade necklace). They live with us, grow old, provide us with memories, a reinterpretation of events, and represent our own transience (Hoskins, 2013). As Derrida (1996) observes, people have a need to archive, to show their own presence in a particular space and time.

We could also say these objects contain the time spent together. Memory is tangible and important in creating a couple's history (Clarke-Salt, 2018: 56). The emotional labor invested in these objects shows how love is a joint product of invention and reinvention (Hochschild, 2012). With this in mind, we can also think of them as *memory objects* (Marschall, 2019) since they are special objects or personal belongings that elicit deliberate or involuntary memories not only of homeland, home culture, and memorable places but also episodes in one's own autobiographical past and significant social relations (Marschall, 2019). Whether they be conceptualized as transitional, biographical, memory, or emotional objects, they have an important function.

The object-relations theory further explores the object's function for the psyche. In this theory, objects are *usually persons*, parts of persons (such as the mother's breast), or symbols of one of these. Klein (2017) asserted that splitting off parts of the self and projecting them into objects is of vital importance for normal development. She imagined this function as a defense that contributes to an infant's normal development, including ego structure and the development of object relations. The introjection and projection of the *good object*, first of all, the mother's breast, is a precondition for normal development. She proposed the term "projective identification" in her work "Notes on Some Schizoid Mechanisms," first published in 1946 (Klein, 1996), which encompasses *idealization*, a mechanism that is closely tied to romantic relationships.

> *Once I found a pistachio shell in my bed. I know that he always ate them in my bed. And then I saved it because I was so [emotionally] "I'm not going to throw this away." I missed him so much. This was during corona. And when I found that in the middle of the mattress, "I'll keep this in my jewelry box" [laughs], I know it's probably really romantic, but whatever, things like that remind you [excited]. "Aha, he was here! And he exists." It can really be some things like that* (P9).

The participant was very lucid in conveying the importance of the pistachio shell and showed awareness of this strange mental process that occurred in the time of missing her partner very deeply. Therefore, the perception of the individual with the subjective story attributed to the object in question is the key distinguishing circumstance when the pistachio shell is a waste in the garbage and when it is an important relational object that finds a place in a casket with valuable jewelry. It shows how people can transform ordinary things into meaningful symbols. One could argue that it is crucial having these objects that demonstrate the substance of the relationship for those couples that live apart. When coming across an emotional object, the space can become alive with the presence of a beloved who cannot be physically present.

ABSTRACT PRESENCE: CONCEPTUAL AND DISEMBODIED

As we mentioned before, we can understand shared artifacts as manifestations of a relationship. We respond emotionally to many aspects of physical objects. Thus, objects are not mere objects; they contain meanings deeply rooted in emotional layers and make objects into parts of ourselves. As previous studies show, LDRs commonly include particular challenges (Arditti & Kauffman, 2004; Cameron & Ross, 2007; Tseng, 2016) and sometimes their importance is minimized and discredited compared to "normal" relationships (Kolozsvari, 2015). However, research has shown that LDRs are felt just as strongly as those in physical proximity (Baldassar, 2015; King-O'Riain, 2015; Longhurst, 2013; Parreñas, 2005).

The participants of my study highlighted items and clothes that carry the emotional value of the *abstract presence* of the partner. In fact, results from my study show that the mere sight of an emotional object can revive a mental image of a partner and, for some participants, offer a substitute for the lack of physical closeness. It can facilitate the process of making the geographically distant partner present in another way, more specifically, forming an abstract presence. In some cases, it can even provide similar calming effects as actual physical proximity to a partner, consistent with findings from previous studies (Master et al., 2009; McGowan, 2002; Smith et al., 2004). It is important to point out that this form of a romantic relationship involves many meetings and partings, continuously flowing from hellos to goodbyes, sometimes in one month, at other times half a year or more. For some participants, this was an unpleasant part of the relationship encompassing powerful feelings of expecting to see the partner in a couple of days or months and overwhelming sadness (sometimes even before) saying goodbye to them. They describe periods of being apart as *waiting* and periods together as *life in transit*. Namely, when they spend time together in one or the other city, they, in a way, "interrupt" the routine life of a partner and wish to spend every long-awaited shared minute in a feel-good state. This tendency alone can also be a part of idealization and wishing they would not experience uncomfortable feelings when together, which can, in turn, also lead to postponing other disagreeable topics of conversation to a time when it can slowly but surely become a conflict.

Having this dynamic at hand, these objects "can be held onto in the absence of a partner so their physical form can become a body substitute," as Clarke-Salt (2018: 64) asserts. This conceptualization is very close to the notion of disembodied presence, where the object is considered proof or substantiation of a partner's existence. According to the division of abstract presence into conceptual and disembodied, we could place the artifacts of the LDR partners in the category of disembodied abstract presence as it is tied to a real-life person and represents their disembodied presence. These artifacts can become emotional companions to our lives and the focus of contemplative memory, generating a sense of love (Sarup, 1994). Moreover, the materialization of their relationship strengthens their identity as a couple. It can provide a new way of knowing oneself through things, give substance to their relationship, and serve as a testament to their affection.

> *He stole one of my t-shirts that he sleeps in—one of the better ones, so [laughs] now I'm thinking I'd take it back from him, heh. [...] It was my birthday when I was here, so he gave me one bracelet, but here I bought the same one or something similar—so now these are two additional items that connect us. [...] This bracelet has a magnet that you ... You put on to play with, and it unfastens and closes, and I think that I often find myself ... I have it in my hand, well, it's really fun, but on the other hand, it often reminds me of him; it is a special/central object that connects me to him ... Even when you go take a shower and see it, you think of him. But yes, he sleeps in this shirt because he says it smells like me even though it's been two months now; I don't think it really does anymore [laughs]* (P17).

For this participant, remembering is fostered with the help of two additional items, a bracelet he plays with and a t-shirt his partner sleeps in. For him, remembering that his partner sleeps in his t-shirt evokes a feeling of "being connected" to him. Recent studies (Ahmed, 1999; Clarke-Salt, 2018; Malinowska & Gratzke, 2018; Marschall, 2019; Miller, 2001; Moran & O'Brien, 2014; Purbrick, 2014) show that such special personal objects can be said to have agency since they trigger feelings and emotional and bodily responses, stimulate thought and fuel the imagination. Moreover, they have therapeutic value by causing consolation and feelings of well-being and enforcing a sense of identity and belonging.

For him, touching the bracelet is also crucial in feeling the emotions connected to his partner, thus creating his partner's abstract presence. Similarly, the importance of touch for remembrance is indicated by research in the field of museum activity, which shows the connection between touching objects and the construction of social reality; that is, that touch helps visitors develop connections with objects through their own experiences and memories (Jewitt & Price, 2019). Touching artifacts can form a sense of their body knowing another across time and space (Candlin, 2010). It is crucial in establishing the objects' social, cognitive, and therapeutic value (Chatterjee & Noble, 2016). Marschall (2019: 2) conceptualizes them as *aide-mémoires*, precipitating memory and facilitating the process of remembrance.

Based on the analysis, I have found that both the physical presence and the psychological presence of a partner are important for creating closeness, which can be replaced for a certain period. However, each form of presence contains its own irreplaceable qualities that cannot be recreated (e.g., touch as a unique physical and trust as a psychological quality). Namely, a person can be physically present but emotionally absent (e.g., after years of living together), as well as vice versa, where there is a strong abstract presence in the physical distance of a person (e.g., LDRs).

CONCLUSION

Living together at a geographical distance motivates couples to create, develop, and maintain specific strategies of intimacy that can differ from those couples who live in a shared geographical space. The article discusses one of the six practices of creating a partner's abstract presence, called *recognizing the sentimental value of objects* (along with *virtual communication*, *virtual activities and rituals*, *virtual sexuality*, *planning visits*, and *sending surprise packages* which are not further investigated in this article). These strategies result from a grounded theory approach to qualitative data analysis and represent a new insight into relating at a distance. Each participant used more than one practice, but since the methodology was qualitative, we can only establish that more than half of the participants (eleven out of eighteen) used emotional objects to relate over distance. Further studies could approach the topic from a quantitative perspective and focus more specifically on how these strategies are represented in a larger sample. As the opening vignette highlights, one of the mechanisms of creating, developing, and maintaining intimacy across distance is the use of everyday objects as mementos that embody love. Couples create or save specific physical objects that serve as a manifestation of their relationship and facilitate the feeling of closeness and connectedness between them. My main goal in this paper was to explore one of the practices of creating an abstract presence of a partner, more specifically, to focus on the perception and use of objects as a practice of creating an abstract presence of a partner.

The synthesis of the findings suggests that couples have developed a holistic coping with the deficits of the physical presence of the partner, where the use of imagination is key. Imagining the partner's presence, smell, proximity, or sight is reinforced through emotional objects with sentimental value. It is not the aesthetics, form or even price that gives value to them; it is the memory of when it was given or made. In other words, these objects acquire value in the eyes of the owner because of the connections they have with their past (e.g., a romantic memory with their partner), what they represent in the present (e.g., the love between them), and what they imply for the future (e.g., commitment to the relationship and imagining living together). In this way, an object can become "priceless" to someone, yet, without the knowledge of its story, to another, it simply represents an everyday object or even trash (e.g., the story of a pistachio shell).

Moreover, these testimonies demonstrate that making and remaking shared objects helps shape the identity of an individual in a relationship and the identity of a couple. Emotional objects help them write the story of two people sharing their lives in a way that presents unique challenges and encompasses a mutual commitment to resolving them. For some, they may strengthen the bond, facilitate an abstract presence of the partner, and generate a sense of love. Creating something together is considered a practice of love, and through these practices, we can more deeply understand the substance of virtual, abstract, constantly changing relationships. Being aware of these internal psychological processes (like the role of idealization) is an integral part of the relational work which goes on to sustain relationships.

The present study opens and addresses issues of constituting psychological and physical closeness. It shows how the object is not only a metaphor for the self but an opportunity for introspection and representation of a deep bond with another human being. Gaining insight into the dynamics of intimacy, which illustrates a key component of an individual's physical and mental health, is of paramount importance within increasingly frequent long-distance relationships.

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POVZETEK

SPOMINKI NA LJUBEZEN DALEČ STRAN: VSAKDANJI PREDMETI Z VELIKIM POMENOM

Maja Gostič

Vsakdanji predmeti, ki nas obdajajo v življenju, imajo lahko veliko čustveno vrednost. Ljudje jim pripisujemo različne pomene in jih dojemamo kot mostove do krajev, občutkov in časov. Večina nas obeša predmete na stene, hrani albume s fotografijami ali nosi podedovan kos nakita. Avtorica v članku raziskuje vlogo vsakdanjih predmetov v zvezah na daljavo, ki povezujejo dva geografsko oddaljena partnerja. Veliko sodobnih parov v zahodnih družbah pozne moderne namreč živi fizično narazen, čemur pravimo zveza na daljavo. Pari lahko živijo geografsko ločeno zaradi študijske in delovne mobilnosti, saj globalna družba ponuja več možnosti za uresničevanje izobraževalnih in poklicnih ciljev kot pretekla obdobja. Paleta možnosti za povezovanje z ljubljenimi v času in prostoru sicer omogoča lažje vzdrževanje odnosov na daljavo, ker pa so v romantičnih razmerjih fizične oblike intimnosti (npr. dotik, objem, spolni stik) ravno tako pomembne kot psihološke (npr. samorazkrivanje), je vredno raziskati, kako jih partnerji kompenzirajo na daljavo.

Glavni cilj prispevka je raziskati vlogo čustvenih predmetov kot prakse ustvarjanja abstraktne prisotnosti partnerja. Avtorica obravnava eno od šestih praks ustvarjanja partnerjeve abstraktne prisotnosti, imenovano prepoznavanje sentimentalne vrednosti predmetov. Druge prakse so še 1) virtualna komunikacija, 2) virtualne aktivnosti in rituali, 3) virtualna spolnost, 4) načrtovanje obiskov in 5) pošiljanje paketov presenečenj, vendar v tem članku niso podrobneje obravnavane. Predstavljeno gradivo z ugotovitvami je del večjega projekta, v katerem avtorji raziskujejo, kako ljudje doživljajo, razvijajo in ohranjajo intimnost v zvezah na daljavo. Udeleženci raziskave so delili različne izkušnje z vsakdanjimi predmeti, od zapuščenih oblačil, ki še vedno dišijo po ljubljeni osebi, do pozabljene pistacijeve lupine pod žimnico. Enajst od osemnajstih udeležencev je poročalo, da ima vsaj en tak predmet, pričujoči članek pa se osredotoča na izseke intervjujev petih udeležencev. Ob obravnavanih tematikah so iz intervjujev izbrani določeni citati, ki povedno prikazujejo teoretična izhodišča in povezujejo spoznanja predhodnih raziskav z ugotovitvami pričujoče študije.

Sinteza ugotovitev nakazuje, da so pari razvili celostno soočanje s pomanjkanjem fizične prisotnosti partnerja, kjer je ključna uporaba domišljije. Zamišljanje partnerjeve prisotnosti, vonja, bližine ali pogleda se krepi s pomočjo čustvenih predmetov s sentimentalno vrednostjo. Vrednosti jim ne dajejo estetika, oblika ali cena, temveč spomin na to, kdaj je bil predmet podarjen ali narejen. Pričevanja nakazujejo, da je lahko izdelovanje skupnih predmetov prepoznano kot praksa ljubezni, ki krepi vez med dvema posameznikoma. Z drugimi besedami, ti predmeti v očeh lastnika pridobijo vrednost zaradi povezav, ki jih imajo s svojo preteklostjo (npr. romantični

spomin na partnerja), zaradi tega, kar predstavljajo v sedanjosti (npr. ljubezen med njima), in zaradi njihovega pomena za prihodnost (npr. zamišljanje skupnega življenja). Tako lahko nekomu na videz nepomemben predmet postane »neprecenljiv«, spet drugemu pa predstavlja le vsakdanji predmet ali celo smet (npr. zgodba o pistacijevi lupini). Predmeti torej niso zgolj predmeti; vsebujejo pomene, ki so globoko zakoreninjeni v čustvenih plasteh in se spreminjajo v dele nas samih.

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LITERARY TRANSLATIONS FOSTER AN EDUCATED IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY: THE NEWSPAPER *PROSVETA* AND CZECH-AMERICAN COMPARISONS

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ABSTRACT

Literary Translations Foster an Educated Immigrant Community: The Newspaper *Prosveta* and Czech-American Comparisons

This article examines fiction, and in particular serialized translations, in the Slovenian-American newspaper *Prosveta* (Enlightenment) during its first decade (1916–1926) and compares it with three Czech-American newspapers in this regard. The comparisons establish—on the background of literary history and journalistic practices—the importance of fiction in immigrant newspapers at that time. The purposes of publishing translations in *Prosveta* are also considered as they relate to ethnic community building and an extension of nation-building in the United States. The newspaper is viewed as a community-building institution that featured significant reader contributions.

KEYWORDS: ethnic newspapers, literary translations, Slovenian literature, Slovenian-Americans

IZVLEČEK

Literarni prevodi spodbujajo izobraževanje skupnosti priseljencev: časopis *Prosveta* in primerjave s češko-ameriškimi časopisi

Avtor v članku preučuje leposlovje, še posebej prevedena feljtonska dela, v slovensko-ameriškem časopisu *Prosveta* v prvem desetletju njegovega izhajanja (1916–1926) in ga v tem pogledu primerja s tremi drugimi češko-ameriškimi časopisi. S primerjavami na osnovi literarne zgodovine in publicističnih praks prepoznava pomen leposlovja v časopisih priseljenskih skupnosti tistega obdobja. Avtor obravnava tudi namene objavljanja prevodov v časopisu *Prosveta* z vidika vzpostavljanja etničnih skupnosti in izgradnje naroda v Ameriki. Časopis je bil smatran kot institucija za vzpostavljanje skupnosti, pri čemer so imeli pomembno vlogo prispevki bralcev.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: etnični časopisi, literarno prevajanje, slovenska književnost, ameriški Slovenci

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THE SLOVENIAN-AMERICAN NEWSPAPER *PROSVETA* AND BUILDING AN EDUCATED COMMUNITY

The Slovenian-American newspaper *Prosveta* was founded in 1916 as an organ of the Slovenska narodna podporna jednota (Slovene National Benefit Society or SNPJ). Based on a survey of all translations of fiction in the newspaper, four functions of literary translations are posited. They served to 1) educate the immigrant readership by providing major works of world literature (in Slovenian), 2) present a selection of Slovenian literature in the English translation that showcased what the editors saw as the best of Slovenian culture, 3) furnish information on Slovenian literature to second-generation Slovenian-Americans, and 4) provide leisure reading. In carrying out these four functions, translations contributed to forming an imagined ethnic community in the spirit of nineteenth-century nation-building enterprises (Anderson, 2006) in the crucial area of literacy and communications (Hroch, 1996: 66–67). Immigrants across the United States could imagine themselves as part of a Slovenian or Slovenian-American nation at a point in time as they read print media in Slovenian and thus engaged in cultural continuity. This function might be considered a fifth, overarching role of translations in the newspaper.

Anderson's view has been productively applied to newspapers' role in the cohesion of ethnic communities in the United States Gavrilos (2003) has tailored Anderson's insights into media's nation-building role to nations without states, as the Slovenians were, and such nations' immigrants in the United States, where their identities were often split. The newspaper *Prosveta* was at once an imagined community's fiction, in Anderson's sense, and a forum for publishing fiction. These dual roles testify to Anderson's view that the novel and newspaper, both originating in the eighteenth century and becoming mass media in the nineteenth, were means of imagining a nation (2006: 25).

An obvious tension between enlightening readers about world literature, presenting Slovenian literature in English translation, informing the children of Slovenian-American immigrants about Slovenian literature, and entertaining is that a preponderance of Slovenian works would be expected in a Slovenian-American community-building project. This article attempts to explain how translated fiction nonetheless contributed to that project by considering the mix of writers and works, which served to elevate the prestige of Slovenian letters and the cultural status of *Prosveta*'s readers.

For the sake of clarity regarding *Prosveta*'s contents as fiction, here is a summary of one issue from Wednesday, April 19, 1922, that does not contain *belles-lettres*. The Wednesday issues had eight pages. International and national news cover pages 1 and 4. Page 2 is devoted to "Slike iz naselbin" (community portraits). Contributors write from San Francisco, Colorado Springs, Ohio, North Carolina, and Pennsylvania, in that order. Page 3 features announcements of local SNPJ activities. Advertisements take up most of page 5, and letters to the editor are on page 6. A roster of SNPJ lodges is found on pages 7–8. Thus, reader-contributors produce three of the eight pages (2, 3, and 6), and two pages (7–8) illustrate the scope of Slovenian-American settlements (i.e., 400 SNPJ lodges across the United States). Taken together, the issue tells a story at one point in time of the Slovenian-American community in the United States, and a substantial part is told by community members. The newspaper's contents are fictional, not in the sense that they are counterfactual, but in the sense that they relate a story about the lives and interests of Slovenian-Americans.

Whereas Wednesday issues, like the one on April 19, were longer, the issues of April 20 and April 21, 1922, were the typical four pages long. One carries serial installments of Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island* and Fyodor Dostoevsky's *The Devils* on the last page. In smaller issues, the story of the Slovenian-American community told in the sections outlined above more closely abuts *belles-lettres* in the newspaper. Below I will examine the kinds of *belles-lettres*, and in particular, translations that *Prosveta* published and explain how the newspaper attempted to educate and entertain working-class readers.

METHODOLOGY

This article is based on an examination of the literary data (authors, works, translators) in all issues of *Prosveta* from its founding in 1916 through 1926. The information below on the proportion of Slovenian works to translated works is based on this survey. For comparative purposes, all issues of the Czech-American daily *Američan* from 1916 through 1926 were examined in the same way, as were the contents of the weekly Czech-American *Americké dělnické listy* from 1918 through 1926. (I was not able to obtain issues from 1916 and 1917). A briefer period (1916–1918) of the Czech-American daily *Denní hlasatel* was also surveyed for sample corroboration of the proportion of translations in *Američan*. The purposes of the comparisons were to confirm the practice of publishing literary translations in the Slavic-American press, establish the proportion of serialized translations to primary language works, and find out whether the translations in *Prosveta* were similar to or different from those in Czech-American newspapers and thereby test the functions posited for translations in *Prosveta*.

BACKGROUND: LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM

Two strands of literary history complement Anderson's theoretical interpretation of the newspaper and the novel's roles in the modern era. The first shows the intertwined development of literature and journalism in the English-speaking world. The modern novel was in a symbiotic relationship with the practice of reporting events, be they actual or ideologically true (Davis, 1983). Charles Clark (1994) traces newspapers' role in building a cultured community in North America. Mark Canada (2013) outlines the intersections between fiction and journalism from the 1830s to the 1870s. By the 1870s, journalists in the United States adopted literary conventions to report stories (Roggenkamp, 2013). As Matthew Rubery (2009) argues, the reverse was true as applies to Victorian novels, despite protests on the part of novelists and their suspicion of journalism, particularly late-nineteenth-century New Journalism, which Karen Roggenkamp (2005) examines for convincing examples of cross-fertilization. New Journalism favored the entertainment value of newspaper content, and major papers "narrated the news with an eye toward character, plot, setting, dialogue, dramatic pacing, and other literary elements" (Roggenkamp, 2005: viii). Doug Underwood's (2008) study of journalism and the novel in Great Britain and the United States is the most relevant to the longer, serialized works this article will highlight.

The impetus for serialized fiction in newspapers came from France, beginning with Eugène Sue's *Les mystères de Paris* (1842–1843). A tide of serialized *feuilleton* novels followed (Bachleitner, 2009), and they were matched in popularity by historical fiction and later travel literature, most prominently represented by Jules Verne (Coward, 2002: 290–292). Some Slavic émigré newspapers would tap these popular nineteenth-century works, as well as realist fiction influenced by postbellum journalistic practices in the United States.

The second strand of literary history relevant to considerations of fiction in Slavic-American newspapers deals with literature in US periodicals, a result of New Historicism. US newspapers' role as purveyors of fiction has been underestimated, partly because of historians' focus on literary magazines and the perception that fiction, especially serialized fiction in newspapers, was of inferior quality (Johanningsmeier, 2013; 2015). Hladnik (2014: 125–132) has set forth a more inclusive view of popular novels in the Slovenian and Slovenian-American press as regards their place in the national literary corpus based on a survey of 250 feuilleton novels from 1873 onwards; he emphasizes the interplay of original and translated works and relatively more artistic and popular prose in the context of different periodicals (Hladnik, 2014: 125–126). The practice of publishing fiction in *Prosveta* and other Slavic-American newspapers was rooted in European traditions and American journalistic practices that went back decades.

BACKGROUND: THE US JOURNALISTIC CONTEXT

Many Slavic-American newspapers originated in the golden age of US newspapers, from after the Civil War to the turn of the century. They reached their collective peak circulation during WWI when foreign language newspapers numbered over 1,300 (Douglas, 1999: 209). This increase was very large compared to the 332 foreign language papers in 1900 (North, 1902: 1058), of which, for example, 28 were Czech and 33 Polish. By 1910, the number of foreign-language newspapers had risen to 1,159 (Nord, 2001: 228).

From a cotemporaneous perspective, it seemed that the numbers of recent immigrants correlated directly with newspaper circulation. As the 1900 US census reported,

> it is reasonable to conclude that publications of this character depend for support, to a large extent, upon comparatively recent arrivals, and that in general, when emigration from a country decreases, the number of publications printed in the language of that country decreases, and when immigration shows and increase the number of publications also increases (North, 1902: 1048).

Observing Czech-American readers as a librarian after WWI in Cleveland, Ledbetter (1919: 14) predicted the demise of the Czech-American press because only the old and newcomers read it. A historian of the Czech-American community later agreed that "as an ethnic agency, the press also fell victim to the attrition which accompanied the appearance of new, more Americanized generations" (Chada, 1981: 136). Generational and language tensions could be seen in the Slovenian-American *Prosveta* already in the mid-1920s when the paper introduced an English-language page. At the same time, the continuing publication of literature in Slovenian attests to the importance *Prosveta*'s editors attached to its "enlightening" role. (The editors established the English-language title *Enlightenment* in 1916, though a closer translation of the title would be "education.")

This historical context aids an understanding of ethnic newspapers' contents. The leading German-American paper, the *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, for example, resembled an English-language daily, including in its practice of serializing fiction (Douglas, 1999: 218). As the nineteenth century progressed, political reporting decreased and special interest content, including literature, increased as a proportion of US English-language newspapers' contents (Smythe, 2003: 211). The overall impact of New Journalism during this period was to increase newspapers', especially urban newspapers', attention to civic matters and human-interest stories (Smythe, 2003: 71–103), providing them to readers in a lively style. In the case of *Prosveta*, these trends would be reflected in the substantial space allotted to social and cultural events in Slovenian communities across the US, as well as to Slovenian literature and translations into Slovenian. This was the journalistic context in which Slavic-American newspapers were established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century: expanding audiences, improved cross-country communications, and more engaging content.

Introducing literary historical and journalism as context is a departure from the approach to Slavic-American newspapers found in many histories of the respective ethnic communities, which devote modest attention to the papers' contents while highlighting their ideological tendencies (Čapek, 1920; Chada, 1981; Galush, 2006, Klemenčič, 1995; Prpic, 1971). In this view, the newspapers were mainly instruments for communicating ideological positions rather than cultural institutions. Studies of the contents of Slavic-American periodicals are few (Christian, 1993; Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, 2015; Kasprzak, 2011; Piątkowska-Stepaniak, 2000); several Slovenian-American newspapers are the subject of the University of Ljubljana undergraduate theses on the Wikiverza page "Leposlovje v časnikih" (Wikiverza, 2022). Research has tended to focus on ethnic organizations (e.g., Roman Catholic parishes) and their leaders, when in fact, newspapers may have performed a greater role in community building:

> Ethnic newspapers form a key link in the information network of an ethnic community; thus, the survival of the group's newspapers takes on larger significance compared to other ethnic organizations. Because both the symbolic and information roles played by ethnic newspapers are important, we believe that *ethnic* newspapers are similar to social movement organizations that advocate group solidarity (Olzak & West, 1991: 458–459).

Literary-historical and journalistic considerations refocus attention on the community of readers and away from ethnic newspapers' political stances. Fiction in Slavic-American newspapers contributed to the imagined community's identity through the kinds of stories readers shared and, in the case of translations, their transcultural affiliations. This process of selection was also true of other peoples in North America, as Wright (2009) has demonstrated regarding serialized fiction and nation-building in Mexico. Ethnic Slovenian(-American) selves were to be formed in the context of the fiction and "factual fiction" in *Prosveta*, to which readers contributed a good deal of news, as they did to other Slavic-American newspapers (Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, 2013). Although translations are the primary focus here, it is important to remember the entire body of fiction in an ethnic newspaper and its other contents—the items that physically frame it in the paper. For example, as Jernej Mlekuž (2022) has shown, the discourse surrounding Kranjska klobasa in the Slovenian-American press, including in advertisements, reveals everyday practices indicative of how people experienced nationality.

COMPARISONS TO CZECH-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

A comparison to three other Slavic-American newspapers in 1916–1926 confirms the place of fiction and helps distinguish *Prosveta*'s practices. Two of the Czech-American newspapers I compared were in Cleveland: the daily *Ameri*čan (1891–) and the weekly *Americké dělnické listy* (1909–). A partial comparison was made with the Czech-American *Denní hlasatel* (1891–), which was in Chicago, as was *Prosveta*. Czech newspapers in the United States were a generation senior to the Slovenian and, given Czech-Slovenian cultural connections, possible models for *Prosveta*. The editors of Chicago ethnic newspapers were in contact with one another (Petrov, 2006: 50), as the July 11, 1916, article on "Sjezd slovanských žurnalistů" in *Denní hlasatel* attests. The purpose of the comparisons is to indicate the extent of the practice of publishing literature and, in particular, lengthy literary translations in the Slavic-American press and to examine the kinds of works editors selected.

According to the general profile distinction of being Roman Catholic- or labor-oriented, three of the newspapers—excepting *Americké dělnické listy*—were considered neutral. Categorizing newspapers' sympathies is not always easy; for example, *Ameri*čan was

> one of the oldest and most widely distributed Czech dailies which was not affiliated to a political party. This newspaper is a very good source for the cultural life of Czechs in the United States. Its large number of subscribers as well as the editors who were well known for their radical activities ensure us that *Američan* dealt with aspects concerning the life of the working class (Hoerder & Harzig, 1987: 240).

At the same time, the paper appealed to Cleveland Roman Catholic Czechs more than the labor-oriented *Americk*é delnické listy (Zentos & Marley, 2018). The Chicago *Denn*í *hlasatel* has also been categorized as a labor newspaper (Hoerder & Harzig, 1987: 244) or simply as "free-thinking" (Jaklová, 2010: 67)—that is, not allied with the Roman Catholic Church—and politically independent (Droba, 1934: 30). According to their editorial stances, both papers are comparable to the Slovenian-American *Prosveta*, which has been described as labor-oriented, but whose readership included small businessmen and professionals. Klemenčič (1996) noted the blending of different political, cultural, and business interests in *Prosveta* and the Slovenian-American community in general. Furthermore, Majdič (2016: 29) commented that while "*Prosveta* was liberal… aside from isolated texts with an anti-clerical tone, it did not broadcast its liberalism." With certain key exceptions (e.g., works by Upton Sinclair and Louis Adamic and a few anti-clerical works), editorial orientation seems to have moderately influenced the choice of fiction. Thus, the newspapers to which I have compared *Prosveta* resemble it by being generally liberal or free-thinking but not stridently anti-Catholic.

The comparisons also involve a geographic factor. *Američan* and *Americké dělnické listy* in Cleveland had metropolitan-area orientations. *Denní hlasatel*, like *Prosveta*, was read across the United States. Thus, the comparisons of newspapers involve two with countrywide content (*Denní hlasatel* and *Prosveta*) and two with a metropolitan-area focus. This characteristic, of course, implies two kinds of community-building: among émigré speakers of the same language and their descendants in a metropolitan area and translocal, to borrow Robert Zecker's (2004) term. The Chicago metropolitan area, in particular, saw transnational and supra-regional (i.e., as applies to Slavic-speaking regions of the Habsburg Empire) community-building among South Slavs (Kralj, 2012: 148–62). We will see this reflected in the selection of prose works in *Prosveta* by comparison, for example, to that in a translocal newspaper like *Denní hlasatel*. Björk (2004) makes a similar distinction in surveying two national, two regional, and one local Swedish-American newspapers for serialized fiction in 1890–1892, 1901–1903, 1909–1911, and 1921–1923.

The Czech-language *Američan* (1899–) carried serialized fiction at this time on pages 6 and 7 of each eight-page edition and on several pages of its Sunday edition. The fiction later moved to pages 4 and 5 in 1918, when during WWI, the paper was reduced to six pages. (The Sunday paper ended in the summer of 1917 because of falling subscriptions and sales.) *Američan* and *Americké dělnické listy* published few short stories compared to the Chicago *Denní hlasatel*. When the Sunday edition of *Američan* ended, short stories virtually disappeared from the paper. Besides fiction, the following took up the most space in the paper: international and local (Cleveland) news, advertisements (especially of department stores, cigarettes, securities offerings, and real estate), death notices and memorials, and ads for motion pictures. The latter, missing from *Prosveta*, indicates the newspaper's local audience. Naturally absent in *Američan* and *Americké dělnické listy,* unlike *Denní hlasatel*, was news from Czech settlements in other parts of the United States. *Americké dělnické listy* had 12 pages from 1918 through 1924, then 16 to 20 pages from 1925 through 1926. Throughout this period, two pages were devoted to fiction. Its other contents resembled that of *Američan*. Thus, serialized fiction occupied substantial portions of *Američan* and *Americké dělnické listy* in the context of political, commercial, community, and entertainment news.

Since serialized fiction predominated, we will leave aside examples of short fiction in *Američan* and *Americké dělnické listy*. From the second half of 1915 through 1926, *Američan* featured 52 authors of serialized fiction, of whom 24 (46%) were Czech. It carried translations of French, German, Italian, American, Russian, and Swedish writers, with French writers (12 or 23%) most heavily represented. Even after the Sunday edition ended and the length of the paper was reduced, there remained a balance between Czech and non-Czech works serialized side by side. Translations into Czech were generally popular literature. Typical of the Czech works in *Američan* are Karel V. Rais's *Zapadlí vlastenci*, about 1840s enlighteners in Bohemia, and *Rodiče a děti*, with its social concerns, or the psychological realism in Matěj A. Šimáček's *Lačná srdce*. There are examples of Czech historical fiction by Jan Klecanda and Josef Svátek. Surprisingly, the only American work translated is John Jacob Astor's science fiction novel, and there is no example of Czech-language fiction by an émigré writer. Equally notable is the scarcity of translations from Slavic languages other than Russian. (A collection of Slovenian Zofka Kveder's sketches was published in 1916, with the author's name given as Žofka Kvedrová-Jelovšková; it was not identified as a translation.)

This proportion of Czech writers (46%) aligns with data Björk (2004: 209) assembled on the Swedish-American press: two-thirds of the serialized novels in national-circulation papers and a regional paper were by Swedish authors; however, only one-third were Swedish in a second regional paper. According to Björk, Swedish novels' availability and entertainment value were two important factors governing the ratio. Serialized novels were supposed to be exciting, perhaps not in accordance with editors' serious views of their newspapers, and thereby maintain reader interest and subscriptions (Björk, 2004: 212–214).

Americké dělnické listy presents a contrasting picture. From 1918 through 1926, the weekly serialized works by 19 different writers, 15 (79%) of whom were Czech. There were two works by Americans, one by a Russian, and one by Ivan Cankar. The kinds of fiction by Czech writers—historical, realist, and rural—were like that in *Američan*. Of the four translated works, only one—by an American—can be called popular literature. It is apparent that the newspaper's editors did not turn to translations as sources of entertainment.

A third sampling, from Chicago's *Denní hlasatel* during 1916–1918, mirrors publishing practices at *Američan*. The proportion of Czech writers among authors of all serialized works is 47%, and French writers are the largest non-Czech group. Historical novels are prominent in both papers. Much like *Američan*, *Denní hlasatel* did not publish translations from other Slavic languages.

The comparisons show the importance of serialized translations for providing popular literature in the Czech-American *Američan* and *Denní hlasatel*, but not *Americké dělnické list*. Taken together, these two newspapers turned, for the most part, to French writers for mystery and crime fiction. In all three comparisons, historical fiction was clearly prevalent in serialized works, doubtless because of its nation-building role. The comparisons also show how the editors' frame of reference remained European literature, even though their papers were founded two decades earlier. Further, translations from English and French, and not from peripheral literatures, such as most Slavic ones, were preferred. The comparisons help to appreciate the formation of *Prosveta* and its editor's views of Slovenian-language and translated fiction. On the first page of the first edition (July 1, 1916), the editors described the paper's mission:

> *Prosveta* will educate our working class in the progressive and modern spirit. There is a huge gap of ignorance, spiritual laziness and cultural backwardness among our people and a lot of work and effort will be needed to seal this gap. The sacred mission of *Prosveta* will be to endeavor to fill this gap.
>
> *Prosveta* will of course provide to its readers the latest news about all important world, American and domestic events: we will pay particular attention to original news from Slovene settlements. We will bring instructional, scientific and economic discussions along with the regular articles on everyday events, original stories and translations of good, modern writers, and from time to time also humorous writings to pass the time.

Editor Ivan Molek maintained this policy until he left the paper in 1944. Serialized fiction in *Prosveta* included works translated from two other Slavic languages, two works by Slovenian-Americans, but little of the popular literature found in the two Czech papers.

FICTION IN *PROSVETA* DURING ITS FIRST DECADE, 1916–1926

During the first decade of its existence, *Prosveta* published 113 writers at least twice. The total number of works by these authors was 1,189. Forty-six writers were published eight times or more, for a total of 941 works, or 79% of the writers with multiple publications. This shows a wide diversity of writers and a concentration of the most published ones.

Thirty of the forty-six (65%) were Slovenian, seven were French, and five (all in the top ten) were Russian. The Russians included Leo Tolstoy and Anton Chekhov, as well as Arkady Averchenko, Maxim Gorky, and Mikhail Zoschenko. (The highest number of pages in the history of *Prosveta* were devoted to the Russian writer Fyodor Dostoevsky, whose novels *Crime and Punishment*, *The Devils*, and *The Brothers Karamazov* appeared in the paper before WWII.) The five Russian writers and four Slovenians in the top ten accounted for 342 of the 1,189 works by authors of two or more works or 29%. Thus, the most frequently published Slovenian and Russian writers account for almost one-third of writers published multiple times. The Slovenian Ivan Cankar is just behind Chekhov, highlighting the relationship between the Russian short story (and drama) master and the Slovenian master in the genres. The Russians Averchenko and Zoshchenko's works, as well as those by Anatole Franc, are well represented, doubtless because of their satirical depictions of middle-class life; Gorky's social realism complemented *Prosveta*'s political content. Other short prose masters among the top twenty writers are Guy de Maupassant, Mark Twain, and Oscar Wilde. The hefty proportion of translations among the forty-six most published writers (35%) corresponds to the proportion of translations overall (33%) between 1916 and 1926 (Table 1). The entire mix serves to place Slovenian writers in the company of well-known foreign writers.

year	number of works	number of translations	%	number of longer works	number of translations	% translations
1916	94	14	15%	3	3	100%
1917	81	17	21%	9	1	11%
1918	36	9	25%	6	3	50%
1919	11	5	45%	4	2	50%
1920	14	5	36%	2	1	50%
1921	51	21	41%	6	4	67%

1922	57	14	25%	9	7	78%
1923	102	14	14%	4	2	50%
1924	200	91	45%	4	0	0%
1925	162	28	17%	7	0	0%
1926	228	98	43%	9	5	56%

Table 1: Proportion of translations among all literary works in *Prosveta*.

The data in Table 1 are taken from a survey of *Prosveta*'s entire run, on which I cooperated with Nike Pokorn of the University of Ljubljana. Professor Miran Hladnik of the University of Ljubljana and his students' surveys of *Prosveta* aided us in correcting our results. Their work[1] includes the years 1916–1920 (Majdič, 2016). The majority of the writers published from 1916 through 1926 appeared in *Prosveta* in the following decades, many into the 1950s. An interesting exception is Josip Jurčič (1844–1881), the first Slovenian novelist, who was last published in 1924. Jurčič's case shows the editor's preference for twentieth-century and late nineteenth-century fiction (e.g., by Chekhov and Tolstoy). There seems to be a predilection for relatively younger (in their thirties or forties) writers, who were of the same generation of assistant and later chief editor Ivan Molek (b. 1882). A significant number of Slovenian writers were associated with the turn-of-the-century Moderna literary movement. Notable exceptions to generational cohesion are classics such as Alexander Dumas (b. 1802), Ivan Turgenev (b. 1818), and Emile Zola (b. 1840). These writers continued to appear throughout *Prosveta*'s history.

In addition to satire, *Prosveta* favored historical fiction, social realism, rural fiction, and some lighter fare, such as humorous stories. Translations were the main source of the latter. Rural fiction might be explained by the prevalence of the genre in Slovenian literature at the time, and the primarily rural backgrounds of Slovenian immigrants in the United States.

SERIALIZED FICTION IN *PROSVETA*, 1916–1926

Prosveta's practice of publishing serialized fiction was established before 1916 by the newspaper's forerunner, the SNPJ's weekly *Glasilo*. Long translations, such as Walter Scott's *Kenilworth*, which, when it appeared alongside his *Ivanhoe* or Tommaso Grossi's historical novel *Marco Visconti*, took up almost two full pages of the newspaper's four. The year 1916 saw a departure from translations of historical fiction with Émile Zola's *L'Argent*, a critique of financial corruption. There were no long translations in 1917. Among extended works by Slovenian writers were Josip Jurčič's *Lepa Vida*, a historical family tragedy, and Josip Stritar's *Zorin*, a philosophical

1 Available at https://sl.wikisource.org/wiki/Prosveta.

travel novel, and his *Gospod Mirodolski*, a work of rural fiction. Serialized translations of historical fiction returned in 1918 and 1919 with Sienkiewicz's *With Fire and Sword* and Václav Beneš Trebizsky's historical novel *Kraljica Dagmar*. Three long Slovenian works—Anton Koder's "Luteranci" (Lutherans), a historical novella, Jakob Sket's *Milko Vogrin*, an autobiographical novel, and Josip Jurčič's *Deseti brat* (The Tenth Brother)—complement the translations. What is remarkable in *Prosveta*'s early years is the predominance of historical fiction and a relatively small number of long works of adventure, mystery, and romance, which were found in two of the Czech-American newspapers I compared.

As with fiction overall, during the remainder of the newspaper's first-decade historical novels and novels on rural life and social injustice continued to predominate, with several exceptions. No long translations appeared in 1924 or 1925, but between 1920 and 1926, *Prosveta* serialized historical novels by Sienkiewicz, the Croatian Josip Tomić Alexander, and the Czech Prokop Chocholoušek. It also published a novel by Upton Sinclair and the Czech Božena Němcová. Dostoevsky's *The Devils* was doubtless a response to the post-WWI Red Scare (it also appeared in *Američan*). The exceptions were Dumas's *Vitez rdeče hiše* (*Le Chevalier de Maison Rouge*), Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, and the Swede Frank Heller's mystery *Blagajna velikega vojvode* (The Grand Duke's Finances).

Overall, translations made up 50% of serialized fiction during *Prosveta*'s first decade, very close to the average in *Američan* and *Denní hlasatel*, and resemble the proportion of top-ten most translated authors of fiction (four Slovenians vs. six translated). In contrast, Slovenians comprised 65% of the 46 most frequently published authors. The number of serialized works by other Slavic writers and the relatively fewer popular literature examples distinguish *Prosveta*'s selections.

Prosveta's mission to establish the Slovenian cultural heritage in the United States is evident in the initiation of a weekly English-language page in 1926 with the promise of publishing translations from Slovenian, the first of which was Louis Adamic's English version of Ivan Cankar's *Yerney's Justice* (Hlapec Jernej in njegova pravica). This page was part of a project, as the editors explained in the May 12, 1926, issue:

> The publication of this novel will be the first of a series from the Slovenian through which we intend to acquaint our readers with various types of novels, romances, and poems written by Slovene authors. We are fully aware of the fact that you have not had an opportunity to read Slovene writings in the language you would clearly understand. Therefore, we commence with a new column on our page, "Slovene Literature." In addition to the works of the various periods of Slovene literature, we will also publish short biographies and explanations. This, we hope, will be educational as well as interesting reading…

They went on to explain the serious purpose of the serialized translation they were offering:

> [*Yerney's Justice*] is one of the most outstanding novels written by the Slovene novelist and poet Ivan Cankar. From the literary standpoint, *Yerney's Justice* is not a novel with intricate plots and thrilling climaxes of narrative; it is not a romance to please the reader who admires heroes in love stories. It is rather a story of most delightful description; it is a study of social differences that exist not only in the country of Slovenia.

This project, however, did not last long; translations into English faded in the next several years and disappeared by 1930.

The variety of fiction, including serialized fiction, shows an intent to make the Slovenian immigrant community aware of its heritage and, in general, elevate its cultural level. Publishing translations also followed a general Slovenian effort to situate Slovenian literature in Central European and world literature, one best evidenced by Slovenska Matica's series "Prevodi iz svetovne književnosti" (Translations from World Literature, 1904–1937). The series aimed to strengthen Slovenian literature by improving its readership, in the process demonstrating that the Slovenian language was a capable vehicle (Juvan, 2019: 228). Similarly, in 1927, *Prosveta* introduced a section entitled "Biseri iz svetovne literature" (Gems of World Literature) that offered translations from major European languages, though motivated by education and not language concerns. Authors included, for example, Balzac, Boccaccio, Chekhov, Dickens, Dostoevsky, Flaubert, Goethe, Gorky, Hauptmann, Irving, Maupassant, Poe, Shakespeare, Shelley, Swift, Tolstoy, Twain, Verne, Wilde, and Zola.

CONCLUSION

Prosveta's contents evidence the integration of literature and journalism in the United States and European press that preceded the newspaper's founding by decades. *Prosveta* pursued the goal of building an educated, primarily but not exclusively working-class émigré community across the United States. This aim was consonant with Slovenian nation-building, only shifted to North America and hyphenated to become Slovenian-American. One means to this end was the established practice in the US English-language and ethnic press of publishing fiction. Publishing fiction addressed the goals of 1) educating the readership by providing major works of world literature (in Slovenian), 2) presenting a selection of Slovenian literature in the English translation that represented the best of Slovenian culture, 3) furnishing information on Slovenian literature to second-generation Slovenian-Americans, and 4) providing leisure reading. Serialized novels constituted a large portion of the space devoted to fiction. Regarding the first and fourth goals, there were fewer novels in popular genres, such as crime fiction, among serialized works in *Prosveta* than in two of the three Czech papers compared. *Prosveta*'s short fiction included relatively more leisure reading. Reports from contributors across the United States and notices of social gatherings can also be viewed as entertainment. Serialized prose works were a major vehicle for pursuing *Prosveta*'s cultural community building, more so than in its Czech-American counterparts, in which serialized works, especially translated works, tended to be leisure reading. Other parts of the newspaper, including contributions by readers, complemented the fiction section, telling the story of Slovenian-American nation-building across the United States.

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POVZETEK

LITERARNI PREVODI SPODBUJAJO IZOBRAŽEVANJE SKUPNOSTI PRISELJENCEV: ČASOPIS *PROSVETA* IN PRIMERJAVE S ČEŠKO-AMERIŠKIMI ČASOPISI

Timothy Pogačar

Avtor v članku preučuje leposlovje, še posebej prevedena feljtonska dela, v slovensko-ameriškem časopisu *Prosveta* v prvem desetletju njegovega izhajanja (1916–1926) in ga na osnovi literarnozgodovinskih in publicističnih praks primerja s tremi drugimi slovansko-ameriškimi časopisi. S primerjavo časopisa *Prosveta* s češkoameriškimi časopisi *Američan*, *Americké dělnické listy* in *Denní hlasatel* potrjuje prakso objavljanja leposlovja, obenem pa prikaže, kako je bil izbor objavljenih del v *Prosveti* podrejen poslanstvu časopisa, ki je bilo v prvi vrsti izobraževalno. Obravnavani časopisi so imeli podobne bralce, a so se razlikovali v geografskem območju vpliva. Literarna zgodovina se nanaša na povezave romanov z novinarskim pisanjem in izgradnjo naroda, pa tudi na priljubljenost žanrov, kot so feljton ter zgodovinski in kriminalni romani iz sredine devetnajstega stoletja. Ti žanri so bili v slovansko-ameriških časopisih dobro zastopani med feljtonskimi deli, zlasti med prevedenimi. Na kratko so predstavljeni trendi v novinarskem pisanju na področju imigrantskega tiska v Združenih državah Amerike, pa tudi porast tovrstnega tiska v prvih desetletjih dvajsetega stoletja, izpostavljen pa je tudi pomen prispevkov bralcev. Avtor opiše vse leposlovje, ki je bilo v tistem obdobju objavljeno v *Prosveti*, ter nato pokaže, kako je slednja v primerjavi s češkoameriškimi časopisi dajala prednost izobraževalni funkciji feljtonskega leposlovja pred njegovo razvedrilno funkcijo. Feljtonski romani, od katerih je bila večina prevedenih, so bili pomembno izobraževalno orodje.

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PODPORA PRISELJENCEM PRI UČENJU JEZIKA NA DELOVNEM MESTU: IZZIVI ZA ORGANIZACIJE

Anita JUG DOŠLER[I]

COBISS 1.01

IZVLEČEK

Podpora priseljencem pri učenju jezika na delovnem mestu: izzivi za organizacije

Članek govori o podpori priseljencem in njihovih potrebah pri učenju jezika za potrebe dela z vidika delovne organizacije. Ta podpora ni pomembna samo za uspešno opravljanje delovnih nalog, temveč tudi za uspešno socialno vključenost priseljencev v delovno in družbeno okolje. V raziskavi je bil uporabljen kombiniran kvantitativno-kvalitativni raziskovalni pristop. Avtorje je zanimalo, na kakšen način organizirati jezikovno izobraževanje na delovnem mestu za tujce ter s kakšnimi izzivi se pri tem soočajo slovenske organizacije, ki zaposlujejo tujce. Na podlagi opravljene raziskave so razvili priporočila za prakso za organizacije, ki zaposlujejo tujce.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: priseljenci, izobraževanje, integracija, učenje jezika, organizacija

ABSTRACT

Supporting Immigrants in Workplace Language Learning: Challenges for Organizations

This article deals with how to support adult immigrants in developing work-related language skills from a work organization perspective. Developing such skills is important not only for the successful performance of work tasks but also for successful social integration into the work and social environment. The article is based on a study using combined quantitative and qualitative methodology. The authors were interested in how language teaching in the workplace can be organized for foreigners and what challenges are faced by Slovenian organizations employing foreigners. The research conclusions are developed with practice recommendations for such organizations.

KEYWORDS: immigrants, education, integration, learning language, organization

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UVOD

Za uspešno vključevanje priseljencev je pomembno odgovorno vzajemno delovanje, ki temelji na vrednotah Splošne deklaracije človekovih pravic (2018). Človekove pravice niso od nekdaj in niso dane same po sebi, prav tako niso imanentne družbenemu redu. So predmet demokratičnega razpravljanja v družbi, ki zadeva prav vse, kako na ravni delovanja sprejemati ljudi, ki jih lahko določa različnost, tudi izkušnja preseljevanja, ter jih vključevati v družbeno participacijo (Milharčič Hladnik, 2012: 9). Prispevek prinaša pomembno perspektivo vključevanja odraslih priseljencev v proces učenja jezika na delovnem mestu, v delovni organizaciji. Njegov namen je predstaviti, na kakšen način organizirati jezikovno izobraževanje na delovnem mestu za tujce ter s kakšnimi izzivi se pri tem soočajo slovenske organizacije. V ta namen smo razvili priporočila, ki so lahko v pomoč delovnim organizacijam, ki zaposlujejo tujce.

V letu 2020 se je v Slovenijo priselilo 11.360 slovenskih državljanov (SURS, 2020). Povečanje števila priseljenih je predvsem posledica določil Zakona o prijavi prebivališča in s tem prenehanja veljavnosti začasnega prebivališča v tujini.[1] Tujih priseljenih državljanov je bilo 24.750. Največ ljudi, 14.450 ali 58,38 % od vseh skupno priseljenih tujih državljanov, se je v Slovenijo priselilo zaradi zaposlitve. Selitveni prirast tujih državljanov je bil pozitiven tako v letu 2019 (priselilo se je 19.052 prebivalcev več, kot se jih je odselilo) kot tudi v letu 2020 (priselilo se je 12.816 prebivalcev več, kot se jih je odselilo). Najpogostejši državi prejšnjega prebivališča priseljenih slovenskih državljanov sta bili v letu 2020 Nemčija (29 %) in Avstrija (18 %), sledile pa so Italija, Hrvaška in Švica. Istega leta se je v Slovenijo priselilo največ tujcev iz Bosne in Hercegovine (46 % vseh priseljenih tujih državljanov), pri največ preostalih pa so bile države prejšnjega prebivališča še Kosovo, Srbija, Severna Makedonija in Hrvaška. Položaj v Sloveniji se je z globalnimi migracijskimi procesi, še posebej po vključitvi Slovenije v Evropsko unijo (EU), spremenil, ob čemer je moč zaznati tudi, da se govorcem in govorkam južnoslovanskih jezikov pridružuje tudi vedno več govorcev in govork drugih, od slovenščine bolj oddaljenih jezikov (Ferbežar, 2018: 60; Sedmak et al., 2019: 6–76; SURS, 2020).

Priseljence zelo pogosto povezujejo motivi za preseljevanje, kot so zaposlitev, šolanje, kakovostno življenje zase, prihodnost otrok, socialna vključenost, pridružitev družinskim članom ipd. Na odločitev za selitev običajno vpliva preplet različnih dejavnikov. Velikokrat ne prevladujejo ekonomski, če pa že, se ti pogosto povezujejo še z drugimi dejavniki (Sedmak et al., 2019: 41–53; Vižintin, 2020: 73; Mlekuž, 2021: 10–22). Pri izbiri države in kraja naselitve lahko na odločitev za selitev vplivata obstoj priseljenske skupnosti v sprejemni državi in ugodna možnost ureditve stanovanjskega vprašanja (Medvešek, 2010; 54). Tudi družbeno-politične razmere

1 S 13. 8. 2020 je začasni naslov v tujini prenehal veljati 22.248 posameznikom, od tega je bilo nekaj manj kot 18.500 oseb uvrščenih med prebivalce Slovenije in s tem med priseljene.

(npr. meddržavne pogodbe o zaposlovanju delavcev, vojne razmere ipd.) so lahko pomemben motiv za selitev (Vižintin, 2020: 75).

Družbenopolitična povezanost izobraževanja z družbo v primerih preseljevanja vključuje številne (administrativne) protokole in postopke, zakonodajo, uredbe, politiko, družbene in/ali izobraževalne prakse, kulturo, ideologijo, pa tudi ključne kompetence[2] ter kontekst in okoliščine posameznika (Peček & Skubic Ermenc, 2016; 8–24; Vižintin, 2018: 89–106; Lesar, 2019: 50–69; Evropska komisija, 2019: 5; Vižintin, 2020: 73–89). Uspešna integracija odraslih priseljencev je v veliki meri odvisna od dveh medsebojno povezanih dejavnikov: znanja jezika in zaposlitve (Jug Došler, 2021a; 2021b). Človek se uči jezika, ko participira v skupni praksi. Učenje je del vsake socialne participacije v praksah, v katerih je človek dejaven (Lave & Wenger 1991: 27–58; Linde, 2009: 196–224). Tako je povsem na mestu vprašanje, kakšno podporo potrebuje priseljena odrasla oseba pri učenju jezika v delovnem okolju ter kako mu lahko pri tem pomaga delovna organizacija.

Delovno okolje priseljenega lahko predstavlja vir tem za učenje slovenskega jezika in spretnosti za opravljanje dela hkrati. S tem spretnosti in kompetence zaposlenega, pridobljene z (jezikovnim) izobraževanjem, prispevajo h kakovostno opravljenemu delu in reševanju operativnih izzivov v delovni organizaciji (Rogoff, 2008; Marsick et al., 2009; ECML, 2022)[3]. Pri učenju jezika je pomembno ustvarjati pogoje za to, da priseljeni odrasli usvajajo jezikovne zmožnosti v slovenščini in da se z usvojenimi jezikovnimi zmožnostmi na delovnih mestih sporazumevajo (Stabej, 2004: 5–6; Ferbežar & Pirih Svetina, 2004: 18–20). Tako se lažje vključijo v delovno in sociokulturno okolje. Znanje jezika je pomembno tudi za zagotavljanje varnosti na delovnem mestu. Tam priseljene odrasle čaka veliko izzivov, povezanih z ustreznim razumevanjem delovnega procesa in življenja v družbi nasploh, navodil,

2 Ključne kompetence so tiste, ki jih vsi posamezniki potrebujejo za osebnostno izpolnitev in razvoj, zaposljivost, socialno vključenost, uspešno življenje v mirnih družbah, trajnosten in zdrav način življenja ter aktivno državljanstvo. Razvijajo se v okviru vseživljenjskega učenja, od zgodnjega otroštva skozi celotno odraslo dobo, in sicer s formalnim, neformalnim in priložnostnim učenjem v vseh okoljih, med drugim v družini, v šoli, na delovnem mestu, v soseski in drugih skupnostih. Referenčni okvir določa osem ključnih kompetenc: pismenost, večjezičnost, matematična, naravoslovna, tehniška in inženirska kompetenca, digitalna kompetenca, osebnostna, družbena in učna kompetenca, državljanska kompetenca, kompetenca podjetnosti, kulturna zavest in izražanje (Evropska komisija, 2019: 5).

3 Učenje jezika lahko poteka kot: (1) tečaj splošnega učenja slovenskega jezika za vse ravni predznanja, ki ga izvaja za to usposobljen zunanji izvajalec, učitelj slovenskega jezika; (2) skupinski ali individualni (mentorski) program učenja slovenskega jezika po meri organizacije (ki se v delovni organizaciji izvaja kot neformalna oblika izobraževanja); (3) intenzivni usmerjeni program učenja slovenskega jezika, ki poteka v delavniški obliki v manjših skupinah (v okviru delovne organizacije se izvaja kot neformalna oblika izobraževanja, ni nujno, da na delovnem mestu); (4) tečaj učenja slovenskega jezika, ki vključuje pripravo na izpit iz slovenskega jezika po javnoveljavnem programu Slovenščina kot drugi in tuji jezik; (5) poletne ali zimske šole ali počitniški tečaji za odrasle, ki jih organizira delovna organizacija; (6) drugi programi učenja (poslovnega) jezika in jezika stroke (ECML, 2022).

nalog, pravic in odgovornosti.[4] Z učenjem jezika se odrasli priseljeni socializirajo, si ustvarjajo predstave o družbenem in delovnem svetu ter razvijajo družbeno zavest in vrednote. Prevzemajo norme in delovne navade ter si oblikujejo del identitete, ki je pripadna delovni organizaciji (Južnič, 1993: 11–140; ECML, 2022).

Dejavniki, ki lahko v različni meri vplivajo na usvajanje drugega in/ali tujega jezika, so: motivacija; jezikovna sposobnost ali nadarjenost; dostop do jezika; biološko-fizični dejavniki (starost itd.); psihološki dejavniki (npr. osebnostne lastnosti, stališča itd.); socialni dejavniki, med katerimi so geografski in narodnostno jezikovni, izobrazbeni, socialnoekonomski dejavniki; individualni dejavniki, specifični za posameznike; kognitivni ali učni slog; učno okolje in pogoji učenja; informiranost in védenje o svetu; znanje drugih jezikov ter kulturno okolje, iz katerega izhaja učeči se (Pirih Svetina, 2005: 13–14). Jezikovna bližina maternega jezika (še zlasti južnoslovanskega) jeziku sprejemne države je prav tako okoliščina, ki lahko pozitivno vpliva na učenje jezika. Motivacijski dejavnik za učenje slovenščine je lahko tudi ta, da je slovenščina pogoj za pridobitev državljanstva z naturalizacijo in da je znanje oz. uporaba slovenskega jezika pogoj za opravljanje določenih poklicev in dejavnosti (Stabej, 2004: 8; Center za slovenščino, 2019).

METODOLOGIJA

V okviru raziskave[5] (N=568), katere podatke prikazujemo v poglavju Rezultati, je priložnostni vzorec sestavljalo 187 (33 %) vodij oddelkov v slovenskih podjetjih, v katerih so zaposleni tudi tujci, 288 (51 %) zaposlenih v upravi in 93 (16 %) drugih zaposlenih v podjetjih. Zbiranje podatkov je potekalo na osnovi strukturiranega anketnega vprašalnika, oblikovanega posebej za ta namen.[6] Pri pilotiranju vprašalnika in izvedbi raziskave je Andragoški center Slovenije (ACS) sodeloval s sodelavci Centra za slovenščino kot drugi in tuji jezik (CSDTJ FF UL) ter Ministrstva za izobraževanje, znanost in šport (MIZŠ).

V raziskavi sta bili uporabljeni deskriptivna in kavzalno-neeksperimentalna metoda empiričnega raziskovanja (Cenčič, 2009: 41). Pri deskriptivni metodi dela so bili podatki pridobljeni na podlagi pregleda strokovne in znanstvene literature[7] po naslednjih kriterijih: strokovnost, vsebinska ustreznost, aktualnost vira in dostopnost. Namen pridobivanja podatkov po deskriptivni metodi je bil iskanje značilnosti

4 Nerazumevanje slovenskega jezika na delovnem mestu lahko vodi do komunikacijskega šuma, ki se konča s pravnim postopkom (npr. priseljenec v določeni fazi delovnega razmerja ali še prej ne ve, kaj je podpisal).

5 Raziskava je bila ena od nalog v Letnem delovnem načrtu Andragoškega centra Slovenije pod okriljem Ministrstva za izobraževanje, znanost in šport.

6 Delovno skupino so sestavljali dr. Anita Jug Došler (ACS), Bronka Straus (MIZŠ), dr. Ina Ferbežar (CSDTJ FF UL), asist. dr. Damjan Huber (CSDTJ FF UL), izr. prof. dr. Simona Kranjc (CSDTJ FF UL), Tanja Jerman (CSDTJ FF UL) in Katja Krajnc (CSDTJ FF UL).

7 Ta nam je bila v pomoč pri snovanju raziskave in anketnega vprašalnika.

in analiza stanja na področju podpore priseljencem pri učenju jezika z vidika delovnih organizacij, ki zaposlujejo tujce. Pri kavzalnoneeksperimentalni metodi so bili podatki pridobljeni z empirično raziskavo (anketnim vprašalnikom), ki je vključevala 568 slovenskih podjetij ter vsebinske analize podatkov iz prispevkov deležnikov posveta, zapisnikov delovnih sestankov, dokumentacije primarnih in sekundarnih virov, etnografskih zapisov, raziskovalnega dnevnika, refleksije praks, intervjujev z izobraževalci in evalvacij usposabljanj (Preglednica 1). Raziskovalno delo je temeljilo na kombinirani metodologiji, zlasti tam, kjer je bila vsebinska analiza posameznih sklopov zasnovana na vprašanjih odprtega in/ali kombiniranega odprto-zaprtega tipa in kjer so bili sklepi oblikovani na podlagi združevanja vsebinsko sorodnih kategorij v ključne ugotovitve. Za kombinirani raziskovalni pristop smo se odločili, ker nam je omogočil izpeljavo združevanja podatkov, pojasnjevanje ene vrste podatkov z drugo, uporabo ene vrste podatkov za načrtovanje nadaljnjega pridobivanja podatkov ter medsebojno podkrepitev podatkov (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009: 30; Plano Clark & Ivankova, 2016: 23, 122). Uporabljeni so bili vsi trije metodološki pristopi: (1) kvantitativni pri anketnem vprašalniku za zaposlene[8] v podjetjih, (2) kvalitativni pri polstrukturiranih intervjujih za izobraževalce[9] (N=26) ter (3) kombinirani pri analizi dokumentacije primarnih in sekundarnih virov, refleksiji praks, evalvaciji usposabljanj, etnografskih zapisih ter raziskovalnem dnevniku v kombinaciji z eno ali več kvalitativnimi tehnikami zbiranja podatkov (Corbin & Strauss, 2008: 87–90), predstavljenimi v Preglednici 1. Ker kombinirani raziskovalni pristopi združujejo prednosti kvantitativnega in kvalitativnega raziskovanja (Creswell & Creswell, 2018: 213), sta nam uporaba in kombiniranje različnih raziskovalnih metod in tehnik omogočala vpogled v nove perspektive raziskovalnega problema, saj so bili različni tipi zbranih podatkov, kolikor je bilo mogoče, integrirani v vse faze našega raziskovalnega dela.

ZBIRANJE, OBDELAVA PODATKOV IN KONČNA FORMULACIJA IZPELJANIH PRIPOROČIL

Zbiranje podatkov je potekalo od leta 2017 do vključno leta 2021 (evalvacije usposabljanj učiteljev programa ZIP pa od leta 2012 do vključno leta 2019). Analogija zbiranja podatkov je bila prilagojena načrtovanim aktivnostim nalog iz Letnega delovnega načrta (LDN) ACS v obdobju 2012–2021. Podrobnejši pregled tehnik in instrumentov, uporabljenih pri analizi podatkov, je prikazan v Preglednici 1.

8 Anketni vprašalnik je bil objavljen na spletni platformi 1KA. Anketiranje je potekalo med 10. 3. 2021 in 10. 6. 2021. Izvedba anketiranja je potekala na priložnostnem vzorcu na podlagi predhodnega ustnega in/ali pisnega dogovora za sodelovanje v raziskavi z vodilnimi iz podjetij.

9 Učitelje, ki priseljene odrasle poučujejo po programu Začetne integracije priseljencev (ZIP) in programu Opismenjevanje v slovenščini za odrasle govorce drugih jezikov (z dodatkom za mladoletnike – prosilce za mednarodno zaščito) (Opismenjevanje).

Izpeljane aktivnosti LDN ACS	**Tehnike in instrumenti za analizo podatkov**
• priprava načrta za nalogo LDN • delovni sestanki	• zapisniki delovnih sestankov • delovna gradiva, poročila, pisni komentarji, raziskovalni dnevnik • analizni podatki, zakonodajne podlage
• prispevki deležnikov posveta	• poročilo • analiza dokumentacije primarnih in sekundarnih virov, refleksija praks, etnografski zapisi
• pilotiranje vprašalnika v dveh slovenskih podjetjih, ki zaposlujeta tujce	• anketa (anketni vprašalnik)
• izvedba vodenih intervjujev (deležniki posveta, učitelji programa ZIP in programa Opismenjevanje)	• vprašalnik za polstrukturirani intervju, raziskovalni dnevnik
• analize evalvacij usposabljanj učiteljev, ki v praksi izvajajo program ZIP	• evalvacijski vprašalnik, refleksije praks
• priprava poročila s predlogi priporočil za implementacijo področja učenja jezika priseljencev v delovnem okolju	• dokumentacija primarnih in sekundarnih virov, etnografski zapisi • projektna dokumentacija razvojnih aktivnosti LDN, raziskovalni dnevnik
• empirična raziskava na vzorcu slovenskih podjetij	• anketa (anketni vprašalnik)

Preglednica 1: Uporabljene tehnike in instrumenti zbiranja podatkov glede na izpeljane aktivnosti.

Obdelava podatkov, pri kateri smo izhajali iz kvantitativne metodologije, je temeljila na ravni deskriptivne statistike, pri kateri smo uporabili osnovno deskriptivno statistiko numeričnih spremenljivk (izračune frekvenc in deležev ter srednjih vrednosti). Pri empirični validaciji anketnega vprašalnika empirične raziskave smo uporabili faktorsko analizo in Cronbachov koeficient alfa. Na podlagi Bartlettovega testa sferičnosti smo po metodi glavnih komponent faktorizirali postavke in naredili rotacijo varimax. Glede na to, da je prvi faktor pojasnil 42,9 % variance, smo ocenili, da je instrument veljaven. Koeficienti notranje skladnosti so se pri posameznih spremenljivkah gibali med 0,71 in 0,89. Pri obdelavi podatkov, pri kateri smo izhajali iz kvalitativne metodologije, smo uporabili postopek kvalitativne vsebinske analize, ki je temeljil na kategorizaciji. Želeli smo zajeti tudi mnenja na podlagi osebnih izkušenj o učenju jezika odraslih priseljencev pri delu, in sicer tako z vidika učiteljev, ki v praksi izvajajo programa ZIP[10] in Opismenjevanje, kot tudi z vidika priseljenih in vodilnih delavcev v podjetjih, ki skrbijo za področje zaposlovanja in/ali izobraževanja priseljencev ali pa so na kakšen drug način povezani z njimi in imajo zato poglobljen uvid. Pogovore deležnikov posveta in učiteljev programa ZIP in programa Opismenjevanje smo dobesedno zapisali in zapise analizirali v skladu s kvalitativno vsebinsko analizo teksta s pomočjo ročnega odprtega kodiranja (Corbin & Straus, 2008: 229–245).

REZULTATI

V nadaljevanju predstavljamo rezultate empirične raziskave (Andragoški center Slovenije, 2021a; 2021b), v kateri je sodelovalo 568 anketirancev, zaposlenih v slovenskih podjetjih, ki zaposlujejo tudi tujce (187 vodij oddelkov, 288 strokovnih delavcev uprave podjetja ter 93 drugih delavcev podjetja).

Zanimalo nas je, ali slovenska podjetja od priseljenih delavcev zahtevajo predhodno znanje slovenščine. Pritrdilno je odgovorilo 106 (30 %) anketirancev (Preglednica 2), 243 (70 %) pa jih je navedlo, da podjetja tega ne zahtevajo.

Odgovori	Frekvenca	Delež
DA	106	30 %
NE	243	70 %
Skupaj odgovorjenih	349	100 %

Preglednica 2: Ali vaše podjetje od priseljenih delavcev zahteva predhodno znanje slovenščine? (Vir: Arhiv ACS, 2021).

Na vprašanje, ali slovenska podjetja za priseljene delavce organizirajo učenje slovenščine, še preden se ti vključijo v delovni proces, ali med tem, ko so že vključeni v delovni proces, je največ anketirancev (174 oz. 50 %) odgovorilo, da priseljencem omogočajo učenje jezika med tem, ko so že vključeni v delovni proces, 159 oz. 46 % pa, da jim tega ne omogočajo. 16 (5 %) podjetij priseljenim delavcem da na voljo določen čas (npr. kot preizkusno dobo), preden jih vključi v delovni proces (Preglednica 3).

10 Slovenija od leta 2012 naprej priseljencem omogoča udeležbo na brezplačnih tečajih slovenščine. Eden izmed brezplačnih javno veljavnih izobraževalnih programov za učenje slovenskega jezika je program ZIP. Financirata ga Ministrstvo za notranje zadeve in Evropski sklad za azil, migracije in vključevanje. ACS od leta 2012 izvaja temeljno usposabljanje za učitelje programa ZIP za priseljence ter svetovanje ustanovam in drugi strokovni javnosti v zvezi z izvedbo programa. ACS je do vključno leta 2021 usposobil 306 učiteljev slovenskega jezika (med njimi je bilo 17 kulturnih mediatorjev). Do vključno leta 2020 se je programa ZIP pri izvajalskih organizacijah udeležilo več kot 8.600 priseljencev (Andragoški center Slovenije, 2021a; Andragoški center Slovenije, 2021b; Jug Došler, 2021a; Jug Došler, 2021b).

Odgovori	Frekvenca	Delež
Da, damo jim na voljo določen čas, preden se vključijo v delovni proces.	16	5 %
Da, omogočimo jim učenje med tem, ko so že vključeni v delovni proces.	174	50 %
Ne	159	46 %
Skupaj odgovorjenih	349	100 %

Preglednica 3: Ali priseljenim delavcem omogočite učenje slovenščine?
(Vir: Arhiv ACS, 2021).

V raziskavi nas je zanimal jezik, ki ga anketiranci uporabljajo v podjetju, kjer delajo, ko se osebno pogovarjajo s priseljenimi (Preglednica 4). Največ anketirancev (155 oz. 46 %) pri tem uporablja slovenščino. Visok delež anketirancev (141 oz. 42 %) v osebnem pogovoru pri komunikaciji s priseljenimi delavci uporablja oba jezika, slovenščino in jezik priseljenca. V drugem jeziku (jeziku priseljenca) se pogovarja 40 (12 %) anketirancev.

Odgovori	Frekvenca	Delež
v slovenščini	155	46 %
v slovenščini in ... (napišite)	141	42 %
v drugem jeziku (najpogosteje je to jezik priseljenca)	40	12 %
Skupaj odgovorjenih	336	100 %

Preglednica 4: Jezik, ki ga anketiranci uporabljajo za komunikacijo s priseljenimi delavci v svojem podjetju, ko se z njimi osebno pogovarjajo (vir: Arhiv ACS, 2021).

Naslednje vprašanje se je glasilo: »Ali imate v vašem podjetju dvo- ali večjezične napise, navodila, varnostna opozorila, menije v menzi idr., da se priseljeni delavci lažje orientirajo?« (Preglednica 5). Odgovori anketirancev so pokazali, da večina slovenskih podjetij (267 oz. 82 %), tega nima.

Odgovori	Frekvenca	Delež
Da	58	18 %
Ne	267	82 %
Skupaj odgovorjenih	325	100 %

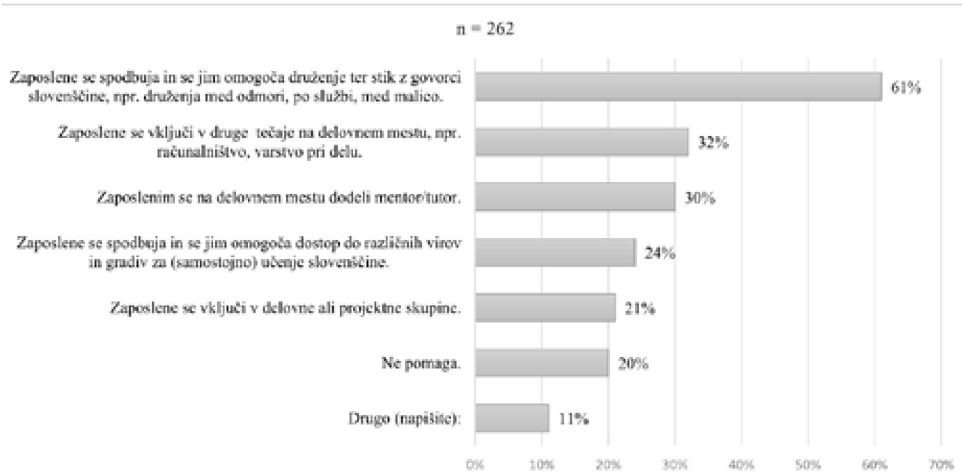
Preglednica 5: Ali imate v vašem podjetju dvo- ali večjezične napise, navodila, varnostna opozorila, menije v jedilnici idr.? (Vir: Arhiv ACS, 2021).

Na vprašanje, ali je v podjetju za zaposlene organizirano učenje slovenščine, je kar 265 (82 %) anketirancev odgovorilo, da ne (Preglednica 6). Med tistimi podjetji, ki za priseljene delavce organizirajo učenje slovenščine, jih je 42 (13 %) navedlo, da gre za učenje v obliki tečaja z učiteljem, ki je zunanji izvajalec, individualne ure z učiteljem pa ima organizirane 18 (5 %) podjetij. Učenje slovenščine za priseljene delavce med delovnim časom poteka samo v 11-ih (3 %) podjetjih, v 27-ih (8 %) podjetjih pa poteka učenje slovenščine zunaj delovnega časa.

Odgovori	Frekvenca	Delež
Da	60	18 %
Ne	265	82 %
Skupaj	325	100 %

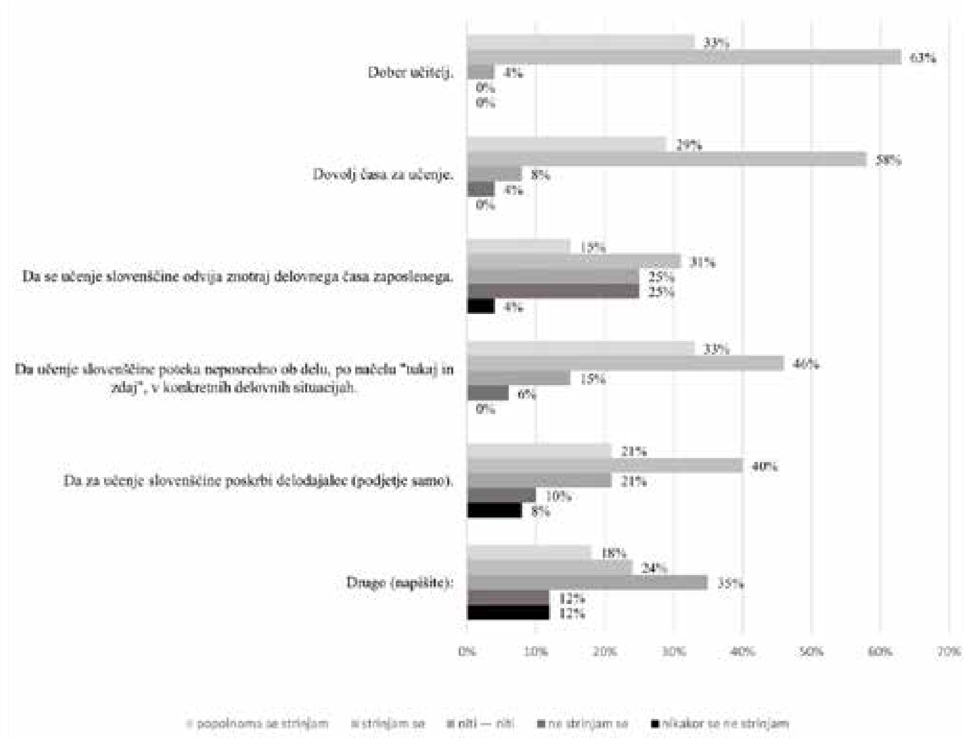
Preglednica 6: Ali je v vašem podjetju za zaposlene organizirano učenje slovenščine? (Vir: Arhiv ACS, 2021).

Zanimalo nas je tudi, ali podjetje kako drugače pomaga pri učenju slovenščine. Na to vprašanje je odgovorilo 262 anketirancev (Graf 1). Največ podjetij, 61 %, zaposlenim omogoča druženje ter stik z govorci slovenščine, npr. druženje med odmori, po službi, med malico. 32 % podjetij zaposlene vključuje v druge tečaje na delovnem mestu, npr. računalništva, varstva pri delu ipd., 30 % podjetij pa zaposlenim na delovnem mestu dodeljuje tutorja oz. mentorja. 24 % podjetij zaposlene spodbuja k (samostojnemu) učenju slovenščine in jim omogoča dostop do različnih virov in gradiv, 21 % pa zaposlene vključuje v delovne ali projektne time. 20 % podjetij, tako so navedli anketiranci, priseljenim delavcem ne pomaga pri učenju slovenščine na druge načine.



Graf 1: Ali podjetje kako drugače pomaga priseljenim delavcem pri učenju slovenščine?

Naše naslednje vprašanje je bilo, kaj po oceni anketirancev priseljenim delavcem olajša učenje jezika v delovni organizaciji (Graf 2). V največji meri ocenjujejo, da jim pri tem najbolj pomaga dober učitelj (63 %), dovolj časa za učenje (58 %) ter to, da učenje slovenščine poteka neposredno ob delu, po načelu »tukaj in zdaj« v konkretnih delovnih situacijah (46 %).



Graf 2: Kaj po vaši oceni priseljenim delavcem, zaposlenim v vašem podjetju, olajša učenje slovenščine/jezika? (Vir: Arhiv ACS, 2021).

Med našim raziskovalnim delom smo razvili šest priporočil. Analitičen proces razvoja priporočil smo pričeli že med samim zbiranjem podatkov (Preglednica 1). Sproti smo oblikovali vmesne sklepe oz. priporočila, ki smo jih v nadaljevalnih fazah izpeljanih aktivnosti LDN ACS dopolnjevali še z drugimi tehnikami zbiranja podatkov ter rezultati naše raziskave. Ti so bili podlaga za kodiranje in končno vsebinsko analizo teksta.[11] Formulacija končnih priporočil, ki jih predstavljamo v nadaljevanju, je postala naša na novo razvita utemeljitvena teorija.

11 Vsebino tekstovnega materiala izpeljanih aktivnosti smo analizirali neodvisno od posamezne aktivnosti. Kode smo določali med samo analizo teksta. Namen naše analize je bil razviti čim večje število analitičnih kategorij iz tekstovnega, raziskovalnega in dokumentacijskega gradiva izvedenih aktivnosti LDN ACS. Po primarnem kodiranju so bile vse kode pregledane. Bile so naše izhodišče za induktivni proces identificiranja analitičnih kategorij. Dobljene kategorije smo razvrščali v skupine in jih na podlagi vsebinske sorodnosti in povezanosti z določeno vsebinsko oz. skupno tematiko združevali. Kategorije so bile naše izhodišče za odkrivanje potreb in analiza stanja ter hkrati tudi izhodišče za smotrno povezovanje na novo nastajajoče utemeljene teorije oz. končne teoretične formulacije priporočil.

(1) Na podlagi izpeljanih aktivnosti (Preglednica 1) lahko zaključimo, da so potrebe in izzivi na področju učenja jezika priseljenih odraslih pri delu v precejšnji meri odvisni od potreb posameznih delodajalcev in delovnega procesa zaposlenih, kar je potrebno upoštevati pri snovanju jezikovnega izobraževanja. Podatki so pokazali, da podjetja večjo odgovornost za učenje slovenščine pripisujejo zaposlenim ali pa učenje jezika prepuščajo vodjem, ki pa so zelo redko deležni dodatnega usposabljanja v zvezi z jezikovnim poučevanjem priseljencev. Nekaterim se tudi ne zdi nujno spodbujati učenja slovenščine, če v podjetju obstaja možnost komunikacije v drugih jezikih. Tisti delodajalci, pri katerih so priseljenci izrazili željo po učenju slovenščine, so povedali, da so za učenje motivirani zato, da delo opravijo dobro in varno ter da imajo možnost napredovanja. Razlog za omejene možnosti za udeležbo na skupinskih tečajih je lahko tudi zahteven delovni čas. Podjetja bi morala v večji meri spodbujati zaposlene, da s priseljenimi delavci komunicirajo v slovenskem jeziku in se družijo s slovenskimi govorci in govorkami.

(2) Vodje bi bilo potrebno usposobiti za aktivno spodbujanje rabe slovenščine neposredno ob delu in tudi širše ter za spoštovanje medkulturnih razlik neposredno pri delovnem procesu v delovni ekipi, da ne pride do večvrednostnega kompleksa, izključevanja ali prednostnega vrednotenja določenih zaposlenih. Znotraj ene organizacije lahko deluje tudi več mrež različnih podizvajalcev, od katerih ima vsaka ima svoje vodje, t. i. posrednike, ki delajo na terenu neposredno s priseljenimi delavci. Ti pa ne komunicirajo in tudi nimajo neposrednega stika z vodji v organizaciji in tudi ne s kadrovsko službo organizacije oz. službo za izobraževanje in razvoj kadrov. Da je pri učenju jezika na delovnem mestu lahko problem organizirana podpora, ki bi jo bilo potrebno zagotavljati v večji meri, so med drugim pokazali tudi naši podatki. To stanje bi bilo mogoče preseči na nacionalni[12] in lokalni ravni, npr. s povezovanjem delovne organizacije z lokalnimi ponudniki jezikovnih tečajev.

(3) Smiselno bi bilo razviti program usposabljanja za vodje v podjetjih, ki so v neposrednem stiku s priseljenimi delavci. Ta bi bil lahko sestavljen iz splošnega in specifičnega modula, ki bi se razvijal sproti glede na potrebe podjetja. Vodje potrebujejo temeljna znanja in spretnosti o tem, kako komunicirati ter s kakšnimi pristopi in metodami aktivno spodbujati proces učenja jezika neposredno pri delu.

(4) Naše naslednje priporočilo je, da je v učnem procesu potrebno izhajati iz priseljencev in njihovega vsakdana, kjer živijo in delujejo. Potrebno je izhajati iz uporabljivih vsebin in tem, ki jih morajo priseljeni delavci razumeti za opravljanje dela in za življenje nasploh. Priseljencem bi bilo potrebno ponuditi možnost neformalnega učenja jezika[13] in dostop do različnih gradiv za (samostojno) učenje. Vodilne bi bilo smiselno informirati o možnostih, ki jih lahko delovna organizacija pri

12 Npr. s projekti, razpisi, novimi programi ipd., ki bi se vsebinsko prilagajali konkretnim sporazumevalnim potrebam v delovnih organizacijah.

13 Tudi z možnostjo vključevanja v različne aktivnosti lokalne skupnosti, nevladnih organizacij, društev ipd.

učenju jezika priseljencem nudi z minimalnimi finančnimi sredstvi (kot so npr. dvooz. večjezični napisi, slikovna gradiva delovnih postopkov ipd.).

(5) Učenje jezika pri delu je za priseljence lažje in bolj dostopno (z vidika presegania situacijskih ovir), če ga organizira sama organizacija. Zanje je ugodneje, če učenje poteka med njihovim delovnim časom ter v prostoru organizacije, kjer opravljajo delo. Slednje pa zaradi narave dela organizacije ni vedno izvedljivo in lahko predstavlja problem, katerega bi bilo potrebno vsaj delno preseči s kombiniranim učenjem slovenščine med njihovim delovnim časom in izven njega.

(6) V naši raziskavi je večina anketirancev izpostavila pomembnost učenja jezika neposredno ob delu, torej »tukaj in zdaj«, v konkretnih delovnih situacijah, kjer učenje ni preveč intenzivno oz. je manj formalno. Rešitve za izboljšanje in lažje učenje jezika pa priseljenci vidijo tudi v neformalnih srečanjih in druženjih (npr. med odmori, pred in po službi), v mentorstvu ter v vsakdanji komunikaciji s sodelavci in svojimi neposrednimi vodji, če ta poteka v jeziku, ki naj bi ga obvladovali.

RAZPRAVA

Perspektiva podpore delovne organizacije priseljencem pri učenju jezika na delovnem mestu je v slovenskem prostoru večinoma novost in (še) nima veliko podpore, po svetu pa se poskusno razvija, večinoma v okviru različnih projektov.[14] Da imajo lahko organizacije pri tem precejšnjo vlogo, je pokazalo tudi naše raziskovalno delo. Ugotovili smo, da lahko organizacije priseljencem za uspešno opravljanje dela ter za uspešno socialno vključenost v delovno in družbeno okolje pomagajo na več različnih načinov. Vključijo jih lahko v različne programe usposabljanja, učenja in jezikovne pomoči na delovnem mestu (ne samo v sistem mentorstva ali vajeništva) ter v različne delovne in projektne time. Priseljenim delavcem lahko zagotovijo podporo pri učenju jezika neposredno pri delu po načelu »tukaj in zdaj« (npr. priseljeni delavci se ves čas, tudi med odmori, s sodelavci in s svojim neposrednim vodjem pogovarjajo v jeziku, ki naj bi ga usvojili). Omogočajo jim lahko dostop do različnih

14 Npr. projekt E-Vollution (2008–2011) se je ukvarjal z raziskovanjem aplikacij omrežnih tehnologij pri učenju jezika v delovnem okolju. Projekt Developing migrants' language competences at work (2012–2015) se je ukvarjal z razvojem jezikovnih kompetenc odraslih priseljencev pri delu. V okviru projekta Language for Work Project: Tools for professional development (2016–2018) je bilo razvitih več orodij za učenje jezika v delovnem okolju (npr. vodiči za učenje jezika in uspešno komunikacijo v delovni organizaciji, zbirka primerov dobrih praks, seznam za preverjanje kompetenc izobraževalcev itd.). Projekt VIME: Volunteers in Migrant Education, v katerem je kot projektni partner sodeloval tudi CSDTJ FF UL, je opredelil različne vloge in kompetence poklicnih učiteljev in učiteljic ter drugih, ki priseljenim pomagajo pri usvajanju jezika. Osredotočal se je tudi na učinkovito vključevanje prostovoljcev in prostovoljk v jezikovno izobraževanje priseljenih. Projekt Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants (LIAM) je nudil podporo oblikovalcem politik in praktikom, ki so si prizadevali olajšati integracijo migrantov v civilno družbo. Osredotočal se je na jezikovno politiko in njen razvoj, na programe učenja jezikov za odrasle migrante in na ocenjevanje učnih rezultatov.

(spletnih) virov in gradiv za (samostojno) učenje jezika ter več stika z govorci slovenskega jezika. Načrtujejo lahko priložnosti za (načrtno) odpravljanje ovir pri učenju in sporazumevanju v slovenščini, npr. z neformalnimi druženji, s katerimi priseljencem omogočijo stik s slovenskimi govorci. Preverjajo lahko, ali je komunikacija na delovnem mestu za priseljene delavce razumljiva in vsem dostopna, ali se ob tem podpira pogovor v slovenščini, medsebojno učenje, dialog in mentorstvo, ali vodje znajo dajati navodila in komunicirati z zaposlenimi. Za priseljene delavce je mogoče organizirati različne tečaje slovenskega jezika, učenje pa lahko prevzamejo tudi zaposleni v organizaciji, ki poznajo delovne procese v organizaciji ipd.

Vsakdo, tudi priseljenec, ima pravico do kakovostnega in vključujočega izobraževanja, da ohrani in pridobi znanja in spretnosti, ki mu omogočajo polno udeležbo v družbi in uspešno obvladovanje prehodov na trgu dela (Načelo 1) (Evropska komisija, 2020d)[15]. Odločitev o tem, koliko delavcev migrantov sprejme posamezna država, da bo delovna migracija koristila vsem, ostaja v pristojnosti držav. V zvezi s tem je Evropska komisija (EK) Komisiji evropskega parlamenta, Svetu EU, Evropskemu ekonomsko-socialnemu odboru ter Evropskemu Odboru regij v okviru Programa znanj in spretnosti za Evropo za trajnostno konkurenčnost, socialno pravičnost in odpornost sporočila, da je potrebno za usmerjanje zakonitih migracij v regije in poklice, v katerih primanjkuje znanj in spretnosti, bolje usklajevati ponudbo in povpraševanje na trgu dela ter pri tem razvijati in uveljavljati bistveno bolj humane in jasne postopke in protokole, vezane na migracijsko politiko in zaposlovanje. Potrebno je okrepiti prizadevanja za izboljšanje zakonitih poti v EU in priznavanje kompetenc državljanov tretjih držav na trgu dela EU. To bi bilo treba storiti v partnerstvu s tretjimi državami, v okviru katerega bi se s povečanim vlaganjem v znanja in spretnosti spodbujala razvoj in mobilnost. Smiselno je bolj strateško izkoriščati potenciale, znanja in spretnosti migrantov iz tretjih držav, ki že zakonito prebivajo v EU. V okviru prihodnjega pakta o migracijah in azilu si bo EK prizadevala zagotoviti več zakonitih poti v EU, tudi s ponovnim začetkom pogajanj o direktivi o modri karti za privabljanje visokokvalificiranih delavcev. Pakt naj bi zagotovil tudi verodostojne možnosti za zakonito migracijo v okviru novih partnerstev s tretjimi državami za privabljanje talentov ter preučil nove instrumente za zakonite migracije (Evropska komisija, 2020c). V vseh državah pa so poleg priseljencev in brezposelnih pereča ciljna skupina tudi odrasli z nizko stopnjo izobrazbe in/ali neustreznimi kompetencami, ki jih negotove razmere silijo v pre- in dokvalifikacijo.[16]

15 Evropski steber socialnih pravic zagotavlja nove in učinkovitejše pravice za državljane, pri čemer gradi na 20 ključnih načelih, razvrščenih v tri kategorije: enake možnosti in dostop do trga dela, pošteni delovni pogoji ter socialna zaščita in vključevanje (Evropska komisija, 2020d).

16 Za Evropejce v starosti od 16 do 65 let z nizko ravnijo temeljnih znanj in spretnosti, ki predstavljajo 20–25 odstotkov celotnega prebivalstva v Evropi, je manj verjetno, da se bodo vključili v izobraževanje ali se polno udejstvovali v digitalnem gospodarstvu in družbi. Izpostavljeni so večjemu tveganju brezposelnosti, revščine in socialne izključenosti, večjim zdravstvenim tveganjem ter imajo krajšo pričakovano življenjsko dobo. Med nizko kvalificiranimi osebami

Tudi demografske spremembe in pandemija bolezni Covid-19 nas je opomnila, kako odvisni smo od zdravstvenega in socialnega sektorja. Sektor zdravstvenega in socialnega varstva zaposluje 10 % vseh zaposlenih v EU, njihov delež pa se nenehno povečuje. Projekcije napovedujejo 8 milijonov (novih) delovnih mest v naslednjih desetih letih. Poleg tega se bo v prihodnjih letih močno povečala uporaba novih digitalnih tehnologij, zlasti za izboljševanje kakovosti oskrbe in učinkovitosti zdravstvenega sistema. Razvoj in potreba po uporabi novih digitalnih tehnologij, umetne inteligence in robotike sta napovedana tudi za druge sektorje in področja (Evropska komisija, 2020b; Bregar et al., 2020). Tako bodo znanja in spretnosti z navedenih področij postali nadvse pomembni, ljudje z njimi pa tudi bolj zaposljivi. Po ocenah EK bodo zaradi pandemije bolezni Covid-19 nekateri sektorji utrpeli najvišje izgube realne bruto dodane vrednosti, in sicer od 20 % do 40 % glede na leto 2019, promet pa se bo ponekod zmanjšal tudi za več kot 70 % (Evropska komisija, 2020a; Evropska komisija, 2020c). Če strnemo, bomo morali prav vsi prej ali slej za svoj obstoj znati izkoristiti vse svoje talente[17] in nacionalno raznolikost, ki jo soustvarjajo tudi priseljenci. Pri tem pa lahko imajo organizacije, ki zaposlujejo, ohranjajo in razvijajo nova delovna mesta, precejšnjo vlogo.

ZAKLJUČEK

Naše ugotovitve so potrdile potrebo priseljenih delavcev po pridobivanju jezikovnih kompetenc, če ti jezik uporabljajo v avtentičnih delovnih situacijah. Tako je za posamezno organizacijo pomembno vedeti, kaj odraslim priseljencem pri učenju jezika pomaga in kaj jih pri tem ovira. Bolj so vodje, ki neposredno skrbijo za odrasle priseljence, vključeni v proces učenja jezika pri delu, učinkovitejše je učenje jezika. Da bodo vodje znali voditi, motivirati in spodbujati učenje jezika na delovnem mestu, jih je potrebno opolnomočiti z ustreznimi pristopi in metodami za učenje jezika pri delu, ki vključujejo tudi znanja, spretnosti in kompetence za vzpostavljanje medkulturnega dialoga in spoštovanja različnosti v delovnem timu.

Ob tem, ko ob organizirani podpori poteka proces učenja jezika, priseljeni delavci razvijajo in gradijo tudi svojo osebnost ter pridobivajo nova znanja, vedenja, spretnosti, kompetence, izkušnje in znanstva. S tem lahko dosegajo in transformirajo številne osebne in poklicne cilje ter razvijajo svojo osebno in poklicno identiteto. S tem pa recipročno kot individuumi pripomorejo k razvoju organizacije, kjer so zaposleni, oziroma družbe nasploh.

s temeljnimi pomanjkljivostmi v osnovnih znanjih in spretnostih bi bil lahko velik delež brezposelnih (zlasti dolgotrajno brezposelnih) in pripadnikov drugih ranljivih skupin, na primer starejših delavcev, ekonomsko neaktivnih oseb in državljanov tretjih držav. Zaradi teh pomanjkljivosti slednji težje vstopijo in se tudi težje vrnejo na trg dela (Evropska komisija, 2016).

17 Z aktualnimi in potrebnimi znanji in spretnostmi, ki jih narekujejo razvojni trendi prihodnosti in trajnostni razvoj.

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SUMMARY

SUPPORTING IMMIGRANTS IN WORKPLACE LANGUAGE LEARNING: CHALLENGES FOR ORGANIZATIONS
Anita Jug Došler

Language-learning support in the workplace, which the author talks about in this article, is extremely important for an adult immigrant—not only for the successful completion of work tasks but also for successful social inclusion in the work and social environment. Adult immigrants face many challenges in the workplace related to an adequate understanding of the work process and social life in general, understanding instructions, tasks, rights, and duties. The article is based on a quantitative and qualitative methodological approach and an approach of integration of quantitative and qualitative methodology in combination with one (or more) qualitative data collection techniques. The author then uses them to develop the article's conclusions and recommendations for practice. The author's findings have confirmed that immigrant workers must acquire language skills when using the language in authentic work situations. At the workplace level, an organization should know what helps and what hinders adult immigrants in work-related language learning.

The more managers who directly instruct and supervise adult immigrants are involved in the language-learning process in the workplace, the more effective the learning is. Leaders can guide, motivate, and promote language learning in the workplace if they are equipped with appropriate approaches and methods for workplace teaching and learning languages, including knowledge, skills, and competencies for establishing intercultural dialog, respecting diversity, and achieving interculturality in the work team. As the language-learning process progresses, immigrant workers also develop and build their personalities, new knowledge, behaviors, skills, competencies, experiences, and social networks. In this way, they can achieve and realize many of their personal and professional goals and develop their personal and professional identities. They can also act reciprocally as individuals and contribute to the development of the organization in which they are employed or to society's development in general.

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JEZIKOVNA REALNOST V AVSTRIJI Z VIDIKA PRISELJENCEV IN ČEZMEJNIH DELAVCEV S SLOVENSKIM DRŽAVLJANSTVOM

Katarina TIBAUT[I]

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IZVLEČEK

Jezikovna realnost v Avstriji z vidika priseljencev in čezmejnih delavcev s slovenskim državljanstvom

Članek obravnava jezikovno realnost slovenskih državljanov v Avstriji, ki s prenosom svojega prebivališča ali delovnega mesta zaradi nemščine, njenih različic in drugih jezikov, ki se tam govorijo, vstopijo v jezikovno heterogen družbeni prostor. Namen raziskave je bil na eni strani ugotoviti, katere jezike in jezikovne zvrsti slovenski uporabljajo državljani v svojem (delovnem) vsakdanjiku v Avstriji, na drugi strani pa, ali med priseljenci in čezmejnimi delavci obstajajo statistično značilne razlike. Raziskava ponuja prvi sociolingvistični vpogled v še precej neraziskano temo.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: jezikovna praksa, priseljenci, čezmejni delavci, Avstrija, nemščina

ABSTRACT

The Linguistic Reality in Austria from the Perspective of International Migrants and Cross-Border Workers with Slovenian Citizenship

The article deals with the linguistic reality of Slovenian citizens in Austria who, by transferring their place of residence or place of work, enter a linguistically heterogeneous social space due to the official German language, its varieties, and other languages that are spoken there. The purpose of the research was to find out, on the one hand, which languages and linguistic genres Slovenian citizens use in their (working) daily life in Austria and, on the other hand, whether there are statistically significant differences between international migrants and cross-border workers. The study contributes a first sociolinguistic insight into a still largely unexplored topic.

KEYWORDS: language practice, international migrants, cross-border workers, Austria, German language

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UVOD

Po podatkih statističnega urada Evropske unije Eurostat je v letu 2016 zaradi dela mejo z Avstrijo vsakodnevno prečkalo približno 14.600 oseb s slovenskim državljanstvom (Eurostat Statistik, 2015). Po poročanju medijev (npr. Al. Ma., 2021; Sobotainfo, 2021; Toplak, 2021) naj bi bilo število oseb, ki prečkajo mejo, bistveno višje, in sicer med 30.000 in 40.000.[1] Slovenski državljani, ki opravljajo poklicno dejavnost v Avstriji in prebivajo v Sloveniji, kamor se dnevno oz. najmanj enkrat tedensko vračajo, so v skladu z Uredbo Evropske gospodarske skupnosti št. 1408/71 (EGS, 1971) opredeljeni kot čezmejni delavci. Iz te definicije lahko razberemo časovno-prostorsko razsežnost, pri čemer je časovna razsežnost določena s konstantnostjo vožnje na delo, prostorska razsežnost pa z neposredno bližino sosednjih držav (Gabriel et al., 2014; Wille, 2012). Sosednji državi Slovenija in Avstrija tvorita tako imenovano regijo čezmejnih delavcev, pri čemer Slovenija čezmejnim delavcem predstavlja njihov dom, Avstrija pa delovno območje. Na podlagi krožne strukture mobilnosti – Slovenija-Avstrija-Slovenija – se čezmejni delavci redno oz. najmanj enkrat na teden vračajo na izhodišče svojega gibanja (prim. Wille, 2019; Wille et al., 2012).

Medtem ko se čezmejni delavci vračajo v kraj bivališča, se priseljenci dolgotrajno preselijo v Avstrijo. Po zadnjih podatkih avstrijskega statističnega urada je leta 2020 v Avstriji živelo nekaj manj kot 21.500 oseb s slovenskim državljanstvom (Statistik Austria, 2020). Tako kot definicija čezmejnih delavcev se tudi definicija priseljencev opira na časovno-prostorski vidik (Brizić, 2007; Castles, 2000; Han, 2010; Treibel, 2011). S časovnega vidika lahko o migraciji govorimo takrat, ko posamezniki spremenijo prebivališče za obdobje najmanj treh mesecev. Če je sprememba prebivališča daljša od dvanajstih mesecev, že govorimo o dolgotrajni migraciji (Düvell, 2006). Prostorski vidik vključuje selitve, ki se osredotočajo na premagovanje določenih razdalj. Te razdalje so pogosto povezane s prehodom političnih meja. Strokovno-znanstvena literatura razlikuje med notranjimi in zunanjimi migracijami (Fassmann, 2012; Han, 2010). Medtem ko so notranje migracije razumljene kot menjave prebivališča znotraj nacionalnih teritorialnih enot, se zunanje migracije navezujejo na čezmejne selitve med vsaj dvema državama (Han, 2010); prebivališče osebe se tako premakne čez upravno oz. državno mejo (Treibel, 2007). Slednje se nanaša tudi na ciljno skupino prispevka, in sicer ko priseljenci spremenijo oz. premaknejo stalno prebivališče iz Slovenije v Avstrijo.

S prenosom njihovega prebivališča ali delovnega mesta se je torej za približno 60.000 ljudi s slovenskim državljanstvom spremenilo njihovo jezikovno okolje. Osrednja naloga prispevka je vpogled v prav to jezikovno realnost čezmejnih delavcev in priseljencev v Avstriji. Po eni strani želim ugotoviti, katere jezike in jezikovne zvrsti uporabljajo slovenski državljani v svojem (delovnem) vsakdanjiku v Avstriji,

1 Natančnejših podatkov o čezmejnem delu slovenskih državljanov v sosednji Avstriji ni na voljo.

po drugi strani pa, ali med ciljnima skupinama v rabi posameznih jezikov in jezikovnih zvrsti obstajajo statistično značilne razlike. Posebno pozornost bom namenila uporabi slovenskega in nemškega jezika ter njunim narečnim različicam. Podatke bom pridobila z anketnim vprašalnikom (n = 507) in vodenimi intervjuji (n = 15). V analizo vključeni podatki ponujajo vpogled v še precej neraziskano temo.

TEORETIČNI OKVIR

Nemščina je edini uradni državni jezik Republike Avstrije, navaja prvi odstavek 8. člena avstrijske zvezne ustave iz leta 1920 (Bundes-Verfassungsgesetz, 2020).[2] Ne glede na enojezično normo pa je nemščina jezik različnih pojavnih oblik, tj. jezikovnih zvrsti (Löffler, 2010; Barbour & Stevenson, 1998). Jezikovne zvrsti so »funkcionalno ločeni, sestavni podsistemi celotnega jezikovnega sistema« (Dittmar & Schmidt-Regener, 2001: 521). Na regionalni ravni je njihova raba omejena na določene regije (Schuppener, 2020). Zaradi bogate raznolikosti nemških jezikovnih zvrsti je med temi podsistemi težko razlikovati. Baßler in Spiekermann (2001) sta v ta namen razvila model, pri katerem se regionalne jezikovne zvrsti nahajajo med dvema skupinama: to sta standardni (oz. knjižni) jezik in narečje.

Baßlerjev in Spiekermannov model jezikovne različice ima obliko lijaka (Baßler in Spiekermann, 2001). Avtorja želita z njim opozoriti na različne stopnje diferenciacije jezikovnih zvrsti. Bolj je jezikovna zvrst diferencirana, manjši je njen komunikacijski razpon. Steinegger (1998) in Wiesinger (1985, 2010) menita, da je ta model mogoče prenesti na jezikovni položaj v Avstriji. Tako kot regionalne različice nemščine po modelu Baßlerja in Spiekermanna (Baßler in Spiekermann, 2001) lahko tudi jezikovno stanje v Avstriji razdelimo na štiri ravni oz. štiristopenjsko poliglosijo: lokalna narečja, regionalne jezike, regionalne standardne jezike, ki ne vsebujejo izrazitih narečnih značilnosti, ter standardni jezik.

Na vrh je bila uvrščena jezikovna zvrst, ki je najmanj diferencirana: standardni jezik. To pomeni, da standardni jezik velja za različico z največ komunikacijskimi uporabniki (Baßler & Spiekermann, 2001; Spiekermann, 2010). Zaradi svoje kodifikacije v normativnih slovarjih ima standardni jezik najvišjo stopnjo zavezujoče moči za vse člane politično opredeljene komunikacijske skupnosti (Dittmar & Schmidt-Regener, 2001). Standardni nemški jezik se pojavlja v treh nacionalnih različicah: avstrijski nemščini, »nemški« nemščini in standardni jezikovni obliki švicarske nemščine. Ammon, Bickel in Lenz (Ammon et al., 2016) razlikujejo med standardnim jezikom pisanja in ustnih govornih dejanj, ki velja za popolnoma formalnega, in neformalno različico, ki se v nekaj značilnostih razlikuje od formalnega standardnega jezika.

2 Na podlagi Evropske listine regionalnih in manjšinskih jezikov (RIS, 2001) so v Avstriji zaščiteni tudi naslednji jeziki: slovenščina, hrvaščina, madžarščina, romščina, češčina in slovaščina.

Kljub svoji formalnosti pa standardni jezik predstavlja jezikovni konstrukt, ki ga v vsakdanjiku skorajda ne opazimo (Baßler & Spiekermann, 2001).

Najbolj diferencirana različica je narečje, kar pomeni, da imajo narečja le majhen sporazumevalni učinek. Zato je razumljivo, da so bila narečja postavljena na vrh lijaka. Baßler in Spiekermann (2001) to utemeljujeta s tem, da se zaradi fonoloških, oblikoslovnoskladenjskih in leksikalnih posebnosti narečja pojavljajo le na manjših geografskih območjih, npr. znotraj vasi. Po podatkih Rudolfa De Cillie in Jutte Ransmayr (De Cillia & Ransmayr, 2019) lokalna narečja uporabljajo izključno starejši vaščani v pogovorih med seboj in v pogovorih z mlajšimi družinskimi člani.

Med obema poloma – standardnim jezikom in narečjem – so tudi skupine jezikovnih različic z vmesnim komunikacijskim območjem: regionalni standardni jeziki in regionalni jeziki. Po eni strani se regionalni standardni jeziki uporabljajo v formalnih okoliščinah in tako izpolnjujejo pomembno merilo standardnega jezika. Po drugi strani pa imajo jezikovne značilnosti, ki so večinoma narečnega izvora in posledično niso kodificirane (Baßler & Spiekermann, 2001). Regionalni jeziki so opredeljeni kot različica med standardnim jezikom in narečjem; kažejo namreč jasne regionalne jezikovne značilnosti, vendar brez specifičnih dialektov (Löffler, 2010; Steinegger, 1998). De Cillia in Ransmayr (2019) menita, da je intenziteta narečnih vplivov na regionalne jezike odvisna od regionalnih in družbenih dejavnikov. Njihova raba je značilna zlasti za zasebne okoliščine (Ammon et al., 2016), kamor spada tudi komunikacija na delovnem mestu (Löffler, 2010).

Kljub regionalni raznolikosti nemških jezikovnih zvrsti bom v okviru empiričnega dela razlikovala izključno med standardnim (oz. knjižnim) jezikom in narečjem; po eni strani zaradi ciljne skupine (laiki), po drugi strani pa zaradi večje preglednosti pri analizi rezultatov. V sestavnem delu tega prispevka se bom prav tako osredotočila le na tako imenovano diatopično variacijo, ki se nanaša na jezikovno raznolikost v geografskem prostoru. Omeniti je treba, da nemški jezik ni omejen samo na prostorske ali regionalne različice, temveč obstaja v različnih pojavnih oblikah. Poleg diatopične razsežnosti običajno razlikujemo tudi med diastratično (npr. sleng, strokovni jezik, žargon), diafazno oz. diasituativno (formalnost, slog in register) in diahrono (jezikovni razvoj, spremembe in pojavi skozi čas) variacijo (Coseriu, 1988; Löffler, 2005; Nabrings, 1981; Schuppener, 2020; Sinner, 2014).

Poleg zvrsti nemškega jezika jezikovno stvarnost v Avstriji oblikujejo tudi priznani manjšinski jeziki in (tuji) jeziki, ki so se socializirali kot posledica transnacionalnih migracijskih gibanj. Na podlagi zadnje statistične raziskave odraslih v obdobju 2011–2012 (Statistik Austria, 2013) je treba opozoriti na to, da za skoraj 16 odstotkov ljudi, ki živijo v Avstriji, nemščina ne predstavlja prvega jezika. Zaradi vse pogostejših migracijskih tokov je mogoče domnevati, da se je delež ljudi, katerih prvi jezik ni nemščina, še povečal. Sestavni del jezikovnega vsakdanjika priseljencev in čezmejnih delavcev tako niso le nemške jezikovne zvrsti, ampak tudi jeziki migracijske družbe. V zvezi s tem se poraja naslednje pomembno vprašanje: Kateri (tuji) jeziki (in posledično tudi jezikovne zvrsti) se najpogosteje pojavljajo v Avstriji? Da bi dobila odgovor na to vprašanje, sem uporabila podatke avstrijskega Zveznega statističnega inštituta, ki deli migracijsko družbo glede na njeno državljanstvo. Ker prvi (oz. drugi jezik) priseljencev v večini primerov korelira z uradnim jezikom (oz. enim izmed uradnih jezikov) države, katere državljani so, lahko karakteristiko državljanstva uporabim za preučevanje (tuje)jezikovne realnosti v Avstriji. V Grafikonu 1 je podan pregled največjih v Avstriji živečih skupin ljudi, ki nimajo avstrijskega državljanstva.

Grafikon 1: Največje v Avstriji živeče skupine ljudi, ki nimajo avstrijskega državljanstva (vir: Statistik Austria, 2020).

Grafikon prikazuje, da v Avstriji živijo ljudje iz različnih držav. Največja skupina priseljencev, ki živi v Avstriji – skoraj 200.000 – ima nemško državljanstvo. Domnevam torej lahko, da se v Avstriji ne uporabljajo le različice avstrijskega narečja, temveč tudi regionalne jezikovne zvrsti »nemške« nemščine. Nemški državljani pa predstavljajo le del celotnega priseljenega prebivalstva. Več kot 1,2 milijona prebivalcev Avstrije, kar je približno 14,5 odstotka celotnega prebivalstva, prihaja namreč iz držav, v katerih nemščina ni uradni jezik (Statistik Austria, 2020).

Več kot 370.000 priseljencev prihaja iz nekdanje Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije, tj. Bosne in Hercegovine, Hrvaške, Srbije, danes Severne Makedonije, Črne Gore in Slovenije (Statistik Austria, 2020). Zato lahko vsakdanje jezikovno življenje v Avstriji določajo tudi jeziki, kot so srbščina, bosanščina, hrvaščina, slovenščina, makedonščina in albanščina. Veliko število priseljencev je povezano z zgodovinskimi dogodki, kot so zaposlovanje delovne sile[3] v šestdesetih, sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja in postjugoslovanske vojne s posledičnimi begi v tujino. Med državami, iz katerih je bilo rekrutiranih največ delavcev, je bila poleg Jugoslavije tudi Turčija. To je eden izmed razlogov za to, da v Avstriji živi več kot 117.000 oseb s turškim državljanstvom (Statistik Austria, 2020). V skladu s tem je mogoče tudi turščino razumeti kot jezik, ki je uporabljan v vsakdanjem življenju v Avstriji. Zatočišče v Avstriji si je poiskalo približno tudi 169.000 ljudi iz Sirije, Afganistana, Irana, Ruske federacije, Kosova in drugih držav (Statistik Austria, 2020). Jezikovna praksa v Avstriji je lahko posledično zaznamovana tudi z rabo arabščine, kurdščine, farsija, darija, paštunščine, ruščine idr.

Veliko število oseb – 199.250 – se je v Avstrijo priselilo iz sosednjih držav (Statistik Austria, 2020). To pomeni, da so v vsakdanjih jezikovnih primerih poleg slovenščine govorjene tudi madžarščina, slovaščina, italijanščina in češčina. Pojavnost teh jezikov je bila ugotovljena tudi v študiji, ki jo je leta 2015 izvedel Avstrijski zavod za zaposlovanje (AMS, 2016). Kot kažejo rezultati te študije, je imelo kar 712.158 (približno 12 odstotkov) zaposlenih oseb drugo državljanstvo kot avstrijsko. Vendar pa večina teh oseb ni imela prijavljenega stalnega prebivališča v Avstriji, kar pomeni, da gre za čezmejne delavce. Madžarski, slovaški, slovenski in češki državljani predstavljajo skoraj 70 odstotkov vseh aktivno zaposlenih oseb, ki delajo v Avstriji in prebivajo v tujini (AMS, 2016). Migracije v Avstrijo se povečujejo tudi iz drugih evropskih držav. Tako se je v zadnjih desetih letih iz Romunije, Poljske in Bolgarije v Avstrijo izselilo skoraj 220.500 ljudi (Statistik Austria, 2020). Jezikovno realnost v Avstriji torej lahko zaznamujejo tudi jeziki, kot so romunščina, poljščina in bolgarščina.

Glede na statistične podatke je družbo v Avstriji mogoče opisati kot družbo »super raznolikosti«. Vertovec (2006: 5) je skoval izraz »superdiverziteta«, ki ga je opredelil tako: »Superdiverziteta je [...] stanje [...], ki ga odlikuje dinamika medsebojnega delovanja spremenljivk med [...] priseljenci, ki imajo več izvorov, so transnacionalno povezani, družbenoekonomsko diferencirani in pravno razslojeni […].« To pomeni, da se (jezikovna) heterogenost okoliščin prihoda pomnoži z migracijskimi gibanji (Vertovec, 2009). Kljub naraščajočemu številu jezikov na majhnem prostoru ostaja večjezična realnost v smislu soobstoja enega ali več glavnih jezikov sporazumevanja in številnih drugih jezikov sporazumevanja manjših skupnosti v družbi bolj ali manj neopažena (Gogolin, 2010). Ingrid Gogolin (2010: 536) v povezavi s tem opozarja, da je enojezičnost naroda in ljudi, ki v njem živijo, interpretirana kot *natürlicher Normalfall* (*običajen naraven primer*), kar pomeni, da je namesto večjezičnosti predpostavljen enojezični habitus nacionalne družbe.

3 V pogovornem jeziku so bili rekrutirane delavci poimenovani tudi »gastarbajterji«.

METODOLOŠKI POSTOPEK

Empirični del raziskave gradi na deskriptivni in kavzalno-neeksperimentalni metodi empiričnega raziskovanja. Podatke sem zbirala z anketnimi vprašalniki, ki sem jih analizirala kvantitativno, in z vodenimi intervjuji, ki sem jih analizirala kvalitativno.

Zbrane podatke iz anketnega vprašalnika sem pridobila tako s spletnim anketiranjem kot z obliko papir-svinčnik. Odločitev za izvedbo ankete v elektronski obliki je po eni strani posledica tehničnih prednosti programiranja in statističnega vrednotenja (prim. Riemer, 2016), po drugi strani pa je spletna različica vprašalnika olajšala dostop do preučevane ciljne skupine. Da bi preprečila nizko stopnjo odzivnosti, ki velja za najbolj jasno pomanjkljivost spletnega vprašalnika v primerjavi z drugimi načini anketiranja (Maurer & Jandura, 2009), sem uporabila tudi klasično različico vprašalnika. Podatke sem zbirala v drugi polovici leta 2020. V analizo so bili vključeni samo tisti anketni vprašalniki, ki niso bili prekinjeni oz. ki so bili v celoti izpolnjeni. Pridobila sem odgovore 507 oseb. Sodelovalo je 254 priseljencev in 253 čezmejnih delavcev, kar pomeni, da je razmerje med ciljnima skupinama skoraj uravnoteženo. Anketni vprašalnik je izpolnilo več žensk (77,1 odstotkov) kot moških (22,9 odstotkov). Največ anketirancev (55,4 odstotkov) je bilo starih med 30 in 50 let. Osebe, stare 30 let ali manj, predstavljajo približno 35 odstotkov anketirancev. Približno desetina anketiranih oseb je bilo starih 50 let ali več. Večina udeležencev (62,3 odstotkov) je pridobila visokošolsko izobrazbo, srednješolsko izobraževanje pa je zaključilo 35,3 odstotkov udeležencev. 2,4 odstotkov odstotka vprašanih oseb ima osnovnošolsko izobrazbo. 54,2 odstotkov anketirancev stanuje in/ali dela v Avstriji pet let ali manj, 35,9 odstotkov med pet in deset let, 9,9 odstotkov pa več kot deset let. Več kot polovica (51,1 odstotkov) anketirancev stanuje in/ali dela na Štajerskem, približno petina (20,1 odstotkov) na Dunaju, 16 odstotkov na Koroškem, 12,9 odstotkov pa v ostalih regijah (Gradiščanska, Spodnja Avstrija, Zgornja Avstrija, Salzburg in Tirolska).

Maja 2021 je bilo opravljenih petnajst intervjujev, ki so bili izvedeni kot vodeni intervjuji. Za slednje je značilen določen način vodenja pogovora: komunikacija je strukturirana s pomočjo pripravljenega vodnika, ki ga zaznamujejo odprta vprašanja. Čeprav vodeni intervjuji potekajo po določeni »tematski poti«, pa ta vodnik pri komuniciranju ni sam sebi namen, temveč predstavlja okvir za strukturiranje postopka intervjuja, s katerim je mogoče ciljno zbrati subjektivne poglede intervjuvancev (Kruse, 2015; Niebert & Gropengießer, 2014; Schmidt, 2018). Da bi preprečila nastanek neenakomernega vzorca, sem predpostavila, da sta bili tudi v kvalitativnem delu raziskave ciljni skupini enakovredno obravnavani. Od petnajstih intervjuvancev jih je bilo sedem priseljencev in osem čezmejnih delavcev. Povprečna starost oseb v vzorcu je 40,1 let. Sodelovalo je devet žensk in šest moških. Trinajst intervjuvancev stanuje in/ali dela na Štajerskem, dva pa na Dunaju. Sodelujoči intervjuvanci v povprečju stanujejo in/ali delajo v Avstriji osem let. Vsi intervjuji so bili zvočno posneti in dobesedno transkribirani (preneseni v pisno obliko).

Pridobljene podatke iz anketnega vprašalnika sem statistično obdelala s statističnim programskim paketom SPSS na nivoju deskriptivne in inferenčne statistike. Pridobljene podatke iz vodenih intervjujev sem obdelala s kvalitativno vsebinsko analizo po Kuckartzu (Kuckartz, 2014). Za preprostejšo analizo sem uporabila programsko opremo MAXQDA 16.

REZULTATI IN DISKUSIJA

Sodeč po teoretičnih izsledkih je jezikovno stanje v Avstriji izjemno diferencirano. Kot sem že omenila, se bom posledično osredotočila le na diatopične variacije posameznih jezikov. V okviru tega prispevka so to jezikovne zvrsti nemščine, tj. jezika (delovnega) okolja ciljne skupine, in slovenščine, tj. prvega (oz. drugega) jezika ciljne skupine. Prav tako bom izključno razlikovala med standardnim (oz. knjižnim) jezikom in narečjem – ne samo zaradi lažje analize pridobljenih podatkov, ampak tudi zaradi ciljne skupine, ki jo sestavljajo večinoma laiki na obravnavanem raziskovalnem področju.

Da bi lahko odgovorila na raziskovalno vprašanje, katere jezike in jezikovne zvrsti uporabljajo slovenski državljani v svojem (delovnem) vsakdanjiku v Avstriji, sem se najprej osredotočila na njihovo znanje nemških jezikovnih zvrsti. Znanje standardne nemščine so anketiranci lahko subjektivno ocenili na petstopenjski ocenjevalni lestvici.[4] Anketiranci so ocenjevali svoje znanje glede na naslednje jezikovne kompetence: slušno razumevanje, bralno razumevanje, pisno izražanje in govorna produkcija.

Subjektivne ocene so za vse štiri jezikovne kompetence med 3 in 4, kar pomeni, da anketirane osebe svoje znanje standardne nemščine ocenjujejo kot dobro oz. zelo dobro. Razlog za visoko ocenjeno znanje standardne nemščine najverjetneje izhaja iz tega, da se je skoraj polovica vprašanih anketirancev (46,7 odstotkov) v osnovni in/ali srednji šoli v Sloveniji učila nemščino kot bodisi prvi, drugi ali fakultativni jezik. V povprečju so se anketirane osebe formalno učile nemščino kot tuji jezik 6,6 let. Približno desetina anketirancev (8,7 odstotkov) je nemški jezik tudi študirala. V sestavnem delu kvalitativne študije intervjuvane osebe o tem tudi poročajo.

> Celo osnovno šolo […] sem hodila na […] fakultativne tečaje (I1[5]).
>
> [S]em […] študirala germanistiko v Ljubljani (I5).

4 Ključ: 1 = sploh ne obvladam, 2 = slabše obvladam (osnovna raven: A1–A2), 3 = dobro obvladam (srednja raven: A2–B1), 4 = tekoče obvladam (višja raven: B1–B2), 5 = obvladam na nivoju prvega jezika.

5 I = raziskovalna metoda (intervju), 1 = število intervjuja (od 1 do 15).

> V osnovni [šoli] sem se začela v 4. razredu učiti nemščino […] do 8. razreda. Potem pa sem še hodila na srednjo šolo tri leta pa tudi tam sem se učila nemščino (I6).

> [F]ormalno sem se […] začela učiti šele v gimnaziji, se pravi, nekje 14 let sem bila stara (I13).

Nekateri anketiranci so poročali, da so se z nemščino srečali že pred začetkom šolanja, kar zaradi geografske, zgodovinske in morda tudi družinske bližine z Avstrijo ali z ljudmi, ki živijo v Avstriji, ni presenetljivo. Intervjuvana oseba št. 5 na primer opisuje okoliščine neposrednega sorodstva: »Nemščino sem se naučila kot otrok. Pravzaprav sem prej govorila nemško kot slovensko, ker sem preživela del otroštva pri stari mami v Avstriji. To je bilo predšolsko obdobje.« Zaradi stikov z babico, ki je živela v Avstriji, je lahko že pred začetkom šolanja pridobila ustrezne kompetence.

Večina intervjuvanih oseb, ki so že zelo zgodaj usvojile znanje nemščine, so bili tako imenovani *Fernsehkinder* (gl. Feldmann, 2013). Kot pravi Lipavic Oštir (2018), so prebivalci obmejnega območja pogosto lahko sprejemali le avstrijske in nemške televizijske programe. Predvsem otroci so običajno celo raje spremljali avstrijske oz. nemške televizijske programe kot slovenske, tudi če so bile na slednjih ob istem času na razpolago vsebine za otroke (Kralj & Kacjan, 2019). Kot posledica tega so bili lahko otroci že v predšolskem obdobju sposobni razumeti in aktivno uporabljati nemščino do določene ravni znanja (gl. Holler & Reiter, 2010; Kirsch & Speck-Hamdan, 2007). Ta pojav se kaže v naslednjih izjavah nekaterih intervjuvanih oseb.

> Največ […] sem se naučila preko televizije, ker smo kot otroci radi gledali risanke in smo imeli satelit in smo vsako popoldne gledali televizijo (I4).

> [M]islim, da sem se nemščino naučila iz televizije. [K]o sem prišla v šolo, pa smo imeli prvič nemščino, sem jaz že nemščino znala. […] Mislim, da je bila to televizija, ker smo […] doma gledali dosti nemških programov pa tudi nemške risanke (I9).

> Naučil sem se preko gledanja televizije, predvsem gledanja risank. To je bil prvi stik z nemškim jezikom (I11).

V naslednji fazi nas je zanimalo, ali obstajajo razlike v oceni znanja med priseljenci in čezmejnimi delavci.

Med priseljenci in čezmejnimi delavci obstajajo pri vseh jezikovnih kompetencah statistično značilne razlike.[6] Priseljenci ocenjujejo svoje znanje standardne nemščine višje kot čezmejni delavci. Ta podatek po eni strani najverjetneje korelira s tem, da anketirani priseljenci v Avstriji živijo značilno dlje časa, kot se anketirani čezmejni

6 Mann-Whitneyev preizkus: U = 26047.500, p = < .001 (slušno razumevanje); U = 23271.500, p = < .001 (bralno razumevanje); U = 22467.000, p = < .001 (pisno izražanje); U = 25413.500, p = < .001 (govorna produkcija).

delavci vozijo tja na delo.[7] Po drugi strani pa je ta podatek po vsej verjetnosti povezan s pridobljeno izobrazbo anketirancev, kajti izobrazba anketiranih priseljencev je značilno višja kot izobrazba anketiranih čezmejnih delavcev.[8] Zaradi tega lahko trdim, da priseljenci v primerjavi s čezmejnimi delavci nemščine ne dojemajo toliko kot delovni jezik, temveč bolj kot drugi jezik oz. jezik okolja.

Skupaj z znanjem standardne nemščine je bilo preverjeno tudi znanje avstrijskih narečnih različic. Gre za različna narečja glede na regijo v Avstriji, v kateri živijo in/ali delajo anketirane osebe. Slednje so lahko svoje znanje narečja ocenjevale s štiristopenjsko ocenjevalno lestvico, in sicer izključno na ravni slušnega razumevanja in govorne produkcije.[9]

V primerjavi s povprečno oceno znanja standardne nemščine ocenjujejo anketirane osebe znanje avstrijskih narečnih različic nekoliko slabše. Ocena slušnega razumevanja in govorne produkcije se giblje med 2 in 3, tj. med slabšim in dobrim znanjem. Zakaj nastajajo take razlike, nazorno ponazarjajo nekateri intervjuvanci:

> [D]rugačno kot smo ga mi navajeni iz šole. […] V šoli se učiš […] *Hochdeutsch* […] (I1).

> V bistvu je bil nezavedno precejšnji šok. Ker […] je bilo tu ogromno močnih dialektov […] in […] mi je pobralo malo voljo do nemščine. In tudi moja prva naloga je bila poklicati v pisarno […] in gospa na drugi strani mi je trikrat odgovorila, jaz pa sem jo trikrat vprašal, če lahko še enkrat pove, ker je govorila v meni popolnoma nerazumljivi nemščini. […] Je rekla, no, potem bom pa govorila v *Hochdeutsch* (I5).

Podobno kot intervjuvana oseba št. 5 tudi Barbour in Stevenson (1998: 2) ter Elspass (2007: 35) pišejo o tako imenovanem »jezikovnem šoku«, ko posamezniki – ne glede na njihovo znanje nemščine – pridejo v stik z jezikom zunaj formalnega okolja. To naj bi bila posledica idealizacije standardne različice pri pouku nemščine kot tujega jezika, zaradi česar pluricentrična jezikovna realnost v Avstriji ni (dovolj) ozaveščana, kot opozarjajo Berend in Knipf-Komlósi (2006), Durrell (2004) in Hägi (2015). Poleg tega se zaradi večje komunikacijske količine v sestavnem delu pouka nemščine kot tujega jezika v Sloveniji idealizira standardna različica »nemške« nemščine. Posledično se avstrijska nemščina pogosto ne dojema kot enakovredna standardna različica, temveč kot jezikovna zvrst pod standardom (Hägi, 2007; Hägi, 2015; Ransmayr, 2005; Schmidlin, 2011).

Posledica pomanjkljive ali nezadostne priprave na pluricentrično jezikovno stvarnost v Avstriji je, da priseljenci in čezmejni delavci znanje o različnih jezikovnih zvrsteh nemškega jezika pridobivajo šele v sami državi. Izjema bi bili lahko

7 Chi-Quadrat preizkus: $\chi^2 = 27.030$, $p = < .001$.

8 Chi-Quadrat preizkus: $\chi^2 = 12.216$, $p = .002$.

9 Ključ: 1 = sploh ne obvladam, 2 = slabše obvladam (osnovna raven: A1–A2), 3 = dobro obvladam (srednja raven: A2–B1), 4 = tekoče obvladam (višja raven: B1–B2).

sicer priseljenci in čezmejni delavci, ki so že v Sloveniji redno spremljali avstrijske televizijske programe. Za interno produkcijo avstrijskih televizijskih programov je namreč značilna raba več jezikovnih zvrsti. Medtem ko vsi informativni programi (novice, dokumentarni filmi itd.) potekajo v standardnem avstrijskem jeziku, pa zabavni programi uporabljajo tudi narečje ali regionalni jezik. Vseeno je treba ponovno poudariti, da precejšen del programov na avstrijskih televizijskih kanalih predstavljajo v Nemčiji sinhronizirane serije in filmi (Kaiser, 2006). Zato je mogoče domnevati, da spremljanje avstrijskih televizijskih programov ne vpliva nujno na poznavanje različnih jezikovnih zvrsti.

Tudi v tem sestavnem delu sem želela preveriti, ali se pojavljajo statistično značilne razlike med priseljenci in čezmejnimi delavci. Pri oceni znanja avstrijskih narečnih različic prav tako prihaja do statistično značilnih razlik.[10] Medtem ko priseljenci značilno višje ocenjujejo svoje slušno razumevanje, čezmejni delavci značilno višje ocenjujejo svojo govorno rabo. Kako to pojasniti? Menim, da priseljenci slušno razumevanje ocenjujejo višje zato, ker so v stiku z jezikom deležni tudi izven svojega delovnega okolja. Dejstvo, da čezmejni delavci višje ocenjujejo govorno produkcijo, pa bi razložila s tem, da značilno več priseljencev živi na Dunaju.[11] Menim namreč, da je zlasti Dunaj kot glavno mesto Avstrije večkulturen in posledično toleranten do drugih jezikov in jezikovnih zvrsti. Prav to med drugim potrjuje tudi uradna spletna stran mesta Dunaj, ki ni dostopna samo v nemškem, ampak tudi v angleškem, bosansko-hrvaško-srbskem in turškem jeziku.[12]

V okviru kvalitativne študije je vidno predvsem to, da priseljenci in čezmejni delavci sčasoma avtomatizirajo določene besede in fraze ter njihovo izgovorjavo. Kako avtomatizirano to poteka, prikazuje na primer odlomek iz intervjuja št. 7: »Samo sproti usvajaš tudi […] dialekt. […] Včasih že sam poveš kako dialektalno […] besedo […]. […] Na primer, če rečeš, da gremo domov, *gemma Heim* […], ne rečejo *gemma nach Hause*.« Intervjuvanec sicer opisuje spremembo besede »dom«, tj. iz *Haus* v *Heim*, ne spremeni pa besedne zveze »(mi) gremo«, tj. namesto standardne oblike *wir gehen* uporabi avstrijsko različico *gemma*. Lahko bi torej trdili, da so nekatere oblike izražanja že ponotranjene.

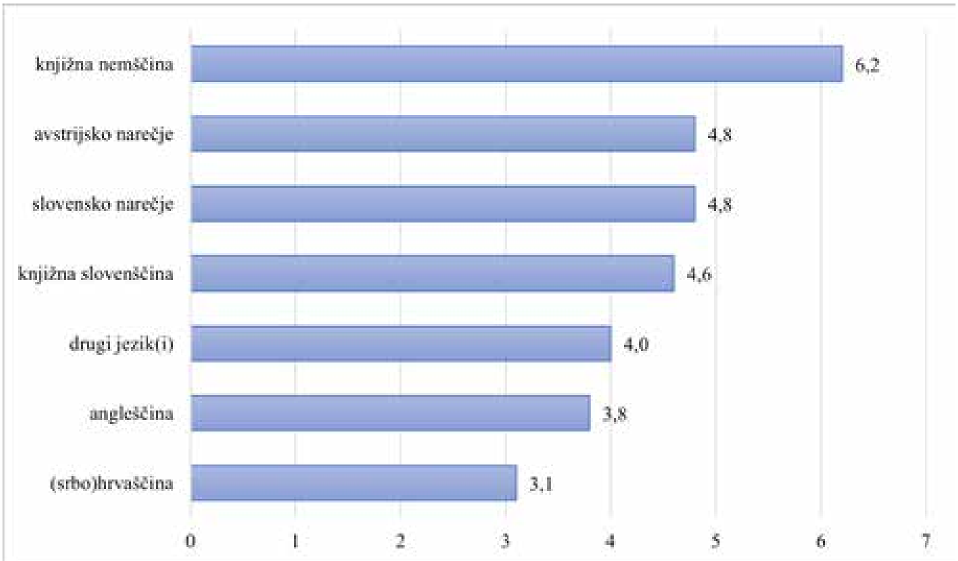
V nadaljevanju sem se osredotočila na rabo posameznih jezikov in jezikovnih zvrsti. Pogostost rabe posameznega jezika oz. jezikovne zvrsti sem ugotavljala s sedemstopenjsko Likertovo lestvico.[13]

10 Mann-Whitneyev preizkus: U = 28700.500, p = .016 (slušno razumevanje); U = 28645.500, p = .023 (govorna produkcija).

11 Chi-Quadrat preizkus: $\chi^2 = 88.514$, p = < .001.

12 Vir: https://www.wien.gv.at.

13 Ključ: 1 = nikoli, 2 = skoraj nikoli (nekajkrat na leto ali manj), 3 = redko (enkrat na mesec ali manj), 4 = včasih (nekajkrat na mesec), 5 = pogosto (enkrat na teden), 6 = zelo pogosto (nekajkrat na teden), 7 = vedno (vsak dan).



Grafikon 2: Pogostost rabe posameznih jezikov in jezikovnih zvrsti anketiranih oseb.

Najpogosteje uporabljen jezik oz. jezikovna zvrst je standardna nemščina, ki jo anketirane osebe uporabljajo večkrat na teden. Sledijo avstrijske in slovenske narečne različice ter standardna slovenščina, ki se prav tako govorijo pogosto; približno enkrat na teden. Angleščina ter jeziki, kot so portugalščina, španščina, francoščina, italijanščina in ruščina, so uporabljani nekajkrat na mesec. Bosanski, hrvaški in/ali srbski jezik pa so uporabljani precej redko, tj. enkrat na mesec ali manj.

Ker so anketirane osebe svoje znanje standardne nemščine ocenile višje kot znanje avstrijskega narečja, in tudi zato, ker se je večina sodelujočih v raziskavi v Sloveniji formalno učila nemščino kot tuji jezik, ni presenetljivo, da anketiranci pogosteje uporabljajo standardno nemščino kot avstrijske dialekte. Prav to kažejo tudi izbrani odlomki iz opravljenih intervjujev, v katerih anketirane osebe poročajo o tem, da je bil njihov prvi stik z nemškim jezikom standardna nemščina, s katero se posledično tudi bolj identificirajo.

> [J]az ravno ne govorim dialekta v nemščini, vztrajam pri *Standarddeutsch*. […] Ker se v *Standarddeutsch* počutim domače. Ker se mi zdi, če bi poskušala govoriti *Steirisch*, bi izpadlo skoraj tako, da se norca delam iz Avstrijcev. S tem mislim, da ne bi bilo tako pristno (I13).

> Dialekta ne uporabljam, ker se mi ne zdi pristno za mene to. […] To je v bistvu […] njihov materni jezik in jaz nimam neke identifikacije s tem jezikom. Jaz imam prej identifikacijo s standardno nemščino. […] Moj prvi stik je bil s standardno nemščino. Zato se jaz bolj identificiram s tisto nemščino. Če bi se […] naučil prvo dialekt, bi bil

> to moj neki prvi […] identifikacijski jezik. […] Zaradi tega […] bi bilo preveč umetno, če bi jaz zdaj začel govoriti dialekt (I11).

Nemščina je jezik (delovnega) okolja, zato ni presenetljivo, da je pogosto v rabi prav ta jezik oz. te jezikovne zvrsti. Zanimivo je, da ni nič manjša niti raba slovenščine in slovenskih narečij, a po drugi strani to ne preseneča, saj je za 96 odstotkov anketiranih oseb slovenščina prvi jezik. Intervjuvane osebe na primer poročajo, da standardno slovenščino in slovenska narečja uporabljajo tako v zasebnem kot delovnem okolju. Medtem ko priseljenci govorijo slovenščino bolj ali manj v zasebnem okolju, jo čezmejni delavci večinoma uporabljajo v delovnem okolju.

> Če smo za sebe, se pogovarjamo prleško. Če se ne spomnimo prave besede […] govorimo malo mišmaš […] Pozabimo pa na knjižno slovenščino (I4).

> V raznih […] dejavnostih […] se družimo predvsem Slovenci. […] Večina prijateljev je Slovencev (I15).

> [V] naši hali, na naši liniji smo trije Slovenci pa en Avstrijec. […] Tri četrt delovnega časa se pogovarjamo slovensko na delovnem mestu (I7).

Če analiziramo izjavo intervjuvane osebe št. 4, lahko opazimo, da intervjuvanka namiguje na to, da priseljenci »pozabljajo« na standardno slovenščino. Ta pojav se implicira tudi pri naslednji intervjuvani osebi, ki živi v Avstriji: »[Z]animivo, da se je moje znanje slovenskega knjižnega pogovornega jezika na Dunaju precej poslabšalo. […] Ne delam več v nekih javnih slovenskih zadevah, kjer bi moral paziti na jezik« (I15).

Ali in v kolikšnem obsegu lahko priseljenci in čezmejni delavci v delovnem okolju govorijo slovenščino ali slovenska narečja, je bolj ali manj odvisno tudi od samega dela in neposredno tudi od tega, ali je prvi jezik sodelavcev slovenščina.

> Ni nobenega Slovenca. Tam ni nobenega zaposlenega Slovenca ali pa nekega drugega tujca. Samo Avstrijci (I2).

> V službi [govorim] izključno nemščino (I13).

> [N]ahajam [se] v […] mednarodnem okolju, kjer […] nemščina ni nekako primarni delovni jezik. […] Uporabljam večinoma angleščino. […] Nemščina je predvsem izven službenih obveznosti (I15).

Kot *lingua franca* ima tudi angleščina pomembno vlogo. Po eni strani zaradi tega, ker anketirane osebe nimajo znanja nemščine na zahtevanem nivoju, po drugi strani pa zato, ker sodelavci nimajo dovolj znanja nemščine.

> Imam par staršev, ki ne razumejo nemško, se pogovarjam angleško (I1).

> Po navadi je tako, da vsaj ena oseba ne obvlada nemščine in potem se za skupno dobro pogovarjamo v angleščini (I3).

> [P]ri delu […], raziskovanje […], tam je bolj angleščina. Pa tudi kakšni sestanki so včasih […] v angleščini. […] Kongresi so v angleščini, vse predstavitve so v angleščini, tudi predmete znotraj […] študija smo imeli delno v angleščini. Nekaj smo jih imeli v nemščini […], če so bili vsi študenti […] razumeli nemško. Ko pa je bil recimo kak tujec, potem pa je bilo v angleščini (I9).

Kljub temu, da veliko priseljencev prihaja iz držav, ki so nastale na območju nekdanje Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije (gl. Grafikon 1), pa anketirane osebe le redko uporabljajo (srbo)hrvaščino. Domnevamo, da raba tega jezika korelira predvsem z nivojem znanja (srbo)hrvaščine. Kot kažejo naslednji odlomki, (srbo) hrvaščino govorijo predvsem tisti intervjuvanci, ki imajo dovolj visoke jezikovne kompetence za uspešno komunikacijo. Tisti intervjuvanci, ki poročajo, da jim za uspešno komunikacijo primanjkuje dovoljšnih kompetenc (srbo)hrvaščine, raje govorijo drug (skupni) jezik.

> [P]oskušaš, če se le da z njimi, še posebej s tistimi, ki so slabši. Tako da srbohrvaško dosti […] (I8).

> Jaz nisem dobra v teh južnih jezikih. Mislim, zelo smešno izpadem, če govorim kakšno hrvaščino ali pa kaj. Potem pa raje kar govorim po nemško […] (I3).

> Hrvatica bi se zelo rada z mano hrvaško pogovarjala. Samo jaz ne vem ravno hrvaško […] (I10).

Čeprav redko, pa anketirane osebe prihajajo tudi v stik z drugimi jeziki in posledično tudi kulturami.

> Cela skupina prihaja iz Afganistana, Sirije, […] Azerbajdžan. […] Tudi Somalija, Rusija, […] Irak, Iran, […] Eritreja (I4).

> Iz Romunije jih je dosti (I7).

> [E]nega imamo […] iz Sirije. […] Dve […] Romunki. […] Imamo še eno […], je Hrvatica. Ena je Rusinja pa par imamo Bosancev (I10).

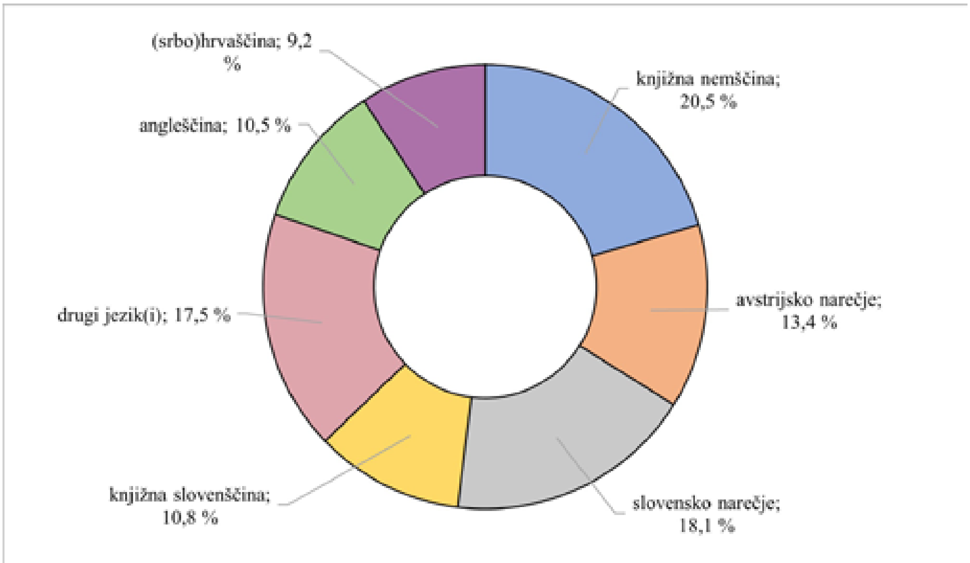
> Ker sem […] v mednarodni organizaciji zaposlen, zato imam večinoma tujce. […] Poleg Avstrijcev so tu Angleži, […] Španci, Francozi (I15).

Statistično značilne razlike med priseljenci in čezmejnimi delavci se pojavljajo pri rabi naslednjih jezikov in jezikovnih zvrsti: knjižna oz. standardna nemščina, avstrijske narečne različice, slovenske narečne različice in angleščina.[14] Medtem ko priseljenci v vsakdanjem življenju v Avstriji pogosteje uporabljajo standardno nemščino in angleščino, čezmejnimi delavci pogosteje uporabljajo avstrijske in slovenske narečne različice. Ta rezultat se deloma ujema z že omenjenimi rezultati. Priseljenci so na primer višje ocenili svoje znanje standardne nemščine, čezmejni delavci pa višje ocenjujejo svojo govorno produkcijo avstrijskih narečij. Zanimiv je podatek, da čezmejni delavci značilno višje uporabljajo svoje slovensko narečje, saj – kot kažejo rezultati kvalitativne študije – tudi priseljenci večkrat uporabljajo slovensko narečje kot standardno slovenščino. Ta rezultat si lahko razlagamo tako, da priseljenci v živijo Avstriji, zaradi česar je raba nemščine nekako izpodrinila rabo slovenščine. Na slednje opozarja tudi izbrani podatek iz intervjuja št. 13: »Na začetku se mi je pogosto zgodilo, če sem, recimo, na hitro hotela odgovoriti nekaj, da je najprej prišla slovenska beseda. […] Zdaj […] že skoraj avtomatsko odgovarjam v nemščini, ne v slovenščini. Se pravi, da sta ta dva jezika zamenjala vlogi na nek način.«

Za verodostojnost podatkov iz Grafikona 2 sem pogostost rabe posameznih jezikov in jezikovnih zvrsti v Avstriji omejila na en teden. Anketirane osebe so pogostost uporabe posameznih jezikov in jezikovnih zvrsti tokrat pokazale v deležih, in sicer od 0 odstotkov do 100 odstotkov. Pri ocenjevanju so morali biti pozorni na to, da skupna vrednost vseh izbranih jezikov in jezikovnih zvrsti ne presega 100 odstotkov.

V primerjavi s splošno oceno vzorca o pogostosti rabe posameznih jezikov in jezikovnih zvrsti v Avstriji kaže odstotna porazdelitev, ki se nanaša izključno na rabo jezikov in jezikovnih zvrsti v zadnjem tednu (Grafikon 3), nekoliko drugačen rezultat. Standardna nemščina ima sicer najvišji delež uporabe, pri ostalih jezikih in jezikovnih zvrsteh pa ni opaziti bistvenih razlik. V nasprotju z rezultati iz Grafikona 2 so anketiranci v zadnjem tednu pogosteje uporabljali slovenske narečne različice kot avstrijske. Poleg tega uporaba avstrijskih narečnih različic zaostaja za uporabo drugih jezikov. Anketiranci so v zadnjem tednu v Avstriji slovenske narečne različice uporabljali pogosteje kot standardno slovenščino. Sledijo angleščina in jeziki nekdanje Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije.

14 Mann-Whitneyev preizkus: U = 27614.000, p = .003 (standardna nemščina); U = 27065.500, p = .002 (avstrijska narečja); U = 25285.500, p = < .001 (slovenska narečja); U = 23801.000, p = < .001 (angleščina).



Grafikon 3: Pogostost rabe posameznih jezikov in jezikovnih zvrsti anketiranih oseb v zadnjem tednu.

Tudi v tem primeru nas je zanimalo, ali se kažejo statistično značilne razlike med priseljenci in čezmejnimi delavci. Pri treh jezikih oz. jezikovnih zvrsteh – standardni nemščini, slovenskih narečnih različicah in angleščini – obstajajo statistično značilne razlike med ciljnima skupinama.[15] Medtem ko so čezmejni delavci pogosteje uporabljali slovensko narečno različico, so priseljenci pogosteje uporabljali standardno nemščino in angleščino. Ta rezultat je torej skladen z rezultati splošne ocene vzorca o pogostosti rabe posameznih jezikov in jezikovnih zvrsti v Avstriji. Trdim torej lahko, da s selitvijo upada vloga slovenščine oz. je stik z njo bistveno zmanjšan, vloga nemščine pa pridobiva na pomenu, in sicer ne samo v delovnem okolju, ampak tudi zunaj njega. V medkulturnem mestu, kot je Dunaj, kjer stanuje večina anketiranih priseljencev, pa ima vse pomembnejšo vlogo tudi *lingua franca* – angleščina.

SKLEP

Glede na to, da v Avstriji vlada izredno heterogena jezikovna realnost, se tako priseljenci kot čezmejni delavci ne soočajo le z »eno« vrsto nemščine. Nemščina kot jezik se predvsem v Avstriji izraža v različnih jezikovnih zvrsteh. Posledično ni presenetljivo, da večina priseljencev in čezmejnih delavcev neposredno po tem, ko se preselijo

15 Ker po Levenejevem preizkusu homogenost variance ni podana pri vseh treh jezikih in jezikovnih zvrsteh, je bil uporabljen Welchov t-preizkus: T = 3.022, p = .003 (standardna nemščina); T = – 2.845, p = .005 (slovenska narečja); T = 2.132, p = .033 (angleščina).

v Avstrijo ali začnejo tam delati, doživi »jezikovni šok«. Ta »jezikovni šok« doživijo predvsem tisti, ki so v Sloveniji bili vključeni v formalni program učenja nemščine kot tujega jezika. To velja za večino anketiranih oseb v našem vzorcu. Zaradi idealizacije standardne oz. knjižne različice nemškega jezika niso ozaveščeni o izredni diferenciranosti avstrijske nemščine, ki se izraža predvsem v rabi narečnih različic. Kot kažejo pridobljeni rezultati študije, pa nekateri priseljenci in čezmejni delavci določene besede in fraze avstrijskih narečnih različic sčasoma ponotranjijo oz. jih uporabljajo avtomatizirano. Ne glede na to pa priseljenci in čezmejni delavci pogosteje uporabljajo standardno nemščino. Razlog za to verjetno izhaja iz tega, da je bil njihov prvi stik z nemščino standardna različica tega jezika. Slednje je verjetno tudi neposredno povezano s tem, da so anketirane osebe svoje znanje standardne nemščine ocenjevale višje kot znanje avstrijskih narečnih različic. V primerjavi s čezmejnimi delavci so priseljenci svoje znanje standardne oz. knjižne nemščine ocenjevali značilno višje. Domnevam, da do teh razlik prihaja zaradi tega, ker je nemščina njihov drugi jezik oz. jezik okolja – torej jezik, s katerim prihajajo v reden stik tudi zunaj delovnih okoliščin. V nasprotju s priseljenci pa čezmejni delavci značilno pogosteje uporabljajo avstrijske in slovenske narečne različice. Nekateri intervjuvani čezmejni delavci so v sestavnem delu trdili, da so njihovi sodelavci predvsem osebe, katerih prvi jezik je slovenščina. Vendar pa tega podatka ne moremo posplošiti, kajti nekateri anketirani priseljenci poročajo tudi o tem, da v svojem (delovnem) vsakdanjiku redno uporabljajo slovenščino.

Jezikovna heterogenost v Avstriji ne zadeva le različnih nemških jezikovni zvrsti, ampak tudi jezike priseljencev ter (tuje) jezike, ki so se jih posamezniki učili v sklopu formalnega programa. Tukaj ciljam predvsem na angleščino, ki jo značilno pogosteje govorijo anketirani priseljenci. Ti angleščino govorijo zlasti v primerih, ko komunikacijski partner nima dovolj visokega nivoja znanja nemščine. Podobno velja tudi za jezike nekdanje Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije, vendar pa je lahko tukaj situacija tudi obratna. Nekatere intervjuvane osebe so namreč poročale, da kompetence za uspešno komunikacijo v (srbo)hrvaškem jeziku ne primanjkujejo komunikacijskim partnerjem, temveč njim. Kot že omenjeno, pa v svojem (delovnem) vsakdanjiku anketiranci in intervjuvanci – bodisi aktivno bodisi pasivno – prihajajo v stik z jeziki migracijskih gibanj, npr. arabščino, ruščino, romunščino idr. Sklenem torej lahko, da je jezikovna realnost v Avstriji za priseljence in čezmejne delavce, kot pravi Vertovec (2006), »superdiverzna«. Na podlagi dejstva, da večina anketiranih priseljencev stanuje na Dunaju, pa lahko sklepamo, da so prav oni tisti, ki se pogosteje srečujejo s »superdiverziteto« jezikovne družbe v Avstriji.

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SUMMARY

THE LINGUISTIC REALITY IN AUSTRIA FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS AND CROSS-BORDER WORKERS WITH SLOVENIAN CITIZENSHIP

Katarina Tibaut

The article deals with the linguistic reality of Slovenian citizens in Austria. On the one hand, the author wished to find out which languages and language types Slovenian citizens use in their (working) daily life in Austria, and on the other hand, whether there are statistically significant differences between the target groups "international migrants" and "cross-border workers." Data for the empirical part was collected utilizing a questionnaire (n = 507), which the author analyzed quantitatively, and guided interviews (n = 15), analyzed qualitatively.

Because Austria has an extremely heterogeneous linguistic reality, both international migrants and cross-border workers do not face only "one" German language. German as a language is expressed in various language genres, especially in Austria. Consequently, it is not surprising that most international migrants and cross-border workers experience a "language shock" immediately after moving to or starting to work in Austria. This shock is experienced mainly by those who were included in the formal context of learning German as a foreign language in Slovenia. Due to the idealization of the standard version of the German language, they are unaware of the extraordinary differentiation of the Austrian German language, mainly expressed through dialectal versions. As the study results suggest, some international migrants and cross-border workers internalize certain words and phrases of Austrian dialect variants over time.

Nevertheless, international migrants and cross-border workers are more likely to use standard German. Compared to cross-border workers, international migrants rated their knowledge of standard German significantly higher. The author assumes these differences are because German is their second language or the environmental language, i.e., the language with which they come into regular contact outside the work context. In contrast to international migrants, cross-border workers are significantly more likely to use Austrian and Slovenian dialect versions. In this usage context, some of the interviewed cross-border workers claimed that their coworkers were mainly people whose first language was Slovenian.

Linguistic heterogeneity in Austria concerns not only different German language genres but also the languages of migratory movements and (foreign) languages that individuals have learned within the framework of a formal context. In their (working) daily lives, respondents and interviewees also come into contact with English, the languages of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Turkish, Russian, Romanian, etc. The author, therefore, concludes that the linguistic reality in Austria for international migrants and cross-border workers is, as Vertovec (2006) puts it, "super-diverse".

KNJIŽNE OCENE

BOOK REVIEWS

 https://doi.org/10.3986/dd.2023.1.08

Brigitte Le Normand, *Citizens Without Borders: Yugoslavia and Its Migrant Workers in Western Europe*
Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2021, 286 pp.

In analyzing states' responses to human mobilities, migration studies have long focused on the role played by the states that received migrants. However, scholarship examining governments' outreach toward emigrants has been expanding, and Brigitte Le Normand's book *Citizens Without Borders* falls precisely into this emerging field. Le Normand, a historian of Southeast Europe and a migration scholar at Maastricht University (who previously held a position at the University of British Columbia, Canada), employs new trends in migration research to shed light on how socialist Yugoslavia monitored its emigrant workers, i.e., migrants who, in the official discourse, were referred to as "workers temporarily working abroad."

Exercising transborder policies to engage emigrant "co-nationals" was nothing new in the region—even the state's predecessor, interwar Yugoslavia, devised its diaspora policies. However, labor migration and subsequent governance over migrants made Yugoslavia, in many ways, idiosyncratic among socialist states where the politics of exit were much more restrictive. Building on the existing scholarship, Le Normand persuasively demonstrates that Yugoslavia applied active measures in fostering government outreach toward emigrants. Contrary to previous research, which dealt with the Yugoslav state and the migrants separately, she highlights migrants' agency which enabled them to reinterpret policies targeting them.

Applying the concept of transnational political space, Le Normand shows how multifaceted state-diaspora relations were. Even though a single party ran the state, the state was by no means a compact unit exercising unison policy. To illuminate the complexity of relations, Le Normand brings to light the collision between different levels of administration in deploying policies geared toward "workers temporarily employed abroad." As she emphasizes, not all government bodies advanced the same idea of homeland. Essentially, the categories with which state institutions operated were incredibly fluid and depended on the modes of knowledge production in various state and social enterprises. The diverse ways of producing knowledge on migrations and migrants lie at the heart of Le Normand's analysis.

Therefore, in the first part of her work, she examines how scholars and the Yugoslav cinema perceived migrants. In the second, she pays attention to various modes of diaspora building, covering areas from the media to scholarship and government policies. Yugoslavia's outreach toward the emigrants ranged from radio broadcasts to organized visits to the homeland. Le Normand's portrait of Yugoslav workers abroad is restricted to the Croatian "case," which might sound disappointing. However, given that she justifies this decision by explaining the importance of Croatian emigration, both in quantitative (Croatian emigration was the most numerous) and qualitative terms (the nexus between the emigration and tumultuous national revival in the late 1960s, which challenged Yugoslavia's unity known as the Croatian Spring), her choice does not distort the understanding of the overall phenomenon. It is, however, beyond a doubt that focusing on some other republic or trying to display the interplay between different ethnic groups would result in a different image. However, the set of problems she aims to address has a general relevance and could be applied to other case studies.

In the first chapter, Le Normand explains how the notion of governing migrants the same way the country controlled workers on Yugoslav grounds was contested by the media and migrants themselves. Many migrants shared distrust toward the Yugoslav government, as also exemplified in their reluctance to participate in the interviews conducted by the Zagreb-based Institute for Migrations in its survey "Yugoslavia in the European Labor Migration." The scholars stressed that migrants were becoming alienated from the Yugoslav "homeland" and were convinced that the federal system functioned at the expense of Croatia, which was particularly evident during the Croatian Spring.

Feelings of emigrant alienation also resonated in the Yugoslav cinema, which depicted the controversies of Yugoslav modernization by recording the labor migration. According to the Yugoslav film, labor migration embodied contradictions of the Yugoslav system, namely its failure to develop the countryside on the road to progress. By analyzing 30 films recorded from 1968 to 1984, Le Normand argues that film directors essentially adopted stereotypical images reminiscent of those used by social scientists and the official discourse, particularly one advanced during the Croatian Spring. Hence, they portrayed the migrants as male workers (despite the fact that, as Le Normand argues, one-third of migrants were women) from rural backgrounds who were forced to flee abroad.

Contrary to the film, which displayed migrants as powerless subjects in the hands of external forces, the radio program encouraged their agency. In the following chapter, Le Normand analyzes the radio broadcast *To Our Citizens in the World* (Našim građanima u svijetu), run by the Croatian public radio, which allowed migrants to share their experiences of life abroad. Like the Yugoslav state itself, Le Normand argues, the program was a hybrid between socialist mobilization and Western appeal for popular music. The broadcast, which distanced itself from politics to embrace the everyday life of migrants, welcomed active cooperation, also in the form of letter writing to the program editors. In a way, as migrants discussed issues linked to passports, visas, and the import of goods to Yugoslavia, the program proved to substitute consular infrastructure. The idea of homeland promoted by the broadcast was deliberately loose enough so that anybody could insert their wishes and expectations into it.

Whereas the radio program targeted the Yugoslav public in its entirety, the press was a more differentiated endeavor, with newspapers that were published on a regional or local level. One of them was *Imotska krajina*, which referred exclusively to the population from the Dalmatian hinterland. The town of Imotski and its surroundings were both places with a tradition of emigration and hotbeds of

Croatian nationalism. By creating a transnational, national public sphere, *Imotska krajina* enabled migrants to communicate their experiences and perpetuate an essentially localized identity. The fact that the paper was written in the dialect facilitated the continuation of localized feelings. Only during the Croatian Spring did the nationalist narrative undermine the regional one.

To foster unity and combat the "corrosive" influence of Western capitalism, Yugoslav authorities encouraged migrants to join workers' associations. These societies formed part of the Yugoslav web of transnational governance, and the state used them to "outsource" the work carried out by the diplomatic infrastructure. While these associations were seemingly democratic, they were, in fact, controlled by the Yugoslav party, which also stimulated politically active migrants to participate fully. Reflecting on associations' autonomy, Le Normand concludes that as civil society was circumscribed in Yugoslavia, associations operated in a clientelistic fashion and were thus state-dependent entities. The Yugoslav state perceived them as mediators between "crisis-ridden" migrant families and Yugoslavia.

Given that the state perceived the stay abroad as temporary and viewed life in the capitalist West with unease, it adopted various measures to encourage migrants' return. The survey, conducted by the Institute of Migrations in Zagreb in 1970–1971, was also aimed at inducing migrants' comeback. One of the core questions in this open-ended survey concerned the conditions under which migrants would be eager to return. Contrary to what was expected, migrants subverted and appropriated the questionnaire, expressing not only their attitudes but also their feelings of resentment and anger toward the authorities. Under the impression of Croatian Spring, they tried to link their personal experience to what they saw as the oppression of Croatia at the hands of Yugoslavia. Despite the convincing narrative of the Croatian Spring, however, migrants' decision to return was most often associated with practical concerns related to work and residence.

The fact that many children of migrants were born and raised abroad made Yugoslav authorities aware of the need to institutionalize the transnational education system. Highlighting the functioning of the education system, Le Normand stresses that the goal set by the main body covering education abroad aimed to reintegrate migrants back into Yugoslav society rather than helping them to assimilate into the adoptive countries. While individual republics essentially regulated education, education was also coordinated by the federal body, which displayed concern that migrants would cease speaking the "Yugoslav language." As Le Normand explains, education programs depended on bilateral agreements and thus varied greatly between different countries of immigration.

The last chapter analyzes how the education system functioned in practice. Contrary to popular representations of Yugoslavia's sway over emigrant communities, Le Normand shows that many teachers were often at odds with the Yugoslav authorities, voicing their complaints about the inadequacy of education and low salaries, among others. The role the state assigned them was significant: they were not only expected to give classes but also to guide emigrant social activities. In effect, their task was to strengthen ties with the Yugoslav homeland, a duty which was most vividly carried out by organizing school visits to Yugoslavia. Visits were fully programmed, engaging Yugoslavia's local and governmental administration as well as companies and families that hosted the migrants' children. By "feeling the breath of homeland," emigrant children could not only confirm their "Yugoslav" identity but were also encouraged to speak on behalf of their "homeland" abroad.

Visits to the homeland were one of many means of promoting attachment to Yugoslavia. As Le Normand demonstrates, the ways Yugoslavia fostered loyalty were multifaceted, involving different administrative levels and agencies. Probably one of the more important contributions of the book to our understanding of Yugoslav labor migration is the complex web of relations that emerged between Yugoslavia and its "workers temporarily abroad." Moreover, her book is innovative in adding migrants themselves to the often simplistic equation of state-diaspora relations. Within the transnational political space, as Le Normand explains, migrants not only responded to government initiatives, but they also aimed at engaging their Yugoslav homeland and taking an active part in its diaspora programs. While the book is limited to exploring the case of Yugoslav labor migration, its implications could be broadened in contextualizing socialist Yugoslavia's migrations in the twentieth century. In many ways, the second Yugoslavia continued diaspora policies set in motion already by the state known as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Examining both Yugoslavias and setting them in the comparative European framework would be thus undoubtedly welcome. Le Normand's book could serve here not only to facilitate an understanding of Yugoslavia's labor migration but also as a methodological tool for analyzing state-diaspora relations.

Miha Zobec

Navodila avtorjem za pripravo prispevkov za revijo *Dve domovini / Two Homelands*

Najnovejšo verzijo navodil lahko najdete na naši spletni strani http://twohomelands.zrc-sazu.si/sl/navodila_avtorjem ali pa na https://ojs.zrc-sazu.si/twohomelands/prispevki.

1. Usmeritev revije

Revija *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* je namenjena objavi znanstvenih in strokovnih člankov 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 objavlja članke v slovenskem ali angleškem jeziku. Letno izideta dve številki v tiskani in elektronski obliki na svetovnem spletu (http://twohomelands.zrc-sazu.si in https://ojs.zrc-sazu.si/twohomelands/).

Prispevke, urejene po spodnjih navodilih, pošljite uredništvu v elektronski obliki na naslov hladnik@zrc-sazu.si. Članki so recenzirani. Prispevki morajo biti oblikovani v skladu z *Navodili avtorjem za pripravo prispevkov za revijo Dve domovini / Two Homelands*. Avtorji so odgovorni za jezikovno in slogovno dovršenost člankov. Rokopisov, ki jih uredništvo sprejme v objavo, avtorji ne smejo hkrati poslati drugi reviji. Avtorji se strinjajo, da se objavljeni članki v tiskani reviji *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* objavijo tudi v elektronski obliki na svetovnem spletu.

2. Sestavine prispevkov

Celoten članek je lahko dolg največ 60.000 znakov s presledki (vključno z literaturo) in mora vsebovati sestavine, ki si sledijo po naslednjem vrstnem redu:

- Naslov članka (okrepljeno) naj bo kratek, jasen in naj vključuje ključne pojme iz članka.
- Ime in priimek avtorja. Priimku naj sledi opomba pod črto, v kateri so s podpičjem ločeni štirje elementi:
    - avtorjeva izobrazba (na primer: 'dr. zgodovine');
    - ime avtorjeve institucije: Ustanova, Oddelek, Mesto (na primer: 'ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije, Ljubljana');
    - avtorjev elektronski naslov;
    - šifra ORCID.
- Predlog vrste prispevka (izvirni, pregledni ali kratki znanstveni članek oz. prispevek)
- Izvleček: do 700 znakov s presledki
- Ključne besede: do 5 besed
- Izvleček v angleškem jeziku (Abstract): do 700 znakov s presledki
- Ključne besede v angleškem jeziku (Keywords): do 5 besed
- Glavno besedilo, po potrebi razdeljeno na poglavja in podpoglavja
- Zahvale in drugi podatki: Informacije o projektu oz. financiranju (če je članek nastal v okviru projekta) ter morebitne zahvale avtorja oz. avtorjev (neobvezno)
- Seznam literature (urejen po spodnjih navodilih)
- Angleški povzetek prispevka (Summary) s prevedenim naslovom (ameriško črkovanje): do 3.000 znakov s presledki

3. Oblika

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- Robovi strani: »Normal« (2,5 cm na vseh štirih straneh)
- Oštevilčenje strani: z arabskimi številkami spodaj desno
- Dokument naj bo oblikovan brez prelomov strani

- Pisava:
  - Glavno besedilo: pisava Times New Roman, velikost 12 pt, obojestranska poravnava, razmak med vrsticami 1,5
  - Sprotne opombe: pisava Times New Roman, velikost 10 pt, obojestranska poravnava, razmak med vrsticami 1, oštevilčenje z arabskimi številkami
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- Naslov in podnaslovi naj bodo označeni (Headings), oblikovani polkrepko (bold) in z malimi tiskanimi črkami. Podnaslovov oz. (pod)poglavij ne številčite.

V besedilih se izogibajte podčrtovanju besed oz. delov povedi ter okrepljenemu in poševnemu tisku; s poševnim tiskom označite le navedene naslove knjig, časopisov in revij. Izpust znotraj citata označite s tropičjem v oglatih oklepajih […].

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Avtorji naj pri citiranju v besedilu upoštevajo naslednja navodila za sprotno navajanje virov:

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  - navajanje enega vira: (Anderson, 2003: 91–99)
  - navajanje več virov: viri, ločeni s podpičjem in razvrščeni po letnicah (Hladnik, 2009: 15; Vah & Hacin, 2011: 251–253; Hladnik et al., 2019);
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b) Zbornik:
Milharčič Hladnik, Mirjam, Mlekuž, Jernej, ur. (2009). *Krila migracij: Po meri življenjskih zgodb*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU. https://doi.org/10.3986/9789612541125.

c) Članek v zborniku:
Milharčič Hladnik, Mirjam (2009). Naša varuška. *Krila migracij: Po meri življenjskih zgodb* (ur. Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik, Jernej Mlekuž). Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 15–20. https://doi.org/10.3986/9789612541125.

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Turk, Helena (1925). Moja pot po svetu. *Amerikanski Slovenec*, 8. 10. 1925, 2, https://www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:doc-6OZVFZCN.

e) Spletna stran:
Becker, Howard (2003). New Directions in the Sociology of Art. http://www.howardsbecker.com/articles/newdirections.html (14. 6. 2021).

ILO (2018). *Global Estimates on International Migrant Workers*. Ženeva: ILO, https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_652001.pdf (12. 10. 2020).

Kochhar, Rakesh (2020). *Hispanic women, immigrants, young adults, those with less education hit hardest by COVID-19 job losses*. Pew Research, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/06/09/hispanic-women-immigrants-young%20adultsthose-with-less-education-hit-hardest-by-covid-19-job-losses (5. 1. 2020).

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- opis gradiva,
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- lokacijo;
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Primer:
Pitamic, Leonid (1930). [Pismo Leonida Pitamica Ministrstvu za zunanje zadeve o izseljencih iz Prekmurja], 13. 2. 1930. Veleposlaništvo Kraljevine Jugoslavije v Washingtonu (fond 371, mapa 50, enota 65), Arhiv Jugoslavije, Beograd.

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  Preglednica 1: Število prebivalcev Ljubljane po popisu leta 2002 (vir: Statistični urad RS, *Statistične informacije*, 14).

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Dve domovini / Two Homelands welcomes scientific and professional articles and book reviews from the humanities and social sciences focusing on various aspects of migration and related phenomena. The journal, established in 1990, is multidisciplinary and publishes articles in Slovenian or English language. Two volumes are published per year in print and digital format online (http://twohomelands.zrc-sazu.si and https://ojs.zrc-sazu.si/twohomelands/).

Articles should be prepared according to the instructions below and sent to the editorial board at the e-mail address hladnik@zrc-sazu.si. All articles undergo a peer-review procedure. Authors are responsible for language and style proficiency. Manuscripts accepted for publishing by the editorial board should not be sent for consideration and publishing to any other journal. By publishing their articles in *Dve domovini / Two Homelands*, the authors also grant permission to publish them online.

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- Name and surname of the author. The surname should be followed by a footnote with the following four elements separated by a semicolon:
    - the author's education (e.g., PhD in history);
    - the author's affiliation – Institution, Department, City (e.g., ZRC SAZU, Slovenian Migration Institute, Ljubljana);
    - e-mail address;
    - ORCID ID.
- Type of contribution (original, review, or short scientific article)
- Abstract: up to 700 characters with spaces (will be translated into Slovenian by the journal)
- Keywords: up to 5 words
- Main text: divided into sections and subsections, if necessary
- Information about the project or funding (if the article was written as part of a project) and any acknowledgments by the author(s) (optional)
- Reference list (References): see point 5 below for instructions
- Summary: up to 3,000 characters with spaces (will be translated into Slovenian by the journal)

3. Document formatting

- The style of the entire text should be "Normal" – no formatting, defining styles, or similar.
- Please use American English spelling and serial (Oxford) commas.
- Page margins: "Normal" (2.5 cm margins at all sides)
- Page numbering: Arabic numerals, bottom right
- The document should not contain any page breaks.
- Font
    - Main text: Times New Roman, 12 pt, justified, line spacing 1.5
    - Footnotes: Times New Roman, 10 pt, justified, line spacing 1, Arabic numerals

- There should be no spacing or blank lines between paragraphs. Each paragraph (except those after subtitles/headings, figures, tables, and long quotations) should begin with a first-line indent of 1.25 cm.
- The Title and Section (Sub-section) headings should be manually formatted: The Title and Level 1 Headings are bold, Title Case; Level 2 Headings are bold, Sentence case. Headings should not be numbered.

Avoid underlining words or parts of sentences, as well as using bold and italics. Italics should be used only when citing titles of artworks, books, newspapers, and journals. Indicate omitted parts of a citation with square brackets and an ellipsis […].

Book reviews should contain the following elements in the order given: 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. Reviews should be 5,000–10,000 characters with spaces and include the name and surname of the reviewer at the end.

4. Citations and quoting in text

The following instructions should be followed for citing sources in the text:
- Long quotations (five lines or more) should be formatted in a separate paragraph indented by 1.25 cm, without quotation marks, in normal font (not italics).
- Quotations shorter than five lines should be included in the main text and separated with quotation marks in normal font (not italics).
- Cite sources using In-Text Author-Date citations in parentheses: *author's surname*, *year of publication*: *page number(s)*. Examples:
    - citing a single source: (Anderson, 2003: 91–99);
    - citing multiple sources: sources separated by semicolons and sorted by the year of publication in ascending order (Hladnik, 2009: 15; Vah & Hacin, 2011: 251–253; Hladnik et al., 2019);
    - citing multiple works by the same author published in the same year: years marked with lowercase letters (Anderson, 2003a, 2003b).
- When citing archival documents or sources, state the author's name (if available) and the year of the document, e.g., (Pitamic, 1930). If the author of the document is not known, state the title of the document and the year, e.g., (Report on Prekmurje Immigrants, 1930). If the document does not have a title, provide a description in square brackets, e.g., ([Letter from the Ambassador to the Minister of Foreign Affairs], 1931).

5. Reference list

A list of references should appear after the main text in a separate section named "References". The reference list should include all and only those sources that are referred to and cited in the text. The entries should be arranged alphabetically by the authors' surnames (or titles of newspapers/articles or other sources where authors are unknown), with multiple references by the same author arranged by year of publication. Multiple references by a single author published in the same year should be separated with lowercase letters (e.g., Ford, 1999a, 1999b). Each entry should be formatted with a hanging indent of 1.25 cm, with no line spacing between entries.

English book and article titles (except conjunctions, articles, and prepositions) should be capitalized in Title Case. The entries in the reference list should contain DOI addresses (https://doi.org/...) when available. The permanent web address is always the last information in a reference entry (see examples below).

If a printed source is also published online, this information should be included. If the online publication includes any persistent identifiers (PIDs), such as DOI, ARK, URN, Handle, or URI, provide the URL address without the last access date. If the URL of the online publication is in any other form, add the date of last access to the website in parentheses, e.g., (15. 2. 2021), using dd. mm. yyyy.

Our journal accepts reference lists in the following digital formats: BibTeX, RIS, and JATS XML.

For editing the reference list in digital formats, we recommend reference management software such as Zotero, EndNote, Mendeley, Citavi, etc., which enable downloading or exporting a structured reference list as a file in one of the abovementioned digital formats.

If you are unable to provide the reference list in one of the abovementioned formats, please prepare it according to the instructions below:

a) Book:
Anderson, Benedict (1995). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

b) Collection of articles:
Milharčič Hladnik, Mirjam, Mlekuž, Jernej, eds. (2009). *Krila migracij: Po meri življenjskih zgodb*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU. https://doi.org/10.3986/9789612541125.

c) Article in a collection:
Milharčič Hladnik, Mirjam (2009). Naša varuška. *Krila migracij: Po meri življenjskih zgodb* (eds. Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik, Jernej Mlekuž). Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 15–20. https://doi.org/10.3986/9789612541125.

d) Article in a journal/newspaper:
Vah, Mojca, Hacin, Marina (2001). Theorising Immigrant/Ethnic Entrepreneurship in the Context of Welfare States. *Migracijske i etničke teme* 27/2, 249–261, https://hrcak.srce.hr/74487.

Turk, Helena (1925). Moja pot po svetu. *Amerikanski Slovenec*, 8. 10. 1925, 2, https://www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:doc-6OZVFZCN.

e) Internet sources:
Becker, Howard (2003). New Directions in the Sociology of Art. http://www.howardsbecker.com/articles/newdirections.html (14. 6. 2021).

ILO (2018). *Global Estimates on International Migrant Workers*. Geneva: ILO, https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/---publ/documents/publication/wcms_652001.pdf (12. 10. 2020).

Kochhar, Rakesh (2020). *Hispanic women, immigrants, young adults, those with less education hit hardest by COVID-19 job losses*. Pew Research, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/06/09/hispanic-women-immigrants-young-adults-those-with-less-education-hit-hardest-by-covid-19-job-losses/ (5. 1. 2020).

f) Archival sources:
Archival sources should include:
- o name of the author or name of the institution if the author is unknown,
- o document title,
- o description of the source,
- o name of the collection,
- o location,
- o source.

Example:
Pitamic, Leonid (1930). [Letter of Leonid Pitamic to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the emigrants of Prekmurje], 13. 2. 1930. Embassy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Washington (fond 371, folder 50, unit 65), Archive of Yugoslavia, Belgrade.

6. Graphics and illustrations

- Tables should be created in Microsoft Word and included in the text. Use simple formatting (no special builtin styles).
- All other figures (pictures, maps, illustrations, graphs, etc.) should **not** be included in the text but should be sent as separate files.
- All figures and tables should be referenced in the main text, e.g. (Table 1), (Figure 1).
- Please add the figure captions at the exact locations where they should appear in the text.
- All tables and other visual material should be captioned, always starting with the title Figure/Table [number], for example:

  Figure 1: Lisa the Cook in New York in 1905 (Photo: Janez Novak, source: Archives of Slovenia, 1415, 313/14).

  Table 1: The population of Ljubljana according to the 2002 Census (source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, *Statistics*, p. 14).

- Captions to visual material should not include footnotes.
- All digital files for visual material should be named with the author's surname and numbered, e.g., "Brown01.jpg", "Brown02.jpg".
- The size of images should be the same as they should appear in print or larger. Photos should be submitted in one of the following formats: TIF, EPS, SVG, JPG, PNG in full quality and fonts in curves. The image resolution should be at least 300 dpi.
- Permission to publish must be obtained for all copyrighted graphic and illustrative material. Please include proof of permission alongside the copyrighted visual material you submit to the editor.

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