HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES ON SLOVENIAN MIGRATION

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MIGRACIJE

14

INŠTITUT ZA SLOVENSKO IZSELJENSTVO ZRC SAZU

MIGRACIJE 14 **Historical and Cultural Perspectives on Slovenian Migration**

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Series Editor Janja Žitnik
Book Editor Marjan Drnovšek
Expert Reviewers Marta Verginella, Aleksej Kalc, Andrej Vovko
English Language Editing Jana Renée Wilcoxen
Design Milojka Žalik Huzjan

Published by Institute for Slovenian Emigration Studies, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts
Represented by Marina Lukšič Hacin

Publisher ZRC Publishing, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts
For the Publisher Oto Luthar
Editor-in-Chief Vojislav Likar

Printed by Collegium Graphicum d. o. o., Ljubljana
Print run 400

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji
Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

314.745.3-054.72(100=163.6)(082)

HISTORICAL and cultural perspectives on Slovenian migration / edited by Marjan Drnovšek. - Ljubljana : ZRC Publishing, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2007. - (Migracije / Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU ; 14)

ISBN 978-961-254-043-2
1. Drnovšek, Marjan, 1948-
236499456

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https://doi.org/10.3986/9789612540432

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Edited by
Marjan Drnovšek

LJUBLJANA 2007

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PREFACE

The Institute for Slovenian Emigration Studies at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Art (SRC SASA) in Ljubljana is the only research institute in Slovenia that systematically researches Slovenian emigration and immigration. It is a multi- and interdisciplinary institute that has been active since the mid-1980s. Its human resources have been growing steadily. Today it employs six senior researchers and five young researchers. Since 1990 it has been publishing an international scientific journal *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* and since 2000 a monograph series *Migracije* (*Migrations*). Researchers are included into various additional activities, including lecturing at undergraduate and graduate university programmes, participating in cultural activities (for example, exhibitions), popularising scientific research results for the wider public, educating children about migration, and related activities. Cooperation with relevant national and foreign institutes and individuals is well-established and extensive.[1]

From the perspective of contemporary migration theorists, migration processes are regarded as an ordinary phenomenon, understood through the spirit of thought by Klaus J. Bade: "There has been a *Homo migrans* for as long as *Homo sapiens* has existed, since migrations are as much part of the human condition as birth, reproduction, sickness, and death. Migrations as social processes, with the exception of refugee and forced migration situations, are responses to more or less complex economic, environmental, social, and cultural conditions of basic survival. The history of migration is thus always also part of human history in general and can only be understood against that background".[2] Undoubtedly, it is necessary to advance research approaches that are based on the old paradigms, those which highlight merely the role of the state or ethnic groups, research merely mass migration flows and forget about a person – the main actor on the stage of migration happenings. The tradition of migration research in Slovenia is not as old as in some other European nations, for example, French, German, English and other migrations. At the beginning of the 1960s, when research interest in migration was 'reawakened' in Europe, such interest became present in Slovenia as well. In the framework of activities of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Art, the

[1] More information is available on the home page of the Institute for Slovenian Emigration Studies SRC SASA.

[2] Klaus J. Bade, *Migration in European History*, Blackwell Publishing, 2003, p. IX.

establishment of a research institute was indeed planned, yet the idea came to life only a quarter of a century later, causing a delay in the research of migration. The delay has been more or less successfully reduced, but, nevertheless, we still lack specific, fundamental studies that other European nations already posses. This is linked to the fact that, traditionally, outside the Institute there has been a weak interest in migration, possibly with an exception of the social sciences. Therefore, we are lacking a richer base of studies and knowledge, not only of migration, but also of perspectives on economic and social life, through which migration could be more clearly understood. Only on such basis does it become possible to make progress and be a part of the migration research trends on the transnational and global level.

The Institute for Slovenian Emigration Studies SRC SASA is becoming increasingly oriented towards conducting researches that are comparable to those conducted abroad. It is slowly leaving behind the nationally-defined mould and is embracing a comparative approach. We would like to exceed national borders and come within the scope of the transnational, as well as strengthen the research of micro and macro spaces, mobility and methodological approaches. Finally, we strive to combine the research of emigration and immigration through historical and contemporary perspectives – to combine humanities and social sciences and therefore, as humorously noted by Leo and Jan Lucassen, overcome the deep, torrential river that flows between them.[3] We should emphasise that Slovenian emigration experience, in the broadest sense of the term, offers a number of interesting research themes. Not only from the viewpoint of national existence, which has been encouraged by politics, but also from the viewpoint of the general problem of migration.

Migration is a vast and multilayered field of research that demands a broad knowledge of researchers, undoubtedly offered in this book. According to reviewer Aleksej Kalc, the work at the Institute is up-to-date with modern trends in migration studies. Similarly, Marta Verginella notes that only a decade ago, the history of migration was strongly disregarded in Slovenian historiography, yet in the last years we have been witnessing a notable broadening of the research field and a systematic research of migration themes. Another reviewer, Andrej Vovko, believes that the book reflects a historiographic, as well as cultural-anthropological, sociological, art, and literary-historical thematic orientation and familiarises the reader with new research strategies. Verginella believes that individual debates differ in their methodological and epistemological starting points, yet the ambition to produce a holistic analysis of migration thematic is clearly evident. Andrej Vovko also points out a varied selection of basic views and approaches towards researching Slovenian emigration, connected with European and global emigration flows and research approaches. Debates in the book reflect certain research results that have been obtained in the past few years

3 Leo and Jan Lucassen, *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*. Bern – Berlin – Frankfurt a. M – New York – Paris – Vienna: Peter Lang, 1999.

through the framework of the research group.[4] Partial results have been previously published in the journal *Dve domovini/Two Homelands*. The book contains seven essays from the fields of history, sociology, literary art, fine arts, and cultural anthropology, offered to the international scientific public for evaluation and review.

According to reviewers, the contribution by Marjan Drnovšek focuses on the classic, yet in Slovenian historiography inadequately covered, issue about the attitudes of the Church and the State towards emigration. The chapter offers an overview of an intriguing and at times fierce history of such attitudes during the past two centuries. A panoramic overview of various opinions regarding emigration phenomena sets as the central point the interdependence of those attitudes and the national question. The author follows reactions of the Church regarding emigration through three eras each with their own national frame (Austria, the first and the second Yugoslavia).

Irena Gantar Godina presents the emigration of Slovenian intellectuals to the Slavic world, and explores cultural influences that have, through their experience, returned and integrated into Slovenian romantic, and later, cultural and political awareness. Her presentation of 'atypical' Slovenian emigration flows is primarily concerned with intentions, as well as Slovenian intellectuals' ways of thinking. The Pro-Slavic orientation was in most cases marked with strong anti-Semitism. The author explores a seemingly insignificant niche in Slovenian emigration studies and she greatly contributes to the understanding of the development of Slovenian cultural and political spirit in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

Janja Žitnik explores Slovenian emigrant literary creativity and its place in Slovenian literature. She analyses the development phases, content characteristics, influences, creative inspirations, intent of the literature and its dispersal, the question of language as an element of identification and, finally, the attitude of the homeland (cultural sphere, the State, academia, public opinion) towards emigrant authors, depending on cultural and politically-ideological appropriateness or unacceptability. The author analyses the consequences of Slovenian independence for historical-literary disciplines regarding the evaluation of emigrant literary production. Authors and works that managed to maintain the status of emigrant literature after the Second World War and were previously, especially if a part of the political emigration, stigmatised and forbidden, have been in the past few years more recognised in Slovenian press and publishing. Thus, they have gained a wider public response. In short, according to the reviewers, the author presents three development periods of emigrant literature: ignorance, oblivion, and revival.

Kristina Toplak researches experiences of Slovenian fine artists in Argentina. She considers their art as a source of research and interpretation of migration experience, with a special focus on the question of preservation or shifting of identity. The production of fine art of post-war Slovenian political emigrants in Argentina is observed through a historical, ideological, political, and cultural orientation. In

[4] The research programme is entitled »National and Cultural Heritage of Slovenian Emigration« (2004–2008), and financed by the Slovenian Research Agency.

the opinion of reviewers, this emigration was capable of reproducing and preserving *Slovenianness* with a strict introverted stance and national self-sufficiency. This stance is clearly reflected in motifs, style, taste, and the environment in which the art was produced and maintained, until the democratisation of the Slovenian old homeland and the gradual acceptance of the culture of the new homeland. It has sailed from politically and nationally bordered waters into the transnational seas.

Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik analyses the specifics of the emigration of women to the United States of America. She is interested in women emigrants and their role in preserving ethnic identity, as well as in establishing nationally connoted communities in immigration environments. Her focus is particularly on strategies of social and cultural integration of Slovenian women migrants into the North American society. She emphasises the dynamic and multilayered character of the 'ethnic', from which people tend to primarily preserve customs and to a lesser extent the language. The attitude towards the latter changes significantly during the process of adaptation to the environment, according not only to its attributed function in the structure of internal and external social relations, but also according to general socio-cultural processes. The author compares life stories of members of different groups of pre- and post-war emigrant women, explores similarities and differences in the ways of inclusion and ways of adapting to the new environment, and the generational and social specifics of the women's emigration experience. Special emphasis is put on the shaping of individual memory and the influence of the wider cultural and social immigration environment on making sense of a particular migration experience.

Marina Lukšič-Hacin confronts the complex issue of multiculturalism in European integration processes, in connection with yesterday's and today's migration movements. She offers the reader an overview of migration policies and integration models on the level of nation states. She analyses the emergence, development, conceptualisations, contradictions, and interpretations of multiculturalism, or multiculturalisms. She makes critical comments and suggests possible solutions through her own vision. Increasing tendencies for the control and management of migration flows, evident in the European member states, raise the importance of respect of immigrants and their affiliations.

Jernej Mlekuž offers, according to the reviewers, an analytical study of food as an element of recognition and identification of otherness in discourse relations with an immigrant society. The protagonist of the story is burek: its historical track in its immigrant state, Slovenia, from the Bosnian food to de facto integration into Slovenian diet habits, yet simultaneously from the folklore note to the symbol of otherness that teases ecological-nationalistic spirits and their political discourses. Through the framework of narratives on immigrant food and nationalistic discourse, the author explores communication practices in Slovenian society and relations that are being established between the majority and immigrant communities, primarily those from the former Yugoslav republics.

For the review of manuscripts I would like to thank: Prof. Dr. Marta Verginella

from the Department of History at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana; Associate Prof. Dr. Andrej Vovko, Research Advisor and Head of the Institute for Cultural History SRC SASA, and Associate Professor at the Department of History at the Faculty of Arts, University of Maribor; and Assistant Professor Dr. Aleksej Kalc, Research Fellow at the Science and Research Centre of Koper and Department of History, University of Primorska.

Ljubljana, October 2007

Editor:
Dr. Marjan Drnovšek

THE ATTITUDES OF THE STATE AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH TOWARDS SLOVENIAN EMIGRATION: A HISTORIAN'S VIEW

MARJAN DRNOVŠEK

INTRODUCTION

The State and the Catholic Church both played a decisive role in shaping the attitudes towards emigration from the Slovenian territory in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Benderly, Kraft 1994; Plut–Pregelj and Rogel 1996; Fischer 2005; Vodopivec 2006). The former did so primarily through its legislation and everyday policy, the latter through its pastoral activity among the emigrants. The topic of this article is the attitudes of the State and Church towards emigration in three periods of Slovenian history: the Habsburg Monarchy (until 1918), the first Yugoslavia (1918–1941), and the second Yugoslavia (1945–1991).

Migration has existed for as long as the human race, and shows no sign of disappearing. Despite the difference in places and time, the attitudes of the State and the Church towards migration are a part of a process, which echoes the fluctuations in the interest and activity of each. In the last two and a half centuries, mass migration has slowly become a world, or global, phenomenon. Parallel to the migration process, each respective State or Church has formed policies to deal with the migration issues in its own territory and time.

This article intentionally exposes only the attitudes towards the emigration phase of this phenomenon; it is also limited to the case of Slovenia. Ethnicity, in our case Slovenian, is often neglected in international historical migration studies, or labelled as an outdated aspect of the migration historiography. When we consider today's scientific mosaic map of world migrations, there is no trace of Slovenians in it, and yet their share in the migrations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was relatively substantial. Can we speak of the egoism of the big (states) towards the small (ethnicities)? Is it simply the question of not knowing the (Slovenian) language in which the majority of books and articles were written? Modern times are more partial to current migration issues than they are to migration history. Sensitivity, politics, and ideology of the migrations are also reflected in the fact that many simplifications were made and many stereotypical views solidified, even in science (Lucassen 1993: 209–235). Many an ideological, political, racial, cultural-civilisational prejudice had its role in this process, as did the differences between the migrants from different places.

The current essayist overview reflects what is known in the field of history

revealed in its title, but is also analytical in certain parts. It presents a part of a wider question, one that is rarely asked: what were (are) the attitudes of Slovenians themselves towards the emigration and the return of their fellow countrymen? The attitudes of the country of origin and the local Church are only a part of the story, as they both had a decisive influence on public opinion. The other side of this story is also missing – in other words, the attitudes of the State and Church towards immigration. Since the situation in the immigrant communities is not well researched and only partly known, I shall limit myself to the theme of emigration specified in the title. For clarity, the article is organised according to the period and the activity of a particular entity, that is, the State and the Catholic Church in the Slovenian territory.

The Church in Slovenia is a part of the universal Catholic congregation lead by the Roman Pope in the Vatican. The three States – the Habsburg monarchy, the first Yugoslavia, and the second Yugoslavia – were multi-national and multi-confessional states with different cultural, social, economic, and political traditions and origins; Slovenians were always a numerical minority in them. All three States are already a part of history. Migration movements and States in all three periods differed according to the direction, forms, legal and social protection, and migration policies. The fundamental mission of the Church is evangelisation, but at the same time it interfered with – to simplify slightly – all the areas of the worldly life where its interests and those of the State either touched or parted. However, this approach was more of a hindrance than a support for the relationship between each State and the Catholic Church in the Slovenia territory

Regarding the defined topic we need to reach back at least as far as the second half of the eighteenth century, to the period of the reforms of Maria Theresa (1717–1780) and her son Joseph II (1741–1790), which strengthened the position of the State in relation to the Church and aimed at forming a state Church. The Concordat between the Holy See and the Austrian Empire (1855), which gave the Church the right to regulate matrimony and decisions on everything regarding life inside the Church, was abolished by the Austrian government on 7 May 1874. The changes came about in 1867, when Austria became a constitutional monarchy with prevalent liberal currents in the Viennese parliament. The biggest blow to the Church was the implementation of the equality of all citizens – regardless of their religion – and the abrogation of Church competency in the field of marital law and its activity in education (Košir 2002: 257). However, the Catholic Church remained the majority church and the only state church in Austria. Limiting religious ties with the State and the transition towards the religiously neutral system of State-Church sovereignty in Austro-Hungary began in 1867, when the Fundamental Law Concerning the General Rights of the Citizens (*Staatsgrundgesetz*) was adopted; it represents the formal beginning of the parity in substantive law.

With the establishment in 1918 of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

(Kraljevina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev, Kingdom of SHS, for short) – the first Yugoslavia – the multi-confessional structure of believers increased. The Kingdom of SHS adopted a series of legal systems, inherited from the previous sovereigns of particular territories.[1] In Slovenia, the relationship between the State and the Church was regulated according to the Austrian legislation from 1918. Due to the variegation of religion a state church was not possible, but neither can we speak of the separation between the State and the Church. The Vidovdan (St. Vitus's Day) Constitution from 1921 recognised the freedom of religion and consciousness and the equality of the recognised religions (Article 12). Thus, the parity system was implemented. The new Constitution decreed by King Alexander I in 1931 did not change the situation significantly. The attempt to enter the Concordat in 1935 failed completely as it was not supported by the senate in Belgrade. In the years that followed, the individual questions regarding the areas of religious communities were regulated with individual laws of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.[2] The recognised religious communities were privileged, for example the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church. They were accepted as legal and administrative entities, were entitled to state funding and their religious education was compulsory in public schools. Experts believe that the Catholic Church in that time did not have the status equal to religions protected by law and was particularly badly tolerated by the Serbian Orthodox Church (Košir 2002: 262).

The second Yugoslavia established further aggravated its attitude towards believers and their institutions (Dolinar 1998: 222–233). From the Marxist point of view, religion was a phenomenon of the reactionary past and thus had to be ousted from the social and public life. In the legal and formal sense the constitutional outlines were the following: in principle, the freedoms of consciousness, religion, and religious rituals were recognised; confession of religious faith was free and private; discrimination based upon religious conviction prohibited; the State and religious communities separated and the religious communities equal amongst themselves; abuse of religion for political means was prohibited (the Yugoslav Constitution from 1946, and similarly the Constitutions from 1963 and 1974). However, on the other hand, the Church was considered to be the "inner enemy", Church property was nationalised without compensation and the Church was forbidden to carry out educational, humanitarian, and charity activities. On 17 December 1952, the diplomatic relationships between the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the Holy See were severed. In 1953, the first Law on the Legal Status of Religious Communities was passed in Yugoslavia. The communities were thus first recognised as legal subjects, religious education was allowed on the church premises, as were the establishment of religious schools for the education of ministers and religious press. For the first time, the State could allocate financial support to the religious communities, especially for the restoration of religious monuments that were the

[1] From formered Austro-Hungary, Kingdom of Serbia and Kingdom of Montenegro.
[2] The Kingdom of SHS was renamed in The Kingdom of Yugoslavia at 1929.

property of the Church. In 1966, the Belgrade Protocol was signed with the Holy See; it had the nature of an international document, comprising statements from both sides regarding the status of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia. Neither side undertook bigger responsibilities from those already written in the Yugoslav Constitution on the one side and various Church documents on the other. The State reconfirmed the otherwise constitutionally recognised rights: freedom of consciousness and religion; separation of the Church from the State; equality of all the religious communities; equality of the citizens regardless of their religion; free establishment of religious communities and recognition of their legal status. It additionally confirmed the free execution of religious matters and rituals, respect of the total spiritual jurisdiction of the Vatican over the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia and undisturbed contacts of the Church with the Vatican. According to the Protocol, the Holy See bound itself to non-interference into the political issues (in accordance to its own decisions at the Second Vatican Council) and declared against any form of political terrorism or similar forms of criminal violence. After signing the Protocol, the State apparatus interfered less with the activity of the religious associations, but we cannot speak about the real freedom of their activity (Dolinar 1998: 222–233; Benedik, Juhant, Kolar 2002).

I.
BEFORE 1918

Due to its liberal stance on the question of the freedom of emigration, the Austrian administration did not interfere excessively with emigration of its citizens. The freedom to emigrate was mentioned in the draft of the 1848 March Constitution, which never took effect.[3] The Austrian Constitutional Law from 21 December 1867 included it, and it was a valid right until the end of the monarchy. Freedom to emigrate was one of the basic rights of citizens. The State was obliged to preserve the right and to prevent its abuse from the side of, for example, shipping companies and travel agencies (Kalc 1997: 9–35). However, the State did not formulate its own position regarding the emigration of its citizens, in other words, it had no migration policy.[4] Public opinion on this topic ranged from supporting the liberal policy to supporting that the State institute a prohibition of emigration. Such opinions were voiced by individuals, by the press, and also by the Church. Among the countries with high emigration, only Austria and Russia had no special emigration law before World War I.[5] Using the German and Italian law as a basis, the Austrian govern-

3 "The state does not limit the freedom of emigration." Article 8 (translator's translation).

4 The state partly regulated migration politics through economic law. Thus in 1852, a ministerial decree about "travel agencies" was passed, in 1895 the "travel offices" had to acquire concessions and a new trade law from 1907 contained a series of penal provisions about "emigration crafts" (Šašek 1912: 254).

5 France passed the law in 1860, Switzerland in 1888, Germany on 9 June 1897, Italy on 31

ment was preparing its own law in 1904 but never made it beyond drafts. The last draft was prepared in 1913, but never put into practice. Even the Hungarian half of the Empire passed an emigration law on 14 March 1903, which later made the condition for emigration even stricter and was sanctioned on 18 February 1909 (Chmelar 1974: 140–141). The initiative of Fran Šuklje, a Slovenian member of the Austrian parliament (5 October 1905), which included the warning that the dangerous increase of emigration from the Carniola[6] harmed the defence power of the country, had no effect. Incentives also appeared on the local level. Slovenian politician Juro Adlešič (1884–1968) interceded for the establishment of a special emigration organisation for Carniola (Adlešič 1905: 170–189). Its area of work would cover the entire Slovenian ethnic territory, and also Croatia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia. The second attempt to prepare the material for emigration law was made in 1908, but again with no success. To put it briefly, Austria did not pass the emigration law until the demise of the monarchy (1918). In the time of Austro-Hungary, the leftist Slovenian migrant circles in the United States of America entertained the idea that the government in Vienna silently encouraged Slavic emigration in order to increase the political power of Germans and Hungarians in the Habsburg State (Zavertnik 1925: 258; Banović 1987: 314).

The years immediately preceding World War I were marked with mass emigration, especially from European countries to the United States of America.[7] It was only in the decade before the breakout of the war (1914) that the State began to worry about the growing emigration of men who did not serve in the military and avoided military service by escaping to the USA. Article 45 of the 1889 Military Law specified that whoever leaves the country with the intention of evading military service be punished with severe arrest of no longer than twelve months and a fine between 200 and 2,000 Austrian crowns.[8] This did not stop military servicemen. Fritz Schönpflug's famous caricature of the conversation in the Austrian General Staff comments:

"A: Sechseinhalb Korps haben wir jetzt drüben!

B: Sapperlot! Wenn man denen den Generalstab nachschickt können wir ja Amerika

---

January 1901 (amended on 17 July 1910). The Throne Speech of 1897 promised changes in this field, but the government only introduced the first draft of the emigration law seven years later (Chmelar 1974: 14, 140). The other two countries without migration law and policy were Serbia and Montenegro (Banović 1987: 321).

6 Carniola (Slovenian: Kranjska; German: Krain) is a traditional and historical region of Slovenia. The duchy of Carniola was constituted by rescript of 20 December 1860 by imperial patent of 26 February 18, modified by legislation of 21 December 1867, granting power to the home parliament to enact all laws not reserved to the imperial diet.

7 In the 1910 census of the USA, 1,174,924 inhabitants of the USA born in Austria declared themselves Austrian (2,021,860 including the second generation). Slovenian was stated as the mother tongue of 117,740 persons born in Austria, and of 57,203 persons of Austrian descent born in the United States (Daniels 2002: 217–218). For comparison: in Germany 9,193 persons stated Slovenian as their mother tongue in the year 1900 (Valenčič 1990: 64).

8 State Law no. 41/1889 and no. 128, 5 July 1812.

erobern!"[9] (Chmelar 1974: 165).

The Slovenian version of this caricature was presented in the Parliament as early as 1905, when the Slovenian politician Fran Šuklje quoted the numbers of conscripts who did not show up for enlistment in the districts of Kočevje, Novo Mesto, and Črnomelj: 5,240 evaded conscription. Šuklje quoted the prefect of Črnomelj district:

"You see, Mr. Court Counsellor, it would be best to send our drafting commission for Črnomelj to America. There is where all the recruits are, not here!"[10]

Count Barbo Jožef Anton, the owner of the Rakovnik-near-Mirna estate, claimed in the Carniola parliament in October 1913 that an entire corpus of men fit for military service and 11,000 national servicemen from Carniola alone were in America.[11] Emigration of men avoiding military service seemed an insoluble problem for Austria right until the outbreak of the World War I.

A special role in creating public opinion went to the daily and weekly press, which published the relatively few circulars of the state and regional governments. The local press was more informative. The Catholic press (for example, *Slovenec*) paid the most attention to these issues, the liberal press (for example, *Slovenski narod*) was less interested and the socialist press (for example, *Zarja*), even less. However, they all published advertising for different shipping companies and travel agencies although they – especially the Catholic press – were in principle opposed to emigration. The mass migration from the Slovenian territory before World War I was not a result of advertising but rather of conscious decisions and previous knowledge of what was to be expected on the other side of the Atlantic. The information network (press and other writings) was strong, especially when it included personal experiences of relatives and friends that were revealed through correspondence, visits home, or permanent returnees. Personal experiences – good or bad – were the strongest influence for those leaving for America.

We must know that migration was a part of the economic system and of interest for the country of emigration and the country of immigration. Remittances sent home by emigrants influenced the financial balance of the countries of origin and also influenced financial transactions on personal and local levels. Therefore, the State was not too keen on moralising or even deterring citizens from migration. A part of this burden was transferred to the shoulders of the Catholic Church.

And how did the Church respond?

"The care for emigrants is an eminently ecclesiastical question. More than missions in faraway lands we must care for the emigrant, because he is closer to us in religion and in language,"

---

9 Published in Die Muskete, Comic paper, no. 425, 20 November 1913, p. 63.

10 Slovenec XXXIII/236, 14 October 1905.

11 *Deželni zbor za Kranjsko* (The Provincial Parlament of Carniola), Volume 48, part II, Session XVII, 3 and 4 October 1913, p. 673.

said Andrej Lavrič in the Slovenian-Croatian Catholic convention.[12] The migration phenomenon set new tasks in front of the Catholic Church in Europe, in the USA and elsewhere. It was the time of Pope Pius X (1903–1914). Of central importance in this field was the establishment of a special office with the Consistorial Congregation in Rome, which took care of migrants of Latin rite (1912).[13] In 1914 the decree *Ethnografica studia*, which dealt with the question of inclusion of priests into the care of migrants, came out. It stressed the responsibility of the local Church for helping the immigrants and the preparedness of the clergy in terms of linguistic, cultural, and pastoral aspects to work among them. Based on the promulgation of the Canonical Law the decree *Magni semper* (1918) was issued. It gave the Consistorial Congregation all the authorisation needed for the work of the clergy to help the migrants.[14] For a more effective overview of the world migration, a special questionnaire was created that included migration issues from the Church perspective and beyond. The Slovenian territory was a part of this project. A consortium of Slovenian deans, which was an advisory board of Slovenian bishops, singled out the migration questions during their annual convention in 1913 and adopted a series of concrete tasks. Within the Church structure, they were well aware that the understanding of the migration problem was the key to successful and practical pastoral work (Kolar 1990: 92–98).

As far as the care for Slovenian emigrants was concerned, the Catholic Church in Slovenia became much more active, but it still lagged behind the Romance nations (Italians, French and Spanish) and at the end of the nineteenth century it was more or less on the same level of activity as Germany and especially the German part of Austria. The migration problem was a topic of the Catholic conventions of 1892, 1900, 1906, and 1913; in the last case, together with Croatian Catholics. The Church in Slovenia did not reject emigration, but it did not sanction it, either. It emphasised the negative consequences and only rarely acknowledged the positive outcomes of migrating abroad. It was late to establish the "Saint Raphael Society for the assistance to emigrants during the voyage and abroad" (1907) – Germany got one in 1878 and Vienna in 1890. Anton Bonaventura Jeglič (1850–1937), the Bishop of Ljubljana, founded a special diocesan committee of the "Austrian Society of St. Raphael for the Protection of Catholic Emigrants", which over five years grew into the society mentioned above. The diocesan committee published "Kažipot za izseljence" ("A Vademecum for Emigrants") (1904) with advice for those travelling. Frančišek Saleški Šušteršič (1864–1911), a priest living in the United States published an article "Slovenci v Ameriki" ("Slovenians in America") in the calendar (almanac) of the Society of St. Hemagors (Družba sv. Mohorja) in Ljubljana for the

12 *Slovensko-hrvatski katoliški shod v Ljubljani 1913* (Slovenian-Croatian Catholic Convention in Ljubljana 1913). (Preparation committee). Ljubljana 1913: Katoliška Bukvarna, p. 63.

13 Motuproprium De catholicirum in externas regiones emigratione, 15 August 1912.

14 http://www.vatican.va (24 April 2007), pp. 10–11.

year 1891. In it, he warned the emigrants about the dangers of migration. However he balanced the negative sides of America with the positive ones:

> *"... I cannot deny that many a Slovenian has found happiness in America. He may not have become a millionaire, but he lives well, the way he could never have lived in the old country."*

His idea in 1891 to establish an "association for emigrants, that apparently all other European nations had", planted the seed for the Saint Raphael Society that was later established in Ljubljana (Šušteršič 1891: 15–27). In 1908, the "Saint Raphael Society in New York" was founded with the mission to help Catholic immigrants. Organisationally speaking, the departure and the first steps in the United States were very well thought through; however the practical effects depended on the migrants themselves. The majority did not contact these societies but rather relied on recommendations of relatives and friends already residing in America. That same year, priest Jurij Matej Trunk published his monograph *Amerika in Amerikanci* (America and Americans) (Klagenfurt, 1912), which was a rich – in contents and in photographic material – historical, ethnological, and sociological analysis of the United States and Slovenian immigration, with a special emphasis on the contribution of the Catholic Church.

Individual bishops, for example, Bishop of Lavant Mihael Napotnik in 1910 (Drnovšek 1993: 197–214), issued pastoral letters. The peak was the joint pastoral letter to the clergy and congregation of the Illyrian ecclesiastical province in 1913, which was issued on the Day of St. Raphael and signed by the Archbishop of Gorizia/Gorica Frančišek Borgia Sedej, the Bishop of Ljubljana Anton Bonaventura Jeglič, the Bishop of Trieste/Trst and Koper/Capodistria Andrej Karlin, the Bishop of Krk Anton Mahnič and the Bishop of Poreč and Pula (Parenzo and Pola) Trifon.[15] The pastoral letter begins with a few words on the positive aspects of emigration and then continues to thoroughly describe the material and moral damage of this process. The dichotomy of this attitude and black-and-white presentation is obvious. It touches the areas of (1) family issues, (2) economic consequences, (3) the health situation, (4) the dangers of "freethinking", and (5) the decrease of religious faith abroad. Some views of the bishops are slightly removed from reality, for example, the emphasis on the "American myth", and some are too emotional, pedagogical, or condescending towards Slovenian migrants and their "maturity" for emigrating. A few quotes to illustrate:

(Ad 1) "The last, but just as deep and dangerous, wound that due to emigration gnaws through the bones and marrow of our nation, is the emigration of spouses (married men and women) without their families."

(Ad 2) "Our people think that so much gold and silver lies on the ground and one needs only to grab it by handfuls and suddenly become wealthy /.../ If some worked as diligently at home as they do abroad, they would be wealthy even faster."

[15] *Ljubljanski škofijski list* (Ljubljana Diocesan Gazette), no. XI/123 (1913), 137–142.

(Ad 3) "We often notice that emigrants return to their homeland with dead souls and bodies, lame or maimed, with deathly pallor and some even obtuse or mad."

(Ad 4) "What will become of such sons, confounded by libertarian American ideas? Woe if such half-educated persons take office in their borough upon return!"

(Ad 5) "Experience teaches us that the corrupted or languid Catholics, hedonists, profiteers, vagrants that can be found amongst the emigrant not only do not live up to this challenging task, but even hinder the activities of the Church."

Missions comprise a special chapter in the history of the Church. With the expansion of colonialism, the missions helped to spread the Church over all five continents. (Kolar 1998). The missions were centrally governed from the Vatican. The number of Slovenian missionaries in the United States of America grew significantly after the year 1830, when Friderik Baraga (1797–1868) made his first steps through that large country. The activities of the missions resounded strongly in Slovenia at that time. People responded to the pleas for monetary donations for the missions. The missionaries published their letters in the Slovenian Catholic press (*Zgodnja danica*, *Novice*) and with them broadened people's knowledge about America, but also created stereotypes about the indigenous population (Native Americans) among the common people. At the end of the American Civil War, missionary Franc Pirc (1785–1880) planned a colony of Slovenians in Minnesota, so that this small American state would become as Catholic as possible (Drnovšek 2003). About the first group of emigrants he wrote the following:

> *"These are neither political dreamers nor romantic vagabonds; they are hard- working people from Gorenjska, whose dire situation forced them to leave their homeland."*[16]

But very few Slovenians responded to his call. Here we encounter a paradoxical situation in which a Catholic priest invited emigrants in a time when migration was already faced with opposition.

Catholic immigration accelerated the development of new church communities in Canada, Australia, the United States, and especially South America (Aubert 2000: 15). However, the Catholic Church in the United States remained a minority church with regard to other Christian creeds (Friš 1995a). The Church was strictly separated from the State. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, Slovenian missionaries also offered pastoral care to the incoming secular migrants. Between the arrival of Friderik Baraga in 1830 and 1924, there were 140 Slovenian priests and monks or nuns active in the United States. By 1914, five Slovenians were ordained bishops: Friderik Baraga (1853), Ignacij Mrak (1868), Janez Vrtin (1879), Jakob Trobec (1897), and Janez Stariha (1902). The separation of the Church from the State required that the congregation help to provide sustenance for the Church, because it was understood that the Church had no assets of its own. The Church depended on the believers in order to raise money for its basic activity and parallel activities, for example, social and organisational, charity, press, etc. Believers built

[16] *Novice*, no. 19, 10 May 1865, p. 154.

their own churches, rectories and parish schools. Catholics gathered in the Carniolan Slovenian Catholic Union (*Kranjska slovenska katoliška jednota*) (it was established at 1894). The Association of Slovenian Priests (*Zveza slovenskih duhovnikov*) was established in 1902 in St. Paul, Minnesota, with the role of connecting and educating. In 1914, the Association of Catholic Slovenians (*Zveza katoliških Slovencev*) in Chicago (Illinois) was established; it took care of preserving the Catholic faith among the Slovenians in the United States, acted as a point of connection, supported their organising into Catholic associations, and oversaw their education, etc. (Friš, Kolar, Vovko: 1997). After 1906, the Franciscan friars, lead by father Kazimir Zakrajšek (1878–1958), became more active. In August 1912, a Franciscan committee was established and its members were Slovenians, Croats and Slovaks. It took care of pastoral and missionary work, supported religious press and informed the homeland about the situation in the United States (Kolar 1991: 281). There was a wealth of Catholic press, fronted by *Amerikanski Slovenec* (est. 1891). By 1924, there were twelve gazettes, five of which were political papers of catholic orientation, two religious papers (one being *Ave Maria,* est. 1909), two papers for the youth and three parish bulletins. Between 1871 and 1923 there were 40 Slovenian parishes in the United States; between 1895 and 1918 fifteen parish schools opened their doors to the young (Friš 1995: 87, 205). Much credit for preserving and teaching the Slovenian language goes to the Franciscan Sisters of Christ the King in America. Both Catholic and non-Catholic Slovenians were united in their own organisations (*jednote*, "units"), which functioned primarily as support organisations. "Progressive" liberal and socialist papers were also published. And it was the separation of the Church from the State which allowed for a bigger decline of religious faith among Slovenian immigrants who were at that time mostly miners and foresters.[17] All in all, Slovenian immigrants in the United States were well organised and their activities diverse. The immigrants were ideologically and politically divided into Catholics, socialists and liberals.

Compared to the organisation of American Catholic Slovenians, the situation in Germany (Ruhr and Westphalia) was more modest. The "Westphalian Slovenians" were somehow "disclosed" to the Slovenian public by the politician and priest Janez Evangelist Krek (1865–1917), when he published twenty Westphalian letters in the political paper *Slovenec* (1899). As a missionary, he worked among Slovenian and Czech emigrants. From the religious point of view, he was working in a Catholic milieu, which was surrounded by a wider Protestant one. Otto von Bismarck's politics were rather cold towards the Catholics, and downright hostile towards the Catholic Poles in Germany. Krek himself was honoured by the surveillance of the Prussian police. It is somehow inevitable to compare the situation with the one

[17] From the late nineteenth century, Prekmurje in the Hungarian part of the empire saw the emigration of Slovenians of the Evangelical Protestant denomination to the USA. Most of them settled in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Their activities were organised similarly to those in Catholic parishes in the USA (Kuzmič 2001).

of American Slovenians in this period. In Germany, they did not have their own religious buildings and parish schools, there were no full-time priests, community life was scarce, and there was no press. Anton Bonaventura Jeglič (1850–1937), the Bishop of Ljubljana, visited them in 1909. The deep faith of Westphalian Slovenians pre- and post-war was also established by the German sociologist Erich Werner (Werner 1985). However, the familiarity with the Slovenian language among the Westphalian Slovenians diminished. During his visit, the missionary Luka Arh found out that especially children had problems mastering the language. He saw the cause for this in compulsory German school. Thus he claims that it was not a rare sight for the mother and the father to say the rosary in Slovenian and the children to reply in German (Drnovšek 1999a: 39). Slovenian Catholic missionaries were worried about the decrease of religious faith among the emigrants, especially as this happened under the ideas of social democracy. We must remember that most men worked in the environment of multi-national mines, where they also encountered socialist ideas.

From the religious and moral aspects the Church also followed the fate of female migrants around the world. A wave of female migrants turned to Egypt after the opening of the Suez Canal. The Catholic press emphasised the fear that Egypt would be their moral downfall. They were wet-nurses, maids, cooks, and governesses. The exotic perception of Egypt aroused many insinuations, which were vehemently denied by the Slovenian doctor Karol Pečnik of Cairo, who claimed that women were more often exposed to moral dangers in Trieste and other big European cities than they were in Egypt. They got the first Slovenian priest in 1894 (Franciscan Hubert Rant), while Franciscan Beniger Snoj founded the Christian Association of Slovenian Women (*Krščanska zveza Slovenk*) in Alexandria in 1901. From 1908 onwards, the School Sisters of St. Francis Christ the King (*Šolske sestre sv. Frančiška Kristusa Kralja*) worked in Alexandria. Thus, before World War I, even Slovenian women in Egypt were not without pastoral care (Makuc 1993; Jagodic 1968: 206–209).

II.
1918 – 1941

The formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (since 1929 the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) required a new emigration policy on the state level. Even more so, as the first couple of years post-WWI had seen an increase in emigration to the United States of America. Immediately after WWI the emigration current turned towards the industrially developed countries of Western Europe, mostly to France (Pislar 2006), Belgium (Drnovšek 1997), Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Austria, Switzerland, and later to Germany (Drnovšek 2006). The emigration and refugee problem was first regulated by the Land Government for Slovenia (Deželna vlada

za Slovenijo) in Ljubljana and its Committee for Social Work (Poverjeništvo za socialno delo) (1919–21), and afterwards, the Province Administration for Slovenia (Pokrajinska uprava za Slovenijo) and its Agency for Social Welfare (Oddelek za socialno skrbstvo) (established on 2 August 1921). A Refugee Agency (Posredovalni urad za begunce) opened in Ljubljana as early as November 1918. After the war, many Slovenians from Germany, Bohemia, and German ex-Austrian lands were returning, while many Slovenian refugees arrived from the territories occupied by the Italians. (Ribnikar 1998: 42). The organisation of the emigration services is comparable to the one in Croatia, which was operating under the auspices of the Emigration Section of the Province Government (Izseljenski odsek Pokrajinske vlade) in Zagreb. In May 1920 the Ministry of Social Policy (Ministrstvo socialne politike) in Belgrade established the Section for Emigration and Immigration (Odsek za izseljevanje in priseljevanje) which was the beginning of the joint migration administration on the state level. The supervising role of police forces was singled out. Based on the Emigration Decree from May 1921, the National Assembly of the Kingdom of SHS (Narodna skupščina Kraljevine SHS) on 28 November 1921 passed the Law of Emigration from and Immigration to the Kingdom of SHS (Zakon o izseljevanju in priseljevanju v Kraljevino SHS).[18] Any previous migration regulations were invalidated. In the middle of 1922, the Regulations for Implementation of the Law (Pravilnik o izvajanju zakona) were adopted and transferred the duties to the Section of Emigration at the Ministry of Social Policy (Izseljenski odsek pri Ministrstvu socialne politike) in Belgrade and the General Emigration Committee (Generalni izseljenski komisariat) in Zagreb. They were aided by port, railway, and ship emigration supervisors (commissioners) and emigration emissaries of the Ministry of Social Policies abroad. The period of the General Emigration Committee was short, from the end of 1922 until March 1923 (Jonjić, Laušić 1998: 8–9). It was the time of centralising state administration, but for practical reasons most of the "emigration services" remained in Zagreb. The area of expertise of the Committee in Zagreb was limited to practical issues, for example, transport organisation, medical check-ups, property and legal protection of emigrants, information service, and following the migration (emigration and immigration) statistics. The Sector for Emigration and Immigration at the Ministry for Social Policy was the one that supervised all the emigration services and migration policy in the country. In order to centralise the activities even further the Sector for Emigration and Immigration in Belgrade established the Emigration Interministerial Advisory Council (Izseljenski interministrski posvetovalni odbor) which had the competencies provided in the Regulations of Implementation of Emigration Law from 1921[19]: counselling, deciding on important issues, and creation of migration policy. The already mentioned port, railway, and ship commissaries were responsible for transports of emigrants and returned emigrants. The cost of transportation was covered by shipping companies. Emigra-

[18] It was published in *Uradni list* (Official Gazette), no. 21/50, 1922.
[19] *Uradni list* (Official Gazette), no. 78/279, 1923.

tion emissaries comprised a special category; following the example of the United States and some European countries, they worked under the auspices of Yugoslav diplomatic and consular missions abroad. They were the link to the emigrants in particular countries. At first they were only active in the United States (until 1926), and later in France, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere.[20] In 1921, the state Emigration Fund (Izseljenski fond) was created, which was financed from the capitation from fines from breaking the migration law, passport issuing fees, etc.[21] Most activities in the field of migration were financed from this fund, and only a minor part from the state budget. The Association of Emigrant Organisations (Zveza organizacij izseljencev) with the headquarters in Zagreb was created in 1928; it published a gazette *Novi iseljenik*. It functioned as an interest organisation and as an incentive for the activities of state agencies. The above overview of laws, decrees and the organisation of migration services clearly shows the complexity that the newly established State faced when creating legal regulations in the area of migration. A lot of it is unclear and open for different interpretations. We must always be aware of the establishment of the new State, immense bureaucracy, and finally, the different practices from the past.

The law from 1921 was too limited for all the migration issues brought by the 1920s and 1930s. The State's promises to amend it were never realised. Just to compare the situation with the Austrian period (see the first section of this article) I would like to mention the Law of Organisation of the Army and Navy (Zakon o ustrojstvu vojske in mornarice) (6 September 1929), which stipulated in Article 45 that the only period of life when emigration is limited is between 18 years of age and the end of compulsory military service.[22] In other words, this was a more liberal approach to free emigration of the workforce. The situation was quite different in the European immigration states that controlled, selected, and distributed the workforce through the organised recruitment of workers in Yugoslavia, for example, Société Générale d'Immigration from Paris based in Zagreb (est. 1926) and Arbeitsamt from Berlin (est. 1931). The seemingly comprehensive organisational scheme had many inconsistencies and defects. This is true especially for the work of state administration offices abroad, in the field of legal and social protection of Yugoslav emigrants, and in the relationship towards Yugoslav emigrant associations.

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[20] In 1938 the following Yugoslav (general) consulates were active in Europe in addition to the embassies: Albania (1), England (7), Belgium (2), Bulgaria (-), Czechoslovakia (1), Denmark (1), Finland (1*), France (9), Greece (2), Holland (2*), Ireland (1*), Italy (6), Latvia (1*), Hungary (1), Germany (9), Poland (1), Portugal (1*), Romania (-), Russia ("All connections with theme have been severed."), Spain (1), Sweden (3), Switzerland (2) and Turkey (1). Consulates marked with an asterisk * indicate that there was no embassy in a particular country, but merely a consulate (Zakrajšek 1938: 132–137).

[21] The costs of the State emigration service were mostly covered by the emigrants who paid a special tax called "glavarina" (capitation or poll tax). To emigrate to a European country was 100 dinars, to go overseas 300 dinars. The tax was abolished in 1939 (Aranicki 1939: 49–51).

[22] *Uradni list* (Official Gazette), no. 44, year 1929.

Migration issues were more of a side track for the State (Hranilović 1987: 333). I dare suggest that the Belgrade political elites were less interested in them, since the majority of emigrants were Croatians and Slovenians; very few were Serbian. When on 7 December 1939 the Decree of transfer of social policy and national health issues to Croatian Banovina was issued, this meant the disintegration of unified state migration policy.

If the pre-war period concentrated mostly on emigration and the attitude of the State and the Church to it, the focus in the period between the two wars shifted first to the attitude of both, the State and the Church towards the emigrants and their descendants (especially in the United States) and second to the return migrants from European countries. Yugoslavia kept contacts with emigrants through their associations and clubs (for example, in the United Stated) and its diplomatic-consular missions. The ethnic[23] principle was decisive for these contacts. The lack of and unsuitable geographic distribution of diplomatic missions, with staff inappropriately qualified for migration issues, with poor knowledge of foreign languages, and even the languages of the Yugoslav ethnic groups, the pushing forward of Serbian staff, etc. were obvious issues and criticised also from the Catholic Church in Slovenia. The State's main focus was on controlling emigration and immigration. The attempts to change emigration into internal colonisation (of the southern parts of the country) and emphasising a better economic policy with new economic programmes and consequently greater internal employment were not fully successful. Public works did not help. To sum up, the state policy for the most part simply gravitated towards control that the emigration follows a plan and is strictly supervised by the State (Hranilović 1987: 326–327). In relation to the old emigrants, for example, in the United States, the State strove to preserve the "national conscience" or "national spirit" ("nacionalna svijest" and "nacionalni duh"), however it is a question which one, the Yugoslav one or the "ethnic" one? The debates about taking foreign citizenship and assimilation processes were frequent, for example, within the framework of the state Association of Emigrant Organisations / *Savez organizacij iseljenika* (ORIS), established in April 1928 in Zagreb.[24] The opinions within the framework of the State were also often different or at least not uniform. Just an example: we must not be deceived by the superficial forms, for example, the names of emigration associations in European countries. With the implementation of the January 6th Dictatorship in Yugoslavia (1929) it was compulsory that they had a "Yugoslav" name, such as the Yugoslav Association of St. Barbara in Eisden (Belgium), even though it was Slovenian in membership, Catholic, and decidedly Slovenian in orientation. In 1937 their association library had 567 works in their catalogue. All the

[23] The first Yugoslavia did not acknowledge nations, but merely three ethic groups: Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

[24] It published a gazette *Novi iseljenik* (The New Emigrant) (1928–1939). Before that, there was a gazette called *Iseljenik* (Emigrant) (1925–1928), published by the organisation of emigrants in Zagreb. When the Croatian Banovina was established, *Hrvatski iseljenik* (The Croation Emigrant) (1939–1940) appeared.

works were in Slovenian, and the librarian's report showed that the books were in fact read (Drnovšek 1991: 172–176; Drnovšek 1997a: 357–389).

A new challenge for the State came with the consequences of the Great Depression, which resulted in large numbers of repatriates, especially from the European countries. Until the outbreak of the crisis, the State was in favour of the rotation system on migration, hoping that it would prevent or stop assimilation. After the Great Depression it took a stand that the emigrants should stay put in their host countries; the rationale was economic and social. The Yugoslav budget made no provisions for employment and maintenance of return migrants, and the general unemployment in the country was high as well. In accordance to new socio-political views and shifts in the area of the protection of workers and also migrants, Yugoslavia entered reciprocity and social agreements. However, their adoption was slow. Let us cite the example of France, the prime migration destination of Yugoslavs between the two wars: on 30 January 1929, France and Yugoslavia signed the Immigration and Health Insurance Agreement (Sporazum o priseljevanju in zdravstvenem zavarovanju) in 1932, the Convention on Work and Help with Social Insurance (Konvencija o delu in pomoči pri socialnem zavarovanju). The Yugoslav Parliament and Senate ratified it in 1933; the French side did not until 1939 (Pislar 2006: 287).

From the Croatian point of view, the State was successful in two areas between the two wars: in economic relationships with emigrants and in cultural and educational cooperation with them (Hranilović 1987: 328–329). The first area was connected to remittances, which the country used to improve its financial balance. For example: in 1933, as many as 250 million dollars of remittances came from the emigrants, while at the same time foreign loans to Yugoslavia amounted to "no more than" about 218 million dollars (Hranilović 1987: 329). The second area included: financial help to the charitable, "national", and social emigrant organisations and associations; help with "political organisation"; building of schools; financing emigrant teachers abroad; help for establishing libraries; construction of national homes; financial and staff support for emigration press, etc. Constant complaints of Slovenian emigrants in Germany and other European countries relativise such "successful" state activity. I believe that the distribution of state "attention" and aid for individual emigrant organisations should be analysed and at the same time to analyse the "ethnic" code of such distribution (Drnovšek 1999a). There were also constant demands for the State to increase the number of Slovenian emigrant teachers and priests.[25]

And what was happening in the Slovenian part of the country? On 1 May 1928, the former Government committee of the Ljubljana governorate (Oblastni odbor ljubljanske oblasti) established an emigration bureau (Izseljenski urad) led by

[25] *I. slovenski izseljenski kongres v Ljubljani, dne 1. julija 1935* (First Slovenian Emigration Congress in Ljubljana, 1 July 1935). Ljubljana: Družba sv. Rafaela, 1936.

Marko Natlačen. Within the administration of Drava Banovina (1929–1941)[26], the Emigration Bureau (Izseljenski referat) operated as a part of the Section for Social Policy and National Health (Oddelek za socialno politiko in narodno zdravje)[27] (Šmid 2003: 85). It was responsible for the social, cultural, and economic interests of emigrants, returned emigrants, immigrants, and their families. It offered support especially to the poor immigrants and the refugees. At the Drava Banovina Savings Bank (Hranilnica dravske banovine) in Ljubljana it established the Fund for Supporting Emigrants and the Colonisation of Returned Emigrants (Sklad za podpiranje izseljencev in kolonizacijo izseljenskih povratnikov). For the refugees who arrived primarily from the Slovenian parts of Italy an Immigrant Bureau (Priseljeniški referat) for refugee support was established.[28] The Ban Council of Drava Banovina (Banski svet dravske banovine) was an advisory board of the Ban, primarily concerned with the economic, social, and cultural development of the *srezes*[29] and cities, but also touched upon emigration (Kološa 1980). The government of each Banovina led its own migration policy in accordance with its legal competencies and limited financial means. The information about the State and Banovina measures in the field of migration policy was published in *Izseljenski vestnik* (1932–1940), the gazette of St. Raphael's Society, and the Chamber of Emigration (Izseljenska zbornica) in Ljubljana. Especially the severe economic crisis in the 1930s triggered waves of returnees, to whom they had helped the best they could.[30] A part of the financial burden fell on municipalities (alms funds). Emigrants and migration policy became mostly the domain of the Catholic Church, personified in this case by father Kazimir Zakrajšek (1878–1958), who brought his organisational migration experience from the United States (Friš 1995b).

To replace the dissolved St. Raphael Society (1924), on 16 October 1927, the Society of St. Raphael for the Protection of Emigrants was restored in Ljubljana. Through it, the endeavours for the formation of a "national emigration programme" could be observed. Among the concrete goals were "emigration Sundays", the establishment of the Slovenian Chamber of Emigration (Slovenska izseljenska zbornica), the Slovenian Emigrants' Club (Slovenski izseljenski klub), and the Emigration Home (Izseljenski dom) in Ljubljana. They rallied for the establishment of the World Association of Slovenian Emigrants (*Svetovna zveza slovenskih izseljencev*). This idea was

[26] King Alexander reorganised his State administratively from thirty-three regions (*oblasti*), into nine new administrative units, Banovinas. The monarch, upon the advice of the prime minister, appointed the Ban, or Banovina head. Although it had been the intent of Alexander to de-emphasise national identities when creating the "Banovinas", the Drava Banovina included nearly all of the ethnically Slovenian territories of Yugoslavia.

[27] Zakon o banski upravi, §§ 1 in 20. *Uradni list* (Official Gazette), no. 1, year 1929.

[28] Uredba bana dravske banovine, *Uradni list* (Official Gazette), no. 7940/2, 26 September 1935.

[29] A *srez* was a political administrative unit in the first Yugoslavia.

[30] Arhiv Republike Slovenije (The Archives of the Republic of Slovenia), AS 74 (Emigration).

put into practice with the establishment of the Association of Emigrant Organisations (*Zveza izseljenskih organizacij*), which in reality was more of a unification tool. The St. Raphael's Society supported the idea that world associations would be organised according to the "ethnical" key (Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian) and only then associate into a Yugoslav one. It published a monthly *Izseljenski vestnik* (1932–1940) and organised two emigrant congresses in Ljubljana (1935 and 1936), which delegates of emigrant associations and organisations from all over the world attended. The Slovenian Chamber of Emigration (1938), which was to be the joint endeavour of the Church and the Banovina to solve the "emigration issue", was also established at this time. The incentive to establish an emigrants' home in Ljubljana which would house an emigration institute, a museum, an archive, and a library were voiced, but never realised. As early as the First Emigrant Congress in 1935, the Church wanted an exclusively church structure dealing with migration to be extended across all institutions, organisations, associations, and educated, thinking individuals. Father Kazimir Zakrajšek considered emigration and the Treaty of Rapallo the two most fateful blows to Slovenians in that time.[31] It was a time when a lot of ideas were presented from the side of the State, the Banovina and the Church, but many internal conflicts existed within these three levels. A lot was planned but little carried out. (Drnovšek 1997a). At the end of this period the foundation was laid for scientific treatment of emigration issues as a part of the Faculty of Law in Ljubljana. The Association for International Public Law (Zavod za mednarodno javno pravo) also had a minority and emigration section, headed by lawyer Ivan Tomšič (Drnovšek 1999b).

The Church was the strongest link between the Catholic emigrants and their homeland. Pope Pius XI (1922–1939) recommended consensus between the bishops from the emigration and immigration environment. This was the time of ideological schisms, when the communist idea grew stronger among the Slovenian emigrants. Both the Church and the Yugoslav Communist party (est. 1920) worked among Slovenian emigrants, especially in the immigrant countries of Western Europe, such as France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands (Drnovšek 1990: 179–204). Both ideological movements addressed emigrants through newspapers and through personal contact. The latter was an especially important domain for emigrant priests[32] and teachers[33], who more or less belonged to the Catholic ideology (*Weltanschauung*). The emigration press reflected the ideological and political image of Slovenian communities; therefore Europe was home to pro-Yugoslav (10),

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[31] As Italian citizens, Slovenians emigrated to the countries of Western Europe, Egypt, and especially (around 20,000), and as refugees also to Yugoslavia (until 1931 around 22,000). We can speak about a real exodus of Slovenians under Italy, since the Fascist regime did not impede the emigration of Slovenians and at the same time moved settlers from other parts of Italy to the Slovenian ethnic territory.

[32] In the 1930s the following were active among Slovenian emigrants in Western Europe: Valentin Zupančič, Hafner, Drago Oberžan, Jože Kastelic, Stanko Grims, Anton Švelc, and others.

[33] Anton Šlibar, Marija Ažman, Janko Jankovič, Svatopluk Stoviček, and others.

Catholic (5) and Communist (19) papers (Drnovšek 1992: 265–316). Communists in Yugoslavia operated illegally, but their actions were legal in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. In addition to these antagonisms, the emigrant population was further divided by currents which supported either "national", that is, the attachment to Slovenian identity or, quite the opposite, the attachment to Yugoslav identity, which also tried to promulgate the centralist and unitarian state orientation. The Catholic Church was closer to emphasising the Slovenian identity, but it also supported loyalty to the State. It continuously warned emigrants in the Western European countries to stay out of politics. The greater focus on migrants in Europe was based on the fact that Slovenian Catholics in the United States had a solid church structure (their own churches, parish schools, priests, monks and nuns, etc.) while this was not the case in European countries. Here, the work was tied to local churches and scarce emigrant priests, so it can be no surprise that local priests got engaged to the cause and learnt Slovenian. This phenomenon can be followed particularly in Germany[34] and the Netherlands.[35]

The Church's care for female migrants continued into the period between the two wars, for those who were leaving to Western Europe and for those who were taking employment in other parts of Yugoslavia. Their moral and religious lives were the two main issues that worried priests at home. They were convinced that it was the "emigration plague" that drove them all over the world, hence it cannot surprise us to come across a somewhat archaic piece of advice: "Therefore, girls, if you wish yourselves well, listen and take heed: Never leave home, don't go to big cities, don't go abroad!". In 1933 they even founded a Catholic Society for the Protection of Girls (*Društvo za varstvo deklet*) in Ljubljana, which assisted female migrants while travelling. (Grivec, Odar, Zakrajšek 1934: 12, 45–47).

The Church paid special attention to children of emigrant parents or children born abroad. Besides the courses of Slovenian language, the Church organised gift giving celebrations for important holidays, sent the children on holidays to Slovenia and the Adriatic coast, sent children's books to emigrant libraries, etc. In 1941, father Jože Premrov wrote a special *Izseljenska čitanka* (Emigrant Reader) which showed the effort to familiarise the youth with the fate of Slovenian emigrants all over the world (Premrov 1941). Gregorij Rožman, the Bishop of Ljubljana, encouraged the youth to correspond with their counterparts across the world, which should contribute to mutual comprehension, to improving the proficiency in mother tongue and finally to greater knowledge about the world and emigrant youth.

For some emigrants the war started in September 1939 (Germany), for others

[34] The best know among those were parish priest Peters, Viljem Köster, Viljem Sondermann, Ivan Jenster, August Hegenkötter, Bernard Hülsmann, Božidar Tensundern, H. Baajen, Fischer, and others.

[35] Peter Jozef van Velzen, with the monastic name Teotim (born, Delft 1885, died, Heerlen, 1952), a Franciscan, co-founder of Slovenian Society in Brunssum (1926), co-publisher of Slovenian paper *Rafael* (1931–1935), founder of a Slovenian school, etc. He has also been given an entry in the *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, volume 14, 2000, p. 182.

in spring 1940 (the Netherlands, Belgium, France). This was a time of confusion in Yugoslav migration policy and in European countries of immigration. The war triggered numerous forced migrations, which in Slovenia were the result of occupying regimes of Germany, Italy and Hungary. Yugoslavia fell apart and Slovenians were on the verge of perishing. Concentration and labour camps, persecution of intellectuals (priests, teachers) in the zone occupied by Germany, refugees to Serbia, the eviction of Slovenians from the area around Brežice, and settling the Gottscheer Germans (from Kočevje, at that time under Italian occupation) in the emptied area are but a few forms of forced migrations of that period.

III.
1945–1991

With the implementation of the socialist social system[36] in the second Yugoslavia the attitude toward migration also changed. The country sealed its borders almost hermetically after the war, which was in concord with the border closure in other socialist countries in Europe that bordered the Western European democratic world. The worlds were divided by the iron curtain. The stern ideological principle that the socialist society did not know migrations, which were a capitalist world phenomenon, started to mollify in Yugoslavia, and sometime in the second half of the 1950s and the beginning of 1960s, Yugoslavia became the most open country from the group of socialist countries in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.[37] It became the only country of the "communist block" to have a large legal economic emigration abroad. The burden for the Yugoslav politics was – throughout the entire time of the second Yugoslavia – political emigration, to which also belonged Slovenian emigrants.[38]

With the displacement of post-war Slovenian refugees from the camps in Austria and Italy we can begin to talk about Slovenian political emigration, which lost a formal reason to exist only in 1991 when the Republic of Slovenia was established. The countries that took in the most refugees were Argentina, the United States,

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[36] The historians from the Institute of Contemporary History in Ljubljana have divided the existence of the second Yugoslavia into four periods: 1945–1948 (copying the Soviet social regulation), 1948–1953 (forming a Yugoslav version of socialism), 1953–1963 (looking for inner balance), 1963–1971 (quandaries of Yugoslav community), 1971–1980 (under the sign of socialist self-management) and 1980–1989 (dispersion after Tito's death) (*Slovenska novejša zgodovina* 2005).

[37] The term Eastern and South-Eastern Europe is used to indicate the European part of the former Soviet Union, Poland, former Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, and the former (second) Yugoslavia.

[38] The word »emigrant« meant opponent to the regime in the Yugoslav context. Therefore the phrase »(old) emigrant« was used for those who left before World War II, whereas new economic migrants were called »workers temporarily employed abroad« or »migrant workers« (*zdomci*).

Canada, Australia, and numerous European countries. During the first post-war years, a large number of members of German, Italian, and Hungarian minorities were exiled from Slovenia, allegedly they were "hostile elements" (Nećak 2002; Gombač 2005). Such forced exiles can also be observed in other countries of Eastern Europe (Hoerder 2002: 478–480). During his lecture for the Slovenian political elite in April 1974, Stane Dolanc (1925–1989), a Slovenian politician and a close collaborator of Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980), categorically declared the following about the so called the Informbiro (Comminform) emigration:

> *"To us, the one who has left the Yugoslav self-managing socialist society in such a way is a traitor, no matter where he has gone, east or west, left or right. And this will remain our stance towards all the elements who leave and betray us in our battle for a Yugoslav socialist society. It is clear that we will not achieve much with a single verbal action against this type of hostile activity /…/ We must eradicate, weed out from our socio-political and economic life all that could nurture such forms of hostile emigration."*[39]

During the second Yugoslavia, the periods of party hawks and party doves may have alternated as far as the attitude to political emigration is concerned; however, the state policy never renounced its overall negative attitude towards it, and that included the Informbiro emigration.[40] Between political emigration and the people who lived in Slovenia there was an enormous emotional and information gap. Personal, written, and all other forms of contact were forbidden and subject to punishment (Drnovšek 2002a).

When the war ended, Yugoslavia continued to invite the pre-war emigrants, many among whom belonged to the ideological left, to return home. Between 1946 and 1948, 2,788 emigrants returned from overseas and as many as 38,355 returned from Western Europe (Drnovšek 1998: 238). Many were disappointed because the post-war living conditions in Yugoslavia to which they returned were poor and the general attitude towards them was often negative: they seemed different and did not integrate into the society well. In the time of increasing economic migration the Slovenian party leadership in 1968 regretted this post-war wave of repatriation. They labelled it as a political mistake: after many of their pro-Yugoslav fellow citizens returned home, political emigration was free to strengthen its activities among the new economic migration.

Despite restrictive measures of the police and the army on the borders, illegal emigration was on the increase in the second half of the 1940s. Thus the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia stated during its session on 29 October 1956 that the number of refugees was constantly growing. If the number of refugees from 1954 was taken as a gauge and meant 100 per cent, the following year the number grew to 162 per cent and in 1956

39 Arhiv Republike Slovenije (The Archives of the Republic of Slovenia), AS 1589, CK ZKS, a. e. IV/1319.

40 After the conflict between Tito and Stalin in 1948, a part of Yugoslav communists decided to support Stalin. Many of those escaped to the countries of Eastern Europe.

to 257 per cent. Among those, 80 per cent were said to be workers and 4 per cent farmers, and 73 per cent of all emigrants were under 25 years of age. A large number of workers were skilled or highly skilled. The "responsibility" for those refugees lay – according to the Yugoslav politicians – in foreign economic propaganda, although the refugees there were supposedly mere "serfs without rights" ("brezpravna raja", under-privileged people without rights). What they did emphasise was the following: "It is impossible to legalise economic migration now". They also mentioned the implementation of appropriate repressive measures and the reinforced role of Yugoslav diplomatic missions "for this problem". At the same time, the pressure on the relatives of the refugees was to be relaxed.[41] A certain relaxation in the attitude toward the post-war refugees came with the Law of Amnesty (1962)[42] which nevertheless kept a severe stance towards the category "war-crime suspect" until the dissolution of Yugoslavia.[43]

Which side of the line of demarcation a person found herself or himself on was – in the complex social system of Yugoslavia – partly a matter of personal choice, but also a matter of the labels the State (and politics) gave an individual. In reality, until the increase of emigration in 1960s, the State labelled many a migrant as "hostile emigrant" or "traitor", although he or she had left for economic reasons. Ideological and political veering off the Yugoslav path into Socialism were the basis for this classification, at that time lead by the State Security Service (Služba državne varnosti) and the Republic Office of Internal Affairs (Republiški sekretariat za notranje zadeve) in individual republics. This could happen even later, if someone became estranged from the homeland, or renounced Yugoslav citizenship. In the second Yugoslavia, emigration was considered a sensitive political question. The decisive word on everything connected to it came from the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (from 1952, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia), with its central and hierarchic system of decision-making. Its political will was executed in individual republics and through socio-political organisations,[44] which were at that time part in every pore of the society. Economists believe that Yugoslavia never created an appropriate migration policy, right until its final destruction (Malačič 1991: 303).

By the end of the 1950s, most European countries revitalised their economies. The turning point in shaping common migration policy on a normative and declarative level came with the founding of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the signing of the Treaty of Rome (1957). Until the outbreak of the oil crisis

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[41] Arhiv Republike Slovenije (The Archives of the Republic of Slovenia), AS 1589, CK ZKS, The meeting of IK CK ZKS, 29 October 1956.

[42] *Uradni list SFRJ* (Official Gazette), no. 12/66.

[43] *Uradni list FLRJ*, (Official Gazette), 12–136, 21 March 1962.

[44] The 1974 Yugoslav Constitution listed the following: the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Socialist League of Working People of Yugoslavia, the League of Trade Unions, the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia and the The Union of Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War of Yugoslavia with their branches on the levels of republics, municipalities and lower administrative levels.

(1973) the countries of immigration lead liberal immigration policy, while later the restrictive measures hindered immigration of the workforce, but at the same time the number of incoming family members of the guest workers increased. The policy of "guest workers" failed because more and more of them chose to remain in the countries of immigration, which became the home countries for many of their children. The intended plans of "temporary" guest work and "rotation of workers" were not successful; the workers and members of their families chose to remain in countries of immigration. Let me list some of the many reasons for such decisions: better income; better working conditions; a higher appreciation of the skilled and highly skilled world; and the possibility of professional promotion.

The first federal regulation about organised emigration from Yugoslavia was issued by the Federal Employment Bureau (Zvezni sekretariat za delo) in Belgrade on 15 October 1963. The Employment Services (Zavodi za zaposlovanje) all over the country were given competencies to issue referrals to workers going abroad to seek employment. This served a dual purpose: it aimed to protect the home economy from an uncontrolled departure of experts abroad and to guarantee the workers working abroad the same employment rights that other workers – working for a foreign employer – had. The regulation only began to be implemented in February 1964. Among foreign employers the Austrian, German, and Swiss prevailed. In 1964, 5,629 persons applied to leave abroad, and 4,718 applications were approved (3,795 farmers, 880 workers, 40 experts and 3 tradesmen). The economic crisis in Yugoslavia in the middle of the 1960s increased unemployment. In 1968, the number of people seeking employment increased by 47 per cent from 1964. At the same time, German employers expressed higher demand for workers; in 1968, 14,210 registered workers left Slovenia, together with the unregistered ones who amounted to 18,000 to 20,000.

As in the time between the two wars, the European countries entered bilateral agreements which regulated the questions of work migrations. The first agreement on employment between Yugoslavia and its most important emigrant destination, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), was made on 12 October 1968 and entered into force in February 1969.[45] In this agreement, Yugoslavia bound herself to employ 60,000 new qualified workers in the FRG in 1969 (Kavčič 1971: 21). In 1969, the following documents were adopted between FRG and Yugoslavia: the Agreement Regulating Employment in Yugoslav Workers in FRG *(Sporazum o ureditvi zaposlovanja jugoslovanskih delavcev v ZRN)*, the Convention on Social Security *(Konvencija o socialni varnosti)* and the Agreement on Unemployment Benefits *(Sporazum o denarnem nadomestilu za čas brezposelnosti)*. The situation was regulated and supervised by the Federal Bureau for Employment and Unemployment Protection in Nürnberg and the Federal Employment Bureau from Belgrade. The immediate

45 Before that, similar agreements were made with Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961, renewed 1964), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964) and Tunisia (1965) (Milardović 1991: 254).

supervision was the responsibility of the permanent Yugoslav-German Commission in Belgrade. The Federal Bureau gathered the job offers from the employers, and the employment went through regional Employment Services in Yugoslavia (Lukšič Hacin 2007: 193). In 1969 the agreement made with Austria about the employment of Yugoslav workers was amended.[46] Despite these agreements, a large number of persons emigrated illegally, with the help of speculative intermediaries, as the supervising (or protecting) policy of the State was insufficient. Yugoslav illegal emigrants as a rule applied for political asylum, although they'd left primarily for economic reasons. Some companies from Yugoslavia sold their workers to foreign employers (Kavčič 1971: 21). The issues of Yugoslav "workers, temporarily working abroad" were regulated through Yugoslav (diplomatic and economic) missions abroad, and from the German side, for example, through the organisation Arbeiterwohlfahrt (AWO), which in 1971 counted 62 Yugoslav social workers as members (Kavčič 1971: 36). When the crisis began in 1973, the German government limited granting of asylum, but it started to implement integration policy with taking into consideration ethnic and cultural identities (Milardović 1991: 254).

Yugoslavia considered the workers temporarily employed abroad as a part of the Yugoslav working classes, only temporarily residing elsewhere. Therefore from the early 1970s it encouraged their repatriation and reintegration into the Yugoslav society. For this purpose it acted on the federal, republic, and municipal levels. There were at least two reasons for such a policy. The first one was ideological; it turned out that more and more citizens were straying from the Yugoslav self-management social system and adopting the mentality of the capitalist and democratic society. The second reason was financial and economic: the savings of workers abroad would be an important asset for the state budget, as would be the experienced and educated workers who would use their knowledge in the Yugoslav economy. In practice, though, there were many obstacles to investing funds and knowledge in the homeland. To mention a few: there were no State supported investment programmes; organisation conditions were bad; political support for returnees on the local level was weak; duty policy remained restrictive; constant changes of legislation dissuaded potential investors; the restrictions were especially strict in the private sector, including agriculture (Malačič 1994: 218).

The attitude of the Church towards emigration was formed in the circumstances of emphasised incompatibility of religion and communism, which could be observed in anti-communist and anti-revolutionary activity of the Catholic Church during and after the war from one side, and from the other in the anti-religious and anticlerical activities of the Communist party. Slovenian political emigration with its great numbers of Catholic intellectuals (including priests), played an active role in this confrontation. It is therefore not strange that the Republic Office of Internal

[46] In 1969 and afterwards the agreements with Netherlands, Australia, Luxembourg, Canada, and Switzerland were made, amended, or discussed.

Affairs (Republiški sekretariat za notranje zadeve) talked about the two "enemies" of Yugoslavia and Slovenia together in its annual reports; the "hostile political emigration" and the "hostile activity" of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia and among emigrants and migrant workers abroad.[47]

In early May 1945, a refugee wave included 275 priests, including the Bishop of Ljubljana Gregorij Rožman (1883–1959) (Dolinar 1998: 224). The attitude of the State and politics was negative towards that segment of old emigrants in the United States of America and Europe which was connected to the Church and in favour of the segment which ideologically and materially supported the "new Yugoslavia", or expressed their loyalty to it. The State carefully watched the work of Slovenian priests abroad and surveilled their contacts with the Church in Slovenia. An estimate from 1970 shows that 754 priests were active abroad (Drnovšek 2002b: 142). A new wave of emigration to European countries in the 1960s and 1970s posed the question to Yugoslav politics on what the relationship between migrant workers and the local Catholic Churches in the countries of immigration was. The areas where Slovenian and Croatian priests worked were particularly meticulously observed. Based on the ideology, two groups of migrants were formed, one attached to the Church, and "the others" who openly declared their partiality to the Yugoslav social system and a minority among them to communist ideology. On the outside, these antagonisms could be seen in "competitiveness" in the field of social work, organisation of cultural and social events, press, teaching Slovenian to the children, etc. If we think of the situation in Europe, we can see two groups "encamped" against each other. On the one side, there were Yugoslav diplomatic missions, secular emigrant societies, the Slovene Emigrant Association (Slovenska izseljenska matica) (est. 1951),[48] who received ample support from the State. On the other, there was the organised Church with its priests, Catholic societies, and press – published either locally or secretly brought from home or the Slovenian territories in Italy and Austria.[49] In everyday life, the divide temporarily disappeared. For example, if the Avsenik Quintet[50] played on the premises of a pro-Yugoslav club in Germany, their concerts were attended also by the people from the Catholic side,

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47 Arhiv Republike Slovenije (The Archives of the Republic of Slovenia), AS 1589, CK ZKS, Commission for ideological and political problems (Komisija za idejno politične probleme), 1968, Box 694.

48 The Slovene Emigrant Association was in tune with the social system in Yugoslavia and had contacts with the pro-Yugoslav emigrants. It promoted its activities through press and personal contacts in the emigrant societies around the globe. It also surveyed the pulse of the emigrants and migrant workers who were not partial to the Yugoslav path to socialism (Drnovšek 1998).

49 Slovenians lived as minorities in neighbouring countries. In democratic Italy and France they were able to express freely their political and ideological preferences and either agreement of disagreement with Yugoslavia and its social system.

50 Avsenik Quintet was one of the most popular folk groups, who often toured among Slovenians abroad. They were also popular among Germans, who knew them as the Oberkrainer.

yet the same Catholics would never attend festivities celebrating the pro-Yugoslav Day of the Republic on the 29 November.[51]

The organisation and position of emigrant priests was regulated by the Apostolic Constitution *Exsul Familia*, issued by Pope Pius XII (1939–1958) on 1 August 1952. It is a *Magna Carta* of Church understanding of migration and the first official document of the Holy See to delineate the pastoral care of migrants globally and systematically, from both the historical and canonical points of view. It also emphasises the role of the local bishop in the environment where the immigrants lived.[52] Similar issues were dealt with in the pastoral constitution *Gaudum et Spes – On the Church in the Modern World* (1965). *Pastoralis migratorum cura*, new directives for work among refugees and emigrants were issued on 15 August 1969 under the Pope Paul VI . The congregation for bishops issued the instructions *De pastorali migratorum cura* (*"Nemo est"*) on 22 August 1969.[53] They emphasised the role of the local Church and the point of view that emigrants and migrant workers have the right to preserve their mother tongue, culture, and spiritual identity. The instructions cite and emphasise the pastoral and legal determination of pastoral agents, especially chaplains/missionaries and their national coordinators, diocesan/eparchial priests, religious priests and brothers, religious women, lay people, lay associations, and ecclesiastical movements. It advocates the integration of the structures for the pastoral care of migrants and their ecclesiastical inclusion in ordinary pastoral care. To coordinate the Church's work in the field of migrations, Pope Paul VI (1963–1978) issued a document *Apostolicae caritatis* (1970). Also in 1970, the Holy Father created the Pontifical Commission for the Pastoral Care of Migration and Tourism, which became Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People in 1989. It was entrusted with the important tasks of coordination, animation and pastoral encouragement, especially in relation with the individual Bishops' Conferences. In 1978, the document *The Church and Human Mobility* was published. The Catholic Church was not ignorant of the migration movements after World War II. It became more and more connected to the wider social community in the countries of immigration, allowed the establishment of personal parishes (Catholic missions) regarding the nation and rite. Emigrant priests carried out these duties.

Slovenian emigrant priests in Europe have had their own organisation since 1959, the present-day Association of Slovenian Emigrant Priests, Deacons and Pastoral Workers (Zveza slovenskih izseljenskih duhovnikov, diakonov in pastoralnih sodelavcev) in Europe. The association's tasks are coordination, care for regular

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[51] On 29 November 1943 the AVNOJ (Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia) set the base for the post-war Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Until the country's end, it was the nation's most important holiday.

[52] www.vatican.va (24 April 2007), p. 11.

[53] Published in Slovenian under the title: *Izseljenci in turisti* : *dušnopastirska navodila papeških kongregacij : I. Kongregacija za škofe, navodilo za dušnopastirstvo izseljencev : II. Kongregacija za duhovnike, splošno navodilo za pastoracijo turizma* 1970. Ljubljana : Nadškofijski ordinariat.

meetings, and providing information. It discusses the situation at home, provides education, and pastoral work. Its official magazine is *Naša luč* (est. Christmas 1951), which was at first published in Belgium, then in Germany, Austria, and is now published in Ljubljana. In Argentina they founded a magazine *Omnes Unum* (*Todos uno*) (1954), which provided a link for priests abroad. In 1968, a commission for Slovenian emigrants and migrant workers was established within the Yugoslav Bishop's conference. Its first chairman was Bishop Stanislav Lenič (Kolar 1991: 279).

In accordance with the Apostolic Constitution *Exsul Familia* an office of the supreme pastor of Slovenian emigrants who was a member of the Supreme Council of the Congregation for Bishops in Rome, was established. From 1967–1977 the member was Ignacij Kunstelj (1908–1981), followed by auxiliary bishop of Ljubljana Stanislav Lenič, and since 1988 the Bishop of Koper Metod Pirih. Tasks included: planning pastoral work for Slovenian communities around the world; visiting settlements; preparing study and other conventions; special care for new emigrant pastoral workers and their colleagues (Kolar 1991: 280).

The subjected and opposition role of the Catholic Church in Slovenia during the times of second Yugoslavia had another image abroad. Its priests, monks, and nuns worked among the emigrants and migrant workers on all the continents. Ideologically they were closely tied to political emigration, as they were united by the same anti-communist idea. The collection of papers Self-managing Society and the Church (*Samoupravna družba in cerkev*) (1970) gathers the opinions on modern forms of clericalism in Slovenia and the attitude of the Slovenian priests towards political emigration, emigrant priests and migrant workers to reduce the influence of emigrant priests among the migrant workers in Europe, Slovenia started allowing priests from Slovenia to go abroad, it they were considered "Yugoslav and Slovenian patriots" (1972). Organisation wise, the work among Slovenian believers abroad focused on the press, mass celebrations (service), and pastoral visits to larger groups of believers. The work of the "migrant pastoral agent" consisted of religious, social, educational, and community activities. Outside of Europe we must mention the activities of the Catholic Church in the United States, Australia, and South America. This is especially true for Argentina, where a strong group of post-war emigrants and their descendents from Slovenia was concentrated, with their own religious, educational, artistic, scientific, and intellectual activities. This group was for the most part a sore spot for Slovenian authorities and represented a symbol of everything negative and dangerous for the political system in Yugoslavia.

CONCLUSION

The comparison of attitudes that the State and the Catholic Church held towards emigration over a long period of time reveals that the three state systems dealt with migration issues quite differently. The legal regulations and practical activities of the States and their organs differed, and each new state system abolished the previously existing legislation. Austria and the first Yugoslavia were more liberal; the second Yugoslavia – at least in the first period before the opening of the borders and relaxation of rules for emigration – less so. On the other side, the immigration legislation and migration policies of immigration countries have grown more and more restrictive. The restrictions began with the American system of quotas after World War I and continued in the shape of more controlled, organised and pre-agreed immigration (bilateral agreements), especially to the European countries of immigration in the twentieth century. The restrictions increased after the economic crisis in the 1930s. The main reasons for restrictions were due to economy and employment policies, as each country's legislation protected their own workers and offered work to foreigners in times of conjunctures. After World War II, the ideological principle was also implemented, as the division of the world into democratic and so called socialist halves influenced the freedom of migration movements. In Europe, Yugoslavia was an exception, since it was the first and only country of the socialist block to open its borders for economic emigration. In the case of Yugoslavia, we must point out the ideological division and the consequent categorical refusal to communicate with the post-war refugees and later asylum seekers, who disagreed with the social system in the country; the State and the politics showed nothing but aversion to them, especially to the hard intellectual nucleus of the political emigration. Open borders brought Yugoslavia financial benefits (savings of migrant workers), and at the same time enabled its citizens to have contacts with the world. This "openness" also influenced the general development in the country and in Slovenia. At least in the case of the latter, it helped ease the transition to a democratic system (1991). One must not forget that a lot of credit for the recognition of Slovenia as an independent entity goes to Slovenian emigrants and migrant workers. Also, the attitude of the State, the Republic of Slovenia, towards migration has become stronger. The first Slovenian Constitution from 1991 already in Article 5 included the care for emigrants and migrant workers, their contacts with homeland, and preserving their cultural heritage. The activities culminated with passing the Law about the Relation of the Republic of Slovenia with Slovenians Living Outside Its Borders passed by the National Assembly on 4 April 2006. The Government of the Republic of Slovenia Office for Slovenes Abroad (Urad Vlade Republike Slovenije za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu) is today responsible for most of the activities: preserving Slovenian identity, developing equal relation-

ships to all the Slovenians, and encouraging cooperation between Slovenians abroad and with their homeland.[54]

The activities of the Catholic Church are more permanent and suffer no major breaks as far as the Church's attitude towards migration is concerned. If until World War II it was parallel, complementary, and even cooperative with the activities of the State, after the war, a serious gap opened as the attitude of the second Yugoslavia towards the Church had changed significantly. The Church had no influence on the 1960s and 1970s emigration, and the contacts with pastoral workers and believers were hindered and monitored by the police. Therefore the clergy in emigrant environments became more active, and it worked also among the newly arriving workers in Western Europe, Canada, the United States, and Australia. The Church had a very special position among the Catholic Slovenians in Argentina, where the life was more or less self-sufficient, at least culturally and spiritually. Here we must mention another gap – more or less wide – between the Catholic post-war immigrants (political emigrants) and the pre-war immigrants to Argentina, who emigrated from Slovenian regions under the Italian Fascist Regime. They were divided by ideology and their attitude towards the second Yugoslavia. Their interpersonal relationships were more exclusive than inclusive, but, as always, life knew exceptions to that as well.

If in the period until the end of the nineteenth century the Church concentrated more on missionary issues (in the case of Slovenia as well), the twentieth century was the period when more attention was given to Slovenian migrants on all the continents. Particularly between the two wars, the attention was turned more to the European environment and Slovenians living there; the rationale was that Slovenians living in the United States had an organised Church life and those in Europe did not. There is another reason: the period between the two wars was the time of rising ideological extremisms. Communism, Fascism, and Nazism were on the rise and the divisions between people grew deeper and deeper. In the case of Slovenian emigrants, the Church advised believers to stay out of the political life in the countries of immigration and to stay loyal to the countries that gave them work. Ideological combats are clearly seen in the wealth of the emigrant press and emigrant societies, which were organised according to their ideological and political principles. Any cooperation was more or less exceptional. This pattern continued to the second half of the twentieth century. Let me point out, for example, the unique competition between the Catholic societies and those who were financed by Yugoslavia and Slovenia. The first group financed itself, while the second received funds from the State and Yugoslav companies that had offices abroad. Despite the democratic system in the Republic of Slovenia, this pattern still continues. The barriers in the heads of social life organisers are often still standing.

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54 http://www.uszs.gov.si/si/o_uradu_vlade_rs_za_slovence_v_zamejstvu_in_po_svetu (6 July 2007)

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SLOVENIAN INTELLECTUALS: ATYPICAL EMIGRANTS TO ATYPICAL DESTINATIONS

IRENA GANTAR GODINA

INTRODUCTION

In the second half of the nineteenth century the Slovenians faced two parallel processes. First, it was one of the most fruitful eras of the »rise« and implementation of the Austrian Slav idea of Slav solidarity and mutuality. The main aim of the Slovenians, the smallest nation[1] within the Habsburg Monarchy, was to raise their own self-esteem in the then multi-national state dominated by the German nation. Second, Slovenians looking for closer cooperation with other Austrian Slavs and their emphasis upon the Slav idea coincided with the then economic crisis in the Monarchy which resulted in mass emigration and, last but not least, with their perpetual anti-Semitism.

More detailed researches covering various aspects from certain perspectives of Slovenian emigration have been made: historical analyses by Marjan Drnovšek, literature of emigrants by Janja Žitnik, sociological-anthropological aspects by Marina Lukšič-Hacin, etc. The issue of temporary emigration to Slavic countries, that is, atypical migration countries had been partly addressed by the Russian historian Iskra Čurkina, (Russia), Vera Kržišnik-Bukić (Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Irena Gantar Godina (Czech, Croatia, Poland and partially Russia).

Research about the attitude of temporary or atypical emigrants towards the inhabitants and the society in the migration country in general has not yet been presented. The attitude of the Slovenian emigrating intellectuals towards the their new society and its inhabitants, particularly towards the "Slavic part" of the local population has been somewhat researched. In contrast, one of the very important elements that Slovenian intellectuals did not face at home was the Jewish issue, regarding the fact that Jewish people were already cast out of Slovene society in 1497 (Vilfan 1996: 171) and in 1515, respectively. However, at the end of the

[1] It was Jan Kollar, a Slovak scholar who defined the Czech question as a question of a small nation. At the same time he introduced the notion »Slavic idea« to promote not merely Slavic mutuality but mainly to overcome the idea of nation's smallness. From then on Slavic scholars emphasised the difference not only in number of population but also in political, economic and cultural status compared to the ruling nation. At the end of the nineteenth century the theory of small natios became interesting political and cultural issue again, promoted mainly by Czech politicans and scholars, for example, Tomaš G. Masaryk.

nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Slovenian society essentially adopted the same attitude towards Jews as nearly all the societies of Central and Western Europe. [2]

The crucial reasons for Slovenian mass emigration, most massive at the end of the nineteenth century and in the early 1920s, were largely economic. During those periods the Slovenians mostly migrated to the United States (Drnovšek, 1991) and to some Western European states, that is Germany,(Drnovšek, 1994), Belgium (Drnovšek, 1997), and France.(Pislar-Fernandez, 2004). These destinations, which we can note as typical destinations of Slovenian emigrating population in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century, were considered to be much more economically developed than Austro-Hungary. They were known for their labour shortage, offering (well-paid) jobs and were thus recognised as "natural, logical" destinations for people who searched for new and better life: their expectations could also be noted as "typical expectations", that is, to find jobs, to improve their life conditions, to begin a "new life". (Drnovšek, 1999). As a rule, they were accompanied by their families, they used all the "offered" agency facilities, particularly those who traveled across the Atlantic. Therefore one might assume that till 1918 the Slavs in the Habsburg Monarchy believed that the most promising destinations were the United States of America, some Western countries like Germany, Belgium and, only in twentieth century Canada,(Genorio, 1989) South America,(Žigon, 1998) and Sweden.(Lukšič-Hacin, 2001).

Until 1918, apart from political reasons, the role of institutions, such as the state, in migration processes, to typical or to atypical destinations was negligible. Austria had no legislation on emigration and the decrees regulating these issues were adopted as late as 1897, in contrast to some European countries where laws regulating emigration had already been passed.(Kalc, 1997).

It was only in 1912 that Austria was forced to pass a law restricting emigration; it was issued primarily because of mass emigration of Ukrainians from East Galicia during the period from 1881 to 1910 and from Bukovina between 1901 to 1910. Only then the authorities became aware of the shortage of soldiers for the frontier army since the defence of the border with Russia was particularly threatened.

A detailed account of the Slovenian emigration processes[3] which aims to describe the real political, economic and social conditions of Slovenian lands in the

[2] The attitude of the Slavs towards Jews was addressed mainly by researchers who focused their researches upon concrete events, that is the Dreyfuss affair, Hilsner affair, etc., and the attitude of particular and very important Slavic politicians and scholars towards Jews: Masaryk and Klofač in Bohemia, Stjepan Radić in Croatia, etc.). On the other hand there were not many Jewish authors who would have discussed the Slavs; one of the very rare is a publication of Emily Green Balch "Our Slavic Fellow Citizens" published already in 1910 (Charities Publication Commitee, NY 1910); it is a very thorough survey of the emigration of the Slavs to USA seen through the eyes of a Jewish author.

[3] Early cases of migration from or into Slovenian lands comprise migration mostly based on religious grounds: refugees in flight from Turkish absolutism. Along with the inau-

Austrian-Hungarian Empire in the nineteenth and at the beginning of twentieth century should be supplemented with a survey of the emigration of Slovenian intellectuals, the so-called atypical emigrants to atypical destinations. The list of countries considered not to be typical destinations of emigration of the Slovenes, or, better *atypical* destinations, begins and ends with the notion that these were – as a rule – non-German countries. Their common point was that they were Slavic countries; the majority of them were constitutional parts of multinational states, as were the Habsburg Monarchy and Turkey, (Bohemia, Austrian part of Poland, today's Slovakia, in Turkey Serbia, Bulgaria, up to 1908 Bosnia and Herzegovina). The then only independent Slavic state was (also) multinational Russia. These countries were far from being attractive for those who searched for a job.

These countries were predominantly destinations of intellectuals, artists, students, in some cases also highly skilled craftsmen. Emigrants who chose *atypical* destinations were not typical either, that is, in most cases they left their country neither for economic reasons nor permanently. Their "pilgrimage" was not a journey to an "unknown" land neither was it organized. They did not utilize the services of any "travel agency" as was often the case with economic emigration. The majority left the country by themselves, with no family alongside.

Economic problems of that time coincided with the oppression of the leading nation, the Germans, and after 1866 and 1870, respectively, the aggressive Italian policy that the Slovenians permanently faced. The then state policy was disappointing for the majority of the Austrian Slavs, particularly for the Slovenians, not merely in economic policy but also regarding the national question. Thus the discussions about Slav reciprocity before 1848, before mass economic emigration, included not only information about other Slavic nations but also South Slav nations' creativity, their role in avoiding Germanisation and the general Slavic impact upon the whole Slav »family«. Therefore, the motives of the Slovenian intellectuals and cultural workers, who emigrated to Slavic countries were not merely professional or connected with their professional ambitions. They were inspired and motivated not only by the ideas of the Slovenian scholars, for example, Anton Tomaž Linhart[4] , by visions of the role of the Slavs within the Monarchy, or by

guration of Protestantism (from 1530 on) the process of emigration of Catholics began, among others also to Slavic countries, mainly to Bohemia.
Eventually, at the end of the sixteenth century the Protestants needed to depart Slovenian lands to escape re-Catholisation; it was rampant from the years 1582 to 1628 when the last aristocratic family went abroad and then the process of the exile of Protestants and nobility in particular was ended. Their destinations were mostly German countries. But the inflow of Catholics fleeing from Protestant countries needs to be taken into account. The expulsion of Jewish families could be considered as a migration process, too, particularly from Styria and Carinthia. It was completed already in 1497, while the people of Carniola insisted upon the expulsion of Jewish families only from Ljubljana. The last family had to leave in 1515.

4 Slovene scholar Anton Tomaž Linhart (1756—1795). His reflections on Slavic Austria from before 1792 have not been widely publicised – his appeal to the Emperor to pay greater heed to the Slav peoples fell foul of the censor – but they may have been the foundation of Palacky's later understanding of Slav reciprocity, so-called Austro-Slavism. Linhart as-

various abstract ideas of inter-Slavic solidarity. In 1848 and after Palacky's plan of reconstruction of the Monarchy strongly influenced all the Austrian Slavs. The actualisation of the Slavic idea which was present there for centuries, [5] became a »natural« part of cultural and linguistic discussions of the majority of Slavic and Slovenian scholars as well.

The main problems of the Slovenians were a substantial shortage of schools, restricted usage of Slovenian language in schools and in offices which all facilitated Germanisation. In such conditions it might have seemed idealistic/unrealistic to fight for a Slovene university, although the idea was included in the constituent programmes of both major political parties as well as of many students societies. Thus Slovene future intelligentsia was forced to study at non-Slovenian universities (Melik-Vodopivec, 1986). After 1850 and 1860, respectively, German schools became hostile towards non-German students, particularly the traditional universities in Vienna and Graz, which proved to be counter-productive: "traditional" universities in a German *milieu,* especially Vienna eventually became a "hatchery" of Austrian Pan-Slavs and even Russophiles.

For the Slovenians the then most popular Slavic country, particularly after 1848, was Bohemia and its capital Prague. The Czech policy towards Austrian authorities and particularly Palacky's letter to the Frankfurt Parliament in 1848 was an important model to Slovenes in political, cultural and scientific spheres. The "Slav alternative" of the Slovenians was to ignore Austrian German universities, Vienna and Graz - at that time still German-language - and to study at the Charles University in the then generally considered as "Slavic" Prague. At that time only a very few Slovenians decided to study in Prague, mainly for financial reasons (Prague was substantially more expensive than Vienna or Graz); but those who left for Prague in the early fifties, did so to demonstrate their devotion to the Slav idea and in opposition to German pressure. They ignored the German study-language in Prague until 1882 when Charles University was divided into Czech and

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serted that Austria should recognise all Slavs as equal partners of the Germans, since they represented the largest section of its population. It should allow them independent and unimpeded national, cultural, political and economic development. In the Foreword to the second volume of his *Attempt at a History of Carniola* Linhart speaks not only of how the Slavs deserved greater attention from philosophers and statesmen but also of how Austria should be called a Slavic state, same as Russia, since the Slavs were its strongest and most numerous component.

[5] In 1584 the Slavic oriented Protestant teacher Adam Bohorič published his Zimske urice (Articae horulae) in which he gave not merely a solid frame to the Slovenian language – writing, form and syntax with which he theoretically grounded its existence, but also discussed the origin of the Slovenians, the origins of the name Slav and the so-called Slavic language. He reckoned that Slavic language was one of the most wide spread languages, though in different versions hence he wished »every patriot would agree with him that the Slavic nation must consider itself very old and strong by number, nearly world-wide spread…that is rightfully considered as one of the most respectable nations…«. (*Slovenski protestantski pisci* (1966). Ljubljana, DZS, p. 363.) Bohorič placed the Slovenians among the Slavs and installed the Slovenian language as one of the Slavic dialects

German, and looked forward only to living in Slavic *milieu*, in a Slavic atmosphere which might significantly help to preserve both their Slovenian and Slav identity. For those mainly temporary emigrants, their belonging to "Slavness" was one of the strongest motives to study at the Slavic university, but it was not a priority yet. It became so only later, in the 1890s.

The majority of these temporary emigrants in Bohemia were students, mainly of liberal affiliation. One could also find some artists, for example, musicians and actors among them. Many returned home, only a few remained in Bohemia and some, for political reasons, could not find a job in Slovenian lands and therefore had to leave for another Slavic country, mostly for Croatia. Those who left for Croatia were in most cases labelled as "politically dubious" or "unreliable", and even "Pan-Slavs".

Along with the rising *renomé* of the Czechs, the Slovenian intellectuals who were devoted to the Slavic idea, to Slavic solidarity and mutuality, were more and more favourable about the Russia, too.

Mass emigration and temporary emigration at the end of the nineteenth century were indeed almost simultaneous, parallel. However, the efforts of Slovenian intellectual elite did not affect the economic driven mass emigration. By choosing such very different destinations, Slovenians demonstrated the whole palette of different aims and ambitions to achieve abroad.

At the same time, irrespective of the emigration destinations and the strengthening of the Slav idea, one could notice that Slovenian society was permeated with anti-Semitic ideas and emotions, although they were only partly traditional and historically conditioned. In contrast to many Central European countries of that time, the number of Jewish families or individuals in Slovenian lands and its capital Ljubljana was negligible. As mentioned above it was already in 1515 that the last Jewish family was expelled from Ljubljana. In the time of Joseph II, when the Edict of Tolerance was implemented, a negligible number of Jews, mainly the merchants temporarily came to live to Slovene towns. The regimes of Metternich and Bach were both strong advocates of Jewish rights while on the other hand they prohibited any political or national work of non-German nations. Therefore the Slovenian cultural workers propagated the slogan "If we cannot work politically, let us work culturally". Their cultural work included avoiding German influence, emphasising the importance of Slavic culture. Nevertheless, their first "enemy" was often not a German, but a Jew. Their counter-German sentiments could not prevail over the traditional European hostile attitude towards the Jews. The Slovenes "nurtured" it regardless of their political or ideological affiliation. Even inspiring idea of Slav solidarity was not strong enough the Slovene society to abandon anti-Semitic ideas.

After the fall of Bach's regime, after 1860, the Slovenians could have witnessed the Czech cultural and political activities which even further strengthened their Slavic sentiments. Somehow the Czech struggle for their national rights culminated in 1882 when the Czech University was founded as a part of Charles University in Prague. From then on, many Slovenes felt somehow obliged to enrol in the Slavic

university in Prague. Eventually, at the turn of the century a group of Slovenian intellectuals - mainly of liberal affiliation - published a sort of unofficial "call" to Slovene youth to study there.[6] Soon after the Slovenian student newspaper[7] began to propagate Slavic universities. At that very moment, the emigration of Slovenians to Prague became more or less organised for those who declared their loyalty primarily to Slav idea. The so-called temporary emigration to Bohemia, or better, to Prague, gradually became, although unintentionally and informally, not just a *typical destination but also a sort of obligation*.

In contrast to economical emigrants Slovene intellectuals-emigrants to "atypical destinations" were not forced to start "from the bottom". In most cases they were not considered as foreigners - at least they had come only from another Austrian land. They also did not have to struggle for a better position within a new society: their skills and talents were acknowledged and they were thus accepted as equal citizens. In contrast to "typical emigrants", which mostly lacked the education and knowledge of the immigrant country language, temporary emigrants in Slavic countries were being allowed to use a Slavic language. They recognised Slavic languages like Czech, Croatian or Russian as the closest to their own. In such a *milieu* Slovene emigrants might have felt much less "underdog" and much more equal and even appreciated.

For those who decided to study or to work in Czech lands, the adaptation to new but still rather domestic conditions was not difficult. Many of those who returned home tried to implement some of the Czech political or cultural ideas among the Slovenians. As distinguished from the majority of Slovene intellectuals-emigrants, who found the Czech *milieu* positive and fruitful, some did not hesitate to criticise the new "homeland". The object of their criticism was mostly the existence of the Jewish community. One of the first who publicly "opened" his heart concerning not only the Jews but also the Czechs was a Slovenian scholar Franjo Marn, a devoted Slavophile and Catholic. He came to study to Prague already in late 1860s. His decision to leave for Prague was not in accordance with his being a devoted Catholic and was thus one of the very few Catholics who decided to study in a "too liberal Prague". His Catholicism reflected also his attitude and his statements about the Czechs and life in Prague in general. As a sincere and loyal Catholic, Marn's general complaint about Prague was the lack of Catholic spirit and thus he reproached the Czechs, particularly to the citizens of Prague as being religiously too "lukewarm", too indifferent. But for the most part he was annoyed by the Jewish community there.

He found Prague *"too crowded with 'the children of Israel' /…/ there are about ten thousand of Israeli children /…/ They live together in a special part of the town which is called a Jewish town for this reason; they also elect their own representatives /…/"*. His basic attitude followed the already "well spread" cliché about their "non-Christianity" and their "lust for money". Even more, he was most unhappy that *"the majority stick*

[6] *Kaj hočemo - Poslanica slovenski mladini*, Ljubljana 1901.
[7] Omladina, glasilo narodno-radikalnega dijaštva, Ljubljana-Trieste 1904—1914.

to the faith of their fathers /.../ there are not many converts. But those who had converted are now most respected and educated men and good Catholics /.../" [8]

His discontent about the presence of too many Jews and the general atmosphere in Prague led him to leave Prague and continue to study in Graz. After finishing his studies, due to his being noted as a "Pan-Slav" the authorities offered him only one opportunity - to accept employment in Croatia. By moving there, Marn's scholarly and professional ambitions were more or less fulfilled, thus he refrained himself from any political declarations, mainly to prevent the authorities from moving him too frequently.

At the same time when Marn and few other Slovenes left for Prague, the Austrian authorities of Bach's regime "laid foundations" for another atypical destination of Slovene intellectuals, that is, for Croatia. However, due to a severe shortage of either secondary or higher schools in Slovenian lands, some of the Slovenians had voluntarily left for Croatia years before, mainly those who found Croatia physically and linguistically the closest Slavic country which offered an opportunity to get education.

Another motive to move to Croatia before 1848 and 1850, respectively, was the Croatian Illyrian movement, which had had a strong impact upon the Slovenes. It motivated some Slovene intellectuals to leave their homeland to witness "a true national awakening"[9] which had failed to happen in Slovenia.

But it was only after 1849 when the State became involved in migration processes. Austrian authorities found it necessary to implement a rigorous policy of Germanisation (along with school reforms). Bach's intention was to unify, to Germanise the Monarchy and to accomplish school reforms by bureaucracy, that is, state officials, among who were also professors, teachers, lawyers, doctors, and other state official profiles. One of the motives of Austrian policy was also to suppress potential national movements, particularly those of the Slavs. They also believed that by moving state officials out of their native countries they might avoid potential danger to official policy. The authorities also believed that loyal state officials of Slavic origin might create a useful link between the state (Austrian policy) and non-German, that is, Slavic population. Therefore the main task of non-German officials should have been to implement Germanisation in all fields of social life in these countries. Thus the authorities moved many Czech officials, grammar-school teachers and clerks to Slovenia, while the Slovenes (and a few Czechs) were sent to Croatia.

In the regime's aspiration to prevent the implementation of Slovene national, political and predominantly Pan-Slav ideas, the Slovenians sent to Croatia were often noted as "politically suspicious", as "Pan-Slavs" or as "Russophiles".

Among "the moved" there were numerous Slovenian grammar teachers and

8 n., *Iz Prage*, Zgodnja Danica, 1866, p. 281.

9 Stanko Vraz, a Slovenian poet who left Slovenia to »experience« Croatian national awakening, that is, Illyrian movement, *in situ.* Devoted to Illyrian idea he adopted Illyrian (read Croatian) language, too.

professors, that is, intellectuals.(Vodopivec, 1998, Lukšič-Hacin, 1999). Although these Slovenian intellectuals did not move voluntarily, the majority were enthusiastic about the Croatian national movement and thus not as reluctant to be moved to a "foreign" country as one might have expected. They considered Croatia a "South-Slavic" country, where in contrast to Slovenia, at least at the schools their own language was "allowed".

In contrast to the Slovenian intellectual emigrants in Czech lands, whose first ambitions were to complete their studies without intentions of settling there for good, the Slovenians who came to Croatia were usually older then their colleagues in Prague. Compared to their colleagues in Bohemia they were already formed and educated individuals. Therefore many of them limited their activities to professional work, mainly to secure their existence and their eventual families. Many of them settled there, that is, emigrated permanently and assimilated, particularly those who created families. The majority – at least intimately – remained Slovenians, and yet they worked in accordance with the demands, expectations and interests of the then Croatian society, they had to "conceal" their political beliefs, their national belonging or even assimilate to keep their jobs. After 1860, the then Croatian society was particularly permeated with national demands and filled with enthusiasm for »Croatisation« of all the spheres of life, mainly education. In such a rather demanding atmosphere the majority successfully and rapidly adapted to the Croatian society by devoting themselves to school and scholar work entirely. They successfully navigated between the demands of the Croatian nationalism and their commitment to preserve their national identity.

Many of them became honoured and loyal members of Croatian society, in the memories of Croats many remained an example of »the good Slovenes«.

However, the then Croatian society seemed more critical of Czech and Slovene officials who did not meet its expectations and was less critical toward the Jews than the Austrian or the Czech society. But the Slovenians were compelled to face the Jewish "question" in Croatia, too. Therefore the attitude towards Jews, expressed by two of the most known Slovenians in Croatia, could not be overlooked. Although they had to avoid manifesting it publicly, they did not hesitate to express their opinion at least privately in personal letters or when they were already retired.

One of the first Slovenian intellectuals whom the authorities prevented to employ in his homeland was Janez Trdina, an ethnographer and historian. Trdina declared himself a true and devoted Slovenian and Slavophile, and a romantic Russophile. His political affiliation along with strong sympathies towards Russia was known to the authorities, too. Therefore he found the Austrian authorities' decision to move him to Croatia a positive opportunity for him to live among the Slavs. Eventually he succeeded to implement the Slav and South Slav spirit among the Croatian pupils by using Croatian language as much as possible. On the other hand Trdina found firm reasons to reveal his utter reluctance towards the Jews there. While Sebastijan Žepič *a priori* rejected the Jews as "heartless and homeless",

Trdina's judgements were based upon their attitude towards Russia; he commented upon the attitude of the Jewish community in Varaždin towards concrete political events, that is, the Russian-Turkish war, when they, as he believed, were on the side of Turkey and celebrated its defeat. Like many Slovenians Trdina also judged the Jews after the then general pattern, that is, he claimed that Slavic nations in Austria were threatened primarily by the German-Jewish conspiracy. However, he was more reconcilable than many other Slovenes who demanded that the Jews convert to Catholicism. He was convinced that "the Jewish question is a great headache for the statesmen and Slav patriots /.../." but it could be solved if the Jews mingled with the nation in which they lived. In Croatia, he suggested, they should "Croatise" themselves. He pledged for assistance of the Croats by including the Jews into their societies, by building friendships, etc. This way, he believed, the Jews might eventually begin "to be ashamed of their German language" and begin to speak the "melodious national language...". (Trdina: 1951, 114–116). He also believed that the Jews in Croatia should follow the good examples of Czech, Polish and even Russian Jews who declared their national belonging after the majority nation. Of course, due to a severe censorship he abstained from commenting on it and published it only after his retirement and returning home, respectively.

One of the very honoured Slovene scholars, a philologist Sebastijan Žepič, whose political beliefs were noted as Pan-Slavic and was thus forced to move to Croatia. In his private letters, he expressed his utter devotion to Slav mutuality, to the South Slav and Slovenian cause.

> He did not object to being moved to Croatia since he found Croats as *the "true Slavs and thus our people /.../ I feel quite well here among others also because I live among the Slavs, so to say among the members of the family /.../".*[10] *On the other hand he was deeply concerned about the "constant impact" of the Jews. He reminded his Slovenian colleagues in Slovenia of the "dangerous" and "harmful" Jewish community in Varaždin where he worked: "Here, there are too many children of Israel, who, wherever they nest themselves, destroy it physically and spiritually. Thank God, that until now Ljubljana has been free of this brood of vipers. These people are heartless, homeless, their God is money /.../ " .*[11]

The majority of Slovene intellectuals living in Croatia shared similar negative attitude towards Jews as Trdina and Žepič. Being under double pressure, namely under the oppression of authorities and Croatian nationalists, they avoided expressing their political statements.

Comparing the then conditions in Croatia and in Bohemia, it is obvious that the Slovenians in Czech lands were faced with a far more liberal and free-minded atmosphere. There they were not faced with or under the pressure of Czech national-

10 Letter of Sebastijan Žepič to Josip Cimerman, Varaždin, 8 January, 1856, MS 484, Ljubljana: NUK.

11 Letter of Sebastijan Žepič to Janez Cimperman, Varaždin 8 January 1856, MS 484, Ljubljana: NUK

ism, even more, they understood Czech nationalism as a part of the struggle of the Austrian Slavs in general. They supported practices of the Czech political parties and their activities which were in striking contrast to political life in Croatia. Thus they did not pay much attention to the Czech anti-Semitism which they witnessed, particularly at the end of the nineteenth century when the Hilsner affair further deepened it. For many Slovenians the Czechs' attitude towards the Jews was merely an additional motivation and stimulation to argue their righteous struggle for a Slavic cause and »live« their own anti-Semitism, too. They experienced their living in Bohemia, although mostly temporarily, as a sort of *litmus paper* of their true belonging to the Slav cause and even more, as a struggle for national and political rights which they demanded for Austrian and non – Austrian Slavs.

The third atypical and, conditionally speaking, mass destination of Slovenian intellectuals was Russia, the then only independent Slavic state.

Due to the very unfavourable – for the Austrian Slavs, particularly the Slovenians - Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867, the Slovenian fascination with Russia and its political and cultural importance increased. Already in 1848 the Slovenians as well as other Slavic nations included Slavic Russia in their future plans to assert the rights of Austrian Slavs within the multinational Habsburg Monarchy. Russian policy, too, became more interested in Austrian Slavs.

One of the results was emigration of a certain number of Slovene grammar-school teachers and scholars to Russia. Their motives to move to Russia can not be compared to the motives of the Slovene students' and scholars' temporary and permanent migration to Bohemia or Croatia, respectively. As a matter of fact, their first motive to leave for Russia was to work and earn, albeit that there was their constant and true devotion to Slavism, Pan-Slavism, and, among many even Russophilism lay underneath. Their expectations before coming to Russia were great – from the point of improving their material status as well as from the point of "living Slavness" there.

Those who left for Russia were politically and ideologically more or less already shaped; their move to Russia was their answer to Austrian authorities, too, which found them "suspicious" and thus had no intentions to offer them better paid jobs. Some of these Slovene intellectuals moved only temporarily, some permanently, some even converted to Orthodoxy. One can also read several testimonies of individuals who planned to leave for Russia but failed for various reasons, mostly financial ones. [12]

Slovenian society – pro-Russian or not – was still insufficiently as well as inadequately informed about the conditions in Russia, thus comments and information were accepted with great enthusiasm. Some of these comments were pointed

[12] A Slovenian secondary school professor Ivan Steklasa, whom the authorities moved to Croatia, was a great admirer of Russian state and its policy. In his autobiography he mentioned his wishes to see Russia but never succeed to travel there. (see Irena Gantar Godina (2006), *Slovenski izobraženci na Hrvaškem po letu 1868: Ivan Steklasa (1846–1921)*, Dve domovini/Two Homelands, No. 24, pp. 153–166).

towards Russian policy and its conditions very benevolently, and apt to conceal major faults and inconveniences.

However, the Slovenian intellectuals who moved to Russia expected to experience Russian conditions along with the Russian understanding of Slavic idea and the Russian commitment to it, too. Their living in Russia was therefore also a sort of a test of compatibility with the Russian understanding of Slavic solidarity and the Slav idea with their own. Those who remained there adapted to the Russian conditions completely; but they continued to inform Slovenian society with the then Russian conditions and policy. Among them were Franc Štiftar alias Tvorcov, and Davorin Hostnik, who both even converted into Orthodoxy and became loyal "Tsarists", respectively (Hostnik: Čurkina 1999: 137)

For various reasons some moved back home, and some left for another Slavic country, for example, to Croatia.[13] They were deeply disappointed by the situation and conditions in Russia; their arguments were more or less the same: Russian culture, politics, even people were overrated, and most importantly, the Russian understanding of the Slav idea substantially differed from the general understanding of the idea among Austrian Slavs.

The majority of the Slovenians in Russia were ardent Slavophils and Russophiles and were primarily of anti-German and anti-Catholic orientation. Probably they were also anti-Semites, but as one might conclude, only privately. Anti-Semitism in Russia outburst "only" in 1881 after the assassination of the Tsar Alexander II ., and continued till 1905, when an extremely violent "pogrom" in 1905 happened in Kishniev. Although the pogroms were not organized by the government, the government's anti-Semitic policy certainly encouraged them. Hostnik's reports were published between 1886 and 1887 and were mostly benevolent towards Russian people who, as he believed, were misjudged by the Germans who claimed that "Russian *muzhik* was a drunkard and a thief /…/".(Čurkina 1999: 137). His critics were aimed mainly at Poles and the Catholic church while there is no evidence of his "complaints" against the Jews.

After 1905, the Russian policy clearly pointed out the importance of a more efficient Slavic policy among Austrian and non-Austrian Slavs. It resulted in a strongly linked cooperation with the so-called Neo-Slav movement in 1908. Its leaders, the Young Czech Karel Kramář, the Slovenian Liberal Ivan Hribar and others ignored the *pogroms* entirely and insisted upon closer cooperation of Austria and Austrian Slavs with Russia.

Chronologically, the last generation of the so-called atypical emigrants, that is, of Slovenian intellectuals leaving Slovenian lands for national-political reasons was the *"fin-de-siècle"* generation which found Slavic Prague attractive as well as suitable to live and study.[14]

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[13] Fran Celestin who was one of the disappointed and left Russia already in 1875. In 1879 he was employed in Croatia at the Zagreb University. He remained in Zagreb up to his death in 1895.

[14] In 1882 the Czechs succeeded to found a Czech University beside the German one. The

After 1897, the withdrawal of Badeni's language reforms only strengthened their Slavic and counter-German sentiments, respectively. The then Czech policy toward Austrian authorities was a traditional model to Slovenians in political, cultural and scientific spheres thus Prague became a reasonable decision for them to move there. The majority of the then intellectual emigrants stayed there temporarily, only a few of them remained there permanently. On the one hand they could observe a very effective resistance of Czech politicians and cultural workers as well as scholars to the Austrian authorities; along with that they could follow the promotion of Slav idea in almost all Czech political parties and, they could attend lectures of a very influential university professors, for example, T. G. Masaryk and František Drtina.

On the other hand Slovene students could follow the Czech attitude towards the there Jews, mainly through numerous articles discussing the Jewish society in Czech lands. These articles appeared not only in clearly declared anti-Semitic press, such as *Česká obrana*,[15] subtitled as anti-Semitic Political Journal, but also in more "serious" newspapers as *Narodní listy*, etc., written by celebrated and well-known poets, like Jan Neruda,[16] and other cultural workers and politicians. In such an anti-Semitic mental atmosphere the Hilsner affair began, named Hilsneriada by Masaryk (Čapek, 1936), which was the trial against the supposed ritual murderer Joseph Hilsner. Hilsner was accused of murdering a young Bohemian girl Anežka Hrůzova in the Moravian town Polna. It seemed that it could become, along with Dreyfus affair, a great opportunity and a temptation for the Slovenes in Prague to demonstrate their anti-Semitic attitude, since they could observe the Hilsner case *in situ*. For the Slovenians at home as well as for the Czech anti-Semitists, the murder was yet another possibility to attack everything that was recognizably Jewish: their newspapers, their writers,[17] their nurses[18] at the Trieste Hospital, etc.

However, among the *"fin-de-siècle"* generation of temporary emigrants in Bohemia one cannot trace substantial or written evidence of their particular attitude towards the Jews there. Presumably that one of the essential reasons why the majority of the then Slovenian students did not join the attacks against the Jews, was the fact that they were almost all the sympathisers of professor T. G. Masaryk, the most popular and influential politician of that time. In accordance with his philosophy and his cosmopolitan views they did not wish to, at least publicly, declare or publish their own "visions" of the Czech Jewish question let alone the Jewish question in general. They followed Masaryk's *Weltanschauung* which preferred tolerance to any oppression and were not expected to be openly anti-Semitic. On the other hand the then Slovene intellectuals in Prague were, in accordance with Masaryk,

same year T.G. Masaryk began to lecture there.

15 *Organizujme se!*, Česka obrana, Politicki list antisemitski, 1898, I., No.1, pp. 1–2.

16 *Jan Neruda o otazce židovske*, Studentske smery, 1899, No. 2, pp. 45–47; Klofač's articles against Jews, etc.

17 *Pisateljska imena Židov /The writers' names of the Jews/*, Slovenec, No. 111, 1899. Actually the names of the Jewish writers were »betrayed« by Berlin paper Gegenwart.

18 *Judje v tržaški bolnici*, Slovenec, No. 12, 1899.

openly sceptical towards the then Slav idea promoted by the Young Czechs and Slovenian Liberals.

But there are always exceptions and Ivan Žmavc, a prominent Slovene scholar was the very exception from many sides. He was one of the rare Slovenian students who decided to remain in Prague permanently. He enrolled in the Czech University as an ardent follower of Masaryk who eventually renounced Masaryk's basic ideas; already in 1895 he even switched the Czech Unversity to the German one. Žmavc was devoted to the Slovenian and a Slav cause along with the South Slav idea, which connected the resolution of a Slovenian national question and the social question (as national issues) very closely to economic question; he considered all these questions to be strongly linked to cultural, national and political independence. But he considered the fact that the economic question of that time was closely linked to Social Democracy and Judaism, to be the most problematic. According to his beliefs the Social Democratic leaders were mainly Jews thus he refused to grant Social Democracy any credibility.

Žmavc considered the Jewish question primarily as a sort of

> *"social disease which could only be cured by sincerity and voraciousness /…/ We have to see the Jews the way they are /…/ and only after a good diagnosis such a social disease can be cured /…/".* (Žmavc, 1900).

Such a disease, he suggested, could only be cured by an ethical "renaissance" of the "good" race, the Aryans, among which he saw also the Slavs:

> *"A great capitalism and Jewishness can be abolished only if the Aryan nations begin with their own ethical regeneration and physically and spiritually improve themselves; this should be a true gospel convenient also for the Slovenians /…/". The Aryans could attain their "regeneration" also by giving up searching for "the guilt for all social evil only within the Jews but also within themselves /…/". In this way they could have solved the Jewish question much sooner.*[19]

According to the statement by one his relatives his ambition was to become Masaryk's assistant or at least to work at the University. As soon as Masaryk discovered Žmavc's anti-Semitic attitude and read his essays on the Jews he thwarted his plans. Žmavc therefore had to accept a post as a librarian at the University Library. Although he was "punished" for his anti-Semitism he could not but emphasise his attitude again, this time in a letter on the occasion of the death of a Slovene Social Democrat and Masarykian, Anton Dermota. In his letter he pointed out a very common and hackneyed phrase that Social Democratic Party was led by the Jews which turned him off to join the Party:

> *"As an enemy of the Jews I find Social democracy as an avant-garde of capitalist Judaism /…/ And Dermota, I reckon, was independent but even if he might have been a Catholic I would find it much more acceptable than if he was directly embraced by the Jews /…/".*[20]

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[19] Ibid.

[20] A letter to Dragotin Lončar , 30. 5. 1914, published in Irena Gantar Godina (1987),

At the beginning of the twentieth century, T. G. Masaryk or Karel Kramář were not the only Czech politicians whom the Slovenians followed in their endeavours to improve Slovenian general (political, economical, cultural, educational) conditions. Some Slovenians ardently followed also the ideas of another Czech politician, Vaclav J. Klofač.[21] One of the most exposed in this regard was Fran Radeščček, a temporary emigrant, who spent almost ten years in a specific "forced" emigration, first in Bohemia (Kolin and Prague, respectively) and after 1912 in Serbia. Radeščček could be noted as a peculiar case among the Slovene temporary emigrants to Slavic countries, for he was neither intellectual nor was his emigration voluntary; he left unwillingly and yet his emigration turned out to be very fruitful. One could not recognise him as a true political émigré since he was not compelled to leave the country by the authorities. His position in Slovenian politics was very specific, since apart from his devotion to National Socialism after the pattern of the Czechs, he refused to adapt/adjust his political work to the then Slovenian political situation. Therefore he was forced to emigrate or better, he was expelled for particular political interests of Slovenian party policies, mainly the Liberals and Social Democrats. They found Klofač's as well as Radeščček's ideas of solving the social question as too penetrative force to be allowed in Slovene political life.

As mentioned above, Radeščček's model and inspiration for his political work between 1908 and 1912, was a Czech politician Klofač, a founder of the Czech National Socialists Party. One of Klofač's main goals was to implement and to realise the "Slavic Socialism" among the Czechs and other Austrian and non-Austrian Slavs. His programme was based upon the struggle for national and social liberation of Slavic workers, within and outside Austria, along with the elimination of the crucial obstacle, the Czech Jews. He blamed the Jews for many of the troubles in Bohemia and believed that the misery of the proletariat was also a consequence of senseless and thoughtless Judaism:

> *"Already by the character the Jew is an individualist /…/ The Jew is not and can not be a socialist if he is not a carpenter, stonemason or a miner /…/ His selfishness is imparted to him by religion /…/ he knows only his nation/people and no one else /…/ Today he is a representative of capital (bourse, banks, huge world cartels which are mainly in his hands), and he also gained the leadership of Social Democracy /…/ For this reason many have dissuaded from Social Democracy /…/ they could not believe that the Jews could have really wished to work for the benefit of the society /…/ ".* (Klofač, 1900)

He firmly believed that Slavic proletariat could live and work without Jews.

Since Radeščček was not faced with a problem of the Jews in his homeland, it is believable that his anti-Semitism even grew while he worked in Kolin and Prague, respectively. His critical observations of German, Austrian and Slovenian Social Democracy even deepened. He claimed that Jewish capital penetrated into

T.G.Masaryk in masarykovstvo na Slovenskem (1895–1918), Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica.

[21] Vaclav Jaroslav Klofač, 1860—1942, Czech politician, deputy in Reichsrat, the founder of Czech National-Socialist Party, an ardent promotor of the so-called »Slavic socialism«.

all spheres of Austrian state policy, economy and culture and he accused Slovene Social Democrats not to work for the benefit of Slovenian and Slavic workers.[22] Comparing the Jews', Germans' and the Slavs' understanding of capitalism led Klofač – with Radeščček ardently following him - to develop the idea of a Slavic type of Socialism. He believed that it could be particularly convenient for the Slavic middle – and working – class since

> *"the Slavs were not capitalists /…/ We cannot say we are aristocracy /…/ Our new Slavic movement could have its future if it brings our ideas among the wider masses of the Slavic people to enable a worker, a farmer or a craftsman to understand that we are struggling and working for him /…/ ".*[23]

Radeščček's assaults were focused mainly on the Slovenian Social Democrats and did not differ from those of the Slovenian Conservatives and, for example, Ivan Žmavc. They all accused Social Democrats to be too dependent and under the impact of the Jewish leaders and Jewish capital.

Eventually, Fran Radeščček who spent more than ten years in emigration abandoned most of his pre-war ideas. However, he could not - even after 1918 - avoid blaming the Jews or people of Jewish origin for all that was going wrong in the new state.[24]

Another, even more atypical destination of Slovene emigrating intellectuals was "Austrian Poland": since it was apparent that even in the matter of selecting the right Slavic university the Slovenians were politically divided; matters relating to secondary schools and universities were also a frequent subject of discussion between the Liberals and Catholics. At the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth some Catholic scholars strictly opposed cooperation between Slovenians and Czechs. Some [25] considered Prague to be extremely dangerous for Catholics due to Czech liberalism. They stressed the fact that the Czechs lack of Catholic enthusiasm would ostensibly corrupt the Slovenian future intelligentsia. (Mahnič, 1889:386) On the other hand there were also Slovenian Catholic intellectuals who were very doubtful towards the Poles and their attitudes and policies towards other Slavic nations in Austria which happened to be a common remark of the Slovene Liberals and Catholics. They all believed that the Poles avoided associating with other Austrian Slavs and, most of all, that they had no particular sense of Slavic brotherhood. It was only in 1897 and particularly

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22 *Narodnost in socijalizem na Slovenskem*, Narodni socijalist, No. 3, 1911

23 *Pod vitoši!,* Česke Slovo, 12. 7. 1910.

24 He was particularly harsh towards Gregor Žerjav, Slovene politician, former National Radical and, after 1909 a member of the Liberal party. After 1918, in Yugoslavia, he was a very influential politician all up to his death in 1929.

25 Anton Mahnič (1850-1920) in 1896 appointed Bishop of Krk in 1896. From 1888 to 1896 he published the magazine *Rimski katolik* in which he revealed his views on Slovenian policy, his severe critics of Slovenian and Czech liberalism and argued in favour of Slovenian cooperation exclusively with Czech Catholics. In spite of this, the number of Slovenian students in Prague increased every year.

after 1900 that the issue of taking up studies at Polish universities became a topic of conversation. It was the meeting between Czech and Polish national deputies[26], held in December 1897 in Krakow, where the resolution on inter-Slavic cooperation was adopted. The Poles were supposed to prove their willingness to co-operate with other Austrian Slavs. The Polish reversal was welcomed with excitement in both, Slovenian Liberal and Catholic circles, particularly after the introduction of the monthly magazine Swiat Slowianski in 1900, edited by a historian and the curator of the Jagiellonian library, Feliks Koneczny.

As a consequence of a new Polish Slavic policy Slovenian Catholic circles began to advocate closer co-operation with the Poles,(Grivec, 1902) mainly as a counter-balance to Prague and the Czechs. The main reason behind this was the Polish commitment to the Catholic Church and, last but not least, their opposition to closer political and cultural links of Austrian Slavs with Russia. At the same time they started persuading Slovenian students to enroll in the two Polish universities, that is in Krakow and Lvov.

Among the Slovenians, Leopold Lenard, Catholic intellectual-emigrant, was one of the first to respond to appeals made by the Catholics to study at Polish universities already in 1902. One of his major interests was the Slavic idea and inter-Slavic co-operation with special emphasis upon closer relations between the Slovenians and the Poles. Among other positive characteristics he considered Poland to have the highest degree of statehood and highest level of cultural development therefore he supported and adopted the programme designed by the group of scholars Klub Slawianski in Krakow. [27] Albeit that Lenard preferred Krakow or Lvov to Prague he considered emigration of Slovenian students to Prague also as a positive fact, mainly because they at least avoided the influence and the pressure of German culture. Of course, he found Krakow to be more advantageous in many respects.

He pointed out one of the most important, that is,

> *"Krakow is a purely Slavic city. Even indirectly German culture has only a very small effect upon the city. On the other hand, old and profound influences can be recognized from other world cultures, such as France, England and Italy /…/. It was also possible to detect the proximity of Russians and Ruthenians /…/.*

At the same time he believed that the Slavic-Polish tradition would undoubtedly

> *"have a positive influence upon the development of the spirit and thought of our students. Krakow is the most Slavic city of all because its traditions stretch back to*

[26] The meeting was organized by the members of the Young Czech Party, 20 Polish politicians (among them berst known was a national deputy Michael Danielak, an ardent follower of Karel Kramář's visions of Neo-Slavism, and three representatives of SKNZ (Slavic Christian National Society).

[27] The Club was founded by a group of intellectuals who intended to spread the Slavic idea among the Poles; but it only took hold in 1912 when they founded *Towarzistwo slowanskie* which began to found reading clubs, libraries, organising lectures and courses in Slavic languages, ets. In Slovenian lands it was Lenard who conducted courses within the framework of this association.

> *mythological and pre-historic times /.../ Krakow is the centre of political thought. Here, a Slovenian student will find no party with which he would completely agree /.../ Here, the theories of political, religious and economic Conservatism, academic Liberalism, Socialism and Nationalism are developed with all the necessary clarity and consistency /.../.* (Lenard, 1907-1908)

Lenard was one of the rare Slovenian intellectuals-emigrants who considered Krakow as the centre of Slavism, "not so much in words than in programmes /.../. He found the Poles to be "without doubt the nation with the highest degree of tactfulness and with the best manners among all the Slavs /.../ which could have a positive impact upon the Slovenian students, too. Last but not least, he saw Krakow as a city of science and art, a city of well-developed systems of university and secondary education. Therefore he was convinced that Poles would correctly accept the Slovenian students. Although he was aware of the fact that studying in Krakow was much more expensive than studying elsewhere within the Monarchy he often underlined all the favourable facts which might have persuaded the Slovenians to move there. He was particularly in favour of studying at the medical and agricultural faculties, the trade academy and the academy of fine arts. In addition he addressed a special invitation to Slovenian girls to enter the Baraneum private girls' school. (Lenard, 1911–1912)

In spite of Lenard's and (only) a few other sympathizers[28] who studied in Vienna and at the same time wrote in favour of Polish universities, Slovenian students did not respond to those appeals massively. There were only few – later fully recognised scholars [29]-- who only began their studies there – from 1908 to 1910 and then continued their studies elsewhere.

One of the most important reasons not to enrol in Krakow and Lvov was undoubtedly the great geographical distance which dissuaded the less wealthy students – as an initial argument – from their plans. The linguistic barrier was not as significant as one might have expected. But there was a substantially more significant influence of the Liberals upon Slovenian students which preferred Czech to Polish universities. However, the most important obstacle were the reports in Slovenian press in which critical observations of Polish policy towards the Slavs were published, which even emphasized the non-Slavic "image" of the Poles. Therefore, Slovenian temporary emigration to Polish university cities as

[28] One of them was Josip Stuller who underlined the difference between Prague and Krakow: »The name Prague associates with the concept of *'freedom of thought'*, while the name Krakow implies 'conservativism'.« He believed that the conservativism of the Poles represented the strongest oposition to anti-Slavic oriented politicians. On the other hand he strongly disapproved the Slovenians to study in Lvov because of its critical political position which resulted from the conflict between the Poles and the Ruthenians. His colleague France Stele, historian of arts, appealed to all Slovenian youth to volunteer themselves for military service in Galicia. Among many reasons he stressed that the Galician people were not only »the most interesting Slavic people«, but also »an explicitly Catholic race« and »an explicit representative of Slavism«.

[29] One of them was Vojeslav Mole(1886–1973), historian of arts.

Krakow and Lvov was somehow "directed" by the Poles' policy towards Austrian and non-Austrian Slavs, particularly their treatment of the Ruthenians[30] and their relation to Russia.

The Poles comprehension and belonging to the Slav idea could not persuade the majority of the Slovenian future and the then intelligentsia. Among the Slovenian intellectuals, and among the Poles, respectively, the issue of Slavic idea in Krakow and among the Poles, respectively, completely prevailed, and they did not discuss the Krakow Jews or the Jews in Poland in general. One might conclude that they were much more interested in "incorporating" the Poles into "the Slavic world" and praising their Catholicism than discussing "their" Jews.

The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 was accepted enthusiastically by almost all Slavic people; they believed that the importance of the Slavic element in the Monarchy would be finally recognised. Among the Slovenians the annexation caused greater interest in the links and cooperation with Croats and Austrian Serbs, that is, for Yugoslav idea. It also raised new hopes that the Monarchy might become a true Slavic state on principles of federalism. Following the slogan of one of Slovene cultural workers "Between Slovene and a Slav there is a Yugo-Slav", Pan-Slav, Russophile or Neo-Slav ideas as well as the Jewish question, were receded into background.

After 1918, when the new states were founded, among them The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, Czechoslovakia, the Slovenians finally got their own university. Slovenian future intelligentsia was not forced to enrol in foreign universities anymore.

CONCLUSION

The general views of the temporary emigrants, that is, atypical emigrants in atypical emigrant countries did not differ substantially from the views of their compatriots at home. The most "powerful" and influential idea was the Slav idea in its various forms – from Austro-Slav to the Pan-Slav, Russophile and Neo-Slav incarnation. The Pan-Slavism of Slovenian intellectuals-emigrants and their great admiration of Russia were mostly based upon their thousand–year conflict between the Germans in spite of their numerical majority in the Habsburg Monarchy. Their traditional bonds with the idea of Slav mutuality, be named Austro-Slavism, Pan-Slavism or later Neo-Slavism was based upon the assumption that they had to create a sort of a common Slavic unit not only to struggle against the threatening neighbours, the Germans at the North, Italians in the West and the Hungarians in the East, but also

[30] One of the harshest critics of the Polish policy towards Ruthenians was Fran Podgornik who wrote several articles against co-operation of the Slovenians with the Poles. As a great Slavophile he found their policy double-sided, that is, on one hand demanding several right for themselves from the Austrian authorities and on the other suppressing the Ruthenians by denying their basic national and political rights.

against the Jews. They believed that such a Slavic unit should have been capable of asserting breakthroughs of the Slavs within the frames of Austrian state. The Slovenian sympathizers of the Slav idea and subsequent emigrants in Slavic countries believed that Slavic people deserved not only more attention from the side of the leading nation but also the recognition of their most positive human characteristics. One of the turning points to believe so was Herder's Ideen zur Philosophie der Weltgeschichte in the late eighteenth century. His description of all the positive characteristics of the Slavs, that is, their hospitality, peacefulness, diligence, etc., was one of the starting points to compare themselves with the aggressive, intolerant, suppressive and nationalistic Germans. The Slavs felt towards the Germans – from many points legitimately – inferior, suppressed and not recognised enough, but also undervalued, sometimes seen even as martyrs. Since the Slovenians witnessed dominating and oppressive policy of Austrian Germans, that is, a dominating nation, which refused to meet their crucial national demands presented already in 1848 till 1918, their expectations about their new lives in emigrating countries were traditional and very similar to those of their compatriots at home. Slovenian intellectuals-emigrants believed that by emigrating to Slavic countries one of their major goals was fulfilled: they studied, worked and some even remained to live among the Slavs. Nonetheless, believing they avoided Germanisation they were confronted with the Jewish community living there. Since they connected their fears from the Germans with the existence of the Jews, they believed that the German nationalists particularly could not have been so influential if the Jews did not support them. In addition, Slovenian Slavophiles, emigrants or not, were unique in their assumptions that the Austrian Slavs were facing a sort of Jewish conspiracy. Even more, the Slovenians' assumptions were based on their judgement that the Jews had adopted an extreme German nationalistic attitude towards non-German nations to gain German sympathies. .

Regardless of their demonstration of an anti-German attitude, and their commitment to a "higher" Slav idea, after 1870 even the "suspicious" Russophilism, their stereotypic scruples and *a priori* judgements of the Jews were identical to the German ones. They demonstrated the same intolerance towards Jews as they themselves were faced with - perhaps in a more sophisticated way - by the Germans, who disdained both, Slavic and Jewish society in these countries.

At the same time, their long-lasting inferior position towards Germans could not prevent them to consider the Jews not merely as the enemies of the Slavs, but as the enemies to all the European nations. In addition, some of them considered the Jews as a particular threat to the Aryan race. Therefore it seemed that the Slovenian Slavophiles or Pan-Slavs had to struggle against two major enemies, the Germans on the hand and the Jews on the other; their belonging to the Slav idea - however named - thus included as anti-German as well as anti-Semitic attitude. However, their "alliance" with Germans against the Jews did not contribute to getting rid off their permanent feeling of being in a position of unequal nation in the State.

The salvation from both "threatening questions" for the Slavs, that is, German nationalism and the Jewish question was one the very important goals of Slovenian Pan-Slavs. Not many solutions were suggested about how to solve these issues. One of the rare suggestions was given by Slovenian intellectual-emigrant in Croatia, Janez Trdina who appealed for the adaptation and acculturation of the Jews to the society in which they lived. Another suggestion was given by Slovenian journalists who found the Jewish and German press, respectively, as crucial anti-Slavic element. Therefore some focused upon publishing their own Slavic newspaper which could be more unbiased than those of the Germans and Jews. Their ambitions were to assert the Slavs' culture, creativity, and economy throughout the Habsburg Monarchy which – for the Slovenians – remained, regardless of all its insufficiencies, a natural fact, a necessity and the only guarantee for such a small nation to survive.

The fact the Slovenian atypical emigrants had to leave – to work, to study, to create – for atypical destinations, did not have many negative implications. On the contrary: although some of them remained abroad, the majority returned home. Many of them became widely known and recognized scholars, artists and cultural worker as well as politicians who implemented predominantly encouraging and constructive ideas within the Slovenian society.

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SLOVENIAN ÉMIGRÉ LITERATURE: IGNORED, FORGOTTEN, AND REDISCOVERED

JANJA ŽITNIK

"Perhaps out there you have become more ours than you would have had you remained here. Perhaps even more mine. However, each time you should rediscover me, I will always seem a little different to you than I did when you froze me into your Pannonian heart. I hope I can still remain one and the same for you, the only one. And when you leave again, your every pore soaked in me, you will already be thinking of your return. Go on, take with you a handful of my body. I will breathe from it for you and grow a little. So we will always be close and even closer. And I will forever be the first and last for you. And the soil on which you have learned how to walk." (Žohar 1991: 136)[31]

INTRODUCTION

Apart from publications in Slovenian, no broader examination of Slovenian émigré literature has yet been published in any other language. In this chapter, I will summarise the results of my many years of research into émigré literature, but mostly of my work within the ongoing research programme entitled *Narodna in kulturna identiteta slovenskega izseljenstva* (*Ethnic and Cultural Identity of Slovenian Emigration*) (2004–2008). The methodological starting-points of this chapter are partly based on Even-Zohar's (1997) polysystem theory, and partly on the understanding of the intercultural position of literature as developed by Meta Grosman (2004).

I will start by briefly presenting the development of Slovenian émigré literature, the attitudes towards it of Slovenians in Slovenia proper, and émigré authors whose works stand out from the literary production of Slovenian emigrants in terms of quality. I will then focus on the process of integration of émigré literature into various cultural spheres of Slovenia proper which characterised the programs and subject matter of the main cultural media, literary science, and education, especially in the period following Slovenia's independence (1991). Since this process, among its other implications, raised the question of the integration of foreign-language works by émigré authors into the corpus of Slovenian national literature, I will continue by problematising the concept of a single "national language" as the demarcation line between national literatures. In the conclusion, I will summarise the findings on the structure of national literature and national culture in regard

[31] All the quotations were translated from Slovenian by M. F.

to ethnicity, language, and geographical dispersion of its authors/members argued for throughout the chapter. Finally, the importance of émigré literature for the cultural consciousness of an ethnic group as a whole and for its cultural survival will be pointed out.

*

What is it that connects Slovenian émigré literature into a distinctive whole? Why do those who are familiar with it hold the opinion that it is such a vital part of Slovenian national literature because it enriches it with new, different literary experiences, themes, and creative motivation?

Despite the fact that the extent of émigré literary production as a whole is lesser than that of the production in Slovenia proper, the literary themes explored by the works of émigré authors are in a sense even more diverse than those found in the homeland. Firstly, one finds the themes common to any literature: life, nature, society, history, the Divine and the human, eternity and fleetingness, the basic dilemmas of the human spirit. In addition, there is the discovery and approximation of the new, the unknown, which sets émigré works, in prose and in poetry, visibly apart from the mainstream of Slovenian literature. In the background of this diversity of themes one naturally finds the same creative impulse that can be discerned in any work of literature: the author's intimate relationship to life and to the world, which appears in all of its forms, as freedom or entrapment, belonging or loneliness, love or lethargy, understanding or blindness, acceptance or rejection, faith or doubt, power or surrender, forgiveness or guilt. However, spreading from the West Coast of the US to Japan and from Scandinavia to southern Australia, the creative impulse that connects the literature of the first generation of emigrants – who may be viewed in Slovenia as Slovenian authors with less reservation than later generations of emigrants – is a never fully transcended feeling of homesickness. At the same time, this characteristic quite sharply and in a way paradoxically distinguishes the émigré literature from the literature of Slovenians in Slovenia.

As a dramatic creative motivation and at the same time literary theme, the need for acceptance in a new environment, the transformations of this environment, and the resistances and adaptations arising from all this, have almost equivalent parallels in the literature of the homeland, albeit on different levels. However, the nostalgia of the emigrant who cannot set foot on his native soil whenever he wishes to, and his feeling of permanent uprootedness, do not parallel the homesickness and initial loneliness of the student from rural Slovenia who arrives to study in a nearby Slovenian city, possibly to remain there. The literary works of emigrants offer convincing proof that their need for a more full-blooded contact with their origins does not fade away even after decades have passed. Of course, it gradually makes way for new experiences, impulses and feelings, but it never fully dries up. Not even among those who, when visiting their home town or village, feel, perhaps

through pain and relief simultaneously, that there is nothing left there, beyond the realm of the symbolic, that would still bind them to their place of origin.

To a literary historian or critic, the emigrant's nostalgia and longing for everything that has been lost is usually just a theme. And what is homesickness to a person who has forever separated himself from "the soil on which you have learned how to walk"? Hardly a theme. A feeling above all feelings? Faith? Conviction? State of mind? A relationship towards oneself and the world, towards time and space? Perhaps also a way of life? Oftentimes, all of this. Literary analysts ascertain that the first generation émigré authors mostly outgrew and transcended their homesickness a long time ago. But they have not and they never will. They have merely transcended its initial phases, from which a new, more lasting state of mind of the same fundamental character has evolved. This evolution is evident each time again from their latest verses, lyrical fragments in prose, letters, even essayistic reflections on various topics. Fortunately, these authors have been able to open their minds to other creative impulses that constantly spring forth and influence contemporary literature. Nevertheless, the painful interruption of continuity and the longing for a more uninhibited connection with one's origins still hold an important place among the visible or concealed motives of all those authors for whom the word "home" is forever linked to two contradictory meanings (home is there and not here, and at the same time, home is here and not there).

Herein precisely lies the most obvious difference between the literary production of the first generation of emigrants and that of all the following generations. This difference is associated with differences in the socialising experiences and socialisation contexts of different generations that play a role in shaping the processes of the constitution of identity of individuals (Lukšič-Hacin 1995: 105–146; Čebulj Sajko 2000: 84–87). By all means, Slovenian émigré literature may be classified according to the specifics of their "common" themes or the character of their creative motivation, and also according to typical literary forms and means of expression, attachment to or isolation from the literature that was simultaneously emerging in Slovenia proper, the comparative characteristics of the two, the level of literary-aesthetic achievement, etc.

To briefly remark on just the first two of the aforementioned criteria and to give a better illustration, let me point out, for example, the proletarian and socially critical orientation found in the works of almost every literary type and genre by authors belonging to the "pre-war" immigration in all countries that Slovenians emigrated to before the Second World War, from the more developed countries of Western Europe to both of the Americas. This is due to the fact that – especially in the 1920s and 30s – an important part of emigrants drew their creative incentives from the problematic working and living conditions of the so-called economic emigration that was dominant in Slovenian emigration at the time. Parallel to this motivation, a whole range of others may be found among this generation of émigré authors, and this is reflected in the broadness of their thematic and aesthetic spectrum. A

pronounced ethnic and political motivation, which also gave birth to literature of a lasting character, most notably in the works of D. Doktorič and G. Jug, may be discovered in the literature of refugees from the Primorska region. At that time, this Slovenian ethnic area was subject to Italian fascism and its ethnic discrimination, which manifest as various political, cultural, and economic pressures.

Among the prevailing part of the "post-war" émigré authors (those who emigrated from Slovenia after the Second World War), the "common" theme that stands out is their long-lasting and, for some, still continuing spiritual ensnarement in the fratricidal war of 1941–45. Although these authors also live in other parts of the world, they form the strongest group in Argentina, where most Slovenians from Italian and Austrian refugee camps emigrated to. The tight cultural and creative interconnectedness of this emigrant community also enabled those who migrated to other parts of the world to make use of the publishing and promotional services developed there for their literary creativity. Several decades ago, Jože Pogačnik (1972a: 71) wrote: "'Cultural Action', as the emigrants named their main publishing institution, relied on creativity, which was to affirm and preserve them. The idea of Slovenian cultural heritage again showed itself to be a useful instrument; literature became the lyrical declaration of an author, the subject of action, and the creator of history." Indeed, within a few years this literary production, from the point of view of literary types and genres, broadness of themes and antagonisms of ideas evolved into a surprisingly complex and wholesome literary corpus of varying degrees of literary-aesthetic achievement.

Among militant Catholic authors, who during the Second World War were literarily active in Slovenia and in 1945 continued to write as refugees in camps and later in emigration, the notions of nation, faith (Catholic religion) and freedom (relating to their anti-Communist war for Christian values) often represent but different sides of the same ideal. Much the same may be said about the notions of nation, faith (belief in social justice) and freedom (that is, an end to foreign occupation) among (Communist) Partisan authors writing at the same time in Slovenia. Both groups believed in the fundamental equality of all human beings, as is also posited by Christianity. However, differences between them arose from their views on what shape this ideal was to take on there and then. A common feature of this Catholic group of "post-war" émigré authors, which is largely coextensive with those "spiritually ensnared in the fratricidal war" mentioned above, is their central literary impulse, which is defined to an even greater extent by their religious belief. A religious creative impetus is also heavily present among "pre-war" emigrant authors, especially among Protestants from Prekmurje,[32] but naturally also among Slovenian Catholics the world over.

Just as with the first generation, certain common features in the literary production of the second and following generations of pre- and post-war emigrant

[32] The prevailing religion in Slovenia is Roman Catholic. However, a considerable share of the population in north-eastern Slovenia (the Prekmurje region) is Protestant.

authors stand out. The ethnic sentiment has been transformed, and the kind of homesickness that was characteristic of the greater part of the literary works of the first generation is nowhere to be found. Quite the contrary: their only home is where they were born and where they live; homesickness – the longing to return to this home – now more and more springs up at the time of visiting the country of origin of their parents. The consciousness or feeling of ethnic affiliation in different generations of emigrants moves through different levels (Žigon 1998: 23–29, 49–111, 212–225; Lukšič-Hacin 1995: 167–186), and this is also dramatically enough reflected in their literary work. The ethnic identity of the second generation has its distinctive features, as has that of the third and fourth generations, albeit our knowledge of the latter is still very limited. What connects these authors on a certain level is the newly evolved need to affirm their original ethnicity (Žigon 1998: 99–110; Lukšič-Hacin 1995: 144).

DEVELOPMENT OF SLOVENIAN ÉMIGRÉ LITERATURE

In their new homelands Slovenians – as all other immigrant groups – formed rural, urban, and regional communities of various sizes. Soon following settlement the first forms of autonomous social and economic mutuality emerged, which in time achieved a relatively high level of organisation. A similar process took place in their religious, political, and cultural life. Many Slovenian immigrant organisations gradually transcended the local level on which they were formed. Through the founding of new branches and lodges they extended basically throughout their new homelands and in some cases even to other countries with Slovenian emigrant populations.[33]

In these Slovenian communities, an ethnic press emerged relatively early on. The path from the first printed flyers, notices, advertisements, invitations, and cultural programmes to regular immigrant publications did not take long. The first Slovenian émigré newspaper *Amerikanski Slovenec* (*American Slovenian*) began circulation in Chicago in 1891, in the midst of the first wave of mass Slovenian immigration to this part of the world. The first Slovenian émigré newspapers in Western Europe and South America did not appear until a quarter of a century later. The purpose of these periodicals was many-sided, although the greater part of ethnic newspapers of the time were founded as a communication outlet for immigrant societies, which of course meant a more or less discernible political, religious, and cultural orientation of the published contributions.

The first Slovenian émigré magazines devoted chiefly to belletristic works appeared during the 1930s, at a time of visible blossoming of Slovenian émigré press and literature. These were *Duhovno življenje* (*Spiritual Life*), which began circulation in Buenos Aires in 1934, and *Cankarjev glasnik* (*Cankar's Herald*), founded in Cleveland

33 For example, the Slovenian Cultural Action based in Argentina.

in 1937. After the Second World War, their basic premises were followed, knowingly or not, by quite a number of Slovenian émigré heralds, magazines, and anthologies which dedicated their pages to publishing original literary contributions by émigré authors. Such publications were published after the war in all principal immigrant countries – in Australia, Canada, Western and Central Europe, but mostly in South America and the US (Bajec 1980; Pertot 1991).

Slovenians in the US could pride themselves upon a whole range of independent literary works in book form as early as the 1920s and 30s, since this was one of the most fertile periods of Slovenian émigré literature and press. In this period, literary works by Slovenian emigrants in various parts of the world mirrored the fact that they were created in times of powerful class, ideological, and ethnic antagonisms, which reached their climax in most of the immigrant countries (similarly as in the homeland) before the Second World War. These circumstances were more than obviously reflected in the literary production created in emigration, where Slovenians were forced to seek a better economic existence, greater individual freedom or more favorable conditions for asserting their ethnic tendencies and cultural needs.

The prospects of the political conditions in Slovenia at the end of the Second World War created a relatively large wave of political refugees in May 1945 and in the following years most of these refugees opted for emigration. Compared to the pre-war emigrants, this was a much more educated stratum of Slovenian society and therefore their cultural activity was correspondingly stronger – in a quantitative as well as qualitative sense. Among this group were many intellectuals who had occupied visible roles in Slovenian politics, journalism, literature, and arts before the war (Detela 1999: 122). Despite life's hardships in their new homelands (in the main they were forced to provide for themselves and their families by doing physical work), they continued to develop artistic, publishing, and other cultural activities and soon attracted numerous other members of their immigrant communities. Many among those who were still children, pupils, or students at the time of leaving their homeland became culturally active only after years of living in emigration. The most active members of both generations formed the core of the cultural life of the Slovenian émigré communities, which included various activities in the fields of arts and preservation of their ethnic heritage.

Due to the oppressive character of Slovenian politics at the time, this core group undertook the main initiative to assert the free expression of the ideas and sentiments of those Slovenians in Slovenia proper whose interests were marginalised during the decades after the Second World War. Because of this, contact between "official" Slovenia and the emigrants was severed for many decades. Yugoslavian Slovenia renounced its so-called "national traitors" and their offspring. The more or less natural consequences of this exclusion were frequent extreme ideological and political positions argued for by some political emigrants who had been cruelly cut off from their homeland.

Because of the incurable pain caused by events during the war and after and

the inexorable state policies aimed at the emigrants, the polarisation of Slovenians only deepened further and also gained new geographical dimensions. Although this polarisation also existed in Slovenia, albeit in concealed forms, it became strikingly apparent in the relations between Slovenia and the whole of Slovenian political emigration, but also within the immigrant communities themselves, where furious battles were fought between the "old" ("pre-war") and "new" ("post-war") immigrants. Through independence (1991) and the nascent democratisation of Slovenia, a large part of Slovenians came to the realisation that the nation could only find its way out of this dead-end through a recognition and acknowledgement of its own inner ideological, religious, and political differences. This line of thinking soon also became prevalent in Slovenian journalist and cultural circles, but above all among literary critics and publishers, who in the preceding period – with few exceptions – followed the ruling cutural-political stance. Up to this point but a few literary historians in Slovenia were at least partially familiar with the rich Slovenian literary production that had sprouted on foreign soil either before or after the Second World War. As for the reading public in Slovenia, émigré authors were mostly unknown.

With the growing popularisation of émigré literature after 1990, the broader Slovenian public, too, has gradually become acquainted with this not very extensive, but altogether specific part of national literature which for a long time had been pushed to the side. Over the different periods, Slovenian émigré authors – some 300 have been documented – have contributed more than 500 books and uncountable literary publications in magazines and reviews to the body of Slovenian literature (Žitnik 1999). From this multitude of authors, the personalities who belong to the apex of Slovenian émigré literary production may be singled out. In Europe, this includes Slovenian writers and intellectuals in Vienna (poet Milena Merlak and narrative writer and poet Lev Detela); the work of literary historian Janko Lavrin in Great Britain; émigré authors in Trieste (prose writer and poet Vinko Beličič) and Rome (Vladimir Truhlar, one of the most important poets from this group). Igor Šentjurc's novels also belong in this context due to their interesting topics and the extent and popularity of this author's oeuvre (Glušič 1999: 358).

The oldest period of Slovenian émigré activity in North America includes the cultural activities of the first settlers and missionaries, most notably the work of Friderik Baraga. Strong cultural organisation and rich literary activity in the US is also evident later on. An important part of this are the dramas of Etbin Kristan, the prose of Ivan Molek, the English prose of Louis Adamic, the essays and poetry of Anna Praček Krasna, and the English poetry of Rose Mary Prosen, which is of an especially high literary value. The latter may also be said of the narrative works of Karl Mauser and Frank Bükvič and the sensitive intimate lyricism of Milena Šoukal's poetry. Writers and poets working in Canada include Tom Ložar, Irma Ožbalt, Cvetka Kocjančič, and Ted Kramolc, who is also an acknowledged painter (Žitnik and Glušič 1999: 369).

From a literary-historical point of view the prose work and poetry of David Fortunat Doktorič is interesting among authors of the first wave of Slovenian immigrants in South America. The arrival of displaced persons in Argentina following the Second World War is decisive, in regard to literary and other cultural and artistic activity on this southern continent. The cultural life of this second wave is characterised by strong organisation in all fields of artistic creativity, including theatre, the visual arts, music, and literature. The scholarly publications, poetry, and organisational activities of literary historian Tine Debeljak are especially notable. A special place in literary production goes to the narrative works of Ruda Jurčec, the prose and dramas of Zorko Simčič, rich literature on mountaineering, and memoirs. In poetry, the works of France Papež and Vinko Rode stand out. Vlady Kociancich in Argentina writes in Spanish and her novels are noted and appreciated there (Žitnik and Glušič 1999: 369).

In Australia, émigré literature is strongest in poetry. Among those writing in Slovenian, Bert Pribac, Jože Žohar, and Pavla Gruden are especially notable. Some acknowledged Slovenian-Australian poets also write in English. The poems of Vladimir Kos, who lives in Japan, hold a unique place among the whole of émigré poetry (Glušič 1999: 385). These authors – together with all the others it is impossible to mention in such a short overview – have given Slovenian literature a whole range of works that achieve a high literary value. The fact that they were more or less ignored in their country of birth for several decades after the Second World War greatly reduced the diversity of Slovenian literary works available in Slovenia during that time.

INTEGRATION OF ÉMIGRÉ LITERATURE IN THE CULTURAL SPHERE OF SLOVENIA PROPER

The role of émigré literature in its culture of origin is variable in time, as it is subject to a range of factors that influence its evaluation by this culture and the attention it is given within it. This accounts for the sharp increase of the status of émigré literature in Slovenia after independence, which is an understandable reaction to more than four decades of cultural blockade of post-war Slovenian émigré literature in general, and has since then in a sense "stabilised". This state of affairs is the result of old and new aesthetic and ideological orientations which influenced the initiatives and activities in the fields of social and human sciences, cultural media, and education in Slovenia.

Judging by the Slovenian experience from the Second World War to the present, it is obvious that Slovenian cultural-artistic activity and the research orientations in the field of social and human sciences have visibly influenced each other. Moreover, both fields have been forced to bow to political contro, which has tried to influence them in line with its own interests that are supposedly identical with the national

interest in general. This latter supposition has been unsubstantiated by Slovenian experience, and this has undeniably been a cause of various forms of cultural and scholarly resistance to political control. The methods of this control have been similar in both fields. As shown by past and present experience, it has been implemented in the cultural-artistic field by censorship of unwanted publications, political selection of the state cultural administration, hidden ideological criteria in allocating grants, changes of editors or shutting down of individual magazines, blockade of "politically suspicious" cultural projects, etc. In social and human sciences, it has taken the form of the political selection of research programmes, greater financial support for politically suitable research groups, control over personnel management, and naming of desirable persons to leading roles in the national science administration.

The natural unintended consequence of this relationship of politics to culture and science has been the formation and development of a "cultural" and a "scientific opposition", and the two may link together in a spontaneous or organised manner. This involves individuals or groups of intellectuals who in the name of marginalised national interests are willing to counter the dominant cultural and scientific flows and risk their own careers. Eventual superiority of these oppositions in relation to the dominant orientations is manifested the moment they are able to overcome decisive obstacles on the way to penetrating the central national cultural and scientific media and institutions. Following this has been the integration of the cultural and scientific oppositions into the institutionalised system, which has resulted in a formal and functional transformation of the system. The ex-opposition now enters from an antagonistic relationship into a partnership, which is supposed to enable greater efficiency and success in the attainment of set goals. With this, the challenge has been overcome and it often happens that the enthusiasm characteristic of the period of "disobedience" gradually fades.

Precisely this process took place in Slovenia in the last decades of the 20th century, a time of assertion of a wide spectrum of cultural and scholarly tendencies which at different moments disturbed the comfortable but illusory harmony of Slovenian society. One of these tendencies was the tearing down of the politically constructed barrier between émigré literature and the domestic public. However, this barrier proved to be quite obstinate, since it was part of the strategy the state used to prevent access to any criticism whatsoever of its carefully guarded political system.

The penetration of émigré cultural-artistic achievements into Slovenia proper is – like return migration – a two-way process. For emigrants to return to their country of birth in larger numbers, certain conditions must be secured in that country, for example, adequate legal regulation and favorable economic opportunities, which not only enable but also stimulate the return of emigrants. Much the same may be said for the "return" of émigré literature and other forms of assertion of the cultural-artistic activity of emigrants to their country of origin. The personal efforts of an émigré artist, writer, or cultural manager to gain an equal status for his or her work

in the contemporary culture of their native land usually do not suffice. The success of such endeavours naturally depends on the interests, ideological readiness, and cultural maturity of the cultural space in question.

During the last decade and a half, a range of activities have been taking place in Slovenia that represent an important step towards a more equal and vital incorporation of émigré literature and other cultural-artistic production into the treasury of national art and literature. In addition to an increased interest in émigré authors and their works by domestic publishers, newspapers, and magazines, a growing regard for emigrants and all areas of their activity may also be observed in other media, above all, various radio and television stations, state-financed as well as independent. Slovenians in Slovenia during the past two decades have founded new societies, associations and centres for Slovenian emigrants, a government office for autochthonous Slovenian minorities in neighbouring countries and Slovenian emigrants across the world, and a special parliamentary commission. Research groups have been organised which, with increasing success, inform operative groups with their research findings, suggestions, and recommendations. This cooperation has resulted in new orientations and criteria in the area of the co-financing of émigré activities and organisation of guest appearances of emigrants, invitations for lectures at scientific, professional, and cultural meetings in Slovenia, literary readings and theatrical performances, concerts, folklorist events, exhibitions, Slovenian language courses for younger emigrant generations and seminars for émigré teachers, archivists, librarians, journalists, and cultural animators.

Within this context of the broader joining of the Slovenian emigrants with their cultural space of origin, my attention here will of course be focused on the process I term the "return" of émigré literature. The walls that "defended" Slovenians in Slovenia from émigré literature started to deteriorate visibly only after 1990, although the first major holes started to appear already in the two decades before that. This is also reflected in domestic literary science and education. The first outline of the literary activity of post-war emigrants of any complexity (Pogačnik 1972a: 70-79), which consisted of a ten-page condensed, in-depth presentation of the most important authors, was published in Slovenia already in the early 1970s within the framework of a comprehensive overview of Slovenian literature. Most pre-war and some post-war Slovenian authors in North America were introduced to readers in Slovenia by Jerneja Petrič in the accompanying studies to an anthology that was published at the beginning of the 1980s (Petrič 1982). It was only in 1996 that the authors of the second edition of the lexicon *Slovenska književnost* (*Slovenian Literature*) (Kos, Dolinar and Blatnik 1996) also included a somewhat larger number of mostly post-war émigré authors in their work. Andrijan Lah (1996) did similarly in a review of 20th century Slovenian literature, which he intended as material for high school courses. With this, he made the first move towards the integration of émigré literature into the high school curriculum in Slovenia. Unfortunately, the state commission on textbooks did not approve this literary overview.

Although the reason for the rejection of this textbook was not in its inclusion of émigré authors, it should nevertheless be admitted that in comparison to the cultural media and social and human sciences, the Slovenian educational system – despite frequent formal reforms – is much more rigid in terms of reacting to various contemporary initiatives for changes concerning its subject matter. This rigidity holds true above all for elementary and high school curricula, which in this regard as a rule visibly lag behind the shifts achieved in the general mentality of Slovenian society.

The situation at Slovenian universities has been somewhat different. As university teachers have been more involved in research work, literary criticism and public discussions, disputes between advocates of different methodologies and orientations were much more pronounced. At the University of Ljubljana, where the autonomy of the faculty is greater than at elementary and high schools, individual professors at the departments for Slavic and Germanic languages incorporated literary works by Slovenian émigré authors into their courses at least in part already in the 1980s.

The period 1992–98, during which a group of sixteen researchers dedicated themselves to intense study of Slovenian émigré literary works, represents a sharp increase of interest in Slovenian émigré literature on the part of Slovenian literary science and cultural journals. That is to say, the authors of the first comprehensive overview of this literature – *Slovenska izseljenska književnost* (*Slovenian Émigré Literature*) (Žitnik 1999) – during the time of their research simultaneously published several hundred articles on émigré authors and their works in domestic and foreign newspapers, magazines, and anthologies. In this way (and very often also explicitly) they encouraged authors of textbooks, lexicons, and reviews of Slovenian literature to include émigré authors in their works. These efforts have evidently paid off. Today, some émigré authors are included in the most widespread textbook on Slovenian literature (Ambrož et al. 2003). Furthermore, recent reviews of Slovenian literature (for example, Pogačnik et al. 2001: 353–401) have given this once more or less ignored part of Slovenian national literature much more attention.

Moreover, the efforts of Slovenian literary historians to put émigré works on the shelves of bookstores in Slovenia have also borne fruit. Until Slovenia's independence, emigrants, especially those from the post-war wave, generally published their works either through the main émigré publishers, or through Slovenian autochthonous minority publishers in Klagenfurt, Gorizia, and Trieste; it was prohibited to bring these publications to Slovenia. Until independence, very few émigré works were published in Slovenia. In the past decade and a half, however, a range of publishers in Slovenia have made possible the publishing of recent émigré works or reprints of some of the more successful books of an older date which had been practically unknown to readers in Slovenia. Just during the first eight years of the past decade, more émigré literary works were published in Slovenia than in all the preceding periods together – starting from 1836, when the first émigré book was published here (that is, Pirc 1836).

Of the nine group anthologies of émigré literature published in Slovenia to date, only the first was published in the 1980s (Petrič 1982) and the most recent two were published after 2000, while all the rest came out in the period 1990–93. It may be added that during the 1980s, the Slovene Emigrant Association (Ljubljana) took part in preparations for the two anthologies of Slovenian-Australians published by SALUK/SALAC (Slovensko-avstralski literarno-umetniški krožek / Slovenian-Australian Literary & Art Circle) in Sydney (Prešeren 1985; Prešeren 1988), while it decided to publish its own anthology in 1990 (Cimerman 1990). This year saw the publication of no less than three émigré anthologies in Ljubljana, namely an anthology of post-War émigré poetry (Bergles 1990), a selection of poetry by Slovenian-Australians (Cimerman 1990) and a selection of émigré poetry intended as material for the Seminar on Slovenian Language, Literature and Culture (Grdina 1990). In 1991, a special edition of the journal *Dialogi* (*Dialogues*) containing a selection of recent émigré literature was published (Detela 1991). An anthology of émigré prose was published in Celje in 1992 (Tavčar, Glušič, and Jevnikar 1992), and in the next year an anthology of short prose by Slovenian authors from Argentina came out in Ljubljana (Rot 1993).

The number of émigré works being published in Slovenia has fallen again and stabilised after 1998. This could mean that some mostly ideologically oriented publishers and editors exploited literary works by political emigrants for their own political goals. Now that these goals have been achieved, support from the Slovenian diaspora is not needed as much. Despite this, mainly those émigré authors who write in a foreign language face obstacles in gaining entry into the cultural arena of Slovenia proper. The central Slovenian publishing houses express very little enthusiasm for translating these works, not the least because of the additional costs involved, although from the point of view of the transfer of Slovenian literary traditions and cultural values to other national literatures these works are of special interest to Slovenian readers.

NATIONAL LITERATURE AND THE QUESTION OF LANGUAGE

Some authors from the (pre- and post-war) first generation and the great majority of those from the second and following generations wrote and still write in the languages of their new homelands. Only a few individuals born in emigration also write in Slovenian. How does one argue for the inclusion of these literary works in foreign languages (mostly English, German, Spanish, and French) not only into these foreign literatures, but also into a coherent literary body, here termed Slovenian émigré literature? From the point of view of its role in the cultural history of a nation (for example, Slovenians, the Irish, and other nations with a noteworthy emigration history on one side, and Americans, Australians, Canadians, etc., on the other), every émigré literature is binational. Because of most of the Slovenian

émigré authors' need to affirm their original ethnic affiliation, the themes relating to Slovenian history and culture appear again and again in their works among a wide range of other topics as a continuous thread. This can even be said of the works of authors of later generations of Slovenian emigrants, especially those who no longer feel the need to affirm their American, Australian, Canadian, etc., identity. On a similar note, the works of more introverted authors frequently explore the characteristics and consequences of their not yet completely clearly defined ethnic identity. The novel *He, the Father*, by second generation Slovenian émigré author Frank Mlakar, is, for example, just one of the works of the highest literary standards which are "Slovenian to the bone", although written in a foreign language. Whoever reads such works will lose all doubt about considering them a part of Slovenian literary and cultural production.

So is language really the boundary that sets apart one national literature from another? The question of the boundaries of a national literature has already been raised several times, especially in examinations of regional literatures in linguistically mixed areas, and in debates on authors from autochthonous Slovenian minorities or on émigré authors who are bilingual or use only a foreign language. The widest debates on the question were always those concerning Louis Adamic (1898–1951). This American writer, who wrote exclusively in English, was placed by most literary historians, explicitly or implicitly, among Slovenian authors without a second thought. In his famous essay, which caused quite a stir among the Slovenian cultural public, Župančič (1932: 513–520) wrote among other things: "Adamic has remained a Slovenian in the element of his spirit, in his instinctual drive, in his secret essence. /.../ America has given him what she could ... But she took nothing away from him." Or even more graphically: "Am I still with Adamic? Still. Since I'm with laughter. And with the Slovenian sadness and Slovenian problems." Zadravec (1981: 110) is also not ready to give him up from the point of view of Slovenian culture: "In those times Slovenians had some American writers /.../: The Columbus among them was Louis Adamic. And Columbuses are never a loss, neither for their nations nor for humanity." Poniž (1981: 114–115) highlighted the writer's Slovenianhood as reflected in his works and found that "in his literary work /.../ Adamic made a long and intellectually complex journey from the first awareness of his double descent – in essence a Slovenian, in his learned, acquired knowledge an American – a journey that opened the essential dimensions of the horizon to him. /.../ This is why he can identify with his ethnic roots, which he is able to present to his readers through his prose. By all means, a result of this endeavour is also Adamic's effort for a mutual flow of cultural and literary values." Paternu goes furthest (1981: 94): "In his portrait of Slovenia, Adamic, so to speak, in a condensed manner made the whole journey of Slovenian literary writing about her and her people /.../. Without being aware of it, by arriving in his homeland he became /.../ a Slovenian writer as well."

Basic overviews of the history of Slovenian literature usually also include literary works in foreign languages by authors whose oeuvres were nonetheless

mostly written in Slovenian. Less defined are the criteria for including the literary works of authors (mostly of Slovenian descent) who wrote or still write exclusively in foreign languages although their work in a greater part stems from Slovenian culture, literary traditions, ethnically-related creative initiatives, and stylistic and topical associations with past and contemporary Slovenian culture. The fact that Adamic is naturally included in lexicographic and practically all important literary-historical reviews of Slovenian literature as a kind of special case, while other foreign-language authors, whose works are also grounded in Slovenian culture, are omitted (with a few more or less random exceptions in individual reviews), only adds to the undefined character of the boundaries of national literature.

Helga Glušič (1999: 357) is aware of this: "In addition to the question of the language of émigré literature, the broader question of the inclusion of literature written by authors of Slovenian descent in non-Slovenian languages into the framework of Slovenian national culture is interesting to researchers of literature. In this regard, the study [*Slovenska izseljenska književnost 1–3*] (*Slovenian Émigré Literature 1–3*) offers rich and important material which will find a lively response in Slovenian cultural consciousness or has already done so (the literary work of Louis Adamic)." During the 1990s, some other foreign-language Slovenian émigré authors (Igor Šentjurc, Vlady Kociancich ...) also found a place in the cultural awareness of Slovenia proper. This "return" of émigré literature is making the question of the boundaries of national literature, which Slovenian literary science has still not managed to clarify, ever more relevant. At the same time, new suggestions for the solution of this problem are, if not ignored altogether, turned down without thorough consideration (for example, Lah 1999: 13–14).

The definition of the extent of Slovenian literature in the *Enciklopedija Slovenije* (*Encyclopedia of Slovenia*) (Kos 1991: 140) is as follows: "[The term] Slovenian literature generally refers to literary works, orally communicated or written in the Slovenian language; as an exception, one may include foreign-language texts (in Latin, German, Italian) by authors who otherwise wrote their main works in Slovenian (Trubar, A. Bohorič, A. T. Linhart, Prešeren, J. Stritar). Until the end of the 19th century, the development of Slovenian literature was limited to Slovenian ethnic territory, after 1900 it spread to the US through emigration, after the Second World War also to Argentina and Australia."

In the same publication the authors of the entry "émigré literature" also touch upon this subject (Kos and Glušič 1990: 229). They begin by setting out their definition of émigré literature: "the literature of Slovenian emigrants and expatriates which is created outside the Slovenian ethnic territory and is published abroad, in areas with an autochthonous Slovenian minority or in the Republic of Slovenia." The authors then address the question of language: "Émigré literature usually takes shape in the Slovenian language, but frequently also in the language of the new environment, most often in English and Spanish. Among authors who write only in foreign languages, there are some who with their works belong wholly to their

new homeland, but in whose texts literary material and spiritual elements from Slovenian tradition may be found (L. Adamic, J. Vodaine)." In the continuation, the authors of sub-entries under this entry discuss Slovenian émigré authors equally without regard to the language of their works.

In "nation states" the concept of national literature is often confined to literature in the language of the dominant ethnic group. But since "nation" is not an ethnically, culturally, and linguistically homogenous concept, this also applies to the concepts of "national culture" and "national literature". In addition, perhaps it makes sense to admit to ourselves that – despite the pronounced concern for our language – the role of the dominant national language in the culture of a nation is also irrepressibly changing due to a range of factors (Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia 2000: 17): "Nonetheless, cultural policy has an obligation to focus special attention on and express lasting concern for that essential element of our cultural identity which is also the basis of our national identity. This is the Slovenian language. Not just because the Slovenian cultural space is not coextensive with Slovenian national borders and because Slovenian minorities in neighbouring countries are exposed to substantial erosion, but also because through the processes of globalisation, the Slovenian language is becoming endangered even in the Republic of Slovenia, as being an uneconomic, if not altogether redundant, means of communication."

For the time being, it is not possible to talk of a dying out of the Slovenian language and literature, since the trend in the number of authors and their literary works in Slovenian does not yet warrant serious concern. From 1952 to 1991 the number of books and brochures published in Slovenia increased from 524 to 2459 titles, and decreased by 19 titles in the following two years (Čopič and Tomc 1996: 201). If due to insufficient publishing opportunities original literary production should begin to decline, it will have to be rescued through increased state subsidies. In the year 2000, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia already handed out the largest number of subventions for books until that time (272), of which half (136) were assigned for the publishing of literary works, mostly original, while there were about 25 subsidised translations of literary works (Gazvoda 2001: 93).

By all means, the extent of the contemporary process of extinction of languages and drying up of literary production must be held in view. But when languages become extinct, more resistant elements of ethnic cultures remain, and this enables ethnic identities to continue to exist. Some ethnic cultures (for example, Jewish) can exist in a diaspora more or less independently of language. Such communities do not necessarily ground their literatures in an ethnic language. Moreover, when talking of broader national associations, such as for instance, the American or Canadian nations, the importance of language as the basis of cultural and national identity becomes wholly questionable.

Can the changing of the ethnic and linguistic world map justify a reconsideration of our so far existing understanding of the boundaries of national literature (especially in the so called "nation states")? In my opinion, the literary work of an

author who has chosen a foreign language as the basic means of artistic communication or – from the point of view of comparative aesthetics – as the material for artistic construction, may contain more specific literary elements that undeniably originate in the culture of his origin than many works written in the language of this culture. Janez Stanonik (1999: 17) categorically argues for the view that "in essence émigré literature is binational". One may even ask whether the essential characteristic of émigré literature is not its binationality. An émigré literary work belongs to the history of both nations, even if it is written in some third language. Andrej Bernard Smolnikar's autobiography, written in German, from which Longfellow borrowed fragments and used them in *Hyperion*, surely belongs to both Slovenian and American cultural history. It belongs least to German cultural history, although it was written in German.[34]

As with every other national literature, the concept of Slovenian national literature can have a double meaning: a) the literary works of the nation (ethnic Slovenians and non-Slovenians integrated into Slovenian culture) regardless of language; b) literary works in the Slovenian language. Although the first meaning in principle coincides with the concepts of other national arts (for example, Slovenian music, Slovenian fine arts[35]) this broader definition is much less established in Slovenian cultural consciousness and especially literary science than is the second, narrower meaning (literary works in Slovenian). A literary work is classified as Slovenian literature without a second thought if it is written in Slovenian, although it may contain nothing – except its language – that would associate it with Slovenian literary or cultural tradition. Defining Slovenian national literature by the criterion of language in fact has no parallel in the other national arts. Due to the fact that images and other non-verbal segments of arts and culture in general need no linguistic transformation (translation), it is easier for them to cross cultural and linguistic boundaries than it is for works of literature (Grosman 2004: 27).

CONCLUSION

Slovenian émigré literature is an important part of Slovenian national literature, enriching it with new literary experiences, creative impulses, themes, and aspects. Émigré literature explores not only the nation's collective cultural and social life but also the fate of the individual and his or her intimate experience of the world.

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34 Smolnikar's autobiography entitled *Denkwürdige Ereignisse* was published in three extensive tomes in the US (1st tome: Cambridge, 1838; 2nd tome: Philadelphia, 1839; 3rd tome: New York, 1940).

35 The authors of the entry Likovne umetnosti (Fine arts, especially in the sense of visual arts) in the *Enciklopedija Slovenije (Ecyclopedia of Slovenia)* (Čopič and the Editorial Board 1992: 176–183) use the terms fine arts in Slovenia (p.178), or Slovenian artists (p. 181 – they also include those whose works were mainly on exhibit abroad); they completely avoid the definition of the extent/boundaries of Slovenian fine arts.

Through artistic creativity in the Slovenian language a writer in emigration is a spiritual and cultural link connecting the homeland with the world and the world with the homeland (Glušič 1999: 357).

The purpose and consequence of the present-day process of the "returning" of Slovenian émigré literature into the cultural space of Slovenia proper is its permanent integration in the treasury of national literature and culture. In the examination of this process the question of the extent or boundaries of national literature emerges: which literary works by Slovenian emigrants and their offspring still belong within Slovenian literature? The decisive characteristic in classifying individual literary works into this or that national literature – according to the most widely-used criterion – is the language used in the literary work or at first publication. Therefore, if a simplified definition were to follow only this criterion, it would conclude that Slovenian literature encompasses literary works written in the Slovenian language. This completely leaves out émigré authors who write in the language of their new homeland and whose works have become a constituent part of the literatures of other nations. By bringing elements of Slovenian literary and cultural traditions into the respective foreign literatures, these authors add new roles to Slovenian literature. That is why it makes sense to treat their works as a constituent part of Slovenian national literature as well. If one understands national literature as a compact whole, the easiest way to imagine this is in the form of concentric circles (Figure 1). The literary production in the central circle is mostly in the language of the national majority, while that in the three outer circles is bilingual.

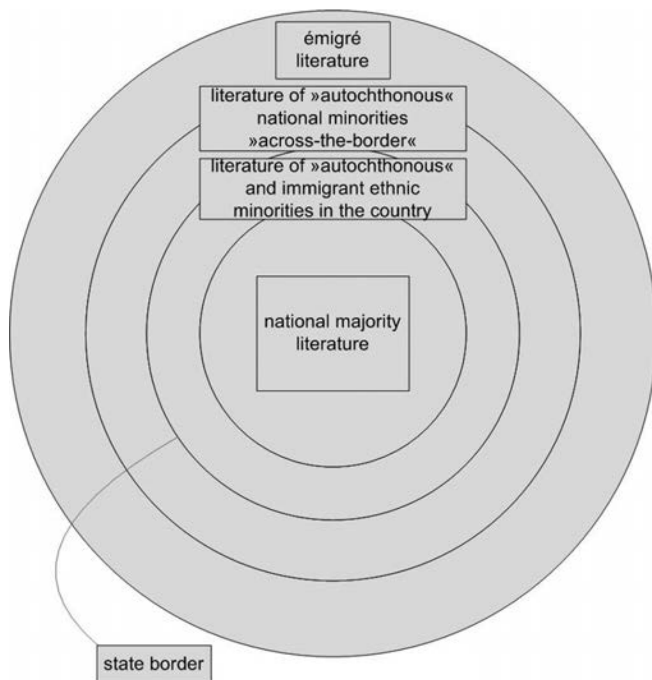

Figure 1: *Concentric Scheme of National Literature*

The level of integration of Slovenian émigré literature in the cultural media and educational curricula in Slovenia has visibly increased after the independence of this country (1991). A review of cultural periodicals and scholarly publications after the Second World War also reveals that Slovenian literary science paid less attention to émigré authors until the early 1980s than thereafter. The most important exception is Jože Pogačnik (1972a; 1972b) with his presentation of some of the more noticeable authors of the "post-war" emigration, which in turn manifestly influenced other literary historians and researchers to begin examining these authors as well. Contrary to literary historians from areas with an autochthonous Slovenian minority and especially expatriate literary historians, who had been writing about post-war émigré writers since the 1950s, domestic researchers – with the exception of a handful of forerunners – only began devoting more attention to émigré literature at the beginning of the 1980s. They wrote about "pre-war" as well as "post-war" émigré authors ("war" meaning here the Second World War as the most distinctive dividing line between two major bodies of Slovenian émigré literary writings). However, their studies on the latter were easier to publish at the Slovenian minority publishing houses in the neighbouring countries than at home. The democratisation of Slovenia after its independence obviously played a role in the growing interest of Slovenian literary history in studying émigré literature. However, the political turnabout of 1991 alone was not an altogether essential factor in influencing the subject matter of Slovenian literary science. But it certainly opened the doors to the publication of articles on post-war émigré authors in numerous domestic magazines, which before had been turned down by the editorships.

Chronological statistics on published Slovenian studies on émigré literature show that the quantitative apex of these scientific and expert works (1992) was reached two years before the apex of the publication of émigré literary works by publishers in Slovenia (Žitnik 2007: 222–226). The number of émigré literary works published by publishers in Slovenia proper jumped from an average of one book a year before 1990 to twelve in 1994. This represents the pinnacle of the major Slovenian publishers' interest in émigré authors. This data suggests the possibility that among other factors the increased inclusion of émigré literature in research subject matter in Slovenia and especially the accelerated publication of the results of such studies – not only in scholarly but also in popular publications – contributed to a greater interest in original émigré literature on the part of the major Slovenian publishers.

In a multiethnic country, national culture exists on several levels, but basically on two: the level of individual authentic ethnic cultures and the level of the complex common culture. The latter cannot exist if cultural policy does not guarantee all kinds of passage – including linguistic – among the co-cultures[36] that constitute it.

[36] I have introduced this term in my previous publications since 2001 in order to underline the need to establish more vital connections among the ethnic cultures that constitute a national culture.

State organisational and financial incentives for the translation of literary works from minority languages into the language(s) of shared communication (usually the dominant language) are therefore an essential condition for the existence of an integral common culture. This kind of accessibility is the only way for members of

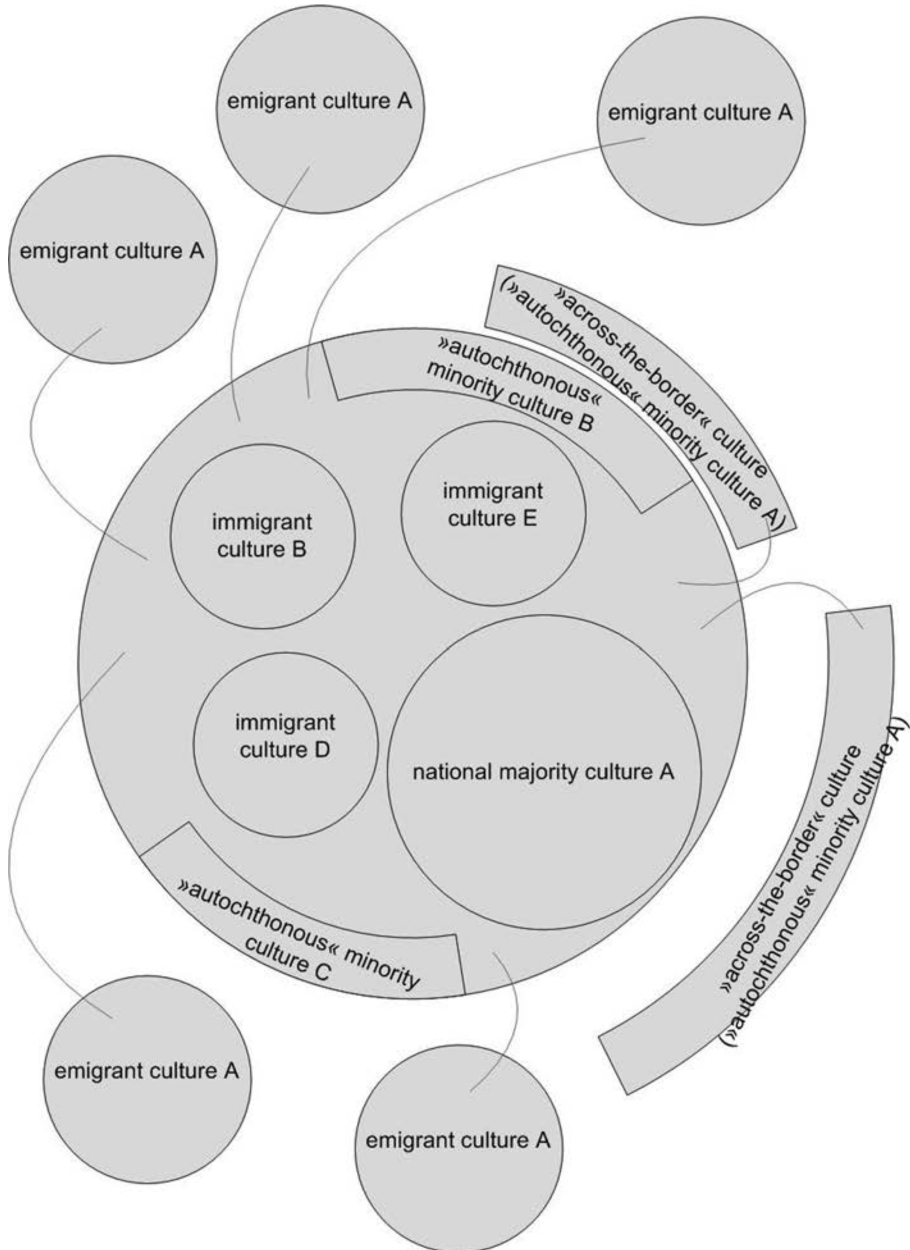

Figure 2: *National Culture*

multiethnic societies to really appreciate who we are living with and with whom we share a common homeland, and to see what kind of creative impulses, needs, and motivations form our already quite tightly interwoven common culture, which is, however, still subject to unnecessary mental, emotional, political, and administrative barriers and fences. The conditions for the equal coexistence of ethnic cultures in a country can only be met if adequate mutual relationships exist on the level of the common culture.

National culture is therefore a polysystem (compare Even-Zohar 1997), consisting of five types of ethnic co-cultures, which are more or less functionally interrelated (Figure 2) and which without each other cannot fully realise their cultural interests. Co-cultures located in the central circle (the rim represents state borders) and those joined in the figure to the original culture by connecting lines, functionally combine into the polysystem of national culture through various forms of integration.

The stronger the bonds between the minority culture (including the literary production of its members, regardless of language) and the culture from which it primarily originates (regardless of geographical proximity or distance), the easier it will be for the minority culture to retain its authenticity. If its integration in the culture of its origin is as successful as its integration in the culture of the multiethnic country in which it is developing, this means recognition of its binationality. Furthermore, its double cultural entwinement is a condition of its preservation in a multiethnic milieu. In this sense, any minority culture, whether immigrant or autochthonous, can be binational. A different situation applies to the minority cultures of very small autochthonous ethnic communities which do not have a stronger "mother culture" in the background and which for this reason are dying out faster than those which can rely on its support. What has been said about minority cultures in general also holds for smaller national cultures: the stronger their bonds with their outlying parts (autochthonous minority cultures and émigré cultures), the easier it will be for them to survive the process of globalisation of dominant cultures and to retain their authentic cultural elements.

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SLOVENIAN IMMIGRANT ARTISTS AND ART PRODUCTION IN BUENOS AIRES: FROM LOCAL (ETHNIC) TO NATIONAL AND TRANSNATIONAL ART WORLDS

KRISTINA TOPLAK

INTRODUCTION

A characteristic feature of Slovenians who settled and organised themselves in Buenos Aires, Argentina, after the Second World War was a rich cultural-artistic production based on ethnic symbolism and tradition. This production was significantly marked by political exile, anticommunist activities, Catholicism, and to a lesser extent by the Argentinean multicultural character. Due to their resistance to integration into the majority society, which has been a slow process even in contemporary times and has become more intense only in the 1990s, Slovenians in Argentina created local ethnically based art worlds, including the world of visual arts.[1]

This article offers an overview of art worlds that involve Slovenians in Buenos Aires, and emphasises the discussion on the important reasons for their establishment and further (under)development.[2] Research upon which the discussion is based embraced two connected issues: through art objects it became evident how individuals visualise their own migration experience or that which has been transmitted through ancestors; and the results of analysis of interaction and social network of individual creators of visual arts enabled me to construct art worlds in which they are active.[3] In the respective discussion on culturally embedded aspects of migration processes and especially immigrant art production, art worlds (Becker 1982) are a key concept. In art worlds images about art are created, preserved and modified, thus they are a construction that enables an understanding of art. My thoughts about art production of Slovenians in Buenos Aires mostly stem from the assumption that the ways of (co)operation of individuals in art worlds on different levels (local, national, global) imply changes in identifications and the interaction system. Simultaneously, changes in identifications suggest the possibility of different attitudes and ways of cooperation in art worlds, thus enabling their

[1] Visual arts in this case include painting, drawing, graphics, photography and sculpture, respectively.

[2] The article is based on the research conducted in Argentina (2004 and 2005/2006), which also provided the basis for my PhD thesis at the Department for Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

[3] Although I prioritise visual arts in this contribution it should be stressed that theatre, literature, and music are also part of cultural production and similarly as visual arts also remained within the frames of the ethnic community.

growth. Through the concept of art worlds we are shown the intertwinement of subjective aspects of an individual's action (creativity) within institutional frames in which art is defined. Both are influenced by possibilities and barriers brought forward by external, objective factors, in our case, by the multiethnic environment of Argentina and most importantly by the Slovenian ethnic community in it. Art is therefore defined as a social and collective activity, as it is substantiated in the ideological frame of production and reception of created works. This chapter brings forth the connection between visual arts production, products and consumption in concrete migration situations. In this respect, we have to consider as key factors an individual's reasons for migration, the migration policy of the immigrant society, intercultural contacts that immigrants are exposed to, and transnational connections that are being established by migrants.[4] A significant role is also occupied by relations between individuals and an organised ethnic community or public, the construction of social networks, an individual's conceptions of space, and similar. Therefore a longer ethnographic chapter was of special importance.

ART WORLDS, IDENTITY AND CULTURE: MIGRATION AS CULTURAL EXPERIENCE

On "writing" migration

Migration processes have shaped the lives of the major part of this planet's population, which is evident from numerous statistical and historical data. How people experienced migration and what it meant to be a migrant in a new, different social and cultural environment has been depicted in detail in abundant written sources, that is, diaries, newspaper articles, short stories, and novels. But when we look closely at the work of renowned artists or creative amateurs who migrated in the course of their lifetime, we also come upon a visualisation of the migratory experience. Artists created works which can be perceived as important documentation of the migration process and the artists' new environment, while at the same time they can reveal the individual's intimate perception of the migration experience, alienation, displacement, exile, and reaction to a new life in a (most often) multicultural environment.[5] In the recent turbulent decades, as forced and illegal migra-

[4] Transnational connections are here used as connections between people who are mobile in the social field that transcends 'traditional', geographic, political, and cultural borders. These connections are more intense in developed parts of the world where modern means of transportation and communication systems have shortened the social distance between the countries of emigration and immigration. Transnational migrants regularly migrate between two or more countries, have multiple homes, and homelands and are connected with many different societies (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc 1992; Vertovec 1999).

[5] An exemplary case of documentation material and material needed for further research is an interactive, virtual art gallery *The Art and Migration*, which was established in 2000 by

tions have become prevalent, artists have also become increasingly politically and socially involved in the field of migration.[6] The mobility of the contemporary world is also increasingly caught in different expressional forms of modern art and helps us to understand the human dimensions of migration and exile. The question that arises is whether such production and its producers have drawn the attention of researchers of migration processes.

Interdisciplinary connections inside migration studies and the implementation of postmodern paradigm principles have, among other things, encouraged researchers of migration to start promoting qualitative, visual, literary, and other sources in the mid-1990s (King, Connell and White 1995; Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998). Due to a heightened interest in artists and their paintings in different migration situations many thematically interested issues were included in the framework of migration studies. Authors have, from a historical, art-historical, sociological, or cultural perspective, started researching different aspects of the lives and works of artists in the new environment, reasons for their leaving in relation to the general social-political circumstances in their old and new environment (the push-pull theory), the experiences of exile and marginalisation of artists, the influence of exile on art works, the attitude and established relations with new art circles, the integration and establishment of relations between an individual and an ethnic group, majority society, etc. (Czaplicka 1996; Galland 2001; Wiles 2001; Moriarty 2003; Bachner 2005; Tolfsby 2005; Mathur 2006). In the Slovenian space the cultural and artistic production of migrants, especially visual artists, has been raising interest only in the past few years. Compared to the research of the literary production of Slovenian emigrants (cf. Žitnik and Glušič 1999), the research of emigrant visual art has more or less been conducted unsystematic and individually.[7] Despite this and the already mentioned fact that exile and other migration-connected phenomena have become popular in the art of the last decade, art production is only very slowly being recognised within the research of migration processes. Migrant artists and their specific position in art worlds are also still rather poorly represented in the humanities (anthropology, cultural studies, art history, and others).

American Folk Park Omagh and the Association of European Migration Institution (see http://aem.qub.ac.uk/index2.html#).

6 Contemporary art works on migration do not always have a documentation character. Authors emphasise mostly the position of an individual or group of individuals in an otherwise impersonal migration process. In this regard three events deserve mentioning, namely the 1997 art biennale in Johannesburg entitled *Trade Routes: History and Geography*, the exhibition Fuite et Exil dans l'Art (Flight and Exile in Art), which was set up under the auspices of UNHCR in 2002, and the British exhibition Strangers to Ourselves (2003). All three events are connected through the problems of contemporary migrations, mostly transnationalism, emphasising the question of identity, displacement, and exile in art and society.

7 Art historian Irena Mislej is the only one who has intensely focused on artists among Slovenian emigrants around the world, mostly the older generation (Mislej 1991, 1999, 2001, 2002a, 2002b).

Between migration experience, art worlds and identity

Migrants establish connections and construct networks within their immigrant community, between themselves and the receiving society and also between the country of emigration and the country of immigration. Numerous artists use such connections to present cultural production to the diverse public and thus participate in international and transnational art worlds. Art worlds, as defined by Becker,[8] are a construction that enables us to understand art as a part of cultural production. Meaning and social value are attributed to art works in the institutional matrix (Marcus and Myers 1995). Art is therefore defined inside art worlds that consist of producers, distribution systems, and the public. Relations between them are managed by conventions that are arbitrary and socially defined and which set limitations and possibilities inside art worlds, thus having an influence on the artwork. They can be understood as the rules of the game, which serve as a mediator between art and the public (Becker 1982: 28). The principle question of the art world model is how art is created, produced, distributed, and perceived. In the forefront are relations between creators, distribution networks, art works, the public, and society. Art is not the work of an individual genius but rather the result of cooperation between participants in the art process and the art world. The number of participants can be low, as for example in visual arts, or high, as in theatre, film, or opera.

When defining art, Becker draws from the tradition of symbolic interactionism.[9] He emphasises the social interaction among individual elements (producers, creators or artists; distributors or galleries; museums and sellers; consumers or the public; and art works) that form the art world. In such an "interaction game" inside art worlds, not only does the social construction of art evolve, but a (re)shaping of the producer's identity also occurs. Namely, through interaction, individual artists develop perceptions about themselves and others. When such an art world is observed in the contemporary world of multicultural, immigrant societies, for example, in Argentinean society, ethnic and cultural identities[10] are particularly emphasised.

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8 Art worlds were already defined in the 1960s in the framework of institutional theory of aesthetics or art by Arthur Danto and George Dickie. In the 1964 debate about what makes an art work art, Danto wrote that it is as such defined by the art world, which connects art theory and the history of art (in Becker 1982: 148). Art works, such as Warhol's *Brillo box* from 1964 or Duchamp's *Fontaine* from 1917, influenced the development of the institutional theory of aesthetics. Those were works that blurred the boundaries between art and everyday subjects and encouraged theorists to redefine aesthetics and art.

9 Interactionism presupposes interactive connection and an active role of individuals in construction of social reality. Goffman defined physical interaction as reciprocal influencing of individuals on each other's activities (individuals who are in direct physical proximity) (1990 [1959]: 26). This is how individuals construct their identity on the basis of interaction with other people.

10 As the basic group identity, ethnic identity is understood as constructed and chosen, temporary, and dynamic, subject to reinterpretation and reconceptualisation, while at the same time it maintains a certain level of stability. Developing an individual's ethnic identity

The change of environment, and therefore of social and cultural setting, influences individuals' capabilities of creation and thus their position in the art world. How do individuals feel when they are forced to change their environment, and how is this reflected in the flow of their thinking and creating? And the new environment? Does it have an encouraging or discouraging effect on artistic creation? The migration process and different, often multicultural contexts of immigration (also emigration) environments influence the construction of migrants' identification and their everyday activities. Migration and associated changes (experience of dislocation, potential marginalisation, and on the other hand, freedom and new cultural perspectives) can have an influence on changes of cultural identity of an individual or a group. The reshaping of identities is largely related to an individual's own and group experiences, or to habitus[11] (Bourdieu 1984, 1993) and the positioning of an individual in the art world is related to cultural capital, which is symbolic and attained through socialisation (Bourdieu 1984). The process of visual arts creativity, which is a part of cultural creativity, can therefore not be understood without taking into consideration changes in identification of immigrants; on the other hand, products of creativity can be indicators of changes in identity.[12] Experienced changes are therefore reflected in cultural production: literature, music, paintings, photographs, movies, and other art media.

International and permanent migration mostly cause major changes in individuals' lives. Emigration and immigration, two acts of a single process, have an impact on social relations between the sexes, relatives, and people with similar cultural or ethnic origins. Many theories of migration, including the modern ones and those offered by the humanities, define an individual as a passive object in the game of world capital and politics. However, in one of the first sociological definitions, migrations are already defined as the "relatively permanent departure of individuals or groups from one geographically defined location to the other, which occurs as a consequence of the individual's prior decision making, based on hierarchically positioned values and desires, while departure also implies a change

and its preservation is primarily linked to the community. Distinguishing between communities in a multiethnic environment is based on preserving symbolic borders between them (see Barth 1969). In the case of Slovenians in Buenos Aires, the border was primarily culturally defined.

11 Habitus can be understood as a subjective, but not individual system of inherent structures, schemes, perceptions, concepts, and actions, common to all members of the same group or class. (Bourdieu 1993) It is described as "a sense for the game"; a practical reason that guides the agent towards action and reaction in specific situations in a way that is not always thought through, and it is not a simple question of conscious obeying of the rules. Habitus of agents from the same class can be similar and we can speak of a class habitus. Habitus can be understood as a way of acting and talking and as a way of seeing, thinking, and categorising. With "the moment of indecisiveness", which ensures the human factor with a capability to change, it also confirms that everything cultural is a constant improvisation and innovation (Muršič 1995). With habitus we can grasp the ways of life as they are shown to us in a plural form in the contemporary world.

12 In the case of music the connection was described by Muršič (1997: 224).

of the migrant's interaction system" (Mangalam 1968 in Mesić 2002: 247). In the forefront are therefore the individual's choice to migrate and a change of interaction system as a consequence of interaction shift, and not merely the act of movement to another physical territory. A change of interaction system means changes of social system and culture,[13] therefore new relations, needs, values, etc., are born. (Lukšič-Hacin 1995: 50) Even in the case of forced migrations, when people are forced to leave their country of origin (usually because their lives are in danger), entry into a new environment means the change of the interaction system. However, when they have to stay in an environment they did not themselves choose for a long time, problems emerge with integration. In such circumstances people have developed different mechanisms to make their lives easier: from planning and organising their return and temporary group activities, to establishing highly developed organisations with familiar ways of functioning, similar to those of the environment of origin (schools and religious practices in ethnic language, cultural activities that are based on "home" tradition, and similar). Migrations are therefore a political, economic, social, and cultural process. From this definition we can also make assumptions about the nature of their impact on artistic creativity, production, and construction of art worlds.

THE ART WORLD OF BUENOS AIRES AND SLOVENIANS IN ARGENTINA

Argentina is distinctively a country of immigration and has the most European-like character among all other South-American countries. During the biggest economic boom, from 1871 to 1930, it accepted more than six million immigrants, mostly Europeans, out of which more than a half settled in the country permanently (Schneider 2000: 64).[14] Immigrants have, together with the Creoles,[15] created a multicultural and multiethnic image of this country. Argentina holds a reputation of having a moderate, unrestrictive immigration policy, which has, together with the economic and political situation, significantly influenced its multiethnic co-existence.

[13] Culture, this once all-embracing but today criticised, emptied (Brightman 1995), and not yet finally discarded concept in ethnology and cultural anthropology, as Muršič argues (2002), is in this chapter understood in two ways. Culture is a collection of meanings and at the same time the production of cultural artefacts, as artists produce works that are culturally conditioned. The second concept is included in the first one.

[14] In 1914, 1/3 of the entire population and nearly 3/4 of the working class in Buenos Aires were born outside Argentina (Lewis 2002: 21). Later immigration flows were less massive. Approximately forty per cent of the population living in Argentina today is by origin Italian, forty per cent are descendants of Spaniards and the rest are descendants of other, mainly European nations (Schneider 2000).

[15] The Creoles (criollo in Spanish) were descendants of the first Spanish settlers and also descendants of Spaniards and early European immigrants. They were, in part, a social elite that owned livestock and grew wheat; while in cities they owned and managed trade, capital, state politics, and culture. The share of the natives is very low in the ethnic map of Argentina, as they became almost totally extinct due to forceful settling campaigns.

Because of high numbers of immigrants, a good economic situation until the end of the 1950s, and economic and cultural connections with Europe, a rich cultural-artistic life developed, especially in Buenos Aires (Pacheco 1996). A number of important institutions were established, including art schools and academies (Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes Prilidiano Pueyrredón, today IUNA, Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes Manuel Belgrano), museums (Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Palais de Glace), cultural centres, public and private galleries, and ateliers. Some Argentinean artists have achieved international acknowledgement, for example, Pettoruti, Berni, LeParc, and others. Subsequent development of the art world of Buenos Aires has been influenced by radical political events (civil wars, the dictatorship from 1976 to 1982, the Falklands War, the long transition to democracy after 1983). These political events co-created a poor economic situation which influenced the art world of Buenos Aires; despite this, the art world developed successfully in the nineties into an internationally and regionally (if South America can be understood as a region) important art world with internationally renowned artists, such as Kuitka, Prior, or Pierri.

As seen today, the art world of visual arts in Buenos Aires finds its place, compared to the art worlds of New York or art centres of Europe including Paris, Venice, and others, on the periphery of happening (Schneider 2006: 36). However, with a good institutional base and a rich art tradition interlaced with European influences, it provides a good starting-point, mainly for young artists. Among them are many descendants of Europeans who are also taking advantage of their transnational connections. In the last decade those connections have intensified, as Argentina experienced another economic crisis that culminated in national bankruptcy at the end of 2001. An increasing number of artists are therefore searching for job opportunities and possibilities for exhibiting also in the "homeland of their ancestors". Among them are also artists of Slovenian origin.

Slovenians have been present in Argentina since the 1870s. They came to find work, but many immigrated in the 1920s and 1930s to the (at that period) rich South American country due to political pressures.[16] Slovenians who settled in Argentina after the Second World War consider their emigration to be of political, religious and ideological nature.[17] Among them were many peasants and craftsmen, but also priests and educated Catholics (Švent 1995: 46). Some were also former soldiers (members of the so-called Home Guards) and political workers. They were mostly

[16] Most Slovenians arrived in Argentina between the two World Wars. Some emigrated from the western border of the Slovenian ethnic territory, where they were experiencing political pressures from Italian authorities, but a larger number emigrated from the eastern border and other, mostly poor areas of the Slovenian territory. After the Second World War another large group of Slovenians emigrated to Argentina, but afterwards, only individuals arrived.

[17] The first larger group of Slovenian political refugees arrived in Argentina in June 1947, the last one in 1951, while individuals kept arriving until 1955. Therefore, the total number of Slovenians that arrived in Argentina ranges from 5,282 or 5,500 to 5,800 (Anon.1951: 231; Rant 1956: 217).

religious people that opposed communism and escaped from Yugoslavia just before the end of the war. Already as refugees in Austrian and Italian camps they organised Catholic religious education, primary and secondary school classes, and various cultural activities (Corsellis 1996).

Upon their arrival in Argentina, most Slovenians of the migration flow after the Second World War settled in Buenos Aires. A smaller number settled in surrounding areas and in Bariloche, Córdoba, Mendoza, and other Argentinean towns, where they established smaller communities. In Buenos Aires they established a central ethnic organisation Zedinjena Slovenija (United Slovenia) and a number of local ethnic organisations called slovenski domovi (Slovenian Homes) in the suburbs of Gran Buenos Aires,[18] anywhere that a larger number of Slovenians had settled. Activities of organisations established by Slovenian communities were right from the start concentrated in Buenos Aires. They were hierarchically organised and ideologically oriented. The primary purpose of these ethnic organisations was to offer immigrants economic and moral support, to help them with settlement, and to connect them, but also to "maintain religious, cultural and national values". (Zbornik 1998: 26) From the very start, the central organisation has paid a lot of attention to the development of ethnic education,[19] the preservation of Slovenian language and Catholic religion, the development of cultural production and the preservation of the memory of exile, especially the memory of the post-war killings of those who failed to escape.[20] The spheres of action in the community were therefore politics, religion, and culture. Slovenians passed down their Catholic values, anti-communist ideology and Slovenian identity to their descendants.

The majority of activities in the community of Slovenians who had settled after the Second World War can be defined as a fruit of idealism and awareness (ethnic, religious, or political). Despite some efforts to integrate into the majority society, the priority of the community's activities was to preserve established social, ethnic, religious, and political norms and not to harmonise, that is, not to integrate with the majority society. Therefore, cultural integration into the majority society was

[18] The Gran Buenos Aires or Greater Buenos Aires is divided into the Capital Federal, or the centre of the city that is also a federal capital, and into suburbs in the Province of Buenos Aires. Most Slovenians and their descendants are still residing in the suburbs, although descendants have been moving closer to the neighbourhoods of Capital Federal.

[19] The Slovenian community developed a complex education system, which includes primary schools and a high school course. Twenty-four primary schools have been established since the time of settling until today. The curriculum was supervised by a board of Zedinjena Slovenia, which made sure that the contents were in accordance with Christian and anti-communist ideology. After 1991, new textbooks and literature started to arrive in Slovenian schools in Argentina. However, they were not supposed to contain issues that would contradict community established historical "truths". Censorship of books was also common.

[20] For these purposes they are still organising annual events. The most important ones include a remembrance for murdered members of the Home Guard in June; and a Slovenian day, on which occur socialising of Slovenians and their descendants, political speeches and folklore activities.

largely disrupted, especially at the end of the sixties. The spreading of cultural activities became limited by the foundations of preserving the Slovenian community in Argentina: politics, emigration, and "Slovenianness" (Rot 1994).

Connection and organisation of Slovenians, as well as their ethnic and also to a larger extent ideological homogenisation, were enabled by circumstances of settlement (time and space), ideological affiliation before the settlement (anti-communism, Catholicism and nationalism), and the educated leading group that established and organised the community. The preserving of ethnic symbols and the development of cultural activities were enabled by the moderate Argentinean immigration policy and the multicultural Argentinean society. In order to keep the community inside the planned frame and defend it against assimilation, connecting with the Argentinean society was disapproved. However, even such a "self-sufficient" community as the Slovenian one was unable to prevent interaction of its members with other ethnic groups or with the Argentinean majority. Therefore, we should not claim that Slovenian community was a ghetto, at least not in the first decades of its organisation and development. The community did indeed have the basic characteristics of a ghetto – endogamy, religion, and ideology (Lukšič-Hacin 1995: 183) but immigrants did not settle in one space, as is distinctive for ghetto communities. They established a number of neighbourhoods in which a social infrastructure was developed, but many individuals who also considered themselves as a part of the community settled outside those neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the Slovenian post-war community in Buenos Aires did not develop the kind of economic and social self-sufficiency that can be observed in some other ethnic groups, for example, Chinese or Italian. Slovenians found employment in non-ethnic companies, workshops, and state institutions; while in private life they maintained at least minimum contact with Argentinean society. A variety of cultural activities of Slovenians that were until the end of the sixties[21] focused on establishing connections with Argentinean society, puts ghettoisation of the community even more firmly under question.

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[21] In 1969, an ideological divide occurred inside the most important cultural institution – Slovenska kulturna akcija, which had an influence on all spheres of cultural and social activities of Slovenians. Two divisions were established: the radical one completely distanced itself from the SKA, while the liberal one took over the management of SKA. Due to fear of experiencing another dispute that would weaken the community, the latter redirected its activities away from controversial political matters and also from Argentinean cultural circles. Andrej Rot, established cultural worker and the first SKA leader born in Argentina, argues that "until the 1970s, the emigration population ... was participating in the big world, perhaps even more than Slovenians in the homeland were, and was highly active" (1994: 61). This changed significantly in 1969. Everything modern in the cultural activities of Slovenians in Argentina was discontinued and history seemingly stopped in 1945. Tradition started its rule. Most artists of the migration generation, who used to be active in both the Argentinean cultural sphere and inside the community, were now focused primarily on the community. Only the descendants started to connect with the Argentinean majority society once again. During this time, the SKA faced a shortfall of younger members; while at the same time it refused to welcome progressive and insightful students and youth.

Until the end of the sixties many visual artists had created connections with Argentinean art circles, held their exhibitions in smaller, private galleries and also in some Buenos Aires art galleries that were well known at that time. They also visited art classes held by prominent Argentinean artist and art institutions. From the beginning on, cultural activities of Slovenians were in general oriented towards theatre, literature, singing, music, and visual arts. In 1954, Slovenians established a cultural organisation called Slovenska kulturna akcija (Slovenian Cultural Action), whose visual arts division is still active today. The objective of the Slovenska kulturna akcija (SKA) was to ensure continuance of Catholic cultural activities and achieve independence from religious and political leadership of the community. However, cultural as well as political efforts made their way into it (Rot 1994). One of the main objectives of the SKA was to "include a circle of scientific and cultural workers as wide as possible and to raise the interest of Slovenians in high culture, art, and scientific creations" (Rot 1994: 16). The SKA organised "cultural evenings" and art exhibitions in Buenos Aires, distributed original Slovenian literary works that were created in exile, and supported theatre and music activities.

In 1955, members of the SKA established an art school, a kind of Slovenian visual arts academy in emigration, which was only active for four years. The purpose of the school was to ensure that visual artists and other members of the SKA would continue the pedagogical work and offer their knowledge to Slovenians, especially to younger community members who due to the war had no previous access to education. Namely, many of them finished only a few years of primary schooling in Slovenia or in Austrian camps, and started to work upon arriving in Argentina. At the same time, members of the SKA had to ensure continuity of professional graphic and designer art production in order to satisfy needs of the community.[22] The art school did not notably influence the community due to its short-term existence and small number of students. A former student of the art school stressed that in the process of achieving the stated objectives they neglected the wishes and needs of those younger members.

> *"They wanted to have their own sequel in the future emigration in Argentina, in the Slovenian community, for book illustrations, painting, etc. But they did not think of us ... because those people [organisers of the art school, artists; author's remark] did wrong not to send us to the Argentinean school at the same time. That way we would have finished art school, the Slovenian academy, as they called it from the beginning, and the Argentinean one at the same time. Maybe not at the same time but later, because the thing would last differently. But it would be different. They only thought of the needs of the Slovenian community."*[23]

The SKA programme was focused on connecting people working in the fields of

[22] This is in accordance with the SKA objectives or with the leadership of the organised Slovenian community, which strove to limit contacts with the Argentinean environment to the minimum, thus maintaining autonomy.

[23] In an interview, Buenos Aires, 30 October 2004; author's archive.

various cultural activities, science and social science, and on encouraging their connection with the audience. A basic and primary concept of the SKA included also connecting with the Argentinean public, but the SKA was "established in emigration for emigration and for the Slovenian minorities in the neighbouring countries, not even for the widest circle but primarily for intellectuals"[24] (Rot 1994: 8). Inside the Slovenian ethnic community a certain cultural distinction could therefore be observed based on taste and social class (Bourdieu 1984), while simultaneously the attitude towards the majority society was based on ethnic exclusion or ethnic distinction.

Slovenians perceived Argentina positively on the one hand, but on the other, they perceived it as "a country where everything is wrong". Those Slovenians in Buenos Aires whom I interviewed have many times expressed fondness and gratitude towards Argentina because it accepted them as refugees without any major requirements. However, especially in the first few years of settlement, most of them experienced difficulties accepting the different environment.[25] They perceived Argentinean society, habits, and culture from the viewpoint of their own habits and values. In spite of the prevailing stereotype of Argentina described as a white, immigrant society of European origin, Slovenians developed a "radical Eurocentric" attitude towards the local population. This was a consequence of the superiority complex of a white, homogeneous, European immigrant group compared to the heterogeneous majority population. Such an attitude was built on values that include working hard, making efforts and sacrifices, and saving money, and was distinctive for European immigrants (Banko and Mouzakis 2003), who also transferred it to their descendants. The attitude of artists towards the art world of Buenos Aires is telling. Its establishers (artists and leaders of the ethnic community) initially named the art school the SKA "Art Academy", yet the name did not last long. For Slovenians it had a negative connotation, because it was linked to the new environment that they were not (yet) ready to accept.[26] Establishers of the school also wanted it to be based on individual classes, and those to be based on home tradition, as

[24] Founders of the SKA emphasised that they were creating for all Slovenians in Argentina and that they would like to bring high art closer to the public. These statements remained on a declaratory level, as right from the start the SKA had an exclusive membership, and the production and the programme took place in the central institution Slovenska hiša (Slovenian House) in the centre of Buenos Aires. That the SKA was intended only for "culturally educated people" and that it "had no intention to promote their activities in a wider public" has also been stated by some of my interviewees who were, or still are, active SKA members. The first generation already born in Argentina had no contact with the SKA. Only a few were familiar with its activities.

[25] They believed that Argentineans were "culturally less developed, lazy, dirty" and some refused to be involved in the ritual of drinking mate tea for hygienic reasons.

[26] Marijan Marolt, art historian and a teacher at the school explained the attitude as follows: "... in this country, such a title is somewhat misleading: here they have academies for designing underwear and men and women's clothes, music academies where children learn how to press the piano keys for the first time, and "academies de dibujo" where they copy caricatures from newspapers and worthless magazines." He even stated that "it would be

they believed they were not living in "any kind of centre of the world art that could enrich Slovenian art" (Glas SKA 1955). A superior attitude of the majority towards diversity further encouraged the introverted nature of Slovenians (Žigon 2001: 161). Its influence was also reflected in cultural-artistic activities, ethnic exclusivism, and subsequently, in the shaping of local art worlds.[27]

ART WORLDS OF SLOVENIANS IN ARGENTINA

Most Slovenian visual artists grew up in Buenos Aires between the political, social, and cultural environment of their ethnic community and the multicultural Argentinean society. Few artists came to Argentina already educated in art. Apart from holding some initial exhibitions that took place in Argentinean galleries, nobody managed to truly succeed (financially or to become famous nation wide) in Argentina. Besides subjective factors, two reasons for their "failure" can be that they followed the commandments of non-integration, and remained active only in the local environment, inside their ethnic community.

They also refrained from integrating more intensely into the art world of Buenos Aires. They exhibited and sold their works in their own ethnic environment, adjusting to the taste of the Slovenian immigrant public and sticking to realistic artistic expression. Many of them also exhibited only in ethnically bound locations: in (an improvised) gallery of the main ethnic institution Slovenska hiša in the centre of Buenos Aires, in local Slovenian Homes in Gran Buenos Aires, and local Slovenian Homes around Argentina. To a smaller extent they exhibited also in smaller galleries and cultural centres of local (non-Slovenian) communities in the suburbs of Buenos Aires. The visual arts section of the SKA or artists themselves took care of organisation and sales. The public was from their ethnic community.

Pavel created in this way for several years.[28] He arrived in Buenos Aires as a political refugee two years after the Second World War when he was seventeen years old. After settlement he got employed as a carver in a furniture workshop and soon joined Slovenian ethnic organisations. He married a Slovenian descendant and so did the couple's daughter. Pavel has been actively painting and exhibiting for more than fifty years, but now that he is in his seventies he is still working as a carver, as pensions in Argentina are very low. Until the last few years the world of the ethnic community was the social, economic, and cultural reality of his life in Argentina. Pavel got his basic art education in the SKA art school and later held

more honourable to be a student of Bara Remec than of some academy of Buenos Aires" (M.M. 1957).

[27] Although with time the attitude of most Slovenians towards Argentina has changed and they started to perceive it as their homeland, it is still often critically compared to other European countries, primarily to Slovenia.

[28] Life stories published in this chapter are shortened. Due to the protection of personal data the names are invented, but all other stated information is authentic.

exhibitions in the framework of ethnic community activities, where he also sold most of his works. As a visual artist he also took part in other cultural activities of the community. As a scenographer he was actively involved with the Slovenian theatre in Buenos Aires, he contributed his graphics for book editions of Slovenian emigrant writers and for several years was the head of the visual arts section of the SKA and a member of the SKA leadership.

Pavel's tight connection with members of the ethnic community and cooperation within its political and cultural activities influenced his art works. The prevailing themes of his paintings include lyrically sensed landscapes, among which we can find reminiscences of the mountains of his birth town in Slovenia. He acknowledges that he focused on naturalistic painting because abstract art did not appeal to his teacher and mentor at the art school, who also warned him that as an abstract painter he would not be understood and accepted in the community. Although he exhibited in local art salons and other smaller galleries in the suburbs of Buenos Aires, and took art classes in MEEBA – Mutual de Estudiantes Egresados de Bellas Artes (Group of Graduate Students in Fine Arts) he remained faithful to the "pre-tested", naturalistic style.

Picture 1: *Landscape around Córdoba*.

Only in the last decade, after Pavel resigned as a head of the visual arts section of the SKA, and only rarely joined the activities of the ethnic community in general, he found his "artistic freedom". He stopped adjusting to the taste of the public and created a series of abstract paintings. However, he still creates his works in direct contact with nature and chooses motives that are "linked to his life and which transfer ideas of life experience into visual experience".[29] A change of style was also influenced by his first visit to Slovenia in 1995. After fifty years he visited his place of birth and his few relatives, and for the first time, introduced himself with his work to the Slovenian public. The exhibition in Slovenia meant more to him than all previous exhibitions in Argentina. He presents himself as a Slovenian living in Argentina whose construction of ethnic identity is based on Slovenian symbols and heritage. Today, he often travels with his wife to Slovenia, not only because of his exhibitions but also because of his daughter, who moved there with her family. Pavel would like to return permanently to Slovenia since the poor economic situation in Argentina makes painting, and living in general, quite difficult.

Contrary to the case described above, most descendants of Slovenians who were born and raised in Argentina have firmly entered Argentinean art circles. They have transgressed the local art world and are now trying to make their way into an international art world, mostly through transnational connections. Among them is Ivana, a professional painter and art teacher. Her awareness of her ethnic origin and subsequent actions to preserve her ethnic identity, as well as her artistic expression, have all been shaped by her growing up in the Slovenian ethnic community in Buenos Aires and her later distancing herself from that community. Ivana was born in Buenos Aires to Slovenian parents who fled from the communist regime after the Second World War. Hoping for a quick return, her family became actively involved in the activities of Slovenian community and lived according to social norms and values that were insisted upon by a handful of ethnic leaders (recommended ethnic endogamy, refusal of cultural integration into Argentinean society, preservation of Slovenian national identity, encouragement of Catholicism and anti-communist activities, ethnic schools, etc.). Her failed marriage with a Slovenian descendant, the conservativeness of the community, and the so-called ethnic "rules" have diverted Ivana from maintaining contacts with other members of the ethnic community. She has focused completely on painting, started teaching art and chose an Argentinean partner. She started to visit the homeland of her parents and has developed a critical distance towards the activities and behaviour of the members of the ethnic community in Buenos Aires. Feelings of not belonging, as she notes, have caused an identity crisis which she has tried to overcome through her painting. Thus in her works, motives are present that on the one hand narrate

[29] He wrote this as a part of the text accompanying an exhibition. A copy is held in the author's archive. Titles of his paintings from the respective series are Opazovalci (Observers), V preizkušnjah (In Temptations), Trpljenje (Suffering), Valovanje časa (Fluctuation of Time), etc.

family history and focus on the preservation of Slovenian habits (growing carnations, making schnapps, and similar), while on the other hand reflect the author's perception of exile, hybrid identifications, Argentinean social problems, and her being torn between spaces on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. A common symbol in her works is therefore the water connecting Argentina and Slovenia, being "the source of change and constant movement, restlessness".

Ivana's feelings of being torn between Argentina and Slovenia can be understood through the prism of double affiliation. Although she was born in Argentina and perceives it as her homeland, she also feels at "home" in Slovenia. In the 1990s, she often travelled to Slovenia, visited relatives, and made new friends. In 2001, Ivana had her first exhibition in Ljubljana. She started creating transnational connections that were encouraged by her social relations, her positive attitude towards her ethnic origin, and the poor economic situation in Argentina. Through her visits to Slovenia she slowly discovered the complexity of her own identity and the complexity of the processes of belonging. All this helped her to exhibit success-

Picture 2: *The trace of water*

fully in Argentina, finish IUNA art school (National University Institute of Art) and become a part of important Argentinean art circles. However, in the last few years she has also held frequent exhibitions in the Slovenian community and again started to make social contacts inside the community.

Life (hi)stories of other painters, sculptors and graphic designers of Slovenian origin in Buenos Aires are similar, but nevertheless, specific. Approaches to artistic creation, media through which they express themselves, art narrations, and personal stories vary from each other, but they are linked together by the common Slovenian descent, a weak or stronger affiliation to Slovenia, the environment of origin or origin of their parents, and mostly by a direct or indirect migration experience. Stories reveal decisions of individuals to cooperate in a specific art world, the positions they occupy within it, the nature of the interaction with other members, and the ways in which individuals construct identities with the help of such interactions. They also reveal individuals' social embeddedness.

On the described life experiences and several stories that were not included here, we can conclude that the ethnic environment and different modes of cultural and social activities inside the ethnic community have had a strong influence on the creation process of individuals of Slovenian origin in Buenos Aires. For the creative act, an artist needs to be free of ideological, social, and cultural pressures, but the organised Slovenian community often disturbed the artistic creation. The Slovenian community is a space of language preservation and preservation of ethnic identity, but simultaneously it is (or was) a space of internal social control and cultural separation. The ethnic community offered Pavel possibilities for education, employment, and establishment; with its encouragements, expectations, values, ideals, and worldviews it presented a creative environment, but also an obstacle. Due to differences in taste, conditioned by the cultural capital, Pavel's artistic creation was under the pressure of society. He accepted conventions that were created by art critics and the public from the community and adjusted to them. Thus obstacles were converted into opportunities. On the other hand, Ivana felt the pressure of the community already in the pre-creation phase and consciously rejected the possibilities offered by the ethnic environment or, as she has defined it herself, "the shelter". She refused to cooperate in an art world that was closed, regressive, and limiting to its members.

FROM LOCAL TO TRANSNATIONAL ART WORLDS

The character of an art world depends on who its members are, the size of its membership, and where the activities take place. We can speak of global, regional, national, local, and transnational art worlds of visual arts, film, opera, poetry or music. In the case of Slovenians in Buenos Aires we could also speak of a local, ethnically shaped art world.

The local art world is defined by a "circle of its members that does not go beyond the frames of the local community that is based on personal contacts" (Becker 1982: 314). The local art world has its own network of suppliers, distribution, and groups that deal with questions of aesthetics, standards, and evaluation of works. Artists in local art worlds enjoy the support of local public on an informal level. But locality in the case of Slovenians in Buenos Aires is not solely geographic, as the SKA was also active translocally (in Argentina) and transnationally (its members also included Slovenian political refugees elsewhere in the world); it can be understood in terms of ethnicity as well. Only the artists and the public of Slovenian descent were included into the ethnic visual arts world. Conventions were adjusted to the Slovenian public and critics were members of the ethnic elite. Art historian Marjan Marolt was the most important (and the only) Slovenian art critic in Argentina until the beginning of the seventies, and he fundamentally co-shaped the local ethnic art world. The distribution of works in the framework of institutions (SKA) or self-distribution was ethnically conditioned, too.

Art worlds grow and expand. However, social differentiation, sexual practices, regional, ethnic, and national cultures present limitations for the groups to which art worlds can offer their products (Becker 1982: 347, 348), and limitations for the art world itself. Therefore, whether local or national, ethnic and class based meanings and conventions present limitations for the production, distribution, and perception of art works. The case of Slovenians in Buenos Aires shows that members of this art world limited its growth by going along with the ethnic and cultural differentiation. Individual members and part of the public were indeed included into the art world of Argentina on the national level[30] and thus connected both worlds, but the ethnic art world has persisted until today. It has kept changing as time has passed, yet its basic, ethnically-limited structure has been transferred to younger generations. Younger artists who were educated in Argentina and some artists who were already born there hesitated between both worlds, national and ethnic. As a consequence, they prevented the local ethnic world from growing beyond its frame. Even today, an ethnic, exclusively Slovenian art sub-world exists inside the Argentinean national art world. Its existence is ensured by the preserved social norms and cultural patterns, and by insisting on the "ideology of Slovenianness" within the ethnic community.

More and more members of the ethnic community gradually started to refuse ethnic commands, and with the independence and democratisation of Slovenia after 1991, anti-communist and anti-integration ideology in the community lost its impetus. Slovenians in Argentina started to connect more intensely with Slovenia and some other European countries, but primarily with the environment in which they were living. Cultural production, which was largely shaped by the two prevalent ideologies, started to change in scope and form. Artists started to establish themselves in the art world of Buenos Aires, to exhibit in Slovenia and among Sloveni-

[30] This was largely the art world of Buenos Aires.

ans residing in other European countries. They created a wide social network that includes mostly Slovenians around the world, emigrant organisations in Slovenia, and networks of relatives and social contacts in Slovenia. In the second part of the nineties the leadership of the SKA visual arts section was taken over by a painter born in Argentina. She is striving to establish both ethnic and interethnic connections – that is, connections inside and outside the community. The participation of non-Slovenian artists in ethnic cultural activities is no longer an "unacceptable" act, although they are not permitted to join the SKA.[31] Non-Slovenian artists are still excluded from participating in the ethnic art world. Only Slovenians and their descendants are permitted to exhibit in the gallery of Slovenska hiša, the public is strictly Slovenian, and the distribution takes place inside the ethnic community. Due to the abovementioned process of connecting, the ageing of the population, and the unavoidable changes in identifications, mostly of the descendants, the public is small, the sales are scarce, and subsequently the artists' interest in exhibitions is declining.

Local, national, transnational?

The concept of art worlds can be mistakenly understood as a closed, geographically bound, and internally unified entity.[32] Agents in art worlds are mostly only temporarily connected through dynamics of interactions and they go beyond the boundaries of maintaining certain relations and cooperations. They do not form one art world. On the contrary, "they form historically specific fields of cooperation which may evolve from local to national and transnational levels of interaction" (Svašek 2007: 94). It is typical of migrants that they build strongly dispersed and widespread social networks. With migration they create new relations and simultaneously try to maintain the old ones. Because those networks and relations mostly occur beyond the borders of national states, it can be said that they are transnational. (Vertovec 1999) Therefore, a transnational identity, transnational connections, and transnational social activities (activities in an art world, for example) refer to the multiple ties and interactions that link people and communities across borders. Transnationalism is a social process whereby migrants operate in social fields that transgress political, geographic and also cultural borders. (Glick-Schiller, Basch and

[31] Even today, the leadership of the SKA opposes the inclusion of non-Slovenians into the organisation or in any activities of the ethnic community, but young generations successfully fight against these provisions. The number of ethnically mixed marriages and partnerships is increasing and these individuals in particular are trying to involve their partners, as well as other members of the family, in the activities of Slovenian societies and organisations.

[32] What is missing from Becker's approach and what I should emphasise on the basis of the analysed cases of migrants, is a wider perspective. As defined by Svašek, it lacks "instrumentality of art as a tool of social and political distinction" (Svašek 2007: 94).

Szanton-Blanck 1992) If I should paraphrase Caroline Brettell's words, "immigrants in the transnational and global world are involved in the nation-building of more than one state" (Brettell 2000); I could say that the immigrants in the transnational world are involved in social and cultural processes of more than one society. In this manner they also co-shape a transnational art world. This is possible owing to a strong collective memory of the "old country" and also because the immigrants consider themselves as members of more than one national (ethnic) community.

The barriers of local art worlds are being broken down by widespread production, distribution, and communication. Everything that makes mobility easier – political changes, open borders, technological progress, increased cosmopolitanism, and financial growth – also enables communication and, naturally, reproduction of art. The political changes in Slovenia after 1991, improved transportation networks, and technological progress in communication (the Internet) have largely made way to intensive transnational connections and therefore transnational activities of Slovenian visual artists.[33] Several Slovenian painters, born in Argentina, have in this manner established a sort of transnational cooperative network that enables them to work and distribute their works over the borders of national spaces. Through their art and transnational connections they are therefore simultaneously present in many art worlds. Ivana and Pavel have also started to participate in a transnationally defined art world, which is not geographically or culturally limited and enables access to a more diverse and bigger public, and thus at the same time creates more possibilities for the establishment and survival of individual visual artists.

FINAL REMARKS

Migrations are more than just movements of populations in space; they are an experience that individuals recognise and interpret in their own way. As migrations are also a social and cultural process, the scope and impact of migrations are not only economic and political in nature. Migration processes include actions of individuals and their dispositions, which are migratory, cultural, and creative, as well as external factors that include economic, political, and social circumstances in the country of origin and in the country of immigration. On the basis of transnational identifications of Slovenian immigrants in Argentina, researchers have discovered that internal factors, such as experiences and knowledge (habitus), play an important role in the actions of individuals in migration processes (Repič 2005). Similarly this is the case when we speak about the action of individuals in the artistic creation process. The experience, knowledge, and capabilities of an individual, together with various external influences, have an impact on the expression and intensity of creativity.

33 Repič (2005) argues that the political activities of Slovenians in Argentina (community bonding, rejection of communism, and preservation of historical memory) were replaced by increasingly stronger transnational connections with Slovenia after its independence.

In the case of Slovenian artists in Buenos Aires, the change of social and cultural environment as a result of migration was an important influential factor.

The circumstances of emigration from Slovenia, common refugee status in Austrian and Italian camps, and arrival in Argentina have shaped individual migration experiences and have further influenced the ways of organisation, connection, and integration of immigrants, as well as construction of their ethnic identity. The construction of individual and group identifications has also turned out to be an important factor for creating and taking positions in art worlds. Examples of visual artists specifically show that among Slovenians and their descendants in Argentina we can find different types of connections and constructions of identities, which until today have often been reduced to connections with an ethnically defined group or community. Interactions and connections of artists were, especially for Slovenian descendants, not always limited to the Slovenian community. Slovenian descendants were also educated and active in the Argentinean environment, creating connections with Argentinean artists and critics, and interacting with a diverse public. In this way they "transgressed" the ethnically bound art world.

In the case of Slovenian artists in Buenos Aires I can conclude, that the dynamics of operation, intertwinement, and influence of art worlds are connected to the dynamics of identity formation in a multicultural context. The social construction of art of Slovenians in Buenos Aires was influenced by a dynamic reshaping of individual and collective identities, cultural (non)integration of individuals, and thus of the ethnic community into the majority, multicultural society. Their art production was thus influenced by migration experiences, as well by the positioning of the individual artist in art worlds. Although I have argued that Slovenians in Buenos Aires have not built an ethnic ghetto, they managed to construct an ethnically defined visual arts world. Namely, its members – artists, critics, institutional elements (the gallery in Slovenska hiša, the SKA visual arts section) and the public – were initially included only according to ethnic identifications; they were all Slovenians. Nevertheless, the role of visual arts in first and further generations of Slovenian immigrants changed accordingly, because art worlds are connected with collective and individual (non)identifications. The local, ethnic art world, established and maintained by Slovenians, was a result of specific factors brought forth by a migration process in which they were included as immigrant settlers. In the framework of the community, all elements of the preservation of the ethnic or immigrant art world still persist (production, distribution, and reception are exclusively of Slovenian origin). However, by creating intensive transnational connections (and identifications), individual artists have started to operate in a transnationally defined art world. And precisely this mobility between art worlds provides proof of their dynamic activities and structure. In this way, the local, ethnic art world has been, at least through individual artists, connected with a wider art world that embraces the ethnic one (the art world of Buenos Aires and through it an art world on a transnational and global level). Members of the ethnic art

world have been passing through to the non-ethnic art world(s), where they have been active as artists, public, and also as critics. Therefore, we can define the local, ethnic art world as static, homogeneous, closed, and self-sufficient, while at the same time its placement (or better-said placement of its constituent parts, that is, artists, critics, dealers, public, etc.) into the other art world(s) partly makes these characteristics relative.

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HISTORICAL AND NARRATIVE PERSPECTIVE OF SLOVENIAN WOMEN MIGRANTS' EXPERIENCES: SOCIAL NETWORKING, GENDER PRIORITIES, AND QUESTIONS OF IDENTITY

MIRJAM MILHARČIČ HLADNIK

This text presents different ways of preserving ethnic identity and heritage among Slovenian migrants and their descendants in the United States of America from the beginning of the 20th century till now through two perspectives. The first perspective describes the social and political situation in the United States during three main periods in which the Slovenians migrated: the period before 1940 of mass migration; the period after 1945 of displaced persons and mainly political migration; and the period since 1960 of individual migrants. The life stories of Slovenian women migrants in the United States and their descendants provide the second perspective, which describes different aspects of preserving ethnic identity. The most important themes in the stories about changing identities and contested subjectivities are the Slovenian origin and language, food, music, folk songs, and above all, memories and emotions. To understand them, it is essential to look into the social and political conditions of the migrants' lives. An outline of the social conditions in the three periods of Slovenian immigration to the United States summarises the ideological presuppositions of the pre-war institutionalised racism, curbed only by the atrocities before and during the Second World War, and the revival of ethnicity born out of the civil rights movement which brought a new pride to the ethnic groups and their institutions in the 1970s. Keeping in mind this brief outline of these social changes gives the women's life stories a necessary historical context.

How many people migrated from Slovenian territories is difficult to accurately define. The reason is obvious: the statistics in countries of origin and in host countries usually used citizenship as the most important factor for defining migrants. In the period of mass migration, from the late 19th to the mid-20th century, Slovenians from different regions were citizens of many states: the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Italy, Hungary, and later, the Republic of Yugoslavia. Between 1901 and 1910, the highest number of emigrants to the United States from Europe came from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Slovenians were part of Slavic-speaking peoples from Central and Eastern Europe who formed "one of the largest and newest groups of immigrants at the turn of the century" (Gabaccia 2002: 142). American authorities put Slovenian and Croatian immigrants in the same category. For the period between 1889 and 1914 some 450,000 Slovenian and Croatian migrants were reported. The American census proved more useful because there was a category about mother tongue. In the 1910 census, around 183,000 people

declared Slovenian as their mother tongue. According to Marjan Drnovšek, "more than 250,000 Slovenians emigrated to the United States during this time – even though in 1910 there were just 1,200,000 Slovenians living in Austria".[1] Slovenians were also leaving for Argentina, Brazil, as well as for other European countries. After the First World War, the biggest emigration wave swept through the Primorska region, which was annexed to Italy. Fascist repression and poverty forced between 60,000 and 90,000 Slovenians to leave for Yugoslavia, Argentina, United States, and other countries between 1920 and 1940.

The number of women migrants is even more difficult to define. Marjan Drnovšek worked on a historical overview of women's migration and he estimates that the share of women in Slovenian migration processes was approximately 35 per cent (Drnovšek 2003: 31). There were a few exclusively women migration destinations: *slamnikarice*, "hatmakers" from Domžale near Ljubljana left mainly for New York and other big cities in the first decades of the twenieth century. At the same time, *aleksandrinke*, women from villages in Primorska, left for Egypt to be wet nurses in Alexandria and Cairo (Barbič, Miklavčič-Brezigar 1999). In the inter-war time of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and after the restrictive American migration legislation, Slovenians migrated to European countries like France, Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland. Drnovšek mentions women as seasonal agrarian workers particularly from the eastern Slovenian region of Prekmurje (Drnovšek 2003: 32–33). Likewise in this case, the exact number of migrant women and seasonal women workers is difficult to establish.

After May 1945 there were around 17,000 Slovenians in the refugee camps in Austria. Some of them had collaborated with the German and Italian occupiers, some were afraid of communism or were against it, some were ordinary people or family members and some were pre-war politicians. Around 5,000 migrated to United States, 5,300 to Argentina, 3,000 to Canada and 2,000 to Australia (Vodopivec 2006: 309-311). They were defined as displaced persons and later labelled as Slovenian political migration.

WERE YOU ALWAYS A SLOVENIAN?

The first Slovenian women in the United States were farmers' wives who settled in central Minnesota in the decades after the American Civil War. Women arrived in greater numbers after 1890 and joined their husbands or sought employment in industrial cities and mining communities. Cleveland, Ohio, became the major Slovenian settlement. In 1909 it was said that nine Slovenians a day arrived in the city. Slovenians also settled in the mining and steel towns of Western Pennsylvania, of Colorado, and of the Iron Range in Minnesota. I collected life stories of Slov-

[1] Drnovšek, Marjan 1999, "Slovenians in the USA", *Slovenia Weekly*, Special Edition, June 1999, 13. In 1910 all Slovenian regions were part of Austria, or rather, the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

enian women migrants and their female descendants as part of the research project titled *The Role and Significance of Women in the Preservation of Cultural Heritage among Slovenian Migrants.* The main goal of the study was to highlight the woman's roles, efforts, and achievements in preserving the Slovenian cultural heritage in the family, in the community, and at work from the historical and contemporary perspective. In the research process the information, definitions, interpretations, and narratives were collected through in-depth interviews, conversations, life storytelling, and women's written auto/biographical texts. The main presupposition of the research was that the role of women in preserving cultural heritage is specific and special. While doing the field research, I spoke to dozens of women of different generations and age, mostly to the descendants of the first wave of Slovenian immigrants. In Pittsburgh, I listened to the life story of a journalist, born sixty-seven years ago, whose parents were among those who arrived in the beginning of the twentieth century. She told me how embarrassed she used to feel about her origin when she was a child:

> *"When you're in grade school – elementary school – and you open the book and there's the French and you're talking about Napoleon or something, and then there's the Greeks and you're talking about the Romans, and the English and the Scots. I didn't see any Slovenians in the history book. Therefore, interpreting it as a little girl as: well hey, we must be the B team, we're just not quite up there. And so that's why I asked my mother if wasn't there something else I could be besides Slovenian."*[2]

Her mother advised her to say she is from Austria, which would not be far from the truth. And indeed, from then on she was, officially, in public places, an Austrian. From her childhood she remembers that her grandparents spoke Slovenian, but their children were ashamed of it and wanted only English to be spoken in their homes. The language notwithstanding, their lives were shaped by traditional ethnic customs:

> *"When I think of my Slovenian roots I think of baking bread. My mother always made her own homemade bread as did all my aunts and grandmas. So they made bread and coffee cakes and noodles all the time and sliced the noodles to put into the soup. I remember the food mostly. Always a lot of pork, sauerkraut, maybe stuffed cabbage, peppers, and a lot of what we called, a sharp salad."*

She also recalls there was always cheerful and loud music, polka music:

> *"On my mother's side I had a cousin who played the button box accordion and I was kind of horrified that anybody knew that I would have a cousin who played the button box accordion."*

Today she claims that music is a great link and that the polka joins together people who have no other language in common. She wishes to retain the tradition she knows and pass some of these emotions to her grandchildren. And above all, she

[2] All quotes (if not stated differently) are from the narratives, collected for the research project *The Role and Significance of Women in the Preservation of Cultural Heritage among Slovenian Migrants*, recorded in Cleveland, Pittsburgh, New York City, Washington D.C., and the Chicago area between 2001 and 2004.

believes she has never in her life felt more Slovenian than she does now. What has changed in sixty years?

Between 1900 and 1924, when a lot of migrants from the Slavic lands entered the United States, the pioneer enthusiasm for accepting immigrants was slowly on the wane. The ones who felt it most acutely were the migrants who in this period came from South-Eastern Europe – Jews, Italians, Slavs. In this period, writes Maxine Seller, the voices of those claiming that precisely these immigrants are unsuitable to live in the American society became much more prominent. "In the beginning, stereotypes of immigrant poverty, immorality, and radicalism were applied to those of western as well as Eastern European origin. Gradually, however, nativism focused upon the latter. New stereotypes involving Slavs, Italians, and Jews reflected the new worries of the American community. Working class native born Americans began to depict Slavic and Italian labourers as tools of the giant corporations-imported strike breakers, degraded people who stole jobs from Americans by accepting wages no decent human being could live on." (Seller 1988: 200). The latter was undoubtedly true. The employers paid less to each next ethnic group that disembarked on American shores. Taking advantage of the newcomers' total dependency and spurring racism amongst those who had arrived earlier, they successfully lowered wages, increased profits, and prevented workers' solidarity (Bell 1985). As Donna Gabaccia sums up the decades long public controversy about migrants: "Mass migration from Europe sparked intense debates about the racial status of European immigrants. Were the Irish white? Were the Italians? Could either ever successfully become Americans? Surprisingly often, the initial answer to all these questions was no" (Gabaccia 1994: 8). Finally, the Law of 1921 introduced quotas for the first time and an even more restrictive law was passed in 1924. It defined the number of immigrants allowed annually to come in the USA from any given country by the percentage of that nationality group in the makeup of the entire American population. This ended the unique migration era of American and European history, when millions flocked to the Promised Land.

The parents of my interlocutor from La Salle, in the once mining area near Chicago, were among those millions. She is only a few years younger than the journalist from Pittsburgh, and her story is similar – her grandparents and parents spoke Slovenian, but the children did not:

> *"My father was a very decisive man and had many jobs and saved money so he could start his own trucking business. And because he was starting a business in America, I believe he needed to speak English, so we had to speak English at home. But to all his friends and most of the times when he spoke to my mum, it was always in Slovenian. And we just didn't pay attention or went in the other room. And my grandparents spoke Slovenian too; and my mother's parents were the ones that I knew, because the others were deceased and died when I was very young. The grandmother spoke a little bit of English, the grandfather didn't. So they would just communicate somehow with us children because we didn't speak it. My mother never made us learn Slovenian*

either, because as she grew up in America she had a problem with going to school. She went to a Slovenian school and then my grandfather would take her out of there and put her in the public school so she was doing languages. And it was very hard on her. So I think she wanted us also to speak English instead of Slovenian. Since we lived in America they knew it was best that we knew English."

Apart from the language, which was almost forbidden, because to know English was so crucial, the family lived in a traditional Slovenian way: *"Oh, everything was traditional! All our meals were always Slovenian food, always. Nothing was American"*. All their vegetables were grown in their garden, prepared and preserved, put in brine. They kept a barrel of sauerkraut in the cellar. Her father reared animals and was famed for his sausages. All the dishes were Slovenian, all their food was home-grown, and all their social life was Slovenian. That was typical for life in an ethnic community, where people were tied by common national origin, language, religion, the consciousness of common historical past, common life style and values, and aspirations for a common future. Maxine Seller adds to this definition: "Finally, ethnic communities in the United States have been and still are social, economic, and political interest groups" (Seller 1988: 5). We will see later how the different "historical past" divided the Slovenian ethnic community after the arrival of the displaced persons after 1945. For now, we continue with the experience of the migrant child in a pre-war America:

"In La Salle we had a Slovenian home where all the Slovenians met. On the first level it was like a tavern and food and then on the lower level it was a hall for the receptions. And then on the upper level they would have plays, a lot of Slovenian plays. In Slovenian, yes." [3]

Her father bought grapes every year and made wine:

"And it was a big thing for our neighbourhood because he would probably do about maybe fifty barrels of wine. And that was definitely a Slovenian thing. And when anyone came to the house they had wine and went home happy."

The narrator did not find it unusual to live in the knot of American and Slovenian cultural patterns and values. Her story presents a typical combination of adjustment to a new environment and preserving traditional lifestyle. Her parents took the children to cultural events in Slovenian, although the language itself was not spoken in the house. They kept to their traditional family ways and at the same time expected the children to become successful Americans. They obviously wanted to offer them the best of the worlds they knew. Such stories point at the dynamic nature of ethnicity, culture, and language. They show that preserving tradition and adjusting to the environment are complementary parts of the same process. The course of this process and the identity elements it contains depend on the historical context and personal choices. The stories that follow reveal how different such choices and decisions can be even in the most similar social and historical situations.

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3 She is describing a typical hall or centre that was built for the purposes of cultural events and gatherings in the Slovenian community that is also referred to later in the text as a National home.

A schoolteacher who grew up in the Iron Range mining area in north Minnesota in the same period as the narrators above told her story about language, food, traditional habits, and the importance of music and songs among the Slovenian migrants.

> *"I remember my soup plate. I put it under the Christmas tree and I got an orange with some dime slipped in it with some mixed nuts and candy and believe me in those days it was awesome to get that. That was what my mother got, you know. So it was something that I passed on. Food, religion, festivities. Not the language, because I was to the point where I understood the language, I knew what they were saying, but I never learned to speak it. If I were to do it over again I would. I mean, they could not speak in English, always knew what they were talking about. I could understand, I could pick out all that stuff by that time. But I never did learn to speak it, really didn't. I never had grandparents. I never really heard stories of the old. The only thing I remember is the one story about the war. And it always stuck in my memory because I get tears in my eyes when I think of being cold and I thought of those people being so cold over there. That stuck in my mind. Another thing that's in my mind is the soup and the apple strudel and then on Sundays during the summer - I lived in a very Slovenian neighbourhood - and they would go up to the big lawn, I don't know where all the food came from, but it did, and they would sing. Just sing."*

We can understand the processes of preserving tradition and language and adjusting to the migrant environment better if we are familiar with the circumstances in which the Slovenian migrants from the first half of the twentieth century lived. Men worked in difficult conditions in the ironworks of Pittsburgh and Cleveland, in the mines of Colorado and the Iron Range, building the transcontinental railway and working in the fields in the Midwest. The women turned their homes into *boarding houses* and they cooked, laundered, ironed, and took care of ten or more workers in addition to their family. Marie Prisland quotes a story of a Slovenian woman whose family came to America in 1910. She remembered their difficult life:

> *"Those who pine for the 'good old days' never knew what they were or never remembered what life had in store for the poor immigrants who came to America in the early years of this century. We rented and lived in four rooms. The kitchen was the main room, or it could be better described as a workshop. Our family of five, since a new child had arrived at that time, had one sleeping room and the other two rooms were for the boarders, who numbered eight at one time. [...] I don't remember that my mother was ever without work. If she had any free time she would knit or crochet. Hand-made table cloths were the fashion then and my mother made them by the dozen for a small pay"* (Prisland 1968: 75–77).

Living conditions were miserable and it took decades for many immigrants to save enough to buy or rent more decent homes. For others, as the narrator from La Salle describes above, prosperity and a more comfortable life were possible soon after the arrival, but this was an exception to the rule among the Slovenian migrants.

Therefore it was essential for most of them to live in Slovenian communities

– they were developed enough to offer a wide range of cultural, religious, political, fraternal, commercial, and business institutions. It is obvious that the food, religion, and festivities were the core elements of the cultural tradition that were practised in everyday community and family life. On the other hand, there was a vivacious cultural life in every Slovenian community that went far beyond the tradition. Slovenian migrants built National homes and reading rooms; they had plays, choirs, operas, concert events in Slovenian language; they established newspapers and magazines, published books; they had drama and singing groups; they sang Slovenian songs at every occasion and they recorded these songs on LPs as early as 1924. In all these activities, at home and in the community, the migrant women played an important role. One reason for that was sarcastically emphasised by Mary Molek:

> *"These young women were not 'the tired, the poor' proverbially greeted with open arms by the Statue of Liberty. Neither were they descendants of uncultured, uncivilized lands. They were, instead, bearers of an already-established cultural heritage, centuries old ..."* (Molek 1976: 5).

In fact, as Christiane Harzig stresses the findings of many authors, there would have been no community building process without a crucial number of women in the immigration population.

> *"Under the heading of 'community' (and neighbourhood) we may consider the changing reality of material culture in the migration process, i.e., adjustment to living conditions, eating habits, dress. It is also easy to see how women's agency as household workers, consumers, and caregivers is essential in adjusting past experience to present reality. Another aspect concerns the emergence of an organizational structure which negotiates a 'before' and 'after' experience, that is, mediates between 'old world' values, customs, habits, and traditions and the demands of the modern-industrial-urban 'new world'"* (Harzig 2001: 21).

She also mentions a third point in which women migrants have a crucial role in the community, "identity formation, i.e., changing concepts of national identities, creation of hyphenated identities, usage of different identities in different settings for different purposes, and again, changing gender relations" (Harzig 2001: 21). All this is clearly found in the women's narratives and will be shown in the life story of Marie Prisland.

Let us have a look into why something as important as the Slovenian language was not preserved among the migrants in the United States. We must take into the account wider social conditions that influenced the position of migrants and their aspirations. My interlocutor, a successful singer and cultural organiser, spent her childhood in the 1940s in the biggest and most culturally developed Slovenian community in Cleveland. Her family spoke only Slovenian at home and worked intensively within the community. However, the narrator's attitude towards the English language was defined by her elder sister and her unpleasant experience with the dominant culture.

> *"My sister is seven years older than me and she knew English and she didn't want her*

little sister to be like her, not know English when going to school. She's the one that taught me how to sing when I was four years old. She used to put me behind the drape and she taught me 'Pistol Packing Mama' and 'Put Your Arms Around me Honey'. And she would have me do motions like ... [sings 'Put your arms around me honey, hold me tight' and mimics motions]. And she'd have me come out at age four from behind the curtain so when I went to school I was singing in English. That's because she didn't know English when she started school. And I was six and a half years younger so she made sure that I knew English at home."

The children and grandchildren left the safe monoculture haven when they went to school; school worked in accordance with the melting pot ideology and demanded "Americanisation". It played the key role in producing the common experience, which would equip persons from most different cultures and traditions with cultural tools to identify with their new homeland (Dewey 1968). For some narrators who were growing up in the late 1920s and 1930s in Slovenian communities, going to school was a great shock. Some of them hadn't even realised they were of Slovenian origin until going to school, much less that this should be something special and often pejorative. For many of them, the first scorn about their origin, language, customs, and traditions came from their school friends, their name-calling, insults, and disdain. Sometimes the first unpleasant feeling of otherness wasn't connected to such dramatic events, but more to the absence of the frame of reference, just like the first narrator in this text described. For the most part, it was connected to the language. Poet Rose Mary Prosen wrote about growing up in Cleveland in a typical Slovenian neighbourhood. When a school friend told her: "You sound like you just got off the boat", she immediately stopped speaking Slovenian and became ashamed of her family's way of life.

"The language of my birth, Slovenian, did not pass my lips as I grew into womanhood. If someone did speak to me in that language, I might respond. More often, I would not. However, by the time I was thirteen, there had been five other children born, and my parents were outnumbered. We all spoke English. Except for Slovenian prayers, English dominated my family home and, of course, the elementary school. We had become Americans" (Prosen 1977: 28–29).

When they realised that people outside the community, home, and family ridiculed their ethnic origin, the children frequently felt embarrassed and ashamed. One of the narrators mentioned that a single unpleasant remark at school convinced her that she should only associate with her own kind in her free time, because only among them was she accepted and safe. For others, the absence of Slovenians from textbooks or a rude remark about their accent was enough to step on the path of denial or concealing of their ethnic identity. Some, however, were either truly not bothered, or didn't allow themselves to be.

What did the different responses depend on? More than a couple of dozen narratives clearly indicate that any generalisation would be inappropriate. It is impossible to establish what exactly conditioned not only the momentary response,

but also the long-term way of behaviour in public and the attitude towards the identity and mother tongue. Preserving ethnic identity may have been connected to various circumstances: if as a child the woman lived in a Slovenian community that was developed and if she actively participated in the rich cultural activities (choir, drama groups) also as an adolescent and an adult; if she grew up in a family which cultivated not only the language but also the pride of their origin, had close contacts with relatives in the old country and visited them; if as a child she was emotionally attached to her mother, grandmother, or other relatives who provided a close-knit support group and were a source of happy memories. On the other hand, avoiding ethnic identity could have been linked to cold relationships within the family; the absence of relatives or a wider Slovenian community; to unhappy memories of the old county the parents or grandparents brought with them and were therefore reluctant to discuss their origin and their old homeland; to the regret of coming to America, where they were less successful than they had imagined before they had set off. There are many complex, ambiguous, and puzzling combinations of the same elements, which show the importance of personal choices and subjective decisions. But above all, we have to take into account that the decisions and choices were not final or fatal. They were taken all the time and were as changeable and fluid as are identity and subjectivity. We are not necessarily Slovenians or Italians all the time, if I refer to Maria Laurino's book, *Were You Always an Italian?* (Laurino 2000). As we can hear in the narratives, the answer to the question, "Were you always a Slovenian?" is often, "No."

However, the narrator from Washington D.C. provided a different answer and a unique story in many respects:

> *"I know a lot of people in my generation said they weren't Slovenian, they didn't want to be known as Slovenian. I think they finally came out of hiding during the war [of Slovenian independence in 1991]. Before that they would deny, they were Americans. They didn't want to tell people who they were. But I never felt any discrimination or anything or if I did I always shrugged it off, I figured, well, if you're so stupid you can be prejudiced. I always had a sense of my own worth. I never felt that I was different, or less, just because my parents were not Americans."*

She grew up during the Depression in New York City. Her mother came to New York as a hatmaker in a female migrant group from Domžale around 1920. Her father came around the same time.

> *"And they came here and they met in New York. My mother worked in a hat company, made fancy hats, ladies' hats. And my father started working in men's hats but then he got a city job as a maintenance worker for the New York subway system, which was a big help when Depression came, because all the hat workers lost their jobs, and my father, he just had a big decrease in salary, but he was able to support his family and also help out a lot of Slovenians who had nothing. Because they used to come to our house and I remember my mother giving bread and things and people carrying out shopping bags that were full when they left."*

We see that the family lived in a tight network of ethnic community ties and relationships but was very much connected also to the world "outside" the community where the father was employed and had friends and comrades. The narrator told me that her father preferred talking in English but not her mother:

> *"At home, my mother and sister talked only Slovenian and if we talked in English my mother said, 'I don't understand, speak Slovenian'. [...] When I started school I didn't know any English at all. But then I learned so much that I skipped the second grade. So I can speak both."*

We would assume that her mother was more traditionally oriented and closer to the community values but the narrator surprised us with an account of how differently her mother and father regarded the education of their children:

> *"My father was like 'well, if everybody wants to go to work, that's ok'. But my mother said, you know: 'No, no, no, they have to go to school' and people used to make fun of her: why are you sending children to school, especially your girls, send them out and have them go to work."*

But she did not want that and so her daughter got a scholarship, went to college, and majored in Biology and minored in Chemistry. She combined the traditional ethnic culture and values with the modern possibilities and choices of the dominant society. The combination was glued together with her own intimate conviction and personal determination, as well as by clearly changing and renegotiating gender relations.

MY HOMELAND IS MY LAPTOP AND MY PURSE

The second or third generation women of American-Slovenians are not unlike other hyphenated Americans: very few speak the language of their ancestors, but they value their ethnic origin and tradition. Their knowledge of Slovenian heritage varied – they knew bits about music, culture, and history, quite a bit about food and next to nothing about the language. This reveals an interesting similarity between the otherwise completely different migration waves: before 1945 and after. The migrants after World War Two were mostly refugees and displaced persons, who escaped the change of the political regime in the post-war Slovenia and Yugoslavia. Apart from their ethnic origin, they had little in common with the migrants who arrived before 1940. They were far better educated than the pre-war migrants, they belonged to the middle classes and that itself was a reason for different understanding and practising of a culture. It was precisely this class and cultural difference that – along with political and ideological convictions – contributed to the fateful division in the community. I must also add that many migrants remembered Slovenia – the old country – as something beautiful, something to be cherished and transfer the nostalgia to the next generation. This transfer of beautiful and undoubtedly idealised memories was so efficient that the narrators who have never seen Slovenia often described its beauty as if it were in front of their very eyes. Post-war political

refugees or displaced persons could not bring such memories with them. Beautiful as it may have been, the memory of the landscape could not overpower the experience of fear, hatred, and the definite loss of homeland. In the Slovenian ethnic community people were still tied by common national origin, language, and religion, but the consciousness of the historical past, life style, and aspirations for the future divided them fatefully.

However, the desire to preserve ethnic identity and tradition was just as strong with the post-war migrants and refugees. The narrator who arrived in New York in 1954 described the cultural life of the Slovenian community, where until 1960, the migrants of both waves engaged in rich social and cultural activities. But when they finished their education, moved around the United States, got married and started working, such activities ceased: there was no longer enough time, and eventually not enough people. And what did she say about the language?

> *"The first daughter spoke only Slovenian until kindergarten, but with the second we couldn't persist, we already had a television. Daughter still speaks Slovenian when she comes home. Although she spends all her time among Americans she still speaks Slovenian. We speak both languages, we mix, and especially with the older daughter we speak English more. I don't know how it comes to that. In the past, being Slovenian was a problem. Schools were to be blamed for that, people didn't even know where Slovenia is. Sometimes they demanded in schools that English is spoken at home but nowadays that's not the case anymore, there is more understanding for bilingualism and multiculturalism. Very few people here can speak Slovenian. For them this meant nothing, for example Spanish is present here, but our language made no sense. Only in 1972 when we took children to Slovenia they realized that this language makes sense and that it is not only something that we pursue at home."*

After 1945 the United States retained the same race-based immigration law that had been in use since 1924. While the fear of new immigrants, spurred by the Depression in the 1930s was eliminated due to economic prosperity caused by the war years, the racist basis of the migration legislation was only abolished in 1965. Although the accepting of refugees and displaced persons was accompanied by a public campaign about the importance of such acts, refugees were still viewed with suspicion and uneasiness. How quickly they adjusted to the new environment varied greatly. Slovenian migrants after 1945 integrated into the American society quickly and successfully, because their skills, education, and required additional training allowed them to take well-paid and respectable jobs. Some narrators clearly indicate that the motivation for the total immersion into the new society was so much the greater, as there was no way back. The forced leave caused a complex identity situation, with the narrators feeling refugees forever and everywhere. It is interesting to compare the third wave migrants, the women who migrated of their own free will, without economic or political pressure, who came to the United States after 1960. Their emotions were described in a similar way: that they have no home, no roots, that they have two homelands or none at all, that they have two homes or

are homeless, and so on. The universality of the experience that at first sight seems specific for the displaced persons is further confirmed by the testimonies of the oldest Slovenian migrants from the beginning of the twentieth century. In the collection of testimonies edited by Irene Odorizzi there are many statements about there being no way back, no matter how much they might want it. As one of them described those first decades and reasoning: "I think that I remember those days the most because they were the busiest and the hardest ones. We put so much of our bodies and souls into living, that the memory of these early days could never be forgotten. Every day was work, work, and more work. Never vacation and very little sleep. [...] When I look back now, I wonder how we immigrants ever managed in those early days. Then I realize that we were able to suffer those hardships because we knew we had to stay. There was no future for us back home, only here in America" (Odorizzi 1978: 33–34).

Some young women, whom I met while recording in Washington D.C., remembered how their fathers concealed their ethnic identity. They were daughters of displaced persons who discovered their fathers' ethnic origin, and consequently their own, quite by chance only when they were teenagers. Two narrators mentioned that their father, a post-war refugee, would occasionally listen to records with unusual songs in a language they could not understand. He played them so loudly that the windows rattled and listened to them with such intense concentration that none of them dared ask what they were. The father of another narrator only revealed his ethnicity after years of his children being convinced he was an American. Quite by chance he befriended a man, who was another post-war refugee, but also a "practising" Slovenian. The situation was quite different in Cleveland, where the biggest group of post-war immigrants settled and built a number of institutions, parallel to those established by pre-war immigrants. They founded Slovenian homes and leisure centres; choral, theatre, and cultural societies; newspapers and magazines. These allowed for constant communication, gatherings, and preservation of the language – or at least helped to slow down its disappearance.

As for retaining the ethnic identity and language, a Washington D.C. narrator summed up the situation:

> *"The main factor why language can't be preserved is the environment, where there is not enough Slovenians, no literature, no everyday contacts and besides that people don't have time for children because they work long hours. Those few minutes a day that you spend with a child can't be devoted to language, it's too exhausting and demanding. In Washington there are no Slovenian families where young children would know how to speak Slovenian and preserving tradition is very limited: to a mass once a month, priest blessings and celebration of St. Nicholas' day. That's all. And then a Slovenian gathering once a year, where English is spoken, where an accordion player is invited, sausages are cooked and flancati[4] are fried – I wouldn't call that culture."*

4 Flancati are a type of deep-fried traditional pastry, usually eaten with powdered sugar on top.

My interlocutor is one of the post-1960 migrants, for whom economy or politics were no longer the main reason for migration. She came to the United States to study and married a Slovenian political migrant in Washington, D.C. Her story is interesting because it draws attention to the class and cultural divide between the migrants of different waves. To her, even what the post-war migrants are doing is far from culture. Her understanding of Slovenian culture is one of modern output in the fields of literature, drama, music, youth subcultures, not as something connected to the rural, folk tradition. This shows the importance of the social and cultural context of the society from which a person migrates. From where and when a migrant joins a migrant community is of key importance to the subjective perception of migrant experience. In the case of Slovenia this means huge differences between those who migrated in the three main waves, and also differs depending on the region from where people migrated. If we add this to the class and generation divides we can imagine just how heterogeneous Slovenian – and other – migrant communities really are.

The arrival of my just quoted interlocutor to the United States coincided with the so-called new ethnicity period after 1970. Ethnicity became socially valued, even praised. Several forms of expressing pride of belonging to a particular ethnic group emerged – ethnic pride parades, festivals, picnics, and cultural events. Key rings, bumper stickers, decorative tiles, towels, T-shirts, aprons, notebooks, and tea towels sported statements like: "Proud to be Polish!", "Kiss my ass, I'm Irish!", "Parking for Italians only, all others will be towed!", or "I am not only perfect, I am Slovenian!". Because of the emphasis on the importance of individual and cultural differences, the members of different ethnic communities spoke more confidently about their origin, tradition, culture, and history of their countries of origin. Ethnic origin became an acceptable individual choice. Some theorists named this kind of choice as *dime store ethnicity*; to choose and follow a certain identity supposedly became as straightforward as going to a dime store and buying something. "If people no longer perceive a threat to their individual life chances from ethnic discrimination, their ethnic identity can be used at will and discarded when its psychological or social purpose is fulfilled" (Waters 1990: 7). In the middle of ethnic revival there was an overwhelming conviction that one must be something else besides American. This is also the most often quoted thought in the life story interviews I made with over sixty women. *"After all, what is an American cultural identity? Is it consumption, is it watching television, that is an interesting issue",* reflected a young woman who lives in Brooklyn with her American husband and two small children. Another narrator, who has been living near New York City for around thirty years with her Slovenian husband and has four adult sons explained: *"You must be something, otherwise you get lost, you must have something to hang in, so you can be independent and self-confident. Because you can't be just an American; that is not enough."*

Poet Rose Mary Prosen also describes how she – after she had resolutely given up her mother tongue and successfully "Americanised" – started to ask herself this same question: "My generation became American. Not until I was out of high

school did I begin to ask, 'What is an American?'" (Prosen 1977: 33). It obviously wasn't enough for her. When she overcame the childhood and adolescent embarrassment and confusion over her origin, she began to value it and to understand it in a completely different way – it did in fact become a value. She did not move back to the Slovenian community, but she did start to write about her childhood inside it and about her origins.

The narrators from the third period of migration to the United States, who moved there sometime between 1960 and today, live in the era of multiculturalism as an American value, although the political importance of multiculturalism is constantly being re-defined. They claim they started asking questions about ethnic identity and tradition more seriously only after they'd had children. Although they have decided to intensively develop their children's Slovenian identity, many stressed that preserving the language was difficult despite the advantages and living conditions totally different to those endured by pre- and post-war migrants. They claim they have the possibility of relatively frequent visits to Slovenia, where children go on holidays or longer visits, and that they are in close contact with their families and friends via telephone and Internet – or through friends visiting them. They have Slovenian newspapers, books, and audio books for children and films delivered to their door. All this was inaccessible for post-war migrants and their children up to a certain time. And yet, even in such favourable circumstances, learning and preserving the language is rarely successful. In the words of a Slovenian language teacher who taught also in the Sunday school of the Slovenian church in Manhattan until 1996:

> *"When my son went to Slovenia for the first time, workers were working by the road and chatted in Slovenian, and he asked me: 'Where do those workers know Slovenian from, mother?' When I was driving with my son and cousin around Slovenia for five days they were amazed by labels with words like "moka" [flour]. 'Wow', said my son, 'this is what mummy uses every day.' They were amazed to find out that language actually exists and realized that it is good to know how to speak it. It is of greatest importance that parents speak Slovenian, that's the essential thing or you lose everything. But Slovenian parents simply forget Slovenian and refuse to speak it. They don't realize when they slide into English and eventually stay there. For me that wasn't a problem because I'm a teacher and I can express myself better in Slovenian. We always spoke consistently in Slovenian and that's still the case."*

At her home, they celebrated Slovenian holidays and the sons learned to cook Slovenian dishes. Yet she is realistic in her expectations:

> *"All four sons are married and have children but live far away and don't have Slovenian wives. This is all lost. You can't expect it to be different, because we have rare contacts, the fathers have no time and all communication is in English."*

Younger mothers with small children have greater control over time and verbal communication of children and are therefore more optimistic. The possibility of their children choosing a non-Slovenian partner, moving across the continent for

work and forgetting to cultivate their ethnic identity due to lack of time seems too distant to worry them. Besides, there is always this rather dream option that they will all return to Slovenia, which they mention somewhat embarrassedly and try to conceal this embarrassment with laughter. A young woman who lives in Brooklyn with an American husband and two small children told me that she tries to go with them to Slovenia every year for a month or more and that she tries to organise their life in a way that is as Slovenian as possible:

> *"I'm trying for us to have some sort of Slovenian life because I want my sons to have that. I always speak to them only in Slovenian. Because I stay home, I don't go to work, I organize the day so that we have breakfast, Slovenian lunch with soup and everything, and a light dinner. That we go out in the afternoon, like I did in Slovenia with my parents. And holidays, typical holidays. We celebrated Christmas on Christmas Eve with dinner, just like we do. […] I will do my best to teach my sons Slovenian and our customs, so that they can go there to school for a year or so, or if this summer school starts, and that they have the opportunity to go studying, if they want to. That they come to know Slovenia – me basically, that's me."*

Another narrator, who also lives in Brooklyn with two small children and an American husband, gave the exact same reason, the most intimate one: she teaches her children the language to establish the intimate relationship with them that a mother tongue provides – despite the fact that she listed other benefits for bilingual children – development of cognitive skills and openness to other cultures, for example:

> *"For the last three years I feel I've started missing Slovenia more. And when spring comes and it gets warm I say to myself that now it's time to make reservations and go home. […] Most of the time I try to speak Slovenian with them, but it's difficult when you've been living here for such a long time and your work is in English and your husband is American and school is English, so sometimes you have to force yourself to switch to Slovenian. […] That's why it means a lot to me to go home so they are surrounded by Slovenian speaking environment because otherwise it doesn't work, it's very difficult. We go every year; we try to go every year for three, four weeks. Well, and parents come over, but that's not the same. They really need to be in Slovenia as far as language is concerned. All the rest is just academic."*

It is interesting that the narrators realise how important 'ethnic environment' is for children to learn the language and with it the mediated values and determined cultural patterns of behaviour. They are fully aware that any effort they make at home, however great it might be, will fail unless supported by regular visits to Slovenia and the positive memories the children bring back to America. And even in these circumstances none of them would dare to predict that her children will continue to cultivate their ethnic origin and language. Despite a century long gap and incomparable living conditions and social circumstances, the reasoning of the pre-war and modern migrants about retaining ethnic identity are similar. No indicators show that any of them would not desire her children to succeed and be happy in the American environment, however, the surplus wish of retaining ethnic

identity, and if possible the language, is present in almost all of them. The narratives show that the symbolic identification with ethnic origin is not particularly costly today. But it obviously adds something important to life that is difficult to explore and explain – a purpose. The few Slovenian migrants who come to America today are educated, professionally mobile and successful, they live in heterogeneously comfortable suburbs and in circumstances that in no way resemble the time when the first migrants got off the boats. Except when we speak about the search for meaning and comprehension that lend purpose to the world around us. In that, there is no difference among them at all. Even when a young educated Slovenian woman, totally unburdened by ethnic things says in downtown Manhattan: *"My homeland is my laptop and my purse."*

WOMEN FIRST!

One hundred and more years ago, the migrants who arrived to America were mostly uneducated and unskilled, yet "they were in a sense almost all craftsmen in their ability to creatively fashion culture and meaning to suit their daily social and psychological needs. Consider their use of the rich repository of song, dance, and folktales, which nearly all groups brought to American cities. This body of lore and culture had been generated in traditional communities and served effectively as a device for rendering meaning and understanding in a world which was beyond the powers of ordinary people to direct" (Bodnar 1985: 185). An example of craftsmanship, or better to say craftswomanship, in the ability to creatively fashion culture and meaning is Marie Prisland's life-long endeavour. However, in her case, as in the case of the quoted women's narratives, both cultures and both traditions were included. She was able to create meaning to serve daily social and psychological needs of individuals and communities through creatively combining the traditional ethnic culture of the Old Country and the modern civic culture of the New World. In a unique combination, she followed the traditional ethnic habits and gender roles, while simultaneously enriching them with the civic virtues and political freedom. In this way Marie Prisland brought many achievements to the life of Slovenian communities. The most notable one was the establishment of the first independent women's organisation, the *Slovenian Women's Union of America (SWUA)* in 1926 and its official publication *Zarja* (*"The Dawn"*).

Twenty years earlier she disembarked on Ellis Island as a fifteen-year old orphan. Her parents left her with her beloved grandmother when she was five years old and went to Brazil. They were part of a "Brazilian emigration fever", which started in 1880 and lasted until the end of the nineties century. Most of the emigrants were poor farmers from the Kranjska and Primorska regions and their migrants' path led them, in Aleksej Kalc's opinion, "through truly tough, in comparison with other emigrant destinations, probably the toughest collective life ordeal" (Kalc 2001: 59).

Prisland's mother died of yellow fever a year after arrival to Brazil and her father remarried and never came back or took care of his daughter. Prisland's motivation for migrating to America was to earn enough money for college tuition because she wanted to become a teacher. Prisland arrived to America by herself with only the invitation letter from her neighbours to come to Sheboygan, a tiny settlement in Wisconsin with a thriving ethnic community and numerous fraternal and cultural organisations. However, when she looked around she found much more. In her book, she described one of her first impressions of America: "The honor and the freedom which American women were enjoying was a marvel to me. This is not duplicated in any other country on the globe. A few married men, however, were of a different opinion. Used to European behavior, they thought that America was over-protecting the little woman. One complained: 'In Europe a man could mishandle his wife and nobody bothered him, but here, if a man beats his wife a little and the neighbors hear her cry, they quickly call the police! The man is taken to jail for something he believed it was his right to do. Isn't the wife his property? And is he not free to do with it what he thinks is right?'"(Prisland 1968: 53).

Although the United States at the beginning of the twenieth century was not an egalitarian society regarding the social status of women, the women migrants were in a much better position than back in the Old Country. There were more economic and social opportunities to improve their status and even for the very traditional Italian and Slavic women the American society offered possibilities. In her general study of ethnic history where women's roles were included for the first time, Maxine Seller mentions how wife beating declined when women discovered that abusive husbands could be reported to the police. In a unique conceptual insight into the connectedness of the private and public sphere, she adds at this point that many Slavic and Italian women became active in their ethnic communities. She points out how they "developed national organizations that published newspapers and magazines and pursued educational and charitable work within the ethnic community. Members of religious orders established and ran much needed schools, hospitals, and orphanages" (Seller 1988: 127). Two points are relevant here. First, Italian and Slavic women have a special place in Seller's analysis since she differentiates these two groups from, for example, Arabic and Jewish women. She believes that Roman Catholicism and the Church reinforced women's subordination in a way typical only for the Italian and Slavic communities. But even under such circumstances, the values regarding gender roles in the dominant society had an impact on women's self-perception and encouraged their civic activities even beyond their own communities. The second point is the gap between the private and public sphere, which is used as one of the most common methodological approaches in the studies of gender roles. However, if we try to study gender roles in a society this division is more of an obstacle than a useful tool for understanding. This connection that Seller makes between the women's civic activities outside home and their rebellion against abuses inside the home is a good example. It shows how the

private and public sphere are intertwined even when the private sphere is traditionally structured and protected from the influence of the dominant society by the closed ethnic immigrant community. It also shows that subjected women can use civic values and laws of the dominant society to empower themselves even if they maintain their traditional role at the same time. The life and work of Marie Prisland, a "traditional" mother and housewife and a "modern" activist, is a good example of both points mentioned above. As Christiane Harzig emphasises "Not only have women proven to be essential to the community-building process, migration itself has been seen as the terrain where gender relations are renegotiated" (Harzig 2001: 21).

Her story shows contradictions, ambiguities, complexities, and dynamics of activities of life lived in the Slovenian ethnic community in the United States. For its presentation and evaluation it is not appropriate to use the methodological division between private and public sphere but the overlapping of both. In an overview of treatment of women in migration history Sydney Weinberg emphasises that through the methodological division we get a very limited picture of women's positions. They are seen only as workers and civic activists or as wives and mothers and part of the families. She thinks that we have to extend our research to other perspectives, "to (1) the connections between work and home life, the domestic and public spheres; (2) women-centered activities performed in the context of household or neighborhood; and (3) women's perceptions of their world – the satisfaction it could offer and the way they could achieve authority within their realm" (Weinberg 1992: 11).

The last point is especially relevant to understanding most of the quoted women's narratives and also Marie Prisland's vision. She saw that other women immigrants, like Czech, Polish, or Slovak women were well-organised and had their own newspapers. She argued that the reason Slovenian women hadn't achieved the same was due to lack of education and the interest to organise. Her idea was to establish an organisation which would unite them, make them visible and proud because it would demand from them responsibility, education, and determination. A goal of the women's organisation would be to acquaint and bring closer Slovenian women from various scattered communities. United, they would be able to work "in educational, national and religious spirit" to benefit themselves, as well as their families and their nation. The response to her idea was favourable. From everywhere, women expressed their enthusiasm to "show their compatriots in the old homeland, that they are also aware of their Slovenian nationality, to get to know each other better and to be beneficial to themselves and their families" (Prisland 1965: 210). There are interesting questions regarding her activities, like, how she was able to establish a women's organisation that combined traditional Slovenian values and American civil liberties; how she combined religious catholic and civic values; how she intertwined the goal of maintaining traditional women's roles with learning and exercising their political and human rights. A particularly meaningful issue was her strong determination to help Slovenian women in the United States achieve a position of authority and respect at home, in the community, in the Old

Country, and in the new homeland. That is exactly what she wanted, a position of authority that could be gained through education, work, activities at home, and in the community. As much as she wanted to preserve the traditional gender roles, she wanted to change them. She expected that if only this changed, respected Slovenian woman with authority could become a part of the history of Slovenians in the States and in Slovenia.

There is a much shared opinion among researchers that life in America was better for women, as Prisland also noted as a young immigrant. Among the autobiographical parts of her book we read about the author's experience upon her arrival in America, which deals with gender roles in the new country. *"A group of Slovenian immigrants, of which this writer was one, arrived in New York from that part of Austria, which presently is the territory of Yugoslavia. It was a beautiful morning in May 1906. After leaving the French ship La Touraine, we were transported to Ellis Island for landing and inspection. There we were 'sorted out' as to the country we came from and placed in a 'stall' with the letter 'A' above us ('A' was for Austria). There were at least a hundred Slovenian immigrants. We separated ourselves, as was the custom at home – men on the right and women and children on the left. All of us were waiting to leave for all parts of the United States. The day was warm and we were very thirsty. An English-speaking immigrant asked the nearby guard where we could get a drink of water. The guard withdrew and returned shortly with a pail of water, which he set before the group of women. Some men stepped forward quickly to have a drink, but the guard pushed them back saying: 'Ladies first!' When the women learned what the guard had said, they were dumbfounded, for in Slovenia, as in all Europe, women always were second to men. Someone dramatically explained it this way: 'First comes man, then a long time nothing, then comes the woman.' Happy at the sudden turn of events, one elderly lady stepped forward, holding a dipper of water, and proposed this toast: 'Živjo Amerika, kjer so ženske prve!' (Long live America, where women are first!)"* (Prisland 1968: 19).

Her determination to help Slovenian women to get the position of authority and respect originated in two life circumstances. First, was a childhood wish to become a teacher, which brought her to America and equipped her with capacity to do remarkable things: establishing a women's organisation and a magazine, writing articles and books, editing books, being active in many organisations, advocating education and national responsibility. The other circumstance is the society Prisland immigrated to. The above quotation shows that American civic values concerning woman's social status were a strong inspiration for young Prisland. As a worker in the shops, chair and beer factories of Sheboygan, she quickly realised that she would never be able to earn enough money for the teacher's college tuition. But there she also learned something so meaningful that she included it in her book. It is one of the many examples of "the comparative nature of the migration experience" as Nancy Green describes it: "The immigrant represents the Other in the nation-state, but the new land is the referential Other for the newly-arrived. The migrant embodies an implicit comparison between past and present, between one world and

another, between two languages, and two sets of cultural norms. The immigrant's observations fall somewhere between the tourist's hasty generalisations and the social scientist's constructed comparisons" (Green 1999: 57). Prisland constructed comparisons regarding gender equality and also the equality regarding the status of workers. She wrote: *"We were amazed to see wealthy people working when there seemed to be no real necessity for their labor. Gradually, however, we realized that Americans worked not only to acquire wealth or livelihood but to improve their standards of living, for creative purposes, or for the pleasure of doing something worthwhile. We were told that common laborers occasionally invented devices, which were accepted by their employers for improvements on machines, which increased the laborer's efficiency and the safety of their fellow-workers. It impressed us that practically no one seemed to be embarrassed to work and that workers all over America enjoyed dignity and respect."* (Prisland 1968: 52–53). Prisland never got a professional certificate for the work she was doing all her life – educating people through writing, organising, and lecturing. However, the American society gave her the inspiration and possibility of pursuing it even when certain activities were not perceived as desirable in the Slovenian community. And, as I will show, she made it into history, which was one of the objectives of the organisation she founded.

Slovenian immigrants are seldom mentioned in the vast literature on American immigration history and Slovenian women immigrants are paid even less attention. However, Maxine Seller quoted the story about Prisland's arrival to Ellis Island and added: "For Prisland, who later founded the *Slovenian Women's Union of America* and created a woman's magazine, *The Dawn*, the American dream became reality. Not all immigrant women were so fortunate. For many, life in the United States was bitter and the slogan, 'ladies first', cruelly ironic. 'Ladies' were first to be underpaid, unemployed, and abused" (Seller 1994: 2). Prisland knew a lot about this cruel irony and the difficult life of Slovenian immigrant women was also one of the reasons why she founded the *Slovenian Women Union of America*. In the bibliography of *Immigrant Women in the United States* Donna Gabaccia listed Marie Prisland's book in the section "Autobiography" with the following description: "Includes considerable information on community work and notable women, but also her autobiography" (Gabaccia 1989: 243). Donna Gabaccia also quoted anecdotal story from Ellis Island and one of Prisland's autobiographical chapters was reprinted in *The Ethnic American Woman: Problems, Protests, Lifestyles*. Ethnic groups, which are represented in this anthology, are numerous, and Prisland is labelled as "Slavic-American" together with Rose Mary Prosen. There is only one other author included in this group, namely Sonya Jason of Slovak descent (Russian-American and Polish-American are separated groups) (Blicksilver 1978: 446).

When the *Slovenian Women's Union of America* was established in 1926, its main goal was to help Slovenian women living in America financially, to assist them in issues such as education, citizenship, and participation in civic affairs, and to provide moral and sisterhood support. In her book, Marie Prisland points out how difficult it was to establish such an organisation because it was not welcomed in

Slovenian communities, certainly not by men. For a person who valued the ethnic community life like she did, it took a special courage. About the beginnings of the SWUA, she wrote: "This new organization was not very popular. Men eyed it as an intrusion into their domain and as something totally unnecessary. They maintained that a woman's place was in the home, taking care of the husband, the children, and the boarders, which every home had to augment the family income. Even the women had little faith in the new society until it started to grow and then expanded beyond expectations" (Prisland 1968: 78–79). The membership grew fast and steadily for three decades, reaching its peak in the middle of 1950s, after which a slow decline in membership was noted. In 2000, it stabilized around five thousand and the future of the organisation looked more optimistic. A lot has changed since the first days of the organisation and we should observe changes in membership with consideration to the social and political dynamics of a particular era.

Prisland sailed off from her village in Slovenia with educational ambitions and awareness that social action is necessary. She disembarked in a society where the women's movement for political rights had been in its sixth decade of constant activities, which proved successful in 1919. She settled down in a community where she learned that not only Slovenians cherished their ethnic culture and tradition, but other immigrants did as well. She observed the situation in which Slavic migrants were regarded as less civilized and potentially dangerous for the American society. However, this did not frustrate young Prisland or obscure her insight into possibilities and choices that the same society was offering to immigrants. She was very much involved in the Slovenian community and was fond of Slovenian culture and tradition, but she also acknowledged other Slavic women's organisations, publications, and activities as something Slovenian women should have themselves. Her own immediate community, other ethnic communities, the dominant society and the homeland she left for good inspired her. A dynamic social context helps to understand her individual decisions, cultural choices, and social experiences. Moreover, it gives an insight into the changes in SWUA membership and the legacy of its founder. SWUA and its publication *Zarja* were established on the brink of the decade-long Depression era, when solidarity and mutual help were of even more crucial importance. Up to the decade after World War Two, all objectives stated on the founding day were still relevant and attracted new members.

Why did the number of members start decreasing at the end of the 1950s? In the 1940s, a period of economic and social prosperity in the American society began. Slovenian migrants and their descendants were able to take part in this success due to the established life and citizenship they managed to obtain after decades of living in America. One of the impacts of prosperity was better social position, which resulted in moving to the suburbs and only occasionally visiting old National homes and churches. Prosperity brought higher educational aspiration and migrants' descendants started to follow attractive educational and job possibilities and offers, far away from new suburban homes. The decline in membership in SWUA and

other ethnic organisations was due to the traditional concept and goals of respective organisations, which were not suitable for the younger, educated professionals. There were also other reasons, shortly defined as a long-term process of integration and assimilation. As Jan and Leo Lucassen put it, "we define assimilation as the state in which immigrants or their descendants do not regard themselves primarily as different from the native-born population and are no longer perceived as such" (Lucassen, Lucassen 1999: 23). For Slovenian migrants and their descendants the turnaround was possible, because in a period of one hundred years they had, like other European migrants, climbed from the status of "less civilized and culturally unsuitable" to the position of the American middle class of "the whites". What is interesting is that today an American woman whose predecessors came from Slovenia a hundred years ago feels the need to participate in the *Slovenian Women's Union* and to feel Slovenian. Whatever that means to her.

CONCLUSION

The research project based on oral history interviews with Slovenian women migrants and their descendants in the United States explored what sort of subjectivity migrants' contexts have produced in the past and in the present time. The narrators belonged to different generations but the main themes of the narratives were the same: the origin, music, folk songs, holidays, language, and above all, food. Since food is the most long-lasting, solid marker of ethnic identity it is not strange that women seem so important for its preservation. The narratives show, how we are what we eat. However, they also show that we are mainly what we feel. The construction of feelings and emotions, memories and meanings is what the narratives expose most. The construction is a process in which identity is negotiated between different traditions and different modernities in a specific context. This is well seen also in the presentation of the life endeavour of Marie Prisland. Her life story and the women's narratives emphasised that the identities has been always intimately, individually defined in a specific historical, political, cultural and, of course, gendered context. What the analysis of the life stories shows is that there exist no unified ethnic identity and no authentic ethnic voices. In that respect, the narratives of Slovenian women migrants and their descendants are nothing special. If we compare them with the experiences of today's women migrants in Europe we can hardly see any difference.

The research project conducted in several European countries in the twenty-first century shows women as creative agents of their lives in the migratory contexts and culture as a field where identities and recognitions are negotiated. Rosi Braidotti and Esther Vonk emphasise that, "Everyone, even if sporadically, experiences her/himself to be a foreigner, a stranger, in her/his own country, place, environment, or culture; no one fully coincides with their national, sexual, ethnic, social, cultural, or politi-

cal identity".[5] The construction of identity is a combination of different everyday decisions not a choice between old and new, tradition and modernity, between one and the other identity. The findings of the research project presented here are similar also to the historical overview of the immigrant women in the United States in the 19th and 20th century of Donna Gabaccia. As she points out and was shown in this text as well, for immigrant women in the United States, "the main challenge of migration was to claim new forms of power – whether in the form of an individual wage, the choice of a spouse, or leisure time – without losing older female modes of influence within community and kinship networks. [...] By continuing to think of themselves as hyphenated or ethnic American women, immigrant women could behave in new, modern, ways without casting off the values learned on the other side" (Gabaccia 1994: 134). However, there are no Italo-Romanians, German-Turks, Slovene-Bosnians or, simple, Euro-Whatever yet. Maybe the hyphenated identity will be acceptable in Europe one day, too.

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TO THINK AND LIVE MULTICULTURALISMS IN VARIOUS MIGRATION CONTEXTS OF EUROPEAN UNION MEMBER STATES

MARINA LUKŠIČ HACIN

INTRODUCTION: MIGRATION, THE EUROPEAN UNION, AND MULTICULTURALISMS

International migration is becoming a central theme in debates about integration processes of the European Union (EU). The problem is multi-layered, highly differentiated, and historically conditioned. We need to take into consideration that individual EU member states have adopted different immigration policies and hold different attitudes towards immigrants and their descendants. Those attitudes are largely reflected in integration and naturalisation policies. The differences were rooted in the times of the liberal politics of the 1960s and reinforced in the 1970s and 1980s, shortly after the oil crisis[1].

Western European migration policies of the sixties were labelled as liberal (Klinar 1985: 6) or neo-liberal (Mesić 1993: 672). The period was reflected in open doors to immigration, gradual development of (national) migration policies in a wider sense, and the search for common standpoints on new waves of immigration by the member states of the European Economic Community (EEC),[2] the predecessor of the EU. During these times European countries started implementing guest worker programmes. Legal-political frameworks were developed with a clear objective to encourage, in a number of different ways, circular migration: emigration-immigration-return. So-called host countries, or countries of immigration, had the leading role in implementing such (circular) migration policies, while the countries of emigration supported their efforts in order to meet their own needs; the less economically developed European countries faced a surplus of labour

[1] During the Arab-Israeli war, Arab countries used oil as a weapon in the fight against Israel for the first time. With a month-long oil embargo (October 1973) they put pressure on the USA and Western European countries. The global economy struggled with the consequences throughout the 1974.

[2] A milestone in the establishment of common standpoints for the development of a migration policy of Western European states on a normative/declarative level, was the signing of Treaty of Rome in 1957, with which the EEC was officially established. (Pravni red in dokumenti 2005). Ten years later, the European community adopted an agreement (Mesić 1989: 10-15) with which it established a common labour market. This enabled free migration and equality in employment for citizens from EEC countries in other EEC countries. By adopting the agreement on internal migrants the position of external migrants worsened, while for internal migrants, the concept of citizenship began to lose its meaning.

population which they could not employ themselves.[3] The countries of emigration were also in favour of the temporality of migration, which would ensure the return of their citizens, yet their strongest interest was in remittances sent from abroad that would give a potential boost to economic growth and development. Klinar notes that different strategies of cooperation with emigrants were developed. Efforts were made on a bilateral level to protect those categories of emigrants who would keep their primary citizenship, to help them preserve ethnic identity abroad, and to promote their return[4] (Klinar 1990: 320).

The liberal migration policy that was conveyed in the countries of Western Europe until the oil crisis (1973) was the sum of national migration policies (Mesić 1993: 672). With the oil crisis, the liberal migration policy was brought to an end and we witnessed a "system expressed radical turn in the migration policy of immigrant countries" (Mesić 1989: 11), heading towards restriction of further foreign labour immigration. By that time it became evident that the model of migration flows was not regulated by itself. The inefficiency of guest worker programmes, anticipating the return of temporary labour migrants to their homelands, became evident when immigrants refused to return. The contemporary migration situation was conditioned by the labour market, return and reintegration, and social-legal status of immigrants and their descendants. All further migration depended entirely on (differentiated) economic needs for the labour force in countries to which workers (people?)[5] immigrated.

After the year 1973/74, the number of immigrants rose only due to family reunification schemes, births, humanitarian reasons, and illegal migration. The neo-liberal migration policy of the sixties and early seventies was replaced by a new one. This was a time of "integration migration policy" (Klinar 1985: 14). In accordance, family reunification was encouraged, assuming that it would ensure a more successful integration of immigrants into the new environment.[6] To describe European migration patterns in the eighties, the expression "migration in crisis situations" was simultaneously used (Klinar 1985). Immigration became selective and limited. Apart from family reunification, only immigration from the war areas

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3 "Economic boom commenced in the sixties; Switzerland, France, Western Germany, and the Benelux states all came forth with strong demands for a foreign labour force. At the same time we are witnessing new phenomena in Western Europe: the leading importer of the labour force has become the European Economic Community (EEC) and the leading exporters have become countries outside of this community. Around 70 per cent of guest workers are nowadays working in states of the EEC, arriving from non-member states. Membership and non-membership more or less depend on development and underdevelopment." (Rupnik 1972: 36)

4 Return issues raised the conflict of interest between individual states. Klinar notes that countries of emigration were "interested in return of their emigrants with qualifications, knowledge, capital," while "immigrant countries tended to send back mostly negatively selected re-migrants, who are unsuccessful and unadjusted." (Klinar 1993c: 664)

5 Taking into consideration the spirit of the time and the status attributed to migrants, it would be more appropriate to speak of migration of labourers and not people.

6 More in Luksic-Hacin 1995.

and due to political reasons was allowed, that is, asylum seekers and refugees. Simultaneously, numerous forced re-migrations were carried out.[7] In this crisis situation it became obvious that immigration is indeed in conflict with the existent ideology of a nation state, based on the idea of cultural and political homogeneity (Castles and Miller 1993: 13-14).

In contrast, the temporary guest worker model (when functioning as intended: emigration-immigration-return) proved to be one of the rare strategies of labour immigration among nation states that was not in sharp conflict with the nation state ideology.[8] Moreover, from the economic perspective, it complemented the nation state by ensuring an inflow of migrant labour (not people) to withered areas, while presuming that these labourers would at one point return to nation states of their origin. However, this seemingly (and also analytically) unified model was significantly differentiated. Among individual European states, at least three versions of practices regarding immigration restrictions, attitudes towards immigrants, and everyday life conditions can be identified: foreign workers model (*travailleurs étrangérs* – France), guest worker model (*Gastarbeiter* – Germany) and the immigrant model (*invandrare* – Sweden).[9] The names of the models themselves imply the different strategies used to treat immigrant temporary workers. Those differences are particularly apparent in naturalisation and integration policies. In some countries naturalisation was an extensive, lengthy procedure or it was simply denied (which did not apply to the descendants), in others it was denied to both immigrants and their descendants, and in some, naturalisation was a conditioned and supervised process, yet it was relatively immigrant friendly and envisaged the possibility of obtaining citizenship.[10]

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[7] Forced re-migration can be either direct or indirect. It is implemented through issuing or denying temporary work permits, complications with obtaining social security rights, limiting rights, discrimination, unemployment and threats. (Klinar 1985: 14) "We must acknowledge numerous changes occurring in their lives after 1973. Circular migration came to an end and they were left with a choice to either return home for good or stay abroad temporarily, yet for a longer period of time. Many didn't even have a choice and they were forced to return for various reasons; because they had lost their jobs and had no hope of finding employment somewhere else, mostly due to rising unemployment rates. Western European capital conducted a merciless selection of foreign workers: it accepted the good ones and sent the bad ones (unqualified, ill, etc.) back to where they came from. While restricting immigration of workers who were not citizens of the EEC member states, it encouraged family reunification of those workers that it chose to keep – this ensured a new labour reserve, especially a cheap women labour force…" (Pogačnik 1984: 118).

[8] "The concept of guest workers is in its cultural connotation a national concept, implying that migrants are automatically going to be returned to the states of emigration when their labour force will no longer be needed." (Mesić 1993: 672)

[9] More in Lukšič-Hacin 1999.

[10] Immigration history after World War 2 and the politics of granting citizenships show significant differences among the German, French, and Swedish model. For example, Germany is a state with high numbers of immigrants, while at the same time it is known to be very restrictive in granting citizenship (for those not of German origin) – not only to the first generation immigrants, but also to their descendants. In France, citizenship

The reasons for differences in naturalisation procedures of the three named countries are linked to historically conditioned differences in perception of a nation on both theoretic-conceptual and normative levels, as well as on the level of everyday life. Castles (1998: 43) notes that in France a republican model of a nation was developed, in Germany an ethnic model of a nation, and in Sweden a multicultural model of a nation. Accordingly, three different models of integration policy were developed. Castles speaks of the differentiated exclusion model (Germany), assimilation model (France), and multiculturalism model (Sweden). All three differ significantly in their attitude towards lifestyles of immigrants and descendants, their associations, preservation of culture and language, education of children, social and political rights, etc. (see Castles, Miller 1998: 244-250). The German model completely excludes immigrants from the majority,[11] the French model allows assimilation and inclusion of minorities into the majority society, and the Swedish model partly integrates minorities while simultaneously supporting cultural heterogeneity and equality.

The transformation of the EEC to the European Union and the processes of reconciliation of differences between the member states in different spheres of action have also brought forth positions on new immigration, immigrants, and their descendants. When reviewing the EU documents it becomes clear that EU migration policy handles mostly coordination between individual member states on issues of internal migration of immigrants who are already living and working in the EU and regulations of new immigration flows into the EU. A broader migration policy, including yearly immigration quotas of individual states, position on (new and old) immigrants, and the integration policy are still in the domain of national politics. The respective issues are discussed on the EU level by member states but result merely in guidelines, which *should* be integrated into national migration policies. Conditionally, we may assert that documents refer to three population groups:

was obtainable under certain conditions and in a longer period of time, while descendants of immigrants born in France were automatically rightful claimants. Since 1994, this has somewhat altered but France can still be classified as a state that is relatively inclined towards naturalisation. France also allows the possibility of holding a double citizenship. Sweden changed after World War 2 from a monolingual and ethnically homogeneous society into a multilingual and ethnically varied society. The transition took a mere two decades. Legal changes from 1975, when multiculturalism was integrated into migration policy, had a strong influence on the procedures of granting citizenship. A multicultural type of citizenship was introduced and implemented. This type enables relatively easy obtainment of citizenship, even if that leads to double citizenship. More in Lukšič-Hacin 1999.

[11] It could be argued that in the past this model did not even allow a possibility of total assimilation, as it excluded the possibility of naturalisation of non-ethnic residents. As such it resembles USA policies from the end of the 19th century and standpoints of advocates of Anglo-conformity, which ascribed inherent incapability of assimilation to blacks and natives. More in Lukšič-Hacin 1995.

1. citizens of EU member states with the right to move freely inside the entire EU area;[12]
2. residents of the EU member states with citizenship of a so-called third country, who have obtained work and resident permits in a particular EU member state and are not allowed to move freely in the EU area. This category refers also to family reunification schemes and broader integration policy, which should be based on postulates of multiculturalism;[13]
3. new immigrants from so-called third countries whose immigration is strictly controlled and who do not have the right of free movement between individual EU member states. States have agreed on external border control, asylum and visa regulations, and new immigration regulations.[14]

The foundations of the Schengen Agreement were laid as early as the mid-eighties. The Maastricht Treaty, later supplemented by the Treaty of Amsterdam, introduced a voting right and a number of social rights (in the spheres of health, education, employment, etc.), as well as labour rights (years of work experience, pensions, income taxation) that should be ensured by the EU member states for all immigrants from the other EU member states. In addition, equality with citizens and integration into the new environment should be ensured. The Amsterdam treaty and resolutions of the European Council in Tampere require harmonisation of citizen rights and national sovereignty issues from all member states and European institutions. This is a particularly complex field, especially because significant dif-

[12] Citizens of member states have the right of free movement, residency, work and study in the area of EU for either short or long period of time. The right of residency in other member states is applicable even without the proof of employment, if a person is capable of supporting himself/herself. For residency longer than three months a permit needs to be obtained. Work permits are no longer necessary for workers from old member states and this regulation should in time also be applicable to workers from new member states. In the meantime so-called transitional period was introduced and workers from new member states are required to apply for work permits, issuing of which is regulated by yearly quota systems.

[13] Living and working conditions for those residents are still in domain of national (mainly integration) policies. In EU debates on integration policies, multicultural principles of the right of immigrants to preserve their cultural heritage in a new environment while simultaneously respecting legal-political order of the state of immigration, are brought forth and recommended.

[14] The reason for putting effort into developing a common immigration policy of the EU, which would include issues of visas, asylum, refugees, il/legal border crossings, trafficking etc., is an inflow of new immigrants. All EU member states have problems with illegal migration and are aware of the necessity of balancing needs of economy with immigration. Therefore, they are putting effort into developing a common EU immigration policy. Common policy is being developed at two ends. The same regulations for approval of residency of citizens from third countries should be adopted by all member states, while EU would encourage gradual synchronisation of those parts of immigration policies that are not regulated by European legal order. Common objective of the EU member states is better control of migration flows and development of a synchronised approach that takes into consideration economic and demographic situation of the EU.

ferences between member states in approaching the issues of naturalisation and integration have been evident from the past on. Member states have, however, found a sort of a compromise with an agreement on exceptions. The European Council in Tampere set key elements of a common immigration policy of the EU, and the EU has since the mid-nineties been emphasising the importance of establishing a common European space with a strong distinction between so-called internal and external borders. Subsequently, we can speak of internal and external migration. The concept of European citizenship further emphasises this differentiation. Distinctive for internal migrations is, apart from free movement of goods, capital and services, also free movement of people. For now, the latter applies for the old member states, while new members are going through a so-called transition period and their citizens are still required to obtain work permits to get employed in the old member states. Sweden, Ireland, and Great Britain are an exception to this rule. Most new members opted for reciprocity and therefore this issue will be regulated for some time with bilateral negotiations and agreements between individual states.

Other criteria apply for 'external migration': "For external migration, therefore for those who immigrated from third countries, stricter rules apply due to the Schengen Agreement. Immigration and obtainment of a permanent residency permit is possible only within a professional field of an applicant and is approved by Immigration office if in accordance with interests of national employment policy" (Verlič Christensen 2000: 1124). The Schengen Agreement allows the EU member states to develop their own employment programmes for foreign workers on the basis of bilateral agreements. The work visa is applicable only in the country where it was issued, although workers may move freely in the entire area of the European Union. Individual EU member states can 'import' a large number of 'temporary' workers, ensuring certain economic benefits for themselves; temporary workers are namely not entitled to social security benefits, which guarantees savings for the state of immigration (Ibid.).

In scientific debates, Europe is described as a fortress due to its restricted immigration. However, it should be stressed that migration processes have always been controlled and regulated. In today's situation we are merely witnessing a shift from certain control competences on all borders to some chosen (external) borders. This control is understandable – I do not defend it, but I understand it. However, the EU has implemented a quota system for the purpose of control and this can indeed be questionable. The quota system is not a new concept and it is well known in the USA; it was labelled as a racist concept and discontinued there in the 1960s.[15] It set quotas

[15] Mass immigration to the EU was restricted with implementation of the quota system in 1921 and 1924. The law from 1921 implemented a yearly quota that approved entry to 3% of immigrants from a particular ethnic group that had already settled in the USA in the past. In 1924 an even more restrictive law was adopted, which reduced the quota from 3% to 2% of immigrants with a particular nationality, according to population census from 1910. Adopted laws were strongly associated with racist assumptions about inherent inferiority and incapability of adjustment of immigrants from south and east Europe.

for particular ethnicities, which limited a number of immigrants with unfavourable origin to the minimum or it restricted their immigration altogether. In the context of European migration policy, quotas would be set by individual member states according to their needs for workers with specific educational background or skills. This could provide a basis for the development of 'social racism', especially when taking into consideration global power relations that are inextricably linked with distribution of knowledge. Therefore, a contemporary critique of regulation should perhaps not be focused solely on regulation itself but on principles that are generating it.

Nevertheless, I believe that the regulation of the labour migration inflow of EU member states is not such a problematic issue. We could argue that some form of regulation is indeed understandable, especially in times when the nation state is still an important subject and when capital relations are still setting the terms for the survival of people.[16] What is needed is merely a compromise about the implementation of non-discriminatory rules regulating new immigration, with which an entry regime for citizens of non-EU countries would be determined. Europe could learn from the (North and South) American history regarding this issue. Much more problematic, however, are matters of integration and naturalisation. These issues are being avoided by the EU and nothing more than guidelines for the member states have been produced. It is acceptable that states decide to close their borders to further immigration and restrict entry, yet it is entirely unacceptable that they admit immigrants and subsequently reduce them to workers who are deprived of the means for a respectable life. EU member states should be obliged to intensively start changing life conditions for immigrants. Contemporary EU integration policy puts forth principles of multiculturalism – respecting the right of immigrants to preserve their cultural heritage in new environments, while simultaneously respecting the legal-political order of the country of immigration – yet those acts are merely recommended. The integration of immigrants in accordance with the principles of multiculturalism is defended by many member states but in practice, new mechanisms are being developed, resembling those of the sixties' guest worker programmes or temporary work abroad schemes that changed from the initially intended temporary stay to a permanent residency. The mechanisms for encouraging return (the quota system and contract employment for a limited period of time) are also comparable. "Member states of the EC have replaced bilateral agreements on contingencies of guest workers from the sixties (circular labour migration model)

The objective of those measures was to lower the overall number of immigrants, while at the same time encourage immigration of people from north and west Europe and restrict the inflow of those from south and east Europe. (Gordon 1964: 102) Quota system was therefore implemented due to a mass inflow of unfavourable people.

[16] Another matter is keeping a critical distance from existent capitalist relations and finding ways to develop a long-term perspective for establishing conditions for social justice inside individual nation states and in global scope. Yet this is the level of critical distance and consideration about possibilities of long-term strategies, while measures that we speak of here and now are on the level of contemporary policies, reflecting current global situation.

with different policies on selective employment for a temporary period of time (for example, one year contracts with the possibility of extension twice). In this field we can undoubtedly observe the global scope of migration processes in the labour market. This is particularly evident when employing educated immigrants, professionals in the service sector, in international companies, and mostly in urban areas. (...) This type of contract employment is commonly carried out in Germany and Austria, which both offer a number of different types of temporary work permits. Such procedures and documents have also been implemented by other member states in the nineties for the purpose of coordination of migration and labour market" (Verlič Christensen 2002: 21-22).

Today, a fear can be sensed in debates on immigrants. Strong phobias are present in perceptions of diversity, not only ethnic and racial but also other kinds. We could argue that a monocultural principle of perception and understanding,[17] founded on a hierarchical concept of culture and thus opening doors to xenophobia, is working its way back. This phobia emphasises that immigrants pose a threat to the nation state. As has happened so many times in the past, immigrants have once again become the scapegoats, especially for the purposes of the struggle for homogeneous national cultures (which are in fact not homogeneous) and the preservation of so-called high development in relation to underdeveloped areas being populated by immigrants. L. H. Morgan[18] would say that those areas are barbaric or even savage-like. Two centuries ago, everything was said in Europe and about Europe and a monocultural, hierarchical principle of understanding was born and rooted. People of the Eurocentric environment have not been able to shake it off since. The opposite of this concept is by all means the multicultural principle of understanding. Its scope is expanded to a radical redefinition of the basic attitude towards diversity and the right to diversity. It stems from the fact that people are the same only in the way that they differ from each other.

Supporters of such (critical) multiculturalism are striving for a new attitude

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[17] Monoculturalism is historically and culturally/socially conditioned. D. T. Goldberg (1994) notes that it is an institutionalised ideology. Its roots can be found in the 19th century, when 'European culture' was declared as the most preeminent of all cultures. European colonialism rooted a monocultural principle into our perception of different cultures. Monoculturalism is associated with a hierarchical model of culture and an idea of universal, most developed culture (Eurocentrism), which in fact is partial but declared as universal by its powerful protagonists. The processes of enculturation/socialisation have enabled the production and reproduction of existing relations, value systems, and 'required' identity types. The biggest problem of multiculturalism is today linked with the question of how to break the continuity that is ensured by the mentioned processes. A discourse of universal truth, universal understanding, and universal 'right' values is strongly present. Local knowledge and standards have been pushed to the side in the name of the 'universal' and declared as wrong, bad, and underdeveloped. Universalisation of values, which at their core are particular but declared universal by the existing authority of power, is associated with efforts to reinforce the perception of 'the most developed and the only real culture', and therefore, Eurocentrism.

[18] L. H. Morgan presented his ideas in the work *Ancient Society* (1877).

towards diversity. From moral and legal standpoints they support the rights of marginalised, subordinated, or oppressed groups. They criticise the conviction that knowledge and achievements belong merely to one group of people (white, Anglo-Saxon males). In a similar manner some ecologists criticise the anthropocentric understanding of a human as the most developed of all animal species and thus inherently superior to other beings. In both cases, hierarchical perceptions and understandings are being attacked for denying or undermining the worth of other beings. Ecologists, who reject anthropocentrism in favour of biocentrism, stress that humans have a moral obligation to respect all forms of life. This approach is connected with efforts to assure respect for all people and cultures. A number of supporters of biocentrism are also supporters of egalitarianism. Similarly, some advocates of multiculturalism[19] demand that cultures be granted an equal status. They support the principles of cultural relativism, a differential model of culture, and social justice.[20]

However, is everything really that simple? Is it possible to implement such a concept in reality or should it rather be understood as a theoretical-analytical space where criticism of reality takes place? Should we speak of multiculturalism or multiculturalisms? Is cultural relativism indeed universally acceptable or is it limited to the level of so-called inter-systemic analysis? Is it destructive for the system? Are we faced with its contradiction: counter- productively destructing the justice for which it stands and fights for? In the further discussion, I will argue that when using the concept of multiculturalism a plural form should be introduced. We should indeed be discussing multiculturalism***s*** – on the levels of theory, politics, and everyday life.

CONCEPTUAL ROOTS OF MULTICULTURALISMS

[19] Here I refer to authors that could be classified as advocates of critical multiculturalism. More in chapters on multiculturalism.

[20] S. C. Rockefeller notes that we have to understand the respect for ethnic diversity and cultural survival in the context of respect for nature as emphasised by biocentric perspectives. Multiculturalism is therefore not solely about the question of political rights of individual minorities. It is much more than that. It is a demand to acknowledge the same value of different cultures. (Rockefeller 1992: 88-96). P. Caws adds that multiculturalism is linked with transcultural elements of identity, which function in connection with relatively stable phenomena in the objective world, internationalism, and pluralism. Advocates of monoculturalism are resisting in the name of cultural survival. Yet pure forms of culture can survive regardless of mixing. There are hundreds of languages in the world, writers, trades, music forms, and art practices. They would all be extinct if not maintained and further developed by professionals and eager amateurs. Individuals select specific elements from the culture to create their own identity. Identity is not simply determined without the influence of an individual. An individual also actively shapes self-creation by selecting from what is being offered and thus chooses one's own identity and cultural affiliation. Many different cultures exist in the world. The precondition for their peaceful co-existence is mutual sharing of all things convergent and mutual respect of all things divergent. However, this mutuality is an ideal. In reality, relations between cultures are too often asymmetric (Caws 1994: 380-386).

Principles of multiculturalism have become a leading guideline in managing social/cultural relations on several different levels. I believe it is of most importance to establish which level we are focusing on when discussing the problems of multiculturalism. This is a prerequisite for the unambiguous, analytical, and transparent interpretation of problems, whether in theory, politics, or practice. What precisely do I mean by that? In discussions about the future of the EU there is a lot of referral to multiculturalism. Yet, the debates sometimes ambiguously and unspecifically refer to the level of relations *between* nation states and sometimes to the principles of managing relations *inside* individual member nation states. What is more, in theory and discussions, multiculturalism is analysed in connection with globalisation, which introduces new perspectives for its understanding. Or does it?

In debates on multiculturalism and globalisation we encounter numerous conceptual dilemmas and differences between individual authors. Differences can be attributed to different definitions of the two mentioned categories, but are mostly due to a different understanding of categories that are embraced by concepts of multiculturalism and globalisation. The phenomenon of globalisation itself has been defined in many ways. In debates on multiculturalism, H. Kurthen (1997: 259) defines it as a global economic co-dependence, while theorists of so-called urban sociology (Hočevar: 2000) understand respective processes as more heterogeneous and complex. Parallel with the term globalisation they introduce a corresponding concept of individuation. This view, applied to the field of civilisation studies, leads us to terms such as global civilisation, localities, and selective incorporation (Roudometof, Robertson: 1995; Wilkinson 1995). In order to understand multiculturalism it is necessary to grasp the concepts of culture, society, and civilisation first. Their limits should be addressed and relations between them analysed (cultural contact vs. conflict).[21]

In order to understand multiculturalism and related concepts it is necessary to define the basic categories first. Therefore, let us look more closely at the concepts of culture, society, and civilisation, as differences in the definition of these terms provide various understandings of their dynamics and their interrelatedness. To begin with, we need to consider the root of the word culture. What is culture? How does it differ from society and civilisation?

Numerous social science scholars have been occupied with the definition of

[21] Discussions about cultural contact semantically suggest cooperation between different cultures. Cultures come into contact and communication occurs. On the other hand, the syntagm "cultural conflict" suggests inevitability of strong disagreements. As an example of the latter we can refer to a currently popular work of the American author Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order*. His view on inevitability of cultural conflict is evident not only from the title of the book but also from his debates on inevitability of conflict between different religions, which he links to culture. Contrary to this view I would argue that historical analysis of relations between civilisations clearly shows that changes are caused mainly by cooperation between cultures and not by conflict.

culture. They all define culture either in its relation to nature (non-culture) or to society. For a significant period of time, concepts that defined culture in its relation to nature were not considered controversial, as social sciences, humanities, and natural sciences were all dominated by anthropocentrism. Only lately, the perspective has started being criticised for its insufficiency, aggressiveness, and hierarchisation of living organisms on Earth; it has been replaced by a so-called biocentric perspective, which questions the thesis of a human being as the only being bearing culture.

However, for our discussion the theories of culture in its relation to society prove to be more important. They can be divided into three groups:[22]

A) The sociological version, where society is an overall phenomenon, and culture is only one of the social occurrences, thus presenting only one aspect of reality. Cultural phenomena are understood as spontaneous processes that emerge from social structure.

B) The anthropological version, where culture is an overall phenomenon. It is defined in relation to nature and perceives society as its part.

C) Compromise between the two approaches. In 1958, Kroeber and Parsons redefined society and culture and developed a compromise definition. Culture is limited to (re)production of meanings and forms, values, ideas, and other attributes that have a symbolic meaning and shape behaviour. The term society, or social structures, denotes a system of relations and interactions between individuals and communities. Such separation of cultural and social approaches results in a failure to describe concrete reality. Those are merely two different analytical approaches that emphasise different factors while analysing the same reality and the same processes. Reciprocally they cannot be transferred or reduced to one another. They are analytically independent (Rihtman-Avguštin 1976: 7).

A similar definition of culture, but with different wording, can be found in the works of Z. Bauman. He states that culture embraces aims, values, meanings, and types that have their origin outside an individual, but are internalised in processes of socialisation/inculturation. Society is a manifestation of internalisations. Culture is linked to communications and symbolism, and society is linked to processes of fulfilling human needs, which goes along with culture (1984: 5-14). A similar description can be found in the first definition of culture which was initially presented (within anthropology) by E. B. Taylor (1871). Taylor defined culture as a complex unity of behaviour, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs, and habits of people belonging to a certain society (Barfield 1997: 98). In the beginning of the 1950s, anthropologists A. L. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn published the book *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions,* discussing culture as a term and as an idea. The book presents one hundred and ten authors and their definitions. Within those definitions, fifty-two concepts of culture were recognised (Payne 1996: 1), which differ significantly

[22] More on this issue in the book Multiculturalism and Migrations. (Lukšič-Hacin 1999: 27–31)

yet share a common basic idea. They are all occupied with the question of how one 'group' of people differs from and how it is similar to another group (Ibid.: 119-120). Apart from that, most definitions put emphasis on the transmission of culture from one generation to another, which is linked to a so-called accumulation of cultures on the one hand and enculturation/socialisation on the other.

Defining 'that something' which is common or different to people, together with the authors' attitudes towards it, indicates a standpoint regarding (cultural) variety and its evaluation. In other words, we speak of hierarchical[23] and differential[24] models of culture. Both principles addressing differences between cultures can be found in concrete historical practices. Relations that are built according to the hierarchical principle are recognised in, for example, European colonialism or Nazism, while the differential concept and cultural relativism are evident in contemporary efforts to establish multicultural relations, resulting in two different (legal-political) levels: 1. cultural relativism and multiculturalism on the level of international relations or on the level of previously mentioned transculturation and 2. multiculturalism on the national level, inside individual states as legal-political subjects in international relations. In regard to the latter, matters tend to complicate even further – especially due to international migrations. This issue will be discussed in more detail further on.

In Morgan's hierarchical concept (1981) the most developed culture is marked with the term civilisation. Cultural relativism and the differential concept of culture have introduced a radical new perspective in understanding differences between cultures, which has also changed the understanding of the term civilisation. Some authors use the terms culture and civilisation as synonyms, some perceive them as different but link them to each other and some believe the terms do not relate to each other at all. The first group of authors would include E. B. Taylor and A. L. Kroeber. The latter used both terms but failed to divide them according to the meaning. In the second group of authors, there are definitions that understand civilisation as a complex culture or, in some other cases, as an umbrella term for various similar cultures (Melko 1995).[25] The similarity between civilisation and culture is emphasised

[23] The hierarchical concept positions cultures in a hierarchical pyramid. The relationship of superiority and inferiority is established between different cultures. The criterion of classification is a supposed linear development of cultures/societies from undeveloped to developed. Only one path of development exists. Classification is made according to Eurocentric criteria, as the elements of European societies/cultures are declared as universal and the most developed. An example of the hierarchical concept is definition of culture/society as offered by L. Morgan: savagery, barbarism, civilisation (1981).

[24] As a reaction to the hierarchical perception of culture, cultural relativism was introduced by anthropologist F. Boas (Hatch 1979: 21-101). On his foundations, R. Benedict (1976) developed in her works a differential model of culture. She introduced a principle that all cultures are different, functional, and in this perspective, equal. Cultures tend to change, but there is no exclusive direction in which those changes would occur. They are dependent upon contexts.

[25] Author divides cultures into simple and complex or civilisations. Civilisation is a complex

in the theory of global (central) civilisation. Here, civilisation is understood as a new cultural quality representing global cultural network, building up a new quality above individual cultures. Parallel with global civilisation are cultures linked to the national level (Wilkinson 1995).[26] The third group of authors includes definitions of the term civilisation without using elements from the definition of culture. The authors from this group are focusing more on the socio-political dimensions. Civilisation is a new quality existing outside culture and it is global in its character. On the other hand, cultures are linked to local (national) levels and cultural-ideological networks. In contrast to the definition of global (central) civilisation, authors use the terms globalisation and localisation as their starting point. Localisation is understood as a productive cultural force or a process where one culture incorporates acceptable elements from other cultures and adjusts them according to its liking. They call this process selective incorporation. Authors developed their ideas from the fact that significant and important changes in the world power balance could be observed as early as the 15th Century. Since then, different networks of power have been gradually established: economic, political, military, and cultural-ideological. Authors link their definition of culture to cultural-ideological networks that are formed on the national level, while their definition of civilisation is linked to global political-economic networks. Civilisation is defined separately from (classic) cultural elements (Roudometof, Robertson: 1995). Civilisation thus includes elements that can be found in the definition of society and globalisation which takes place in social settings. The relation between (global) civilisation and culture is linked with an understanding of difference between society and culture. Globalisation does not emerge in cultural settings but in social settings. Selective incorporation emerges on the level of cultural dynamics. The term itself is connected to what we usually understand under the term transculturality.

Taking into consideration debates about civilisation, we need to focus on influences of globalisation on civilisations and on individual cultures, and on the role of multiculturalism as a possibility to prevent a progressive cultural homogenisation of the world – if that is indeed happening. Some authors emphasise a double, ambivalent dynamic of globalisation processes: increasing homogenisation on the one hand and on the other hand opening possibilities for alternative actions (individuation).[27] This approach could also embrace mentioned theories about global civilisation.[28] In the

culture that can consist of more cultures combined together. There are more civilisations. They are in creation and in decline (Melko 1995).

[26] Civilisation is not a culture and civilisation is not a state. It is something more than culture, yet it is not merely a sum of cultures. It is a new quality. It is above cultures, joining them under one concept. There were many civilisations in the past. With European colonisation and globalisation a global civilisation emerged, a successor of central civilisation. The latter was born in 1500 BC. Gradually it came to amalgamation, mixing or combining the heritage of different civilisations, and the emergence of a central civilisation. Its descendant is a global civilisation (Wilkinson 1995).

[27] More on this issue in Hočevar, 2000.

[28] Some scholars use the term global culture, like e.g. J. Habermas. He believes that sig-

third group global civilisation is connected to economic-political networks of power (without cultural elements), while culture is placed on the level of locality. A similar viewpoint – that globalisation is above all a global economic interdependency, is defended by H. Kurthen (1997). Regarding the respective issue, a question arises about the relationship between politics and economy on the one side and culture on the other. How strong is the influence of global economic-political networks on cultural (local) happening? The fundamental question is whether those networks have the power to create cultural homogeneity on the global level.

Detailed insight into history tells us that culture is difficult to homogenise even on the national level. In fact, culture is an analytical construct which on the level of everyday life develops itself in very heterogeneous ways. In times of the establishment of the nation state in Western Europe, a monocultural principle in relation to regions and dialects was prevailing and therefore unified language standards and joint national identity were established for people who were to belong to the same state. However, those areas even today still face so-called regionalisms, which prove that processes of homogenisation inside nation states have not been entirely successful and regional identities, often linked to dialects and regions, have survived. It is true they have changed, but change is a feature of all cultures. Cultures are processes, not static states. They are analytical (abstract) categories which in practice develop in many heterogeneous ways. Cultural homogeneity is merely an analytical illusion. However, an even bigger and more dangerous illusion is understanding culture (ethnicity) as an inherent or irreversibly internalised fact. We need to be aware of traps that are associated with the concept of culture before we move on to understanding, defining, or using the concept of multiculturalism. Understanding of the culture as a static concept, constructs a specific understanding of multiculturalism as a concept for preserving static, homogeneous cultures; cultures which are not analytical but real categories, which are static and not a process, which are homogeneous and not heterogeneous (which applies to all cultures – European and non-European).

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nificance of the term becomes apparent when taking into consideration the emergence of world public in connection to development of means of communication and media, and their role in processes of socialisation and resocialisation or acculturation. (Habermas 1991: 153-154) This could be the case when culture is defined without acknowledging the term civilisation in both its meanings: the one that embraces cultural viewpoints and the one that perceives civilisation in terms of society. In both cases, Habermas' definitions of global culture proves to be ambiguous and entirely overlooks civilisational components. In addition, Habermas' definition is exceedingly communication oriented. As an argument against his ideas the socialisation theories prove that media have the power of reinforcing internalised patterns in socialisation process, yet they are not capable of creating new, autonomous patterns. However, it can be claimed that selective incorporation also occurs in the context of media influence. R. Rizman is another scholar not agreeing with the thesis on emergence of global culture, yet from a completely different perspective. He warns that forecasts about increasingly stronger international integration and demise of a nation-state and its power have proven to be too hasty. (Rizman 1995: 196)

MULTICULTURALISM AND ITS DIFFERENT CONTEXTUALISATIONS

The term multiculturalism was initially used in 1963 in Canada. Its meaning, as originally defined, is close to the meaning of cultural pluralism[29] that emerged decades before and is used to signify a society that is ethnically or culturally heterogeneous and encourages cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity (Szabo 1997: 196).

The use of the term multiculturalism needs to be divided into at least three significantly different meanings:

1. Multiculturalism signifies a concrete cultural/social reality, where ethnic/cultural communities or groups exist side by side in the same society or even in the same state. This reality is merely described and the analysis of relations between them is not referred to. In this context we have lately started using the term multiculturality.[30]
2. The use of the term multiculturalism is evident in political programmes and movements that promote changes of existing relations between dominant culture and so-called autochthon ethnic minorities. On the other hand, it is used to describe an official state immigration policy. We can define different policies and practices of multiculturalism (Canadian, Australian, Swedish) and particular elements of multiculturalism in policies and practices of states that do not formally declare themselves as such.
3. The use of the term multiculturalism as one of the theoretical categories that signify specific relations between different cultural/ethnic communities or groups. Here we can note at least two different approaches to its definition, analysis, and use. The first approach introduces, in addition to multiculturalism, an explanation of concepts such as cultural pluralism, interculturalism, and transculturalism.[31] The second approach offers merely different uses of the term multiculturalism according to its authors' definition of (social) justice, with which they implicitly ideologically define themselves.

Let's take a closer look at those three meanings and understandings of multicultur-

[29] The use of the term cultural pluralism has its history. It was first used by H. Kallen in 1924, but the theory of cultural pluralism was developed as early as in 1915 (not under the respective term) (Gordon 1964: 141-144). For a more detailed discussion see Lukšič-Hacin 1999: 83-100.

[30] The term 'multiculturality' has been in use in Slovenia lately to describe ethnic/cultural diversity.

[31] "Regarding the articulation of the problem of interculturalism in scientific theory (sociological, anthropological etc.) the following remark is in order: right in the beginning there emerged many similar, but semantically unequal terms and such terminological practice has been persisting until recent times. Therefore, terms such as 'cultural pluralism', 'multiculturalism', 'interculturalism' and other similar ones are emerging side by side. This makes definition, classification and interpretation increasingly difficult" (Katunarić 1993: 15).

alism. According to the first understanding, the term multiculturalism[32] is used to describe multiculturality. V. Katunarić notes that when taking into consideration its semantic meaning, the term comes close to polimonism (not pluralism)[33] and "although it denotes the possibility of a variety of communications and interactions in a multicultural society, multiculturalism merely expresses a number of cultures which live in close proximity and cannot express more than that" (1993: 15). Cultural pluralism refers to (semantic) phenomena when different languages are used as the second or third language and offer the possibility of communication. Linguistic cultural capital is thus active and opens the possibilities of communication between members of different cultures. Yet it does not necessarily come to that. "'Interculturalism' has more meanings. It suggests a possibility as well as a necessity of cross-connections between cultures and its members. This 'multi-meaning' is even more diverse than perceived at first sight. The suggestion of interculturalism is intentional: like it tries to whisper that something 'tertiary' has to be born out of the contact between members of two cultures." (Ibid.) Such understanding of interculturalism does not, according to its basic definition, differ significantly from the concept of multiculturalism as brought forward by theorists endorsing a radical and critical use of the term. This aspect will be elaborated further on when we discuss the use of the term in relation to the understanding of (social) justice.

In contrast to multiculturalism, cultural pluralism and interculturalism, which in theoretical discourse are linked primarily to relations inside an individual nation state and can only subsequently refer to relations between states, the term transculturalism mostly refers to cultural dynamics, cultural contacts between states or between relatively independent cultures (that have defined borders and a recognised territory), between which uni-directional or multi-directional exchange occurs.[34]

In the second case, where merely different uses of the term multiculturalism are discussed, we encounter terms such as (neo) conservatism, liberalism, and radicalism. Different ideas about what the term should stand for are not only important for theory, but primarily for politics and ideologies.

Definitions and uses of the term multiculturalism can roughly be divided into (Lukšič-Hacin 1999: 100-139):

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32 The term multiculturalism was first used in 1963 in Canada. Its meaning, as originally defined, is close to the meaning of cultural pluralism, which emerged decades before and is used to signify a society that is ethnically or culturally heterogeneous and is encouraging cultural, linguistic and religious diversity. (Szabo 1997: 196).

33 The author notes that the concept of the term polimonism is excellently illustrated with the metaphor of Babylon (Katunarić 1993: 15).

34 Discussions about globalisation would primarily have to address its connections with transculturalism. When discussing multiculturalism it should be clear that the concept is referring to international relations, international relations of power and its influences on internal relations of individual states; and not to the level of internal relations and conditions of respective (nation)states.

a) Conservative, corporative or neo-conservative definitions and uses

These definitions and uses build upon the concept of universal culture. The values of Western European countries (including the USA in present times) are perceived as universal and are used as the criteria for evaluating those that are different. They use the term diversity but only as a disguise for the promotion of assimilation into the leading culture. They support the universal concept of development and thus divide cultures and languages into more developed and less developed (hierarchical concept of culture). They undermine the legitimacy of 'foreign' languages and regional and ethnical dialects. Their standpoint is linked to monolingualism or promotion of one official language, for example, English of French. The imperialism of European countries and North America towards other countries and cultures of the world is being defended (McLaren 1994: 47) and non-European cultures are referred to as a monolitic block. On a verbal level, supporters of this model distance themselves from colonialism, the hegemony of white people, and racist ideology and acknowledge the right to racial equality. However, they also explain subordination of minorities with their 'simple' cultural background and strong family oriented value system. They use this as means of explaining why some minority groups are more successful than others. The standpoint about the inferiority of non-white cultures is introduced as a fact. They believe that every individual is capable of achieving economic profit and cooperating in socio-economic practice regardless of which ethnic group he or she belongs to. They believe that the unfair contribution of power (authority) emerges by itself and causes violence. They perceive multiculturalism as an attack on the highest social achievements of European civilisation. It is an attack on those cultural/social attributes that have protected European civilisation against barbarity and chaos. For many, multiculturalism is a destructive and dangerous force that is causing disorder in the society, and for some it represents a slogan for the promotion of essential identity politics (Giroux 1994: 328, 336).

b) Liberal definitions and uses

Supporters of this type acknowledge (cultural) difference but in addition stress the meaning of sameness on the universal level. The liberal difference is individual, not collective. Connection with existing structures of power is thus not visible (Giroux 1994: 337). With universal sameness we encounter the term natural equality, which is supposed to be essential. People are (naturally) the same, regardless of ethnic, cultural, and racial belonging. The basic idea of this perspective is the presumption about intellectual equality, cognitive equivalence, and rationality of all people. Yet in practice differences do occur. Why is that? The root cause is not in cultural underdevelopment but rather in unequal social opportunities and opportunities for education. The same opportunities for education would offer everyone a chance to

equally compete on the capitalist market. They believe that existing cultural, social, and economic pressures can be changed and thus relative equality can be achieved (McLaren 1994: 5-53). H. L. Gates notes that liberals use the term multiculturalism to describe pluralism. Yet in analysis they avoid its historical contextualisation and distinctiveness of power relations, or speak about "cultural clash". In this way, they avoid contradictions regarding race, class, and gender and the socio-historical analysis and critique of these issues (1994: 204).

c) Left-liberal definitions and uses

Emphasis is put on cultural differences and a differential concept of culture. This approach argues that stressing the equality of races should completely smother cultural differences between races, including those that cause different behaviour, values, inclinations, cognitive styles, and social practices. In some way, diversity, and nativist haven are idealised. The origin of diversity is found in cultural authenticity, located in traditional societies. Cultural diversity is perceived as an essence, as a form of meaning freed from social and historical frames. The meaning is formed through pristine, direct experience on the level of an individual, without interaction with the environment. The difference is separated from culture and the distribution of power. It is not perceived as a socio-historical construct that emerges through the power of representative understanding. 'Femaleness' or 'Africanness' exist nothing more. The meaning of difference is emphasised, but only as a rhetorical form. Difference is an absolute, non-historical category, which exists only as such. It is not relational and not relative. In a way it is an element of the objective world, an objective truth "waiting" to be introduced, and is not a result of one's subjective perception of the world (McLaren 1994: 51-23, 58).

d) Critical multiculturalism – rebellious or radical definitions and uses

Also described by the terms rebellious and radical, critical multiculturalism has its common starting point in the critique of existing relations (particularly in the USA), which authors who support this concept connect with the analysis of European colonialism and Eurocentrism. The critique is developed through the concept of human rights and cultural relativism. Existing relations and subordination of ethnically and culturally different, are historically and culturally/socially conditioned and depend mostly on power division. Critical multiculturalism demands radical restructuring and re-conceptualisation of power relations between different cultural and ethnic groups. It refuses discourse of ghettoisation, which is applied to subordinate communities. It refuses and undermines hierarchy that addresses some groups as minority and others as majority and thus normative. Authors focus

on different questions, complement and coincide with each other, but sometimes they also contradict one another. In contrast to left-liberal multiculturalism, difference is not perceived as an aim but as a fact. It has to be established as such inside cultural policies, while at the same time continue to express a commitment to social justice. Difference is always a result of history, culture, present power relations, and ideology. Difference always occurs in interaction with two or more groups. It is not absolute but relative and is dependent on interaction. It should be understood in terms of distinctiveness of its production. Existing differences are historical and cultural constructs. In order to establish new relations, a radical change of existing relations is needed. The precondition for success is the establishment of a new, non-Eurocentric discourse. If meanings are understood as the results of social conflict between those who are labelling and those who are being labelled, it is important to reach within social relations when establishing a new discourse. Equal access to social resources should be ensured and dominant power relations, which limit the 'access' according to racial, gender, and class criteria, should be transformed. Differences between cultures are political and not only formal, textual, and linguistic. Therefore, global or structural power relations should not be overlooked and the concept of totality should not be disregarded, but rather seen as an overdetermined structure of difference. The difference is always relational and relative and is not one-dimensional and one-directional (McLaren 1994: 52-58). The basic starting point here is that multiculturalism should acknowledge the difference, but that is insufficient. It should also acknowledge incompatibility of some important differences – the attitude towards land as perceived, for example, by Native Americans which is incompatible with the attitude towards land as undeniable private property (Stam, Shohat 1994: 320), or, in more general terms, differences in the perception of space. Added to this can be differences in the perception of time.

This categorisation of theories of multiculturalism is an ideal-typical model (McLaren 1994: 47) that can only be used as a helping tool for further analysis. It is a reduction and abstraction of a complex reality. Characteristics of individual models presented here are in reality intertwined. Political and ideological differences between the concepts are brought forward when discussing the concept of justice. From the debates on multiculturalism we can classify three concepts of understanding of justice.

The first concept could be described as "different for different ones", implying that social differences between people are justified and effort is made to reproduce (sometimes even increase) these differences. This can often result in inequality. In the second one, justice is understood as "equal opportunities for all", which in practice means "the same to the different ones", and is in a way reproducing the existing. The third concept of understanding justice seemingly supports the same principle as the first concept "different for different ones". However, the important difference between them is that in the third concept, strategies are not directed

towards reproduction of the existing class relations, but towards decreasing social inequality. For a legal perspective what emerges are invisible inequalities between the different (who are according to the law in some respects equal). Therefore, the important difference between the first and the third concept is in their vision of the future and perception of a just society.[35]

Important for the theory of multiculturalism are both cultural relativism and the differential concept of culture, which provide an alternative understanding of cultural/social relations. Analysis and theories of multiculturalism, as a phenomenon and as a concept, are also concerned with consequences of European colonialism. Relations that were established during the period of colonialism were based on a monocultural principle or Eurocentrism. The existent hegemony makes sure that such relations, based on the asymmetric redistribution of power deriving from European colonialism, are still present today. It ensures the persistence of identity types that were developed in subordinated cultures. In many cases an entire minority population has been stigmatised, which has inevitably led to an internalisation and preservation of the sense of subordination. An important question here is how to go beyond the existing relations and 'impart' a multicultural identity to both dominant and subordinate populations. Problems arise largely due to often subconscious processes of production and reproduction of existent cultural/social relations. And 'subconscious' is connected with language and discourse. The question arising from this is how powerful the 'subconscious' really is in the identity formation of an individual. Answers vary from one author to another, yet they have one thing in common: they all acknowledge that discourse is an important factor in processes of identity formation. Processes of reproduction ensure continuity of the monocultural principle of thinking, which prevails in relations between the dominant culture and subordinated cultures. The monocultural principle is connected with a hierarchical concept of culture which categorises cultures to less and more developed, and with claims of universal culture. Universal culture is claimed to be a partial culture with a value system of those who occupy a dominant position in an asymmetric power division. In contrast, multiculturalism is a result of the struggle against monoculturalism and therefore Eurocentrism. In its origin, it is linked with a differential concept of culture, cultural relativism, and the struggle for recognition of human rights. The poor synchronisation of these basic concepts inevitably leads to some problems and creates the so-called paradox of the theory of multiculturalism.

[35] For detailed presentation of particular uses of the term see Lukšič-Hacin 1999: 100-139 and Lukšič-Hacin 2002: 40-42.

CONTRADICTIONS AND TRAPS OF MULTICULTURALISM

The basic paradox of multiculturalism is associated with the paradox of the concept of human rights.[36] The concept of human rights originates in liberal tradition and is in a way caught in the liberal discourse. Similarly, the origins of multiculturalism are associated with liberal discourse and monoculturalism, the very concept which it in fact negates. The paradox of the concepts of multiculturalism and human rights stems from the fact that cultural relativism was simultaneously transmitted from the level of comparison of positions between individual cultural/social communities that were supposed to be equal (for which it was initially developed by Boas), to the level of individuals and their position in culture/society of inhabitancy. Therefore, in the name of cultural relativism, which originally defends the sovereignty of cultural/social systems, there is an attempt to reach into existent value systems through the individual level, thus promoting and supporting Eurocentrism. Multiculturalism should be linked with cultural relativism only on the level of groups, while excluding the level of an individual. When implementing the concept of struggle for human rights we refer to the individual level in which the rights of an individual living in a culture/society are being defended. However, this struggle is associated with a 'central' system of values promoted by multiculturalism, that is, liberal individualism – which leads us back to Eurocentrism.

This dilemma is associated with one question: what is the aim of multiculturalism? Does it ensure the continuity of existent minority cultures or does it ensure the same position of minority cultures inside a state (or some kind of a political system) as enjoyed by the majority? Seemingly those two aims complement each other, but in reality they are in strong contradiction. If we link them together, a strong contradiction becomes inbuilt in the root of the concept, which subsequently manifests itself in the form of a paradox. Contradiction can be linked to the question of the relation between an individual and his conformity to the culture/society in which he lives. This relation is handled differently in individual cultures/societies; some give priority to individuals and some to community. In the case of the former we speak of individualism and in the case of the latter we meet with an ideology that promotes the superiority of community over the individual. Needless to say, those

[36] Concept of human rights is primarily based on the principle of protection of an individual but it also applies to protection of minorities against a majority, notes S. Thornton. Position of minorities is one of the more important indicators of implementation of principles of equality in practice. In this context there is a disagreement between advocates of universalism and advocates of cultural relativism. Universalism presumes that human rights are inherently insensitive to changes of social, economic and cultural conditions. In contrast, cultural relativism stems from heterogeneity of moral norms and social practices. Values and human rights are connected with relativity of cultures. They are relative and not universal, notes the author. However, he believes that multiculturalism, which is in its origin linked to the concept of cultural relativism, should renounce this fact and start associating with universal explanation of human rights. For him this would present a solution to the conflict. (Thornton 1995: 23)

two concepts are in strong contradiction and thus exclusive of each other. Therefore, the same applies to systems that are based on them. And if we bring into discussion a postulate that multiculturalism should not only acknowledge the differences but also acknowledge the irreconcilability of some differences, then how can we find a compromise? Personally, I believe no such compromise exists. The way out of irreconcilable situations is perhaps only to acknowledge that all states are in a way ideologically constructed, some according to individualist principles and others according to collectivist ones. There is no such thing as a neutral, ideologically unburdened state. As an individual you can familiarise yourself with the difference, you can understand it, but you are not obliged to agree with it or even defend it. In the last instance we have the right to our own values. What is important, however, is how we 'live them' and what relations we establish with people who have different values. At the same time we have the right to set a limit for acts we consider inexcusable – for example, racism. This has nothing to do with efforts for justice but rather with its perverse interpretation that enables discrimination to occur in its name. It is a fact that both justice and discrimination are socially/cultural-historically constituted and thus multiculturalisms are contradictory processes, which do not exist without conflict. They simply cannot.

In the case of the latter we can encounter the accumulation of values against which we are warned by Z. Bauman in his debates on acculturation. The consequences of cultural contact are twofold: enrichment of culture or its destruction. Enrichment occurs when new forms adjust with the existing ones and balance out. Alternatively, different and diametrically opposing forms start to build up, resulting in relativisation, potentially in the end of authority and even cultural disharmony. In a way, this can indeed destroy a culture (Bauman 1966: 116-125). On the contrary, Ch. Taylor (1992: 75-76) notes that such destruction and nihilism occur due to cultural subordination. Arguments are being turned upside down, in a manner implying that cultural relativism is not a consequence of cultural relativism but a consequence of cultural subordination and anomie, both of which are linked to stigmatisation. However, Ch. Taylor does not reject ideas by Z. Bauman. He merely describes an alternative situation which in practice can lead to nihilism. Therefore, multiculturalisms should be 'thought' in a way that avoids both of those traps.

Claims about the paradox of multiculturalism and the dangers of cultural relativism leading to nihilism should be considered with the definition of the terms 'universal' and 'relative' in mind. Most often, the understanding of those two terms is linked to a binary logic, that is, when they are used opposite each other as two extremes that exclude each other. However, such relations between them are not a must. An alternative approach challenges the normative universality and the effects of levelling out. In addition, it needs to let go of the belief in the limitlessness of the critical power of relativism. When we refuse the principle of binary logics and understand 'relative' and 'universal' as they intertwine with each other, a certain level of relativity coincides with a certain level of universality. We need to bear in

mind, though, that in reality a perfect form of universality does not exist and that we need to renounce absolute relativity and normative judgement. Every judgement depends on criteria used. Criteria are always set by the one that is judging. Therefore all criteria are particular. And particular is incapable of establishing the universal. It can only declare itself as such.

In further debate, multiculturalism will be used as defined by critical multiculturalism, therefore in the sense of interculturalism. Such an understanding of multiculturalism in the context of international migration leads us to the question of relations between the multicultural versus the monocultural principle of thinking and to the question of multiculturalism and the nation state. The debate about nation state makes us consider multiculturalism on two separate levels: the level of relations between different nation states – international relations or state union (for example, the European Union), and on the level of multiculturalism inside a nation state.

MULTICULTURALISM ON TWO LEGAL-POLITICAL LEVELS: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND NATION STATE

The further analysis of multiculturalism should be separated into two levels that significantly differ from each other: multiculturalism on the level of a nation state, relations between various communities, groups or individuals who differ from each other according to their ethnic/cultural origin but belong to the same state – therefore being citizens of the same state that should (in most cases) ensure equality before the law; and multiculturalism on the level of international relations, or relations *between* nation states. An analysis of different historical practices shows that the mono/multicultural principle of perception of reality in different contexts and in different periods of time is of greatest importance here. The main difference between the two approaches is that monoculturalism declares a particular culture as universal and strives to achieve its superiority and complete assimilation of different cultures in it,[37] while multiculturalism perceives different cultures according to postulates of a differential concept.[38]

[37] D. T. Goldberg links monoculturalism to ideology. Discourse of universal appears: of universal truth, universal understanding and universal 'correct' values. Local knowledge and standards are pushed into background in the name of universal and declared as wrong, bad, undeveloped. In order for particular to become universal a political power is required. The aim is to establish homogeneity of culture and language (1994: 3-6).

[38] The aim of multiculturalism is to protect and ensure continuity of difference, heterogeneity and equality.

a) The Level of International Relations and Globalisation

Cultural relativism as a concept of equal treatment of different cultures is according to its definition linked to the level of relations between different cultures/ethnic communities, in contemporary times we could speak of states, and should be used accordingly. It is an answer to the monocultural spirit of European colonialism that is evident in so-called Eurocentrism and in tendencies for Europeanisation of the world. Today it can be recognised in the saying the "West and the rest" (Stam, Shohat 1994: 297). Taking into consideration its tendencies, European colonialism together with Eurocentrism was total. It did not only exist in the field of economy, politics, communications, etc., but it also included planned, institutionally supported interventions into cultural spheres of other cultural/ethnic communities around the world – ethnocide being the ultimate radical example. The aim of these actions was an increasing homogenisation of the world, including cultural/ethnic dimensions, according to an example set by 'the most developed culture'.[39] European colonialism set off mass migrations of world proportions. New ethnically/culturally heterogeneous, multicultural societies were created. A new type of migratory contexts emerged connected with the specificity of European colonialisms as compared to prior colonial conquests. It established asymmetric power relations that were ruling for centuries (and are still ruling today). They made it possible to root monoculturalism (Eurocentrism) in the attitude of dominant cultures towards natives and immigrant minorities and caused the emergence of stigmatised identity of numerous minority populations – be it on the level of relations inside a nation state or on the level of international relations.

Globalisation processes are in a way 'heirs' of European colonialism; it could be claimed that they indeed started with it. However, in contrast to this historical epoch some important turning points occurred regarding the perception of diversity. In contemporary times, tendencies of multiculturalism to preserve variety prove to be more intense. In fact, today the focus is not only on the preservation of cultures but also on the emergence of new kinds, the latter referring to previously presented viewpoints on selective incorporation and global civilisation.

When discussing globalisation, multiculturalism, and homogeneity/heterogeneity of the world we should proceed from the fact that in theoretic discourse, beside the concept of culture, there also exist concepts of society and civilisation. The latter is in its definition closer to more global processes – on different levels of totality that they embrace, and in different perspectives (social or cultural). Taking into consideration discussions about civilisations we should be speaking about influences of globalisation on civilisations and, within, on individual cultures; and about the role of multiculturalism as a possibility that would prevent an increased

[39] The pattern of 'most developed culture' was being changed according to the state that was the bearer of colonisation, and even at that time homogenisation according to one (cultural) pattern did not take place.

cultural homogenisation of the world – whether, in fact, such process is even under way. Numerous studies point to the ambivalent dynamics of globalisation processes: increasing homogenisation on the one hand and alternative actions (individuation) on the other.

An entirely new perspective is brought into discussion by those who link civilisation and globalisation with economic-political networks of power (without cultural elements), where culture is on the level of local, but not perceived as static. It is a process that has never been homogeneous and has always been more or less heterogeneous. How difficult it is to achieve cultural homogeneity can be observed in examples of nation states (Western European model). The nation state, which functioned according to principles of centralisation, has, for centuries, been unsuccessful in creating a homogeneous culture (and suppressing the regional), while it is in territorial terms linked to a much smaller area and operates with mechanisms that bearers of globalisation are lacking. On the global level, homogenisation was taking place in the time of, for example, European colonialism, when conditions were set to forcefully destroy different cultural cores – so-called ethnocide. Today these conditions (on the level of international relations) are significantly changed and are not so favourable for similar processes. In fact, it could be said that it is the processes of particularisation that are shaking the basis of the nation state in contemporary times.

The key question that arises when discussing global civilisation and local level (culture) is what kind of relation is established between politics and economy on the one hand and culture on the other. How strong is the influence of global economic-political networks on cultural (local) happening? Primarily the question arises whether these networks have the power to create cultural homogeneity on such a global scale, as detailed insight into history clearly shows that culture is difficult to homogenise even on the level of a nation state.

b) The level of nation state

In the period of nation state formation – more particularly in the Western European variant, a nation is primarily considered as "a legal and institutional concept" (Rizman 1995: 197). The understanding of nation is linked to a particular occupied geographic area and to a centrality of the respective national territory, collective laws and institutions, equality before law of all citizens, and of shared state culture, which are all strongly emphasised. The latter is connected to strong monocultural tendencies. The language standard[40] has been introduced, playing a key role in establishing national identity and homogenisation. Parallel with implementation

[40] In relation to dialects it could be said that for some children standard is one of the first foreign languages taught at school.

of standard language, literacy and the public education system have become more important. School has become one of the key state mechanisms (Althusser).

The monocultural principle as means of cultural homogenisation has unified citizens' sense of belonging in ethnical/cultural sense. However, this process was not entirely successful even in a relatively territorially bound nation state, which can be seen in the examples of the survival of regionalisms.[41]

The Central European version of development and status of nation is in some ways closer to principles of multiculturalism than the Western European version. Here, nation appears as a linguistic and cultural community inside a larger political community or a state, which consists of different nations. Nation is in this case a "cultural and social concept" (Rizman 1995: 197). In the respective situation, conditions for the appearance of so-called double-loyalties emerge: cultural/ethnical and national (citizenship). The aspect of citizenship has joined different groups into one community, without ethnic classification. As an example, let us mention the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Switzerland, etc. According to the classic definitions that we encountered with multiculturalism, it could be claimed that elements of cultural pluralism can be detected here, but it would most definitely be difficult to speak about interculturalism as understood by Katunarić (1993); for a discussion about interculturalism, criteria of analysis would have to be more clearly defined and contexts would have to be analysed separately.

In debates about multiculturalism inside a particular nation state, the position of minorities and immigrants who are (were) most often exposed to monocultural tendencies should be particularly emphasised, as it was the case in the USA and its efforts to implement a WASP[42] model. While the situation with minorities, despite its complexity, can be relatively easily understood, international migrations (that are today becoming global) bring new challenges to the respective discussion.

The vaguely defined use of the term multiculturalism, generalised and simultaneously connected to cultural relativism[43] and the concept of human rights, can,

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[41] So-called regionalisms are connected to the ethnic (political) awakening of minority communities. In the 1980s and '90s, Europe witnessed some sort of 'regional awakening'. Let me give examples of North Italy and an idea of Padania, Catalonia, troubles in Belgium, the situation in the newly constructed Germany, the case of Yugoslavia, etc.

[42] WASP refers to White Anglo-Saxon Protestant.

[43] The central thesis of cultural relativism is the relativity of existing cultures and their value systems, and the right to equality of all existing cultures. Advocates of the principles of cultural relativism or, in other words, the differential model of culture, mainly assert that all cultures are equal. All cultures functionally fulfil the needs of communities they are connected to. They have preserved themselves through time and have their own dynamics. This is the case in theoretical reflections that assert how it should be, but in reality it becomes evident that cultures are in fact not equal; they occupy different positions and many of them are inferior. The question 'why?' arises at this point. When searching for an answer we should primarily pay attention to the gap between 'normative' and 'existent' in reality. Are positions of different cultures on a normative level equal? When the answer is negative, the analysis of existent legislation alone can uncover the causes of

especially in relation to (global) international migrations in theoretical discourse, bring us to (seemingly) unsolvable conflicts between basic postulates. The reason lies in the fact that cultural relativism was developed on the level of international relations in the framework of anthropological studies that researched different cultures around the world (Boas), but was later unreflectively transferred to the level of studies researching respective phenomena inside a nation state, in connection with the concept of human rights. The fact remains that such aim is in conflict with the mechanisms of functioning of nation states, which, on the basis of protestant ethics, build upon an authentic, autonomous citizen and equality between citizens. This approach puts an individual and one's right to choose one's affiliation before community and creates a conflict with cultural relativism that exists on the level of community. J. Habermas emphasised this point when, in defence of cultural relativism, he searched for compatibility between cultural relativism and national identity. When considering European integration in the making, which will supposedly unite different states, nations, and also immigrants and asylum seekers from different parts of the world (of different ethnic/cultural origin), Habermas uncovers latent tensions between citizenship and ethnic (national) identity. He sees the way out of this discrepancy in distinguishing between common political culture and different nation state traditions (art, literature, history, philosophy ...). He believes that nation states have no reason for closing their borders to prevent immigration, as equality, intertwining, and enrichment of various co-existing ways of living are indeed possible inside a legal and democratic state (153-154).

We saw earlier that this congruence is difficult to find if the definition of national identity is linked to the definition that connects citizenship and ethnicity (the Western European model). It would be easier to find accordance between cultural relativism and citizenship identity, which does not include a cultural/ethnic principle (Central European model). In addition there are no conflicts between cultural relativism and (ethnic, national) parallel identities that lead to various universal levels of cosmopolitanism. For an easier understanding let us mention, for example, a European identity (citizenship) as a form of parallel identity, which has lately been a subject of many discussions.

In contrast to J. Habermas, H. A. Giroux believes that multiculturalism based on cultural relativism is essential in the discourse of refusal of national identity, construction of historical memory, the purpose of schooling, and the existing un-

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unequal position. A more significant problem emerges with a situation when different cultures are indeed formally equal but in reality face unequal positions. Why does a gap between normative and real emerge? D. McLaren (1994: 57-59) finds the answer in the fact that differences between cultures are not merely formal, textual, linguistic, but are mostly political. The respective analysis can expose the causes for unequal position that is in the context of liberal legal equality even more complicated and less visible. The exit is seen by K.Offe (1985: 223) in his critique of liberal ideology, which creates an image of equality where there are in fact evident significant inequalities. What is needed is a critique of institutionalised (legal) equality and an analysis that would show how and why legal equality turns to actual inequality.

derstanding of history (1994: 325). Giroux leads the discussion further towards a critique of existing global (capitalist) relations, but for our purposes we can link his standpoint to the debate on multiculturalism on two levels. Regardless of how we perceive the nation state, it still exists and functions; it still represents the central legal-political subject of international relations. This fact should be accepted. Arising from this issue we should speak about two types of multiculturalism: 1. about multiculturalism inside the nation state, where it exists separately from cultural relativism and is linked with the right of a citizen to freely choose group affiliation (regarding this issue the right of parents should be subordinate to the right of children and decisions that have an irreversible character should be decided upon by children themselves when coming of full age) and to be equal before law regardless of different group affiliations; and 2. about multiculturalism on the level of confederation or international relations, where it is connected to cultural relativism.

FINAL THOUGHTS ON MULTICULTURALISMS IN (EUROPEAN) NATION STATES

The nation state in its origin is linked to Western Europe. Western European states (later also North American ones) have been the bearers of Eurocentrism (monoculturalism), which has spread out across all of Europe and other parts of the world. Furthermore, the nation state was in its constitutive processes strongly linked with national ideology and the perception of culture as homogeneous (monocultural principle). The nation state is therefore already in its origins in conflict with multiculturalism.

The nation state is associated with the concept of autochthonism, which still plays an important role in international law. The concept is by its origin Eurocentric, because it is based on a specific perception of space when land and environment become properties and goods of humans. Autochthonism, which is in fact an undefined category and an empty space into which different contents and redefinitions are inserted from the position of power, gives a pre-right to manage the territory and to decide who is allowed to enter. This pre-right can disintegrate the classic owner-seller relation that is normatively and legally determined. When discussing international migration this issue becomes very important, because international migration is mainly about non-autochthonous people moving to autochthonous areas. Pre-right based on autochthonism gives legitimacy to the original population to select between newcomers. Moreover, it justifies the power of decision about how long they will be allowed to stay and what kind of lifestyle they will have to lead. Social control over everyday life of immigrants is stronger than social control between members of the autochthon and (assumingly) homogeneous culture or nationality.

The realisation of the concept of (critical) multiculturalism implements the

right of an individual before the right of a community, to which an individual belongs. It primarily protects rights of individuals and only through them the rights of the community. In this way, a community (for example, nation) loses dominant control over its inhabitants and becomes dependent on choices of individuals. The community no longer gets to attribute statuses, because the individual gets the right to choose. In a way, the state finds itself in a market where it needs to compete for its citizens – as a state cannot exist without citizens. The state needs people who identify themselves as its citizens and who are attached to it through group (national) identity. Therefore, from the point of view of a classic nation state, any kind of mixing of cultures is not only problematic but can also be fatal.[44]

For multiculturalism the main question is how to cut the Gordian knot of reiteration of existent relations and national ideology, and create an identity that would be capable of establishing and maintaining multicultural relations, that is, multicultural identity.[45] For example: S. C. Rockefeller connects his idea of the individual's primary identity and secondary ethnic identity with a critique of the rigid concept of cultural survival and ideas about absolute right for cultural survival. He notes that the concept is linked to the nation state ideology. When the culture is too burdened with questions of its own protection, it is not capable of opening up to intercultural cooperation and exchange. Cultural transformation and openness of all cultures are essential. Yet for different cultures it becomes a challenge to avoid those intellectual and moral values that are inconsistent with ideals of freedom and equality. Intercultural dialogue is of great importance. It influences human understanding and leads to blending of horizons. Two alternative ways of perceiving things can coexist and can indeed be preserved when they are mutually respected and when superior-inferior relations are not developed. The chances for alternative views of reality are thus increased. However, Rockefeller notes that it is true that strong conflict remains between the idea of intercultural cooperation and political principles of cultural survival.

We must not overlook the fact that nation states differ significantly between each other. I have already mentioned differences in attitudes towards granting citizenship.

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[44] H. E. Giroux notes that numerous conservatives warn against multiculturalism because it poses a threat against the nation state and national identity. For them, the utopian possibility of cultural democracy became dangerous for several reasons, mostly because cultural democracy supports a critical discourse which facilitates understanding, critique, and transformation of hierarchic and exploitive relations of production (Giroux 1994: 331).

[45] The term multicultural identity emphasises the radical redefinition of the existing hegemonic ideology in the direction of replacing tolerance with difference as the starting point of all levels of social/cultural and political life. That does not mean that an individual would necessarily internalise several cultural systems, but that socialisation into his own would include teaching awareness of differences between individuals and groups or communities, their equality and relativity (which is at the same time absolute and internally consistent when observed from a different angle). In debates about a multicultural state, the concept of multicultural citizenship emerges. It refers to citizenship that is freed from ethnicity. It is linked to the state as a political community of different but equal citizens. Citizenship is a political relation between an individual and the state to which he belongs.

Moreover, there are some interesting models of multicultural and multiethnic states that take a specific attitude towards different cultures and ethnicities within their territories. Let us mention the examples of Switzerland and the former Yugoslavia. In these two cases only the declaration of a common belonging constitutes (constituted) a political identity-citizen, not ethnicity. We could speak of contexts that have set up mechanisms of various loyalties and identifications. Apart from those cases we need to mention multicultural states that on a normative level define themselves as multicultural: Australia, Canada, and Sweden. These contexts could serve to conduct a comparative analysis with an aim to find potential ways of redefining a monocultural principle of thinking into a multicultural one – on all levels.

Is the nation state today in conflict with multiculturalism? Who is right? J. Habermas (1991: 154), who is searching for a compromise between nation state, multiculturality and multiculturalism, or H. A. Giroux (1994: 325), who believes that multiculturalism is the basic concept in the struggle against the nation state, the existing construction of historical memory and understanding of history, and the purpose of schooling? The answer depends on what type of nation state we have in mind. More precisely, what type of modern state we have in mind. Today all states are perceived simply as nation states, although significant differences exist among them. Are all states nation states and thus linked to the myth of a homogeneous culture? Individual cases can be found around the world that confirm the existence of alternatives. Examples would include the USA, Switzerland, or former Yugoslavia. Other countries who have declared themselves as multicultural, that is, Australia, Canada, and Sweden, should also not be overlooked. In the analysis of Swedish multiculturalism a new type of citizenship is evident – a multicultural type. It is based in the state as a political community of equal (different) individuals (Castles, Miller 1993: 218-230). A separate analysis of these contexts and further comparison would provide us with results which could be used for the comparison of situations inside nation states where ethnicity and citizenship are being equalled. Such a comparison could open the field to alternative searches for a redefinition of the monocultural principle into a multicultural one. This includes a redefinition of the attitude towards sexual, racial, and ethnic differences.

It is in contemporary migration contexts that sexual, racial, and ethnic discrimination most often overlap. In contrast to race and gender, ethnicity is distinctively a cultural/socio-political category and is thus not based on biological predispositions, although it functions in reality as if it were. Therefore, it has become similar to race and gender in its tendency to determine; it inextricably follows that women immigrants from undesired races, who in addition come from the least desirable ethnic territories, are exposed to the worst discrimination. Among arguments for discrimination in migration contexts, the strongest one is the concept of autochthonism. To discuss the justification of existence of such a basic concept in international law can prove to be a delicate issue. Its abolition would endanger minorities in the political and sociological meaning of the word. For the realisation of such a radical idea as

is the idea of abolition of autochthonism, conditions that implement the principle of majority would need to be redefined. The principle of majority would need to be abolished and as a result, minorities and the need to protect them would no longer exist. The answer comes from critical multiculturalism, which positions the rights of an individual before the rights of the community. The latter rights are realised through individuals and their right to choose among alternative group identifications. Citizenship would be merely some sort of membership of equal (different) individuals in a state as a political community, with equal rights and obligations. This would affect the mentioned restructuring and re-conceptualisation of power relations between different cultures and ethnical groups. Discourses on ghettoisation, subordination, and hierarchisation would be refused and a new discourse should stem from the realisation that people are the same only in the way that they differ from each other. Every resemblance or sameness that seemingly holds a group of individuals together is an abstraction and reduction of reality. It is an analytical category which leaves out 'unimportant' differences between individuals.

In discussions about multiculturalism the term itself should be clearly defined. Moreover, it is important to differ between the two levels of multiculturalism and pay attention to which theoretical concepts we are linking it with: 1. multiculturalism inside a nation state, when it exists separately from cultural relativism and is linked to the citizens' right to free choice, while the boundary of 'acceptable' is for citizens defined by the respective legal system; or 2. multiculturalism on the level of confederation or international relations, when it is connected to cultural relativism.

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BUREK, NEIN DANKE! THE STORY OF AN IMMIGRANT DISH AND A NATIONALIST DISCOURSE

JERNEJ MLEKUŽ

ABOUT THE BUREK

Burek? The burek – a pie made of pastry dough filled with various fillings, well-known in the Balkans, Turkey (bürek), and also in the Near East by other names – probably arrived in Slovenia in the 1960s. Slovenia, industrially the most ambitious of the republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), needed a workforce. And with that workforce – immigrants from the former republics of the SFRY – came the burek. To paraphrase Max Frisch: We called for a workforce and we got burek![1]

But the burek – an important nutritional element of various ethnic groups (primarily Bosnians) – would probably have remained unknown to the majority of Slovenians if not for the appearance in the sixties of "foreign" burek stands (run by Albanians from the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia) in various Slovenian towns with high concentrations of immigrants or soldiers.

However, this street burek remained almost an exclusively immigrant food right up to the 1980s. But from the moment that Slovenian mouths first bit into the burek, the story of the burek very quickly became more complicated, richer, meatier. In the second half of the eighties the burek reached the podium, at least in the larger Slovenian towns, and perhaps even became the winner of the fast-food sweepstakes. By the end of the eighties some "Slovenian" bakeries were beginning to make bureks, and this trend has increased to the present day. According to a technician at Pekarna Pečjak (2006) – the "Slovenian" baked goods firm which sells the second highest number of bureks in Slovenia after the Žito food service chain – the burek is becoming "item number one" (telephone conversation, 2006). In the mid-nineties, the burek entered the Slovenian nutritional mainstream. It is garnering a place among the leaders both in terms of quantitative growth and expansion into new areas and institutions. It has begun to be served in the Slovenian army, it can be found in Slovenian schools, at numerous parties both formal and informal, at shows, on some flights of the Slovenian national airline, and on and on. All that of course does not mean that doors everywhere are open to the burek, much less, wide open.

But this is a topic which deserves a different title.

[1] Originally: "We called for a workforce, but we got human beings!"

THE META-BUREK

The subject of this analysis is not the burek itself; the subject of this analysis is the meta-burek. The meta-burek? The meta-burek is that part of the burek which is subject to the symbolic, constructed through discourse: everything which exists on, in, or near the burek and is more than the unconditional burek – the burek as one-dimensional belly filler. The meta-burek is in the first place understood as a product of signification, therefore as meanings in which power relations are invested in numerous and complex ways. This comradeship between signification and power relations is clearly indicated by the title of this paper, probably the most recognisable "Slovenian" graffito: "Burek, nein danke!" (Anon. ?a) In this syntagm, which is associated with the (overly) frequent Slovenian attitude towards foreigners and the foreign, the burek signifies, connotes, stands for something else. And that which this syntagm states, even while uttering it, indicates or intends to indicate its privileged, superior position.[2] But in this discursive production the material and functional context of the burek is not unimportant. Discursive production (a complex of signification and power relations) also includes the non-discursive, objective, material field, in numerous complex ways. To paraphrase Karl Marx, people make their own meta-burek, but not just as they please, and not under conditions they choose by themselves.[3]

In this analysis therefore the meta-burek will be understood primarily as a product of objective possibilities, communications connections, and power relations. The analysis of the meta-burek will thus include three types of closely interwoven connections: possibility/communications/power.[4]

The meta-burek is manifested in very different forms. We can thus refer to spoken (also sung, cursed, chatted, theorised), written, photographed or otherwise visually depicted, nutritional and probably other meta-bureks. As Roland Barthes (1969: 26) would say, they are "different systems, according to which substance is used for communication". The meta-burek thus shows up in burek statements. Burek statements? A burek statement is a statement which includes a burek from various

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2 Which from another perspective is not necessarily dominant. That is, why "nein danke" and not "ne hvala"?

3 In the original: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past." (Marx 1967: 10)

4 Of course it would be possible to describe the meta-burek differently, for instance by citing Dick Hebdig (1979: 3), as "a crime against the natural order". The meta-burek is therefore a product of the process of cultivating the burek, raising the burek from the level of nature to the level of culture. In even more technical, order-seeking language, we could say that the meta-burek is a marking favour, and that the unconditioned burek is a physical favour, as Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood (1996) described the difference between the utilitarian value of food and its embeddedness in culture. To summarise freely, as food, the burek is not merely a physical need, but primarily a complex symbolic medium. Hmm, actually not just a symbolic medium but above all a symbolic product.

systems which depend on substance (writing, speech, music, visual images, (material) objects, etc.). The analysis of the meta-burek depends primarily on the analysis of statements[5] – everything which could actually be stated or materialised about the burek in various substances – and is limited to the discourse which has most directly, most passionately, and with the greatest amount of motivation formed the meta-burek in the last two or three decades: nationalist discourse.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE CARNIOLAN SAUSAGE

The title of this section is taken from the hegemonic Slovenian newspaper *Delo*. This commentary, whose title is wreathed in Carniolan sausage, speaks primarily about European integration processes, and also includes the following: "Slovenians fortunately eat Carniolan sausage, at least that is what we hear, and these days some anti-national fanatics have even prepared some kind of public protest against the 'dictatorship of the Carniolan sausage'. This is nice to hear, as the State would rather steer common sense toward a dictatorship of the burek and čevapčiči." (Jež 2004: 4) It therefore speaks of dictatorship or dictatorships, of those fear-mongering political systems which I will retain only in the marketing style of the title. And also in sentences of more literary, free-spirited provenience with which I will try to loosen up the text, and even perhaps laugh in the midst of this scientific gravity. But how did we get to these alleged dictatorships or the idea of dictatorships of such well-meaning things as Carniolan sausage, čevapčiči, and bureks?

In 1982, Bojan Štih published a daily column titled "That's Not a Poem, That's Simply Love" in the most popular Slovenian cultural and intellectual journal *Naši razgledi (Our Viewpoints)*, through which he sparked a huge controversy which exceeded the scope of the discussion in question. It seems, if I may be allowed to indulge in a bit of literary language, that this well-known essayist, critic, theatre director, playwright, etc., opened a bottle that was by no means empty. And the genie of course wanted out. But what kind of genie was it? And what did he use to open the bottle?

The provocative author recalls the "Belgrade Days" which were held in Ljubljana in July 1980:

> *A fearsome noise in the square in front of the invisible monument and Robba's Fountain. Songs which I don't understand and wild screams, language that I don't understand. /…/ Uncouth behavior is attested by the screams, especially the thousands of coarse Serbian oaths, as if the world championships in sacrilegious swearing, vulgarity and*

[5] I take the concept of a statement "freely" following Michel Foucault (2002) and define it in greater detail in my doctoral dissertation *Predmet kot akter? Primer bureka v Sloveniji (Subject as Actor? The Case of the Burek in Slovenia* (2007)), in which I also define in more detail the concepts of the meta-burek, the unconditional burek, discourse (as a product of signification and power relations), objective field, materiality etc. The dissertation also includes a lengthy abstract on these subjects in English.

> *defying Heaven were being held in front of the town hall. Wild drumming and deafening noise coming out of the amplifiers. Anti-music … This anti-music in front of the town hall contained no soft tones, as were once known by Gallus, Dolar, and Novak [the "Slovenian" classical music canon]. A thick blue cloud floats above the heads of the people and the sickening smell of tallow and Turkish čevaps is everywhere. In the faint which suddenly overwhelms me I see the camps of the sultans Bajazit and Murat on ancient European soil. /…/*
> *In these evening hours, fleeing with corpses on their shoulders, I ask myself whose idiotic idea was it to change our city into Bajazit and Murat's amusement park, in which everything which we have created in a century in Ljubljana will disappear, to give up with our creation our desire for beauty, peace, order and spiritual development. In the name of the spirit of European civilisation and culture. In my predicament I wonder what would happen if a Slovenian were to start selling pork sausages or minced lard in the bazaars of Istanbul or Teheran? But what should I do with these jokes and visions of Turkish encampments!* (Štih 1982: 382)

This text, as is borne witness to by a special folder containing responses to this article in the *Delo* archive, sparked off a huge controversy in almost all of the Yugoslav print media of the day, and even made it into some foreign papers. In what was probably the most 'federally' oriented Yugoslav newspaper, *Borba (Battle)*, an article appeared under the title "The Enlightened Štih" which read: "But how can writer and cultural worker Bojan Štih meditate in *Naši razgledi* about the filthy [pagan] effects of Serbian čevapčiči on the Ljubljana cultural heritage, in disunited Slovenia, about a nation which is dying out …" (Pjević 1982). In the "Croatian" *Danas (Today)*, a social criticism weekly, a kind of "Yugoslavian" *Spiegel*, an article appeared with the telling title: "Ćevap with a Nationalist Flavor" (Štajduhar 1982: 48).[6]

What about the burek? Well, it doesn't appear either in Štih's text or in the numerous polemics. Ten years later such a controversy probably couldn't have happened without the burek. But let's stay in the eighties for a while. At the beginning?

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When it arrived in Slovenia the burek was an immigrant dish. This probably holds for both bureks (and pies) made in immigrant families (which is true to nearly the same extent today) and for the bureks which were sold in the first burek stands. These were present in Slovenia – at least in the larger towns, which had larger concentrations of immigrants, or had barracks[7] and thus customers for such food – at

6 As an interesting aside, during the time of the push for Slovenia's independence – that is, during the time when the doors to nationalist discourse were open the widest – čevapčiči were renamed lulčki (wieners) in numerous shops. The new name for this food, which, like the burek, Slovenians appropriated from the Balkans, found its inspiration in its form.

7 During the time of the SFRY, the barracks in Slovenia were filled mainly with soldiers from other republics of the SFRY.

least from the first half of the 1960s. As some interviewees recalled, in the eighties the burek began to become popular among "non-immigrants", usually those according to Peter Stankovič (2005: 36) who did not become enthralled with the nationalist euphoria and the Yugophobia associated with it. These were mainly students, punks and urban youth in general. On the level of concepts this consequently meant, as Stankovič continues, "that the burek soon no longer signified merely ethnic differences (between 'Us' and 'Them', 'Slovenians' and 'non-Slovenians'), but also between those Slovenians who did not have any major problems with the presence of immigrants from the other republics of former Yugoslavia." But here we should emphasise something. After talking with numerous protagonists of the urban subcultures in the eighties, in those days the burek was not a symbolic object within various subculture groups and wasn't even a prominent, significant part of subcultural consumption. Gregor Tomc, who was part of the "generation of punks from the late 70s who had already become worn out in the 80s, with the help of the police," says that "among the punks," food was not a part of subcultural expression. "Drinking alcohol was part of the subculture, mainly in the form of beer /…/" (Tomc 2005). Ali Žerdin, from the generation "which was politically and culturally socialised at the time of the first Novi rok ["New Rock"] festival in 1981," has the following to say about the burek:

> *The thing with the burek is in my opinion more a coincidence than anything else. It was just that at one in the morning the only thing open at the train station was a kiosk which sold bureks and nothing else. So we sometimes went for a burek. /…/ If there was another kiosk selling something else at one in the morning, we might have gone for polenta.* (Žerdin 2005)

And it was no different outside of Ljubljana. Boris Čibej remembers "the punk days in Idrija", a small, provincial Slovenian mining town: "At least as far as the group of people who I was hanging out with at the time went, there was no 'food-fetishism', unless we count as food alcohol, which we were not too choosy about. The only important category was price-performance." (Čibej 2005)

Thus we can assume that the great majority of people who ate (or didn't eat) Burkes did not see it as an explicitly political act. For the urban youth of the eighties as well as all the rest who only occasionally went for Burkes, they represented calories and not symbols. Usually something warm for a belly full of alcohol, something cheap for shallow pockets. And something that was available even during the most impossible hours among the already scanty offerings of the 1980s. It should be emphasised that in those days, late at night and early in the morning, Burkes were the only warm food available in most Slovenian cities (along with hot dogs, *pommes frites*, and not a whole lot else).

The essential point of this story of calories without symbols is that the Balkan, southerners' burek had found its way onto Slovenian streets, insinuated itself into the hands and mouths of the non-immigrant, indigenous, native population. And from here on, in my opinion, the story of the burek and the national essence begins

to be increasingly interesting and complex, from here on is where the meta-burek begins to fully develop and flourish.

Therefore the concepts that the burek predominantly defined throughout the nineties and probably those that most vocally accompany it today, in the primary, original sense, were not the products of burek eaters. There was and still is a kind of national or nationalist discourse at work, which couldn't and didn't want to take the burek as its own, as ours. In other words, it was affronted by the presence, the conspicuousness of the burek on Slovenian streets, in the hands and mouths of youth and all the others who to a greater or lesser extent occasionally ate Burkes.

But it is perhaps an exaggeration, if not actually a mistake, to pin all of the blame for the parasitic nationalist discourse on the burek, to hang the genesis of the ethno-nationally coloured meta-burek on the appearance and presence of the burek on Slovenian streets. It could also have been other moments, although in my opinion much less significant ones. That is, if they are significant at all. As an example of such an external moment we could mention the silver medal won by Slovenian skier Jure Franko at the Olympics in Sarajevo in 1984 – the first medal for Yugoslavia at a winter Olympics. The pun "we love Jurek more than burek" (Anon. ?b), which appeared at the time, and which is still remembered by many Slovenians and occasionally appears in comical, humourous contexts in Slovenian media,[8] popular culture and everyday speech, certainly brought the burek closer to Slovenians and perhaps also stirred up Slovenian-Yugoslav relations.

In this discussion of the genesis of nationalist discourse we also have to mention Slovenia's attaining of independence. This point, this date signified the end of the official discourse about brotherhood and unity. And of course we mustn't forget that nationalism in the form of popular and other discourses was at work during the eighties, as well as before.[9] The nationalist meta-burek never appears in Slovenia's attaining of independence. But independence – of course together with all of the changes and social and cultural shocks – was undoubtedly the historical event which, as I will show below, placed the meta-burek into a new, much more complex field and, in my opinion, also caused it to flourish.

Finally, let's take a bite into burek statements. When exactly did the burek begin to invite meanings connected with someone or something ethnic, something national? Something which it had never had – at least from the moment it appeared in a foreign

8 When Jure Franko visited Sarajevo again after twenty-two years, the newspaper *Nedeljski Dnevnik* published a piece titled "We Love Jurek More than Burek!" (Fornezzi 2006: 14). The descriptive presentation of a round table discussion titled "Slovenians and the Balkans: on the Europeanisation of Slovenian society and running away from the Balkans" in the newspaper *Večer* was titled "From Jure to Burek and other stories" (Stepišnik 2002: 5).

9 For instance Gorazd Stariha (2006) through an analysis of documents kept in the archives of the Minor Offenses Magistrate in Radovljica and the Radovljica District Court demonstrated that there were several cases of expressions of intolerance, chicanery, and other events directed at immigrants from other republics of the SFRY, going as far as physical violence, in upper Gorenjska already in the fifties.

environment and was noticed there? In one of the first statements about the manufacturing of bureks by bakeries in 1980, which I found in a Slovenian newspaper, we also find this probably not mean-spirited formulation: "The people of Celje have received the 'domestic' burek very favourably ..." (-k 1980: 6). Therefore, if there is such a thing as a "domestic" burek, written not without reason with quotation marks, then there must also be such a thing as a "foreign" burek, right?

But from the middle of the eighties onward the burek began with increasing currency to take on the role of a signifier of culture, cultures, the populations of the other republics of the former SFRY, or as this national/political/ethnic/cultural phenomenon is still labeled, "Juga" ("Yugo[slavia]"). The less worthy population and culture of Juga? Let's leave that for later. In the song "Jasmina" by one of the most popular Slovenian pop groups from the eighties, Agropop, after the chorus with an emphasised Balkan melody in Serbo-Croatian, which sings of love for Jasmina, a female voice – Jasmina – sings the following (in Slovenian):

He was indeed, a real man,
He stank awfully of horse.
His back was really hairy,
He took me for a cheese burek. (Klinar and Centa 1986)

In the cult science-fiction novel *Mana (Manna)* by Miha Remec, published in 1985, the painter Robi brings a burek to the novel's protagonist, journalist Jurij Jereb, who among other things frequently complains about, curses and spits on southerners.[10] He accompanies it with the following words: "I have brought you breakfast. A Balkan burek, so that you learn right from the beginning where you belong. You can rinse it down with a Scotch whiskey, so that you can enjoy the feeling of still having one foot in Europe." (Remec 1985: 260)

In both of these cases the burek therefore connotes something which is other, foreign to the Slovenian essence, but at the same time, something that – at least apparently – it has (already) inescapably accepted and which also determines it. It seems that the national essence exists in an indelible dependence on the symbolic Other, without which it cannot even establish itself. So what place in this otherness is given to the burek, how does it touch the national essence and what is permitted to be done with it?

Having left issues of political motivation aside to discuss these early statements, we can't avoid probably one of the most resonant early nationalist statements and one of the most resonant burek statements in general, the graffito, "Burek, nein danke!" (Anon. ?a). Before we deal with questions of explicitness and implicitness, and the motivations for nationalist statements, we should stay with this graffito for a moment. I would like to suggest, or ask: is it possible that the super-symbolism of the

[10] I reproduce expressions such as "južnjaki" ("southerners"), "bosanci" ("Bosnians"), "čifurji" (a pejorative for "southerners"), "Juga" ("Yugo[slavia]"), etc., of course with an academic distance from their chauvinist implications.

burek, the complex meta-burek, is simply a coincidence? That is to say, if this graffito had never appeared, this graffito which due to its early appearance, its many years of being reproduced in various forms and environments has very significantly and complexly consolidated and formed the burek's place in culture and thus its symbolic power, would the meta-burek be what it is today? This question of course also has various antecedents: Would such a burek statement, of course not necessarily in the same form and syntagm, appear sooner or later, if some anonymous graffiti artist had not written it on a wall (for instance, if he had broken his arm or spent the money for the paint on alcohol), or to go even deeper into history, into the broader context, if the anti-nuclear slogan "Atom nein danke" had never appeared.[11] This question raises a further one: why did this happen to the burek? I could go on with these questions and to be honest I'm not sure where they would lead. However, I should reiterate the object of this "question opener". The meta-burek – its genesis and ontology – is in my opinion partially a result of coincidences, which of course always occur within existing historical and material realities. And to repeat the paraphrase of Karl Marx at the beginning of the paper, people make their own meta-burek, but not just as they please, and not under conditions they choose by themselves.

We have finally touched on the apparent explicitness of this nationalist statement, which appeared on a Ljubljana street in the second half of the eighties and has appeared occasionally on the walls of Ljubljana ever since. Is it really so explicit and direct as it seems at first glance? What if this graffito had originally been encoded, written on the wall of a building on one of Ljubljana's most heavily trafficked streets, Gosposka street, without any sort of nationalist pretense, as a more or less innocent joke, a gag, which was intended merely to poke fun at or even laugh at the developing nationalism. However, I assume that the numerous reproductions of this graffito, which appeared on the walls of Ljubljana throughout the nineties, were mainly encoded and written by nationalist hands.

To begin, I would like to express my scepticism or disagreement with the idea that it is possible to simply and deterministically apply great truths – clear concepts such as nationalism in this case – to things that are as complex as culture. However, sometimes such application seems completely unproblematic, even mechanical. It could be described as a perfect noiseless translation, a literal translation in which not only is nothing lost, but nothing is added. A good example of such compliant application, while at the same time having a highly motivated and clear political strategy, is disclosed by the name of the project "Anti Burek System (ABS)" by the skinhead group SLOI, which, according to Marta Gregorič (1999: 104), sang their words in verse in pubs. That is, at the beginning of the nineties the group played without instruments. Anti Burek System is clearly a very explicit, highly motivated, compliant burek statement.[12]

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[11] The graffito is most likely a modification of the famous European anti-nuclear slogan from the early eighties, "Atom nein danke".

[12] Skinheads and bureks!? Let's take a quick look at our neighbours. In a paper which dis-

Of course, such translations and applications – if we can even speak of one-way translations, applications of great truths, or self-evidence – are most often unclear, ambiguous, and questionable.

However, within this, the burek – here more in a nationalist than in an ethno-national context –can signify a lot of things, as we have already demonstrated with countless examples. It can be filled with very different contents. It is a kind of hollow dough into which fillings can to some extent or within certain conditions be added at will. What sort of fillings then?

- Bosnians, Bosniaks – here I mean the ethnic nationality, the signifier – as we can read in the story "How a Bosnian Loves", which tells of three Bosnians in Slovenia and their three blow-up sex dolls:
  Soon Fikret and Mirza also came from their birthplace. They rented a flat together and created an island of nostalgia, a true Little Bosnia, in the middle of the city neighbourhood. After some hard work it was just right. It smelled of freshly ground coffee, cigarette smoke swirled beneath the ceiling, there was a fresh burek on the tray, and the Bosnian national anthem emanated from the speakers. The heroes' hearts warmed and they perked up their ears. The neighbours, of course. (nm 2003: 55).
- Albanians, "Šiptarji", as depicted in this image from the weekly magazine *Mladina (Youth)* – in which an "evil" Albanian (the ethnicity of the character is revealed by the "typically Albanian" cap) holds a burek in his hand – published in the humour column Manipulator (Anon. 1989: 12) which uses jokes with Serbo-Albanian motifs which were current at the end of the eighties:

cusses the intolerance of Croatian skinheads and the publication of the first issue of the "fanzine for skinhead culture" SH–ZG, we read: "In their magazine, the Zagreb skinheads published a contest with shocking content. The participants in the contest would compete by collecting the names of gay clubs, Chinese restaurants, Orthodox municipalities, sweetshops, and burek stands. When all the names had been collected, they would publish a skinhead multicultural guide to Zagreb. As stated by the publishers of the contest, the guide would be intended for both tourists and skinheads, so that they could 'take care of things' quarter by quarter." (Žerjavič 2003: 24)

Or, as the following amusing tale tells us:

> *Schollmayer [a well-known Slovenian businessman] was also known to be exceptionally rude. In an interview with the sports magazine Ekipa he said: "Some 'Šiptar' bought that company (SGP Galjevica), and doesn't do anything, all he does is sue us for the principal, which amounts to 2.5 million tolars, now it's 30 million." Dragan Lazić, the Commercial Manager of SGP Galjevica, recognised himself in the description of a Šiptar who doesn't do anything. He told journalists: "My business acquaintances have started to ask me when I'm going to bring them bureks."* (Praprotnik 2004: 32)

- Immigrants of the Muslim faith, as we can see in this picture from a humour supplement to one of the political weeklies, with the headline: "We'll trade bureks for a mosque!" and the words on the sign in broken Slovenian: "No mosque for us, no burek for you" (Anon. 2004: 72).
- The Balkans, as we can read in letters to the editor in the most popular Slovenian newspaper *Delo*: "Then he took the role of a paper tiger, although he could easily have prevented the last Balkan war. Perhaps it would even have happened if the Balkans were known for their oil and not for bureks and kajmak!" (Nardin 2004: 5)
- The continuity of the former Yugoslav political system, as we can read in the humour supplement to a Slovenian daily:
  Whoever doesn't read shouldn't eat, said the leader for the life of our republic Milan Kučan in an interview for the Saturday supplement to Toti list, when speaking of his cooking skills. 'Čevapčiči with onions, burek & roštilj [barbecue], are more important for communists than the battle for Šentilj [one of the most significant operations in the ten-day "war of independence" in Slovenia]. (Anon. 1998: 42)
- The Orient, as we can read in the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika (Dictionary of*

Slovenian Literary Language) (Anon. 1970: 226): "Oriental cake made of pastry dough with filling: burek with cheese; burek with meat."
- Etc.

Of course in such an analysis of the meta-burek we have to continually ask, for each case separately, what strategies, if any, the individual statements support. For all of the above statements it would be hard to say that they are clearly, explicitly politically or nationalistically motivated. But for all of them it seems that some kind of implicit strategy of domination is at work. A strategy of naturalisation, the essentialisation of differences and identities. A strategy of symbolic violence, or in short, stereotyping.

In order for an identity to exist there must be a distinction between it and another, and here it seems that it is not even very important what we fill it with. It could be simply a difference in the manner of eating, either with added sugar or without for the same dish, as the Bosnian immigrant Božo, the hero of the film *Kajmak in marmelada (Kajmak and Marmelade)*, learns in a humourous way. *Kajmak in marmelada* is the most popular "Slovenian" film of all time, and tells about the (in)compatibility of the partnership between Slovenian Špela and immigrant Božo. What do you think Božo calls the things the mother of "his" Slovenian Špela cooks, which all Slovenians cook? "Burek sa šećerom" ("burek with sugar") – a strudel [a pastry which is the product of German cuisine, and an important part of Slovenian cuisine]. (Djurić 2003)

Of course I am not saying here that there are no differences in the ways of eating, cooking and other material and non-material practices between ethnic, national, and other groups. In other words, the invention of concepts is not arbitrary; it doesn't occur in a vacuum, it is not without reference, as is naïvely assumed by (too) numerous constructivism-oriented social scientists. But the fact that concepts cannot be invented at will does not mean that the burek has some kind of essential, absolute meaning.

Here it would perhaps not be amiss to ask once again why the burek is so often reached for when fleshing out these differences. Is it just its widespread popularity, its conspicuousness? Or is there some more sophisticated, perverse strategy at work here? A strategy which through fixing meaning at the level of nutrition naturalises the essence of immigrants at the level of primary needs, that is, biology?[13]

Let's return for a moment to the film, which is (overly) richly structured on stereotypes, as film critic Marcel Štefančič tells us in his colourful review:

The Bosnian (Branko Đurić) in Kajmak in marmelada finds a Slovenian girl (Tanja

[13] This question was impressed upon me by Frantz Fanon (2002). In his study of (stereotypical) representations of black people he pointed out that the concentration of meaning around their genitalia fixes the essence of blacks at the physical level, in contrast with representations of whites, which are usually focused on intellect.

> *Ribič) mainly through romance. Then he loses her. And then gets her back again. Obviously, in between we will get a lecture on comparative ethnology. Before you can say Na planincah [a traditional Slovenian song], they are already telling endless jokes about Mujo [a stereotypical Bosnian figure in Yugoslavian humour] & a Slovenian: Bosnians are lazy, they steal, they don't clean up after themselves, they drink in public places, pick their noses and eat bureks – while Slovenians work two jobs, insist on eating beef soup, sing national folk songs, blow German tourists, commit suicide, and eat burek with sugar (that is, strudel). Wow, good thing they're both atheists.* (Štefančič 2003: 74)

But – somewhat paradoxically – the writer and director of this film is a Bosnian immigrant to Slovenia (Branko Djurić). Pretty complicated, ain't it? Or maybe not. Through induction we can conclude that stereotypes (also) affect the self-recognition of those who are the subjects of stereotyping. This however means that stereotypes (can) have real consequences.[14] Of course, such induction can be highly problematic. We could conclude all kinds of things from the above example. For instance, that Bosnians make rude jokes at the expense of Slovenians, and therefore have to be silenced. However, numerous statements tell us that the burek has become an important element in the self-recognition of immigrants, Bosnians, Albanians, and all the rest. In a profile of academically trained Albanian painter Gani Llallos, who lives in Ljubljana, we read: "Only through an ironic question do we arrive at the most common Slovenian stereotype about Albanians: 'What would Slovenians be without baklava and burek?'" (Černe 2003: 24). As Karl Marx (1967: 106) would say: "They cannot represent themselves, they must be represented."

Of course, even those who usually represent others cannot always represent. Here I do not mean (only) that stereotyping is not just a tool of the power of the more dominant in the process of signification,[15] but above all, that the subordinates in power relations can be superordinate to others. In an interview about negative im-

[14] Regarding the issue of the consequences of stereotypical representations we should mention the study by Ayse Caglar (1995), which is especially close to the subject of this paper. The study shows how the doner kebab which was brought to Germany by Turkish immigrants played a central role in the recognition of the migrant group. At the places where Turks first sold doner kebabs as an exotic ethnic food (which was mainly bought by Germans) and was used as a positive symbol of cultural connection in multicultural discourse, the effects of the changing attitude towards foreigners led to a loosening of the association between "Turkishness" and the doner kebab. Stands and chains appeared with names like McKebap and Donerburger. At the same time, doner became a sobriquet for Turks. A multicultural youth festival in Berlin in 1987 was called "Disco doner", and the following slogan appeared in controversies about foreigners (Ausländerfrage): "Kein doner ohne Ausländer!" (No kebabs without foreigners!). In this political chaos the doner kebab sold better than ever. But for Turks the continued association with it means a further denial of their increasing social mobility. The final irony is that in the attempts to loosen and move away from the association with the doner kebab, the sellers of this food have moved into selling Italian food.

[15] In this context I should add that stereotyping generally occurs in places where there is a clear inequality, that is, major differences in the power of groups (cf., for example, Hall 2002: 258).

ages in Slovenian tourism promotion, the media darling of Slovenian ethnologists Dr. Janez Bogataj replied to the question, “Are any other mistakes made in the presentation of Slovenia?”:

> *Let’s take the stereotypical presentation of Slovenian cuisine. The London newspaper The Guardian reported that our culinary specialties are burek and brandy. I ask myself where the British obtained this information and what Slovenia will do now. Will the disinformation which was published be rescinded and the truth about our cuisine presented free of charge? Did the STO [Slovenian Tourism Organisation] invite the journalist from The Guardian to Slovenia or at least send him professional materials and tell him where we Slovenians are on the map of European professional cuisine?* (Meršnik 2004: 33)

It was therefore no surprise that the burek and brandy appeared in the subheading to this long interview – an interview which offers a great deal of other material for subheadings: “The task of Slovenian tourism policy would have to be: to find new ways to implement visible projects which arise as early as the study phase – the British are spreading the delusion that the jewels of Slovenian cuisine are the burek and brandy”.

Stereotypical representation is therefore undoubtedly a place where power intrudes into processes of signification. More than it would appear! Through stereotyping, as Stuart Hall (2002: 258) summarises, the great authors, the social and symbolic order are maintained. But instead of repeating, proclaiming and name-dropping these great, authoritative thoughts, it seems to me to be more useful to return to the issue at hand, that is, the burek and the meta-burek.

At this point it would seem fruitful to invite Edward Said to join the debate. With his immeasurable assistance it would be possible to establish some sort of “burekalism”, that is, “a style of thought based on an ontological and epistemological distinction made between” (Said 1978: 2) a population and place defined by the burek and a population and place not defined by the burek. In order not to lose our place in these long sentences, our last paring of definitions will be translated, contracted to the conceptually not completely equivalent categories adapted to the needs of this research: “immigrants” and “Slovenians”. To continue with Said’s (1978: 5) thoughts and words, the concept of burekalism as I study it here deals principally, not with a correspondence between burekalism and the burek, but with the internal consistency of burekalism and its ideas about the burek, despite or beyond any correspondence, or lack thereof, with a “real” burek. And furthermore, to believe that the burek was created or burekalised simply as a necessity of the imagination is, I believe, mistaken, or as Said (1978: 5) said, “disingenuous.” The relationship between the burek and the non-burek “is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony” (Said 1978: 17), which is nicely indicated by the title of this section: “The Dictatorship of the Carniolan Sausage”. The burek was burekalised not just because it was established that it is “foreign”, “Balkan”,

in short “burekish”, but also because it was possible – that is, that it was forced to the point where it was possible – to make it foreign, Balkan, burekish. The people defined by the burek, that is, immigrants, very rarely speak (about the burek) on their own behalf. And when they do speak, it seems that they usually speak in a way that is suitable for non-burek defined people, that is, Slovenians. Think back to *Kajmak in marmelada* and the profile of the Albanian academically trained painter. Of course, what most frequently retains is Marx’s famous motto, quoted above, that is, that non-burek defined people speak on behalf of burek defined people and also represent them. Just look at the spotty list presented above. It is truly fascinating that in these very colourful and innumerable burek statements in the media, statements which put the burek into the family or wider milieu of immigrant groups in Slovenia almost never appear.[16] Immigrants never or almost never speak burek statements in the media, except in statements which reproduce burekalism (for instance, the jokes by Branko Djurić in the film *Kajmak in marmelada*), that is, statements which are custom made for Slovenians. While on the other hand there is a huge pile of various stories published mainly in the print media which discover bureks in foreign countries, and which expose well-known Slovenian individuals and families preparing and eating bureks.

This brings us to the next qualification. I should add that Said’s *Orientalism* (1978: 6) is still of invaluable help to us here. One ought never to assume that the structure of burekalism is nothing more than a structure of lies or myths which, were the truth about them to be told, would simply blow away. We must to try to grasp the sheer knitted-together strength of burekalised discourse, and its redoubtable durability. Burekalism is much more formidable than a collection of falsifications and lies, it is not just an airy Slovenian fantasy about the burek, but a created body of theory and practice in which there has also been considerable material investment. Continued investment made burekalism, as a system of self-evidence, knowledge, and signification, an accepted grid for filtering through the burek into Slovenian consciousness, just as that same investment multiplied the statements proliferating out from burekalism into the general culture.

Burekalism, still following Said’s (1978: 7) thought, therefore depends for its strategy on a flexible positional superiority, which puts the non-burek defined person (Slovenian) in a whole series of possible relationships with the burek without his ever losing the relative upper hand. Starting in the second half of the eighties within the umbrella of the domination, hegemony, and superiority of non-burek defined people over burek defined people there emerged a complex burek, that is, a meta-burek, suitable for the more or less entertainment and metaphorical needs

[16] The only such example that I found is a report on the celebration of Ramadan in Jesenice, which deals to a great extent with fasting and eating during this period of fasting, as indicated by the title of the article (“Fasting and the Abundance of Goodwill During Ramadan”). The description of *iftar* – the supper which follows an all-day fast – (of course) included cheese and meat burek (Mlinarič 2002: 14).

of popular culture, the media, colloquial language, literature, and so on. To return again to Said (1978: 12), burekalism is therefore not a mere political subject matter or a field which is reflected passively by culture, language, or place; nor is it a large and diffuse collection of texts about the burek; nor is it representative and expressive of some nefarious Slovenian plot to hold down immigrants, Southerners, and Balkan people. It is rather a distribution of superiority, dominance, geopolitical and politico-cultural awareness into popular culture, colloquial, and other language, entertainment, the media, literature, art, and more.

According to Said's (1978: 8) thought and words, one must repeatedly ask oneself whether what matters in burekalism is the general group of ideas overriding the mass of material – about which who could deny that they were shot through with doctrines of Slovenian superiority, various kinds of racism, nationalism, and the like, dogmatic views of "burekalism" as a kind of ideal and unchanging abstraction? – or the much more varied work produced by almost uncountable individual writers, whom one would take up as individual instances of authors dealing with, tripping over, touching on the burek.

I think that in the case of burekalism both are true. It is conditioned by both a dogmatic group of ideas and by the creativity and originality of individual authors. But I also think that between dogmatism and productivity, at least on a certain manifest level, there is an important difference, which is also reflected in methodological limitations: that is, they cannot be dealt with by using the same tools. Burekalism thus pretends to be something relaxed, productive, open, and on the other hand, it secretively conceals its strict, closed, orthodox nature. It pretends to be a trifle, but the limitations which are created invisibly indicate its power. A power which should not be underestimated. First of all, this limitation is about the fact that burekalism dictates, as we have already mentioned, which things should be noticed and emphasised, and which should be silenced and unobserved. This analysis of silence is however a problematic, tricky, never completely convincing and consistent task. It is, for example, difficult to say how much substance burekalism contributed to a particular silence, if anything at all. For example? For instance, nowhere, neither in the media nor in everyday speech nor in professional and scientific literature, have I found any mention or even hint of there being a dish or dishes whose shape or style of preparation was very similar to a burek, of course with a different name or names, in the territory of present-day Slovenia before the arrival of immigrants during the time of the SFRY.[17] But it does not seem that all foods keep so silent

[17] Various sorts of cakes and pies made from pastry dough which are similar to bureks in appearance, preparation, and ingredients were popular primarily in the south-western and south-eastern parts of Slovenia (for example, prleška oljovica, presni kolač, pršjača, belokranjska povitica, prosta povitica). These are mainly holiday ritual foods and foods prepared at the end of major farming jobs. Of course, technical and other similarities cannot be an argument for this or any other kind of influence or even for a shared origin of the foods.

Filled pies made of pastry dough – including the burek – can also be found in other Slavic

about their similarities, connections or even relatedness to other foods. For instance, when I asked in pubs in Prekmurje about "retaš" (a pie well known in the Prekmurje region), I often received the categorical response that it is a strudel. A strudel, which was developed in southern German and Austrian kitchens! These two examples of course suggest a number of other, primarily developmental-historical, contextual questions, which demand specific and precise treatment, and for which therefore there is no time or space in this paper. However, we can pose one question. Did burekalism have anything to do with this avoidance of Slovenian dishes having similarities with the burek in the Slovenian ethnic territory?

Furthermore, burekalism dictates, and it seems, dictates very specifically, where the burek belongs and where it does not, what kind of opportunities bureks are appropriate for and what kind of opportunities bureks are not appropriate for, and in what ways. Where therefore does it not belong?

Clearly it does not belong in the *Slovenski etnološki slovar (Slovenian Ethnological Dictionary)*, in which we find slang words such as avtostop (hitchhiking), avtostopar (hitchhiker), disco klub, golf, grafit (graffiti), hitra hrana (fast food), lepotni ideal (the beauty ideal), letoviščar (holidaymaker), nakupovalni center (shopping center), nudistični kamp (nudist camp), papiga (parrot), pedikura (pedicure), piknik, Ponterosso, rally, sex shop, sindikalni izlet (trade union excursion), and many other popular culture phenomena. And there are dishes such as grahornjak, krapec, kuc-kruh, kvasenica, kvocnjak, mauželj, mešta, and modnica, which many Slovenians have never heard of. Well, that should be enough to flummox you. You can find them all in the *Slovenski etnološki slovar*, of course next to potica cakes and Carniolan sausage, but as stated above, not next to the burek (various authors 2004).

It would seem that it does not belong in Slovenian cookbooks. Of course, we have to be careful here. We can find a relatively large number of recipes for burek on the Internet and in magazines. But on the other hand, burek denial slaps you in the face in both cookbooks that contain the root "Slovenian" in their titles and more general cookbooks, written for or adapted to Slovenian cooks. The place of the burek in Slovenian nutritional ideology is therefore (still) excessively, to put it mildly, marginal. And thus it still waits behind the closed doors which lead to the more hallowed world of cookbooks – that is, the world of (Slovenian) books and not just the plebian world of magazines and the Internet. In a survey of several dozen cookbooks I found a recipe for burek only in *Kuhinja naše družine (Our Family Cuisine)* (Grafenauer 2002: 195–96).[18] Perhaps it would not be out of place to mention here that the majority of these cookbooks, which are in one way or another adapted to Slovenian cooks, also do not contain any recipes for immigrant dishes,

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nations, while cakes made of short pastry dough or leavened dough are characteristic of other, primarily central European nations (Bogataj 2007a, 2007b). Of course, a burek is not necessarily a filled pie, as there are also spiral rolled bureks.

[18] Recipes for burek could probably be found more easily in various more topical cookbooks, for instance we found one in *Kuhinje Balkana (Cuisines of the Balkans)* (Mrlješ, et al. 2005).

that is, dishes from the republics of the former SFRY, which could not exactly be said of dishes from the West.

The burek also does not belong in numerous other national nutritional canons. For instance, we could not find it, as was established by newspaper reporter Ervin Hladnik-Milharčič (2007), at the grandiose feast upon Slovenia's adopting of the euro, that is, a sort of gourmet welcome to the euro, which was prepared by 25 cooks, served by 60 waiters, and attended by 1350 guests, including ten prime ministers of European governments, and at which 80 different dishes were served, including ham in dough which contained the banquet's basic message: the symbol for the euro. The journalist in question thus commented on the focal subject, the main course, which was given its own special table, "together with cooks, who with their long knives sliced always equal slices":

> *The culinary overview of European integrationist culture set at its core a piece of meat, which places Turkey outside the circle of enjoyment. Jewish culture also has nothing to find here. They could console themselves with lamb curry and ratatouille, but when going to get them they would have to give a wide berth to the table laden with prosciutto, and make sure they didn't accidentally brush up against the pork ribs, blood sausage, klobasa sausages, and everything that smells of a delicatessen. If you take the euro as the parameter of European understanding of its own foundations and everything that can be wrapped around it, then the advocates of the principle of exclusivity in the framing of the European constitution could be right. At the core of the European identity is a pig, which is undoubtedly a Christian animal. Despite its frequent appearance in popular culture, the burek did not find its way onto the menu in any of its popular forms.* (Hladnik-Milharčič 2007: 18)

Perhaps even more significant is the burek's role in places where we wouldn't expect it, that is, in places where according to the criteria of nationalist discourse it does not belong.

In the *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika (Dictionary of Slovenian Literary Language)*, from an edition which requires special treatment, it is described as an "Oriental cake made of pastry dough with filling: burek with cheese; burek with meat." (Anon. 1970: 226) An Oriental cake? The adjective should best be left alone, lest it pose too many unanswered questions. I will deal only with the noun, which degrades the burek – at least traditionally in the Balkans, in Turkey, and at least in some Arabic countries, where the dish is usually known under other names – from a main course in the main meal of the day to the level of a secondary dish, that is, a cake.

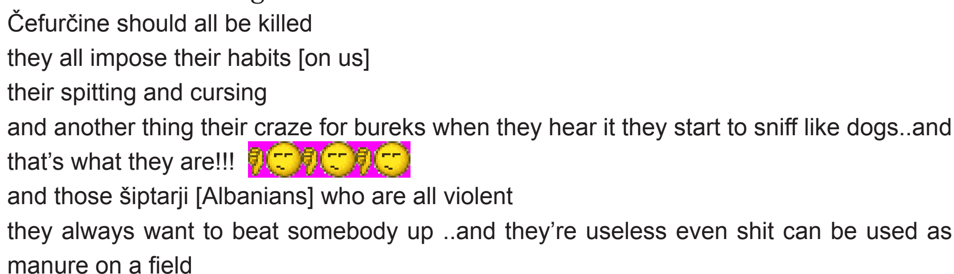
The burek also appears in the Slovenian National Theatre, Drama Ljubljana – the principal Slovenian theatre, which is not at all surprising. What is more surprising is the play in which it appears. In *Smoletov vrt* (*Smole's Orchard*, a Slovenised version of Chekov's *The Cherry Orchard*), which – as it says in the first line of the catalogue – is "utterly saturated with 'Slovenianness'" (Ivanc 2006: 7), the character Nebojša appears as a sort of inventory of immigrant characteristics and behaviour. Sitting at a table laid for a holiday banquet, he explains how he went into a build-

ing with a sign over the door that said "Mestna hranilnica" (City Savings Bank) in order to "nahrani z mesom" (stuff himself with meat).

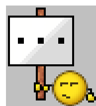
> *Inside, all of the waiters were behind windows, like in some sort of bank. I asked one of them where I could get an "odrezak" [Serbo-Croatian for cut of meat]. 'Oh, "odrezek" [Slovenian for coupon or cut of meat],' he said. 'Yeah, a pork chop,' I replied. He looked at me a bit funny and said: 'First you have to fill out a form, take it to the window with your money, and there you will get a coupon.' Ever since then I have known that an "odrezek" is not a "zrezek" [that is, cut of meat]. /…/ Then as usual I went to the train station for a burek and a real Turkish coffee. (Hočevar 2006: 57)*

From these brief analyses of non-statements, heavy from the burek's silence, we move to extremely loud statements. From places where the burek's presence is unexpected to places where its presence is fully expected.

Extreme nationalist representations can be found on the most pluralist of media, as the Internet is often called, more precisely in various on-line chat forums. But here too we quickly realise that the burek appears in its classical role as a signifier of southerners, "čefurji", Bosnians, in short, for a sort of inferior beings or their culture. The following emotional outburst:



Čefurčine should all be killed
they all impose their habits [on us]
their spitting and cursing
and another thing their craze for bureks when they hear it they start to sniff like dogs..and that's what they are!!!
and those šiptarji [Albanians] who are all violent
they always want to beat somebody up ..and they're useless even shit can be used as manure on a field

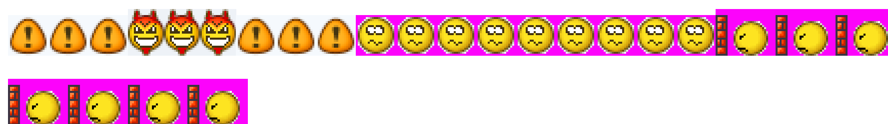


they should all be exterminated
italy even boasts about their growing popu...because of immigrantsw..pfff ke mone

if it goes on like this SLO will soon be called

Slovenska and Herzegovina
not to mention mosques oh yeah
we should build one
round them up from all over SLo
and then douse their heads with napalm until they melt

poor us in 10 years you go into a restaurant it'll be like mcdonalds in america burek burek big burek bureks horseburek cheeseburek salatsburekk and so on
WE'VE GOTTA DO SOMETHING ABOUT THEM THERE ISNT ANYONE WHO HASNT HAD BAD EXPERIENCES WITH THEM
I SEE THEM WHEN THEY GO THROUGH THE JUNKYARDS TO COLLECT THINGS AND NEXT TO THEM THE KIDS ARE PULLING ON CABLES
YEAH WELL THEYRE GOOD FOR ONE THING THEY ONLY KNOW HOW TO BUILD and one day ALL THE HOUSES will be MADE BY BOSNA



was responded to concisely by an author who used the pseudonym "NIET, the BIG Kahuna", in one of the forums on the "Sloport" website, in a debate titled "ČEFURJI": "at least someone agrees with me… but I still like bureks anyhow." (Niet 2006)

Of course, numerous nationalist statements are less explicit; they are not necessarily the direct product of the process of stereotyping and are not connected with the print, electronic, or other media. They can also refer more directly to the unconditional burek. When, in 2003, bureks were served at Cankarjev dom – the main Slovenian cultural and congress center – at an exhibition upon the centennial of Slovenian graphic artist and painter Nikolaj Pirnat – of course much smaller, therefore more chic and fancy than those served at Slovenian burek stands and shops – there were a lot of comments among the public as to their appropriateness (Berk 2005). So we can add one more place where bureks don't belong: the house of Slovenian culture, Cankarjev dom.

There is something I would like to add about this last example. This text probably gives the impression that the meta-burek is the product mainly of media machinery, as this fearsome complex is frequently called. But such an impression would be mistaken, twisted, corrupted. It is spread by an eclectic, non-exclusive, for many, excessive type of analysis, which uses or consumes whatever comes to hand. And what comes to hand most easily are the media, especially the print media and the Internet, with a major lead over all the rest. Of course other fields, segments, and complexes are involved in the production of the meta-burek, in the genesis of the burek of statements, which of course in very different ways generate the existence of the statements in the field of memory, in the materiality of books, and in other forms of registration.

On the other hand, we could at least in the case of the burek of statements discover a certain media hunger, a greediness, media colonialism. That is, numerous burek statements which appeared independently of the media were sooner or later sucked into the media machinery, and in one way or another transformed and

recycled as media statements (for instance, "we love Jurek more than burek" (Anon. ?b)). Furthermore, below we will see that many statements were just waiting for someone to bring them to the surface – therefore a sort of potential statements, which were prepared and framed by other, non-media practices, fields, complexes – the media simply articulated them, brought them to the surface. Out of these pre-statements, these potential statements, they made statements and undoubtedly enriched them, and to a great extent also took control of the statement analysis.

Let us therefore look at this nationalist statement-making from other, field-oriented, thematic perspectives. And in doing so, let us pay attention to the Cyclopean power of the media – their ability to bring statements to the surface, their ability to articulate statements from the community of ideas, worldviews, and thoughts.

The burek with its stands and its customers on the street is directly articulated in space, in the architecture. The street kiosks, especially in the old town core of Ljubljana, would seem not to be just an aesthetic problem, but an additional problem which the municipal, cultural, conservationist, art, and media authorities invest with the meanings which these foreign things bear. A well-known Slovenian commentator asks in the elite supplement to the main Slovenian newspaper:

> *The architectural and cultural heritage of the city thus falls into the hands of newcomers, 'foreigners', who usually have no emotional relationship with it. /…/ The structure of the population in the last few decades has thus changed ('worsened'?) so that there is simply no human soil in which to cultivate any central European values and lifestyles. /…/ However: identity is an inner need of human beings, their internal home, so why should a city feel the same way? How do you convince an Albanian who sells bureks that Ljubljana has to return to its own identity?* (Jež 1999: 44)

This unusually large photograph of a burek kiosk (Samec 2005: 9) set up beneath the arcade at the Ljubljana marketplace – one of the monumental works of Slovenia's revered architect Jože Plečnik – also seems to be a challenge, as it covers nearly the entire upper half of the Culture section of Slovenia's main newspaper *Delo* (see p. 193) and is accompanied by the caption: "Plečnik's burek – This burek kiosk which is set up against regulation at the Ljubljana marketplace, which is a protected monument, is still standing despite the efforts of inspectors." (Anon. 2005: 9). On the connotative level the photograph could be read as the creation of the image that the burek kiosk with its enormous, threatening appearance is endangering Plečnik's sensuous and filigreed architecture (in fact the arcade is incomparably larger than the kiosk). It is therefore a sort of cancerous architectural growth which would be best cut away from the hallowed architectural, national, central European, and other landscapes.

We can also read about the unsuitable appearance of this kiosk in an article with the telling title "They Don't Give a Damn about Plečnik" (Borko 2004: 6) and elsewhere. The stumbling block is (was) not just the burek stand. In order not to stretch out the paper too long we shall give only a short excerpt from the article in

Delo: "Nobel Burek [a burek stand in downtown Ljubljana] truly impoverishes the city center, but because of its appearance and not its content." (Gruden 2003: 7)

In the same newspaper we read that "Jakov Brdar [a well-known Slovenian sculptor] is opposed to the erection of sculptures on the 'boulevard' by the railway station. The area between the health insurance building and the soulless blocks of flats, the numerous 'fresh burek daily' signs, etc., cannot be the home to a horseman for whom the artist has envisaged a more intimate and noble mission – a place of gathering and connecting." (Šutej Adamič 1999: 40) A bronze statue of a horseman as a place of gathering and connecting? Isn't that what a burek or a burek kiosk with a sign that reads "fresh burek daily" is?

Of course, some of the above cases could also refer to the sloppiness, unsuitableness, lack of aesthetic appeal of these burek stands, as writer Dušan Merc described the Slovenian stands at the Frankfurt book fair: "The Slovenian stands are burek stands." (Merc 2001: 33) But on the other hand it seems that in many of the above statements it is not just a problem involving solely the burek's foreignness or non-indigenousness; the burek's lack of refinement, sloppiness, and worthlessness, etc., are probably also at work here. Therefore the discourses and meanings frequently become intertwined and it only rarely seems that the government dictates the one and only discourse. One would most likely find an alliance of several discourses, and that alliance is never concluded just in particular areas (for instance, in the

appropriation of place), but are found in the entire field of statements. But these are questions which exceed the scope of the present paper.

From the appropriation of place, or better the burekalism of place, let's move to the burekalism of language. In the nineties, and perhaps earlier, the burek entered the lexicons of slang ("you're a burek" (Anon. ?d)), comparison ("you look like a burek" (Anon. ?e)), etc. The negative connotations that the burek has in the stylistic figures of the Slovenian language are the opposite of those which it has in Bosnia and Herzegovina, land of the burek number one, where it is associated with home, warmth, safety, sociability.[19] And of course here, as in many places before, and later as well, we find ourselves confronted with the standard, unavoidable problem in the social sciences, the problem of meaning. For whom do these stylistic figures have meaning? And of course, what kind of meaning? In *Razvezani jezik (Twisted Tongue)*, the free [on-line] dictionary of living Slovenian, under "burek" we find the following interpretation of the above phraseme:

> *In colloquial language, burek also means an idiot or an incompetent. Example: 'Ste pa res eni bureki!' ('You are a bunch of [complete] bureks!') Of course within this insulting usage the word more or less hides a chauvinistic or racist component; burek in this sense implies a slow-witted and incompetent southerner, a Balkan, or an Oriental person.* (Anon. ?f)

But the majority of users of this phraseme are not aware of this "more or less hidden chauvinistic or racist component". Without delving too deeply into this debate, I should point out that despite the fact that the majority of users of this phraseme and other figures of speech are not aware of their nationalist impulse, some kind of nationalist discourse is at work in the utterance. Whether these users are aware of how they themselves interpret it (if at all), and what its real consequences are, there are of course other questions which shall not be addressed here.

Thus what has occurred is the appearance of new collocations, compounds, and derivatives, in which we might find the teeth marks of a ravenous nationalist discourse, that is, the jaws of burekalism. In the second act of the radio play *Klinika*

[19] The burek has high status in the nutritional ideology of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also primarily among other Muslim populations in the Balkans, in Turkey and also in certain Arabic countries. Among Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina it is considered a staple food, like bread.
The burek and other pies in Bosnia and Herzegovina and elsewhere in the Balkans and in Turkey are of course not just family dishes. But there are significant differences between burek stands in Slovenia and burek stands in Bosnia and Herzegovina and elsewhere in the Balkans. The first is their name. In Bosnia and Herzegovina and in certain other countries which have arisen on the territory of the former SFRY they are called "buregdžinicas", while in Slovenia there is no special name for them, and in contrast with buregdžinicas they also frequently offer "pleskavica" meat patties, hamburgers, pizza, kebabs, and other fast food in addition to bureks. A lot of Slovenian burek stands also do not have seating areas. Thus at Slovenian burek stands, bureks are usually served wrapped in paper and are eaten without silverware, while in the buregdžinicas they are served on a plate and eaten with forks.

Tivoli d.o.o (Tivoli Clinic Ltd.), which was broadcast on Radio Slovenija in 1992, Dr. Kulani, an Albanian from Kosovo and the specialist at the institution in question, is driven out by the Ljubljana "burek mafia", which wants him to give them a recipe for dough for an "ultramodern burek", from which Act II also got its name ("The Recipes of Dr. Kulani"), and threatens to blow up the clinic if they don't get the recipe. Of course they get it, and after a few days of working at the clinic Dr. Kulani is promoted to heart surgeon (Smasek 1992: 6). "Burekolozno" (that is, "bureka-lous"), a paraphrase of the Slovenian word for scandalous, adorns the beginning of the headline of a humourous article with Slovenian-Serbian political motifs in the humour supplement to one of the Slovenian dailies (Anon. 1999: 41). In colloquial, more or less nationalistically and chauvinistically tinged language the expression "burekmajstri" ("burekmasters") (Anon. ?h), is used narrowly to denote Albanians, that is, for Slovenians the best-known and most visible producers of bureks, and broadly to denote all of "the rest", immigrants from the former SFRY.[20]

And from the appropriation of language further to the issue of not/eating bureks. This strange partnership of not/consuming bureks and nationalist discourse slightly eludes this analysis. Of course I could find several stories and statements under this heading. I will present just one. Aida Kurtović, for many years a journalist at Slovenia's main alternative radio station Radio Študent, hosted a show from 1989 to 1991 called "Balkan urnebes" (urnebes is a Serbian condiment) and from 1991 to 1997 a show called "Nisam ja odavde" (Serbo-Croatian for "I'm not from here"). On one of her shows in December 1991, she held an interview with the leading Slovenian nationalist Zmago Jelinčič in Serbo-Croatian. During the show she invited him to the first "Balkan party" at the popular K4 club and thus also for burek, which they were giving out at the door. Jelinčič's response to the invitation (for a burek) was: "From your hands I would even eat the Devil" (Kurtović 2005). The story was reported in the humour column "Rolanje po sceni" ("Roller-skating through the scene") in the weekly magazine *Mladina* (Anon. 1992: 11): "Before New Year, Zmago Jelinčić together with his countrymen attended the Balkan party at K-4 (he ate burek from Aida Kurtović's hands press)". And from this entertaining but meaningful story

[20] This is a case of the simplest form of the relationship between food and ethnic and/or nationalist identity, encapsulated in the expression "you are what you eat", which is frequently used to designate "others" (that is, Slovenian call Italians "Makaronarji", meaning, "macaroni eaters"). We find many similar examples among various ethnic and national groups in various historical periods. The English, for instance, called the Irish "potato people" in the 19th century, northern Italians called Sicilians "macaroni eaters" in the 16th century, the French today call the Italians "macaroni", the Belgians "chip eaters" the English "roast beef", the French are called "Frogs" by the English, etc. (Scholliers 2001: 4).
In this context I should give the example of an Albanian family from the small Slovenian town of Kidričevo, who were called and addressed as "bureks" by the locals, even though the family in question was engaged in the sale of fruit, vegetables and ice cream (Forbici 2007).

to the questions which it poses, although perhaps indirectly. Nationalist discourse and eating bureks create complex and not entirely clear relations and pose complex questions: How and to what extent do these negative connotations of the burek influence its consumption? Have the nationalists and everyone who has in one way or another joined this discourse eaten bureks? (Recall the statement above: "at least someone agrees with me… but I still like bureks anyhow." (Niet 2006)) And if they did, how did they eat them? In secret or in public, with a bad conscience or without, did they tell nationalist jokes while doing so or did they realise that bureks are something which is actually not worth discriminating against?

Actually, these are not questions for this particular analysis, so I will answer with a somewhat unusual response, actually a story, a mixture of utterance and silence. The makers of bureks undoubtedly did not want their product to become a subject of discrimination. The strategies for avoiding discrimination were different, but on the other hand, very similar. Similar in that they tried to separate the burek from the conceptual associations with the Balkans, the South, and immigrants, and bring it closer to other associations with higher values, meanings, and elements – for Slovenians; this has otherwise been the operative strategy of Albanian sweetshop operators for many decades (sweetshops with the names of "sacred" national places such as Triglav, Soča, etc.). Thus we actually never find a burek stand with a name that would in any way signify or indicate the place where this dish is most widespread or from which its sellers come, which of course is not at all the case for shops selling other ethnic foods. In this respect a partial exception to this rule is the fast food chain called "Eurobalkan" (Anon. ?i), which on the other hand could also reflect a perversion of the dominant, that is, burekalism. We also find a total avoidance of statements of origin, traditional geographic areas or territories importing bureks into Slovenia on packaging or in the advertisements of mass producers of bureks. This silence is especially telling in view of the fact that both industrial, mass producers of bureks do not do the same with certain of their other products (for instance, all packaging for various types of croissants invariably has the adjective "French" juxtaposed to the noun). To this euphoric flight towards Europe I can add a recipe for "euroburek" (a pie with spinach, meat and cheese) (Šalehar 2004b: 57), and for "a little more SLO and veggie, mushrooms for a change", which hides beneath the telling title "Da burek ne bo Turek" ("So that the burek won't be a Turk") (Šalehar 2004a: 57). Perhaps we should not read this recipe as flirting with Europe, but as an ironic statement about such unseemly coquetry. But who's to know?

And for the end of the paper, a statement which opens a new, brighter, more optimistic chapter. A statement which indicates that the burek also brings other connotations of "Souths" and the Balkans. A statement which indicates that there are, to use the divisions of Raymond Williams (1997: 240) also alternative and oppositional political meanings of the burek which on the level of concepts are diametrically opposed

to the dominant nationalist discourse. Alongside the graffito "Burek, nein danke!" we can set the title of a paper by culturologist Peter Stankovič (2005: 36): "Burek? Ja bitte!" And another highly motivated graffito, which draws from the long-current controversy over the (non) building of a mosque in Ljubljana[21] and whose career also did not end on the city's walls. We also find it on the Internet, and even as a topic on the portal for students at the University of Ljubljana, "Student Info", which develops into a very long and polemic debate about immigrants, tolerance,

foreigners, the Ljubljana mosque (Pranjić 2006), and appears in photo montages of Ljubljana graffiti and probably elsewhere (Jež 2005):

"Burek bi džamije pa ne, a?" (You'd like a burek, but not a mosque, eh?) (Anon. ?j) But this is a story which deserves a different title. For instance? Hmm, "Carniolan sausage, nein danke!"

[21] Ljubljana is probably one of the few European capitals that does not have a mosque. The debate over whether to build a mosque in Ljubljana has thus been a continuous topic in the Slovenian media and other debates.

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Anon. ?a: Burek, nein danke!. Graffito in Ljubljana.

Anon. ?b: Volimo Jureka više od bureka (We Love Jurek more than Burek). A pun (in Serbo-Croatian) popular in Slovenia and in various other republics of the former SFRY.

Anon. ?c:. Anti Burek Sistem (A. B. S.). Name of a project by Slovenian skinhead group SLOI.

Anon. ?e: Biti burek (to be a burek). Phraseme in Slovenian slang.
Anon. ?f: Izgledati kot burek (to look like a burek). Comparison in Slovenian slang.
Anon. ?g: http://razvezanijezik.org/?page=burek (10 March 2007).
Anon. ?h: Burekmajstri (burekmasters). Designation for Albanians and partially for other immigrants from the former republics of the SFRY.
Anon. ?i: Evrobalkan. Name of a chain of fast food shops.
Anon. ?: Burek bi džamije pa ne, a?. Graffito in Ljubljana.
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LIST OF AUTHORS (in Alphabetic Order)

Marjan Drnovšek, born 1948, PhD in History, Research Adviser and Archivist. Has published a number of articles on Slovenian migration in the 19th and 20th Century and is currently writing a book on the history of emigration of Slovenians to Germany from 1880 to 1973. Main publications: *Pot slovenskih izseljencev na tuje. Od Ljubljane do Ellis Islanda – Otoka solza v New Yorku 1880–1924* (Slovene Emigration to America: From Ljubljana to Ellis Island – The Island of Tears in New York, 1880–1924) (Ljubljana, 1991); *Usodna privlačnost Amerike. Pričevanja izseljencev o prvih stikih z novim svetom* (The Fatal Attraction of America: The Stories of Emigrants about the First Contacts with the New World) (Ljubljana, 1998); *Franc Pirc, 1785–1880: sadjar na Kranjskem in misijonar v Ameriki* (Franc Pirc, 1785–1880: Fruit Grower in Carniola and Missionary in America) (Naklo, 2003). See also the on-line exhibition – Ljubljana: križišče na poti v svet / Ljubljana: the crossroads to the world (http://isi.zrc-sazu.si/files/galerija/ljubljana).

Irena Gantar Godina, born 1950, PhD in History, Scientific Adviser and Assistant Professor of Slovenian and South Eastern European history up to 1918.
Has published and presented numerous articles on the Slovenian-Slavic relations, Slovenian emigrants in Central and South-Eastern Europe, impacts of Czech, Croatian and Russian politics and culture on Slovenian intellectuals and artists, their different understandings of Slavic mutuality before 1918. Main publications: *T. G. Masaryk in masarykovstvo na Slovenskem 1895-1918* (T. G. Masaryk and Masarykism among the Slovenes 1895–1918) (Ljubljana 1987), *Neoslavizem in Slovenci* (Neo-Slavism and the Slovenes) (Ljubljana 1994); the editor of *Soočenje mita in realnosti ob prihodu v novo okolje* (Confrontation of Myth and Reality on the Arrival of the Emigrants to a New Land)(Ljubljana, 1996), *Intelektualci v diaspori* (Intellectuals in Diaspora) (Ljubljana, 1999) and *Davorin Matvejevič Hostnik: med Slovenijo in Rusijo* (Davorin Matvejevič Hostnik: between Slovenia and Russia) (Šmartno pri Litiji, 2004).

Marina Lukšič-Hacin, born 1965, PhD in Sociology, Assistant Professor of Social and Political Anthropology. She published numerous works from the field of sociology and anthropology of migration. Main publications include: *Ko tujina postane dom: Resocializacija in nacionalna identiteta* (When Abroad Becomes Home: Resocialisation and National Identity) (Ljubljana, 1995), *Multikulturalizem in migracije* (Multiculturalism and Migration) (Ljubljana, 1999), *Zgodbe in pričevanja: Slovenci na Švedskem* (Stories and Testimonies: Slovenians in Sweden) (Ljubljana, 2001).

Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik, born 1959, Senior Researcher and lecturer at the University of Ljubljana and University of Nova Gorica. Her background is in sociology, sociology of education and women's studies. From 2000 till 2004 she lived in New York and worked on an oral history project regarding Slovenian women's immigrant experience. On the basis of this research project, a documentary *"Američanke"* ("100% Slovenian") has been filmed. Has published a number of articles on Slovenian women migrants and their descendants in the United States and is currently writing a book on a collection of their life stories.

Jernej Mlekuž, born 1974, MA in Geography, Assistant Researcher. His research interest is in migration theory and methodology, social spatiality, material culture, women's studies, media studies. He is currently writing a book on symbolic aspects of burek in Slovenia.

Kristina Toplak, born 1976, BA in Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology and Art History, Assistant Researcher. She is focusing on questions of artistic creativity in migration contexts, on return migration and on cultural production and heritage of Slovene emigrants. Currently, she is preparing a PhD thesis on influences of migration processes on artistic creativity of Slovenians in Buenos Aires.

Janja Žitnik, born 1956, PhD in Literature, Research Adviser. The fields of her research are the literary activity and cultural position of Slovenian emigrants and of the immigrants in Slovenia. The integration of both, the émigré and the immigrant literary production into the body of Slovenian national literature and culture, is also the subject of the book she is currently writing. Main publications: *Louis Adamič in sodobniki: 1948-1951* (Louis Adamic and his contemporaries: 1948–1951) (Ljubljana, 1992); *Pero in politika: zadnja leta Louisa Adamiča* (The pen and the politics; The last years od Louis Adamic) (Ljubljana, 1993); *Orel in korenine med "brušenjem" in cenzuro* (The Eagle and the Roots between "polishing up" and censorship) (Ljubljana, 1995); *Pogovori o Louisu Adamiču* (Interviews on Louis Adamic) (Ljubljana, 1995).

"Over a decade ago, the history of migration was strongly disregarded in Slovenian historiography; in recent years, especially because of the expansion of the research field and of the more systematic investigation of migration themes, it has contributed to a more thorough and deeper knowledge of wider migration currents. /.../ This work offers the international scientific community a view of the results of Slovenian migration studies, acquainting it with various approaches and diverse subjects."

Dr. Marta Verginella

"The work is a group product of the collaborators of the Institute for Slovenian Emigration Studies at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Art (SRC SASA) and offers to the international scientific public a variegated multi-dimensional examination of the problems of migration, specifically of migrations in the Slovenian context. /.../ On the one hand it informs about Slovenian emigration and migration 'cases' and positions these phenomena in an international framework. On the other hand it points to the successful growth of Slovenian science in a methodological and interpretive confrontation."

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"The contributions are written on the level of highly scientific overview, using quotations from authoritative sources and literature. Together they form a very substantial and interesting mosaic, which points to the multiplicity of problems of Slovenian emigration and its influence dimension in European and global emigration flows."

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13,50 €

ISBN 978-961-254-043-2

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