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**Raziskovanje slovenskega izseljenstva:  
novi pristopi in vsebine**

**Ob 30-letnici Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije  
ZRC SAZU**

**Slovenian Emigration Research:**

**New Approaches and Subject Matter**

**Upon the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Slovenian Migration Institute  
ZRC SAZU**

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**POVZETKI  
ABSTRACTS**

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## **RAZVOJ INŠTITUTA ZA SLOVENSKO IZSELJENSTVO IN MIGRACIJE ZRC SAZU IN NJEGOV PRISPEVEK K IZSELJENSKIM ŠTUDIJAM**

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V preglednem prispevku, v celoti posvečenem 30. obletnici priključitve Inštituta za izseljenstvo pri SAZU k Znanstvenoraziskovalnemu centru SAZU, se avtorica omejuje na nastanek in razvoj Inštituta ter predvsem na njegov prispevek na področju izseljenskih študij oziroma raziskovanja slovenskega izseljenstva.

Inštitut za izseljenstvo pri Slovenski akademiji znanosti in umetnost je bil ustanovljen že leta 1982, vendar je lahko zaposloval raziskovalce le prek novoustanovljenega Znanstveno-raziskovalnega centra SAZU. Zato se je leta 1986 slednjemu priključil, kar je spodbudilo njegovo kadrovske razširitev in mu omogočilo izvajanje kompleksnega interdisciplinarnega programa. Od začetka devetdesetih let do danes so raziskovalci Inštituta objavili poleg impresivnega števila člankov in drugih prispevkov okoli 40 znanstvenih monografij samo s področja slovenskega izseljenstva, v nekaterih njihovih drugih knjigah pa slovensko izseljenstvo predstavlja pomemben del obravnavanih vsebin. Njihova znanstvena obravnava pokriva skoraj vse destinacije slovenskega izseljenstva v vseh obdobjih izseljevanja iz slovenskega etničnega ozemlja ter samoorganiziranja in kulturno-umetniške ustvarjalnosti Slovencev v izseljenstvu.

Družbeni pomen raziskovalnih rezultatov Inštituta je v slovenski družbi opazen na več ravneh, največ v posodabljanju in dopolnjevanju izobraževalnih vsebin na ravni osnovnega, srednjega in visokega šolstva. Viden učinek izrazite družbene angažiranosti raziskovalcev Inštituta se kaže v spremembah odnosa RS do Slovencev po svetu kot tudi do pripadnikov drugih narodov v Sloveniji ter na področju sofinanciranja kulturnih dejavnosti prvih in drugih. Posredni učinki so opazni na mnogih področjih, v okviru katerih so si raziskovalci ISIM ob sodelovanju z nevladnimi organizacijami, društvi in posamezniki po več let prizadevali za spremembe. Vloga Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije pa se je še povečala, odkar se je ob prihodu ali prehodu beguncev leta 2015 – in posledičnem razcvetu tudi radikalnejših struj nacionalizma v Sloveniji – pojavila še bolj akutna potreba po večji odprtosti in inkluzivnosti slovenske družbe. Brez temeljitega razumevanja preteklih izkušenj slovenskih in drugih evropskih izseljencev in beguncev namreč ni mogoče celoviteje dojemati položaja ljudi, udeleženih v današnjih migrantskih premikih proti Evropi in vanjo.

## **THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SLOVENIAN MIGRATION INSTITUTE ZRC SAZU AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO EMIGRATION STUDIES**

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The paper is fully dedicated to the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the affiliation of the Slovenian Migration Institute to the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. It focuses on the beginnings and the development of the Institute and above all on its contribution in the framework of Slovenian emigration research.

The Emigration Institute at the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts was established as early as in 1982 but it could employ researchers only through the newly-founded Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU). For this reason the Institute joined the ZRC in 1986, which brought about the employment of new researchers and the implementation of their interdisciplinary research programme. Since the early 1990s, the Institute's researchers have published – besides an impressive number of articles and other contributions – around 40 academic monographs focused specifically on Slovenian emigration, and a number of other books in which Slovenian emigration constitutes an important part of the discussed subject matter. Their academic treatment has covered almost all Slovenian emigration destinations in all the periods of emigration from the Slovenian ethnic territories as well as the bulk of organisation and cultural-artistic activities of the Slovenian diaspora.

Social relevance of the Institute's research results can be observed at different levels, mostly in terms of updating and upgrading educational contents for primary and secondary schools as well as university programmes. Vital social involvement of the Institute's researchers is reflected in a changed attitude of the Republic of Slovenia towards Slovenian diaspora and towards other ethnic groups living in Slovenia; this change also concerns the increase of public funds for cultural activities of the former and the latter. Indirect impact shows in various segments of society in terms of the changes for which the Slovenian Migration Institute researchers had striven for years, often in close cooperation with NGO's, various associations and individuals. The role of the Institute has recently become even more relevant since pronounced need for a more open and inclusive society arose in Slovenia upon the arrival or passage of increased numbers of refugees in 2015 and the simultaneous radicalisation of Slovenian nationalism. It is namely almost impossible to fully understand the situation of the people involved in contemporary migration moves to Europe without a deeper understanding of the experiences of Slovenian and other European emigrants and refugees in the past.

## MIGRACIJE IN EKONOMSKE INTERAKCIJE

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Migracije so v sodobnih humanističnih in družboslovnih disciplinah eno od zelo pomembnih raziskovalnih vprašanj. Tako stanje ni prav nič presenetljivo, saj so obsežne migracije iz Evrope v ZDA v 19. stoletju bile že zgodaj deležne potrebne pozornosti. Trend večanja obsega in poglobljanja migracijskih tokov v 20. stoletju je prinesel tudi novo raziskovalno dimenzijo. Migracije so se izkazale za zelo kompleksen družbeni pojav, ki je imel številne implikacije tako v izvornih deželah kot tudi v deželah priseljevanja. To tematiko je zaznalo tudi slovensko zgodovinopisje, ki je posvečalo sorazmerno veliko pozornosti izseljevanju s slovenskega ozemlja. Ugotavljali so se obsegi in smeri selitvenih tokov ter časovne dimenzije in prostorska distribucija. Ob strani niso ostale niti raziskovalne tematizacije strukture in življenja slovenskih skupnosti v novo okolje, njihovih organizacij ter kulturnega in verskega življenja. Slovensko zgodovinopisje je torej obravnavalo dve pojavnosti obliki slovenskih migracij, ki sta najbolj opazni in tudi merljivi. Izven te pozornosti pa so ostala matična okolja, ki so generirala izseljenski tok. Problematika interakcije med izseljenskimi skupnostmi in okolji izvora ter socialnih implikacij tega razmerja je ostala v ozadju. Prav tako so izven obzorij raziskovalnega interesa ostala vprašanja ekonomskih posledic migracijskih tokov na lokalno okolje, na lokalno ekonomijo.

V presojanju tega dejstva je potrebno opozoriti, da ne gre za presenetljivo dejstvo. Gre za del širšega in v preteklosti prevladujočega koncepta v preučevanju migracij. Zavedati se je potrebno, da je poudarek na ekonomskem vidiku migracij oziroma učinkov in posledic na lokalno ekonomijo prišel v ospredje raziskovalnega interesa v najnovejši dobi. Obsežne migracije v drugi polovici dvajsetega stoletja so v center raziskovalnega interesa postavile tudi vprašanje povratnih vplivov izseljenskih skupnosti na izvorno okolje. Zastavljala so se vprašanja, kakšni procesi potekajo po izselitvi dela prebivalstva v domačem okolju, kakšni so povratni učinki izseljencev na domače okolje. In to tako na področju socialnih kot tudi ekonomskih fenomenov.

Namen mojega prispevka je v pregledni obliki predstaviti temeljne poteze migracij v odvisnosti od ekonomskih razmer. Na osnovi razpoložljive literature bom skušal predstaviti osnovno linijo vzročno-posledičnih navezav migracij s slovenskega prostora v odnosu do ekonomskih razmer.

## MIGRATIONS AND ECONOMIC INTERACTIONS

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Migrations represent a very important research issue in the contemporary humanities and social science disciplines. That is by no means surprising: already early on, extensive migrations from Europe to the United States of America in the 19<sup>th</sup> century or within Europe itself received much attention. The trend of the increasingly extensive and deepening migratory flows in the 20<sup>th</sup> century also brought about a new dimension of research. Migrations turned out to be a very complex social phenomenon with numerous implications for the countries of origin as well as the countries of destination. The topic has also been detected by the Slovenian historiography, which has paid quite a lot of attention to the emigration from the Slovenian territory. The extent and directions of the migratory flows as well as the temporal and spatial distributions have been determined. Not even the research thematisations of the structure and integration of the Slovenian communities into their new environments, their organisations as well as their cultural and religious life have been disregarded. Thus Slovenian historiography has focused on two manifestations of the Slovenian migrations, which are most evident. However, the home environments, which generated the emigration flow, remain unexplored. The issues regarding the economic dimensions of migrations remain outside the scope of the research interest as well.

This has to do with a broader concept in the study of migrations, dominant in the past. We should be aware that the emphasis on the economic aspects of migrations as well as their effects and consequences for the local economies has only recently come into the focus of the research interest. Extensive migrations in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century placed the issue of the reverse influences of the expatriate communities on their original environments in the centre of the research interest. Questions were raised about the processes taking place in their home environment after the emigration of a part of the population and about the nature of the reverse effects of the expatriates on their home environment. This applies to social as well as economic phenomena.

Thus the goal of this paper is to present an overview of the basic characteristics of migrations with regard to the economic circumstances. On the basis of available literature I will try to present the basic sequence of causes and effects of the migrations from the Slovenian space with regard to the economic circumstances.

# IZZIVI IN ZAGATE STATISTIČNEGA PREUČEVANJA SLOVENSKEGA IZSELJENSTVA

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Preučevanje slovenskega izseljenstva je v Sloveniji zelo razvejeno in tudi poglobljeno. Cela vrsta disciplin prispeva h krepitvi tega področja, ki je posebnega pomena za državo Slovenijo. Vsekakor bi lahko bilo tudi drugače: množica pokolonialnih držav je preučevanje lastnih izseljenstev zanemarila ali pa ni imela niti resursov, da bi se s tem področjem resneje spopadla, še zlasti v obdobju nedavnih migracij. Po drugi strani so se »mlajše« in posledično manjše države, ki so hotele *imeti* ali posedovati vse, kar so imeli »veliki«, pogosto podale na pot mistificiranja ali glorificiranja ter mitologiziranja lastnega izseljenstva. Pri tem se je hitro pokazal ambivalenten položaj v odnosu do »lastne« imigracije in emigracije, čeprav se niti emigraciji (izseljenstvu) v smislu »kulturnega spoznavanja z matico« ni godilo dosti bolje (Žitnik Serafin 2008). Slovenija v tem smislu ni izjema – postavlja se ob bok jugoslovanskim naslednicam, mladim državam, ki vse po vrsti nekdanje enotne učbenike opremljajo s svojo verzijo preteklosti in s tem tudi svojega pogleda na izseljenstvo. Taka invencija (po Hobsbawm) ni nič nenavadnega, saj na njej sloni sam *raison d'être* nacionalne države. Problem seveda nastopi v načinih udomačitve konceptov o izseljenstvu, ki lahko postanejo vir konfliktov.

V prispevku bom analiziral statistično »vrednotenje« obsega izseljenstva, izseljevanja in priseljevanja na primeru Slovenije in slovenskega izseljenstva. Dotaknil se bom tudi koncepta generacij – tako pogostega orodja avgmentacije lastnega izseljenstva – ki se je precej nekritično prikradel ne le med »kreolske pionirje« (Anderson 1991), pač pa tudi med etabrirane, po marčni revoluciji s fuzijo polodvisnih ozemelj formirane nacije (npr. Nemčija, Italija). Na primeru rabe statističnih virov bom pokazal na še vedno izjemno problematični metodološki nacionalizem.



## CHALLENGES AND QUANDARIES OF STATISTICAL STUDIES OF SLOVENIAN DIASPORA

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Historically, the Slovenian emigration has been extensively and rather profoundly researched. Various disciplines contribute to reinforcement of this multidisciplinary field so important for the independent Slovenia. It could, nevertheless, be quite different. A whole range of post-colonial countries neglected the field as a consequence of an orientation towards solving the inner acute and on-going problems, or due to deficient resources to tackle the field especially in the time of recent migration flows. On the other hand, younger and consequently smaller countries wanted to *have* or to be in the possession of all those attributes pertaining to the “big”, frequently applying the mystification or glorification and mythologisation of its own emigration. With this, a kind of ambivalence between the national diaspora and the immigration emerged, where even the praised diaspora was stripped off a “cultural acquaintance with a home country” (Žitnik Serafin 2008). In this sense Slovenia is no exception – it stands with the Yugoslavia successors, young countries all of which have been furnishing the formerly unified textbooks with their own versions of the past, including their specific views of their diasporas. Such an invention (after Hobsbawm) is not unusual given the very *raison d'être* of the nation-state and its exclusive determination. The problem arises within the ways of the “domestication” of the very concepts of diaspora, which may eventually become sources of conflicts.

In this paper I will examine the statistical “evaluation” of the extents of the national diaspora, emigration, and immigration in the case of Slovenia. I will propose an enhanced concept of “generations” – a tool so common in augmenting one’s own diaspora – which uncritically sneaked not merely into the “Creole pioneers” (after Anderson 1991) but into the reputable, after the March revolution half-dependent territories’ fusion-formed nations (e.g. Germany, Italy). Upon a closer look at the use of statistical sources, latent methodological nationalism becomes clearly recognizable.

## VLOGA DIASPORE V KULTURNOZGODOVINSKIH RAZISKAVAH SLOVENSKEGA IZSELJENSTVA

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V prispevku je obravnavana slovenska diaspora v Srbiji, s poudarkom na obdobju po osamosvojitvi Slovenije. Avtorica izhaja iz opredelitve pojma *slovensko izseljenstvo* oziroma vprašanja identitete slovenskih izseljencev v kontekstu nekdanje skupne države ter spremembe tega statusa po osamosvojitvi Slovenije, ko so nenadoma spremenili dotedanji status sodržavljanov in postali izseljenci oziroma zdomci. Prispevek obravnava tudi opredelitev pojmov izseljenec in zdomec, ki sta v rabi v novejši strokovni literaturi, ter problematiko opredelitve pojma materni jezik v kontekstu dejstva, da večina pripadnikov slovenske diaspore izhaja iz mešanih zakonov. V zvezi s tem sta obravnavana vloga in pomen kraja, jezika in kulture, v katerih je pripadnik diaspore pridobil izobrazbo. Vse omenjeno na določen način vpliva na znanstveno usmeritev pripadnikov slovenske diaspore v Srbiji. Vloga diaspore v kulturnozgodovinskih raziskavah slovenskega izseljenstva je v tem prispevku obravnavana v dveh časovnih okvirih, in sicer pred osamosvojitvijo in po njej. V kontekstu navedenih vprašanj so predstavljeni znanstveniki – pripadniki slovenske diaspore v Srbiji in njihovi dosežki v raziskavah slovenskega izseljenstva. Vzporedno so predstavljeni tudi znanstveniki, ki niso slovenskega rodu in ki so se ukvarjali oz. se ukvarjajo z vprašanji v zvezi s slovenskim izseljenstvom. Na koncu je predstavljen pogled slovenskih znanstvenih, kulturnih in državnih inštitucij na diasporo v nekdanjih jugoslovanskih republikah.

## THE ROLE OF DIASPORA IN CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH OF SLOVENE EMIGRATION

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The paper discusses Slovenian diaspora in Serbia, with an emphasis on the period following Slovenia's independence. The starting point is a definition of the term *Slovene emigration*; more precisely, the identity issue of Slovene emigrants in the light of the former common country and the change of their status after Slovenia declared independence: all of a sudden, fellow citizens changed their status and became emigrants, i.e. migrant workers. Furthermore, the paper deals with specifying the terms *emigrant* and *migrant worker*, which are frequently used in modern professional literature, as well as with defining the term *mother tongue* in view of the fact that most Slovenian diaspora members come from mixed marriages; hence, the role and significance of place, language and culture in which the diaspora members received their education are thoroughly considered. To a certain extent, all of the above influences the scientific orientation of the members of Slovenian diaspora in Serbia. The article examines the role of diaspora in cultural and historical research of Slovene emigration in two time frames: before and after the independence. In the context of the abovementioned issues, the paper introduces scientists and researchers – members of Slovenian diaspora in Serbia – and their achievements in the study of Slovene emigration. Additionally, non-Slovene scientists and researchers who have dealt with the issues of Slovene emigration in the past as well as those who are dealing with them at present, are also presented in the paper. Various perspectives of Slovenian scientific, cultural and state institutions on diaspora in former Yugoslav republics are illustrated in the conclusion.

## **ODNOS SODOBNIH EMIGRANTOV IZ SLOVENIJE (2004 – 2016) DO TRADICIONALNIH IZSELJENSKIH SKUPNOSTI**

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Izseljevanje iz slovenskega etničnega ozemlja delimo na tri zgodovinske vale (1880–1914; 1918–1941; 1945–1990). Tudi po osamosvojitvi Republike Slovenije se izseljevanje ni ustavilo, a je bilo prisotno v manjših številkah. Velik razmah pa je zopet dobilo z nedavno svetovno gospodarsko krizo, ko lahko govorimo že o četrtem valu izseljevanja iz Slovenije (predvsem od leta 2010 dalje). V zadnjih šestih letih se je namreč iz Slovenije izselilo kar približno 35.000 ljudi.

V preteklosti se slovenski migranti različnih valov, ki so se srečali v novi domovini, med seboj niso najbolje razumeli. Razloge najdemo v različni stopnji narodne zavednosti, političnih prepričanjih, stopnji izobraženosti itd. A kljub temu se je vsaj del novih valov migrantov vedno vključil v tradicionalne slovenske izseljenske skupnosti ter jih poživil in pomladil.

V predstavitvi nas bo zanimalo, kakšen odnos imajo do tradicionalnih slovenskih skupnosti ter tudi na sploh do narodnostnega organiziranja sodobni izseljenci iz Slovenije. Ti so veliko bolj individualistični ter manj zainteresirani za vključevanje v skupnosti. Zanima nas, zakaj je tako – so se poskusili včlaniti, a jim ni bilo všeč, ali se niti niso poskusili? Kaj pa tisti, ki so se vključili – so to storili za lažje ohranjanje narodne identitete ali so računali na pomoč pri organiziranju življenja v novi domovini? So se njihova pričakovanja uresničila? Kaj pa »stari« Slovinci, kako gledajo na rojake, ki sedaj prihajajo?

Raziskava je osnovana na terenski raziskavi s polstrukturiranimi intervjuji v petih mestih v različnih državah: v Stuttgartu (Nemčija), Stockholmu (Švedska), Londonu (Velika Britanija), Torontu (Kanada) in San Franciscu (ZDA).

## **THE RELATION OF CONTEMPORARY EMIGRANTS FROM SLOVENIA (2004 – 2016) TOWARDS TRADITIONAL SLOVENIAN DIASPORA COMMUNITIES**

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Slovenians emigrated from their homeland in different historical periods; experts usually distinguish three waves of Slovenian emigration (1880–1914; 1918–1941; 1945–1990). The emigration continued after Slovenia had gained its independence in 1991, but not in large numbers – until 2010. With the economic crisis emigration increased strongly. In the last six years, about 35.000 people emigrated. We can call this process the fourth emigration wave.

Many times when »old« and »new« Slovenian emigrants (and their descendants) met in the new countries, they did not get along very well. Different level of national consciousness, political views, level of education etc. were the reasons for not seeing eye to eye. Nevertheless at least part of the new emigrants always became active in traditional Slovenian organizations and they rejuvenated them.

In our presentation we would focus on this population. Unlike emigrants from previous waves most of them are not interested in the inclusion into traditional Slovenian diaspora communities, or even to form new Slovenian societies. They are much more individualistic. We are trying to find out why they did not decide to integrate into Slovenian associations – whether they tried but did not like it, or perhaps they never even tried because they thought it would not be interesting and useful for them? What about those who did join these associations – did they do it in their attempt to preserve Slovenian identity or because they thought those people could help them organize their lives (find a job, a place to stay, friends ...) in the new homeland? Did their expectations come true? What about »old« Slovenians – how do they accept the newcomers?

The research is based on field study with semi-structured interviews in five different cities (and countries): Stuttgart (Germany), Stockholm (Sweden), London (Great Britain), Toronto (Canada) and San Francisco (USA).

## **SLOVENSKA DIASPORA V ARGENTINI IN POVRATNE MOBILNOSTI: SPOMIN, KRAJ IN IDENTITETA**

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Vsaj od poznega 19. stoletja je bila Slovenija močno vpeta v različne migracijske procese. Veliko migracijskih procesov in trendov so avtorji v okviru različnih znanstvenih disciplin natančno dokumentirali in raziskali – zlasti v kontekstu raziskav t. i. slovenskega izseljenstva, ki je obravnavalo prakse oblikovanja in ohranjanja slovenskih skupnosti in identitete v drugih evropskih ali zunajevropskih državah, kasneje pa se je bolj osredotočilo na pričevanja o življenjskih izkušnjah posameznih migrantk in migrantov. Poleg tega lahko v zadnjem desetletju do dveh opazimo, da se je raziskovalna pozornost močno preusmerila v obravnave sodobnih migracijskih tokov v ali skozi Slovenijo.

Ob obilici raziskav o migracijah in razprav o povezanih temah (medkulturnost, integracija, spol, zdravje...) pa lahko opazimo, da je bilo relativno malo pozornosti namenjeno vprašanju vračanja oziroma različnih oblik povratnih mobilnosti. Tudi sicer se v strokovni literaturi 'povratna migracija' pogosto pojavlja kot problematičen koncept, zato je tudi empirično in analitično dokaj zapostavljen.

V prispevku bom predstavil etnografsko raziskavo o politikah in praksah povratnih mobilnostih v slovenski diaspori v Argentini, obenem pa se bom posvetil prav konceptu povratnih mobilnosti, ki obsega različne oblike vračanja, kot jih razumejo v mobilnosti vpeti posamezniki ali skupnosti. Tak pristop po eni strani širi sam koncept vračanja, po drugi strani pa se izogne formalno pravni (politični) opredelitvi povratnih migrantov – namesto te opredelitve me zanimajo izkušnje vračanja, ki so povezana s spominom, krajem in identiteto.

## **SLOVENIAN DIASPORA IN ARGENTINA AND RETURN MOBILITIES: MEMORY, PLACE AND IDENTITY**

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At least since late 19<sup>th</sup> Century Slovenia has faced various important migration processes. Most of these migration flows have been well documented and explored in a large body of literature on Slovenian emigration. These primarily focused on the formation and preservation of Slovenian communities and identity in European and non-European countries, but later switched to exploring accounts of life experiences among migrants. Apart from that, there was a pronounced shift of the focus on immigration in recent years.

Return mobilities, however, have not been extensively and systematically explored in this context. Moreover, in migration studies, the very concept of 'return migration' has often been seen as rather problematic and has therefore been analytically and ethnographically relatively neglected.

I will present ethnographic research on Slovenian diaspora in Argentina and their politics and practices of returning. Moreover, I will discuss the concept of return mobilities, which encompasses various forms of 'returning' as understood by the migrants/people on the move. Such an approach cuts through the official and political definitions of (return) migrants and instead focuses on the experience of 'homecoming', related to memory, place and identity.

## TEORIJSKO-METODOLOŠKI PROBLEMI ISTRAŽIVANJA FLUIDNIH IDENTITETA NA PRIMJERU SLOVENACA U VARAŽDINU I VARAŽDINSKOJ ŽUPANIJ

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Identitet nije jedinstven fenomen, već mozaična struktura sastavljena od mnogostrukih identiteta koji također nisu jedinstvene cjeline budući "identiteti nikada nisu singularni, već mnogostruko konstruirani preko različitih diskursa, praksi i pozicija" (Hall, 1996.) koji se često međusobno presijecaju. Ta sjecišta identiteta su žarišne točke njihovih proučavanja.

Autori u svojem tekstu iznose teorijsko - metodološke probleme istraživanja fluidnih identiteta na primjeru pripadnika slovenske nacionalne manjine na području Varaždina i Varaždinske županije. Populacija varaždinskih Slovenaca uglavnom je starije životne dobi te autori u svojem istraživanju propituju koliko su njihovi nacionalni identiteti podvojeni, odnosno koliko je stvaranje novih dviju država (Republike Hrvatske i Republike Slovenije) utjecalo na njihov stav o vlastitom nacionalnom identitetu. Autori se uz primarno, bave i poviješću hrvatsko - slovenskih odnosa u varaždinskom kraju te kroz arhivsku građu pokušavaju doći do zaključaka o tome koliko su štajerski Slovenci poslovno bili naslonjeni na teritorij Varaždinske podravine, odnosno grada Varaždina u različitim povijesnim razdobljima – od Austro - Ugarske, preko Kraljevine Jugoslavije i NDH do socijalističke Jugoslavije i neovisne Hrvatske te koliko su svojim nacionalnim identitetom utjecali na izgradnju identiteta "varaždinskih" Slovenaca. U povijesnom osvrtu posebno se bave fluidnošću pograničnih identiteta, odnosno nacionalnih identiteta uz samu slovensko - hrvatsku granicu na području općine Cestica i susjedne općine Zavrč. Osim propitivanja nacionalnih identiteta starijih osoba, propituju se i identiteti mlađih osoba na području općine Cestica iz nacionalno mješovitih brakova koje su rođene u Hrvatskoj, a školovane u susjednoj Sloveniji. Posebno se proučava organiziranost širega spektra Slovenaca na području Varaždinske županije s obzirom na njihov geografski smještaj unutar Varaždinske županije. Autori na temelju intervjua s pripadnicima Slovenskog kulturnog društva Nagelj dolaze do zaključaka da je društvo znatno više potrebno Slovencima koji žive u gradu Varaždinu koji je od granice udaljen dvadesetak kilometara nego što tu potrebu imaju stanovnici pograničnih naselja (Babinec, Križovljan, Cestica, Dubrava Križovljanska) te aktivno sudjelovanje u društvu varaždinskim Slovencima ima veći značaj za očuvanje njihova slovenskog nacionalnog identiteta u odnosu na osobni značaj Slovencima iz općine Cestica.



## **THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH OF FLUID IDENTITY IN THE CASE OF SLOVENES IN VARAZDIN AND VARAZDIN COUNTY**

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Identity is not an unique phenomenon, but mosaic structure composed of multiple identities which are also not a single entity as "identities are never singular but multiply constructed across different discourses, practices and positions "(Hall, 1996) that often intersect.

The authors of the paper discuss the theoretical and methodological problems of the research into fluid identity in the case of members of the Slovenian national minority in Varazdin and the Varazdin County. The population of the Varazdin Slovenes is mostly an aging population, and the authors investigate in their research how their national identities are fluid and how the forming of two new countries (Croatia and Slovenia) affected their attitude toward their own national identity. The authors are dealing with the history of Croatian - Slovenian relations in Varazdin and are trying to reach conclusions through archival materials on how the Styrian Slovenes were connected with the Varazdin region in different historical periods - from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, over the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the Independent State of Croatia to the socialist Yugoslavia and independent Croatia, and how their national identity influenced the construction of the "Varazdin" Slovenes identity. Specifically from historical perspective, the authors deal with national identity along the Slovenian - Croatian border in the area of Cestica and the neighboring Slovenian municipality Zavrč. In addition to the questioning of the national identity of the aging population, the authors question the identity of the youth in the area of Cestica from nationally mixed marriages who were born in Croatia and educated in the neighboring Slovenia. In particular, authors studied the organization of a wider spectrum of Slovenes in the Varazdin County with regard to their geographical location within the Varazdin County. Based on interviews with members of the Slovenian Cultural Association Nagelj, the authors come to the conclusion that Slovenian Cultural Association Nagelj is more necessary to Slovenians living in the town of Varazdin, twenty kilometers away from the border, than it is necessary for residents of border villages (Babinec, Križovljan, Cestica, Dubrava Križovljanska). For Slovenes from Varaždin, active participation in the society is of greater importance for the preservation of their Slovenian national identity in relation to the national identity of the Slovenes from the Cestica municipality.

## TEORIJA DRUŠTVENIH SISTEMA KAO POLAZIŠTE ISTRAŽIVANJA DIJASPORSKIH ZAJEDNICA

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Istraživanju dijasporskih zajednica pristupamo s motrišta teorije društvenih sistema Niklasa Luhmanna u koju je uključena i teorija sistema i teorija društva. Želimo pojmovno polje istraživanja dijasporskih zajednica – virtualna i realna zajednica, komunikacija, mediji, internet, etničnost i identitet – postaviti u konsekventni teorijski okvir. Teorija sistema i njezina kasnija razrada na teoriju društvenih sistema i teoriju društva je teorija s univerzalističkim pretenzijama. Ona je referentni okvir koji u sebi uklapa sociološke, pravne, politološke, informacijske i komunikacijske teorije(tradicije), i želi opisati svijet promatrajući ga kao sistem. No i u ontološkom smislu za teoriju sistema svijet je „nastanjen“ sistemima, koji svoju operacionalnu zatvorenost duguju sposobnosti redukcije kompleksnosti. Sistem je uvijek manje kompleksan od okoline/svijeta. Prema teoriji društvenih sistema mediji društva selekcioniraju probleme i interese društva tako što nameću teme oko kojih se onda komunicira. Oko tih tema formiraju se dijasporske zajednice ili udruženja. Posebno je to vidljivo kada se promatra komunikacija na internetu. Čini se da je tu za razliku od realnog svijeta neka tema (interes) preduvjet stvaranja neke virtualne zajednice, za razliku od realnog svijeta gdje je neko društveno okupljanje uvjet da se o nekoj temi počne govoriti ili još točnije opisivati je. Tako su etničke grupe/zajednice veoma realne i drevne ali one nisu bile tema nekog razgovora ili opisa gotovo do jučer. Kada se govori o virtualnim zajednicama sve rečeno zadobiva određeni smisao i postaje jasnije.

Već su brojna istraživanja pokrenule raspravu o ovoj temi tako da se već sada može govoriti o glavnim teorijsko/istraživačkim smjerovima, a to su čini se odnosi: virtualnog i realnog, problemi izbora tema oko kojih nastaju zajednice, problemi pripadnosti zajednici (uključenost/isključenost), te problemi identiteta (odnos realnih i virtualnih identiteta)

## THE THEORY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS AS A STARTING POINT FOR RESEARCH OF DIASPORA COMMUNITIES

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To the research of diaspora communities we use the approach from the viewpoint of the theory of social systems of Niklas Luhmann which includes systems theory and theory of society. We wish to set the conceptual field of research of diaspora communities – virtual and real communities, communications, media, internet, ethnicity and identity – in the consequential theoretical framework. Systems theory and its subsequent elaboration to the theory of social systems and theory of society is a theory with universalist pretensions. It is a frame of reference that in itself embodies sociological, law, political, information and communication theories (traditions), and aims to describe the world by observing it as a system. But in the ontological sense for the theory of the system the world is "inhabited" with systems, which owe their operational containment to the capability of the reduction of complexity. The system is always less complex than environment / world. According to the theory of social systems the media of society selects problems and the interests of society by imposing topics around which it communicates. Around these topics the diaspora communities or associations are shaped. This is particularly evident when observing the communication on the internet. It seems that there, unlike the real world, a topic (interest) is a precondition for creating some virtual community, as opposed to the real world where a social gathering is a precondition for the topic to be discussed at or to be described. Thus, the ethnic groups / communities are very real and ancient but they were not topics of discussion or description almost until yesterday. When we discuss virtual communities, all that has been said above takes on a particular meaning and becomes clearer.

But numerous studies have launched a discussion on this topic so that we can already speak about the main theoretical / research directions, and they seem to refer to: the virtual and the real, the problems of choice of topics around which the communities were created, the problems of belonging to the community (Inclusion / Exclusion) and problems of identity (the relations of real and virtual identities).

## **PROUČEVANJE SLOVENSkih IZSELJENCEV V ZDA – OD POSAMEZNIKOV DO SKUPNOSTI, OD SKUPNOSTI DO POSAMEZNIKOV**

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V slovenski humanistiki so do danes precej raziskani splošni okviri slovenskega izseljevanja v ZDA (smeri in obdobja izseljevanja, število izseljencev, vzroki za izselitev itd.) in posamezni segmenti iz življenja slovenskih izseljencev v novi domovini (npr. organiziranost slovenskih izseljencev, literarno ustvarjanje in druga umetnostna ter kulturna dejavnost, življenje in delo nekaterih pomembnejših slovenskih izseljencev). Nekaj je raziskav, ki celovito predstavljajo zgodovino slovenskih izseljenskih skupnosti v ZDA na mikroregionalni ravni (v okviru posameznega mesta ali manjše naravnogeografske ali upravno-politične enote), znotraj katere se običajno prepletajo družbeni procesi več družb, na katere marsikdaj vplivajo tudi dogodki v več državah (države priselitve, držav odselitve, sosednjih držav države odselitve itd.).

V prispevku bom obravnavala različne pristope k proučevanju slovenskega izseljenstva v ZDA, kako in zakaj so se le-ti spreminjali in razvijali, katere so njihove prednosti in slabosti ter kakšne so značilnosti trenutnih pristopov in trendi za prihodnje. Pri tem se bom osredotočila na razlike med proučevanjem slovenskih izseljencev v ZDA z raziskovanjem življenjskih zgodb posameznikov in med proučevanjem slovenskih izseljencev v ZDA z raziskovanjem izseljenskih skupnosti in naselbin. Gre za dva različna, a zelo prepletena pristopa, ki so se ju raziskovalci v preteklosti pogosto posluževali ločeno, kar pa se je pokazalo kot neustrezno. Danes namreč vemo, da lahko zgodbe posameznikov primerno prikažemo le, če upoštevamo njihovo vključenost (ali tudi ne vključenost) v določeno družbeno skupnost, oziroma da lahko določeno skupnost ustrezno raziščemo le, če upoštevamo zgodbe njenih posameznikov. Za učinkovito raziskovanje slovenskega izseljenstva v ZDA (in izseljenstva na sploh) je tako potreben celostni pristop, ki zahteva meddisciplinarno povezovanje.

## **THE STUDY OF SLOVENE EMIGRANTS IN THE U.S. – FROM INDIVIDUALS TO COMMUNITIES, FROM COMMUNITIES TO INDIVIDUALS**

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The researches of the Slovene humanities on Slovene emigration/immigration in the U.S. were so far mostly limited to the general framework of the Slovene emigrant history (directions and periods of emigration, number of emigrants, reasons for emigration, etc.) and to selected aspects of Slovene immigrants' life in the new homeland (Slovene immigrant organizations, literary production, cultural activities, biographies of selected important Slovene immigrants). Some studies are dealing comprehensively with Slovene immigrant communities on micro-regional level. The micro-regional level refers to individual cities or smaller physical/geographic or administrative and political units within which the interactions between different communities and social processes usually take place. These processes are very frequently influenced by events in several countries (country of immigration, emigration countries, neighboring countries to the countries of emigration, etc.).

In this paper I will deal with different approaches to the study of Slovene emigrants in the U.S., how and why they have changed and evolved, what are their strengths and weaknesses and what are the characteristics of the current approaches and trends for the future. I will focus on the differences between the study of Slovene emigrants in the U.S. by exploring life stories of individuals, and the study of Slovenian emigrants in the U.S. by researching emigrant communities and settlements. These are two different, but much intertwined approaches, which the researchers in the past often resorted separately, and this has proven as inadequate. Today we know that the stories of individuals can be appropriately researched only when considering their inclusion (or not) in a particular social community, and that community can be explored properly only with considering the stories of its individuals. An effective study of the Slovene emigration in the U.S. (and emigration in general) requires a holistic approach that can be achieved only through interdisciplinary collaboration.

# **RELEVANTNOST DIJASPORE: OD AKADEMSKE APOLOGIJE TRANSNACIJE DO EVALUACIJE I ANALIZE DRUŠTVENOG UTJECAJA DIJASPORSKIH PLANOVA, AKCIJE I PRAKSI**

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Kada se uzme u obzir politička pažnja koju dijasporama daju političke stranke i vodeći političari u istočnoj i jugoistočnoj Europi, ali i u mnogim državama svijeta u posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća, može se zaključiti kako akcije i prakse dijaspore imaju izuzetno velik utjecaj na društvene, političke i ekonomske odnose u njihovim domovinama i zemljama primitka. Međutim, ta je pažnja povremena i nekonzistentna, a akcije i prakse dijaspore slabe i jačaju ovisno o političkoj konjunkturi u domovini i zemlji primitka. Nadalje, pažnja koja se poklanja dijaspori je uglavnom u području simboličke, etničke politike. Vlastite etničke zajednice u drugim zemljama se stiliziraju kao dio jedinstvene etnije ili globalno raspršene etno-nacije čija viktimizacija u prošlosti legitimira velike, nacionalne projekte za budućnost. Unutar akademskog i političkog diskursa u domovini dijaspore se učestalo tretiraju kao sektori transnacije koja je nadrasla naciju-državu. Međutim, političari zemlje porijekla zanemaruju glavne elemente koji konstituiraju dijasporu kao društvenu formu, tj. komunalne rituale, političke planove i aktivnosti, edukacijsko volontiranje, humanitarnu pomoć, etnički biznis itd. Političari i znanstvenici još uvijek zamišljaju i diskutiraju o dijaspori kao o kolektivnom entitetu, a ne kao o skupu akcija i praksi koje se mogu promatrati i mjeriti. Relevantnost dijaspore izvan nacionalističkog diskursa u domovini pronalazi se u bezbrojnim svakodnevnim aktivnostima koje mogu imati velik utjecaj na svakodnevicu velikog broja pojedinaca ali i na održivost mreža, grupa i institucija u brojnim zemljama. Zato će se u ovoj prezentaciji zastupati gledište da se istraživanje dijaspore treba koncipirati u obliku evaluacije i procjene društvenog utjecaja što su znanstvenici i političari do sada uglavnom propustili učiniti. Nedostatak konkretnih politika za dijasporu kao i dijasporskih politika ne sprječava znanstvenike da primijene logiku evaluacijskih istraživanja kao i logiku procjene društvenog utjecaja za planove te društvenu i političku akciju angažiranih pripadnika dijaspore. Znanstveno istraživanje dijaspore može postati društveno relevantno polje istraživanja koje doprinosi pojedincima, mrežama i institucijama u dvije ili više zemalja, samo uz detaljno promatranje i temeljitu procjenu smjera i posljedica aktivnosti dijaspore.

# **RELEVANCE OF DIASPORA: FROM AN ACADEMIC APOLOGY OF TRANSNATIONS TOWARDS AN EVALUATION AND SOCIAL IMPACT ANALYSIS OF DIASPORIC PLANS, ACTIONS AND PRACTICES**

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Considering the political attention given to diasporas by the political parties and leading politicians in East and Southeast European but also in many other countries around the world in the last few decades, one could infer that diasporas' actions and practices have an enormous impact on social, economic and political affairs of their homelands and the countries of residence. Nevertheless, this attention is periodical and inconsistent while diasporas' actions and practices ebb and flow depending on political conjuncture in the homeland and in the country of residence. Furthermore, attention given to diaspora is mainly in the realm of symbolic ethno-politics. Ethnic communities abroad are stylised as a part of an indivisible ethnies or a globally dispersed ethno-nation whose victimisation in the past legitimises grand, national projects for the future. Within the academic and political discourse in the homeland diasporas are increasingly treated as sectors of transnations which outgrew the nation-state. Yet the main elements that constitute diaspora as a social form, i.e. communal rituals, political plans and activities, educational volunteering, charity, ethnic business etc., are neglected by the politicians and by the states of origin. Politicians and academics still prefer imagining and discussing diaspora as a collective entity rather than a bundle of specific, observable and measurable actions and practices. The relevance of diaspora outside the nationalist political discourse of the homelands lies in countless small day-to-day activities that might have an important impact on everyday lives of many individuals but also on prospects and sustainability of networks, groups and institutions in many countries. This is why I will argue that the most important way in which diaspora research should be conceived is primarily evaluation and social impact analysis which was largely neglected by the academics and the policy makers alike. The lack of concrete diaspora policies doesn't prevent the academics to apply the logic of evaluation and social impact assessment on the planning and executing social and political actions of the engaged diasporans. Only through detailed observation and rigorous assessment of the diasporan activities can academic research on diaspora become a socially relevant field of study benefiting individuals, networks and institutions in two or more countries.

## **SLOVENSKE IZSELJENSKE SKUPNOSTI V LUČI TURIZMA ISKANJA KORENIN – TURISTIČNI OBISK KOT OBLIKA KULTURNE, ČUSTVENE IN EKONOMSKE INTERAKCIJE MED IZSELJENCI IN NEKDANJO DOMOVINO**

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Obiskovanje nekdanje domovine s strani izseljencev in njihovih potomcev je staro prav toliko kot sam proces izseljevanja. Tovrstni obiski so zaradi različnih vzrokov sčasoma dobili turistični pridih, zato jih z vidika interdisciplinarnega preučevanja migracij in izseljenskih skupnosti raziskovalci obravnavajo tudi v sklopu s turizmom povezanih strok.

Zaradi specifičnih lastnosti se je za preučevanje pojava potovanj izseljencev v domovino staršev oziroma prednikov v anglosaksonski znanstveni literaturi uveljavil angleški izraz *roots tourism*, ki ga v slovenskem jeziku prevajamo kot *turizem iskanja korenin*. Raziskovalci v tem segmentu turističnih aktivnosti poleg kulturnega in ekonomskega vidika izpostavljajo zlasti čustveno komponento, ki izhaja iz družinske in etnične oziroma narodnostne dediščine posameznika. Tovrstna (turistična) mobilnost je pojmovana kot družbeno-kulturna vez, ki predstavlja aktivni mehanizem za povezovanje izvirne dežele z »njenimi« emigranti. Obiske izvirne dežele lahko označimo za pospeševalca družbenih interakcij in jih razumemo kot proces, preko katerega poteka de-teritorizacija kulture.

Avtor na primeru raziskav med slovensko-avstralsko in slovensko-ameriško izseljensko skupnostjo ugotavlja, da je potrebno pojav turizma iskanja korenin razumeti tudi kot stopnjo evolucijskega razvoja ohranjanja etnične identitete, ki je (nekdaj) vključevalo druženje v etničnih društvih in verskih središčih ter učenje slovenskega jezika in prebiranje najrazličnejših v slovenskem jeziku napisanih publikacij. Potovanja v domovino staršev oziroma prednikov v tem pogledu ponujajo nadgradnjo in so zlasti za mlajše generacije edinstvena življenjska izkušnja, ki jim na interaktiven način približa družinsko in narodnostno dediščino.



## **SLOVENIAN EMIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN THE ROOTS TOURISM PERSPECTIVE – TOURIST VISITS AS A FORM OF CULTURAL, EMOTIONAL AND ECONOMIC INTERACTION AMONG EMIGRANTS AND THEIR FORMER HOMELAND**

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The process of return migration of emigrants and their descendants to the former homeland is as old as the process of emigration itself. With time, such visits have for various reasons gained a tourist connotation, therefore they also became subjects of scientific research in the tourism-related disciplines.

Due to its specific characteristics, the phenomenon of return migration became widely known as “roots tourism” in the Anglo-Saxon scientific literature, while this term is referred to as “turizem iskanja korenin” in the Slovenian language. Apart from the cultural and economic aspects, researchers emphasize the emotional component of this tourist segment, which derives from individual’s family heritage and national or ethnic background. Such (tourist) mobility can also be seen as a socio-cultural bond that binds the homeland with “its” migrants and represents an active mechanism for their social interaction. Tourism manifested by the return visits of migrants can further be understood as a process, through which the “de-territORIZATION” of culture takes place.

Based upon the research among Slovenian-American and Slovenian-Australian emigrant communities, the author argues that roots tourism phenomenon also represents a recent stage in the process of evolution of ethnic identity preservation, which once used to include socializing in ethnic clubs, worshipping at ethnically-oriented religious centers, as well as language learning and reading periodical media in the language of the ethnic community. In this regard, roots tourism journeys to the homeland offer younger generations a unique and interactive experience of their ethnic and ancestral heritage.

## **METODOLOŠKI IZZIVI PREUČEVANJ MIGRACIJ V 21. STOLETJU: VEČPRIZORIŠČNOST IN ČASOVNOST**

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Prispevek obravnava heterogene sodobne migracijske procese v luči metodoloških vprašanj. Migracijske procese zaznamujejo raznolikost, krožnost in hibridnost (npr. v smislu poroznih meja med začasno in trajno migracijo), kar se posledično kaže v drobljenju raziskovalnih polj znotraj migracijskih študij, zaznavanju hibridnih procesov in množtvu terminoloških izrazov. Avtorici prispevka ugotavljata, da v primerjavi z dinamiko na pojavnih in teoretsko-raziskovalnih ravni metodološka vprašanja nekoliko zaostajajo in jim zato velja v prihodnje posvetiti več pozornosti. Skozi shematični, prostorsko-časovni prikaz izbranih dveh primerov avtorici opozorita na porajajoča se metodološka vprašanja ob raziskovanju migracijskih procesov v 21. stoletju.

## **METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES IN MIGRATION RESEARCH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 21<sup>th</sup> CENTURY: MULTI-SITEDNESS AND TEMPORALITY**

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The paper addresses heterogeneous migration processes in contemporary society through the lens of divergent methodological issues. Migration processes today are characterized by heterogeneity, circularity and hybridity (e.g. the porous border between categories of temporary and permanent migration). This, in turn, produces fragmentation of the migration studies' field, increased exposure of hybridity in the observed phenomena and a multitude of competing classifications and theoretical concepts. Still, the methodological issues underlying these developments remain comparatively under-researched. Through two detailed accounts of heterogeneous movements through space and time authors will attempt to highlight some of the key methodological issues in researching migration and movement in the 21<sup>th</sup> century.

## O MIGRACIJAH NELJUDI: KRANJSKI BUREK IN SLOVENSKA KLOBASA

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Stvari oziroma neljudje igrajo ključno vlogo pri razumevanju migracij. Odprimo le za trenutek zgodovinske učbenike – migracije so bile pogojene in definirane s pojavom ter mobiliziranjem novih predmetov, tehnologij, naprav, živih organizmov, snovi..., kot so tisk, parni stroj, sladkorni trs, parnik, vlak, telegraf, nafta, kartografija, smodnik, birokracija, kataster, šola, internet, letala, krompirjeva plesen... Nič manj se neljudje ne izkažejo za pomembne in konstitutivne, če okvir zožimo na migrantske skupnosti. Neljudje so ključni za obstoj teh kot seveda vseh skupnosti. Pomislite, kakšne bi bile »slovenske« izseljenske skupnosti brez skupnih prostorov, domov, cerkva, potic, flancatov, kranjskih klobas, cvička, coca-cole, hramonik, zastav, časopisov, pisem, trtnih uši, pametnih telefonov ... Ne bi jih bilo! Z vso resnostjo je torej treba vzeti največkrat sarkastično floskulo, da so klobase in harmonika edini stvari, ki pri življenju ohranjajo izseljenske skupnosti. Prispevek bo odprl vprašanje »človekocentričnosti« migracijskih študij in predstavil kompleksna življenja in vloge neljudi v migrantskih skupnostih.

## ON THE MIGRATIONS OF NONHUMANS: THE CARNIOLAN BUREK AND THE SLOVENIAN SAUSAGE

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Things, i.e. nonhumans, play a crucial role in the understanding of migrations. Take for example history textbooks – migrations were conditioned and defined by the appearance and mobilizing of new objects, technologies, devices, living organisms, substances, etc., such as print media, the steam engine, the sugar cane, steamships, trains, the telegraph, oil, cartography, gunpowder, bureaucracy, land registers, schools, the internet, airplanes, potato blight ... And nonhumans turn out to be no less important and constitutive if we limit our frame to migrant groups. Nonhumans are crucial to the existence of these and, of course, all communities. Just think about what “Slovenian” immigrant communities would be like without shared spaces, homes, churches, *potica* cakes, *flančat* pastries, Carniolan sausages, Cviček wine, Coca-Cola, accordions, flags, newspapers, letters, phylloxera aphids, smart phones ... They would not exist! It is therefore reasonable to take completely seriously the usually sarcastic cliché suggesting that sausages and accordions are the only things that keep the immigrant communities together. So what is it then that holds migrant communities together? The paper will problematize the “human-centred” migration studies and present the complex roles of nonhumans in the migrant communities.

## **OD ASIMILACIJE DO INKLUZIJE: MEDKULTURNA VZGOJA IN IZOBRAŽEVANJE**

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Se naj bi se priseljenci asimilirali/prilagodili ali integrirali/vključili? V čem se ta dva koncepta razlikujeta? Navkljub načelni podpori vključevanju (integraciji in inkluziji) se v družbi še vedno pojavljajo asimilacijska pričakovanja večine do priseljencev. V procesu vključevanja sodelujejo dejavno tako priseljeni kot tudi (slučajno) rojeni in živeči v določeni državi. V drugem delu bo predstavljen medkulturni model vključevanja učencev priseljencev v vzgojno-izobraževalni sistem, izhajajoč iz konceptov integracije in inkluzije (ne asimilacije). Sestavljen je iz sedmih kazalnikov: 1. medkulturnost kot pedagoško-didaktično načelo; 2. sistemska podpora za uspešno vključevanje; 3. učitelji z razvijajočo se medkulturno zmožnostjo; 4. razvoj zavedanja o večkulturni družbi pri vseh učnih predmetih; 5. razvoj medkulturnega dialoga na šoli; 6. sodelovanje s (starši) priseljenci; 7. sodelovanje z lokalno skupnostjo. Prednost modela je v meddisciplinarnem pristopu, saj zajema teoretična in praktična spoznanja z več področij (migracijske študije, pedagogika, poučevanje slovenščine kot drugega jezika itd.). Medkulturni model vključevanja povezuje različne akterje v proces vključevanja učencev priseljencev: učence, starše in učitelje, priseljene in nepriseljene, z lokalnim okoljem. Vsak od teh udeležencev s svojimi dejavnostmi in odnosom pomembno vpliva na dejanski proces vključevanja.

## **FROM ASSIMILATION TO INCLUSION: INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION**

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Should migrants be assimilated or integrated? What are the differences between those two concepts? Despite the positive attitude to integration and inclusion in principle, there are many assimilative expectations from the majority towards migrants. Both, migrants and non-migrants that happened to be born and live in some country are involved in the process of integration or inclusion. In the second part of the paper, an intercultural education model for the inclusion of migrant students will be introduced. It is based on the concepts of integration and inclusion (and not assimilation) and it consists of seven indicators: 1. interculturality as a basic pedagogical principle; 2. systematic support for the inclusion of immigrant students; 3. teachers with developed intercultural competence; 4. development of the awareness of multicultural society in all school subjects; 5. intercultural dialogue in school; 6. cooperation with (migrant) parents, and; 7. cooperation with the local community. The advantage of this intercultural education model is its interdisciplinary approach as it takes into account different theoretical and practical approaches (migration studies, pedagogy, Slovenian language as a second language). The intercultural education model expects cooperation between different participants in the process of inclusion: students, parents, and teachers, migrant or non-migrant ones with local environment. Each of them can have an important influence on the inclusion process with his/her attitude and activities.

## **SODOBNE STRATEGIJE SLOVENSkih IZSELJENCEV ZA OHRANJANJE ETNIČNE IDENTITETE**

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Po svetu živi več generaciji slovenskih izseljencev in njihovih potomcev. Med njimi je vse več tudi t. i. sodobnih izseljencev, ki od slovenske osamosvojitve dalje še naprej in v vedno večjem številu odhajajo v tujino zaradi brezposelnosti, v iskanju perspektivnejših delovnih in življenjskih priložnosti, zaradi kariernih in drugih razlogov. Vsi ti izseljenci se med seboj razlikujejo po izobrazbi, socialno, ekonomsko, po življenjskih načrtih in načinih, saj so izraz različnih zgodovinskih faz slovenskega izseljevanja, okoliščin, ki so jih generirale, potreb, izkušenj in oblik ter stopenj vključenosti v delovna in življenjska okolja, ki so iz tujih za številne postala domača. Razlikujejo se zato tudi v čutenju svoje narodne pripadnosti, v odnosu do Slovenije in slovenstva, v gledanjih na medsebojno povezovanje v skupnost in oblikah vzdrževanja stikov ter sodelovanja z matično državo. Migrantske skupnosti gojijo združevalne navade in kulturne prakse, ki prispevajo k občutenju pripadnosti in k obstoju skupnosti. So pa tudi dejavniki, zaradi katerih izseljenci in njihovi potomci ne pristopijo ali se oddaljijo od izseljenske skupnosti, se z njo ne identificirajo oziroma z njo ne sodelujejo. Projekt Sodobne strategije slovenskih izseljencev za ohranjanje etnične identitete si zastavlja vprašanje, kako gledajo mladi slovenski izseljenci oziroma potomci slovenskih izseljencev raznih generacij na slovensko pripadnost oziroma slovenske korenine in kateri dejavniki vplivajo na različnost stališč do povezovanja v izseljenske skupnosti ter vzpostavljanja oziroma vzdrževanja vezi s »starim krajem«.



## **CONTEMPORARY STRATEGIES OF SLOVENIAN EMIGRANTS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY**

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The Slovenian diaspora all over the world consists of several generations of emigrants and their descendants. It also includes an increasing number of Slovenians who have emigrated since Slovenia became independent because of unemployment, in search of better work and life perspectives, career opportunities and for other reasons. All these components of the Slovenian diaspora differ from each other by education, social and economic background, personal ambitions and life styles. Indeed, they are expressions of different circumstances, needs and phases in the long emigration process, working experiences and paths of inclusion into the receiving countries. Consequently they also differ by feelings and attitudes towards Slovenia and Slovenian ancestry. The project Contemporary strategies of Slovenian emigrants for the preservation of ethnic identity aims at surveying how the recent Slovenian emigrants and the yesterday emigrants' descendants consider their Slovenian ethnicity or Slovenian roots and which factors significantly influence their attitudes towards the organized Slovenian communities abroad and the preservation of the ties with their »old country«.

## **RAZISKOVANJE IZSELJEVANJA V PERSPEKTIVI PRISELJEVANJA: PREDSTAVITEV MULTIDISCIPLINARNIH PROJEKTOV PREDIS IN OUT-SIDE-IN**

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Prispevek bo predstavil konceptualno izhodišče proučevanja slovenskega izseljenstva, ki ga definiramo kot zrcalno razumevanje migracij. Gre za to, da proučujemo slovensko izseljenstvo in priseljenstvo v Slovenijo z enakimi metodološkimi in konceptualnimi pristopi: tako imenovani »naši« izseljenci so tudi priseljenci in priseljenci v Slovenijo so izseljenci od nekod drugod. Za vse veljajo enaki motivi migriranja in enaka pot do cilja: socialna vključenost oziroma integracija. Prispevek bo predstavil dva primera, mednarodna projekta na področju izobraževanja, ki ju izvaja Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije.

Projekt Out-Side-In je namenjen usposabljanju učiteljev-multiplikatorjev za vključevanje beguncev v izobraževanje odraslih in ponuja nove možnosti komuniciranja in sobivanja v smeri mehčanja predsodkov in spodbujanja spoštovanja različnih perspektiv v današnjih družbah priseljevanja. Projekt bo pripravil analizo potreb; za učne skupine beguncev bo razvil in preizkusil učna gradiva in metode; usposobil in podprl bo učitelje multiplikatorje za trajno implementacijo učnih gradiv in metod.

Projekt PREDIS se osredotoča na zmanjšanje osipa iz poklicnega izobraževanja ter izboljšanje prehodnosti iz osnovne šole v srednješolsko poklicno izobraževanje in iz srednje šole v zaposlovanje. Pristopi bodo okrepili mlade priseljence in Rome z bistvenimi veščinami in zmožnostmi ter izboljšali njihove dosežke v šolah, srednješolskem poklicnem izobraževanju in na delovnem trgu.

## **RESEARCHING EMIGRATION IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF IMMIGRATION: PRESENTATION OF THE PROJECTS PREDIS AND OUT-SIDE-IN**

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The presentation will describe the conceptual presupposition of the research of Slovenian emigration that is defined as the mirrored understanding of migration. It is a way of researching the Slovenian emigration and the immigration to Slovenia with the same methodological and conceptual approaches: »our« emigrants are at the same time immigrants and immigrants to Slovenia are at the same time emigrants. For all of them the motives for migration are the same as is the way to reach the goals: social integration. As an example, two international projects, conducting at the Slovenian Migration Institute will be presented.

The Out-Side-In project is committed to qualify multipliers for the inclusion of refugees in adult education, offering new opportunities of interacting and communication to soften prejudices and to promote awareness and respect of multiple perspectives in today's immigration societies. It will provide needs analysis for target groups, develop and test innovative educational material and methods for learning groups with refugees, train and support multipliers for sustainable implementation.

The focus of the PREDIS project is on reducing dropout rates from vocational education, fostering better transition from general school to VET and from VET to employment. Designed approaches will empower migrant youth and Roma with core skills and competencies which will enhance their achievement in schools, vocational education and will help integration into the labour market.