



Urša Šivic

Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut, Znanstvenoraziskovalni center

Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti

Institute of Ethnomusicology, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts

History of Public Call for Funding in the Field of the Cultural Activities of Ethnic Minority Communities and Immigrants*

Zgodovina razpisa za financiranje kulturno- umetniških dejavnosti manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti in priseljencev**

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IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

Namen prispevka je analizirati zgodovino javnega razpisa za projekte v polju kulturnih dejavnosti manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti v Sloveniji. Javni razpis uveljavlja strategije programa za posebne kulturne pravice, ki jih izvajata Ministrstvo za kulturo in Javni sklad Republike Slovenije za kulturne dejavnosti.

The article aims to analyse the history of public calls for funding projects in the area of cultural activities of ethnic minority communities in Slovenia. These public calls put in action the strategies of a special rights programme, which are being carried out by the Ministry of Culture and the Public Fund for Cultural Activities of the Republic of Slovenia.

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1. Introduction

The article presents the part of cultural politics that had an important impact on the cultural production of ethnic minority communities and immigrants¹ in Slovenia since Slovenian independence in 1991. I aim to present the history of public calls for funding, the initial purpose of which is to provide financial and expert support to the preservation, development and promotion of cultural activities organised by ethnic minorities and migrants. My article therefore focuses on the research of archival documentation from this area. Despite a broad array of cultural activities included in the calls, I have focused on the cases from the areas of folklore and music.

In addition to the historical viewpoint, I have looked closely at the transformation dynamics of the content, the public calls' criteria and the guidelines by analysing public calls' texts, regulation documentation, reports and have also conducted interviews with persons who were involved in shaping specific cultural policy segments. The purpose is to determine to what extent the texts of public calls reflect the principles, expert incentives and programme strategies. Another important aim of this research is to find out which criteria play a key role in meeting the strategies of the umbrella cultural programme and which public call formulations affect the cultural activities' schemes. As this article makes part of a broader research project, it will serve in the current phase as the analysis of the formal framework of the public calls and should not be seen as an analysis of public calls' implementation in the cultural production of the ethnic minority communities and migrants.

2. The history of public calls for the financial and expert support of cultural projects

The legislation of the Republic of Slovenia defines the status of national and ethnic minorities and provides different levels of formal protection, depending on the historical, political and societal factors. The rights of the Italian and Hungarian national communities, on the west and on the east borders respectively, are stated in the constitution. The two minorities are defined with the element of history and autochthony. They enjoy all the constitutional rights and their members are organised in cultural, political, social and other areas, all the while maintaining strong connections with their home countries.² The Romany community, on the other hand, does not have the same status; stricter legislative protection was only implemented in 2007 with a special law, which defines the Romany people as a "community" and states specific tasks that the state authorities have to put into practice in order to ensure the Romany their rights.³

1 Slovenian expressions "Manjšinska etnična skupnost" (ethnic minority community) and "priseljenci" (immigrants) are used in the public calls for funding issued by the Ministry of Culture. Therefore, they are also used in the texts of the Public Fund for Cultural Activities.

2 Klavdija Zajc, "Varstvo romske skupnosti v Sloveniji" (BA thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2005), 38.

3 Uradni list RS, št. 33/07, "Zakon o romski skupnosti v Republiki Sloveniji (ZRoms-1)," Pravno-informacijski sistem, accessed August 2, 2019, <http://www.pisrs.si/Pis.web/pregledPredpisa?id=ZAKO4405>; Milan Glamočanin, "Ohranjanje narodne identitete manjšin skozi kulturna društva v Sloveniji. Primer srbske narodne manjšine" (BA thesis, University of Ljubljana, 2010), 23, accessed August 5, 2019, <https://repozitorij.uni-lj.si/IzpisGradiva.php?id=19704&lang=slv>.

The independence of Slovenia in 1991 changed the relations between the majority population and the ethnic minority communities. All of a sudden, practically “overnight, internal migrants coming from former Yugoslav republics became international immigrants.”⁴ Still, due to their history of residing within the common Yugoslav state, their status, although not formally defined, was different to that of other migrants. With these political changes, a new concept and naming for these communities has emerged, namely, “new” minorities.⁵ This term came into use to refer to the ethnicities of the former Yugoslav republics, i.e. the Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats, Montenegrins, Macedonians and Albanians.

Following Slovenian independence, many ethnic communities remained outside the legislative framework protecting the minorities. Tendencies to resolve the issue of new minorities therefore focused on cultural activities. On one hand, the incentives came from the authorities as a way of solving the issues arising from the newly established relationships between the majority population and the minorities. On the other hand, representatives of minorities were included in the discussions on current issues and the possible solutions on a systemic level. There has been an active programme for the cultural activities of the Hungarian and the Italian minorities at the Ministry of Culture since 1974.⁶ In 1992 the framework of this programme was extended to the members of other ethnic minorities.⁷

Cultural groups, like musical and dance groups, within ethnic minority communities (at the time rarely organised as societies) were sparse at the time, which made their funding easy. In this early period, the Ministry of Culture transferred financial resources to the Association of Cultural Organizations of Slovenia⁸ to stimulate establishment of new societies⁹ of ethnic minority communities and for supporting their initial work.¹⁰ The funding was not intended for content based projects, as is normally the case today (e.g. concerts, folklore groups meetings), but was to be used for the regular and running costs, such as purchase of costumes, rent, mentors’ fees etc. Later, from the 1996 on, the funding of minority communities’ societies remained under the Ministry of Culture, while the Association of Cultural Organizations of Slovenia referred the applications for funding, still allocated for the regular costs of societies, to the ministry.

4 Suzana Čurin Radovič, “Program varovanja posebnih kulturnih pravic v Republiki Sloveniji od zametkov do leta 1999,” *Razprave in gradivo. Revija za narodnostna vprašanja* no. 35 (1999): 166.

5 In publications, we can find formulations of non-autochthony modern ethnic minorities, modern ethnic minority communities, new ethnic/national communities, new national minorities etc. Janja Žitnik Serafin, *Večkulturna Slovenija: Položaj migrantske književnosti in kulture v slovenskem prostoru* (Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2008), 32.

6 The programme has never been officially named; the Ministry of Culture refers to it as the “special cultural programme”, “special programme for cultural activities” (Suzana Čurin Radovič, “Analiza stanja na področju kulturnih dejavnosti narodnih skupnosti, romske skupnosti drugih manjšinskih skupnosti in priseljencev.” *Analiza stanja na področjih kulture in predlog prednostnih ciljev* (Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za kulturo Republike Slovenije, 2002), accessed August 14, 2019, http://www.mk.gov.si/fileadmin/mk.gov.si/pageuploads/Ministrstvo/Zakonodaja/Analiza_stanja/10.pdf) or “special provisions for the protection of cultural rights of minority communities” (Marjeta Preželj, in discussion with the author, July 10, 2019); Suzana Čurin Radovič, “Program varovanja posebnih kulturnih pravic.”

7 Marjeta Preželj, “*Analiza prenosa finančnih sredstev in javnega postopka za financiranje kulturnih projektov na področju različnih manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti in priseljencev v RS z Ministrstva RS za kulturo na Javni sklad RS za kulturne dejavnosti v letu 2010.*” [unpublished report, Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za kulturo, 2010], [1].

8 The Association of Cultural Organisations of Slovenia is the predecessor of the Public Fund for Cultural Activities. See footnote No 22.

9 In the text I mostly refer to societies as the common form of cultural activities of the ethnic minority communities. This does not exclude other organisational or legal forms of cultural activities, nor activities of individuals.

10 Marjeta Preželj, in discussion with the author, July 7, 2018.

We can follow the history of public calls for funding that implement the protection of special cultural rights of ethnic minority communities into the time of former Yugoslavia.¹¹ Throughout decades, various initiatives have reshaped the call into its present form. My aim is to present those facts that brought about the changes that shaped the public call into a financial and expert support of cultural activities of ethnic minority communities that is in use today.

It was Suzana Čurin Radovič from the Cultural Association of Slovenia, who played the key role in the development of a systemic approach to the funding of ethnic minorities' cultural activities. In the year 1999 the Sector for the Cultural Rights of Minorities and the Development of Cultural Diversity was established at the Ministry of Culture directed by Čurin Radovič.¹² From an office manned by one person, Čurin Radovič, grew a small department and then an independent Cultural Diversity and Human Rights Service,¹³ which co-operates with other ministries.¹⁴

In 1995 the Ministry of Culture formalised funding of ethnic minorities' cultural activities within the framework of the joint call for projects under the name Public Call for the Funding and Co-funding of Cultural Programmes and Projects.¹⁵ In addition to the areas the call had issued up to that point (literature, music, performing arts etc.) this call included "cultural activities of Italian and Hungarian national minorities, Romany community, other ethnic minority communities and immigrants in the Republic of Slovenia".¹⁶

In 2002, Exercising of the Public Interest in Culture Act¹⁷ came into force, and so the call for funding had to be redrawn in 2003: instead of one joint call there were individual call for each area. A new a call also emerged that included the area of ethnic minorities' cultural activities named Public Call for the Selection of Cultural Projects of Different Ethnic Minority Communities and Immigrants in the Republic of Slovenia.¹⁸ The public call provided only legal and formal framework, while a separate text outlined the content by defining the principles, targets and objectives of Slovenian cultural politics and its relation to the ethnic minority communities and immigrants in the Republic of

11 See Čurin Radovič, "Program varovanja posebnih kulturnih pravic," 159–96.

12 Marjeta Preželj, in discussion with the author, September 12, 2019.

13 The service aims to support vulnerable groups that should have the opportunity for self-expression »regardless of their social standing, ethnicity, nationality or medical condition«. The service also implements a »special programme dedicated to the members of different ethnic minority communities«. ("Predstavitev področja," Ministrstvo za kulturo, accessed June 18, 2018, http://www.mk.gov.si/si/delovna_podrocja/sluzba_za_kulturne_raznolikosti_in_clovekove_pravice/predstavitev_podrocja/).

14 Suzana Čurin Radovič, Initial consultation session, Ljubljana, October 19, 2017.

15 "Javni razpis za zbiranje predlogov za financiranje in sofinanciranje kulturnih programov in projektov, ki jih bo v letu 2001 financirala Republika Slovenija iz dela proračuna, namenjenega za kulturo" (Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za kulturo, 2001).

16 "Javni razpis za zbiranje predlogov za financiranje in sofinanciranje kulturnih programov in projektov, ki jih bo v letu 2001 financirala Republika Slovenija iz dela proračuna, namenjenega za kulturo," 1. Calls before the year 2001 were not available.

17 Exercising of the Public Interest in Culture Act is the basic legal document that holds liable all »public interest holders«, among them the Ministry of Culture and Public Fund for Cultural Activities. The act is in line with the National Programme for Culture with the basis in the assurance of public domain work in the area of culture and cultural development in Slovenia. It includes cultural development of the majority population, constitutionally recognised minorities (Hungarians, Italians and Romany), Slovenians living in neighbouring countries, certain special needs communities, and »integration of minority communities and immigrants«. (Uradni list RS, št. 77/07, "Zakon o uresničevanju javnega interesa za kulturo," Pravno-informacijski sistem, accessed August 2, 2019, <http://pisrs.si/Pis.web/pregledPredpisa?id=ZAKO3370>).

18 "Javni poziv za izbor kulturnih projektov na področju različnih manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti in priseljencev v RS, ki jih bo v letu 2009 financirala Republika Slovenija iz proračuna, namenjenega za kulturo" (Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za kulturo, 2009). The 2003 call was not available.

Slovenia.¹⁹ Despite changes that happened in a broader context, the formalisation of a separate public call for cultural activities of ethnic minority communities is partly the result of many years of dialogue between the Ministry of Culture and members of ethnic minority communities.²⁰

3. The beginnings of the project call for funding intended for the ethnic minority communities and immigrants and its transfer to the Public Fund for Cultural Activities of the Republic of Slovenia

Unlike the Ministry of Culture, which is a state umbrella organisation, the Public Fund for Cultural Activities of the Republic of Slovenia (from hereafter the Slovenian acronym JSKD will be used to denote this institution) has the role of a professional service of the authorities; it is managed independently and is responsible for the support of cultural activities of amateur groups and individuals. Its network of regional and local branches promote “development of universal creative potential in culture” through project and content based calls, publishing, training and education, organisation of cultural events and providing expert evaluation.²¹

During the 1990s, the Ministry of Culture and JSKD issued invitations to project calls for funding in the same period. JSKD issued the Public Call for the Selection of Cultural Project in the Area of Amateur Cultural Activities (from here on PR Public Call). Its formal context made it possible for the ethnic minority communities to submit their applications. Applications for projects with minority thematic were therefore evaluated together with other projects in cultural framework.

Consequently, there were two similar programme schemes available for the projects of ethnic minority communities, one at the Ministry of Culture (with special public call for ethnic minority communities) and another one at JSKD (with the public call for cultural activities on general). This situation brought about changes that happened in the following years. After years of discussions,²² the Ministry of Culture and JSKD signed an Agreement on the Transfer of Competences in the Procedure of Co-Funding of Cultural Projects of Different Minority Communities, Excluding Constitutionally recognised [Hungarian and Italian] Minorities and the Romany Community.²³ With this agreement the call and consequently the funds for the programme of protection of special cultural rights of ethnic minority communities were formally transferred from the Ministry of Culture to JSKD.

19 “Načela, cilji, kriteriji, področja dejavnosti ter način prijave za (so)financiranje kulturnih projektov različnih manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti in priseljencev v Republiki Sloveniji iz dela državnega proračuna, namenjenega kulturi za leto 2010” (Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za kulturo, 2009); See: Glamočanin, “Ohranjanje narodne identitete manjšin,” 29–30.

20 Čurin Radovič, “Analiza stanja na področju kulturnih dejavnosti,” 234–235.

21 JSKD was established in 1996 as the successor of the Association of Cultural Organisations of Slovenia. It covers folklore, historical dances, dance, instrumental music, literature, theatre and puppetry, fine arts and film. “Organizacija sklada,” JSKD, accessed August 6, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/organizacija/uvod_organizacija.htm.

22 Marjeta Preželj, “Analiza prenosa finančnih sredstev in javnega postopka za financiranje kulturnih projektov na področju različnih manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti in priseljencev v RS z Ministrstva RS za kulturo na Javni sklad RS za kulturne dejavnosti v letu 2010,” [2010]: [1]; Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, July 7, 2019.

23 “Sporazum o prenosu pristojnosti vodenja postopkov sofinanciranja kulturnih projektov različnih manjšinskih skupnosti, razen ustavno priznanih narodnih skupnosti in romske skupnosti, in posledično o prenosu finančnih sredstev za izvedbo postopkov z MK na Javni sklad Republike Slovenije za kulturne dejavnosti” ([Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za kulturo], 2009).

There were several factors at play that led to the transfer of the call from the ministry to JSKD: the institutions already co-operated at the time the call for cultural activities of ethnic minority communities was still the ministry's responsibility. As I mentioned before, JSKD dealt with project applications with minority thematic for its own PR Public Call at the same time as the ministry dealt with its own call. In that period the two institutions made an effort to avoid double funding of the submitted projects by basically communicating and achieving mutual agreement.²⁴

However, it turned out that discrepancies occurred in the funding of projects with minority thematic and those outside the minority context, which was a direct result of two separate calls. In addition, there were discrepancies within the funding of minority projects.²⁵ Due to

*the need for concerted action and our goal to make it easier for the ethnic minority communities to obtain funds from the state budget, it [the new call that is being transferred to JSKD] combines the funds that were in the past available for the ethnic minority communities through the invitation to calls issued by the Ministry of Culture [...] with those available through the public call issued by JSKD.*²⁶

Limiting the evaluation of project applications to one location and one institution that had already had a strong and recognised expert base seemed to be an appropriate solution. In addition, JSKD had well-established mechanisms of expert evaluation commission and evaluation criteria. These had already been required to deal with applications for the PR Public Call. It is clear that JSKD had partly supported and professionally directed the development of cultural activities of ethnic minority communities even before the call was transferred.²⁷ Moreover, the institution had very good general knowledge of folklore creativity, which meant it also had a good insight into the cultural activities of minority societies on the whole.²⁸

The logical consequence was to transfer the call for funding of ethnic minority communities' cultural activities to JSKD. With this, local communities became more involved as well, as regional and local JSKD branches also became part of the discourse. JSKD also agreed to "include the appropriations in their financial planning" of their programme guidelines.²⁹

Before the call was transferred to JSKD in 2010, cultural projects of ethnic minority communities were handled by two institutions, the Ministry of Culture and JSKD, and were funded on the basis of similar programme definitions. With the transfer of the call to JSKD in 2009 and (the first public call was issued in 2010) the collection and evaluation of applied projects was centralised. Since then, ethnic minority communities have been

24 Marjeta Preželj, in discussion with the author, July 10, 2018.

25 Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, July 2, 2019.

26 Bojan Knific, "Smernice društvom manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti," *Folkloristik* 4 (2008): 99.

27 Bojan Knific, "Smernice društvom manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti," 99.

28 Drago Kunej in Rebeka Kunej, "Dancing For Ethnic Roots: Folk Dance Ensembles of Ethnic Minority Groups in Slovenia", *Muzikološki zbornik* 55, no. 2 (2019): 111-131

29 "Sporazum o prenosu pristojnosti vodenja postopkov sofinanciranja kulturnih projektov različnih manjšinskih skupnosti, razen ustavno priznanih narodnih skupnosti in romske skupnosti, in posledično o prenosu finančnih sredstev za izvedbo postopkov z MK na Javni sklad Republike Slovenije za kulturne dejavnosti," 2009, [2].

submitting their projects to JSKD following the call to Public Call for Cultural activities of Ethnic Minority Communities (from here on Etn Public Call) first. However, as in the past, they can also enter the PR Public Call. In addition, in the context of content and organisation “JSKD took over the responsibility for these societies, [private] institutions and creators that preserve the culture of other ethnic minority communities in Slovenia. With this, the last unresolved issue was dealt with; since 2010, JSKD has shouldered the responsibility for all cultural societies and creators equally [in all areas of its operations]”.³⁰ The first visible consequence was seen in the time after 2010, when we can notice a bigger variety of applications, as JSKD started to receive applications from the societies that had not submitted before.³¹

4. Analysis of the content and the categories of the Etn Public Call

Every year JSKD opens call to two (annual) project calls³² that refer to folklore activities. The first one, Public Call for the Selection of Cultural Projects in the Area of Amateur Cultural Activities (PR Public Call³³), selects cultural projects in the area of amateur cultural activities, while the second one, Public Call for Cultural activities of Ethnic Minority Communities and Immigrants in the Republic of Slovenia³⁴ (Etn Public Call);³⁵ invites applications only for the ethnic minority communities’ activities.

As a rule, societies that formally combine various activities (not only cultural but also sports, voluntary initiatives and others) submit applications to the Etn Public Calls. These include projects within the frameworks of the following areas: “music, theatre, folklore, film, dance, fine arts and literature and [project applications] within thematic frameworks that include more than one of the mentioned areas of the amateur cultural activities”, i.e. multi-genre area.³⁶

30 Urška Bittner Pipan, “*Poslanstvo JSKD in prenos skrbi za kulturne ustvarjalce, ki skrbijo za ohranjanje drugih kultur v RS*,” 2010: [1].

31 Marjeta Preželi, “*Analiza prenosa finančnih sredstev in javnega postopka za financiranje kulturnih projektov na področju različnih manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti in priseljencev v RS z Ministrstva RS za kulturo na Javni sklad RS za kulturne dejavnosti v letu 2010*,” ([Ljubljana: JSKD, 2010]: [1]).

32 Apart from the general PR Public Call, JSKD also issues calls for multi-year programmes of societies as well as for other project-focused calls.

33 In 2010 acronym PP was used to refer to the public call. From 2011 on, acronym PR has been in use.

34 Slovenia provides funds for the Italian, Hungarian and Romany communities separately from the funds for other ethnic minority communities and immigrants. The funds for the former communities that are allocated for cultural activities are funnelled through the Ministry of Culture. Consequently, the Etn Public Call does not invite these communities (members of constitutionally recognised minority communities can submit at the Etn call only if they operate outside the bi-lingual areas of the Republic of Slovenia). From the beginning, the purpose of the call has been to support cultural activities of those ethnic communities that do not enjoy the highest, i.e. constitutional protections.

35 “Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019,” JSKD, accessed May 22, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/eticne_skupnosti/etn_19/razpis_etn_19.htm.

36 Multi-genre applications can combine for example elements of literature, traditional music, dance. “Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019,” JSKD, accessed May 22, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/eticne_skupnosti/etn_19/razpis_etn_19.htm.

The introductory definition of the call states:

The subject of the call is co-funding the cultural projects of cultural organisations that are legal persons in private law in the area of ethnic minority communities and immigrants in the Republic of Slovenia and cultural projects of creators who are members of ethnic minority communities and immigrants³⁷ in the Republic of Slovenia with the status of self-employed professionals in culture.³⁸

The subject has remained unchanged throughout the years, as did (mostly) the aims of the Call. The aims, as they were defined from the beginning were: to foster creativity, preservation of cultural identity in line with the expressed cultural needs, presenting creativity to broader public, supporting projects important for the general cultural development of ethnic minority communities, boosting cultural diversity and availability of cultural content and developing quality cultural education programmes.³⁹ Most of the more or less stylistic amendments were added in the Call for 2011. The added integrative goal was more notable. It is formed as “inclusion of ethnic minority communities’ creativity into Slovenian cultural space”.⁴⁰

The call areas include music, theatre, folklore, film, dance, fine arts, literature and a multi-genre area. In addition, the Call determines the forms of the submitted content, i.e. production of an event, post-production of an event (at home or abroad), international co-operation, publishing and education activities. The applications for education activities should specify the age of the target population, the events include “events and workshops for young artists (up to 27 years of age) and events and workshops for children and youth”.⁴¹ In 2011, the Call omitted the preferred age definition.⁴² In 2012, the “post-production of cultural events” was also excluded.⁴³ In 2011, the diction specifying international co-operation was shortened: the former description of “events abroad, tours and exchanges in the international cultural space and organisation of visiting events of renowned amateur artists that are members of minorities in other countries”,⁴⁴ is now shortened into “international co-operation”.⁴⁵ The diction of the Call has otherwise remained the same in all other call areas – be it artistic or production.

The text of the Etn Public Call saw the most amendments in 2011, in the second call issued by JSKD. The reasons for the amendments in criteria and conditions that appeared in the years after that were twofold. It is paramount to take into account the considerations of the members of the evaluation commission; every year the commission

37 Although the diction always includes the formulation “and immigrants” in the Republic of Slovenia, I do not use it in the text as I am primarily interested in ethnic minority communities.

38 “Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019,” JSKD, accessed May 22, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_19/razpis_etn_19.htm.

39 “Javni projektni poziv Etn-2010,” JSKD, accessed July 3, 2019, https://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_10/etn_10_besedilo.htm.

40 “Javni projektni razpis Etn-2011.”

41 “Javni projektni poziv Etn-2010.”

42 “Javni projektni razpis Etn-2011.”

43 “Javni projektni razpis Etn-2012,” JSKD, accessed July 3, 2019. https://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/uvod_etnicne_skupnosti.htm.

44 “Javni projektni poziv Etn-2010.”

45 E.g. “Javni projektni razpis Etn-2011.”

has to consider possible changes that could improve the artistic quality of the groups' and individuals' activities. The amendments also depend on the total financial appropriation: the calls need to meet the available financial resources, which was especially the case in the recession period after 2011. Up until 2014 every society (or individual) could submit no more than six applications and no more than three applications in each individual area.⁴⁶ The call of 2015 reduced the highest amount of applications of one society from six to five.⁴⁷ This number was further reduced in 2016 to four applications per society and the highest number of applications per individual area was also reduced from three to two.⁴⁸

5. Evaluation of project applications submitted to the Etn Public Call and evaluation criteria

At the time the call for cultural projects of ethnic minority activities was still issued by the Ministry of Culture, the applied projects were evaluated by the Expert Commission for Cultural Activities of Special Communities in the Republic of Slovenia.⁴⁹ The commission addressed the needs of the Italian, Hungarian, Romany and other ethnic minority communities, of the German speaking group and of the sensory impaired persons. However, representatives of these communities have never been members of any commission due to their connections within their interest areas. Instead, the commissions were always selected among the experts from the individual fields included in the Call.⁵⁰

As the call was transferred from the ministry to JSKD, a new concept of evaluation commission developed as well. The expert commission for the Etn Public Call differs from the commissions that evaluate project applications submitted to the PR Public Call. Each area in the PR Public Call is evaluated by a separate commission (there are eight commission with three to five members), while the applications submitted by the ethnic minority communities are evaluated by one commission that consists of experts from different fields of expertise. This commission has five members: one member represents the Ministry of Culture (as a representative of the financier and as a link between past public call and the current one), while the other four represent the Call areas.⁵¹ In addition, a representative of JSKD is connected to the commission through the role of the secretary of the commission.⁵² Commission members are well-acquainted with the

46 "Javni projektni razpis Etn 2014," JSKD, accessed July 29, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_14/besedilo_etnicne_skupnosti_14.htm.

47 "Javni razpis Etn 2015," JSKD, accessed July 29, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_15/besedilo_etnicne_skupnosti_15.htm.

48 "Javni razpis Etn 2016," JSKD, accessed July 29, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_16/besedilo_etnicne_skupnosti_16.htm.

49 "Strokovne komisije," Ministrstvo za kulturo, accessed September 20, 2019, <https://www.gov.si/zbirke/delovna-telesa/strokovne-komisije-ministrstva-za-kulturo/>.

50 Marjeta Preželj, in discussion with the author, July 10, 2019.

51 At the moment, the commission consists of two experts from the fields of literature and folklore art, while the other two members are well-acquainted with the activities of ethnic minority communities in general.

52 "Strokovno-programaska komisija za izbor kulturnih projektov na področju različnih manjšinskih skupnosti in priseljencev v Republiki Sloveniji," JSKD, accessed June 12, 2019. http://www.jskd.si/organizacija/posvetovalna_telesa/organizacija_posvetovalna_telesa_spk_manjsine.htm.

work of the cultural societies and the individual artists, so they can spot the weaknesses in the text of the Calls and in the evaluation criteria and can therefore influence any amendments to the Calls.

The project applications submitted to the Etn Public Call are evaluated according to the established criteria from other areas within JSKD, although there are certain deviations. While the general PR Public Call clearly defines the Call areas, the Etn Public Call has a more relaxed approach and does not exclude the accompanying additional content, e.g. traditional cuisine or hand crafts. The scope of programme realised through Etn Public Call is therefore much broader, multicultural and multi-genre from that of the PR Public Call.⁵³ Positive evaluation of project applications that include content not specified in the Call is partly the result of available financial resources. If these were to be reduced, the evaluation criteria would be set higher and applications with additional activities would be evaluated negatively.⁵⁴

A discussion with a member of the evaluation commission supports the conclusion that the available criteria are not objective enough to evaluate the adequacy or inadequacy of project applications in a simple and clear way. Apart from the existing, formulated criteria, specific circumstances of ethnic minority communities are also considered,⁵⁵ which at least partially averts ethnic stratification.⁵⁶ Therefore the evaluation is more demanding compared to that for the general PR Public Call. Those competent for the Etn Public Call are “committed” to the principle of positive discrimination “in order to improve the situation of potentially underprivileged or underprivileged groups”.⁵⁷ The specifics of the minority field require a different approach with regards to content as well as ethics, therefore factors such as the right balance of the approved projects’ among ethnic communities is also considered.

What the call defines as “immigrants” can be a particular issue.⁵⁸ The concept of the “immigrant” is not explained in the call. It is, however, meant to differ the constitutionally recognised and the so called new minorities from the rest of the migration. As such the term “immigrants” can refer to refugees, asylum seekers, and asylum holders. This is a growing community in Slovenian society, which has seen a significant increase in numbers after 2015, when the European immigration wave hit Slovenia as well.

The people responsible for the Etn Public Call had scruples with the “immigrant” segment as the groups in the immigrant communities are usually not formally organised. Nevertheless, Etn Public Call accepts and evaluates applications with the so called “refugee themes”, as the umbrella programme formally supports the cultural activities of these members of Slovenian society as well. The fact that it is difficult to ensure a more permanent formation of performers and audiences creates a problem with organisation and evaluation of the applications with the so called refugee themes. The contenders therefore find it difficult to plan the projects or performances. On the other hand, the

53 Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, July 2, 2019.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 Peter Klinar, “O nacionalni identiteti in etnonacionalizem,” *Teorija in praksa* 31, no. 5-6 (1994): 421.

57 Čurin Radovič, “Analiza stanja na področju kulturnih dejavnosti,” 246.

58 Čurin Radovič uses the wording ‘members of ethnic minority communities’ (Čurin Radovič, “Analiza stanja na področju kulturnih dejavnosti.”).

evaluation commission cannot anticipate the quality or the feasibility of such projects based only on the received application.

6. Financial resources for the Etn Public Call and the project structure

Financial resources for the Etn Public Call comes from the state budget. JSKD receives two separate amounts from the Ministry of Culture: one for the Etn Public Call and one for the general PR Public Call. While the amount allocated to the PR Public Call is (informally) divided among the individual call areas, the Etn Public Call amount is only allocated to individual project applications, regardless of the Call area.⁵⁹ That means that only the scored points of all project applications are considered regardless of the project area; consequently, the call areas are not balanced. The Table 1 (p. 144) shows basic statistic data of Etn Public Call.

The table shows funds appropriated for the cultural activities of ethnic minority communities, first from 1992, when the Ministry of Culture formalised funding for their activities; second from 2010 on, when the Call was transferred to JSKD. The dramatic fall in the funds seen between 2011 and 2016 was due to the economic recession and general austerity measures. The funds did not increase before 2017, and even then only marginally. It is worth mentioning that the amount earmarked for the Etn Public Call was not as reduced as the amount for the general PR Public Call because the funds for special rights that were already provided cannot be taken away.

7. Description of applicants to the Etn Public Call

The Etn Public Call defines the eligible applicants as “cultural societies and their associations, private institutes and other non-governmental organisations with status of legal person in private law and creators with self-employed status in the field of culture that are active in the call area”.⁶⁰ The applicant does not have to be a member of the ethnic minority community, but is required to be active in the area of ethnic minority community. The formulation takes into account the communities of different (national, ethnic) provenance and requires the applicant to have meet the requirements concerning their legal status. Due to relatively relaxed concept, an organisation that is not necessarily active in the field of minority thematic can still submit a project with suitable content. However, the evaluation will take into account the achievements of the previous three years: “the applicant should carry out programmes that foster preservation of special cultural heritage of different ethnic minority communities and immigrants that are consistent with the expressed cultural needs”.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, July 2, 2019.

⁶⁰ E.g. “Javni projektni razpis Etn-2011.”

⁶¹ E.g. “Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019.”

Ministry of Culture Public Call	Available funds	Number of applications	Number of approved programs/projects	Average financial value of a project
1992	EUR 2,086	2	2	EUR 1,043
1993	EUR 4,172	5	5	EUR 1,043
1994	EUR 9,447	5	5	EUR 1,889
1995	EUR 10,015	6	6	EUR 1,669
1996	EUR 9,706	14	14	EUR 693
1997	EUR 12,068	12	5	EUR 1,005
1998	EUR 36,650	42	29	EUR 1,263
1999	EUR 24,937	22	15	EUR 1,662
2000	EUR 42,505	36	27	EUR 1,863
2001	EUR 68,924	37	30	EUR 2,257
2002	EUR 84,622	41	37	EUR 2,063
2003	EUR 75,989	78	47	EUR 1,616
2004	EUR 82,445	82	41	EUR 2,113
2005	EUR 174,707	183	59	EUR 2,961
2006	EUR 193,110	144	60	EUR 3,218
2007	EUR 197,747	160	68	EUR 2,908
2008	EUR 202,691	138	81	EUR 2,502
2009	EUR 217,759	156	119	EUR 1,829
JSKD Public Call				
Etn 2010 ⁶²	EUR 233,000 ⁶³	276 ⁶⁴	168	EUR 1.288
Etn 2011 ⁶⁵	EUR 220,000 ⁶⁶	270	197	EUR 1,065
Etn 2012	EUR 188,000	297	186	EUR 959
Etn 2013	EUR 175,000	309	212	EUR 794
Etn 2014	EUR 161,000	354	237	EUR 643
Etn 2015	EUR 157,600	312	220	EUR 660
Etn 2016	EUR 157,600	255	205	EUR 723
Etn 2017	EUR 160,000	258	220	EUR 716
Etn 2018	EUR 160,000	297	228	EUR 680
Etn 2019	EUR 160,000	269	223	EUR 695

Table 1: Basic statistic data for the calls for cultural activities of ethnic minority communities

62 All the data is taken from the records available at: https://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti, accessed July 3, 2019.

63 This was the first year JSKD issued the call for funding. The amount of funding takes into account the resources of the Public Call for the Selection of Cultural Projects in the Area of ethnic Minority Communities issued by the Ministry of Culture from the previous year (ca. EUR 217,000), and the previous PR Public Call issued by JSKD (ca. EUR 25,000). https://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_10/uvod_etn_10.htm, accessed July 3, 2019.

64 The difference between submitted applications and approved applications takes into account rejected applications.

65 Matej Maček, "Projektni poziv ETN-2011," *Letno poročilo JSKD*, [Ljubljana: JSKD], 2012, 2-3.

66 The amounts have been rounded.

The applicants' structure can be divided into three groups according to their provenance.⁶⁷ The first group consists of the members of ethnic minority communities from former Yugoslav republics. Among them approximately 40% of projects belong to the Serbian societies, followed by projects from Bosnian, Croatian, Macedonian, Albanian and Montenegrin ethnic communities. The second group consists of "other" ethnic minority communities, such as Arabian, African, German, Swedish, Russian and Ukrainian. These two groups of applicants need to be considered separately as they have different historical, cultural and other traditions in Slovenia. This can be seen also from the number of applicants and submissions. The third group consists of transcultural organisations; their activities and membership are not based on identity expression of individual ethnic minority communities. Their activities include voluntarism and topics concerning the issue of refugees and their integration into Slovenian society. By taking part in the call, these organisations aim to implement the cultural rights of the so called "immigrants", they represent individual migrants or migrant communities in Slovenia that have different legal status.

8. Etn Public Call areas and submitted content

The next part of the article aims to present the content of Etn Public Call and the key categories for the formation of project applications. The Etn Public Call allows the ethnic minority societies to submit their applications in the field of folklore, literature, theatre, music, dance, film and fine arts. In addition, it allows them to submit "activities" that include more than one areas of culture at one and the same time.⁶⁸

There are three key call categories: performer carrying out the project content, the project content and the target audience. These categories could be as part of ethnic minority or not as the nature of cultural activities of minority ethnic societies usually intertwines both of them. In the end, the combination of these three categories (as illustrated in the examples of projects below) and to what extent the minority element is present in the individual category depend on the project concept itself.

The General Criteria of the call (Item 8⁶⁹) defines the specifics of all three categories:

1. The applicant; its role is to carry out the "programmes that support the preservation of cultural identity⁷⁰ of ethnic minority communities and immigrants in conformity with the expressed cultural needs".⁷¹ I should mention that the text of the call does not differ between the applicant and the performer (carrier) of the project content. The applicant can also be a performer, but not necessarily.

67 With reference to the Etn Public Call of 2018.

68 E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019," JSKD, accessed May 22, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_19/razpis_etn_19.htm.

69 E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019."

70 Up to 2016 the formulation included another word: "preservation of special cultural heritage". (E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2011.")

71 E.g. "Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019."

2. The public; the content must target “cultural creators, members of ethnic minority communities and immigrants”.⁷²
3. The content (in the text defined as “programme”);⁷³ the content “must derive from the area of amateur cultural activities of creators that are members of ethnic minority communities or immigrants”⁷⁴ and has to present “ethnic minority communities and immigrants”, “supports preservation of [their] cultural identity [...] in conformity with the expressed cultural needs”.⁷⁵

It is impossible to determine what the satisfactory share of “minority” (i.e. content linked to the cultural creation of ethnic minority communities) is in the project application as it is “difficult to define it [...], there is no clear demarcation”.⁷⁶ The evaluation commission needs to individually consider each project, but the fact is that the more minority elements a project includes, the more possibility it has for a positive evaluations.⁷⁷

All three categories of an application must be linked to minority thematic, but they do not have the same gravitas within a project application. The structure of an application, if we try to illustrate it with all three categories, can therefore be quite varied.⁷⁸ The project applications that are the easiest to define contain clear definition of minority belonging in all three categories. This means that the applicant is also the performer organised in an association belonging to an ethnic minority community, it represents the cultural identity of this community and the target audience is a minority community. From this perspective, the project applications that are submitted by folklore societies are easy to evaluate (see Figure 1, p. 147).⁷⁹

Call criteria also allow that the performer of the project content is not a member of an ethnic minority community (see Figure 2, p. 147).

There are also cases when the applicants do not belong to any ethnic minority community, but they are active within the framework of the contemporary migration issues and linked to their cultural creativity – these are often volunteer organisations (see Figure 3, p. 148).

72 Although the key for evaluation is that the content targets the minority public, the call points out one of the conditions, i.e. the integration criterion, according to which all project content that is financed by the public budget provided by JSKD must be available to the general public, the “broader environment”. This is to meet the criterion of integration of “creativity of ethnic minority communities into the Slovenian cultural space”. (E.g. “Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019.”) Although the call aims to foster integration of minority cultures into the majority cultural space, Alma Bejtullahu finds that “regular singing and dancing performances are not very well attended by the members of the relevant minority community and Slovenians rarely take part in these performances. (Alma Bejtullahu, “Glasba in ples narodnih manjšin v Sloveniji: Nacionalna identiteta, eksotika, past stroke,” *Traditiones* 45, no. 2 (2016): 174.

73 E.g. “Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019.”

74 E.g. “Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019.”

75 E.g. “Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019.”

76 Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, Ljubljana, July 2, 2019.

77 Ibid.

78 It is not the purpose of this article to deal with concrete cases of applicants and their project bids; all stated examples only illustrate individual content categories.

79 Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, Ljubljana, July 2, 2019.



Figure 1: Project application for 16. Ethno Festival Hrastnik 2019⁸⁰

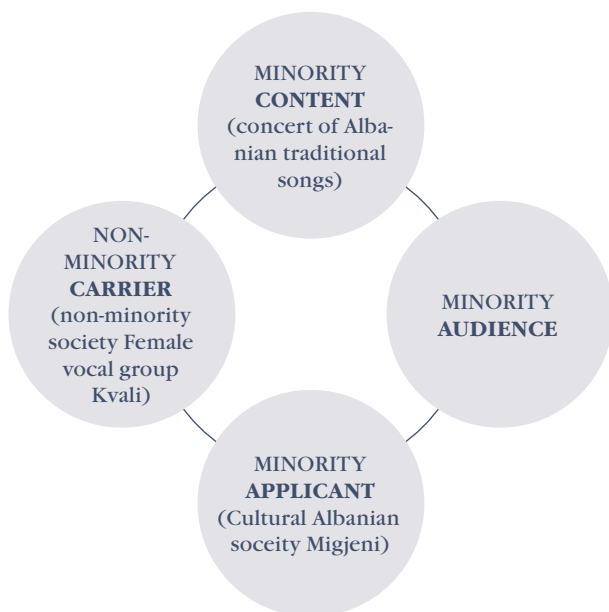


Figure 2: Project application for a concert of Albanian traditional songs⁸¹

80 "16. Etno festival Hrastnik 2019," KRC, accessed, July 29, 2019, https://krc-hrastnik.si/prireditve/5294/16_etno_festival_hrastnik_2019/.

81 "Rezultati, Sprejeti projekti," JSKD, accessed July 29, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_19/rezultati_etn_19.htm.

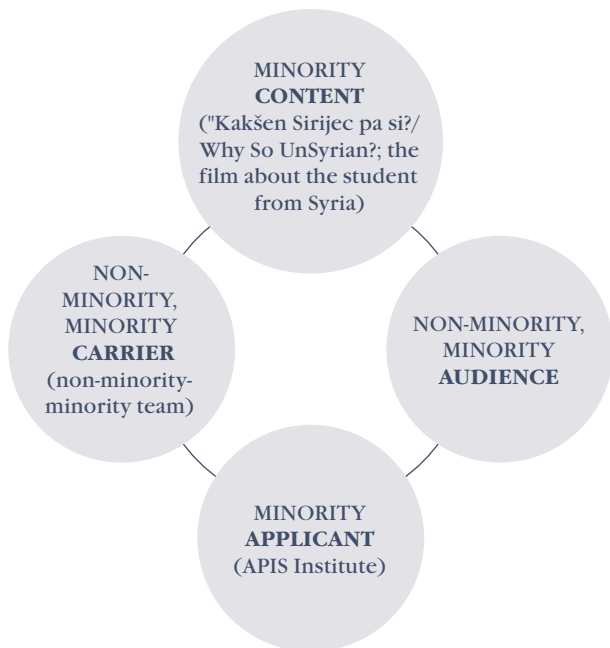


Figure 3: Project application for a film "Kakšen Sirijec pa si? / Why So UnSyrian?"⁸²

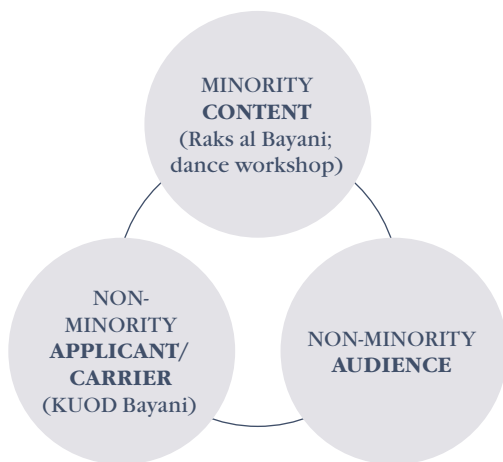


Figure 4: Project application for a dance workshop by Raks al Bayani⁸³

82 Matej Maček, in discussion with the author, August 7, 2019; "Rezultati, Sprejeti projekti," JSKD, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/eticne_skupnosti/etn_19/rezultati_etn_19.htm, accessed, August 7, 2019.

83 "Zavrjnjeni projekti," JSKD, accessed, July 14, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/eticne_skupnosti/etn_18/zavrjnjeni_etn_18.htm

The criteria that requires the content to target the audience of ethnic minority community has its weight. A case of a rejected project application of Arab dance workshop is rather telling. The reasoning was that two categories (the carrier and the audience) did not belong into the minority context. Only the project content did,⁸⁴ but did not meet the other two criteria: preservation of cultural heritage of an ethnic minority community and presentation of content to that same community (see Figure 4, p. 148).

The call form itself does not determine which categories should include the minority elements. Looking into the approved and rejected project applications, we can find that the minority segment is fairly arbitrary in two categories: mostly in the category of applicant or carrier, and partly in the content category. The least forgiving is the category of audience: applications that have been most successful include the kind of programme that is intended for the “creators of culture, members of ethnic minority communities and immigrants”.⁸⁵ It is therefore key that the projects include ethnic minority communities as recipients of the projects’ activities.

Among the key categories, the project content is the most relative. The text of the call contains little criteria that would define content guidelines. Nor does it define in what way the project content should be linked to the relevant ethnic minority community. The call only defines the forms of projects, which should include an event, education or publishing.⁸⁶

Formulations that are linked to the protection of special cultural rights and would help understand the contextual framework of minority projects are rare. For example, one of the strategies dictates preservation of “original ethnicity or special cultural identity”,⁸⁷ which can “actively satisfy cultural needs through amateur activities in various cultural societies and groups that carry additional significance within the relevant ethnic communities because it is based on ethnic context and as such fosters preservation of special ethnic identity”.⁸⁸ The text of the Etn Public Call includes formulations such as encouraging quality of cultural creativity, cultural development and cultural education, preservation of cultural identity and presentation of culture to broader public and integration into the majority’s cultural space.⁸⁹ However, we cannot find specific definition that would determine cultural creativity “on ethnic basis”.

The Etn Public Call is relatively open in the respect to the conceptualisation of the cultural identity of migrants and minorities, since it does not define them exclusively ethnically and enables applying project to the variety of areas and genres of expression. In this way JSKD as a national institution implements the aims of the protection of special cultural rights programme. JSKD takes into account the complexity of culture, the variety of identities and cultural expressions in society, while it successfully avoids

84 Bojan Knific, in discussion with the author, Ljubljana, July 2, 2019; Matej Maček, in discussion with the author, Ljubljana, July 7, 2018.

85 “Ustava Republike Slovenije,” Pravno-informacijski system, 1991, accessed June 12, 2019, <http://pisrs.si/Pis.web/pregledPredpisa?id=USTA1>.

86 E.g. “Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019,” JSKD, accessed August 12, 2019, http://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_19/uvod_etn_19.htm.

87 Čurin Radovič, “Analiza stanja na področju kulturnih dejavnosti,” 232.

88 *Ibid.*, 236.

89 “Javni projektni razpis Etn-2019,” JSKD, accessed August 13, 2019, https://www.jskd.si/financiranje/etnicne_skupnosti/etn_11/uvod_etnicne_skupnosti_11.htm.

limiting culture to its baseline.⁹⁰ When looking strictly at the diction of the call, the content of the submitted projects could include anything, if put within the framework of the relevant call area. However, the submitted applications – especially in areas of music and dance – show that a large share of groups and individuals represent their cultural creativity with practices that (re)create the traditional culture of their country of origin. Members of ethnic minority communities are to follow the standards “that are a far cry from the usual music and dance practices in their countries of origin. These practices then become the representative practices of (any) community or nation that they represent”.⁹¹ Although the Etn Public Call does not require the representation of the minority identity through heritage motifs and elements of ethnic belongings, in the submitted projects those elements are usually equalized with minority ethnic identity. Submitted project contents in areas of music and dance show accustomed feeling of own (ethnic) identities and understanding of the home country’s traditions, although the frames of heritage-characterised identities are a cultural construct. While Etn Public Call remains ethnically neutral, the ethnic minority communities and their projects and activities create a map that is a dichotomy of identities and ethnically territorial constructs.⁹²

9. Conclusion

Etn Public Call allows JSKD to realise goals defined by state on two levels: it distributes budgetary resources for the programme of protection of special cultural rights, more specifically rights that foster cultural creativity of ethnic minority communities on organisational level. By evaluating project applications and through expert evaluation of groups that actively appear at dance and music events organised by JSKD it supports “development of quality programmes in cultural education in the area of ethnic minority communities”.⁹³ The criteria, as defined in the call, and through the use of different strategies enable JSKD to positively contribute to the development of artistic expression of ethnic minority communities in Slovenia. Etn Public Call, although not financially very strong, is one of the ways in which ethnic minority communities and other migrants can exercise their legal rights. In this way, ethnic minority communities and migrants come a step closer to the rights enjoyed by the constitutionally recognised Hungarian, Italian and Romany minorities. With this public call for funding the Slovenian state creates conditions for the implementation of the Slovenian constitutions’ Article 61 about expressing the national belonging.

The analysis of the Etn Public Call texts and of the accompanying documents shows that strategically the call is fairly broad. However, while there are many submissions of

90 Anja Šter, “Konstrukcija identitete manjšin skozi njihovo reprezentacijo v osrednjih dnevnoinformativnih oddajah TV Slovenija” (BA thesis, University of Ljubljana), 35, accessed August 12, 2019, <http://dk.fdv.uni-lj.si/diplomska/pdfs/Ster-Anja.pdf>.

91 Alma Bejtullahu, “Glasba in ples narodnih manjšin v Sloveniji: Nacionalna identiteta, eksotika, past stroke,” *Traditiones* 45, no. 2 (2016).

92 Anja Šter, “Konstrukcija identitete manjšin skozi njihovo reprezentacijo v osrednjih dnevnoinformativnih oddajah TV Slovenija,” 29, 36.

93 E.g. “Javni projektne razpis Etn-2019.”

project applications, the financial value is limited. The funding provided by JSKD therefore represents only a share in the financial structure of a society's activities.⁹⁴ This means that JSKD has only limited expert impact on the societies' activities as these carry out numerous other events apart from those they submit to the Etn Public Call. In this way JSKD's development politics is only partially realised, while the minority societies are more or less integrated into the normative presentations of music and dance traditions of their home countries.

Based on the already defined principles and strategies, JSKD also forms and amends the evaluation criteria in addition to the call implementation. Consequently, JSKD introduces the mechanisms that help guide part of cultural activities of ethnic minority communities, the way they present themselves to the public and forms relationships between the ethnic minority communities and the majority. This article is a contribution to the overview of the actual and archival documentation linked to the Etn Public Call. Its purpose is to establish the basis for further research questions connected to the issues of call implementation and the reciprocal relationship between the call and cultural production of ethnic minority communities.

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⁹⁴ One project can be applied just for one call financed with the budgetary resources, but could be parallel financed via local municipalities and sponsorship funds.

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POVZETEK

V prispevku predstavim zgodovino javnega projektnega razpisa za finančno in strokovno podporo kulturnih dejavnosti manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti v Sloveniji, njihovih ljubiteljskih društev in posameznikov. Nacionalni program, ki uresničuje varovanje posebnih kulturnih pravic manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti in drugih priseljencev, sega v čas nekdanje Jugoslavije, predvsem pa dobiva nove strateške in zakonske okvirje po letu 1991, ko so se po osamosvojitvi Slovenije vzpostavili novi odnosi do manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti. Projektni razpis je bil prvotno v domeni Ministrstva za kulturo, kasneje, po letu 2009, pa v domeni Javnega sklada Republike Slovenije za kulturne dejavnosti. V prispevku analiziram razpisna besedila projektnega razpisa, spremljajočo arhivsko dokumentacijo in upoštevam podatke, pridobljene pri sogovornikih, povezanih z razpisom. V raziskavi so se razkrile

tri kategorije, ki so ključne za projektno prijavo, in sicer izvajalec projektne vsebine, projektna vsebina in občinstvo. Vse kategorije morajo biti vezane na manjšinsko tematiko, vendar v projektni prijavi nimajo vse enake teže. Eden od rezultatov razkriva, da so omenjene tri kategorije realizirane na različne načine in imajo v projektni prijavi ter sami izvedbi projekta različne vloge. Če sta kategoriji prijavitelja (oz. nosilca) in projektne vsebine v razpisu arbitrarni, pa mora biti prejemnik projektne vsebine manjšinsko občinstvo. Kljub temu, da razpisno besedilo tega ne pogojuje, pa je v prijavljenih projektih manjšinskost pogosto enačena z »izvorno etničnostjo«⁶ še posebno v plesnih in glasbenih dejavnostih. V prispevku ugotavljam, na kakšne načine projektni razpis realizira nacionalni program implementiranja varovanja posebnih kulturnih pravic manjšinskih etničnih skupnosti in kako so nacionalne strategije formulirane v diktaciji razpisnega projekta.