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R A Z P R A V E I N Č L A N K I

E S S A Y S A N D A R T I C L E S

TEMATSKI RAZPON, PREOBLIKOVANJE SPOMINA IN KULTURNA IDENTITETA V DELIH LEVA DETELE

Janja ŽITNIK SERAFIN¹

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IZVLEČEK

Tematski razpon, preoblikovanje spomina in kulturna identiteta v delih Leva Detele
Prispevek prinaša tematsko in slogovno analizo Detelovih novejših leposlovnih del (poezije in romana), ki jih je objavil v knjižni obliki v preteklem desetletju (1999–2008). Avtorica v nadaljevanju obravnava nekatere specifične izseljenske/priseljenske literarne produkcije, ki se navezujejo na spomin in kulturno identiteto. Zanima jo, katere od teh specifik je mogoče zaslediti tudi v Detelovem opusu in katere so tiste, ki za njegova dela niso značilne. Prisotnost prvih in odsotnost drugih pojasnjuje s pisateljevo družbeno-kulturno vlogo.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: slovenska književnost, izseljenska/priseljenska književnost, Lev Detela, pripovedna tehnika, poezija, družbeno-kulturna vloga pisatelja

ABSTRACT

Thematic Span, Re-formation of Memory and Cultural Identity in Lev Detela's Works

The article brings a thematic and stylistic analysis of Lev Detela's recent works (poetry and novel), published in this past decade (1999–2008). This is followed by an examination of the presence or absence of those specific characteristics of émigré literature in Detela's works that are linked to memory and cultural identity. The author explains the presence or absence of these specifics by the writer's socio-cultural role.

KEY WORDS: Slovenian literature, émigré/immigrant literature, Lev Detela, narrative techniques, poetry, writer's socio-cultural role

UVOD²

Pred dvema desetletjema mi je pisateljev stanovski kolega iz slovenskega zdomstva iskreno priznal svoje mnenje o leposlovnih delih Leva Detele: »Če prebereš eno Detelovo

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² Članek je delni rezultat aplikativnega raziskovalnega projekta Ustvarjanje spomina in ohranjanje kulturne identitete med slovenskimi izseljenci – financirata ga ARRS in Urad za Slovence v zamejstvu in po svetu – in raziskovalnega programa Narodna in kulturna identiteta slovenskega izseljenstva, ki ga financira ARRS.

delo, si prebral vsa – vse je v bistvu isto.« Ne glede na moje tedanje stališče do takšnega mnenja pa danes Detelov literarni opus omenjene sodbe zagotovo ne vzdrži. Detela je kot literat v tem času namreč prešel mnoge metamorfoze, od avtorja pretežno avantgardistične poezije, kratke proze in dramatike, prek pisca moralističnih esejev (*Duhovni ogenj naj večno gori!*, 1975) in pretežno realističnega, največkrat zgodovinskega romana (*Marijin mojster*, 1974; *Dunajski valček za izgubljeno preteklost*, 1989; *Stiska in sijaj slovenskega kneza*, 44. zvezek Družinskih večernic celovške Mohorjeve založbe, 1989; *Jantarska zveza*, 55. zvezek Družinskih večernic, 1998), pa vse do ustvarjalca zgodovinsko naravnane refleksivne poezije (*Starosvetni spevi*, 1999) in skorajda ekstatično razčustvovane ljubezenske lirike (*Svetloba na škrlatni obali*, 2008) ter izraztito senzualistične zgodovinske proze (*Tri zvezde*, 2008). Prav ta zadnja faza Detelove nenehne ustvarjalne levitve, ki ga je zajela tik pred vstopom v osmo desetletje življenja (2. aprila 2009), je nemara dovolj prepričljivo zagotovilo, da lahko v prihodnjih letih od avtorja pričakujemo še kakšno presenečenje.

In vendar je vse te tako različne, v marsičem celo medsebojno nasprotujoče si stopnje Detelovega pisateljskega razvoja preživela cela vrsta razpoznavnih individualnih značilnosti njegovega celotnega dosedanjega opusa. Med tematske vsekakor sodi kritično razgaljanje družbe in posameznika, med snovne in slogovne pa šokantna provokativnost, ki v vsaki motivno-estetski fazi avtorjeve ustvarjalne poti prevzema nove ekstremne podobe.

Seveda pa je treba nekoliko demantirati tudi zgoraj citirano poenostavljeno sodbo njegovega pisateljskega kolega. Prav vsa dela, ki jih je Detela napisal do leta 1990, seveda ne sodijo v sklop njegove t. i. avantgardistične, v veliki meri eksperimentalne literature z mešanico simboličnih, grotesknih, fantazijskih, ludističnih in mestoma domala hermetičnih ekspresionističnih prvin, s katerimi na svojstven način ubeseduje eksistencialne in esencialne dileme človeka in družbe. V ta sklop sicer zagotovo sodi večina Detelove poezije: *Sladkor in bič* (1969), *Metaelement* (1970), *Legende o vrhovodcih in mesečnikih* (1973), pa mnogo poznejša zbirka *Café noir* (1989), izbor poezije z naslovom *Duh in telo* (1993) in celo najnovejša zbirka *Zvezde, zanke* (2008), prav tako pa tudi večina njegove kratke proze (*Blodnjak*, 1964; *Atentat*, 1966; *Izkušnje z nevihtami*, 1967; *Kraljev kip*, 1970;³ izbor že prej objavljene kratke proze z naslovom *Poslednja gora*, 1991) in dramatike (*Junaštva slamnatega Krpana*, 1965; *Črni mož*, 1969).⁴ Na drugi strani pa je Detela v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih preteklega stoletja med drugim objavil tudi dva zgodovinska in en družbeni roman, pa knjižico duhovnih razmišljanj o sodobnem praznovanju katoliških praznikov⁵ in prvi del svoje avtobiografije, *Časomer življenja* (1987). Vsi ti literarni žanri – kljub mnogim literarnim prvinam, ki si jih v Detelovi izvedbi razpoznavno delijo z njegovimi »avantgardističnimi« besedili – namreč že sami po sebi narekujejo določeno mero realistične podstati in komunikativnosti.

³ Slednjega Hladnik (2000, spletna verzija: 4) – verjetno bolj zaradi podnaslova *Zgodovinski roman* – sicer uvršča med izvirne slovenske zgodovinske romane, vendar pa poudarja, da gre v tem delu za »eksperimentiranje z žanrom«.

⁴ V ta sklop lahko vključimo tudi revijalne objave Detelovih prvih treh iger – *Graščine*, *Generalke* in *Prokrusta* (Hronek 1965).

⁵ Več o tem v Žitnik 1995.

Detelovo literarno produkcijo v prvih treh in pol desetletjih njegove vidnejše ustvarjalne poti (od njegovega knjižnega prvenca leta 1964 do leta 1998) sem predstavila in na kratko tematsko in slogovno razčlenila že v svojih dosedanjih objavah, posvečenih temu pisatelju (Žitnik 1994, 1995, 1999a in 1999b). Po prvem delu svoje avtobiografije, ki jo je Detela objavil pod naslovom *Časomer življenja* leta 1987 v Buenos Airesu in ki naj bi jo kmalu zatem dopolnil drugi del z naslovom »Zapredenina med dvema stoloma« (Žitnik 1999a: 203), je pisatelj po enajstih letih dejansko objavil še eno avtobiografsko delo. Gre za knjigo *Emigrant: Pregnanec med dvema svetovoma: 1960–1990*, ki je izšla pri Novi reviji v zbirki Pričevanja šele leta 1999. Zaradi njenih številnih literarnih zanimivosti in dejstva, »da je pripovedovanje življenjske zgodbe vedno situacijsko in služi nekemu namenu« (Milharčič Hladnik 2007b: 35), pa bom to delo podrobneje obravnavala ob kaki drugi priložnosti.

V tem prispevku bo težišče obravnave torej na literarnih značilnostih drugih Detelovih novejših leposlovnih del (poezije in romana), ki jih je objavil v knjižni obliki v preteklem desetletju svoje pisateljske kariere (1999–2008). Raziskava izhaja iz sistemskih in empiričnih pristopov k obravnavanju književnosti, ki so uveljavili kompleksno obravnavo literarnega sistema (Dovič 2004). V skladu s sodobno metodologijo iskanja povezav ne le med ustvarjalčevim delom in družbeno-kulturnim ozadjem, v katerem je delo nastajalo, temveč tudi med avtorjevimi življenjskimi (socio-kulturnimi) situacijami in njegovo vlogo v določenem literarnem sistemu,⁶ pa bo v zadnjem delu tekla beseda o nekaterih (z določenih družbeno-kulturnih vidikov izseljenstva pojasnenih) literarnih specifikah izseljenskega/priseljenskega slovstva, ki jih je mogoče zaslediti tudi v Detelovih literarnih delih, kot tudi tistih, ki jih bomo v Detelovem delu zaman iskali. Prisotnost enih in odsotnost drugih v Detelovem književnem opusu bom poskušala pojasniti z njegovo družbeno-kulturno vlogo.

POEZIJA

V zadnjem desetletju je Detela razen revijalnih pesniških objav (v Sloveniji največ v reviji *Srp*, v Avstriji pa v nemški literarni reviji *LOG* in drugod) objavil svoje pesmi v štirih samostojnih zbirkah. Leta 1999 je v slovenščini objavil knjižico verzov z naslovom *Starosvetni spevi*. Šest let pozneje je v zbirki *Die Merkmale der Nase* izdal izbor svoje nemške proze in lirike, ki pokriva kar petintridesetletno obdobje (1970–2004), leta 2008

⁶ Tudi za Dovičev raziskovalni pristop je npr. značilen »načelni odmik od (zgolj) tekstualno-interpretativne tradicije, ki je (sociološki) kontekst ne zanima.« (Dovič 2007: 9) Rezultat njegove večletne raziskave prinaša sistematični pregled razvoja vloge literarnega proizvajalca v slovenskem literarnem sistemu, kar mu omogoča tipizacijo pisateljeve družbene vloge. Dovičev pregled namreč »poteka po posameznih fazah, ki jih zastopajo izbrani avtorji in njihove specifične socio-kulturne situacije« (Dovič 2007: 10). Morda bi v tem pogledu lahko našli tudi kako vzporednico z novimi trendi v drugih znanstvenih disciplinah, denimo v etnologiji, etnografiji in kulturni antropologiji. Mikola (2007: 301) meni, da morajo te vede končno »povezati človeške obraze z njihovimi glasovi«.

pa je v Sloveniji objavil še dve zbirki svoje najnovejše poezije v materinščini: *Zvezde, zanke* in *Svetloba na škrlatni obali*.

Lirsko-epska zbirka *Starosvetni spevi*, ki je izšla leto dni za Detelovim zgodovinskim romanom *Jantarska zveza*, predstavlja pesniški pripev k temu romanu, s čimer se po vsebini bistveno razlikuje od prejšnjih. Sestavlja jo 23 spevov, v njih pa se zrcalijo stiske in uspehi junakov *Jantarske zveze*. Pripoveduje o času in njegovih nepredvidljivih zasukih (Prvi in Drugi spev), o zatrti domovini, suženjstvu, duhovnem genocidu: »Molče možje. A brez miru / skoz njihov molk / jim duše muči žgoč nemir. // ,Oh duše naše... Zakaj / sramotno nas more?« (Tretji spev) Verzi pojejo turobno zgodbo o vojakih, osvajalnih vojnah in sovraštvu, »kjer v bledi luči dneva / živi le vojske čas...« (Četrti spev) Poleg Vergila in Cezarja ter ljudstva pod rimskim jarmom so v središču iskalci jantarja, znanilci obdobja svobode: »Oko jim boža dragocenost, / sijajen je svobode vek!« (Peti spev) »Prepojeni z vonjem po smrekah in borih / bomo potovali skozi čas in prostor, / da bi domov prinesli dragocenost, / ki jo je sonce izjokalo ob tiste daljne obale.« (Osmi spev) Svet bodo napolnili s konji in vozovi, žitom, vinom, jantarjem in petjem o ljubeznivostih ob domačem ognjišču (Osmi spev). Pesmi pripovedujejo o Cezarjevi osamljenosti (Petnajsti spev) in Vergilovem kulturnem dezertertstvu: »Rad bi ohranil doživetja / dedov vnukom tu in zdaj, / vendar se je izgubil v svetu / in ne ve za rojstni kraj.« (Sedemnajsti spev) Seveda so v knjižici *Starosvetni spevi* kljub zgodovinski vpetosti njene vsebine brez izjeme upesnjene zgolj brezčasne teme.

Zbirka pa se ne razlikuje od prejšnjih le po vsebini, temveč tudi po formi. V nekaterih pesmih se namreč nenadoma pojavi bodisi rima brez doslednega ritma (občasna rima je sicer značilna tudi za njegove zgodnejše zbirke) ali pa brezhlebnost metrika brez rime, kakršne v prejšnjih Detelovih zbirkah ne bomo našli. Tak primer je, denimo, menjavanje jambskega enajsterca z desetercem v Prvem spevu: »Že pade senca na zaprta vrata, / sneg zatrepče skozi gluhi mir: / odsev snegá mi v blodno dušo sveti, / ko teče grešni čas od vrat do vrat.« Objava knjižice v »reformirani bohoričici« pa daje zbirki še nekaj dodatne zgodovinske patine.

Leta 2008 je Detela v Ljubljani izdal novo pesniško zbirko *Zvezde, zanke*. Kot rečeno, tudi ta zbirka v mnogih pogledih sodi v sklop t. i. »avantgardistične poezije«, ki zaznamuje njegova zgodnejša dela – od pesniškega prvenca *Sladkor in bič* (1969) do poznejših zbirk *Café noir* (1989) in *Duh in telo* (1993). Zbirko sestavlja 48 pesmi, osrednje mesto v zbirki pa ima pesnitev *Sedemglavec*, povzeta po dvajset let starejši zbirki *Café noir*, kjer je objavljena pod naslovom *Sedmoglavec*. S to pesnitvijo avtor posega v območje ekologije, a tudi daleč prek njenih meja v najširše dimenzije narave in človeškega duha. *Sedemglavec* je drevo na nekdanjem Detelovem vrtu, drevo pa je »osrednji simbolično-metaforični fenomen v bujnem imaginiranju Detelove poetike« (Antič 2008b: [7]).

Teme zbirke so smrt (Prva zvezda), nezvestoba (Zanke), samospoznanje (Pod srpom nespodobnega meseca), zmeda sedanosti vs. nostalgija (Spanje), upor proti minljivosti (Razsežnost voska) in podobno. Sporočilo cikla *Starovenetski hieroglifi* (str. 23–26) je spoznanje, da za življenje in poezijo ni racionalne razlage. V pesmi *Sinjebodri* spomin se odraža pesnikovo malodušje ob hitri minljivosti sive sedanosti (»ta neusmiljeni

zakon / gravitacije!«), ki le navzven spominja na »tisto davno življenje«. V zbirko znova vstopa tudi za Detelo najznačilnejša figura Očeta – Tirana (»Strogo me je pogledal: / Že znaš poštevanko na pamet?«), vendar se tu v očetu zrcalijo obžalovanje, osamljenost in izgubljenost (Hribolazci). Pesem Privid pa pripoveduje o nesorazmerju med silovito, vse življenje trajajočo umetniško strastjo in vseobsegajočo ljubeznijo do ustvarjanja na eni strani ter »plačilom« na drugi strani: »na koncu pa državna nagrada / ta preluknjana pločevinasta svetinja / blagega sveta / ki ga ni«. Sporočilna hermetičnost po formi ludiistične, po vsebini pa razpoloženske pesmi Odrešilna beseda izziva bralčevo domišljijo in radovednost: kakšni občutki lahko pesnika privedejo do tega, da jo napiše? Osamljenost? Neslišanost? Pozabljenost? Morda vse troje kulminira v trenutek skrajnega obupa, ki v pesmi eskalira domala do suicidalnega razpoloženja, tega pa končno le nekoliko ublaži edini odziv – črčikova pesem.

V zbirki prevladuje prosti verz z občasno rimo, torej v slogu precejšnjega dela avtorjeve zgodnejše poezije, pa tudi s še vedno značilno, pesniku lastno metaforiko. Slednja poleg množice izvirnih prisodob vključuje tudi nekatere stalnice, kot so noč (Prva zvezda, Spanje, Nočna litanija), mesec (Nočna litanija, Pod srpom nespodobnega meseca), zvezda (Prva zvezda, Napačni sonet, Starovenetski hieroglifi) ali delfini (Napačni sonet, Starovenetski hieroglifi), vse pa se odpirajo v domiselne nove asociacije. Z jezikovno-slogovnega vidika izstopa pesem Pes, posrečen zvočno-ritmični eksperiment, ki si ga lahko razlagamo tudi kot alegorijo duhovnega zatiranja: »kaj vidati tu vidati / ti pes grizati / tu kost grizati / nič tu vidati / pridno grizati / kost grizati / pes tu pridno grizati // nič vidati kuš / kost grizati čuš«.

Čeprav je naslednja Detelova pesniška zbirka – *Svetloba na škrlatni obali* – izšla hkrati s pravkar obravnavano *Zvezde, zanke*, je že na prvi pogled jasno, da je nastala pozneje kot slednja. Med njima je namreč za cel vek vsebinskega in oblikovnega prepada, četudi ju povezuje vrsta razpoznavnih posebnosti Detelove poetike. Tudi v tej zbirki prevladuje prosti verz z občasno rimo, npr. v 6. pesmi Kratke potamologije in v SMS-spevih. Slednji prehajajo iz prostega verza in popolne aritmije prek občasne rime in rahlo nakazane metrike do strogih štirivrstičnic z doslednim trohejem in prestopno rimo (SMS-spev 36), nato pa spet v prostejši verz. Neobremenjenost s formo se še posebej kaže v poljubni rabi metrike v »hibridnih oblikah«, v katerih sta zaporedna ali prestopna rima in ritem še vedno prisotna, a sta oba nedosledna (SMS-spevi 38, 39, 41), sproščena, tako rekoč spontana.

V zbirki je 65 pesmi, razvrščenih v pet razdelkov. Razen cikla »Kratka potamologija, vendar v dvanajstih etudah« so vse pesmi ljubezenske. Podobno kot je cikel Sedemglavec iz *Zvezd, zank* posvečen drevesu, je omenjeni cikel posvečen reki. Tudi tu izstopa ekološki motiv: »In spet bomo slepi za mrtve ribe, / ki jih bo strupeni tok gnal / proti Črnemu morju / v padcih in vrtincih / z izbuljenimi očmi« (11. pesem Kratke potamologije). Mračna 8. pesem iz tega cikla pripoveduje o tem, da je človek reki vzela svobodo, življenje v njej ugaša, saj je kruto odrezana od narave. Človek jo je živo zazidal v beton (4. in 8. pesem) in pesnik se poskuša vživeti v njeno bolečino: »Vse smo pozabili. / Nič ne vemo ne o živi vodi / ne o drevesu življenja. /.../ Zato sem tako žalosten...« (10. pesem) Vendar je reka pesniku vir nešteti asociacij, predvsem pa v njem vzbuja najrazličnejša razpoloženja

in občutke, od hrepenenja po ljubljeni (»Tu ob reki te bom objel, / ob deročih valovih te bom vzel«, 6. pesem) do splošnega razočaranja, zaskrbljenosti in celo svetobolja. Tako kot Gregorčič tudi Detela vidi v reki poslanko, vendar »z večsmernim poslanstvom«, ki pa gluhomememu, od narave odtujenemu človeku ostaja skrivnost: »Tišina bo preglasna / in ne boš slišal skrivnosti reke« (2. pesem).

Kot rečeno, so vse druge pesmi v zbirki, ki jo spremlja posvetilo »Za Mojco Petrovič Gätz«, ljubezenske. Pri tem pesnik odločno preseka večdesetletno prakso šokantnega, kolikor mogoče izvirnega avantgardizma svoje dotedanje ekspresionistične lirike, saj nenadoma seže po celi vrsti klasičnih primerjav: »S tabo, živooka skrivnost, / bi poletel kot orel / na konec sveta, / moja bela golobica!« (SMS-spev 6) Ljubljena je »kot glasba«, »zvezda jutranjica«, njene oči so »dva smaragda« in njegova ljubezen je večna: »Ali veš, / da tvoj sij v mojem srcu ne more nikoli ugasniti?« (SMS-spev 2) »Če izgubim tebe, / izgubim sebe.« (SMS-spev 35) Tako kot v *Zvezdah*, *zankah* je tudi v tej zbirki zvezda med osrednjimi prisposodobami: »Si zvezda, / ki zasveti iznenada, kot iz sanj« (SMS-spev 2); »Tista nova zvezda, / svetla, z vrha svetov, / je samo zate. /.../ Tvoja odkrita beseda / je zvezda na najini poti.« (SMS-spev 8) V tem ciklu kulminirata optimizem in vznesečnost kot protiutež mračnejšim razpoloženjem v II. delu zbirke (Kratka potamologija) in neizpoljenosti ljubezni v Baladi kresne noči: »V modrini neskončnega neba / odkrivava prave besede: / upanje, sreča, ljubezen.« (SMS-spev 29)

Ljubezenska motivika se nadaljuje tudi skozi zadnji cikel z naslovom »Rdeči bor (verzi s potovanj in sprehodov)«. Potovanja in sprehodi so za pesnika predvsem priložnost za introspektivno razčlenjevanje svojih novih emocij ter neskončnega niza asociacij med prebujeno ljubeznijo in slikovitimi zunanjimi vtisi: »Pod večer sem mlad pirat / v mesečini starega piratskega otoka / zjutraj galeb pod oblaki Alcudie / morda veter nad mavrskimi slavoloki Palme / toda vedno s teboj« (Večer na piratskem otoku); »Rim je golob / z oljčno vejico v kljunu, / in ti, moja draga, / si vesela golobica« (Lesk med kamnitimi oboki). V predzadnji pesmi pa se pesniški subjekt pojavi že kar v dvojnini: »Fado je / kot kozarec zdravilne vode. // Čutiva te. / Tvoje srce ni mrtvo, Lizbona.« (Mesto izgubljenih morjeplovcev) Zbirka se zaključuje v skrajno vznesenem trubadurskem slogu: »Najlepša deklica / ob zlati reki, / kjer sladke rože svatovsko cvetijo, / me slišiš peti?« (Lilija na nočni poti) Tudi Antič (2008c: 10) ugotavlja: »Nekdanji mračni avantgardist zdaj v ciklu *Ljubezenski SMS* z vedro odkritosrčnostjo nagovarja svojo pozno ljubezen, brez zadrege zaradi tega novodobnega trubadurstva.« Prav to pa je tista značilnost njegove zadnje pesniške zbirke, ki jo – kljub kontinuirani ekspresivnosti iz prejšnjih zbirk – nedvomno postavlja v neko novo območje Detelove poetike.

ROMAN

Med Detelovima romanoma *Jantarska zveza* (1998) in *Tri zvezde* (2008), ki oklepata pravkar obravnavano dekada pisateljevega ustvarjanja, je resda preteklo le desetletje, ki pa predstavlja mnogo daljši doživljajski in literarno-estetski preskok, kot pa se mu je zgodil,

denimo, v desetletju med *Blodnjakom* (1964) in *Legendami o vrvohodcih in mesečnikih* (1973). Bistvene značilnosti njegovih dotedanjih pesniških zbirk, kratke proze in dramatike ter več kot le subtilne razlike med njimi sem analizirala že v svojem članku o prvih treh desetletjih Detelovega leposlovnega dela (Žitnik 1994) in v poglavju o povojni slovenski zdomski književnosti na Dunaju (Žitnik 1999a). Na tem mestu pa želim z glavnimi razlikami in vzporednicami na kratko razčleniti razvoj Detelovega pripovednega načina, tehnike in slogovnih značilnosti tudi na področju romana.

Stalnica Detelovega zgodovinskega in družbenega romana je kombinacija zgodovinske oziroma sodobne realnosti na eni strani ter fikcije na drugi strani. V njegovih romanih, ki se odvijajo v določenem historičnem kontekstu, nastopa poleg realnih zgodovinskih osebnosti še cela vrsta izmišljenih likov, med katerimi so pogosto celo glavni protagonisti zgodbe. Prvoosebno pripoved in izpoved osrednjega lika romana *Marijin mojster* (1974) v naslednjih dveh romanih, ki sta izšla petnajst let pozneje, zamenja vse bolj zapletena posredna pripovedna tehnika. V *Dunajskem valčku za izgubljeno preteklost* (1989) je pripovedovalec sodobni slovenski arhivar, ki se večkrat mudi v dunajskih arhivih. V naslednjem romanu z naslovom *Stiska in sijaj slovenskega kneza* (1989) pa nastopita že kar dva posredna pripovedovalca. Osnovo zgodbe namreč predstavlja izmišljeno poročilo starega irskega meniha, ki so ga solnograški predstojniki poslali širit krščansko vero med Slovenci. Fabulo prekinjajo pogovori med sodobnima študentoma Rastkom in Črtomirjem, ki potujeta po Koroški in komentirata njeno zgodovino. Tako ima zgodba kar dva posredna pripovedovalca: pisatelj sam govori skozi Rastkova usta, ta pa navaja spomine starega duhovnika.

Tudi bistvene razlike med prvoosebno pripovedjo srednjeveškega slikarja v *Marijinem mojstru* in na prvi pogled enako pripovedno tehniko v *Dunajskem valčku* ob pozornejšem razmisleku nikakor ni mogoče spregledati. Osnovna tema slikarjeve pripovedi in izpovedi v prvem Detelovem romanu je namreč stiska izvirnega umetniškega ustvarjanja, družbena nerazumljenost vsakršne posebnosti, ki sega prek uveljavljenih vzorcev splošnih predstav o umetnosti. In čeprav slikar v svoji pripovedi razkriva tudi druge teme, predvsem človeka nevredno življenje srednjeveških tlačanov na območju današnje Slovenije ter duhovno omejenost sodnikov, ki odločajo o slikarjevi usodi, pa osrednji lik romana vendarle pripoveduje svojo lastno življenjsko zgodbo. Na drugi strani pa v *Dunajskem valčku* osrednji lik (slovenski arhivar) ne pripoveduje svoje življenjske zgodbe, temveč zgodbo o usihajočem svetu evropskega plemstva. Ta zgodba se razkriva skozi bežno epizodo v pripovedovalčevem življenju, razdrobljeno v njegova drobna fragmentarna doživetja od časov pred drugo svetovno vojno do leta 1982. O samem pripovedovalcu izvemo bore malo, kot lik ostaja v senci dejanskih protagonistov romana – grofa Sternberga, njegove družine in plemstva, s katerim se pripovedovalec seznanja prek grofove družine. V *Marijinem mojstru* je torej prevladujoča prvoosebna pripoved, ki se le mestoma izmenjuje s tretjeosebno, prepričljivo neposredna: pripovedovalec (ali bolje: izpovedovalec) namreč izpoveduje svojo lastno zgodbo. V *Dunajskem valčku* pa je prvoosebna pripoved pravzaprav posredna: arhivar sicer opisuje svoja doživetja in vtise, vendar z njimi pripoveduje zgodbo o drugih, pri čemer ostaja predvsem opazovalec in poročevalec. Kot rečeno, je

Detela istega leta uporabil posredno pripoved tudi v romanu *Stiska in sijaj slovenskega kneza*, le da jo je v slednjem še precej bolj zapletel. Z vključitvijo še drugega, dodatnega posredovalca (sodobnega študenta Rastka), ki posreduje poročilo prvega posredovalca (starodavnega meniha), morda poskuša avtor premostiti časovni prepad med obdobjem, v katerem poteka zgodba (8. stoletje), in sedanjostjo, s čimer verjetno želi njeno vsebino na svojstven način približati današnjemu bralcu.

V naslednjem Detelovem romanu, *Jantarski zvezi* (1998), je pripovedna tehnika klasično tretjeosebna in v pretekliku, kar bistveno olajša sledenje preskokov med junaki prepletajočih se zgodb.⁷ Pripovedna tehnika novega Detelovega zgodovinskega romana *Tri zvezde* pa spet predstavlja določeno novost v okviru njegovega romanopisja, o čemer bo tekla beseda v nadaljevanju.

Roman *Tri zvezde: Roman o celjskih grofih in Veroniki Deseniški* je Detela objavil leta 2008 v dveh obsežnih knjigah (skupaj skoraj 600 strani). Književnik Ivo Antič (2008a: [9]) med drugim ugotavlja naslednje:

Detelov »genius loci« osnovno fabulo iz Valvasorja ob korektnem upoštevanju »faktov« iz zgodovinskega konteksta nadgrajuje z istim ekspresivno poetičnim »štajerskim temperamentom«, odprtim tako na Zahod kot na (balkanski) Vzhod, kakor je navzoč v njegovih pesmih. Ne gre za scottovsko-finžgarjevski zgodovinski roman; zgodovina je tu z romaneskno zgodbo, ki se ohlapno zarisuje skozi niz fragmentov, predvsem prostor poetične metafore in »užitka v pisavi« brez vsake idealizacije, v smislu naslova poglavja *Strah, tema, ljubezen*: srednjeveška krvava baladičnost, pohlep, razvrat, surovost, ob nebrzdani mesenosti obsesivna pobožnost in vizionarni vzleti, fevdalni karierizem, Friderikova subverzija zoper diktatorskega očeta Hermana z zastrupitvijo prve žene in s poroko z »lepo čarovnico« Veroniko – vse je delirični »circulus vitiosus« v grozljivem blodnjaku brez obvladljivo razvidne meje med lepim in grdima, resničnim in prividnim, osebnim in očetovsko-rodovnim (der Genuss – genus – gnus). /.../ Širina zmeraj navzočega Detelovega »integralizma«, ki iz literarne prakse ne izganja nobenega vidika med avantgardizmom in »večernicami« /.../, pri tem pa zmeraj ostaja v identitetnem obzorju lastne poetične vizije, se v *Treh zvezdah* zaokroži in razraste v mogočno prozno poemo – roman o (dveh) celjskih grofih in Veroniki Deseniški. So tri zvezde v celjskem grbu – Herman, Friderik in med njima Veronika?

Za Detelov roman *Tri zvezde* so torej značilni izraziti slogovni preskoki, ki sodijo v kontekst Detelovega »integralizma«, kot Antič imenuje Detelovo snovno, tematsko, motivno in slogovno odprtost. Iz poglavja v poglavje se namreč izmenjuje kar nekaj medsebojno kontrastnih pripovednih načinov, ki avtorja vodijo k najrazličnejšim stilističnim menjavam. Tako iz prevladujoče realistično deskriptivne tretjeosebne pripovedi v sedanjiku

⁷ Hladnik (2000, spletna verzija: 5) uvršča to delo v sklop »slovenskega antičnega zgodovinskega romana«, »s katerim bo mogoče, potem ko dobimo v roke še kakšen podoben izdelek, začeti serijo venetskih zgodovinskih romanov.« Hladnik omenja to Detelovo delo tudi v svojem prispevku Slovenski zgodovinski roman (http://lit.ijs.si/zgr_dons.html).

učinkovito izstopa cela vrsta liričnih vložkov, bodisi v obliki čustveno in senzualno nabutih izlivov Friderikove brezizhodne ujetosti v zanko usodne ženske ali obratno, Veronikinih izlivov njene čutne uročenosti od Friderikovih čarov, pa Hermanovih variacij na temo soočanja z lastnim strahom pred smrtjo in podobno. Posebno vrsto liričnih vložkov pa predstavljajo kratka poglavja poetične proze, ki z zvočnimi in ritmičnimi učinki, ponavljanjem in notranjo rimo na svojstveno ekspresiven način izpovedujejo, denimo, Elizabetino stisko (I. knjiga, str. 163–164):

Zato ta bes, rdeč kot kres... Z rdečim nožem v roki na hitrem plesu z desetimi uroki.
Zato zunaj dežuje besni glas. Zato se v gradu začenja glasni ples. Zato potres. Ti glas! Zato je tu Marija in z njo vsa *grajska svinjarija*. Zato z razmršenimi lasmi stoji z nožem v roki na ves glas. Zato ta nož in kri na glas. Zato tako čudno doni grozni glas. Zato ta ples, kot hudi kres in bes in glas in svinjarija, ki ubija...

Ali pa, denimo, Veronikine sanje (I. knjiga, str. 211–212; v istem slogu tudi v II. knjigi, str. 313–314): »Sanja črno dolino s črnimi dušami in črnimi pastmi. Črne vode se vale čez pokrajino, v kateri je dan bolj črn od črnega večera in najtemnejše noči. Sanja, da se sredi sveta premikajo sence črnih ljudi. Njihova strast je črna, njihova kri temnejša od črne vode...« Tu in tam avtor poseže po besedni igri, da bi z njo ilustriral igrivost prizora (I. knjiga, str. 213): »Blago njene obleke se nesramežljivo dotika nedotike in netreska, nesramno rogovili med rogolisti.« Z robato, burkasto rimo pa na drugem mestu doseže tragikomičen efekt (II. knjiga, str. 437–438):

Ja, Friderik ve, da je glava nezdrava. Ve, da njegova glava sploh ni več prava. / Ja, Friderik ve, da ves svet gori. In po grajskem stolpu teče kri. / Po vseh celjskih kotih pokajo kosti. /.../ Ja, Friderik ve, da bo zažgal graščino. In ve, da bo iz vseh sodov steklo vino. / Dobro ve, da ga bolijo kosti, ker glava strašno gori. / Ah, ta svet je gnusna zmešnjava. / Friderik, kje je zdaj tvoja uboga glava!

Osnovni tekst se nekako v tretjinskem ali četrtninskem deležu omejuje na podrobne, provokativno žive naturalistične opise seksualnih fantazij, erotičnih prediger, spolnih aktov in razvratnih orgij velike večine nastopajočih likov, s čimer se delo vsaj v tem segmentu zagotovo uvršča med parodije. Domiselnost vedno novih formulacij namreč v končni fazi klone pred neobvladljivo količino tovrstnega dogajanja, to pa kajpak vodi v neizogibno ponavljanje. V parodijo pa prehajajo tudi nekateri drugi tematski segmenti zgodbe, denimo prizor, v katerem puščavski brat Tomaž, pobegli menih, skupaj z bratom Bonifacijem poziva obubožane tlačane k punktu (I. knjiga, str. 129–133). Med drugim opozarja, da

je treba poskrbeti, da se v skupnem okolju od zdaj naprej nihče več ne povzpne nad svojega bližnjega ... Strogo je treba paziti, da ostanemo vsi enaki ... Lastnine ne bo več ... Bog je vse dobrine zastonj daroval vsem bitjem na zemlji ... Nihče nima pravice, da s tem božjim premoženjem trguje in se na račun vsemogočnega Boga okorišča na škodo ljudske skupnosti z dobrinami veličastnega stvarstva, ki je

dodeljeno vsem in nikomur ... Saj je v resnici le od Boga ... / Srditi puščavnik /.../ na koncu še pove, da so moški in ženske od zdaj naprej v vsem popolnoma enakopravni in enakopravne. Zato bodo vsi in vse za vsa svoja dejanja v dobrem in slabem enako odgovorni in odgovorne.

Fabula je zgrajena iz kronološko zaporednih fragmentov, ki – deloma tudi zaradi uporabe sedanjika – spominjajo na dramske prizore (scene). Občasni preskoki v preteklost v obliki spominov in sanj služijo bodisi kot fabulativna dopolnila ali karakterna pojasnila. Vsebinsko večplastna, kompleksna pripoved, ki vendarle zavzema večji del romana v narativnem načinu, pa se mestoma dejansko zreducira na didaskalije in bralec je nenadoma prestavljen iz romana v odrsko delo (I. knjiga, str. 271–273):

Ženska v temnem plašču in kapuci v ozki čumnati. Z belo kristalno kocko v roki. Visi z glavo čez mizni rob. /.../ Se ziblje z gornjim delom telesa sem in tja. Se zravnava. Postavi kocko na sredo mize. Prižge svečo. Jo porine h kocki in k vrču z blagoslovljeno vodo. Zasuka glavo proti trem visokim posodam na drugi strani mize. /.../ Prime stekleničko z zeleno tekočino. Jo naliva v desno posodo. Dvigne vrč z blagoslovljeno vodo. Jo pretaka v manjšo posodo. Premika kocko čez vijoličasti prt na levi strani mize. Dvigne posodico z rdečo vsebino. Jo toči pod svečo med kocko in vrčem z blagoslovljeno vodo v glavno posodo...

Avtor uporabi dramaturško tehniko tudi s klasično vključitvijo dveh komentatorjev osrednjega dogajanja, ki običajno prevzemata že nekoliko obrobnejšo vlogo zbora iz poznejših velikih del starogrške dramatike (primerjaj spreminjajočo se vlogo zbora npr. v Sofoklovih (1962) in Evropidovih (1960) tragedijah). V *Treh zvezdah* ju utelešata pesnik Dangeroz in magister Carolus Gregorius Carniolus. Tudi tu gre za dva groteskna posebneža, robata, vendar svetovljansko razgledana pijanca, ki si v zakajenih zakotnih krčmah prek dialoga ob kislem vinu pripovedujeta manjkajoče dele osrednje zgodbe, že znane dogodke pa komentirata s svojega bolj ali manj karikiranega zornega kota. S svojimi tragikomično obarvanimi interferencami seveda med drugim prispevata tudi k vtisu neomejene kompleksnosti resnice.

In prav to, kompleksnost resnice, je ena najpomembnejših rdečih niti Detelovega pripovedništva, od *Marijinega mojstra* pa vse do njegovega najnovejšega romana. Detela slika neomejeno kompleksnost resnice s svojo prav temu cilju prilagojeno pripovedno tehniko, namreč s prepletanjem prikazov, izpovedi, pripovedi in komentarjev, s katerimi ruši prejšnje resnice in gradi nove, da bi jih spet zrušil in nakazal možnost še drugačnih. Takšen kolaž fabulativnih fragmentov, sestavljen iz dramatičnega prikazovanja, izpovedovanja, pripovedovanja in komentiranja, ki se v *Marijinem mojstru* pojavlja šele v prvih sledovih, pa prav v *Treh zvezdah* doseže svoj vrhunec.

DETELA IN NEKATERE SPECIFIKE IZSELJENSKEGA/ PRISELJENSKEGA SLOVSTVA

Čeprav v Sloveniji rojeni dvojezični zdomski pisatelj Lev Detela že od leta 1960 živi in ustvarja v Avstriji, se v svojih romanih vedno znova vrača k slovenski zgodovini in kulturni dediščini. Pri tem pa si za literarno snov najpogosteje izbira prav tiste dele slovenske zgodovine, ki se kar najtesneje prepletajo z avstrijsko. V ta okvir vsekakor sodita zgodba o vladavini zadnjega slovenskega pogankega kneza Boruta in širjenju krščanske vere med koroškimi Slovenci (*Stiska in sijaj slovenskega kneza*) ter zgodba o avstrijskem plemstvu v Sloveniji, ki je bilo po drugi svetovni vojni pregnano na Dunaj (*Dunajski valček za izgubljeno preteklost*). Tudi zgodbi celjskih grofov Hermana in Friderika se v Detelovem tekstu *Tri zvezde* nenehno prepletata z Dunajem in Habsburžani. S tem pisatelj ohranja tisti del slovenske literarne tradicije, v katerem se najslikoviteje zrcali zgodovinska povezanost njegovih dveh domovin.

Podobno ustvarjalno motivacijo, namreč težnjo k zgodovinski in kulturni, pa tudi osebno-doživljajski sinergiji obeh domovin, ki je na prvi pogled opaznejša v Detelovih pripovednih delih kot v njegovi poeziji in dramatik, čeprav se odraža tudi v slednjih dveh, lahko zasledimo pri številnih slovenskih izseljenskih piscih, pa tudi med priseljenskimi književniki in književnicami v Sloveniji. Nekateri – zlasti v liriki – povezujejo svoj izvorni prostor z drugim domom prek intimnega procesa spajanja spominov z novimi izkušnjami. Tako, denimo, dvojezična hrvaškoslovenska pesnica Mila Vlašić Gvozdić, ki prihaja iz Hercegovine, že v podnaslovu, še bolj pa v verzih svoje tretje pesniške zbirke *Pesmi za prijatelje: Tečem s srcem Neretve in Soče* (1986) zliva estetsko in emocionalno energijo dveh svetov, dveh rek, dveh kultur v »generator« neke nove literarno-estetske izkušnje.

Reka je (poleg univerzalnega neba) pri znotrajceljskih izseljenskih piscih tudi sicer najznačilnejši simbolični povezovalni element, ki pa ga pri medceljskih izseljenskih avtorjih še večkrat predstavlja morje. Drava teče skozi obe Detelovi domovini in se pri Osijeku izliva v Donavo. S tem sta simbolično povezani obe skrajni sidrišči Detelove življenjske usode: Maribor in Dunaj. Vendar asociacija med obema rekama ne prinaša vselej občutka povezanosti prostora, kontinuiranosti časa, enovitosti usode. Učinek asociacije je lahko tudi ravno nasproten. In če je tako, potem asociacija ne prinaša blagodejnega, tolažečega občutka povezanosti s preteklostjo, temveč boleče spoznanje, da so vezi s preteklostjo za vselej pretrgane.

V Detelovem *Dunajskem valčku* je Donava vir asociacij med obema pisateljema domovinama. Slovenskega arhivarja, pripovedovalca zgodbe, reka spomni na rojstno Dravo (str. 6): »Zamol klo klotanje Donave me je spomnilo na radostno žuborenje Drave.« Ta asociacija mu priključuje živ spomin na nekdanji grad ob Dravi, kjer je živel grof Sternberg z družino. Ko na jeklenem dunajskem mostu čez Donavo sreča grofovo hčerko Ano Marijo, ki topo strmi v vrtince pod seboj, jo ogovori in ji pove, da je kot otrok večkrat zašel pred njihov lep grad ob Dravi. Ona pa ga ob pogledu na Donavo in nostalgicnem spominu na prijetno mladost ob Dravi otožno zavrne: »To ni Drava.« »Ja, res ni, sem jo zavrnil. Veste, prej, ko sem se sprehajal preko mosta, sem imel iste misli. To ni najina Drava,

gospa Ana Marija...» (str. 9) Gre za eno redkih mest v Detelovem literarnem opusu, kjer lahko zasledimo odraz domotožja, sicer tako značilnega za izseljensko književnost, o čemer piše, denimo, Irena Avsenik Nabergoj (2005).

Tako se tudi Vodeb v svojem hajkuju Tujina s »filozofsko pretresljivo kontradiktorno bolečino« (Detela 1999a: 173) zave dvoreznega meča občutka domačnosti v novem okolju, ki ga ponazarja reka: »Tibera v morju luči / in sloki mostovi – / kako ta domačnost boli!« (Vodeb 1953) »Domačnost« ima lahko v teh verzih dvojni pomen. Na eni strani lahko pomeni morebitno asociacijo reke z rojstno Savo ali, še verjetneje, Dravo, ob kateri je pesnik odraščal. Bolečina torej izhaja iz dejstva, da ga reka spominja na dom. Bolečina je v odrezanosti od doma, od preteklosti. Na drugi strani pa lahko Tibera ob spominu na domačo reko s svojo drugačnostjo simbolizira tujino; pesnik ob pogledu na reko z grozo spozna, da se tu že po dobrem desetletju počuti doma. Gre torej za boleči občutek krivde, občutek izdaje domovine, dóma, »Zemlje, v kateri si shodil« (Žohar 1991: 136), najglobljih temeljev človekove usode. Svojevrsten občutek samoizdaje.

Reka ima torej kot vir asociacij v izseljenskih delih različne pomenske konotacije, ki so pogosto povezane s prvo domovino. Vendar ne vselej. V Detelovi novi pesniški zbirki *Svetloba na škrlatni obali*, denimo, florentinska reka Arno pesnika spomni na Dantejevo ljubezen do Beatrice, ta pa na njegovo lastno vzneseno čustvo do ljubljene Mojce, ki ji je pesem posvečena (Lilija na nočni poti, str. 102). Kot smo videli, pa pesnik še izraziteje odstopa od omenjenega pravila v vseh dvanajstih pesmih cikla »Kratka potamologija« iz zbirke *Svetloba na škrlatni obali*, čeprav na nekem mestu, ko omenja poslanstvo reke, morda bežno aludira na Gregorčičevo Sočo (2. pesem v ciklu).

Tako kot v vsakem matičnem pesništvu pa reka kot metafora tudi v izseljenski poeziji najpogosteje simbolizira tok časa – minljivost (»Glava mladost – norost / plava v starost / in izpuhteva v večerni gozd... /.../ Voda prši v globine / naprej in naprej / skozi otopeli nasmeh časa / do točke, od katere ni več / povratka.« – Detela 2008c: 28–29) ali pa njeno nasprotje, sklenjeni vodni krog – večnost: »preprosto pot sem izbrala / v temini brez in dotokov do reke: / blagoslavlja me kaplje dežja / v neprestanem teku / prek tesnih mostišč na močvirju.« (Na meji dneva, Šoukal 1999: 55) Neredko obe časovni dimenziji, minljivost in večnost, v izseljenski poeziji vendarle sovpadata s prostorom, torej z odnosom do rojstne dežele in s tem otroštva, mladosti. Prav zato usahla reka v pesmi Pavle Gruden (2002: 57) z naslovom Neki ljubezni simbolizira pretrgano vez s preteklostjo, studenec v njeni pesmi Beračica – pesnica (str. 71) pa poživljajočo vez s preteklostjo in domovino: »v borbi za obstoj na tujih tleh, / kjer rada žuborela bi kot pesem, / ki iz studenca v grudih domovine / jo zajema pesnik sebi zvest. / Jaz pa se z niči praznimi ukvarjam...« Zvestoba sebi je torej zvestoba do domovine, pretrgana vez pa je – tudi tu – samoizdaja.

Reka in nebo sta tudi pri Tonkliju in Papežu tisti prvini, ki vedno znova prebujata spomin na dom: »ko v tvoji senci gledam vale / Srebrne reke in obale / sosednje sanjam...« (Štefan Tonkli, Domotožje, v Bergles 1990: 32); ali: »Kako je v tej zemlji / nebo lahko domače! /.../ in nam je bilo, kot da bi se ustavili / nekje pod Gorjanci« (Papež 2001: 100). Tako lahko tudi različnost ali pa podobnost univerzalnega (neba, vode) odpirata vprašanja vselej prisotnega razmerja med občutkoma tujosti in domačnosti.

Tako specifično izseljenskih pesniških figur pa v Detelovi liriki zagotovo ne bomo našli. To velja tudi za mnoge druge izseljenske pesnike, zlasti tiste, ki so se uspešno integrirali v novo kulturo in ji s svojim ustvarjalnim delom vtisnili razpoznaven pečat. Tako se, denimo, tudi priseljska književnica Dimkovska, ki živi v Sloveniji šele nekaj let, v svoji izrazito ekspresivni poeziji (Dimkovska 2004) ob izvirni metaforiki kolikor mogoče dosledno izogiba značilni izseljensko-nostalgčni tematiki in metaforiki. O tem piše tudi sama: »Pesniki, ki se močno identificirajo z izvorno kulturo in jo ohranjajo, kar pri nekaterih preide celo v kult doma, domovine in domoljubja, se težko integrirajo v novo kulturo.« (Dimkovska 2005: 66) Na drugi strani pa Dimkovska (2008: 95) tudi sama priznava:

V teoriji književnosti je bilo otroštvo vedno označeno kot referenčna točka pisatelja, pri priseljskih pisateljih pa je to še bolj izrazito, ker je v spominu na otroštvo shranjen tudi spomin na primarno socializacijo posameznika, ki je v tujem okolju relativizirana oziroma je neizogibno podložna resocializaciji. Pri priseljskih pisateljih pogosto pride do »simptomatičnega prekrivanja dveh motivov – doma in otroštva – v nov kronotop otroštva, ki se predstavlja kot izgubljeni raj in neusahljiv ustvarjalni arsenal« (Šeleva 2005: 25).

Ko piše o lažjem ali težjem integriranju v novo kulturo, se avtorica kajpak zaveda, da je kulturna integracija dvosmerni proces, ki vodi k združitvi enakopravnih delov. V podporo navaja Maaloufa: »Bolj ko boste prežeti s kulturo dežele priselitve, bolj jo boste lahko preželi s svojo.« (Maalouf 2002: 42, v Dimkovska 2008: 78) Prav tega načela se držijo številni izseljenski pisci, med njimi tudi Detela, Dimkovska in Vlašič Gvozdičeva, ki je svojo zbirko *Ko je zemlja darove delila* (1996) celo posvetila »Dr. Francetu Prešernu z ljubeznijo«. Seveda pa velja tudi obratno: »Zgolj poznavanje tuje kulture preprosto ne zadošča za razvoj medkulturne zavesti. Nujno je namreč vzpostaviti primerjalno razmerje, ki temelji na poznavanju lastne kulture in jezika.« (Grosman 2004: 187) In prav to je osnovno vodilo Leva Detele, ki je s svojo raziskovalno dejavnostjo pomembno prispeval k poznavanju in razumevanju zunajmatične slovenske kulture. Podobno vlogo, kot jo je odigrala, denimo, Marie Prisland s svojo knjigo *From Slovenia to America* (Prisland 1968) v okviru ohranjanja spomina na zgodnje slovenske priseljence v ZDA, »ki so prispevali svojo nadarjenost in energijo moči Amerike in slovenskih skupnosti« (Milharčič Hladnik 2007a: 236), ali kot sta jo odigrala G. Edward Gobetz in Adele Donchenko s knjigo *Slovenian Heritage I* (Gobetz in Donchenko 1981), ali, denimo, Tine Debeljak s svojimi analitičnimi predstavitevami povojnih zdonskih književnikov po svetu (Debeljak 1955 in 1975), jo je namreč v kontekstu evidentiranja, vrednotenja in afirmacije slovenskega zamejskega in izseljenskega slovstva odigral tudi Lev Detela s svojimi številnimi literarnozgodovinskimi študijami o zdonski in zamejski književnosti (npr. Detela 1977; 1984a; 1984b; 1990; 1991; 1999a), ki jih je objavil v slovenskem izseljenstvu, zamejstvu in matični Sloveniji. Prav zaradi Detelovega preglednega in poglobljenega poznavanja slovenske kulture je tudi njegov prispevek k razvijanju medkulturne zavesti toliko opaznejši in trajnejši.

SKLEP

V Detelovem leposlovnem delu se torej le redko pojavlja kaka očitna splošnejša značilnost zdomskega slovstva, za katerega velja, da je v mnogo večji meri kot matično leposlovje obremenjeno z identitetnimi vidiki domovine. »Posplošena definicija domovine je lahko le zelo groba, saj se nanaša na posameznikov odnos do dežele rojstva (opirajoč se na njen političen okvir, pa tudi na etnični, regionalni, lokalni idr. okvir), ki pa se doživlja zelo subjektivno in je v veliki meri vezan na posameznikovo identiteto.« (Strle 2007: 120) Tako se pri Deteli domovina le redko pojavlja kot spomin na idilično otroštvo, ki je v izseljenskem slovstvu pogost fenomen. Namesto tovrstne idealizacije izgubljenega sveta se v Detelovih delih ubeseduje in uteleša njegova osrednja fiksacija, namreč njegov groteskni kult tiranske Očetove figure, ki se že skozi dobra štiri desetletja pojavlja kot osrednja tema njegove proze – od *Izkušenj z nevihtami* (1967) do najnovejših *Treh zvezd* (2008) in, kot smo videli, celo v njegovi poeziji (npr. pesem Hribolazci iz zbirke *Zvezde, zanke*). Gre za »nedvomno briljantno karikaturu cankarjanske obsedenosti z materjo« (Virk 1991: 212), ki na eni strani ponazarja avtorjevo travmatično doživljanje otroštva, na drugi strani pa njegovo doživljanje povojnega totalitarnega režima v rojstni deželi, na kar opozarja tudi Antič (2008a: [7–8]). Ob tem pa naletimo na psihološki fenomen, ki bi utegnil predstavljati še eno specifično izseljenskega slovstva. Gradišnik (1991: 6) namreč sodi, da je za kolektivno zavest matičnih Slovencev značilno, da sprejema »očetov princip« in si vrednostne kriterije oblikuje po diktatu nadjaza. Odtod nelagodje, ki ga utegne občutiti bralec *Izkušenj z nevihtami* ali *Poslednje gore* (1991) kot posledico naše vzgoje, programiranosti, v kateri ni prostora za simbolni regicid. Po Gradišnikovem mnenju je iz dejstva, da se je z Očetovo figuro s podobno ustvarjalno močjo ukvarjal tudi v Združenih državah rojeni pisatelj Frank Mlakar (*He, the Father*, 1950), mogoče sklepati, da je fizičen odmik od »očetnjave« prerogativ, ki šele omogoča spontano verbalizacijo nekaterih temeljnih »generacijskih« problemov (Gradišnik 1991: 6). Prav ta ugotovitev pa še dodatno zaplete splošno veljavni stereotip o idealizaciji Doma/otročstva v izseljenski literaturi kot eni njenih osrednjih specifik.

Skupna značilnost, ki jo Detela deli z mnogimi drugimi izseljenskimi pisci, je torej predvsem težnja k zgodovinski, kulturni in osebno-doživljajski sinergiji obeh domovin, k čemur bi lahko dodali kvečjemu še problematiko »kulturnega dezerterstva« in samoizdaje (Vergil v Sedemnajstem spevu zbirke *Starosvetni spevi*). Detelove literarne teme bi – z nekaj izjemami – lažje povezali s temami svetovne književnosti kot take kot pa s specifično izseljenskimi temami. Ob razpoznavno izvornih pripovednih tehnikah v svojih romanih rad sega po snov in motiviko (tako kot opazen del slovenskih matičnih piscev) v slovensko zgodovino, značilno izseljenskih motivov pa v njegovih slovenskih tekstih praktično ni.

Detela je torej v več pogledih »neznačilen« izseljenski avtor, kar pa je na drugi strani spet značilno za velik del dobro integriranih izseljenskih/priseljenskih piscev, ki so se v deželi priselitve uveljavili bodisi kot dvojezični avtorji ali pa s prevodi svojih del, objavljenimi tudi pri vidnih literarnih založbah ali v osrednjih kulturnih revijah in drugih medijih njihove nove domovine. Detela se je v nemškem govornem prostoru uveljavil s

svojo večkulturno literarno založbo LOG in istoimensko literarno revijo, pa z objavami svojih prispevkov v avstrijskih, nemških in švicarskih literarnih revijah ter s tamkajšnjimi radijskimi prispevki, kar mu je – ob pomoči ene njegovih vidnejših osebnostnih potez, namreč izjemne podjetnosti – prineslo lepo število literarnih nagrad, štipendij in prevodov njegovih del v številne tuje jezike. Z objavljanjem slovenskih tekstov v matični Sloveniji, slovenskem zamejstvu in zdomstvu ter z izdajateljskim in uredniškim delom pa je utrdil svoj ugled tudi v okviru vseh treh podsistemov slovenskega kulturnega prostora. Detela torej predstavlja zgovoren primer uspešno dvonacionalno integriranega dvojezičnega izseljenskega pisatelja, ki ob množici svojih vzporednih dejavnosti v okviru avstrijskega (in širše – nemškega) literarnega sistema in njegovih institucij ohranja živ stik z matično književnostjo in kulturo in s svojim delom tudi opazno prispeva k njenemu razvoju.

Ob Detelovi izraziti večkulturni vpetosti je tem opaznejša tudi njegova vloga posrednika med kulturami,⁸ s tem pa njegova vloga na področju razvijanja medkulturne zavesti. Zato je razumljivo, da je v njegovem literarnem delu mogoče zaslediti nekatere specifične, ki so značilnejše za dobro integrirane izseljenske pisce z razpoznavnim mestom v dveh literarnih sistemih. Drugih literarnih specifik, značilnih predvsem za slabše integrirane pisce, katerih ciljno bralstvo se običajno omejuje na njihovo jezikovno manjšino v novi domovini, pa v Detelovih delih skorajda ne bomo našli. Zdi se torej, da lahko tudi družbeno-kulturna vloga izseljenskega pisca vpliva na nekatere literarne značilnosti njegovih del – in ne le obratno.

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⁸ Detela je v osrednjih dnevnikih in uglednih literarnih revijah nemškega govornega prostora objavljala eseje, kritike in preglede novosti s področja slovenske literature in kulture, Slovence v matični Sloveniji, še bolj pa v zamejstvu in izseljenstvu pa je seznanjal z avstrijskim in nemškim ustvarjanjem.

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SUMMARY

THEMATIC SPAN, RE-FORMATION OF MEMORY AND CULTURAL IDENTITY IN LEV DETELA'S WORKS

Janja Žitnik Serafin

The article brings a thematic and stylistic analysis of Lev Detela's recent works (poetry and novel), published in this past decade (1999–2008). In the introduction, the author points out several recognizable phases of Detela's literary development. This is followed by an analysis of Detela's collections of poems published in the examined period of time: *Starosvetni spevi* (1999), *Zvezde, zanke* (2008), and *Svetloba na škrlatni obali* (2008). The first of the abovementioned verse collections is a poetic refrain relating to the author's novel *Jantarska zveza* (1998). In spite of their historical setting, the poems reflect upon timeless themes. Three years after his German retrospective anthology *Die Merkmale der Nase* (short prose and poetry, 2005), Detela published two utterly different verse collections. *Zvezde, zanke* can be thematically and stylistically linked to his earlier poetry, from *Sladkor in bič* (1969), *Metaelement* (1970) and *Legende o vrhovodcih in mesečnikih* (1973) to *Café noir* (1989) and *Duh in telo* (1993). The collection of love poems *Svetloba na škrlatni obali*, on the other hand, represents a radical switch in Detela's poetry in terms of its themes, motifs and stylistic characteristics.

Between the historical novels *Jantarska zveza* and *Tri zvezde*, which mark off this past decade of Detela's creative writing, there is a much larger literary-aesthetic leap than, for example, between his works *Blodnjak* (1964) and *Legende o vrhovodcih in mesečnikih* (1973), marking off the first decade of his literary career. The author discusses the development of Detela's narrative techniques, from his first historical novel *Marijin mojster* (1974) throughout his following novels: *Dunajski valček za izgubljeno preteklost* (1989),

Stiska in sijaj slovenskega kneza (1989), and *Tri zvezde* (1998). In the last section of this article, the author examines the presence or absence of those specific characteristics of émigré literature in Detela's works that are linked to memory and cultural identity. The author also suggests how the presence or absence of these specifics could be explained by the writer's socio-cultural role.

KOZMOKLOBASANJE. O E-UŽIVANJU VESOLJSKE KRANJSKE KLOBASE

Jernej MLEKUŽ¹

COBISS 1.01

IZVLEČEK

Kozmoklobasanje. O e-uživanju vesoljske kranjske klobase²

Sunita Williams, ameriška astronautka »slovensko-indijskega rodu«, je 10. decembra 2006 poletela v vesolje. V njeni kozmoprtljagi so bile tudi (kranjske) klobase. To kozmozgodbo o kozmoklobasah so objavili številni slovenski mediji, v vsemogočih oblikah. Toda kaj se pripeti kozmoklobasi, ko zapusti svet profesionalnih medijev, ko jo začnejo uživati internetni uporabniki (v jeziku)? Pravzaprav nič, ostane predmet klobasanja, kozmoklobasanja, metakozmoklobasanja. In prav to kozmoklobasanje – dejansko govorjenje o kozmoklobasi – je predmet tukajšnje analize.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: kozmoklobasanje, ligvistika (govora), govor, izjava, internet

ABSTRACT

Cosmic sausaging. On the e-consumption of Carniolan space sausage

Sunita Williams, American astronaut of "Slovene-Indian extraction", flew into space on 10 December 2006. Her cosmic luggage included (Carniolan) sausages. This cosmic story about cosmic sausages was published in numerous Slovene media, in every possible form. But what happens to a cosmic sausage when it leaves the world of professional media, when it is begun to be consumed by internet users (in language)? Nothing; in fact, it remains the subject of sausaging, cosmic sausaging, meta-cosmic sausaging. And it is precisely cosmic sausaging – actually e-discourse about cosmic sausages – that is the subject of this analysis. (Translator's note: the Slovene language has a verb (klobasati) formed from the root "sausage" (klobasa) which means "to ramble" (verbally), i.e. "to rabbit on".)

KEY WORDS: cosmic sausaging, linguistics (of speech), speech, statement, internet

Vesoljska kranjska klobasa? Kakopak, kozmoresnica! Kranjska klobasa je bila ...

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² Članek je nastal v okviru raziskovalnih projektov L5-9309 »Internet kot medij ohranjanja narodne in kulturne dediščine med Slovenci po svetu« in L6-2203-0618 »Ustvarjanje spomina in ohranjanje kulturne identitete med slovenskimi izseljenci in njihovimi potomci« ter raziskovalnega programa P5-0070 »Narodna in kulturna identiteta slovenskega izseljenstva«. Vse financira Agencija Republike Slovenije za raziskovalno dejavnost.

V VESOLJU

Tako kot tudi značka Astronavtsko raketarskega kluba Vladimir M. Komarov iz Ljubljane, knjiga Vojka Kogoja *Vesoljske pasti*, slovenska zastavica, slika Marije Pomagaj in še mogoče kaj »made in Slovenia«.

A glavna junakinja v tem ne ravno kozmično obsežnem poglavju je kranjska klobasa. »Nakanak«, vesoljska kranjska klobasa. Kranjska klobasa je poletela v vesolje 10. decembra 2006 iz vesoljskega centra Kennedy v Cape Canaveralu z raketoplanom Discovery. V vesolju je ostala, preživela, zdržala do božiča, ko so jo pojedli astronauti in astronautke, med njimi tudi Sunita Williams, ki jo je vzela na kozmopotovanje. Zgodba o vesoljski kranjski klobasi bi verjetno odšla tako hitro v pozabo, kot je odšla hitro iz črevesa astronautov in astronautk, če se ne bi pojavila v ...

V MEDIJIH

To kozmogodbo je – še preden je klobasa junakinja sploh postala kozmoklobasa – objavila Slovenska tiskovna agencija (STA), še isti dan nekateri in potem skoraj vsi večji pa tudi številni manjši slovenski mediji.

Vesoljska kranjska klobasa je nekajkrat, nemalokrat zasijala tudi v naslovih. Recimo: »Z Discoveryjem v vesolje tudi Slovenka in kranjske klobase«,³ »Na discoveryju Slovenka in kranjske klobase«,⁴ »Slovenska klobasa v vesolju. Klobasa je prestala telefonski test«,⁵ »Slovenske klobase v vesolju«,⁶ »Klobasa v vesolju« in podnaslov »Kaj nas zares dela Slovence? Kranjska klobasa«,⁷ »Cleveland Plain Dealer o slovenskih klobasah v vesolju«.⁸

Zadišala je v *Indirektovi* izjavi dneva z naslovom »Ameroslovenska astronautka Sunita Williams o potovanju kranjske klobase v vesolje«: »Seveda so morale klobase prestati Nasino inšpekcijo, preden so šle v vesolje. Pojedli pa smo jih med eno od skupnih večerij.«⁹

In zamastila je številne prispevke. Če že ni zasijala v naslovu, se je nemalokrat, pogosto prerinila do druge ali tretje povedi. Da ne bomo krivični do liliputanskih slovenskih medijev, odprimo revijo z vse prej kot hladnim naslovom, *Mojo Slovenijo*, »Osrednjo revijo za Slovence zunaj meja domovine«, in pogledimo na stran »Dogodki v decembru na

³ STA, <http://www.finance.si/170119> (18. 3. 2009). Isti naslov članka in verjetno zelo podobno besedilo je objavljeno tudi na spletni strani STA: <http://www.sta.si/vest.php?s=s&id=1114463> (18. 3. 2009).

⁴ Anon, <http://www.delo.si/clanek/o176538> (18. 3. 2009).

⁵ Anon., <http://www.delo.si/clanek/o184718> (18. 3. 2009).

⁶ M. K., <http://www.druzina.si/ICD/spletnastran.nsf/8146580874071e30c1256ed200511bee/8c371972f55c140cc125724300445b6f?OpenDocument> (18. 3. 2009).

⁷ Mateja Hrastar, http://www.mladina.si/tehdnik/200651/clanek/kul-femina_sceptica--mateja_hrastar/ (18. 3. 2009).

⁸ STA, http://www.mladina.si/dnevnik/16-01-2007-cleveland_plain_dealer_o_slovenskih_klobasah_v_vesolju/ (18. 3. 2009). Isti naslov članka in verjetno zelo podobno besedilo je objavljeno tudi na spletni strani STA: <http://www.sta.si/vest.php?s=s&id=1125006> (18. 3. 2009).

⁹ Sunita Williams, http://www.indirekt.si/izjava_dneva/72967/?apage=101 (18. 3. 2009).

kratko« pod naslov »Nasina misija s slovenskimi koreninami«. Ker prispevek, kot veleva že stran, na kateri je objavljen, ni maratonski, ga podajamo v celoti:

V raketoplanu Discovery je k zvezdam poletela vesoljka s slovenskimi koreninami. S sabo je vzela tudi kranjske klobase. Na krovu bo Sunita Williams, magistra strojništva s floridskega inštituta za tehnologijo, ki ima poleg indijskih po materi tudi slovenske korenine. V vesolju bo preživela pol leta. Med zanimivejšimi stvarmi v njeni prtljagi so gotovo kranjske klobase, izdelek mesarije Ažman (»Ažman Meats«) iz Euclida pri Clevelandu, ki jih pripravlja njena teta Mary Ann Zalokar Okicki iz kraja Mentor v Ohio. V Nasi so sicer trije vesoljci s slovenskimi koreninami: poleg Williamsove še Ronald Šega in Jerry Linenger.¹⁰

Seveda pa niso vsi tako navdušeno ugriznili v vesoljsko kranjsko klobaso. Marko Zorko, v *Mladini* v članku z naslovom »Ta svet je sanatorij in mi smo le pacienti« in podnaslovom »Po njih klobasah jih boste prepoznali ...« zaklobasa z/s:

»Jaz sem te prvi objel!«

(Magellan, Filipini)

»Naše nebo ni več prazno.«

(Iz političnega govora)

»Fotograf Phil Hrvatin iz Clevelanda, ki se je sprejema udeležil z znanim radijskim voditeljem Tonyjem Petkovskim, je prinesel kranjske klobase proizvajalca Azmana iz Euclida. To so tiste znamenite kranjske klobase, ki jih bo Williamsova ponesla v vesolje v paketu, ki ji ga je pripravila njena teta Mary Ann Zalokar. Proizvajalec se je hitro odločil izkoristiti reklamo, tako da na zavitku piše, da gre za ‚vesoljske klobase‘.«

(STA – V Washingtonu sprejem ob dnevu samostojnosti)

Bridko je donela trobenta in na nebu je plavala kranjska klobasa. Prva slovenska klobasa v vesolju. Bolj kot kdajkoli prej. Prvič, odkar sploh obstaja slovenski narod. Slovenci smo se končno dotaknili neba, stopili smo na prste in je še malo manjkalo, pa smo vzeli v roke kranjsko klobaso in je bilo ravno prav, in tam zdaj plava in čaka, da izpolni svoje poslanstvo. Tačas pa gleda dol na Zemljo, na deželico, stisnjeno med morje in gore, in si reče: »Small is beautiful!« Kdo je ne bi imel rad, taka je kot mi. Skromna in pripravljena, da jo požrejo.

In ga odklobasa: »P.S. Leteča kranjska klobasa bo servirana kot presenečenje za božično večerjo. / Kaj se bo potem zgodilo z njo, si lahko samo mislimo. Eksekucija bo vakuumaska. In kaj potem še ostane od slave vojvodine Kranjske?«¹¹ Besedilo krasi tudi ta kozmoklobasična ilustracija:

¹⁰ Anon., http://www.mojaslovenija.net/upload/ms_januar_2007.pdf (25. 2. 2009).

¹¹ Marko Zorko, http://www.mladina.si/tehdik/200651/clanek/slo-poltergajst--marko_zorko/ (17. 3.



Vesoljska kranjska klobasa pa je servirana tudi na bolj oficialnih, zategnjenih, speglanih mestih. Recimo na spletni strani Zveze potrošnikov Slovenije pod naslovom »Zaščita kmetijskih izdelkov in živil slovenskega porekla na trgu EU« zamasti prvo poved, začetek prve povedi:

Kranjska klobasa je bila že v vesolju; s seboj jo je ponesla astronautka s slovenskimi koreninami. Pa vendar je bila ta kranjska klobasa narejena v ZDA in lahko samo upamo, da so uporabili recepturo, ki jo predpisuje Pravilnik o mesnih izdelkih (Ur. l. št 34/2004).¹² S tem pravilnikom so receptura, kakovost in ime izdelka (kranjska klobasa) zaščiteni le na slovenskem trgu, to klobaso pa lahko izdeluje kdorkoli.¹³

A veliko bolje kot v resnobni družbi se zdi, da se znajde v zabavnih vlogah. Recimo V *Večerovem* »odvisnem strankarskem trobilu« »Toti List« v »kolum(b)ni« z naslovom »Hopa, hopa, hopa moja bo Evropa«, v kateri se avtor sprašuje, zakaj niso »Veliki vodje resnično velike Francije, Velike Britanije, odkar je združena, tudi velike Nemčije ter že od nekdaj velike Italije« »povabili tudi naše micene, a hrabre in modre Slovenije«:

So mar že pozabili, da smo bili še nedavno uspešno predsedovali EU ter, da je lani v vesolju krožila kranjska klobasa? So mar pozabili, da Slovenci v znak spoštovanja do Evrope nočemo niti približno počrpati vsega denarja iz njenih strukturnih skladov?¹⁴

Vesoljska kranjska klobasa pa je, kot je odkril *Dnevnikov* novinar Domen Caharijas, dosegla tudi svojevrsten rekord med kranjskimi klobasami. V *Dnevnikovem Objektivu*, v »statistiki za telebene«, kot je nadnaslovljen prispevek, ki ob koncu leta 2006 v vsemogočih številkah predstavi vsemogoče pretekle dogodke, nam jo postreže z naslednjimi številkami:

Pikolovsko. 28.318 kilometrov na uro je dosegla najhitrejša kranjska klobasa na svetu. Pri tem rekordu je – po slovesu in zakoreninjenem prepričanju slovenskemu – mesnemu proizvodu, ki je prišel izpod rok mesarjev iz mesnice »Ažman Meats«

2009).

¹² *Pravilnik o kakovosti mesnih izdelkov* (Uradni list RS, št 34/2004) v 13. členu strogo definira, kakšno meso in ostale sestavine more vsebovati kranjska klobasa, njeno velikost, težo, obliko, pripravo in še kaj.

(Anon., <http://www.uradni-list.si/1/objava.jsp?urlurid=20041480> (19. 2. 2009).

¹³ Anon., <http://www.zps.si/hrana-in-pijaca/oznacevanje-zivil/zascita-kmetijskih-izdelkov-in-zivil-slovenskega-porekla-na-trgu-eu.html?Itemid=413>, (19. 2. 2009).

¹⁴ Tropinovec, http://bor.czp-vecer.si/VECER2000_XP/2008/10/09/2008-10-09_STR-33-33_MX-01_IZD-01-02-03-04-05-06_PAG-TOTI-LIST.pdf (21. 4. 2009).

iz Euclida pri Clevelandu, nekoliko pomagala Sunita Williams, ki se ji po žilah po materini zaslugi pretaka nekaj slovenske krvi. No, še bolj je klobasi do neverjetne hitrosti, s katero bi pot med Ljubljano in Ambrusom prepotovali v 5,97 sekunde, pomagalo vesoljsko plovilo Discovery, na krovu katerega je dišala.¹⁵

K vsemu temu naj dodam še medijsko izkušnjo avtorja *Kozmoklobasanja*, širši javnosti znanega kot dr. bureka, z vesoljsko kranjsko klobaso. Novinarki *Primorskih novic* je na vprašanje, »s čim se trenutno ukvarja [...]?«, odgovoril, da »trenutno piše [...] knjigo o kranjski klobasi. Delovni naslov je *Zamišljena kranjska klobasa*, govorila pa bo o širjenju nacionalizma v družbi kranjske klobase.« Novinarka pa brž: »Sunita Williams, ameriška astronautka slovenskega rodu, jo je menda vzela s seboj v vesolje.«

In kaj se pripeti vesoljski kranjski klobasi, ko zapusti svet profesionalnih medijev, ko se profesionalno razkuhana, prekuhana, zapečena in prepečena znajde ...

V USTIH

potrošnikov? Hm, pravzaprav nič, ostane predmet klobasanja, kozmoklobasanja, metakozmoklobasanja. In prav to kozmoklobasanje bo predmet tukajšnje analize (v nadaljevanju *Kozmoklobasanje*). A vstopimo kozmoklobasično prizemljeni v to poglavje, poimenovano po organu, ki omogoča ne samo, če si sposodim modre besede Jožeta Vogrinca iz tiste samovšečne knjige o bureku, uživanje kozmoklobase med zobmi, ampak tudi ali še veliko bolj njeno uživanje v jeziku.¹⁶ Izstrelimo torej že primer neprofesionalnega kozmoklobasanja, ljudskega, plebejskega uživanja vesoljske kranjske klobase v jeziku – pogledjmo, kako na članek z naslovom »Z discoveryem v vesolje tudi Slovenka in kranjske klobase«, objavljenem na spletni strani »Finance.si«, poklobasa O/otac:

Bah, saj znamo slovenke, na svojih kranjskih klobasah, v vesolje iztreljevati tudi sami...¹⁷

In prisluhnimo, kako o vesoljski kranjski klobasi klobasajo na spletnem portalu »Vijavaja.com« (ali tudi samo »Vijavaja«), na forumu »Pogovori, debata, čenče«, v debati »V vesolje tudi kranjske klobase«:

R.I.P.: Drugega kot začudenja nad temnopolto prenašalko kranjskih klobas pač ne morem izraziti:

http://www.rtv slo.si/modload.p.p?&c_mod=rnews&op=sections&fun =read&c_menu=9&c_id=127850

¹⁵ Caharijas, http://www.dnevnik.si/tiskane_izdaje/dnevnik/220467 (11. 3. 2009).

¹⁶ Jože Vogrinc, »Predburekom (pardon, predgovor!)«, str. 9.

¹⁷ O/otac, <http://www.finance.si/170119> (18. 3. 2009).

^{Vse} izjave so objavljene originalno, torej z vsemi slovničnimi idr. napakami.

PO KURE

Vampirica: Ah ja američanka slovensko.indijskega rodu ☺☺☺ važn da je saj na tretino neki slovesnkega☺

Pink4: hehe.....hudo....kranjske klobase bodo v vesolju...lol ☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺

Grozilda: no zdej bo pa slovenija znana po celem svetu. in to po kranskih klobasah!!!! ko da nimamo kej boljšega! ☺

R.I.P.: Kaj pa mamo boljšega?

PO KURE

R.I.P.: Ženska očitno ni kar tko rekla, da ima tudi »slovensko kri«... Sploh pa to ni pomembno. Pomembno je, da je slovenski izdelek v vesolju. To je bistvo. In Kranjska klobasa je očitno najprimernejša za pot v vesolje, ker, če imamo tudi ostale specialitete, s katerimi bi se lahko mastili v vesolju.

Upam, da bodo to naši znali izkoristit kot promocijo Slovenije. To nedvomno je.

Galadriel: sej so že v vesolju^^ menda je pol poletel discovery en dan po predvidenem datumu če se prav spomnim☺

Girlice: a pa vejo da so slovenije??

vrjetn vejo da so klobase druga pa ne

R.I.P.: Zdej se bomo pa lohka še 3 leta hvalil, da je v vesolje poletela Slovenka s kranjskimi klobasami.☺

R.I.P.: Citiram: Girlice, [...]:

a pa vejo da so slovenije??

vrjetn vejo da so klobase druga pa ne

Ja najbrž jim je le povedala. Sigurno vedo kaj bodo oz. so jedl v vesolju, ker najbrž nesejo s seboj točno določene stvari in za vse se ve kar se nese s seboj. Najbrž so jih poskusli že na "trdih tleh", da vidijo, če jim sploh odgovarjajo, ker, če ne☺bi lahko pršlo do kakih neprijetnosti.

Siddh4ever: Oh da. Slovenka.

Po 32496754 kolenu. ☺

R.I.P.: siddh, noben ne bo spraševal v katerem kolenu, Slovenka je Slovenka, nobenemu ni treba vedit da je temnopolta ☺

PO KURE

Livida: Citiram: Grozilda, [...]:

no zdej bo pa slovenija znana po celem svetu. in to po kranskih klobasah!!!! ko da nimamo kej boljšega! ☺

Škoda bi blo pojest kraškega ovčarja ali lipicanca ali kranjsko čebelico ali človeško ribico... Potica pa ni dobra, če jo zmrzneš.

R.I.P.: Citiram: R.I.P., [...]:

siddh, noben ne bo spraševal v katerem kolenu, Slovenka je Slovenka, nobenemu ni treba vedit da je temnopolta ☺

PO KURE

☺ saj je vseen. Nobedn se ne bo izdajal za nekaj kar ni, če niso od zadaj kakšni višji interesi. Res ne vem kakšni interesi bi bili tukaj zadaj, da bi ta dama trdila, da ima nekaj slovenske krvi, če je ne bi imela ☺

Sicer pa v NASA-inem raziskovalnem centru je vsaj ena Slovenka... Za to vemo. Ve-

liko Slovencev živi in dela v tujini pa se o njih ne govori veliko pa prav tako dosegajo rezultate v svetovnem merilu ali vsaj takšne, o katerih lahko večina le sanja...

Pomojem je večji pomen, Kranjska klobasa v vesolju hmmm, to ima težo in eno izmed kart na kateri se lahko Slovenija promovira.

Marsha: Citiram: Pink4, [...]:

hehe.....hudo....kranjske klobase bodo v vesolju...lol ☺☺☺☺☺☺☺

☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺☺

Renna: lol ☺

Wox27: Zakaj pa ne?? ☺

Sj so tut oni ljudje ☺

Yellogirl: Citiram: Girlice, [...]:

a pa vejo da so slovenije??

vrjetn vejo da so klobase druga pa ne

Pomoje »vejo« da so iz Slovaške...¹⁸

Kaj je torej kozmoklobasanje? Kozmoklobasanje je govorjenje, klobasanje o kozmoklobasi, torej »izmenjava misli«, opredeljena z določenim objektom, konkretnim predmetom, ki je pridobil metarazsežnosti. Metarazsežnosti? Bomo torej na tej kozmoklobasični odpravi poleteli odkrivati metarazsežnosti vesoljske kranjske klobase? »Nakanak«, v *Kozmoklobasanju* ne bomo odleteli tako daleč, ostali bomo na trdnih tleh kozmoklobasanja, govorjenja – početja, ki vesoljsko kranjsko klobaso (še) pošilja v metasvetove. Torej glavni junak *Kozmoklobasanja* je kozmoklobasanje in ne kozmoklobasa, klobasali bomo o samem govoru in ne o predmetu govora. A kozmoklobasanje kajpada ni klobasanje o čemerkoli. Ni klobasanje o

obiskih	nezemljanov,
celulitnih zadnjicah,	butastih politikih,
kislem vremenu,	prekislem vinu,
lokalnem žogobrcu,	ranjenem srcu,
srčnih težavah,	težavnih poplalah,
norih kravah,	norih gobah,
gobarski sreči,	prazni vreči,
neskončni praznini,	idilični ravnini,
mučni idili,	zakonski muki,
ženi	neuki,

zadaj pa bomo končali, da ne bomo drugam odklobasali. Temveč je – kar nikakor ni nepomembno za značaj kozmoklobasanja, kot bomo nekoliko podrobneje kasneje pokazali – klobasanje o kozmoklobasi.

Kozmoklobasanje je torej, z besedami Mihaila Mihajloviča Bahtina – ki nam bo v neizmerno pomoč pri tukajšnjem resnem znanstvenem kozmoklobasanju, tako neizmerno,

¹⁸ R.I.P., Vampirica, Pink4, Grozilda et al., http://www.vijavaja.com/forum/forum_izpis teme.php?id=51072&k (10. 2. 2009).

da se zdi *Kozmoklobasanje* le povsem neokusno, nepotrebno, papagajsko klobasanje – »izmenjava misli« o vesoljski kranjski klobasi, kozmoklobasi »na vseh področjih človekove dejavnosti in življenja«. ¹⁹

Natančni, pikolovski, tečni bralec bo hitro opazil, da se kozmoklobasanje obravnavano v *Kozmoklobasanju* ne nanaša ravno na vsa področja človekove dejavnosti in življenja. Še več, kaj hitro bo okusil, da je tukajšnje kozmoklobasanje resno zamejeno, da gre le za e-kozmoklobasanje, torej klobasanje, ki se pripravlja in uživa na svetovnem spletu. ²⁰ Omejitev na e-kozmoklobasanje je seveda v prvi vrsti pragmatične narave, pogojena z neopaznostjo, neznatnostjo, mimobežnostjo vesoljske kranjske klobase v tej človeški in družbeni dejavnosti *par excellence* – klobasanju. ²¹ Se spomnite kogarkoli, kjerkoli, kadarkoli, kakorkoli klobasati o vesoljski kranjski klobasi? Kozmoznanstvenoklobasanje – *Kozmoklobasanje*, ki pravkar maliči vaš dobri okus, seveda ne šteje.

Iskanje madežev uživanja vesoljske kranjske klobase v jeziku, pack kozmoklobasanja, nas tako prej ali slej zapre v sicer pregovorno odprti svetovni splet, v katerem je iskanje izmenjav misli o vesoljski kranjski klobasi enostavna naloga. Izberemo iskalnik, recimo »Google«, vanj vpišemo »vesoljska kranjska klobasa«, dobimo »približno 612« zadetkov in začnemo v vsakega posebej vtikati nos, da vidimo kaj skriva. ²² Velika večina seveda nič uporabnega, nič kozmoklobasičnega, kot na primer tale, v katerega sploh ni treba globoko pomoliti nosa, da zavohamo, da nima veze z vesoljsko kranjsko klobaso:

Da počiš od smeha...

Pelješ se v formuli 1, pred tabo je podmornica, za tabo pa **vesoljska** ladja!

Prodajalka nareze **klobaso**, jo položi na tehtnico in vpraša: »12dag s francosko strastjo in amerisko brzino prav po **kranjsko** nabrise! ...

www.kevder.net/prikaziCl.asp?CIID=742&Vse=1-674k – Posnetek – Podobne strani ²³

¹⁹ Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 249.

²⁰ Natančni, pikolovski, tečni bralec bo tudi opazil, da se obravnavano e-kozmoklobasanje ne nanaša na vse oblike e-kozmoklobasanja. V *Kozmoklobasanju* namreč ne bomo našli, če se omejimo le ne pisno e-kozmoklobasanje, recimo kozmoklobasanja, ki se odvija po elektronski pošti (e-mail), in kozmoklobasanja v tako imenovanih klepetalnicah (ang. *chat-rooms*). In zakaj ne? Zato, ker ne smemo, tako smo bili namreč vzgojeni, in največkrat tudi ne moremo brskati po e-pošti drugih. In zato, ker se v klepetalnicah besedila ne shranjujejo, temveč se preko računalnika prenesejo na zaslon drugega.

²¹ O govoru, klobasanju kot izključno človeški dejavnosti piše med drugim in med drugimi Émile Benveniste v spisu »Živalska komunikacija in človeška govornica« (*Problemi splošne lingvistike I*). Primerjavo človeške govornice z načinom komuniciranja čebel, ki smer in oddaljenost vira hrane opišejo svojim kolegicam s posebnim plesom, zaključi takole: »stalnost vsebine, nespremenljivost sporočila, nanašanje eno situacijo, nerazstavljiva vsebina izjave, njen enostranski prenos.« (*Ibid.*, str. 72.) Torej pri čebeljem plesu, edini obliki »govornice«, ki jo je bilo do zdaj mogoče odkriti pri živalih«, »ne gre za govorico, temveč za kod signalov.« (*Ibid.*, str. 72.)

²² Za kozmoklobasanjem je avtor *Kozmoklobasanja* stikal na iskalnikih »Google« in »Najdi.si«. »Približno 612« zadetkov je iskalnik »Google« (na celotnem spletu) za vpisane besede »vesoljska kranjska klobasa«, seveda v vseh sklonih in številih, poiskal dne 23. 2. 2009.

²³ Google, <http://www.google.si/search?hl=sl&q=vesoljska+kranjska+klobasa&start=110&sa=N> (23. 2. 2009). Vprašali se boste, zakaj ni avtor iskalniku naročil, da naj išče le za besedili, v katerih se

Odgovor ostaja enak. Še vedno gre za eno izjavo – izjavo, ki ji recimo *zložena*. Zložene izjave, kot so znanstvene razprave, romani, razne zapletenejše publicistične oblike, se pojavljajo v ambicioznejši, največkrat pisni komunikaciji (znanstveni, umetniški, družbeno-politični). Med nastajanjem te zložene izjave vključujejo različne *preproste* izjave, nastale v razmerah drugih oblik komunikacije. Toda, ko se te preproste izjave vključijo v zloženo izjavo, se preoblikujejo, izgubijo svoj prvotni značaj, saj izgubijo neposredni odnos do realne stvarnosti oziroma pridobijo novega. Na primer zgoraj navedeni del »izjave« STA v članku z naslovom »Ta svet je sanatorij in mi smo le pacienti« sicer ohranja svojo obliko, toda prek *Mladininega* članka, njene celote, vstopa v novo realnost, ki jo določa novi kozmoklobasač. Na njem, torej *Mladininem* kozmoklobasaču je, kaj bo naredil z besedilom STA (kam ga bo postavil, kako ga bo obrezal, kako se bo iz njega (po)norčeval). Če lastništvo izjave, dogodka predamo medijskim hišam, potem to ni dogodek STA, temveč je *Mladinin* dogodek.³⁰

Toliko zaenkrat o izjavi, *osnovni* enoti kozmoklobasanja, ki pa je tudi in vedno *realna*, nikoli pogojna enota kozmoklobasanja. Kajti, kot pravi Bahtin, »govor lahko obstaja le v obliki konkretnih izjav posameznih govorečih ljudi, subjektov (tega) govora.«³¹ Kozmoklobasanje lahko obstoja le v obliki konkretnih kozmoklobasičnih izjav posameznih kozmoklobasačev. Brez konkretnih kozmoklobasičnih izjav je kozmoklobasanje kot meseno uživanje kranjska klobase brez mesa. »Nakanak!«³²

Kozmoklobasanje smo dosedaj opisali kot »izmenjavo misli« o vesoljski kranjski klobasi, kar lahko bralca z bujno domišljijo zapelje k vsemogočim zaključkom. Češ, misli lahko izmenjujemo tudi nejezikovno ali zunajjezikovno oziroma brez jezikovne opore. Takšni burnodomišljijski zaključki so, kot pokaže Émile Benveniste, napačni.³³ Misel, kot ugotavlja, »se lahko materializira le v jeziku« in jezik »nima druge naloge kot 'pomeniti'«. ³⁴ Torej »miselne operacije, pa naj bodo še tako abstraktne in posebne«, se »zmeraj izražajo v jeziku.«³⁵

Izmenjava misli o vesoljski kranjski klobasi pa nam postavlja še eno omejitev, povezano z osrednjo lingvistično delitvijo, na jezik – abstrakten sistem jezikovnih pravil, in govor – dejansko jezikovno dejavnost ali realno danost jezikovnih pojavov. Le bralec, z

³⁰ Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 236. Kot bomo videli kasneje, kategorija lastnine izjavi ne pristoji najbolje. A o tem seveda več kasneje.

³¹ Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 249–249. Poševni tisk v citatih, v kolikor ni drugače navedeno, ni delo avtorja *Kozmoklobasanja*.

³² Z besedami Bahtina: »Jezik [...] vstopa v življenje prek konkretnih izjav (ki ga realizirajo), prav tako pa tudi življenje vstopa v jezik prek konkretnih izjav.« (*Ibid.*, str. 237.)

³³ »Jezikovna oblika torej ni le pogoj za prenosljivost, temveč predvsem pogoj za realizacijo misli. Misel razumemo šele, ko je prilagojena okviru jezika. Zunaj njih je le nejasno hotenje, so le vzgibi, ki se sproščajo v gestah in mimiki. To pomeni, da je vprašanje, ali lahko misel shaja brez jezika oz. se mu ogne kot oviri, nesmiselno, če dane podatke analiziramo le s količkaj strogosti.« (Émile Benveniste, *Problemi splošne lingvistike I*, str. 74) »[Z]možnost mišljenja je vezana na sposobnost govornice, kajti jezik je pomensko strukturiran, in misliti pomeni uporabljati jezikovne znake.« (*Ibid.*, str. 84.)

³⁴ *Ibid.*, str. 74.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, str. 73.

nepredstavljivo domišljijo, bi znal trditi, da je izmenjava misli mogoča v neki abstraktni enotnosti jezikovne zavesti brez dejanske prakse rabe jezike – govorne dejavnosti.

Torej v kozmoklobasanju, kot ga nameravamo obravnavati v *Kozmoklobasanju*, ne bomo zagrizli (no, glede na zgoraj rečeno sploh ne moremo, če nimamo nepredstavljive domišljije, zagristi) v jezik, abstrakten sistem jezikovnih pravil, brezbrizen do govorcev in govorne komunikacije, ampak v stvarno, dejansko uživanje v jeziku, torej v govor. Opraviti imamo torej, rečeno s Ferdinandom de Saussurjem, »jezikoslovjem govora«. ³⁶ Jezikoslovjem govora? Da, jezikoslovjem govora, ob predpostavki, da govor razumemo drugače kot Saussure. Naše razumevanje pojma »govor« z razliko od Saussurjevega pojma govora (*parole*) ne poudarja individualnega, ³⁷ ampak družbeni, komunikativni vidik. Govora torej ne obravnavamo s stališča govorca, »kot da bi obstajal le *on sam* brez *nujno potrebne*ga odnosa do *drugih* udeležencev v govorni komunikaciji.« ³⁸ Govor, kot ga razumemo v tukajšnjem besedilu, je definiran s komunikativno funkcijo, je govorna interakcija. Govor je torej »temeljna realnost jezika«, ³⁹ stvarno uživanje v jeziku, ki je, kot bomo podrobneje videli v nadaljevanju, zapackano z individuomom, a hkrati je neizbežno, po definiciji tudi izrazito družbeno dejanje. ⁴⁰ Jezik – z besedami Valentina Nikolajeviča Vološinova, ki nam bo tako kot Bahtin v neizmerno pomoč pri papagajskem znanstvenem kozmoklobasanju – »živi in zgodovinsko postaja prav tu, v konkretnem govornem občevarstvu, ne pa v abstraktnem lingvističnem sistemu jezikovnih oblik kakor tudi ne v individualni duševnosti govorcev.« ⁴¹

Rekli smo, da je govor stvarno uživanje v jeziku. Govor je vedno odtisnjen, kot pravi

³⁶ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Predavanja iz splošnega jezikoslovja*, str. 29.

³⁷ Natresimo le nekaj okruškov iz *Predavanj iz splošnega jezikoslovja*, ki govor (*parole*) omejujejo na dimenzijo individualnega: »Ko ločimo jezik od govora, hkrati ločimo: 1. družbeno od individualnega; 2. bistveno od drugotnega in bolj ali manj naključnega.« (*Ibid.*, str. 25.); »V govoru ni tako nič kolektivnega; njegove pojavitve so individualne in trenutne. Tu ni nič več kakor zgolj vsota posamičnih primerov po obrazcu: (1 + 1' + 1'' + 1''')...« (*Ibid.*, str. 30.)

³⁸ Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 244. Prav tako pa je potrebno tudi ta družbeni vidik govora razlikovati od »monološke« družbenosti, ki ga ima Saussurjev pojem jezika (*langue*). Jezik je, kot pravi Saussure na enem od številnih mest v *Predavanjih iz splošnega jezikoslovja* (str. 26), »družbeni del govornice, zunaj posameznika, ta ga sam ne more niti ustvariti niti spreminjati; obstaja samo po nekakšni pogodbi med člani skupnosti.«

³⁹ Valentin Nikolajevič Vološinov, *Marksizem in filozofija jezika. Temeljni problemi sociološke metode v znanosti o jeziku*, str. 130.

⁴⁰ Navržimo le eno misel iz knjige *Marksizem in filozofija jezika* (str. 129), ki to družbeno dimenzijo izjave zelo podrobno in jasno obravnava: »Organizacijsko središče sleherne izjave, slehernega izraza – ni znotraj, temveč zunaj: v družbenem okolju, ki obdaja osebek. Samo neartikulirani živalski krik je dejansko organiziran znotraj fiziološkega aparata posamičnega osebka. V njem ni nikakršnega ideološkega prebitka nad fiziološkim odzivom. Že najbolj rudimentarna človeška izjava, ki je realizira individualni organizem, pa je, vzeta z gledišča njene vsebine, smisla in pomena, organizirana zunaj njega, v zunajorganskih pogojih družbenega okolja. Izjava kot taka je v celoti produkt družbene interakcije, tako tiste neposredne, ki jo določa situacija govorjenja, kakor tudi posredne, ki jo določa celota pogojev danega govornega kolektiva.«

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, str. 132.

Bahtin, »v obliko izjave [...] in zunaj te oblike sploh ne more obstajati.«⁴² Izjava torej pripada redu govora in ne jezika. Je enota dejanske jezikovne dejavnosti in ne abstraktnega jezikovnega sistema. Izjava ima torej pribitek stvarnosti, *nekaj*, česar jezikovne (in pomenske) kategorije (stavke, znak, označevalec, označenec idr.) nikoli ne morejo povsem izčrpati.

Torej, izjava pomeni tudi in predvsem preprosto to, da se je pojavila, da je bila izgovorjena, zapisana, narisana ali kako drugače v realnost ulita – da ni obstala v redu občosti, svetu idej, konceptov, misli, nazorov, pojmov, teorij. Ni obstala le v neslišnem brbotanju »notranjega govora«.⁴³ Izjava ima torej status enkratnega dogodka, izjava je vedno (tudi) dogodek. Dogodek pa enostavno pomeni, da se je pojavila. Izjava je izjava prav po svoji dogodkovni nezvedljivosti.⁴⁴

O izjavi, dogodku, tistem izjavljenem in na drugi strani neizjavljenem, sicer na zelo svoj način, a zato, zdi se, nič manj globokoumno kot tale resna znanstvena razprava, klobasata tudi Cepetaj in Cepetin, dvojčka iz Alicine čudežne dežele, ki sicer neutrudno in, zdi se, z velikim užitkom maličita logiko:

»Že vem, kaj misliš,« je rekel Cepetaj, »ampak sploh ni tako. Nakanak!«
»Marveč ravno narobi,« je povzel Cepetin; »če bi bilo tako, bi bilo čisto mogoče, in če bi bilo mogoče, bi bilo tako, ampak ker ni, pač ni tako. To je logika!«⁴⁵

Torej

... kaj lahko rečemo o O/otacovi izjavi – enoti dejanske jezikovne stvarnosti – »Bah, saj znamo slovenke, na svojih kranjskih klobasah, v veselje iztrelejevati tudi sami...«?

Zdi se, da ne prav veliko. Pravzaprav ne vemo niti tega, ali je izjava perverzen štos, ki od avtorja *Kozmoklobasanja* zahteva veliko mero predrznosti, da ga objavi v resni znanstveni razpravi, ali gre za izraz ironije na kozmonacionalizem ali za oboje ali za povsem ali zgolj delno nekaj tretjega? In v kakšni družbi je bila izjava napisana? V družbi

⁴² Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 249.

⁴³ Z besedami Vološinova (*Marksizem in filozofija jezika. Temeljni problemi sociološke metode v znanosti o jeziku*, str. 133): »Izjava aktualizirana navzven, je otok, ki se dviga iz neizmerne oceane notranjega govora; mere in oblike tega otoka določata dana *situacija* izjave in njeno *občinstvo*.«

⁴⁴ Bahtin se vprašanj dogodkovnosti izjave v spisu »Problem govornih žanrov« posebej ne dotakne. Najdemo pa jih v Vološinovi knjigi *Marksizem in filozofija jezika*: »Zunaj objektivacije, zunaj utelešenja v določenem materialu (materialu geste, notranje besede, krika), je *zavest* – *fikcija*. Je zgolj slaba ideološka konstrukcija, ki nastane s pomočjo abstrahiranja od konkretnih dejstev družbenega izraza. Zavest kot organiziran materialni izraz (v ideološkem materialu besede, znaka, risbe, barv, glasbenega zvoka idr.), takšna zavest pa je – objektivno dejstvo in mogočna družbena sila.« (*Ibid.*, str. 124.) Nemara najkompleksnejši projekt razumevanja izjave kot dogodka je zastavil Michel Foucault. Izjava, kot na primer pravi Foucault (*Arheologija vednosti*, str. 32) v eni od številnih formulacij, je »vselej dogodek, ki ga niti jezik niti pomen ne moreta nikoli povsem izčrpati.«

Pojem izjave, ki ga je Foucault zelo temeljito opredelil v *Arheologiji vednosti*, odpira številne primerjave s Bahtinovim in/ali Vološinovim razumevanjem izjave, ki pa se je jim bomo, kajpak, v *Kozmoklobasanju* brez težav odrekli. Dodajmo samo, da gre pri Foucaultu za nedvomno obsežnejši in kompleksnejši program, ki se nanaša na polje vednosti in ne jezika.

⁴⁵ Lewis Carroll, *Aličine dogodivščine v čudežni deželi / V ogledalu*, str. 197.

moških, družbi opojnih substanc, družbi samotnega večera? Kdo se skriva za vzdevkom O/otac? Seksualni burkež, spolni iztirjenec ali spodoben oče treh otrok, ki si čas za službeno malico začinja s hudomušnim komentiranjem? Z vprašanji bi lahko nadaljevali v nedogled. A odgovorov nanje v e-kozmoklobasanju največkrat nimamo na voljo. Na zaslono se nam posmehuje le besedilo, izjava, ki se pojavi na nekem spletnem mestu, avtorjevo ime, pogosto nadimek, mogoče čas objave in ponavadi ne prav veliko več. Kaj potem lahko sploh z gotovostjo rečemo o O/otacovi izjavi? Nedvomno to, da se je pojavila, da je bila realizirana, izjavljena. In z veliko mero gotovosti tudi to, da je odgovor – odgovor tu mislimo kar se da široko – na omenjeni e-članek.

Kozmoklobasanje je torej konkretna, dejanska, stvarna izmenjava izjav med kozmoklobasači. In »narobi«, izmenjava govornih subjektov, *izmenjava kozmoklobasanja med kozmoklobasači* je nekakšna prva, konstitutivna posebnost izjave kot enote govorne komunikacije, kozmoklobasične izjave kot enote kozmoklobasanja. Torej, če se navežemo na besedilo pred »Torej« in besede Vološinova: »Dejanska realnost jezika-govora ni ne abstrakten sistem jezikovnih oblik ne izolirana monologična izjava, pa tudi ne psiho-fiziološko dejanje njegove realizacije, temveč družbeni dogodek govorne interakcije, ki se realizira skoz izjavljanje in izjave.«⁴⁶

Izmenjava kozmoklobasanja med kozmoklobasači pa »ima različen značaj in dobiva različne oblike na različnih področjih človekove dejavnosti in življenja v odvisnosti do raznih funkcij jezika in do raznih pogojev in situacij komunikacije.«⁴⁷ Najbolj očitna je ta izmenjava kozmoklobasanja med kozmoklobasači v e-dialogu, recimo tistem, navedenem na začetku tega poglavja, na forumu »Vijavaja.com«, v katerem se izjave sogovornikov držijo ena druge, se izmenjujejo in povezujejo kot tisti občudovanja vreden okras iz bahavih slovenskih kleti: veriga klobas. Dialog ali e-dialog, ta v vsemir vpijoča situacija »izmenjave misli«, v kateri so replike dialoga druga z drugo sicer povezane z različnimi odnosi (vprašanje z odgovorom, predlog s strinjanjem, trditev z ugovorom itd.), je seveda zelo jasna, preprosta, neposredna oblika govorne komunikacije. Odnosi med replikami namreč zelo očitno predpostavljajo druge udeležence v komunikaciji.

Bolj zamotana, nejasna, zamegljena oblika izmenjave kozmoklobasanja med kozmoklobasači je že nekajkrat omenjena izjava, članek z naslovom »Ta svet je sanatorij in mi smo le pacienti«. Svojo zapletenost nakazujejo že besedila v premem govoru – moti, ki sledijo naslovu. Namreč avtor članka nanje v izjavi neposredno ne odgovarja. Toda odgovarja na vprašanja, ki si jih sam zastavlja. To se zdi na prvi pogled v protislovju z zgoraj rečenim – kot da avtor, kozmoklobasač načrtno ignorira komunikacijo z drugimi in komunicira le sam s sabo. Vendar takšni pojavi v sestavljenih izjavah niso nič

⁴⁶ Valentin Nikolajevič Vološinov, *Marksizem in filozofija jezika. Temeljni problemi sociološke metode v znanosti o jeziku*, str. 130.

⁴⁷ Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 249.

Prav tako pa je potrebno tudi ta družbeni vidik govora razlikovati od »monološke« družbenosti, ki ga ima Saussurjev pojem jezika (*langue*). Jezik je, kot pravi Saussure na enem od številnih mest v *Predavanjih iz splošnega jezikoslovja* (str. 26), »družbeni del govornice, zunaj posameznika, ta ga sam ne more niti ustvariti niti spreminjati; obstaja samo po nekakšni pogodbi med člani skupnosti.«

posebnega, gre za poigravanje z govorno komunikacijo oziroma oblikami preprostih izjav. V govorni komunikaciji torej ne smemo videti le neposrednih odgovorov. Odnosi med izjavami, govornimi subjekti so pogosto zelo zapleteni, prepleteni, nedorečeni, kot je, kot ste verjetno tudi sami zavohali, zapleteno, prepleteno, nedorečeno tudi *Kozmoklobasanje*. A vendarle, ambiciozni članek kot tudi hudo ambiciozno *Kozmoklobasanje*, ki ga pravkar berete, sta navkljub razlikam, ki ju ločijo od replik e-dialoga, po svoji naravi prav tako členu v verigi govorne, kozmoklobasične komunikacije, prav tako kot e-replika dialoga sta povezana z drugimi izjavami in prav tako sta tudi ločena z absolutnimi mejami izmenjave govornih subjektov.

Meje med govornimi subjekti dobijo v specializiranih umetniških, znanstvenih in drugih zapletenejših izjavah oziroma strukturno zapleteni govorni komunikaciji dodaten pomen: »[K]o ohranjajo svojo zunanjo razvidnost, tu dobijo poseben notranji značaj, zahvaljujoč dejstvu, da govorni subjekt, v danem primeru *avtor* dela, uveljavlja tu svojo *individualnost* s stilom, s svetovnim nazorom, in to v vseh sestavinah zasnove svojega dela.«⁴⁸ Ta odtis individualnosti na delu izjavi oblikuje »posebne notranje meje, ki ločujejo to delo od drugih del, ki so z njim povezana v procesu govorne komunikacije danega kulturnega področja: od del predhodnikov, na katera se avtor opira, od drugih del iste umetniške smeri, od del nasprotnih umetniških smeri, s katerimi se avtor spopada itn.«⁴⁹

Toda ambiciozno publicistično delo »Ta svet je sanatorij in mi smo le pacienti« in hudo ambiciozno znanstveno delo *Kozmoklobasanje* sta prav tako kot skulirana replika e-dialoga, naravnana k aktivni recepciji, recimo na odziv v različnih tiskanih oblikah (komentarji, recenzije idr.), na različnih področjih govorne dejavnosti (znanost, publicistika idr.). In prav tako kot replika e-dialoga odgovarjata drugemu ali drugim, se orientirata glede na predhodne izjave – govorne nastope (publicistične članke, znanstvena dela idr.). Sta torej ravno tako govorna nastopa – členu v govorni komunikaciji. Kajpak, vsak s povsem enkratnim mestom v govorni komunikaciji – mestom, ki ga opredeljujejo raznoliki in enkratni odnosi do izjav (pritrjevanje, oporekanje, odgovarjanje, posmehovanje, ignoriranje, občudovanje, delanje norcev idr.), ki dotičnemu govornemu dejanju predhodijo in sledijo. Iz nekoliko širšega pogleda in z besedami Vološinova: »*Organizacijsko središče sleherne izjave, slehernega izraza – ni znotraj, temveč zunaj: v družbenem okolju, ki obdaja osebek.*«⁵⁰

O/otacova izjava »Bah, saj znamo slovenke, na svojih kranjskih klobasah, v veselje iztreljevati tudi sami.« nam govori o temu, da je izmenjava govornih subjektov konstitutivna posebnost izjave. In kaj nam ...

še

lahko pove o izjavi?

Vsaka kozmoklobasična izjava, od odsekanih in kratkih replik v dialogu do preobsežne

⁴⁸ Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 253.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Valentin Nikolajevič Vološinov, *Marksizem in filozofija jezika. Temeljni problemi sociološke metode v znanosti o jeziku*, str. 128.

in zamotane znanstvene razprave, »ima specifično sklenjenost, ki izraža neko« kozmoklobasačevo »stališče, na katero je mogoče odgovoriti in do katerega je možno zavzeti odzivno stališče.«⁵¹ Ta specifična *sklenjenost, zaključenost* je naslednja osnovna poteza izjav, kozmoklobasičnih izjav. Ključni dejavnik zaključenosti izjave »je možnost, da na njo odgovorimo, ali točneje in širše, da v odnosu do nje zavzamemo odzivno stališče.«⁵² Temu dejavniku ustreza tako vprašanje Girlice iz debate na forumu »Vijavaja.com« (»a pa vejo da so [vesoljske kranjske klobase iz] slovenije??«), na katerega potem R.I.P. odgovarja (»Ja najbrž jim je le povedala.«), hudo resna znanstvena knjiga *Kozmoklobasanje*, ki jo lahko častimo kot nedosegljivo kozmično delo ali jo opišemo z izjavo »Večjega sranja pa še ne!«, kot članek z naslovom »Ta svet je sanatorij in mi smo le pacienti«, za katerega je mogoče reči, da nas je pritegnil ali da nismo čisto prepričani ali smo ga dobro razumeli. Izjava torej potrebuje neko zaključenost, če se želimo nanjo odzvati.⁵³ In »narobi«, čeprav je izjava še tako nedokončana (slovnično, vsebinsko, miselno), je vedno zaključena. Če le lahko nanjo odgovorimo, se odzovemo.

Ta zaključenost, celost izjave, ki omogoča možnost odgovora (odgovor seveda ne gre misliti v ozki jezikovni dimenziji, saj lahko, recimo, na prebrano delo *Kozmoklobasanje* odgovorimo tudi povsem nejezikovno: zažgemo jo na grmadi ali jo pošljemo kot knjigo Vojka Kogoja *Vesoljske pasti* ali podobico Marije Pomagaj v vesolje) je opredeljena z tremi dimenzijami, ki se neločljivo povezujejo. Kot masa različnih vrst mesa in drugih sestavin, ki neločljivo zapolnjuje svinjsko črevo kranjske klobase:

- predmetno smiselna izčrpnost;
- govorni namen ali volja govorca;
- tipične kompozicijsko žanrske oblike zaključka.⁵⁴

Predmetno-smiselna izčrpnost teme izjave je v različnih oblikah kozmoklobasanja zelo različna. Skoraj popolna je lahko v e-dialogu, v katerem se pojavi vprašanje čisto stvarne narave in nato tudi stvarni odgovor nanj. Tako recimo v »1. lepljivku« na »Uma polen turban«, ki spada pod »Bela tehnika«, ta pa pod »Zajebani vsakdanjik« in ta pod »Mn3njalnik«, na spletnem portalu »Joker.si« na vprašanje kuča, »a je v kratkem načrtovan kak daljši polet v vesolje?«, tyne, na predvideni dan izstrelitve kranjske klobase v vesolje (9. december 2006) odgovarja: »Seveda. In v vesolje gredo kranjske klobase 🍌🍌🍌«. ⁵⁵ Veliko mero predmetno-smiselne izčrpnosti teme izjave lahko torej pričakujemo tam, kjer je kozmoklobasanje ujeto v standardizirane oblike izjav – kjer ima žanr kozmoklobasanja zelo standardiziran značaj in kjer je, čeprav ne vedno ustvarjalni vidik v veliki meri odsoten. Povsem drugače je recimo v *Kozmoklobasanju*, kjer lahko govorimo le o minimalni zaključenosti, ki omogoča odzivno stališče. Samo pomislite, kaj vse bi se še dalo v *Kozmoklobasanju* naklobasati o kozmoklobasanju?

⁵¹ Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 250.

⁵² *Ibid.*, str. 255.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 255.

⁵⁵ Kuč in tyne, <http://www.joker.si/mn3njalnik/lofiversion/index.php/t13984-3050.html>, (17. 3. 2009).

Toda v vsaki izjavi, tako v povsem kratkem in jedrnatem e-odgovoru do zamotane in razvlečenega *Kozmoklobasanja*, zaznavamo in sprejemamo »*govorno zamisel* ali *govorno voljo*« kozmoklobasača, »ki opredeljuje celotno izjavo, njen obseg in njene meje.«⁵⁶ Zamišljamo si, kaj kozmoklobasač »*hoče* povedati, in s to govorno zamisljivo, s to govorno voljo (kot jo razumemo) merimo zaključenost izjave.«⁵⁷

Zamisel – subjektivni element izjave, ki se neločljivo povezuje z objektivnimi predmetno-smiselnimi elementi izjave – je lahko ali, kot se recimo zahteva v znanstvenih razpravah, mora biti jasno artikulirana (recimo v *Kozmoklobasanju* s tezo ali problemom raziskave). V večini kozmoklobasičnih izjav pa je neartikulirana, skrita, zabrisana, recimo v izjavah v debati »V veselje tudi kranjske klobase« na »Vijava.com«. Neposredni udeleženci e-dialoga – R.I.P., Vampirica, Pink4, Grozilda, Galadriel idr. – v debati zamisel prilagajajo dejanski situaciji govorne komunikacije (njemim udeležencem, njihovim prejšnjim izjavam, potezam individualnih izjav).

Govorna volja pa se v veliki meri udejanja v izboru *določenega govornega, kozmoklobasaškega žanra*.⁵⁸ Vse izjave, kozmoklobasične izjave, »imajo določene in relativno tipične oblike konstrukcije celote.«⁵⁹ Izjava v razposajenem forumu se bo prilagodila določeni obliki, ki je drugačna od izjave na blogu. Izbor govornega žanra je tako pogojen »s specifičnostjo danega področja govorne komunikacije, s predmetno-smiselnimi (tematskimi) poudarki, s konkretno situacijo govorne komunikacije, z osebno sestavo njenih udeležencev itn.«⁶⁰ Žanri se torej prilagajajo tirnicam družbenega okolja oziroma družbenega občevanja, v katere so vpeti. Debata na »Vijajvaja.com«, kjer klobasajo predvsem, vsaj zdi se, lahkotni prostočasneži, ki radi izražajo svojo ekspresivnost, hudomuštvo, humorilstvo predvideva drugačen žanr (največkrat kratko in sočno repliko) kot debata na »Vesolje.net«, kjer kozmoklobasajo kozmoklobasači, ki največkrat nekaj vedo o »astronomiji in avstronavtiki« in to znanje radi tudi pokažejo (veliko daljšo – nekakšno »pokaži kaj več« repliko). Prav tako lahko pričakujemo drugačen kozmoklobasični žanr na uradni spletni strani zategnjene Zveze potrošnikov Slovenije kot na odtegnjenem blogu

⁵⁶ Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 255.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Pojem govornih žanrov in program preučevanja le teh je bil načrtan že v knjigi *Marksizem in filozofija jezika*, podpisani, kot že rečeno, z Vološinovim – predstavnikom t.i. Bahtinovega kroga. Tem Bahtin v literaturi kot tudi širše v govorni komunikaciji pripisuje zelo velik pomen in jih obravnava v več spisih, najsplošnejše in najpodrobneje v spisu »Problem govornih žanrov«: »Izjave in njihovi tipi, torej govorni žanri, so tranzmisijski jermeni, ki povezujejo zgodovino družbe z zgodovino jezika. Noben nov (fonetični, leksikalni, slovnični) pojav se ne more vključiti v sistem jezika, ne da bi poprej prehodil dolgo in zapleteno pot žanrsko-stilističnih preizkušenj in obdelave.« (*Ibid.*, str. 240–241.) Bogastvo in raznovrstnost govornih žanrov, kot pravi Bahtin, »sta neizmerna, ker so možnosti raznovrstne človekove dejavnosti neizčrpne in ker na vsake področju dejavnosti nastaja cela vrsta govornih žanrov, ki se razčlenjuje in razrašča glede na stopnjo razvoja in zapletenost danega področja.« (*Ibid.*, str. 233.) V praksi, nadaljuje Bahtin, »jih uporabljamo samozavestno in spretno, čeprav teoretično o njihovem obstoju mogoče ne vemo prav nič.« (*Ibid.*, str. 256.)

⁵⁹ Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 256.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

»Iskrice iz kovačnice izpod peresa Aleksandra Kovača« v prispevku z naslovom »Kranjske klobase krožijo v orbiti!«:

V petek zvečer slišim tole simpatično novičko: Astronavtka s slovenskimi koreninami Sunita Williams bo v vesolju postregla s kranjskimi klobasami. Poln ljubezni in pozitivne energije, kot sem, sem refleksno rekel samo »Naj se jim zatakne« in naprej bral Walter M. Millerja, ml. (daj, prečekiraj Amazon, da te ne bo žrlo celo noč). [...]

Ali, da ostanemo pri vesoljski temi, o Hermanu Potočniku pa koga boli za to zgubo, saj imamo vendar Sunito, astronavtko s slovenskimi koreninami in kuharico kranjskih klobas!!! (Prosim, da kuj daste v WinAmp Zdravljico, vstanete z zavaljenih riti in se zgrabite za sijoče herce!!) A da je po očetu, imenu in izgledu Indijka? Hm, probajte vtipkati »Sunita Williams Slovenia« v Gugelj in bomo videli, kolikokrat punca ponosno omeni pradomovino svoje matere... Al pa »Sunita Williams India«? Grdi Indijci si jo lastijo za svojo! Če to ni povod za vojno napoved in bojkot dišečih palčk!

Folk, vsaka odkrita korenina v diaspori je v prvi vrsti žalosten spomin na nekoga, ki ga je Slovenija utesnjevala do te mere, da je pobral šila in kopita. Dajte mir s temi koreninami in raje poskrbite za drevesa na svojem vrtu. Naj že pride dan, ko grmičje na sosedovem vrtu ne bo več vredno od naših zelenih lip.

Korenine vam obrezuje

Aleksander Kovač⁶¹

Določena (zabavna, vzgojna, znanstvena, informativna, publicistična itd.) funkcija in določeni pogoji kozmoklobasanja porajajo določene kozmoklobasične žanre – relativno obstojne tematske, kompozicijske in stilistične tipe kozmoklobasičnih izjav.⁶²

Govorna zamisel kozmoklobasača se torej prilagaja izbranemu žanru, se oblikuje v okvirih določene žanrske oblike. Kozmoklobasanje je tako vedno umeščeno v različne žanrske oblike, ki so včasih bolj šablonske (recimo kratke, informativne novičke o vesoljski kranjski klobasi, na primer tista iz *Moje Slovenije*), včasih pa bolj ustvarjalne (recimo žurnalistična kolumna, na primer tista z ilustracijo kozmoklobase).

Vsi žanri seveda niso enako primerni za izražanje ekspresivnosti, individualnosti, stila. Znanstveni žanri, kamor spada tudi *Kozmoklobasanje*, žal, veliko manj kot umetniški žanri, v katerih je ekspresivnost ali individualni stil vključen v osnovno zamisel izjave (roman, umetniški film, pesem). V različnih žanrih se torej skrivajo različne možnosti in omejitve za uporabo individualnosti, stila, ekspresivnosti.⁶³

Stil tako vstopa v žanrsko enotnost izjave. Stil je neločljivo povezan z določenimi (tematskimi in) kompozicijskimi enotami: z določenimi tipi zgradbe celote, s tipi njene zaključenosti, s tipi odnosa do drugih udeležencev govorne komunikacije

⁶¹ Kovač, <http://aleksanderkovic.blog.si/ol.net/2006/12/13/kranjske-klobase-krozijo-v-orbiti/> (26. 2. 2009).

⁶² Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 239.

⁶³ Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 238.

(kozmozlobasanja).⁶⁴ Le pomislite, kako čudno, neprimerno, nemogoče bi zvenel stil iz razposajenih in ekspresivnih replik v e-dialogu na »Vijavaj.com« na zategnjenem informativnem sporočilu na strani Zveze potrošnikov Slovenije ali O/otacov stil iz sočnega in perverzega komentarja v resni, zategnjeni znanstveni razpravi, recimo *Kozmozlobasanju*?

Žanr je torej, če neokusno parafirziramo Marshalla McLuhana, »sporočilo«.⁶⁵ Kako je torej neka izjava dojeta, je odvisno (tudi) od govornega žanra, v katerega je izjava ulita.

Kozmozlobasični žanri pa imajo za kozmozlobasača normativni pomen, »ta jih ne ustvarja, ampak so mu dani.«⁶⁶ Razposajeni kozmozlobasač, ki se oglasi v razposajeni spletni debati, ambiciozni kozmozlobasač, ki piše blog, pobesneli kozmozlobasač, ki jezno odgovarja na profesionalni spletni članek, in prav tako nespletni klobasač, ki piše znanstveno razpravo – vsi kozmozlobasači kljub svoji individualnosti in ustvarjalnemu značaju ne ustvarjajo povsem svobodnih jezikovnih oblik, ampak se prilagajajo določenemu žanru.⁶⁷

O/otacova izjava »Bah, saj znamo slovenke, na svojih kranjskih klobasah, v veselje iztreplevati tudi sami...« kaže torej, da je poleg izmenjave govornih subjektov za izjavo značilna tudi zaključenost.

In še

... kaj. A kaj? Vse to pa nam namiguje, da je za izjavo značilno, konstitutivno – poleg izmenjave govornih subjektov in zaključenosti – še nekaj. Kaj pa? *Odnos izjave do samega govorca in do drugih udeležencev govorne komunikacije*. Vsaka kozmozlobasična izjava je člen v verigi kozmozlobasanja, govorne komunikacije, kot posamezna kranjska klobasa v tisti čudoviti verigi klobas. »Je aktivno stališče« kozmozlobasača »na tem ali onem predmetno-smiselnem področju.«⁶⁸

Prvi element izjave, ki opredeljuje njeno kompozicijo in stil – izbor jezikovnih sredstev in govornega žanra, je pogojen s *predmetno-smiselnimi nalogami* – z namenom, zamislijo kozmozlobasača, govornega subjekta, avtorja. Torej, vprašanja kot, kaj hoče kozmozlobasač o kozmozlobasi ali s kozmozlobaso povedati in zakaj kozmozlobasač klobasa (ravno) o kozmozlobasi, so tesno povezana z vprašanji, kot, kako, s kakšnimi jezikovnimi sredstvi in v kakšni žanrski obliki – tipični obliki izjave bo kozmozlobasač serviral kozmozlobaso. Resni, strogi znanosti predani kozmozlobasač kozmozlobaso maliči v veri, da bo znanstvenim preizkuševalcem serviral kar čim bolj okusen koncept

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, str. 239.

⁶⁵ Fraza »Medij je sporočilo« (*The medium is the message*) je iz McLuhanovega verjetno najbolj znanega in vplivnega dela *Understanding Media. The Extensions of Man*. V tem delu predlaga preusmeritev raziskovanja iz medijskih vsebin, sporočil na naravo medija samega, saj po McLuhanu, medij vpliva na družbo ne samo s posredovanimi vsebinami, ampak tudi z značilnostmi medija samega.

⁶⁶ Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 259.

⁶⁷ Če se vrnemo daleč nazaj, je to seveda v nasprotju z razumevanjem Ferdinanda de Saurja (*Pre-davanja iz splošnega jezikoslovja*), ki izjavo kot element govora (*la parole*) razume kot povsem individualno dejanje nasproti sistemu jezika (*langue*) kot povsem socialnemu in za posameznika determinirajočem pojavu.

⁶⁸ Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 263.

oziroma sestavi kar čim bolj umetelen recept, kako (je mogoče) znanstveno zagristi v kozmoklobasanje. Pri tovrstnem maličenju bo skoraj gotovo uporabil komplicirana jezikovna sredstva (recimo dolge, nerazumljive stavke) in maličenje bo serviral v obliki znanstvene razprave. Nedvomno drugačna jezikovna sredstva in žanrsko obliko bo uporabil zabavljač, ki kozmoklobaso uporabi zato, da spravi v dobro voljo sebe in druge, da se zabava ali da predstavi veličino svojega centra za humor.

Naslednji element, ki pogojuje kompozicijsko-stilistične posebnosti izjave, je *ekspresivnost* – »subjektivni emocionalno-aksiološki odnos govorca do predmetno smiselne vsebine.«⁶⁹ Kozmoklobasanje je nedvomno zelo očitno in v veliki meri popackano z ekspresivnostjo. Seveda ima ekspresivnost na različnih področjih kozmoklobasanja različne jakosti in pomene. Na »Vijavaja.com«, ki je med drugim leta 2005 dobila nagrado za najbolj zabaven spletni portal v Sloveniji po izboru obiskovalcev (nagrada Izidor), je ekspresivnost nekakšna zahtevana prvina. Povsem drugače je na zategnjeni strani Zveze potrošnikov Slovenije, kjer je ekspresivnost tujek, ki ga je treba zbrcati iz besedila, da se ne bi kakšna neformalna neslanost porodila.

Toda tudi v tej navidez neekspresivni izjavi, katere avtorstvo se je skrilo za dolgočasno obličje resnobne institucije, lahko in moramo govoriti o ekspresivnosti. Stik jezika z dejanskostjo, do katerega pride v izjavi, vedno in neizbežno porodi iskro ekspresivnosti. Kozmoklobasanje je torej vedno popackano z ekspresivnostjo. Ko te popackanosti ni, smo v sistemu jezika, kjer vegetirajo (*samo*) povsem nevtralne jezikovne enote – jezikovna sredstva, ki jih nato v govorni dejavnosti, klobasanju uporabimo za izraz čustveno-vrednostnega odnosa do realnosti. Jezikovne enote se namreč ne nanašajo »na nobeno resničnost; to nanašanje, torej dejansko oceno, lahko uresniči samo govorec v svoji konkretni izjavi.«⁷⁰

Torej nek ocenjevalni odnos kozmoklobasača do kozmoklobase je vedno navzoč, izjava ne more biti izjava brez ekspresivnega odtenka, povsem nevtralna izjava ne obstaja.⁷¹ Ekspresivnost je torej temeljni element, konstitutivni dejavnik izjave – ko ekspresivnosti ni, smo v abstraktnem, brezkontekstualnem, nikogaršnjem sistemu jezika, v katerem bivajo le brezokusni stavki in besede.

Toda kozmoklobasanje, kot ga obravnavamo v *Kozmoklobasanju*, je le pisna komunikacija, zapisano kozmoklobasanje. Pisni komunikaciji pa seveda manjka več elementov neposredne ustne komunikacije. V neposredni fizični govorni interakciji, ko sogovornika stojita drug pred drugim, se pogosto zanašamo tudi na neverbalne informacije oziroma na neverbalne semiotične elemente: obrazna mimika, ton glasu, obleka, videz in še kaj. Vsega tega v pisni e-komunikaciji večinoma ni. E-kozmoklobasači nimajo na voljo toliko kontekstualnih, nejezikovnih informacij, kot jih imajo kozmoklobasači, ki klobasajo na glas in iz oči v oči. Ekspresivna intonacija, ki ima lahko v neposredni ustni komunikaciji zelo pomembno ali celo osrednjo vlogo, je v zapisani komunikaciji manj opazna. Toda ali je res? E-kozmoklobasanje, še posebej klobasanje na raznih forumih, je nadvse

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, str. 264.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

misija s slovenskimi koreninami« iz revije *Moja Slovenija*, replike na spletni strani »Vijavaja.com« v temi »V vesolje tudi kranjske klobase«, članek z naslovom »Z discoveryem v vesolje tudi Slovenka in kranjske klobase«, O/otacov komentar na spletni članek z naslovom »Z discoveryem v vesolje tudi Slovenka in kranjske klobase« idr. v *Kozmoklobasanju*. V izjavo so seveda največkrat vključeni samo posamezni deli, stavki ali posamezne besede drugih izjav, v *Kozmoklobasanju* jih je toliko, da bi ji prešteli, če sploh, le nesmrtniki.

Te tuje izjave ali deli tujih izjav lahko ohranjajo svojo izvorno ekspresijo. Toda še enkrat moramo poudariti, da se te izjave ali njihovi deli znajdejo v novem kontekstu, zato dobijo nov smisel. A ta novi kontekst, ta novi smisel izjave je vedno pogojen z odnosom do drugih izjav, na katere izjava odgovarja. Iz tega sledi, da tudi ekspresije izjave ne moremo nikoli povsem razumeti, če vzamemo pod drobnogled le njeno predmetno smiselno vsebino. Ekspresija izjave vedno odraža tudi odnos govorca do tujih izjav in ne samo njegov odnos do teme lastne izjave.⁷⁶ Najbolje se to verjetno vidi v e-komentarjih k člankom ali v e-dialogih. Spomnimo se izjav R.I.P., Vampirice, Pink4, Grozilde in številnih ostalih na spletnem portalu »Vijavaja.com«, pa seveda O/otaca, jb7 idr.. In da ne bomo zehali le ob zaužitih primerih, dajmo še besedo deblu, ki spletni članek z naslovom »Novo leto brez alkohola pričakali le na ISS« in besedilom pod naslovom »Alkohol so na mednarodni vesoljski postaji ISS strogo prepovedali, ruski kozmonavt se je moral zadovoljiti z golažem«⁷⁷ takole komentira: »Predvsem pa so na ISS žalostni, ker jim je zmanjkalo kranjskih klobas!«⁷⁸ Bolj kot odnos do teme lastne izjave je v izjavi debela v ospredju njegov odnos do izjave, katero komentira.

Izjava ima, kot že rečeno, začrtane meje z izmenjavo govornih subjektov, toda odseva govorni proces, v njen odmevajo druge izjave, ki se jo neposredno držijo izjav in / ali so ji nevidno oddaljene.

Naslednji element, ki pogojuje kompozicijsko-stilistične posebnosti izjave (ob predmetno-smiselnih nalogah in ekspresivnosti) je *naslovljenost*. Če nadaljujemo iz zgoraj rečenega, potem lahko dodamo, da izjava ni povezana le s prejšnjimi členi govorne komunikacije, ampak tudi z naslednjimi. Izjava se torej vedno obrača na nekoga. »V enaki meri jo določa to, čigava je, kot to, komu je namenjena.«⁷⁹ Je torej vez med govorcem in sogovornikom, v obeh smereh in tako povsem družbeno orientirana.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 272–3.

⁷⁷ STA, http://www.finance.si/171695/Novo_letno_brez_alkohola_pri%28akali_le_na_ISS (22. 4. 2009)

⁷⁸ Deblo, http://www.finance.si/171695/Novo_letno_brez_alkohola_pri%28akali_le_na_ISS (22. 4. 2009)

⁷⁹ Valentin Nikolajevič Vološinov, *Marksizem in filozofija jezika. Temeljni problemi sociološke metode v znanosti o jeziku*, str. 118. V citatu je sicer govor o besedi in ne izjavi.

⁸⁰ Kompleksni družbeni orientiranosti izjave je posvečen tudi velik del knjige *Marksizem in filozofija jezika*. Podajmo le enega od bolj zgoščenih opisov: »Na ta način se govorceva osebnost, vzeta tako rekoč od znotraj, v celoti izkaže za produkt medsebojnih družbenih razmerij. Ne le zunanji izraz, temveč tudi njeno notranje doživljanje je družbeno ozemlje. Prav zato se tudi celotna pot med

V debati na spletnem portalu »Vijavaja.com« je tako naslovnik – vsaj v primerih, kjer kozmoklobasači odgovarjajo konkretnim vprašanjem ali komentarjem drugim kozmoklobasačem – konkretna oseba. V resni znanstveni razpravi *Kozmoklobasanje* je naslovnik izbrana družčina resnobnih znanstvenikov, v članku z naslovom »Ta svet je sanatorij in mi smo le pacienti« in podnaslovom »Po njih klobasah jih boste prepoznali ...« je naslovnik veliko manj izbrana, mnogo bolj raznolika družčina bralcev. Na spletni strani potrošnikov so to potrošniki. Lahko pa je tudi, čeprav take izjave na spletu nismo našli, popolnoma neopredeljen, nekonkretiziran *drugi*. Recimo v hipotetičnem emocionalnem vzkliku, v hipotetični situaciji, ko nam na nogo pade meteorit iz vesolja: »Pa še kranjsko klobaso naj mi na glavo pljune vsemir.«

Kompozicija in stil izjave se nedvomno prilagajata naslovniku, sta odvisni od tega, na koga je izjava naslovljena, kako si avtor predstavlja svoje naslovnike, kakšen je njihov vpliv na izjavo. V resni znanstveni razpravi, napisani za hudo resnobno znanstveno javnost ne bo uporabljen isti stil in kompozicija kot v zafrkantskem internetnem dialogu. Ali pač, z namenom, da hudo resnobno znanstveno javnost razkači do ... (hm, klobase?) Torej, če se vrnemo k žanrom, lahko dodamo, da imajo določeni govorni žanri na določenih področjih govorne komunikacije tudi svoje določene koncepcije naslovnika.⁸¹

Vprašanje o naslovniku ...

kozmozlobasanja

ima izredno velik pomen. In na tem mestu, torej na koncu *Kozmozlobasanja*, ga bomo še malo razrezali. Rekli smo, da ima vsaka kozmozlobasična izjava vedno svojega specifičnega naslovnika. Toda, ali bi lahko v kozmozlobasanju kot celoti odkrili nekega tudi bolj univerzalnega kozmozlobasičnega naslovnika?

Zdi se, da se vse kozmozlobasične izjave poleg specifičnega naslavljanja (recimo resnobni znanstveniki ali zafrkantski blogerji) naslavlja tudi na neko širšo skupino ljudi. Gre seveda za skupino ljudi, ki uživa isto klobaso. Kranjsko klobaso!⁸² Z besedami prvega Pavlovega pisma Korinčanom: Ker je ena kranjska klobasa, smo mi, ki nas je veliko, eno telo, ker smo vsi deležni ene kranjske klobase.⁸³

Ali, če v kranjsko klobaso, vesoljsko kranjsko klobaso ugriznemo še z bolj odprtimi usti, z usti Vološinova: »[N]epretrgano govorno občevanje pa je [...] zgolj moment nepre-

notranjim doživljanjem ('tistim, kar se izraža') in njegovo zunanjo objektivacijo ('izjavo') razprostrta na družbenem ozemlju. Ko se doživljanje aktualizira v zaključeni izjavi, napravi naravnost k neposredni družbeni situaciji govorjenja in predvsem h konkretnim sogovornikom njegovo družbeno orientiranost kompleksnejšo.« (*Ibid.*, str. 124.)

⁸¹ Mihail Mihajlovič Bahtin, »Problem govornih žanrov«, str. 277.

⁸² Seveda bi lahko odkrili tudi nekatere druge širše naslovnike. Recimo »smejoči se ljudski zbor«, o katerem Bahtin (*Ustvarjanje Françoisa Rabelaisa in ljudska kultura srednjega veka in renesanse*, str. 478) pravi: »Vsa dejanja svetovnozgodovinske drame so potekala pred *smejočim se ljudskim zborom*. Če ne slišimo tega zbora, tudi ne moremo razumeti drame v njeni celoti.«

⁸³ V originalu: »Ker je en kruh, smo mi, ki nas je veliko, eno telo, ker smo vsi deležni enega kruha.« (*Sveto pismo stare in nove zaveze*, str. 1714.).

trganega vsestranskega *postajanja* danega družbenega kolektiva.«⁸⁴ Torej nepretrgano kozmoklobasanje je zgolj moment nepretrganega vsestranskega *postajanja* kolektiva užitvalcev kranjske klobase. Jezikovnega ustvarjanja tako ni mogoče razumeti ločeno od družbenega ustvarjanja ali jezikovnega uživanja ni mogoče razumeti ločeno od družbenega uživanja.

Toda, kje se skriva tista energija in kakšne sorte, ki omogoča uživanje v vesoljske kranjske klobase v jeziku? Kozmoklobasanje namreč ni nekakšen *perpetum mobile*, ne teče samo od sebe, kot tudi ne, kot smo že zgoraj navrgli, samo za sebe. Rekli smo že – če se spomnite tam, kjer se vesoljska kranjska klobasa znajde »V ustih«, ko jo začnejo uživati e-kozmoklobasači v jeziku – da je kozmoklobasanje govorjenje, klobasanje, izmenjava misli ali, kot je dandanes treba reči (čemur smo se vse do konca (uspešno) kot črnim luknjam izogibali in smo na to tudi zelo ponosni), diskurz o kozmoklobasi, opredeljen z določenim predmetom, konkretnim objektom, ki je pridobil metarazsežnosti. In v ta, vsekakor ne vseмир, prej nemir metarazsežnosti kranjske klobase in vesoljske kranjske klobase, bi bržkone morali odfrčati, da bi našli odgovor, kaj je tista skrivna energija, ki poganja metakozmoklobasanje. A ker ostajamo v tem kozmoklobasaškem spisu kar se da prizemljeni, polet v prostranstva metarazsežnosti kranjske klobase prelagamo v prihodnost.^{85,86}

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⁸⁴ Valentin Nikolajevič Vološinov, *Marksizem in filozofija jezika. Temeljni problemi sociološke metode v znanosti o jeziku*, str. 131.

⁸⁵ Za nagrado zvestim bralcem opomb *Kozmoklobasanja* izdajmo (možno) smer tega poleta. Pri tej izdaji uporabimo znano blagovno znamko: Vesoljska kranjska klobasa je znak in »[k]jer je znak – tam je tudi ideologija.« (*Ibid.*, str. 15) Vesoljska kranjska klobasa »je ideološki znak par excellence.« (*Ibid.*, str. 20) V daljši obliki in v splošnejšem okviru : »Sleherni ideološki produkt ni zgolj del dejanskosti – naravne in družbene – kakor fizikalno telo, produkcijsko orodje ali potrošni predmet, temveč obenem, v nasprotju z naštetimi pojavi, odraža in prelamlja drugo dejanskost, ki obstaja zunaj njega. Vse ideološko ima *pomen*: predstavlja in zastopa nekaj, kar obstaja zunaj njega, je torej znak.« (*Ibid.*, str. 14)

⁸⁶ Polet, ki se že pripravlja, nosi delovni naslov »Zamišljena kranjska klobasa. O uživanju kranjske klobase v družbi nacionalizma«. Ob tem pa moramo potožiti in opozoriti na nerazumevanje ter nepripravljenost veljakov, ki znanosti režejo klobaso, da bi poletu v metaprostranstva kranjske klobase odtegnili kakšen košček klobase.

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SUMMARY

COSMIC SAUSAGING. ON THE E-CONSUMPTION OF CARNIOLAN SPACE SAUSAGE

Jernej Mlekuž

Sunita Williams, American astronaut of “Slovene-Indian extraction”, flew into space on 10 December 2006. Her cosmic luggage included (Carniolan) sausages. This cosmic story about cosmic sausages was published in numerous Slovene media, in every possible form. But what happens to a cosmic sausage when it leaves the world of professional media, when it is begun to be consumed by internet users (in language)? Nothing; in fact, it remains the subject of sausaging, cosmic sausaging, meta-cosmic sausaging. And it is precisely cosmic sausaging – actually e-discourse about cosmic sausages – that is the subject of this analysis. (Translator’s note: the Slovene language has a verb (klobasati) formed from the root “sausage” (klobasa) which means “to ramble” (verbally), i.e. “to rabbit on”.)

Thus cosmic sausaging has nothing to do with language – an abstract system of linguistic rules, indifferent to speakers and spoken communication – but with actual, material consumption in language, therefore with speech. What we are dealing with, to

quote Ferdinand de Saussure, is a sort of “linguistics of speech”.⁸⁷ This of course assuming that we understand speech differently to Saussure. Our understanding of the concept of “speech” (*parole*) emphasises not the individual but the social aspect of communications. We are not therefore dealing with speech from the viewpoint of the speaker, “as if *only he* existed without the *absolutely necessary* relationship to *other* participants in spoken communications.”⁸⁸

Speech is always printed, as Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin says, “in the form of statements [...] and it simply cannot exist outside of this form.”⁸⁹ A paper on the subject of cosmic sausaging presents and analyses the central features of this basic unit of real linguistic activity or spoken communications – statements which according to Bakhtin are the following: a) exchanges of spoken subjects, b) concluded statements (the opportunity to respond, which is defined as three moments: the exhaustion of the subject or sense, the speech intention or speech aim of the speaker, typical compositional genre forms of conclusion), c) the relation of the statement to the speaker and to other participants in speech communications and d) addressed statements (always addressed to someone).

⁸⁷ Ferdinand de Saussure, *Lectures on General Linguistics*, p. 29.

⁸⁸ Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin, *The Problem of Speech Genres*, p. 244

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 249

VPLIV DRUŽBENE DINAMIKE IN VREDNOTENJA PATRIOTIZMA NA ZAPOSLOVANJE V SLOVENSKI VOJSKI

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COBISS 1.01

IZVLEČEK

Vpliv družbene dinamike in vrednotenja patriotizma na zaposlovanje v Slovenski vojski³

Avtorici v članku obravnavata vpliv migracijske, demografske in etnične dinamike ter vpliv prevrednotenja vrednot, s poudarkom na patriotizmu, na zaposlovanje v Slovenski vojski. Ugotavljata, da se Slovenska vojska kot delovna organizacija slabo prilagaja družbenim spremembam, pri čemer sloni na tradicionalnih vrednotah, ki so v vedno globljem neskladju z družbenimi vrednotami mladih. Izhodišče razprave je kadrovska politika vojske, ki ne dovoljuje zaposlovanja priseljencev/prebivalcev Slovenije brez slovenskega državljanstva in dvojnih državljanov, s predpostavko o pomanjkanju patriotizma kot osrednje vrednote Slovenske vojske. V drugem delu članka so »vojaške« vrednote s poudarkom na patriotizmu postavljene pod drobnogled. Razumevanje patriotizma v smislu avtoritarnega tipa patriotizma omejuje reprezentativnost vojske, pod vprašaj pa postavlja tudi njeno legitimnost v slovenski družbi, kar negativno vpliva na zaposlovanje v tej delovni organizaciji.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: migracije, demografska dinamika, vrednote, patriotizem, Slovenska vojska

ABSTRACT

The Impact of Social Dynamics on Employment in the Slovenian Army and Assessment of Patriotism

The authors deal with the impact of migration, demographic and ethnic dynamics on employment in the Slovenian Army in connection with the contemporary dimensions of patriotism. The authors argue that the Slovenian Army as an employment organization is not prepared to adapt to contemporary social change, and is fostering traditional social values as army values. These are incongruent with contemporary social values among Slovenian youth. In their discussion the authors refer to the employment policy of the Slovenian Army that restricts the employment of immigrants/residents in Slovenia without Slovenian citizenship and people

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³ V prispevku so predstavljeni delni rezultati dveh delov raziskave, ki sta ju avtorici izvedli v okviru Ciljno raziskovalnega projekta »Znanje za varnost in mir 2006–2010« (šifra M4-0223) z naslovom *Demografska, etnična in migracijska dinamika v Sloveniji in njen vpliv na Slovensko vojsko*. Rezultati so tudi del raziskovalnega programa s šifro P5-0070. Navedena projekt in program (so)financira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

with dual citizenship on the basis of patriotism. Therefore, they put the so-called military values and especially patriotism under scrutiny. Conception of patriotism as authoritarian has a negative impact on the representative role of the Slovenian Armed Forces in Slovenian society, and in consequence also discredits its legitimacy. The negative role of the armed forces in Slovenian society is diminishing people's interest in seeking employment in it.

KEY WORDS: migration, demography, values, patriotism, Slovenian Army

UVOD

Spremembe v družbeni dinamiki na nacionalni in globalni ravni imajo velik vpliv na delovanje vojaške institucije, ki kot relativno rigidna družbena institucija stremi k ohranjanju tradicionalnih⁴ vrednot, ki so bile smiselne v času pred formiranjem poklicne vojske v Sloveniji (varovanje notranjih meja, varovanje »domovine pred zunanjim sovražnikom« in podobno). Prehod v poklicno vojsko, članstvo v mednarodnih vojaških zaveznih, prevlada individualističnih vrednot v civilni družbi in spreminjajoča se migracijska, etnična in demografska dinamika predstavljajo velik izziv za delovanje vojaških institucij, še posebej tako mladih, kot je Slovenska vojska. Ena izmed največjih težav, s katero se Slovenska vojska spopada, je negativen trend zaposlovanja novega kadra in številni odhodi zaposlenih. Padec zanimanja za zaposlovanje v Slovenski vojski postavlja državo v neugoden položaj predvsem v kontekstu partnerskih obveznosti v zvezi NATO in zagotovitve ustrezne kadrovske strukture za nemoteno opravljanje dolžnosti. Strategije za izboljšanje kadrovske situacije morajo temeljiti na celoviti obravnavi kompleksne problematike in se izogniti enostranskemu osredotočanju zgolj na področje organizacijskega (pre)strukturiranja vojske kot delovne organizacije, upoštevati morajo tudi in predvsem spremembe družbene dinamike.

V članku bomo ovrednotili pomen demografske dinamike in sprememb v vrednotah mladih in zaposlitvenih aspiracijah mladih za institucijo Slovenske vojske. Nedvomno se s pomanjkanjem ustreznega kadra v določenih panogah sooča tudi slovensko gospodarstvo, vendar delovna mesta bolj ali manj uspešno zapolnjuje s tujo delovno silo. Zaposlovanje priseljencev / prebivalcev Slovenije brez slovenskega državljanstva, pa se, v nasprotju z gospodarskimi panogami, v tako specifični instituciji kot je vojska, zavrača. Še več, zavrača se tudi zaposlovanje tiste populacije, ki ima dvojno državljanstvo.

Zanimalo nas je ali lahko razloge za takšno restriktivno politiko zaposlovanja povežemo z morebitnim razhajanjem med vrednotami, ki jih izpostavlja Slovenska vojska, in splošnimi družbenimi vrednotami, še bolj pa z avtoritarnim tipom patriotizma kot temeljne vrednote Slovenske vojske. Ali nezmožnost prilagajanja Slovenske vojske družbenim, predvsem migracijskim trendom v Sloveniji, spremembe vrednostnih in življenjskih orientacij pri mladih, sodobni trendi patriotizma kot posledica drugačne varnostne politike

⁴ Tradicionalno je tukaj opredeljeno kot nasprotje postmodernemu. Za opredelitev tradicionalnih vrednot, ki so ohranjene v Slovenski vojski glej Kotnik-Dvojmoč 2002: 101–110.

in spremenjene vloge vojaških sil v svetu, negativno vplivajo na zaposlovalno dinamiko in predvsem na vlogo Slovenske vojske v družbi?

VPLIV DRUŽBENE DINAMIKE NA ZAPOSLOVANJE V SLOVENSKI VOJSKI

Prehod iz obvezniške v poklicno vojsko in članstvo v zvezi NATO predstavljata za mlado institucijo Slovenske vojske izziv na številnih področjih. Slovenska vojska se kot del zveze NATO in EU vključuje v mednarodno varnostno dogajanje in je zavezana določenim pravilom in opravljanju nalog, ki so nadnacionalnega pomena (posredovanje na kriznih območjih, mirovne operacije, humanitarne akcije in podobno) in presegajo zgolj delovanje vojske znotraj nacionalnih meja. Ena od pomembnejših zavez Slovenske vojske v okviru zveze NATO je tudi primerna opremljenost vojske in primerno število vojakov. Ena izmed temeljnih težav, s katerimi se spopada Slovenska vojska, je nedvomno zaposlovanje novega in zadrževanje obstoječega kadra, kajti trend na področju popolnjevanja je v zadnjih letih izrazito negativen in ogroža doseganje kadrovskih zahtev do leta 2012. Po posredovanih podatkih Oddelka za pridobivanje kadrov (ODK 2007) so bili v obdobju 2002–2005 doseženi načrtovani cilji popolnjevanja, v zadnjih treh letih pa se zaznava padec zanimanja za službo v Slovenski vojski in povečano število odhodov. Načrtovana stalna sestava Slovenske vojske⁵ naj bi v letu 2006 dosegla 7.550 pripadnikov in pripadnic, vendar jih je ob koncu leta primanjkovalo 242. V letošnjem letu znaša ta primanjkljaj že 859.⁶ Zaostajanje za načrtovanimi cilji zaposlovanja gre pripisati zmanjšanemu zaposlovanju in povečevanju odhodov iz Slovenske vojske zaradi številnih razlogov. Po navedbah Oddelka za pridobivanje kadrov je zmanjševanje zanimanja za zaposlitev v Slovenski vojski mogoče pripisati zmanjšanemu številu razpoložljive mlade generacije na trgu delovne sile, zmanjšani konkurenčnosti ponudbe vojaškega poklica in povečani gospodarski rasti ter posledično povečanim zaposlitvenim možnostim (ODK 2007). Poglejmo podrobneje demografski vidik. Kotnik-Dvojmoč (2002: 83) ugotavlja, da številni primeri iz zgodovine potrjujejo pomembnost demografskega dejavnika pri zagotavljanju nacionalne varnosti, dodali pa bi lahko, da je v sodobnem času ustrezno popolnjevanje oboroženih sil tudi ključnega pomena za izpolnjevanje dolžnosti pri zvezi NATO. Avtor razlikuje med količinskim vidikom demografskega dejavnika oziroma velikostjo populacije in kakovostnim vidikom oziroma sestavo prebivalstva. Pri količinskem vidiku gre tako za absolutni vidik, ki upošteva celotno število prebivalstva, kot tudi za relativni vidik, ki se osredotoča na obseg posamezne skupine prebivalstva. V primeru vojske gre seveda za število možnih nabornikov, ki se bodo pridružili sestavi oboroženih sil. Kakovostni vidik pa avtor razume kot izobraženost, poklicno sestavo, zdravstveno

⁵ Stalna sestava Slovenske vojske vključuje častnike, podčastnike, vojake, vojaške uslužbence in civilno osebje.

⁶ Načrtovano stanje popolnjenosti stalne sestave Slovenske vojske znaša za leto 2008 8.000 pripadnikov in pripadnic, septembra 2008 pa jih je bilo zaposlenih zgolj 7.141 (Slovenska vojska).

stanje, motiviranost za obrambo države, spolno, starostno, nacionalno sestavo in drugo. Ugotavlja, da je poznavanje demografskih trendov v obeh navedenih vidikih nedvomno nujno potrebno za uspešno načrtovanje razvojnih usmeritev družbe in dinamike njihovega uresničevanja (Kotnik-Dvojmoč 2002: 83).

Nedvomno je demografska situacija, s katero se sooča Slovenija, izjemno neugodna za institucijo Slovenske vojske, predvsem ko gre za zaposlovanje vojakov in vojakinj za vstop katerih v vojsko praviloma velja starostna omejitev 25 let. Demografski trendi v večini držav Evropske Unije (EU) in tudi v Sloveniji namreč napovedujejo upadanje števila prebivalstva, zmanjšanje delovno aktivnega prebivalstva in povečanje potreb po dodatni delovni sili. Po ocenah strokovnjakov se bo absolutno število prebivalstva v EU do leta 2040 najverjetneje zmanjšalo za okoli 45 milijonov, pri čemer je poleg padca rodnosti potrebno upoštevati tudi povečanje odstotka upokojenega prebivalstva (Kovač 2003). Za popolnjevanje oboroženih sil v državah članicah EU je trend zmanjševanja rodnosti nedvomno pereč problem, kajti vztrajno se zmanjšuje razpoložljivi kontingent mlade moške populacije, primerne za vstop v vojsko, ki je kljub znatnejšemu vključevanju žensk v oborožene sile še vedno glavni vir delovne sile. Trend upadanja številčnosti ciljnega starostnega razreda se bo nadaljeval tudi v prihodnje, zato se bodo oborožene sile, tudi poklicne, srečevale s še večjimi težavami (Kotnik-Dvojmoč 2002: 90–91).

Kovač ugotavlja, da bodo v prihodnjih treh desetletjih Združene države Amerike in EU potrebovale okoli 70 milijonov delavcev oziroma dodatne delovne sile, da bi ohranile raven prebivalstva, zapolnile trg dela in povečale blaginjo in konkurenčno moč domačega gospodarstva (2003). Rešitev za razvite države je v omilitvi strogih imigracijskih politik in povečanem številu delovnih dovoljenj za prebivalce tretjih držav z možnostjo pridobitve državljanstva. Sprememb v demografskih trendih razvitih držav namreč ni na vidiku. Tudi v Sloveniji se nekatere gospodarske panoge soočajo s hudim pomanjkanjem delovne sile in zato se kvote za delovna dovoljenja nenehno dvigujejo in prilagajajo potrebam na trgu, četudi se pri tem zaznava neodobranje javnosti.⁷ Sredi leta 2007 je v Sloveniji legalno, torej z vsemi potrebnimi in veljavnimi dokumenti, delalo 58.317 tujih delavcev (Ministrstvo za delo). Kljub temu je bilo povpraševanje po tuji delovni sili še vedno izjemno in vlada je morala popustiti zahtevam delodajalcev po dvigu kvot delovnih dovoljenj za državljane tretjih držav.

Pomanjkanje delovne sile v Slovenski vojski je del strukturnih sprememb, s katerimi se sooča slovenska družba, vendar je strategija zaposlovanja relativno bolj kompleksna in izključujoča kot pri gospodarskih panogah, kajti eden izmed temeljnih pogojev zaposlitve v Slovenski vojski je (izključno) slovensko državljanstvo. Dokler je slovensko državljanstvo

⁷ Glede na javnomnenjsko raziskavo, opravljeno leta 2002, bi zgolj 3 % Slovencev želelo živeti v etnično zelo heterogenem okolju, kar 70 % pa bi jih rado živelo v etnično homogenem okolju, v katerem si prebivalci delijo navade in običaje. Prav tako 40 % populacije nasprotuje mešanim zakonom (Mlinar in Štebe 2004). Iskanje razlogov za takšno javno mnenje je kompleksno in zahteva poglobljeno analizo. Predvsem je potrebno v razlago vpeljati razredno komponento oz. socialen položaj posameznikov (migrantov) v kontekstu strahu pred zlomom države blaginje (več v Vah in Lukšič-Hacin 2008).

nujen pogoj za pridobitev delovnega mesta v Slovenski vojski, so strategije zaposlovanja delovne sile, ki se jih poslužuje gospodarska sfera, neuporabne.⁸

Poleg neugodne demografske situacije je v Sloveniji zanimanja za vojaški poklic v primerjavi z ostalimi poklici med mladimi zelo malo in pogosto v pozitivni korelaciji z nizkim socialnim standardom in nižjo izobrazbo. Predvsem višje izobražene Slovenke in Slovenci si raje izbirajo varnejše, finančno bolj donosne in družini prijaznejše poklice. Morda je izjema sodelovanje v mirovnih operacijah, ki je dobro plačano in privlači mnoge avanture željne posameznike (Jelušič 2005).⁹ Jelušič ugotavlja, da se nekateri posamezniki za vstop v Slovensko vojsko odločijo zgolj zato, ker bi radi sodelovali v mirovnih operacijah, po vrnitvi domov pa vojsko zapustijo (ibid.). K temu morda pripomore tudi dejstvo, da je strategija reintegracije v domače okolje po vrnitvi iz mirovnih operacij še nedodelana, prav tako pa je nedodelan tudi sistem pomoči svojcem udeležencev na mirovnih operacijah.¹⁰

Slovenska vojska, ki je v preteklih šestih letih iz obvezniškega sistema prešla na poklicno vojsko, zaposlovanja priseljencev oziroma prebivalcev Slovenije brez slovenskega državljanstva ne predvideva, čeprav je zaposlovanje tujih državljanov (z nekaterimi omejitvami) v nekaterih evropskih državah, na primer v Veliki Britaniji in Franciji, običajna praksa.¹¹ Slovenija kot mlada država na ta preskok verjetno še ni pripravljena in zato v Slovenski vojski prevladuje mnenje, da zaposlovanje priseljencev zaenkrat ni realno izvedljivo, prav tako pa trenutno tudi ni zaželeno. Tovrstna strategija zaposlovanja se povezuje s predstavo o nezmožnosti celovite in učinkovite obrambe države, katerega temeljni kamen je vrednota patriotizma. Pri tem pa se pojavlja vprašanje zaposlovanja tistih potencialnih interesentov za zaposlitev v Slovenski vojski, ki posedujejo dvojno državljanstvo. Realno bi ta možnost bila povsem izvedljiva, vendar zaenkrat še vedno ni zaželena. Vprašanje tudi je, ali ni takšna politika zaposlovanja diskriminatorna do tistih posameznikov, ki posedujejo poleg slovenskega še drugo državljanstvo, kajti zaposlitev v državni organizaciji jim je onemogočena na podlagi formalne pripadnosti neki drugi

⁸ Slovenska vojska zato na številne alternativne načine poskuša privabiti čim več novega kadra. Strategije vključujejo predstavitev poklica vojaka v šolah, snemanje reklamnih spotov, razpis štipendij, oglaševanje na Zavodih za zaposlovanje in podobno. Zgornje številke upadanja kadra nakazujejo, da je uspešnost tovrstnih strategij vprašljiva in zato prihodnost zaposlovanja in uresničitev kadrovskega načrta za prihodnja leta ostaja negotova.

⁹ Battistelli (v Jelušič 2005) je razvil tipologijo različnih oblik motivacije vojakov na mirovnih misijah. V prvo skupino spadajo tisti vojaki in vojakinje, ki želijo pomagati drugim, v drugo skupino se uvrščajo tisti, ki želijo zaslužiti nekaj dodatnega denarja ali pridobiti nove vrste znanja, v tretji skupini pa so tisti, ki želijo doživeti pustolovščino ali si pridobiti pomembno osebno izkušnjo. Jelušič ugotavlja, da ima vsak posameznik svoje osebne razloge za sodelovanje v mirovnih misijah, ki so navadno kombinacija omenjenih motivov, pa vendar je Battistellijeva tipologija uporabna, predvsem v primarnih fazah raziskav (ibid.).

¹⁰ Intervju s pripadnikom Slovenske vojske iz Oddelka za celostno skrb, promocijo in motivacijo kadra, 14. 11. 2008. Zvočni zapis dostopen v arhivu avtorice.

¹¹ Obe državi sta zaradi zaščite najemnih vojakov, ki jih Ženevska konvencija o vojnih ujetnikih izključuje, za to prilagodili svojo zakonodajo.

državi.¹² V analizo problematike negativnega trenda zaposlovanja in odhodov iz Slovenske vojske je zato potrebno vpeljati tudi element družbenih vrednot s poudarkom na različnih koncepcijah patriotizma, ki se spreminjajo skupaj s spreminjanjem družbenega okolja oz. družbene dinamike.

VREDNOTE IN POMEN PATRIOTIZMA ZA VOJSKO

Kadrovska politika Slovenske vojske je usmerjena predvsem v mlado populacijo, zato se bomo v razpravi o vrednotah omejili predvsem na mlade. Vrednote so v najbolj osnovni formulaciji usmerjevalci človeškega vedenja in življenja, so tudi mobilizacijske sile, »ki motivirajo ljudi za to, da sledijo določenim idealom, normam ali pa nasprotujejo, zavračajo druge ideale, vloge, norme«. (Ule, 2008: 12) Za razpravo o vrednotah med mladimi je pomembno dvojje: pri mladih je prišlo do spremembe vrednot od materialno-kariernih k postmaterialnim-osebnostnim vrednotam, vzporedno pa je prišlo tudi do premika v značaju vrednot. Izsledki raziskav o mladih v Sloveniji, ki so jih raziskovalci Fakultete za družbene vede opravljali v devetdesetih letih in na začetku tega desetletja (Ule 1996; Ule in drugi 2000; Miheljak 2002), so potrdili domnevo o postopnem distanciranju mladih od sklopa vrednot, ki je bil do tedaj prevladujoč: delo, zaposlitev, kariera, zaslužek. Gre za prehod od sklopa vrednot, ki je vključeval materialne, s potrošništvom povezane vrednote (imenovane tudi materialistične), k bolj osebnostnemu, v zasebnost usmerjenemu sklopu vrednot, kot so medosebni odnosi, osebni razvoj, izobrazba, kakovostno vsakdanje življenje (tako imenovane postmaterialistične vrednote). Namesto velikih vrednot, ki so bile v preteklosti oprte na močne ideologije (religija, politika, nacionalnost), se pojavljajo vrednote, ki so bliže posamezniku in njegovemu osebnemu izkustvu (materialna in socialna varnost, prijateljstva in odnosi, zdravje, kakovost vsakdanjega življenja, samorealizacija in podobno). Razrahljala se je tudi sama vezanost mladih na določene vrednote. Danes je za mlade značilen neorganiziran, fluiden in praviloma nehierarhiziran sklop vrednot. (Ule 2004)

Spremembe življenjskih in vrednostnih orientacij se odražajo tudi v poklicnem delu kot enem od poglavitnih področij življenja. Pri vrednotenju dela je prišlo do bistvene razlike; spremlja se je koncept dela, kar pa ne pomeni, da je delo manj ovrednoteno kot v preteklosti.¹³ Koncept dela zajema danes poleg zaposlitve, delovnega časa in mesta tudi

¹² Drugi odstavek 88. člena Zakona o obrambi (ZObr) pravi: »Kdor želi poklicno opravljati delo na obrambnem področju, mora biti državljan Republike Slovenije. Osebe z dvojnimi državljanstvom ne morejo poklicno opravljati dela na obrambnem področju«. (ZObr, UL RS 2004) Za podrobnejšo razpravo o diskriminaciji pri zaposlovanju, v delovnem okolju ali na delovnem mestu glej Brezigar 2006.

¹³ Spremenjen odnos do dela je posledica negotovosti zaposlitve in njene skrajne oblike – nezaposlenosti. Negotovost, ki je v zadnjih desetletjih prisotna ne samo v evropskih državah ampak tudi širše, spremlja nezaupanje v velike organizacije, ki bi morale zagotavljati varnost, in sindikate ter oblast, ki bi morali ščititi interese delavcev. Spreminja se tudi delovna morala in nosilci sprememb so predvsem mladi, ki so ustvarili nove možnosti izbire. (Ule 2008: 13).

prizadevanje posameznika po večji ustvarjalnosti in produktivnosti, zajema izobraževanje, ustvarjalnost v medosebnih odnosih na delovnem mestu, ustvarjalnost v osebni izraznosti in podobno (Ule 2008: 13). Tudi za področje dela je torej značilen »rastoč individualizem in razpad starih struktur reda«. Na eni strani počasi izginjajo uveljavljene norme o »kolektivnih dolžnostih in lojalnostih«, na drugi pa se uveljavlja »nova individualizirana etika vsakdanjega življenja«. (ibid.) Omenjeno ne govori v prid povečanemu zanimanju za poklice v delovnih organizacijah, ki temeljijo na strogi hierarhiji, in poklice, ki so pogojeni s specifičnimi tradicionalnimi vrednotami, kot na primer policija ali obrambne sile.¹⁴

Poglejmo podrobneje. Osrednje vrednote Slovenske vojske, tako imenovane vojaške vrednote, kot so zapisane v Vojaški doktrini, najvišjem vojaško strokovnem dokumentu, spadajo v sklop tradicionalnih vrednot: *čast, pogum, lojalnost, tovarištvo* in *predanost* (Furlan in drugi 2006).¹⁵ Vrednote Slovenske vojske so po mnenju avtorjev Vojaške doktrine gonilna sila uresničevanja poslanstva te institucije, saj dajejo okvire za delovanje in vedenje posameznikov samostojno in v skupini. Izhajajo iz »splošnih civilizacijskih vrednot, vrednot slovenske družbe in posebnosti narave delovanja vojske«¹⁶ (Furlan in drugi 2006). Njihov skupni imenovalec je kolektivizem, ki pa je nasproten individualizmu kot značilnosti vrednot v razvitih industrijskih družbah. Kotnik-Dvojmoč (2002: 101–102) ugotavlja, da spremembe vrednot v večji meri, kot bi želeli v oboroženih silah, vplivajo na odnos med oboroženimi silami in civilnim okoljem. Neskladje med družbenimi vrednotami in vrednotami vojaške organizacije, to je institucionalnimi vrednotami, bi, za večjo legitimnost vojske in posledično za njeno učinkovito delovanje znotraj družbe moralo biti čim manjše. Naštete »vojaške« vrednote pa so evidentno divergentne družbenim vrednotam. Vendar kot opozarja Kotnik-Dvojmoč (2002: 103), je ohranjanje tradicionalnih vrednot v

¹⁴ Uletova navaja, da »nikjer ni tako nizko cenjena vrednota voditeljstva, avtoritete, moči med mladimi v Evropi kot v Sloveniji« (Ule 2004: 353). Tradicionalne vrednote, na katerih temeljijo vojaške in obrambne sile (domoljubje, lojalnost in tovarištvo), pa v družbi vse bolj bledijo (Jakič 2008).

¹⁵ Nekateri starejši vojaški dokumenti (Pravila službe SV, Etični kodeks SV, Zloženska oddelka za pridobivanje kadra, Vrednote vojaka in kristjana, Vodnik za častnike stalne sestave SV) navajajo kot temeljne vrednote Slovenske vojske še spoštovanje, vztrajnost, poštenost, korektnost, skrb za podrejene in njihove družine, odgovornost, disciplino, predanost, celovitost, urejenost, moč volje, dolžnost, avtoriteto, moč, ponižnost, sočutje, altruizem, integriteto, navdih, inovativnost, ambicioznost in uspeh (Jakič 2008: 113).

¹⁶ Avtorji Vojaške doktrine ne definirajo »splošnih civilizacijskih vrednot« in ne vrednot slovenske družbe. Krajši analitski skok v definicije splošno civilizacijskih vrednot je pokazal, da so zelo različno razumljene, največkrat odvisno od stroke ali institucije, ki se z vrednotami ubada. Na primer: v dokumentih Ministrstva za šolstvo in šport RS so omenjene vrednote opredeljene kot vrednote, ki izvirajo iz evropske tradicije in vrednote, ki temeljijo na civilizacijskih usmeritvah, kot so pravičnost in solidarnost, spoštovanje človekovih in otrokovih pravic, demokracija in pravna država, strpnost, spoštljiv odnos do vsakega posameznika, inkluzivno okolje in posebna skrb za vključenost pogosto marginaliziranih otrok in njihovih staršev, interkulturalizem, razvoj kritičnega mišljenja in avtonomne ter odgovorne morale, odgovornost do sebe in drugih, odgovoren odnos do družbenega in naravnega okolja in njuno varovanje, vključevanje v dogovorno sodelovanje pri oblikovanju kulture sobivanja v lokalnem in širšem evropskem prostoru in druge (Priporočila 2008). Dokumenta, ki bi pojasnil, kako so splošno civilizacijske vrednote definirane v obramboslovju, nam ni uspelo najti.

tako specifični družbeni instituciji, kot je vojska, vsaj deloma predpogoj za njeno učinkovito delovanje, na drugem mestu pa poudarja, da ima predvsem nedomišljeno in preveč intenzivno usklajevanje med družbenimi vrednotami in vrednotami vojaške organizacije lahko tudi negativne učinke in škoduje notranji kohezivnosti in discipliniranosti vojske, s tem pa zmanjšuje operativne sposobnosti, učinkovitost in pripravljenost za delovanje. (Kotnik-Dvojmoč 2002) Kljub vsemu pa je nadvse pomemben dejavnik vzpostavitve pozitivnega odnosa med vojsko in civilno družbo, kajti le tako bo vojski zagotovljena potrebna podpora in relativna naklonjenost javnosti, s tem pa je mogoče pričakovati tudi povečanje povpraševanja po zaposlitvi v vojski in okrepitev lojalnosti vojski kot delovni organizaciji. Povsem naivno bi bilo pričakovati, da se bo družba vrednostno prilagajala vojski kot delovni organizaciji, kar je bilo sicer zaznati kot prikrito težnjo v javni razpravi o domovinski vzgoji.¹⁷ Kako torej zastaviti demokratično občutene vrednote v vojski in hkrati obdržati motivacijski nivo teh vrednot z namenom ohraniti kohezivnost in disciplino v vojski?

Kot smo že omenili, sta temeljni skupni vrednoti pripadnikov Slovenske vojske lojalnost in patriotizem.¹⁸ V prvi vrste gre za lojalnost Republiki Sloveniji kot državi, nato lojalnost Slovenski vojski in enoti v njej. »Lojalnost slovenski državi mu [pripadniku Slovenske vojske] narekuje skrb za zaščito njenih interesov in krepitev ugleda v svetu«. Domoljubje je razumljeno kot »zavest pripadnosti domovini Sloveniji in nesebično izvrševanje dolžnosti pri uresničevanju skupnih ciljev« (Furlan in drugi 2006: 18), kar lahko pomeni tudi žrtvovanje življenja za domovino. Pri tem sta povsem spregledani dejstva, da je Slovenska vojska del zveze NATO, in da deluje tudi v okviru varnostnih sil Evropske unije (na primer operacija EUFOR ALTHEA v Bosni in Hercegovini). Slovenska vojska bi tako morala spodbujati lojalnost tudi do nadnacionalnih struktur in mednarodnih zvez, katerih članica je.¹⁹

Patriotizem, kot je definiran v Vojaški doktrini, označuje vlogo, pomen in motivacijsko funkcijo te vrednote, a je predvsem enodimenzionalno opredeljen. Identificiramo ga lahko kot avtoritarni tip patriotizma (Westheimer 2006, v Haček 2008: 4, 5), ki združuje naslednje premise: idejo o nacionalni/državni superiornosti, posameznik je primarno

¹⁷ Glej *Javna razprava: Državljska ali domovinska vzgoja*, Državni svet, Sporočila za medije, spletni vir http://www.ds-rs.si/novice/sporocila/notr05-11_4.htm; glej tudi Jaša L. Zlobec, *Domovinska vzgoja in somrak vzgojiteljev*, Mladina 34, 2002; Andrej Adam, *Domovinska vzgoja?*, spletni vir http://www.zofijini.net/mediji_domovinska.html; Vlado Miheljak, *Je domoljubje dovoljeno ali zapovedano?*, Dnevnik 7. 1. 2004, spletni vir http://www.dnevnik.si/tiskane_izdaje/dnevnik/70215.

¹⁸ Patriotizem (fr. patriotisme iz gr.) pomeni domoljubje, rodoljubje, ljubezen do domovine (Verbinčev slovar tujk); patriot (lat. patriota, gr. patriotes = od enega očeta) pa tistega, ki ljubi svojo domovino in zagovarja njeno avtoriteto in interese; tudi ameriški projektil za uničevanje letelih ciljev na srednji in veliki višini (Wahrigov leksikon tujk). Lojalnost - 1. (zgolj) izpolnjevanje državljanske obveznosti, zakonov zaradi dolžnosti 2. knjiž. poštenost, odkritost v ravnanju (SSKJ). Zanimivo je, da v Vojaški doktrini in drugih dokumentih Slovenske vojske (glej opombo 12) ni jasnega razločevanja med lojalnostjo in domoljubjem, ampak sta uporabljena kot sinonima.

¹⁹ Nenazadnje je z Maastrichtsko pogodbo prišlo tudi do uvedbe evropskega državljanstva, ki predstavlja dopolnilo nacionalnemu državljanstvu (več o tem glej Lukšič Hacin 2005).

vdan zemlji, dediščini, državljanstvu in načelom oblasti, gre za lojalnost brez vprašanj, patriotizem označuje refleksivno sledenje, brezpogojno podporo voditeljem, konformizem, nesprejemljivost različnosti mnenj in podobno. Glede na pravila o zaposlovanju v Slovenski vojski, ki ne dovoljujejo zaposlovanja nedržavljanov in dvojnih državljanov, lahko sklepamo, da je patriotizem v Slovenski vojski razumljen ne le skozi državno pripadnost, ampak skozi nacionalno pripadnost. Naš sklep potrjujeta tudi še vedno močno prisoten stereotip o homogenosti slovenskega naroda in vezanost lojalnosti do države z lojalnostjo do naroda. Dvojno državljanstvo pa, kot pravi Barbara Kejžar, »domnevno spodkopava premiso o ekskluzivnosti nacionalne lojalnosti«. (2007: 180) Zato priseljenci, četudi imajo dovoljenje za bivanje in delovno dovoljenje, in dvojni državljani *a priori* niso lojalni slovenski državi/narodu in ne morejo biti dobri vojaki. Pri tem ni pomembno, katero državljanstvo imajo poleg slovenskega. Upoštevana niso državljanstva članic EU ter ostalih članic zveze NATO, izključeni pa so tudi Slovenci, ki imajo poleg slovenskega še državljanstvo druge države. Njihovo domoljubje je postavljeno pod vprašaj.

Ampak, že sama ideja domovine nima za vse posameznike enakega pomena. Lahko je romantičen cilj, h kateremu posameznik stremi, ali pa je samo geografska referenčna točka. (Skrbiš 1999: 40) Domovina je abstraktni pojem, je prostorska reprezentacija, nastala pod vplivom političnih in kulturnih faktorjev, je konstruirani in zamišljeni topos. (Skrbiš 1999: 38) V procesu migracij pa je intenzivnost navezanosti posameznika na domovino v veliki meri odvisna od časovne in prostorske bližine in/ali oddaljenosti od domovine, potrebno je upoštevati posameznikovo psihološko stanje, posameznikovo povezanost in odvisnost od socialnih mrež (institucije, socialni odnosi), konstrukcije identitet, predvsem pa stopnjo vključenosti in sprejetosti v družbo naselitve. Slednja je pogosto odvisna od večkulturne naravnosti družbe, ki ne postavlja nacionalnih zahtev pred pravice posameznika.²⁰ V modernih liberalnih družbah so danes sprejete oziroma celo spodbujane številne lojalnosti, kot na primer lojalnost do verske skupnosti, športnega kluba, lokalne skupnosti, ki pa niso razumljene kot nekompatibilne z lojalnostjo do države (Martin 2002 v Kejžar 2007: 165).

Večdimenzionalnost vrednote: patriotizem ali »patriotizem«?

Večplastnost domoljubja je že sredi 19. stoletja opredelil Alexis de Tocqueville, ki je pisal o dveh koncepcijah patriotizma: prva predstavlja instinktiven, nesebičen in nerazločljiv občutek, ki izpričuje naklonjenost človeka do njegovega rojstnega kraja. Ta vrsta patriotizma govori o zvestobi do tradicionalnih navad in vsebuje zdravo spoštovanje do preteklosti. Tocqueville je verjel, da je ta patriotizem »sam po sebi vrsta religije: ni razumen, ampak deluje iz impulza vere in čustvovanja«. (de Tocqueville 1994) Druga

²⁰ Predvsem sprejetost priseljencev v družbo naselitve je pomembna za formiranje odnosa posameznika do družbe, države in njenih institucij. Vključevanje in sprejemanje priseljencev v slovensko družbo pa vse pre pogosto ovirajo predstave in načini mišljenja, ki se idejno napajajo v medijih in popularni kulturi (več o tem glej Mlekuž 2008).

konceptija patriotizma je racionalneje utemeljena in ima tako več globine ter je bolj dolgoživa. »Človek razume vpliv, ki ga ima blagostanje domovine nanj; zaveda se, da mu zakoni dovoljujejo, da prispeva k temu blagostanju in si prizadeva k njegovi promociji, prvič, ker mu koristi, in drugič, ker je deloma tudi njegovo lastno delo«. (de Tocqueville 1994) Prva konceptija patriotizma je bližja pojmovanju patriotizma v smislu etničnega nacionalizma, ki je značilen za slovensko družbo in njene institucije, druga konceptija je bližja postmodernističnemu pojmovanju patriotizma v smislu naprednega ideala ustavnega patriotizma ali po Westheimerju idealnemu tipu demokratičnega patriotizma. (Haček 2008: 4)²¹

Po Debeljaku bistvena razlika med patriotom in nacionalistom temelji na principu (iz) (v)ključevanja. Patriot sprejema mnogonarodnost in večkulturnost, zmožen je »gojiti kozmopolitske ideje«, nacionalist ju prezira, jih odklanja. Patriotovo obnašanje v demokratični politični ureditvi določa njegova strpnost do kulturne raznolikosti, še posebej do narodnih manjšin. (Debeljak 2004: 208–210) Če patriotizem merimo po vatlih strpnosti, lahko mirno zatrdimo, da med mladimi v Sloveniji ni visoko na vrednostni lestvici, še toliko bolj, če ga razumejo v smislu avtoritarnega patriotizma. In prav imamo. V raziskavah o mladih v Sloveniji je bil patriotizem v zadnjem desetletju v sredini vrednostne lestvice (Ule in Kuhar 2002). Usmerjene raziskave *Slovenska mladina in vojaški poklic*, opravljene leta 1997 in ponovno leta 2000, so sicer pokazale, da je bilo pred desetimi leti med mladimi zaznati visoko stopnjo patriotske usmerjenosti. (Grizold in drugi 2001a, 2001b) Vendar bi lahko visoko stopnjo pripravljenosti mladih za obrambo domovine pred zunanjim agresorjem povezali z dvema dejavnikoma: s situacijo relativne varnostne negotovosti v času pred vstopom Slovenije v zvezo NATO ter Evropsko unijo in konec devetdesetih let je bila vojna za samostojnost Slovenije ter vojna med nekdanjimi jugoslovanskimi republikami še ne tako davna preteklost. Glede na odsotnost najnovejših primerljivih raziskav vrednot med mladimi v Sloveniji ne moremo podati verodostojne slike današnje patriotske usmerjenosti te skupine. Intenzivni napor nekaterih ključnih državnih institucij v raziskovanju in posledično oblikovanju modela domovinske oziroma patriotske vzgoje²² pa kažejo na to, da je stanje patriotske usmerjenosti mladih v Sloveniji zaskrbljujoče, s čimer je po mnenju nekaterih ogrožena tudi demokracija (več o tem glej Šumi 2008).

Da pa patriotizem ni najpomembnejši dejavnik za izbiro vojaškega poklica, je pokazala sodobnejša²³ raziskava stališč do vojaškega poklica (torej razlogov, ki bi človeka pripeljali do odločitve, da izbere vojaški poklic), ki je bila opravljena med pripadniki Slovenske

²¹ Demokratični patriotizem je nasproten avtoritarnemu patriotizmu, saj vključuje vdanost nizu demokratičnih načel, kot so kritičnost, opreznost, spraševanje, spoštovanje in spodbujanje različnosti mnenj, skrb za ljudi znotraj družbe na temelju svobode, pravičnosti in podobno (Haček 2008: 5).

²² V to spadajo posodabljanje učnega načrta predmeta državljanska vzgoja in etika z razširitvijo na »domovinske vsebine« in financiranje ciljno raziskovalnih projektov, kot so *Domovinska in patriotska vzgoja v RS* (trajal 2006–2007; sofinancer MORS), *Državljska in domovinska vzgoja v slovenskem šolstvu* (trajal 2006–2008; sofinancer MŠŠ), *Državljska in domovinska vzgoja v osnovni in srednji šoli: izbrani zgledi in podlage za strokovno preureditev vsebin* (trajal 2005–2007; sofinancer MŠŠ), *Razvoj patriotizma med mladimi* (trajal 2007–2009; sofinancer MORS).

²³ Anketiranje je bilo opravljeno meseca maja 2007 (Jakič 2008: 136).

vojske. Patriotizem je bil na sredini lestvice pomembnih razlogov, zaradi katerih se posameznik odloči za opravljanje vojaškega poklica. Prednostni razlogi so bili nezaposlenost, naklonjenost do orožja in vojaškega življenja, želja po avanturah ter varovanje vrednot svobode in demokracije (Jakič 2008: 167). Če drzno zaključimo: glede na »prevrednotenje« vrednot, dinamične spremembe v slovenski družbi in formiranjem slovenske vojske kot delovne organizacije (s sistematizacijo delovnih mest, štirideseturnim delavnikom, možnostjo odpovedi delovnega razmerja, ipd.) avtoritarni patriotizem ni dovolj močan motiv za delo v vojski in tudi ne more biti več odločilni dejavnik za uspešno delovanje sodobnih vojaških sil. Ne zanikamo patriotizma kot vrednote v njenem bistvu, poudarjamo le, da izpostavljanje takšnega tipa patriotizma v zaposlovalni politiki vojske ni konstruktivno.

Patriotizem bo v vojaških silah brez dvoma ostal vrednota, vendar v sodobnejši »preobleki«. Tudi raziskave patriotizma pri ameriških profesionalnih vojaki so pokazale, da ima sodobni patriotizem v varnostnih silah nove dimenzije. Pojav pa ni omejen samo na vojsko ZDA, ampak ga je možno zaznati tudi v vrstah oboroženih sil drugih držav. Spremembe so nastale predvsem zaradi angažiranja sodobnih nacionalnih vojska pri zagotavljanju mednarodne varnosti, tako imenovanega globalnega miru.²⁴ Spremenilo se je tudi dojemanje patriotizma kot temeljne vojaške vrednote. S spremembo v družbeni paradigmi je prišlo do spremembe v vlogi in nalogah sodobne vojske. Grizold piše o *post-military era* oziroma o povojaškem obdobju (Grizold 1994: 179–180). Dojemanje vojaške službe tako ni več v smislu tradicionalnega patriotizma, saj primarni cilj ni obramba lastne države. Z novimi dimenzijami patriotizma pa tudi stara tradicionalna (*alias* avtoritarna) oblika patriotizma ni več učinkovita. Spremenila se je vloga sodobnih oboroženih sil, zato tradicionalna vloga (pripravljanje na izvajanje oboroženega boja in varovanje meja lastne države) vse bolj izgublja na pomenu. Ker je varnost postala večdimenzionalni pojem, je tudi patriotizem večdimenzionalen. Tako patriotizem dopolnjujejo demokracija, temeljne svoboščine, svoboda izbire in govora, altruizem in pozitiven odnos do okolja v globalnem smislu (Kodrič 2001).

Pomembnost relativnega prilagajanja družbeni dinamiki poudarja tudi Jelušič (1997) v svoji razpravi o legitimnosti sodobnega vojaštva. Avtorica ugotavlja, da se je v devetnajstem in dvajsetem stoletju izjemno povečala baza za socialno rekrutacijo vojaške profesije, pri čemer gre predvsem za trend k socialni reprezentativnosti, ki izraža velike socioekonomske preobrazbe v predstavah javnosti o profesionalnem vojaku (ibid.: 122).²⁵ Tipičen primer predstavlja zaposlovanje žensk v vojaški službi, s čimer se je reprezentativnost vojske kot družbene institucije močno povečala in posledično utrdila svojo legitimnost v obdobju,

²⁴ Na spremenjeno dojemanje patriotizma imajo vpliv migracijski procesi, globalizacija in utrjevanje multikulturalizma.

²⁵ V tem zgodovinskem obdobju se je "zmanjšalo ... število plemičev, številčno so narasli srednji sloji, povečanje oboroženih sil v večini dežel pa je predpostavljalo tudi večji kadrovske prispevek vseh slojev k oficirskim kadrom, pojavile so se nove možnosti za izobraževanje in socialno mobilnost, ki so jih ponujale vojaške izobraževalne ustanove, posebej privlačne za depriviligirane sloje" (Jelušič 2007: 122).

ko se je v družbi vzpostavila relativna enakopravnosti med spoloma.²⁶ Za zagotavljanje reprezentativnosti vojske je izredno pomembna tudi etnična rekrutacija, pri čemer gre za zaposlovanje predstavnikov različnih etničnih skupin, državljanov nacionalne države (Jelušič 1997: 124). Da je etnična rekrutacija pomembna za reprezentativnost vojske, se zavedajo tudi v največji vojaški velesili sveta.²⁷ Zaradi spremenjene vloge obrambnih sil, dinamičnih migracijskih in demografskih sprememb, predvsem pa zaradi pomanjkanje kadra (tudi zaradi izgub v Iraku in Afganistanu) vojska Združenih držav Amerike že dalj časa zaposluje priseljence brez državljanstva ZDA, a s stalnim prebivališčem in dovoljenjem za delo. Ameriška vojska se kot delovna organizacija prilagaja družbenim spremembam in hkrati izkorišča spremembe v svoj prid. Ohranja reprezentativnost v ameriški družbi, hkrati pa pridobiva izobražen in lojalen kader. Leta 2009 pa so celo začeli izvajati program o zaposlovanju tujcev, tako imenovanih začasnih priseljencev. Le-ta priseljencem poleg zaposlitve ponuja tudi možnost pridobiti državljanstvo. (Preston 2009)

ZAKLJUČEK

Sodobna družbena dinamika, predvsem demografska situacija, migracijska gibanja in spremembe vrednot mladih, imajo velik vpliv na trend zaposlovanja v vojaških institucijah zahodnih držav. V članku ugotavljamo, da se progresivno staranje prebivalstva in pomanjkanje delovne sile za specifične poklice, predvsem v sferi gospodarstva, odraža v povečanem povpraševanju delodajalcev po delovnih migrantih. Prilagajanje družbeni dinamiki pa je v gospodarstvu vendarle lažje kot v tako specifični družbeni instituciji, kot je vojska, katere delovanje je zgodovinsko utemeljeno na t.i. tradicionalnih vrednotah in patriotizmu.

Tradicionalne vrednote, ki so vojaštvu načeloma bolj naklonjene, so zamenjale bolj individualistične in liberalno usmerjene vrednote. Le-te so dokaj nezdržljive z načinom delovanja vojaške organizacije, ki je ena izmed najbolj rigidnih družbenih institucij. Slovenska vojska se kot del zveze NATO in EU vključuje v mednarodno varnostno dogajanje. S profesionalno vojsko so tako prišle v ospredje nalog slovenskih oboroženih sil tudi naloge humanitarne, mirovne in druge narave. Ob sodobnem razumevanju patriotizma in dojemanju vojske kot delovne organizacije pa etnično poreklo in izključno slovensko državljanstvo ne bi smela več imeti odločilne vloge pri odločanju za delovno mesto vojaka, še manj pri sprejemu na to delovno mesto.

Proces oblikovanja uspešne in kadrovske razvite poklicne vojske je lahko dolgotrajen,

²⁶ "Za vojske, v katerih ni vojaške službe za ženske, bi se lahko vprašali, le kakšna reprezentativna družbena institucija je to, v kateri polovica prebivalstva sploh ni zastopana?" (Jelušič 2007: 123)

²⁷ Obramboslovka in aktualna obrambna ministrica Ljubica Jelušič je v intervjuju za Mag priznala, da se zaposlovanju *tujcev* tudi Slovenska vojska ne bo mogla izogniti in bo v tem le sledila drugim evropskim nacionalnim vojskam, kot na primer belgijski in nizozemski. (Glücks 2006; poudarek avtoric) Najstarejši primer zaposlovanja tujcev v vojski pa predstavlja legalna profesionalna vojaška organizacija Francoska Legija tujcev, ki jo je leta 1831 ustanovil francoski kralj Ludvik Filip.

zato je prilagajanje spremembam v družbi lahko velik izziv. Razhajanja med sodobnimi družbenimi vrednotami mladih in tradicionalnimi vrednotami, ki jih goji Slovenska vojska, so zaradi narave delovne organizacije, kot je vojska, najbrž neizogibna. Vendar bo vojaška organizacija morala redefinirati svoj položaj v družbi in bolj uspešno slediti tempu, ki ga narekuje civilna družba, kajti v nasprotnem primeru bo postajala vedno bolj zaprta in izolirana od družbenega okolja. Spoznanje, da vojska ne izraža v celoti družbe, v kateri deluje, ima lahko v sodobni javnosti negativen vpliv na njeno legitimnost. Razrahljanje legitimnosti pa nedvomno povratno negativno vpliva na interes mladih za zaposlitev v vojski in na zadrževanje obstoječega kadra. Slovenska vojska bi bistveno več naredila za povečanje števila svojega kadra z 1. učinkovitimi ukrepi v smeri celostne oskrbe vojakov, 2. s sprejemanjem vedenja o različnih lojalnostih, kot so na primer lojalnost do delovne organizacije, lojalnost do dveh ali več držav, 3. z uporabo in krepitevijo teh različnih lojalnosti in 4. z opravo omejevanja zaposlovanja dvojnih državljanov in prebivalcev Slovenije brez slovenskega državljanstva, med katerimi so tudi državljani članic EU in zveze NATO.

Potreba po vojaškem kadru je stalna, vendar je glede na tradicionalno, na narod vezano koncepcijo patriotizma najbrž še zelo daleč do trenutka, ko se bodo v Slovenski vojski lahko zaposlovali ljudje brez slovenskega državljanstva ali z dvojnimi državljanstvom, četudi gre za državljane članic EU, osebe slovenskega porekla z dvojnimi državljanstvom ali ljudi s stalnim prebivališčem v Sloveniji. Strah nacionalistov pred tem »nepatriotskim« dejanjem je morda nasploh povsem odveč, saj bo gospodarska kriza, ki smo ji priča, povečala število iskancev zaposlitve tudi v Slovenski vojski. To je pa že povsem druga zgodba.

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SUMMARY

THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL DYNAMICS ON EMPLOYMENT IN THE SLOVENIAN ARMY AND ASSESSMENT OF PATRIOTISM

Kristina Toplak, Mojca Vah

The article focuses on social changes that are the consequences of migration, demographic and ethnic dynamics in Slovenia. The authors evaluate the significance of demographic dynamics in particular and changes in the values and employment aspirations of youth regarding the Slovenian Army. They find that the entire Slovenian economy faces a lack of suitable personnel in certain areas, and fills the vacant jobs with foreign workers to a greater or lesser degree of success. However, in contrast to various areas of business, the Slovenian Army refuses to employ immigrants/residents in Slovenia without Slovenian citizenship, and also refuses to employ persons who hold dual citizenship and those who are citizens of EU countries. The reasons for this restrictive employment policy can be found among other things in the disconnect between the values fostered by the Slovenian Army and the contemporary social values, and even more in the traditionalist and above all one-dimensional understanding of patriotism as a fundamental value of the Slovenian Army.

The traditional values to which the military in principle adheres have today been replaced by more individualistic and liberal values, which are somewhat incompatible with the operating procedure of a military organisation. Patriotism as it is traditionally conceived, which the Army's employment policy indirectly upholds as a condition for getting a job, thus acquires new dimensions which correspond to the social changes

of the current times. Loyalty to one's country is understood through nationality, and therefore dual citizens are a priori unacceptable as professional (sic!) soldiers. Modern liberal societies tolerate and even encourage loyalties to various groups, which however does not mean that they are incompatible with loyalty to the state. The authors find that the following factors in particular raise issues about the negative effect on employment dynamics in the Slovenian Army and above all about its role in society: the Slovenian Army's inability to adapt to social and particularly migration trends in Slovenia, changing values and lifestyle orientations among youths, which the Army as an employment institution does not yet take into account, and finally modern trends of patriotism, which are the consequence of liberal attitudes, global security policy and the changing role of military forces around the world.

IZIDOR CANKAR AND THE ROYAL YUGOSLAV LEGATION IN BUENOS AIRES

Andrej RAHTEN¹

ABSTRACT

Izidor Cankar and the Royal Yugoslav Legation in Buenos Aires

The article discusses activities of the Slovenian diplomat Dr. Izidor Cankar at the diplomatic representation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Buenos Aires in the period 1936–1942. The research of his activities is based on sources from the archives in Ljubljana and Belgrade, with a particular focus on his correspondence with leading Slovene politicians on the eve of the Second World War and during the War itself. Cankar asserted himself as a self-confident diplomat, while at the same time being the first Yugoslav envoy to set as a priority concern for the Slovene emigrants from the Primorska region.

KEY WORDS: Izidor Cankar, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Argentina, diplomacy, Slovene emigrants

IZVLEČEK

Izidor Cankar in Kraljevo jugoslovansko poslaništvo v Buenos Airesu

Članek obravnava delovanje slovenskega diplomata dr. Izidorja Cankarja na diplomatskem predstavništvu Kraljevine Jugoslavije v Buenos Airesu v letih 1936–1942. Raziskava njegovega delovanja temelji na virih iz arhivov v Ljubljani in Beogradu, pri čemer je še zlasti natančno ovrednotena njegova korespondenca z vodilnimi slovenskimi politikami na predvečer druge svetovne vojne in med vojno samo. Cankar se je suvereno uveljavil kot diplomatski predstavnik, hkrati pa je bil prvi jugoslovanski poslanik, ki si je kot prioriteto zastavil skrb za slovenske izseljence iz Primorske.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: Izidor Cankar, Kraljevina Jugoslavija, Argentina, diplomacija, slovenski izseljenci

INTRODUCTION: A SLOVENE IN THE ROYAL YUGOSLAV DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

Dr. Izidor Cankar (1886–1958) is certainly not unknown in Slovenia, albeit not as alive and present in the consciousness of the Slovenes as his more famous cousin, writer Ivan Cankar. Even though he may have never boasted the writing talent of his relative,

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he exhibited mastery at blending expertise from different spheres of creativity: from history of art and literary criticism to diplomacy and politics. All of his fields of work have already been subjected to scientific scrutiny, with the single exception of his diplomatic activity. This article discusses his activities as Royal Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of Yugoslavia to Buenos Aires (1936–1942).

By then he had already had an interesting but short-lived experience of participating, as a priest and high-ranking Member of the Slovene People's Party, in establishing the Yugoslav state in 1918, and a longer and certainly splendid academic career. Cankar set the foundations for Slovene history of art as an academic discipline and his books continue to serve as a source of inspiration for Slovene experts. Moreover, a brief entry in the *Slovenski biografski leksikon*, which he himself edited from 1925 to 1928, merely defines him as an "art historian", although this was only one of his many fields of activity. There was much controversy regarding his marriage to Niča Hribar and excommunication from the Catholic Church.² Cankar's decision to enter the diplomatic service was not a result of long-term plans, but a spontaneous act when an opportunity presented itself. Changes of place and profession were an everyday practice in his life. But as is evident from the preserved correspondence, his appointment to Buenos Aires was a result of combinations among parties and efforts to strike a political balance in the diplomatic corps of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Argentina proved a major challenge for Cankar in every respect. However, he embarked on his diplomatic mission with the same emblematic perfectionist approach and zeal which he had maintained throughout his public service career. Except for a short note in the book on the Slovenes in Argentina published by Marko Sjekloča (2004) and based, among others, on archival sources, the descriptions of Cankar's work in Buenos Aires have so far drawn exclusively on memoirs. Therein one can find various evaluations spanning from extremely critical to amiably respectful (Hladnik 1978: 166–168; Brulc 1990: 115–143).

Cankar was one of the few Slovenes whom the Slovene People's Party's influence helped attain a high position in Yugoslav diplomacy. The lobbying for his appointment as Envoy to Argentina was coordinated by the two most influential politicians of the Slovene People's Party, Dr. Anton Korošec and Fran Kulovec. The then Prime Minister Milan Stojadinović obviously understood Korošec's hint and in May 1936 instructed Kulovec "to find an envoy position for two Slovenes." There were two openings at stake: Buenos Aires and Oslo. By that time Stojadinović had already taken notice of Cankar, and Kulovec only confirmed that Korošec's friend was "indeed the most suited" candidate. Stojadinović intended to send him to Oslo, from where he would cover five Northern European countries. Cankar was clearly more excited about Oslo than Buenos Aires, "because these Nordic countries have always been my dream." Nevertheless he had considerable doubts about the seriousness of the offer, at least in the beginning. He was paralysed by indecision and already "absorbed in a number of projects at home, but the worst of it is that you can never count on anything for certain."³

² Cf. Personal file of Izidor Cankar, Archives of the Slovene Biographical Lexicon.

³ Letter from Izidor to Niča Cankar, 26 May 1936, Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, Department

In early June 1936, when he visited Belgrade, he still received no assurances about his candidacy, even though he accepted it in principle.⁴ But on 18 June he finally received Stojadinović's notice that all formalities had been completed regarding his appointment as envoy – only not to Oslo, as he had hoped, but to Buenos Aires. Cankar found out why he had been assigned to Argentina in a conversation with the Ban of the Dravska *banovina* Marko Natlačén. He told him that he was once asked by Stojadinović whether he knew any candidate for Argentina. But when he reported to Korošec about it, the latter was determined: "You will seek no one; we will not let Cankar fall." Stojadinović, however, pursued his inquiries further and suggested to the Ban that Cankar should be sent to Oslo or Brussels. But Korošec once again refused: "Cankar has already agreed to go to Buenos Aires, but his departure was hindered by certain intrigues; now we shall live up to our plan. We have a vested interest too; we have no business in Oslo and nothing to gain in Brussels; sending him there would merely mean not keeping him at home. Our people are in Argentina." By insisting on his own way, the popular "Koro" rendered a poor service to his friend, who was looking forward to Oslo. But Cankar did not complain and informed his wife that he would loyally respect Korošec's wishes:

I have not given Stojadinović my answer yet. Tomorrow I am setting out for Belgrade to have a talk with Korošec. If he says that I should go, then I will even go to Argentina. The Ban told me that Koro would insist on it.⁵

After Korošec had his final say things went pretty smoothly. On 13 July 1936 the Royal Regents issued a decree appointing Cankar as Royal Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of Yugoslavia to Buenos Aires.⁶ As early as 28 September 1936 Cankar asked his wife to send him her photograph, together with those of their daughter Veronika and housekeeper Nina Kulakova, who would accompany them to Argentina.⁷ He set out as late as October and arrived in Argentina on 2 November (DŽ 1936: 291–292). At the diplomatic mission he was received by the Counsellor, Dr. Stojanović, and assumed his duties on 7 November.⁸

A LEADER OF THE YUGOSLAV EMIGRANT COMMUNITY

The first Slovene families already began arriving in Argentina before World War I, during the days of its greatest economic prosperity. In the beginning of the 20th century

for Preservation of Archival Material of WWII, AS 1660, Personal collection of Izidor Cankar, [hereinafter: ARS, PCIC], fascicle 3.

⁴ Letter from Izidor to Niča Cankar, 2 June 1936, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

⁵ Letter from Izidor to Niča Cankar, 20 June 1936, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

⁶ Letter from Stojadinović to Cankar, sent 16 August 1936, Archives of Serbia and Montenegro [hereinafter: ASM], fund 334, fascicle 202.

⁷ Letter from Izidor to Niča Cankar, 28 September 1936, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

⁸ Telegram from Cankar to the Foreign Ministry, 16 November 1936, ASM, fund 334, fascicle 202.

there were only 200 Slovene families, mostly of engineers, stonecutters and technicians. The period of planned and mass Slovene settlements in Latin America started in 1923, as a result of the Fascist pressure in the Littoral (i.e. Primorska), which was assigned to Italy under the Treaty of Rapallo. Most emigrants found sanctuary in Argentina, although smaller numbers also settled in Uruguay and Brazil. The emigration wave was interrupted by the economic crisis in 1929. The research so far reveals differing numbers of Slovene emigrants settling Argentina during the interwar period. The most frequently cited figure is 25,000; however, it most likely also includes the occurrences of “return migration” to their home country (Sjekloča 2004: 76–79). Of all the Yugoslav nations, the Croats established the largest emigration community in Argentina.

At first the Slovene colony was concentrated in the Paternal residential district of Buenos Aires and later spread to other parts of the city, particularly Villa Devota, Saavedra, San Martín and Avellaneda (Hladnik 1978: 161). Most Slovene emigrants came from the Littoral, but large numbers also came from the Prekmurje province, formerly a Hungarian territory that became part of the SHS Kingdom after World War I. In spite of forming a small community, the Slovenes organised themselves into various associations which corresponded to their worldviews and reflected the variety of political identities in their home country. The consolidating role among the significant number of unorganised Slovene settlers was assumed by the emigrant clergy. This mission was initiated by Jože Kastelic, who founded the journal *Duhovno življenje* in 1933. In 1936 he was joined by Janez Hladnik, who became the editor of the journal after his arrival in Buenos Aires. That same year the group was further extended to include David Doktorič, a member of the Council of Priests of St. Paul, an underground anti-Fascist association of Christian Socials based in the Littoral. In order to escape the Fascist threat Doktorič first fled from Gorizia-Gradisca to Yugoslavia and then emigrated across the ocean. He was given the position of the emigrant Uruguay correspondent to the Yugoslav Ministry of Social Affairs and Health. On this basis and due to his appointment as a temporary attaché at the Legation in Buenos Aires with his seat in Montevideo, Doktorič became an official employee of the state (Mislej 1996: 17–33).

Even though Yugoslavia had a considerable emigrant community, Belgrade evidently failed to treat it as a priority. When Cankar’s predecessor Ivan Schwegel, a former Austro-Hungarian diplomat and deputy of Radić’s Croatian Peasant Party (notwithstanding his Slovene origin) before the imposition of Royal Dictatorship, arrived in Buenos Aires in August 1931, he found the Legation in utter anarchy. Later he described his impressions vividly in his autobiography:⁹

I found the Legation in a serious state of disarray and immediately set to shovel all that rubbish out, much to the disapproval of the office staff, in case they might be called to responsibility. A large part of the correspondence that had reached the Legation or its subordinate General Consulate was still left unopened or duly processed; letters were lying around, some also in the attic or under the staircase.

⁹ Ivan Švegel [Schwegel], *Avtobiografija*, Archives of the Slovene Biographical Lexicon.

The clients waited for a reply in vain as also the drafted letters were not reworked into fair copies, whereas those that actually were remained unsigned and unsent, cluttering the office. Little wonder that there were so many complaints. I remember a man who once came from Mendoza, a thirty-hour train ride from Buenos Aires, and protested about not having been issued the power of attorney by the Consulate. As a result, he was left without legal representation in his home country and ultimately lost his suit, just because the official issuing credentials was an incompetent illiterate, not even capable of putting a visa on a passport. He was apparently an old friend of the Minister and later Prime Minister Jevtić, and a school friend of King Alexander in Cetinje. He had the genuine appearance of a little Oriental, always walking around perfumed, explaining to everyone that 'he would die for the honour of himself and his family', and that his sole mission at the Legation was to supervise me. Perhaps there was some truth in it, because he was thrown out soon after I left. The Secretary of the Legation was one Pierre Neumann from Osijek, who renamed himself Zorislav Dragutinović after his father Dragutin and elbowed his way into Yugoslav diplomacy with the assistance of his wife, a native of Karlovac and an acquaintance of the fellow-citizen, Minister Dr. Lukinić. He never demonstrated any substantial knowledge, most particularly not in economics and trade. What the Charge d'Affaires would do instead is send to Belgrade at least one long, dim-witted report per week about the Croats' anti-state atmosphere and activities, to establish himself as an outstanding official. As for those whom he denounced, the grandmothers of emigrants he did not like, they were tortured by the authorities or police somewhere in Lika or Dalmatia.

But what the methodical Schwegel, remaining loyal to the old Austrian methods of diplomacy, found most irritating was that his predecessor, Dr. Stražnicki, had exploited his position for his own private gain:

We were all well paid – I personally a little more than 1000 dollars per month, and my predecessors even more – but that would not suffice for the Envoy, Dr. Stražnicki, who tried to save the whole salary every month. The Legation had to let go of a man in charge of cleaning the building, which was bestowed on us by our wealthy compatriot, former Austrian General Consul and Baron, and a native of Dalmatia, Mihanović, because our Envoy paid that sum to his cook, even when he was away in Uruguay for several months at a time – a country to which he was not accredited – to avoid his diplomatic duties. He would complain to everyone that the state did not pay him enough. He went as far as to fool a wealthy Jew from Slavonia into lending him his automobile. Quite soon the Jew himself, as he would later recount, was unable to drive, because the Envoy needed the automobile for himself the entire day. To any such objection as: 'Mr. Minister, you can afford all that with your own salary,' he would say, 'Excuse me, don't talk to me about my salary, this is my private matter.' Then he finally thought of a way out of 'poverty.' They introduced a special arbitrary fee which they called 'administrative expenditure'. On the basis of that decree they would then levy a tax on every client that came to the office – most often in vain – according to some imaginary scale in their heads that used the victims' clothes or

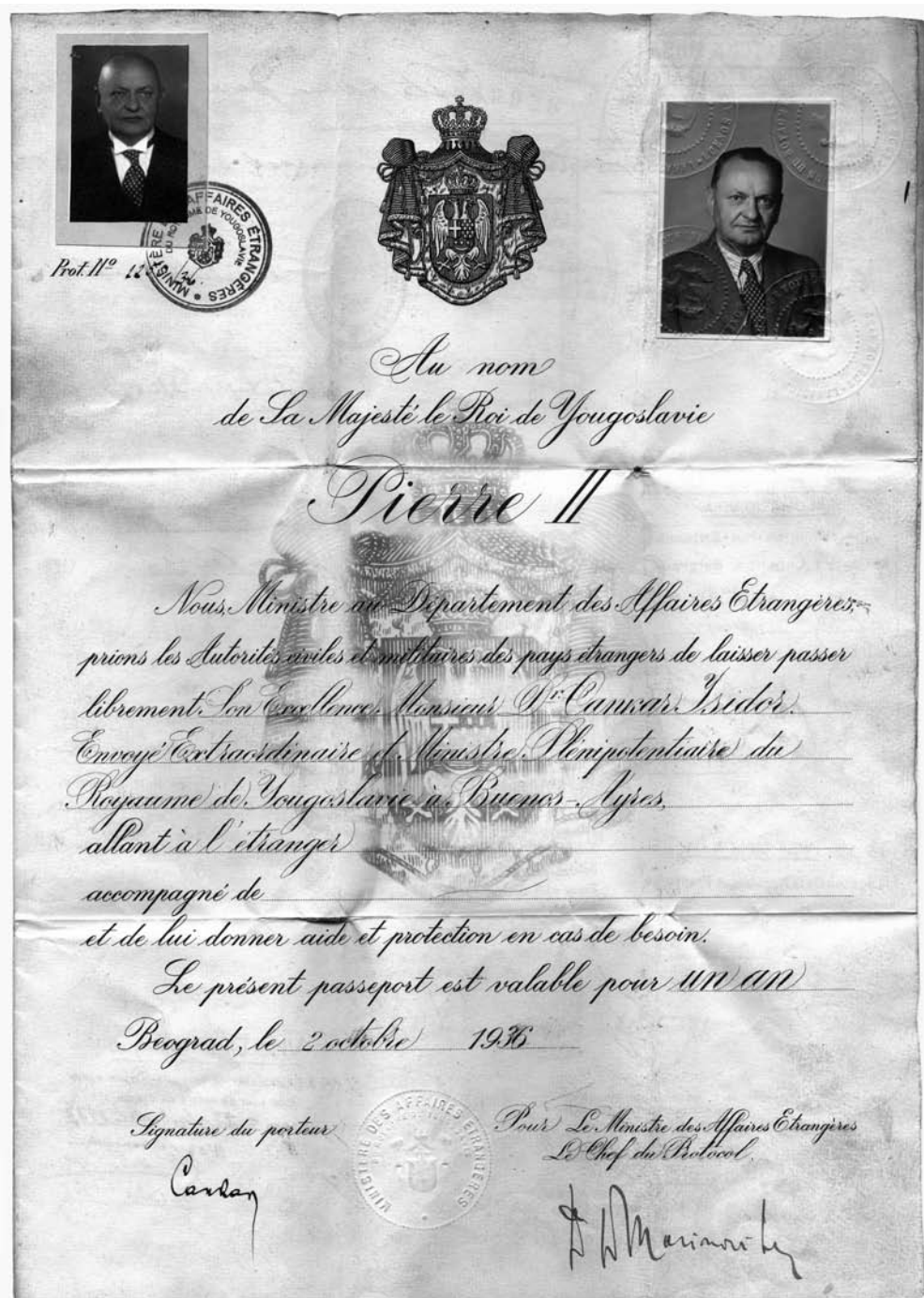
appearance as the basic criterion of their fortune. The bad experience has led us to blame the Balkans for such incivilities. But there are no Serbs here, only *prejčani* (Serbs from the former Austria-Hungary – transl. note). So much money has been accumulated in this manner that the Envoy or Charge d’Affaires could easily live off those assets, while setting the salary and other savings aside. This also explains why Envoy Stražnicki thought, when setting out for a holiday and rest from not working, that he could propose to his secretary to renounce the Charge d’Affaires bonus from the Envoy salary and live off the ‘administrative expenditure’. They argued and became enemies.

The Government in Belgrade had no idea about what was happening. Schwegel realised that only when he decided to send the money accrued from the “administrative expenditure” to Belgrade and the Secretary Dragutinović asked him not to. Schwegel nevertheless informed the Ministry about the misconduct of Stražnicki, who was in the meantime rewarded with the position of Charge d’Affaires to the Hague, but received no answer from Belgrade. Little wonder that he left the Legation after only one year and a half and returned to his home country.

When Cankar disembarked from the “proud transoceanic ship with a Yugoslav national flag hoisted on the mast” in the early hours of 2 November 1936, he most likely did not know what the situation was at the Legation. But he was certainly pleased to read the comments in the emigrant journal *Duhovno življenje*, stating that the Slovenes received the arrival of the “cousin of the famous writer Ivan Cankar” with “great satisfaction” and confidence that they would “find him as a man deserving a place in high society.” Cankar’s qualities that were particularly highlighted in the weekly were his editorship of the journal *Dom in svet*, which had “reached a peak of greatness under his editorial direction that has neither before nor since been seen again,” and his outstanding service during World War I, when “he considered it his most important duty to prepare the Slovenes for the creation of the new state of Yugoslavia, co-founded the *Jugoslovan* weekly and stayed with it during the most trying of times” (DŽ 1936: 291–292).

The exalted greeting of the weekly, whose editor was favourably disposed towards Cankar (the new Envoy gave him 50 pesos for every single issue of *Duhovno življenje*, covering 25% of printing expenses), certainly said nothing about the dilemma facing the Argentine ecclesiastical circles when it became clear that the new Yugoslav Envoy was a “renegade priest”. The Archbishop of Buenos Aires, Santiago Luis Cardinal Copello, therefore came to Hladnik for an explanation, but the latter reassured him that Cankar had “the support of Dr. Korošec himself, who knew well why he assigned him to Argentina.” Following the assassination in Marseille in 1934 the situation within the Yugoslav colony in Argentina was becoming more and more serious with the intensifying activities of a strong group of Ustaše. As Hladnik wrote in his memoirs, Korošec knew that the Croato-Serbian aversions made Argentina “a hard nut” that could only be cracked by a person of strong authority (Hladnik 1978: 167).

In addition to nationalists of every stripe the emigrant community also included a



Photograph 1. The Royal Envoy: diplomatic passport of Izidor Cankar, issued in 1936 in the name of King Peter II Karadorđević (Source: Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts)

strong group of anti-monarchist Communists whose revolutionary mentality also made them extremely unpopular with the Argentine authorities. The Argentine Legation thus reported in Belgrade in October 1933 that most Yugoslav emigrants “objected to Serbian hegemony” and that the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry “deem Buenos Aires too harsh an environment for a Yugoslav diplomat, for the incessant attacks which the Argentine Yugoslavs commit against the representatives of their country are so brutal that they may also be the true reason for their unhappiness” (Sjekloča 2004: 245–249). Having distinguished himself as a co-founder of Yugoslavia, Cankar was unquestionably best suited and ambitious enough for such a demanding task.

Cankar immediately threw himself into his work. Owing to his efforts, the Coordination Committee for Yugoslav Education was established on 30 January 1937 (DŽ 1937: 2). With Cankar’s substantial financial support the school sisters from Maribor organised a Slovene primary school and kindergarten in the Paternal (Hladnik 1978: 164–165; Sjekloča 2004: 160). He fostered the consolidation of Slovene weeklies and took the initiative to launch *Slovenski list*. He commissioned the architect Viktor Sulčič to design the plans for the Jugoslovanski dom cultural centre which was planned to unite the entire Yugoslav community (Mislej 1989). On 25 June 1939, the foundation stone was laid by Cankar as part of the St. Vitus’ Day celebrations.¹⁰

Cankar established a considerably more equitable relationship with the Littoral Slovenes than his predecessors, who had strictly treated them as Italian citizens (Mislej 1994: 86). Still mindful of his experience from the days of the Paris Peace Conference, during which he and other Slovene politicians could only helplessly observe the Great Powers bending to the Italian claims to the Littoral, he invested every effort as a diplomat in demonstrating his solidarity with compatriots who had fled from the Fascist brutality to Argentina. During World War II it was precisely the question of the Littoral and Trieste that most crucially affected his decision on which political option to support.

Cankar’s satisfaction with his new challenges, however, was soon marred by dissatisfaction with the working conditions. This is also evident from a letter sent to his friend, the poet Pavel Golia, dated 11 April 1937:¹¹

We are still residing in Martínez and shall remain here until the end of this month, when autumn finally and truly sets in. When I come to the cabinet at 10 o’clock, I become so absorbed in the work that I’m not even able to read the newspapers as a man of my current position is obliged to. It is consular work, for the most part, but also diplomatic, with all sorts of visits that do not bring any good. When I arrived here the Consular office was in such disorder that, compared to it, the Ljubljana Theatre sets an example of professional diligence. The archives from the previous years, which should be available at all times, are a shambles: there were piles of pending

¹⁰ Cf. Cankar’s note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 12 June 1939, Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Argentina, fund Yugoslavia, P. No. 2377/39.

¹¹ Letter from Cankar to Golia, 17 April 1937, The Legacy of Izidor Cankar, Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts.

documents lying in various corners, so that I could only recently sign the solutions for 1935; clients would wait for three days to have their passports signed; the Legation's negligence placed many a compatriot on the list of deserters, and one hundred legacies lying around, with no one to take notice, except for the unfortunate heirs in their home country, restlessly expecting the gifts from their uncle from America.

The chaos at the Legation notwithstanding, Cankar applied himself to clearing the office with great efficiency, much to the dismay of the officials. The only exception was Dr. Viktor Kjuder, a native of Trieste, employed at the Legation as a low-level clerk, with whom Cankar established a sincere friendship. This is also demonstrated by their extensive correspondence and the photography of Kjuder's wedding in 1938, published in *Duhovno življenje* (Hladnik 1978: 168). Kjuder was Cankar's "second self, a reliable and discreet man of sound judgement". Cankar knew that the Yugoslav "colonies were anxiously expecting their new state representative, all the more so because none of my predecessors has ever paid them a single visit." In his letter to Golia he proudly mentioned that as soon as he "saw our children drifting away from their own culture, thus destroying the very basis of our existence here, I started pressing the question of our schools, and I have advanced it so far as to see the opening of the first Slovene school last Monday, whereas the first Serbo-Croatian is soon to follow." What irritated him was that "during the preparations our Communists were walking from house to house, agitating among the parents not to send their children to the school, because it was a Fascist institution." The Communists, who according to the Czechoslovakian Envoy, Dr. František Kadeřábek, enjoyed strong support among the Slovene community, and whose parties "would always attract larger crowds than any other," were extremely well organised. Consequently, Cankar subsidised a left-wing newspaper called *Njiva* with the Legation's funds, although they were causing him a great deal of trouble (Brulc 1990: 121–122).

But in general, Cankar was, as he admitted to his friend Golia, tired and weary of the diplomatic life:

My personal life has never been as empty as it is now. As far as people are concerned, we are how we are, spoiled and choosy. This is why I don't find the offer here particularly inviting. Most friendships are certainly made with the Balkans and the Little Entente; kind people to the last, but worlds away from our interests and styles. And, also, the hardest part of what my new profession requires of me is to attend parties, talk about things and people that I have no knowledge of, but which is the very essence of the ever so important sociability. On the other hand, the consequence of that and the fact that every drink made here is a nasty poison, is the unprecedented solidity of my current life, in which an evening at the cinema constitutes an excess in the extreme, and not even the abundance of French wines stored in my cellar can make me fall into immoderation, so desperately needed at times, but devoid of God's blessing if nourished secretly in solitude. And just imagine, thanks to this boring life and laying my spiritless body to rest every evening in resignation, I am now in better health than I have been for years; I'm almost able

to sleep, my little duodenum is at complete rest, and I seek no doctor or medicine. Perhaps horse riding has something to do with it too, which I impose on myself three times per week, together with Niča, although my ribs still hurt from it. *En somme*, I would not shed a single tear if I am recalled tomorrow, under the condition, of course, that I was not summoned to return to Ljubljana. The fear from that city is lodged so deep in my bones as rheumatism in an old hunter. When I'm assigned a diplomatic clerk I will perhaps be able to return to my real work. But I fear he will not find the necessary assistance here.

Despite his initial pessimism, Cankar adjusted well to his new environment. In his memoirs Hladnik described the Envoy's work as follows: "In the diplomatic circles he enjoyed great reputation as a man of broad views and complete command of French and English. Under his guidance the Cuban Envoy, a poet I hear, translated several Prešeren's poems, particularly the magnificent 'O Vrba, srečna vas domača,' which I also perceived as an expression of home-sickness afflicting Dr. Cankar as a result of his break with the Church" (Hladnik 1978: 167).

Cankar's "defection crisis" also occupied the thoughts of others at the time. Ruda Jurčec (1969) described it thus:

When he [Cankar] was appointed Envoy to Buenos Aires, he was a confusing enigma to all his friends and acquaintances. In the morning he was a completely different person than at noon, and whoever had lunch with him at noon would have never recognised him in the evening. The curtain behind him would not be raised until his death; everything might have been completely different if he had lived to see the Second Vatican Council and its conclusions on cases such as his.

Due to his intense engagement in the emigrant community Cankar soon won their support. When he set off on a three-month holiday to Yugoslavia on 24 September 1937,¹² *Duhovno življenje* issued a very emotional description of his temporary farewell:

11 months of his [Cankar's] work and life among us. Volumes could be written about the deeds and sacrifices made from the last year's First December solemnities to the King's birthday this year, which has become a day of honour for Yugoslavia, in the light of such a numerous diplomatic attendance. How could it not be so? Every last one of the Ministers and representatives of states in this city came and made a bow to our flag. The love of our compatriots for Mr. Minister speaks more eloquently than words about his successful efforts among us. Despite the late hour hundreds of people and some 80 children had gathered to bid him a good journey. He was moved to see so many hands waving little flags to greet him and wish him a speedy return, hoping that he would deliver what our colony needs the most.

The entry clearly testifies that within the emigrant community Cankar found the

¹² Cf. letter from the Head of the Department of Personnel to the Legation in Buenos Aires, 9 December 1937; telegram from Cankar to the Foreign Ministry, 3 January 1938, ASM, fund 334, fascicle 202.

strongest support for his work precisely among the readers of Hladnik's journal *Duhovno življenje*. In the minds of this particular circle there was obviously no doubt that Yugoslavia was a monarchy, which is also evident from the poem *Bog čuvaj Jugoslavijo* (DŽ 1938: 4), published in 1938:

God save our Yugoslavia,
Our little land of grace,
God save our triune nation,
May it serve Your reign in faith.

God save our Sovereign,
Place the power in his hand,
To sail our state with wise command,
May he be our nation's guide,
A judge of a mind most fair,
To defend our home and
The glory of Your name.

A VISIT TO *ESTADO NOVO*

On 16 July 1937 the Government adopted a decision to also appoint Cankar as Envoy Extraordinary to the Brazilian Government.¹³ However, an entire year had to pass before the transfer of credentials took place, which also brought about minor complications, as in the meantime the Yugoslav Government opened a Legation in Rio de Janeiro. Cankar learnt about it from the newspapers and wrote to the Ministry inquiring whether he should set out for the Brazilian capital at all.¹⁴ Eventually he attended the inauguration of the new President of Uruguay¹⁵ before the transfer of credentials in Montevideo took place in June 1938 and journeyed to the Brazilian capital as late as August to present his credentials to Getúlio Dornelles Vargas (DŽ 1938: 33).

Cankar was obviously amused by the visit made to Vargas's *Estado Novo* to attend the presentation of credentials, which is also evident by a letter written to his wife on his return on 24 August 1938. He summarised his impressions from listening to the Yugoslav national anthem as follows:

¹³ Decision signed by the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Stojadinović, 16 July 1937, ASM, fund 334, fascicle 202.

¹⁴ Cf. Telegram from Cankar to the Foreign Ministry, 11 July 1938; letter from the Foreign Minister Cabinet, 18 July 1938; instruction of the Deputy Director of the Department of Administration, 21 July 1938; letter from the Head of the Department of Financial and Accounting Services to the Political Department of the Foreign Ministry, 7 October 1938; Decision of the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Stojadinović, 14 November 1938, ASM, fund 334, fascicle 202.

¹⁵ Letter of the Head of the Department of Personnel to the Department of Financial and Accounting Services, 23 June 1938, ASM, fund 334, fascicle 202.

I was calm there, healthy and happy, and it was quite a treat to hear the military band, black mostly, blow the 'Bože pravde' in the karaoke rhythm. How they glowed, with black cheeks under that sun, all blown out to their capacity.¹⁶

Niča, having left to see her country for a few months, later informed him from Belgrade about a rumour that he was going to become the new Envoy to Brazil. But Cankar was not at all impressed by the idea of moving to Rio de Janeiro:

For the past few days I have given much thought to whether we should do something, move there, and ultimately decided that we would not run: the summer climate is unbearable and the cultural desert even more desolate than here. And most importantly, if we leave, we'll stay there for the rest of our lives. As long as we remain in Baires, we still have a chance to move to a nicer country one day.¹⁷

In the end, Cankar's wish became true: on 1 March 1939 the new Envoy, Frano Cvjetiša, presented his credentials to Vargas.¹⁸

BEFORE THE STORM

On his return to Buenos Aires Cankar continued to pursue the life busy with receptions, dinners and festive events. On 10 September he described one such event to his wife in a letter written just one hour after they had spoken on the telephone. By way of introduction he first stressed that he felt uncomfortable with telephones and that he preferred to write her a letter:¹⁹

Dear Niča, phones are of no use. The tremendous excitement I could sense between us, not knowing whether we understood each other, and finally, the feeling that we hadn't said anything to each other. Veronika, still here with me, complains that she couldn't understand what you were saying, because your voice was 'too low' or, as we would say, not loud enough.

Having explained his scepticism about the use of telephone, Cankar turned to describing the last reception:

6 September was a great success, over 200 people, the President's representative, Foreign Minister, Minister of Justice and Education, Minister of the Navy, and the rest of the diplomatic circle. The concert was an excellent idea and masterfully

¹⁶ Letter from Izidor to Niča Cankar, 24 August 1938, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

¹⁷ Letter from Izidor to Niča Cankar, 5 October 1936, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

¹⁸ Cf. letter from Izidor to Niča Cankar, 15 October 1936, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

¹⁹ Letter from Izidor to Niča Cankar, 10 September 1938, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

performed, everyone was satisfied; I particularly enjoyed the Lipovšek Quartet, which many found too modern.

From time to time the cosy diplomatic life was interrupted by disputes in the Slovene colony. On 17 September 1938 Cankar wrote to his wife about one meeting he held with the author of the plans for the Jugoslovanski dom cultural centre:

A few days ago Sulčič unexpectedly resigned his membership from every society, which naturally caused a great deal of confusion. His wife was pressing him really hard, he said, to give her a divorce or relinquish cooperation with me. Last night we had dinner together at Chickenhouse, and he is willing to work again, but that won't last long. As much as Sulčič shies away from the colony, I'll seize every opportunity to keep away from any fashionable society whatsoever. Last night the Paraguayan held a reception, but I didn't go; I have also been invited by Georgijev to have lunch with him and the Topoljan family tomorrow, but I declined his invitation too: I'm so terribly exhausted of empty talk.²⁰



Photograph 2: The leader of the Yugoslav colony in Buenos Aires: Izidor Cankar with his wife Niča (in national costume), members of the Royal Mission of Yugoslavia and emigrants attending the 20th anniversary of the Yugoslav state in 1938 (Source: National and University Library Ljubljana).

Cankar spent much time away from his wife, a fact which caused him occasional embarrassment within the diplomatic corps. This is, for instance, evident from a letter dated 24 September 1938:

Darling Niča, it has been one month today since you came home, and I haven't re-

²⁰ Letter from Izidor to Niča Cankar, 17 September 1938, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

ceived any word from you yet. Conversing over cocktails, I'm turning into an object of ridicule, because everyone is naturally asking about you.²¹

His fellow diplomats were obviously not disturbed by the ancient history of the former priest's marriage. However, there is one account according to which Cankar only met with the Papal Nuncio alone. On such occasions "Niča would 'fall ill' and remain at home."²²

As is evident from a letter dated 27 October 1939 Niča's journeys home were also intended to lobby to secure her husband's position as Envoy:

here is this sinking feeling in me that I will not stay here long, and I sometimes wonder whether you should come to America at all. The latest issue of 'Argentinske novine' has also announced that you secured my place on your last year's trip, and that you have now set out for Europe with the same purpose; only that this time your intervention will be in vain. O may the words that came from the mouth of the waiter who wrote them become the voice of a prophet!²³

While Cankar moved from one tedious diplomatic salon to another, storm-clouds were gathering over Europe. On 29 September 1938 Great Britain and France signed the Munich Agreement, permitting Hitler to occupy the Sudetenland, which soon caused Czecho-Slovakia to disappear from the map. Immediately preceding this latest of Hitler's diplomatic victories, Cankar wrote about his concerns to his wife:

As one can gather from the news here, the situation in Europe is grim; the war is threatening to start tomorrow. Local newspapers are trying to reassure us that Yugoslavia will remain neutral, and so it shall be. No other alternative seems possible. Nevertheless, there is much disquiet here: at present, I have to keep a closer eye on the Czech, who is completely unable to eat or sleep, while she [the Envoy's wife] continues to pursue her business and talk politics with Ankica [Sulčič].²⁴

But on receiving the news from Europe, Cankar felt sorry for his Czecho-Slovakian colleague: "This week has been horrible: the war. It is better now, but I deeply sympathise with [Czecho-Slovakian Envoy] Kadeřábek, who's already anxious and faint-hearted enough."²⁵ However, the amputation of Czecho-Slovakia, which, like Yugoslavia, formed part of the disintegrating French alliance system, from the map of Europe, did not thwart Cankar's preparations for the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of Yugoslavia. The festivity held on 3 December 1938 was attended by 2,500 people, including the Czech, Rumanian, Bulgarian, and Greek diplomats. The author of the article in *Duhovno življenje*

²¹ Letter from Izidor to Niča Cankar, 24 September 1938, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

²² Letter from Angelika Hribar to the author, 20 February 2009, Archives of Studia diplomatica Slovenica.

²³ Letter from Izidor to Niča Cankar, 27 October 1939, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

²⁴ Letter from Izidor to Niča Cankar, 24 September 1938, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

²⁵ Letter from Izidor to Niča Cankar, 1 October 1938, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

(1939: 5–6) particularly highlighted the “moving” speech of the Czech representative. The expressions of solidarity with their “brothers the Czechs” continued into the following day, when the members of the Slovene choir attended a Czech celebration and met with “immense enthusiasm”

In the early days of 1939 Niča received a letter from Korošec, informing her with satisfaction that he had taken a three week holiday in Greece. The Slovene national leader was already an aged man, whose health was becoming seriously impaired by diabetes.²⁶ The annexation of Austria and the dissolution of Czecho-Slovakia caused a great deal of uncertainty in Korošec’s party, as no one knew what Hitler’s further plans were with regard to the reorganisation of Central Europe. Away from Hitler’s blitzkrieg in Europe, on the other side of the ocean, Cankar continued to spend his time at festivities and receptions. On 25 June 1939 he addressed his compatriots during the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of Sulčič’s Jugoslovanski dom cultural centre. The celebration passed “in faithful observance of the Yugoslav custom”, which the reporter of *Duhovno življenje* (1939: 5–6) described as follows:

Pretty soon our lambs and pigs started their fire dance, filling the air with the delicious smell of grilled meat – a way to spread propaganda or send an invitation that no paper pushing exercise can match.

Such specialities would also frequently appear on the menus of dinners hosted by Cankar, which soon became commonly known as “Balkan dinners”.²⁷ How such evenings unfolded, Cankar described in a letter of 4 November 1939 to his wife, who was visiting Belgrade at the time:

El día social: the Balkan dinners continue on Fridays – only that the Balkan menus have obviously been exhausted and we have shifted back to the French ones. ... There was also a Greek lady singer and guitarist at the dinner, whose repertoire also included the one and only ‘Moja dekle je še mlada,’ which she sang as a genuinely Greek song.²⁸

But all these comforts of life notwithstanding, Cankar yearned for a change and made his desire known to the Slovene Member of the Yugoslav Government Miha Krek through his wife. On 9 November 1939 Krek requested from the Foreign Minister Aleksandar Cincar-Marković that Cankar be transferred to a “corresponding position in Europe”. He justified his request by claiming that Cankar had remained in his post in Buenos Aires for more than three years, “more than any of his predecessors had done.” In Krek’s opinion,

²⁶ Letter from Korošec to Niča Cankar, 20 January 1939, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

²⁷ Letter from Nina Kulakova to Niča Cankar, 28 October 1939, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

²⁸ Letter from Izidor to Niča Cankar, 4 November 1939, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

Cankar had demonstrated “that he is fitted to excel in performing his duty even in the most critical positions in our diplomatic service.”²⁹

After receiving no positive answer, Krek sharpened his diction in the correspondence with Cincar-Marković on 10 January 1940:³⁰

The personnel policy of the Foreign Ministry has certainly not been pursuing the best course, due to its absolute failure to recognise that the Croats and Slovenes too should have adequate representation in our foreign policy service. Not only in observance of the principle of equality but also the special needs of the Yugoslav, mostly Slovene and Croatian minorities in the neighbouring countries, as well as the needs of our expatriates abroad, among whom there are, again, more Croats and Slovenes than Serbs – be it in America, France, Germany, Belgium or the Netherlands.

The Slovene Minister notified his Serbian colleague that the Croats had already put the question of an adequate percentage of the Croats in the Foreign Ministry on the agenda. He urged him to distribute diplomatic positions following the formula 5 : 4 : 1. Besides Cankar, another two Slovenes should be appointed as envoys abroad. In addition to the existing Slovene officials employed in civil service groups III and IV, comprising chiefs, counsellors, General Consuls and heads of departments, such status should also be granted to another five Slovenes. The number of Slovenes in groups V to VIII should, likewise, increase by six. Krek was confident that the Slovenes did not lack “qualified people”, although he was aware of the “political difficulties, which could only be solved by taking one step at a time.” He repeated Cankar’s appeal to be transferred to a European country and closed the letter with the hope that Cincar-Marković would understand the “justified wish of the Slovenes to become actively engaged in foreign policy service of our common state.”

But Cankar did not live to see the transfer. On 14 December 1940 he lost his great ally – Anton Korošec. The Slovene People’s Party, the Slovene nation and Yugoslavia were left without their most experienced leader precisely at the time when Europe became completely swallowed in the darkness of the Third Reich. Now the party was in need of every single man of competence. Cankar, after having retreated from high politics after the establishment of the Yugoslav state, responded to the call of the party’s leaders to join them in the struggle for what the generation of putschists had failed to obtain at the end of World War I. To Cankar the new war thus posed as much a threat as an opportunity.

IN THE WAR

On 27 March 1941 a group of Serbian officers carried out a putsch under the leadership of Air Force Brigadier General Bora Mirković. Air Force Commander Dušan Simović

²⁹ Letter from Krek to Cincar-Marković, 9 November 1939, ASM, fund 334, fascicle 202.

³⁰ Letter from Krek to Cincar-Marković, 10 January 1940, ASM, fund 334, fascicle 202.

became Prime Minister and Momčilo Ninčič Foreign Minister. Prince Paul was deposed and the heir to the throne, Peter II, was declared of age before time. The leader of the Slovene People's Party, Fran Kulovec, and the leader of the Croatian Peasant's Party, Vladko Maček, ultimately entered the Government, albeit with mixed feelings. On 2 April Kulovec realised in dismay that, "the Serbs did not create Yugoslavia but broke it to pieces" (Jurčec 1969: 304). Simović tried to convince German diplomats that this would not change the course of Belgrade's foreign policy, but Hitler refused to listen. The Nazi leader, who had never had a good opinion of the Serbs and Slovenes, felt betrayed and decided to destroy Yugoslavia. Immediately after receiving the first news of the Belgrade putsch, he issued Directive No. 25.

Just eleven days into the Axis Powers attack, during which the Ustaše Movement led by Dr. Ante Pavelić had restored the Croatian state, which now proclaimed itself "independent", it was all over. Miha Krek and Franc Snoj, who had entered the Government after Kulovec's death, embarked on a plane with the other Ministers fleeing the country. Even prior to the attack of the Axis Powers the leadership of the Slovene People's Party also decided to send Dr. Alojzij Kuhar and Msgr. Franc Gabrovšek abroad. The former, a graduate of the School of Political Science in Paris and foreign-political editor at *Slovenec*, was recognised by his fellow party members as the foremost authority in international politics. The latter had already had a long party career, which also included numerous visits to France (Jurčec 1969: 120, 278, 282).

Some Slovene politicians, such as Krek, managed to flee together with their wives and children. Others were not that lucky, including Snoj. On his arrival to Cleveland in October 1941 he asked Cankar to have the Argentine diplomacy intercede in Rome for his wife and three minor sons, whom he had left in Ljubljana.³¹ Cankar took action immediately, but his enquiries were delayed at the beginning, because the Ambassador to Rome happened to be on holiday at that time.³² A few months later Cankar sent another note to the Argentine Foreign Ministry³³ and, again, received no useful information.³⁴ In the meantime Snoj himself had received the news that his wife and children were in Ljubljana, whereas his sixty-eight year old father, mother, two brothers and sister-in-law with her barely ten-day old baby were driven by the occupiers to Široki brijeg in Herzegovina.³⁵

Krek felt that the Slovene politicians in emigration should intensify the propaganda particularly in Washington and London. In both the capitals they were to strive to achieve "the restoration and expansion of Yugoslavia over our entire national territory and, respectively, the inclusion of all Yugoslavs into a Transdanubian or Balkan federation or union, if England were no longer favourably disposed towards small nation states." But such a task proved too great for the numerically weak leadership team of the Slovene People's Party. Krek immediately thought of Cankar. After the Simović Government held its first

³¹ Telegram from Snoj to Cankar, 23 October 1941, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 6.

³² Letter from Cankar to Snoj, 31 January 1942, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 6.

³³ Note from Cankar to Undersecretary Robert Gache, 2 February 1942, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 6.

³⁴ Letter from Cankar to Snoj, 3 April 1942, ARS, OZIC, fascicle 6.

³⁵ Letter from Snoj to Cankar, 18 February 1942, ARS, OZIC, fascicle 6.

session in Jerusalem on 28 April 1941 (Krizman 1981: 13), he sent him an invitation to join him in spreading the propaganda. He also informed him that he had written to Foreign Minister Momčilo Ninčič to arrange his transfer to Washington or London.³⁶

On 21 May Krek wrote Cankar another letter, this time seeking his support for raising the Yugoslav army in exile. Krek particularly endeavoured for the formation of air force units following the example of the Czechs and Poles. He asked Cankar whether there was any possibility that the expatriates in Latin America might warm to the idea. They would complete their training in Canada and then sent to the battlefields to defend their homeland.³⁷ But owing to interrupted postal connections Cankar never received the letters from Jerusalem. He finally established communication with Krek on 21 July 1941, when the latter sent him a telegram to Buenos Aires. Cankar was genuinely happy to receive the telegram and wrote a letter to his colleague³⁸:

We are all in good health, but only after months of living in overwhelming fear and constant hope that things would eventually turn out the way they are now. And we are even more saddened to learn that you have faced an ordeal much worse. But, thank God, you are in the place where you should be right now.

Cankar immediately provided Krek with a few words of advice on how to act under the demanding circumstances in which the Government in exile had found itself:

From the way the wind was blowing in the beginning, I can say that it is important for you to stay as close to the Government and King as possible. Refrain from fault-finding; let go of the past, and let us all concentrate on what can be done to make the day of victory come at last. I think every discussion on internal issues should be postponed and duly addressed in peacetime, and any partisan friction evaded as far possible. Now is not the time for minor concerns, but to make sure that our Nation rises from the dead. All I can say for my part, I am ashamed of being provided for and safe (please, stay away from danger!), and of so little use.

The letter above left no doubt about Cankar's solidarity with the leadership of the Slovene People's Party. He understood Krek's invitation as the call of duty that must be heeded and at the same time knew that he would not be as useful in Argentina as he might be in London or Washington.

After the attack of the Axis Powers on Yugoslavia, Cankar issued a public proclamation in a newspaper which prompted lively activity in the emigrant community. They restored the Yugoslav National Defence, a pro-Yugoslav suprapartisan nationalistic organisation that had been established prior to World War I and then ceased its operations. Rude Mikuličič was appointed President of the Central Committee for Argentina, while Sulčič

³⁶ Letter from Krek to Cankar, 5 May 1941, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 6.

³⁷ Letter from Krek to Cankar, 21 May 1941, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 6.

³⁸ Letter from Cankar to Krek, 22 July 1941, Archives of Studia Slovenica, fund ASS1, Collection of materials of the politicians of the Slovene People's Party, [hereinafter: ASS1, CMPSPP], box 51.

assumed the position of Secretary. Cankar's close associate Kjuder joined the Department of Propaganda, which spread information about the difficult situation of the Slovenes under the Fascist regime and strove for the revision of the Treaty of Rapallo. The Yugoslav National Defence welcomed Simović's statement that after the war Yugoslavia should also be given Trieste, Istria, Gorizia, and Rijeka. However, by voicing these demands the Yugoslav emigrants collided with the group led by Count Carl Sforza, who had assumed the role of a herald of the pro-Fascist, democratic Italy (Mislej 1994: 86–87).

The Axis Powers divided Yugoslavia into three parts. Slovene ethnic territory was partitioned among Germany, Italy, Hungary and NDH. Unlike Hitler, who was anxious to make Slovene Styria and Upper Carniola "German again" by mass deportations and executions, Mussolini initially pursued a more refined policy in the Ljubljana Province and refrained from drastic punishment measures. The former Ban Marko Natlačen and his colleagues, who remained in their homeland, most certainly remembered Korošec's prewar advice that it would be easier to wait for a new Yugoslavia under Italy. The situation also made an impression on the Slovene representatives in exile. In a letter to Cankar, Krek summarised his view of the differences between the two occupiers one sentence: "It is fine under Italy, but terrible under the Germans."³⁹

Cankar, however, who had excellent knowledge of Italy and its notabilia, was not in the least charmed by Mussolini's presumably "more civilised" approach towards his subjects in the Province of Ljubljana. When he learnt that Natlačen went to Rome to pay his respects to "Il Duce" on 8 June 1941 and ask him on the same occasion to intercede with Hitler to stop the German violence perpetrated against the Slovenes, he was enraged. He sent a telegram to Krek in London demanding that he condemn Natlačen's deed. Krek indeed protested, but the former Ban responded "that any condemnation should be delayed until it is known how difficult the situation is back at home."⁴⁰

In the same manner as he had faithfully adhered to Korošec's pro-Yugoslav course in 1918, Cankar continued to praise his connective role among various parties in 1941. Thus, for example, in a letter to Kuhar dated 7 October 1941, he criticised one of Krek's radio speeches in which the latter referred to Kulovec as "our President". While Cankar did recognise Kulovec as a hero who had given his life for the state, he felt that Krek should have reached beyond the mere emphasising of party identity. Rather, he should have spoken as the representative of all Slovenes: "Parties do not count in our actual situation; we can think of them, but we must not speak about them." He asked Kuhar, "Do you remember the last war when many reproached Korošec for sacrificing the party's interests in favour of the pan-national movement?" As it turned out, they were wrong, because after the war the Slovene People's Party continued its consolidation precisely due to Korošec's non-exclusive approach: "Everything that the party does for the nation is done for the party, and nothing that the party does only for itself is well done for the party."⁴¹

³⁹ Letter from Krek to Cankar, 9 August 1941, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 6.

⁴⁰ Letter from Krek to Cankar, 24 July 1941, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 6.

⁴¹ Letter from Cankar to Kuhar, 7 October 1941, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 6.

Cankar was aware that his realistic appraisal of the Slovene chances in the postwar map drawing would hardly be heeded, but continued to advocate it nevertheless. In a letter to Krek, in which he presented his political programme, he defined his position on the affiliation of Trieste and the Slovene Littoral:

You know very well that the Slovenes as a nation cannot exist without the Littoral, therefore you should not lack the will to do whatever is in your power; and since the border demarcation with Italy is so evidently unjust, I hope that you shall also not lack the opportunity to convince the Allies of our rights. As far as Trieste itself is concerned I'm afraid that many of my friends will take me for a defeatist if I tell you that I would – for many reasons which are not appropriate to be discussed here – not claim it for Yugoslavia, but rather advocate the regime of a free port (which shall, in fact, be Yugoslav).⁴²

In Cankar's opinion the realisation of this objective required discreet action and cooperation with the emigrants from the Littoral. He therefore suggested to his diplomatic colleague at the Washington Legation, Councillor Vladimir Rybař, that a company of volunteers from the Littoral in America be formed, which would serve as the best propaganda. Despite the differing views of the status of Trieste, however, Cankar set the basic objective clearly: "A victory without the Littoral is not a victory for Yugoslavia."

Regardless of the war, unity in the Slovene community in Argentina was not always assured. Already within the first months of the joint building of homeland defence, Cankar's views began to diverge from those of Sulčič, whom he considered too pro-Communist. At the end of 1941 they ultimately severed their ties completely after Sulčič had appeared at the opening of the Jugoslovanski dom cultural centre "with the Communist symbol and an outrageously dim-witted speech" in which he emphasised "that he needed no 'decorations, public office, diplomatic post, photograph in gazettes and unmerited praise in newspaper articles'". During the applause of the Communists, whom Cankar found extremely irritating at the time, Sulčič assured "that the benefactors' plaque of the cultural centre excludes workers and labourers," making Cankar and others "open their eyes quite wide." Sulčič's wife Ankica too manifested her protest on 11 January 1942 by breaking the windows of the cultural centre, as a result of which she even sustained injuries. In view of the situation Cankar concluded that Sulčič's career had obviously come to an end.⁴³

Another major cause for Cankar's concern beside the Communists was the Croatian nationalists, who received financial support from the German Legation and also associated with the Franciscans. Cankar therefore regarded the latter as extremely harmful. But clearly he was less bothered by the Croatian Communists than their Slovene counterparts, "who were shouting against British imperialism yesterday as they are ranting against Nazism today, all smacking of paid agitators."⁴⁴ Sulčič's adherents later reproached Cankar with opportunism, referring to a letter in which the Czechoslovakian Legate Kadeřábek described his diplomatic colleague: "Dr. Cankar is extremely discredited and hated by the

⁴² Letter from Cankar to Krek, 30 August 1941, ASS1, CMPSPP, box 75.

⁴³ Letter from Izidor to Niča Cankar, 12 January 1942, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 3.

⁴⁴ Letter from Cankar to Krek, 30 August 1941, ASS1, CMPSPP, box 75.

people for his loyalty to the alliance. Rumours are spreading fast in the colony about his intimate friendship with von Thermann, the German Legate.” The head of the Department for Yugoslav National Defence in Mendoza, Ivan Črnadek, went as far as condemning Cankar as “the Satan from the Legation building”, sowing the seeds of discord among the emigrants (Brulc 1990: 122, 140).

The accusations of Cankar’s sympathising with Germany obviously also reached London, where the Simović Government had moved from Jerusalem. Krek warned him in a letter dated 28 August 1941 that the Government had received reports “that Mrs. Cankar has been declaring herself in favour of the Axis policy. I hope that it will be possible for me to rein these attacks.”⁴⁵ Cankar dismissed the rumours of the pro-Nazi sympathies of his wife as a “headless intrigue” and sent Krek a clip from the *Desfile* journal, which Niča gave her only interview after the attack on Yugoslavia.⁴⁶

Cankar felt that Argentina’s “scrupulous neutrality” was rendering the local propaganda difficult. In a letter to Krek dated 2 September 1941 he complained that he had problems with publishing news of the persecution of the Catholic clergy. He tried to find a religious newspaper that would publish the data, but faced difficulties, because “a considerable part” of the Argentine clergy was “under the influence of the Fascist and particularly Franco’s ideology.” On top of that Cankar also felt that the Royal Government was too sluggish in “military organisation” and that no “serious” progress had been achieved in facilitating an agreement between the Serbs and Croats.⁴⁷

Cankar soon realised that the armed resistance against the occupation armies launched by the Communists was well received by the Western Allies. Therefore the passive stance of the Slovene People’s Party leadership towards the organisation of resistance was causing him much concern. When Krek asked him in September 1941 to prepare a propaganda article to assess the value of Slovene arts, his response was negative for two reasons. Firstly, because he did not dispose of appropriate materials and photographs in Buenos Aires, and secondly, because “the most effective way to wage our campaign is through armed propaganda.” He frankly warned Krek to pay attention to the expectations of the allies:

I’m certain that you feel the same way there as we do here, that the insurgencies throughout Yugoslavia – in my opinion several acts of sabotage have been carried out by the Communists – are saving our honour and strengthen our national position much more effectively than any article, no matter how well written. And just as you probably do there, we also find it regretful here that very little is heard of the Slovenes amidst this whole affair. If you receive from Slovenia any report on active or even passive resistance, it should be blown out of proportion and sent to the world.⁴⁸

Cankar believed that with the support of the US a “company could be built up” of the

⁴⁵ Letter from Krek to Cankar, 28 August 1941, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 6.

⁴⁶ Letter from Cankar to Krek, 17 September 1941, ASS1, CMPSPP, box 51.

⁴⁷ Letter from Cankar to Krek, 2 September 1941, ASS1, CMPSPP, box 51.

⁴⁸ Letter from Cankar to Krek, 16 September 1941, ASS1, CMPSPP, box 75.

Slovene emigrants in Argentina that might be too small to be of consequence, but “large enough to be of significant political value.” In the ensuing months Cankar developed the idea of raising “a legion of the Littoral Slovenes” further, which is also evident from his correspondence with Snoj.⁴⁹ The basic purpose of the legion was to neutralise the endeavours of a group of anti-Fascist emigrants led by Sforza, which Cankar had already recognised as a threat in a letter to Krek dated 16 September 1941:

Italy is already playing a double game. Ever since the totalitarian sun has leaned into to the sunset, they continue with full force to strengthen the ‘Italia libera’ movement, which is anti-Fascist, but nevertheless as much Italian as Fascism. [...] This momentum, whoever may maintain it, will escalate until the moment when it will be declared: Hitler and Mussolini are vanquished, Italy is victorious, and claiming its rights and its God granted borders. [...] Our community here has refused to consider them our allies, but they receive many sympathies from the English, most probably from England as well. Come what may, it is not in our interest to uphold their game; what is in our interest is that all Italians are Fascists or Communists and that after the victory there will not be a group of gentlemen rising to their feet saying, ‘We have always been and continue to be Italy, Mussolini has never represented the nation.’ But because this is precisely what is going to happen, we need a company of Yugoslav Italians; one single rifle from the Littoral bears more significance for us than written propaganda and of more consequence than the articles of Count Sforza.⁵⁰

Cankar distinguished himself as a visionary in two regards. As early as two years prior to Italy’s capitulation he accurately predicted what kind of tactics the conspirators would use against Mussolini in relation to the Western Allies. At the same time he also suggested an effective way to neutralise it. At that time Cankar’s wife engaged in humanitarian activities, helping with the distribution of provisions that the Red Cross was shipping to Argentina.

On 9 February 1942 Cankar was appointed as the first Yugoslav Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Canada. Hladnik described the end of Cankar’s service in Argentina in *Duhovno življenje* (1942: 93) with nothing but praise:

Buenos Aires is a precarious political post. Dr. Cankar knew that and showed wisdom in seeking the manner in which he could win each and everyone in our community to demonstrate their genuine patriotism. ... Now he has left. But he can take his leave in full awareness that he has done more than any of his predecessors.

According to Hladnik, Cankar was facing arduous tasks in Ottawa that could be described as laying the foundations for a peace conference:

In the wake of the maelstrom which has swept across our country, silence will once more begin its reign. Then the diplomats will sit at the green table to build the world anew. The Slovenes too will have to make sure that on that occasion we will have a representative,

⁴⁹ Cf. letter from Snoj to Cankar, 7 March 1942; letter from Cankar to Snoj, 20 March 1942, ARS, PCIC, fascicle 6.

⁵⁰ Letter from Cankar to Krek, 16 September 1941, ASS1, CMPSPP, box 75.

able to defend our rights, able to prove that Trieste is Slovene, that Gorizia is ours, that Istria and Rijeka are ours, that Gosposvetsko polje is the cradle of Slovenehood... For this reason it has been decided that a Slovene will assume the post of Envoy to Canada, which is close to Washington, where peace will be concluded, and close to London, where our adversaries too will exert all their efforts.

The next diplomatic mission certainly brought even more difficult challenges into Cankar's life. The Royal Yugoslav Legation ceased to exist three years later.

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POVZETEK

IZIDOR CANKAR IN KRALJEVO JUGOSLOVANSKO POSLANIŠTVO
V BUENOS AIRESU

Andrej Rahten

Dr. Izidor Cankar seveda v Sloveniji ni neznan, čeprav v zavesti večine Slovencev gotovo manj živ in prisoten kakor njegov slavnejši bratranec, pisatelj Ivan Cankar. Izidor se sicer ni nikoli mogel pohvaliti s pisateljskim talentom svojega sorodnika, a njegova značilnost je bila, da je znal povezovati vrhunsko znanje z več področij hkrati: od umetnostne zgodovine in literarne kritike do diplomacije in politike. Vsa področja njegova ustvarjanja so bila že podrobno znanstveno obdelana, izjemo pa predstavlja prav njegova diplomatska dejavnost. Cankar je mesto pooblaščenega ministra in izrednega poslanika v Buenos Airesu nastopil leta 1936. Za sabo je takrat že imel zanimivo, a kratkotrajno politično izkušnjo, saj je sodeloval pri ustanavljanju jugoslovanske države leta 1918, ter daljšo in nedvomno bleščečo univerzitetno kariero. Cankar je postavil temelje umetnostne zgodovine kot akademske discipline na Slovenskem, njegove knjige pa so še danes vir navdiha za slovenske strokovnjake. Poroka z Ničo Hribar leta 1926 in izstop iz duhovniškega stanu sta ga oddaljila od nekaterih dotedanjih zaveznikov v katoliškem taboru, vendar je še naprej užival zaščito dr. Antona Korošca. Z njegovo podporo se je zavihtel tudi na poslaniško mesto v Buenos Airesu. Argentina je bila spričo prisotnosti slovenske izseljenske skupnosti za Cankarja velik izziv. Dejstvo je, da se je tudi diplomatske dejavnosti lotil z njemu lastnim perfekcionističnim pristopom in značilno delovno vnemo, ki ju je ohranil vsa leta svojega javnega delovanja. Cankar se je suvereno uveljavil kot diplomatski predstavnik, hkrati pa je bil prvi jugoslovanski poslanik, ki si je kot prioriteto zastavil skrb za slovenske izseljence iz Primorske.

USTNA ZGODOVINA LUISE PASSERINI IN RAZISKOVANJE MIGRACIJ V KONTEKSTU SUBJEKTIVNOSTI

Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik¹

COBISS 1.02

IZVLEČEK

Ustna zgodovina Luise Passerini in raziskovanje migracij v kontekstu subjektivnosti²

Ob izidu prvih izbranih besedil zgodovinarke in teoretičarke Luise Passerini v slovenskem jeziku se besedilo posveti prikazu njenih teoretskih in metodoloških utemeljitev koncepta subjektivnosti in intersubjektivnosti. V kontekstu migracijskih študij prikaže uporabnost ustne zgodovine in uporabe avto/biografskih virov pa tudi nujnost razumevanja konceptov subjektivnosti in intersubjektivnosti pri tem. Opozarja na raznolike načine proučevanja migracij, ki tudi pri nas počasi razkrivajo subjektivne izkušnje migrantskega procesa tako pri slovenskih izseljencih in izseljenkah kot tudi pri priseljencih in priseljenkah v slovenskem prostoru.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: ustna zgodovina, življenjske pripovedi, migracije, subjektivnost, intersubjektivnost.

ABSTRACT

Oral history of Luisa Passerini and the researching of migration in the context of subjectivity

As the first selected works of a historian and theoretician Luisa Passerini has been just published in Slovenian language, the text intends to outline her theoretical and methodological argumentation of two concepts: subjectivity and intersubjectivity. It shows the applicability of the oral history and the auto/biographical material in the context of migration studies. While using the methods of oral history and using the auto/biographical material, the text shows why a researcher needs to understand the concepts of subjectivity and intersubjectivity. Some examples of recent migration case studies that include the subjective experiences of Slovenian emigrants and immigrants in Slovenia are also given.

KEY WORDS: oral history, life narratives, migrations, subjectivity, intersubjectivity.

UVOD

Koncept subjektivnosti, ki je bolj dinamičen, spremenljiv in fluiden kot koncept

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² Besedilo je delni rezultat raziskovalnega projekta L6-2203 *Ustvarjanje spomina in ohranjanje kulturne identitete med slovenskimi izseljenci in njihovimi potomci*, ki ga financira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost RS.

identitete, je uporaben na različnih disciplinarnih poljih raziskovanja, nepogrešljiv in nujen pa je prav pri migracijskih študijah. Najprej zaradi tega, kar opozarja Passerinijeva, to je sama definicija migrantov, potem pa zaradi znanstvene (zlo)rabe tega termina, ki iz definicije izhaja:

Koncept subjektivnosti je v študije migracij vpeljal velike metodološke preobrazbe: najaktualnejša dela se ukvarjajo s temo vznika novih oblik subjektivnosti v migracijskem procesu in z njihovo ‚začasno artikulacijo znotraj ali po zaslugi križajočih se okrožij subjektivacije‘ – bodisi kolektivne ali individualne. S te perspektive je ‚migrantska subjektivnost istočasno strategija pisave in proces razdelave poimenovanja »migrant«, v kolikor zgodovinska analiza vsekozi meri tudi na prikazovanje nelagodja in nemoči, ki sta implicitna procesu opredelitve migrantov. Pri takšnem pristopu se dobro vidi, kako ideja subjektivnosti hkrati preoblikuje objekt in subjekt zgodovinske prakse. (Passerini 2008: 228)

Teoretske in metodološke izpeljave subjektivnosti in intersubjektivnosti, o katerih piše Luisa Passerini v svojih številnih delih, je v kontekstu migracijskih študij vredno natančneje predstaviti.

SUBJEKTIVNOST IN INTERSUBJEKTIVNOST

Bolj kot pri kateremkoli drugem družbenem fenomenu je znanstveno raziskovanje migracij podrejeno politiki. Razlog je v tem, da gre za fenomen, ki je v vseh oblikah, demografskih, ekonomskih, socialnih, kulturnih in političnih, pripet na vzpostavljanje in krepitev razmerij hegemonije in eksploatacije. Fenomen migracij se je zaradi političnih in ekonomskih potreb razbil na dva ločena dela in se v okviru različnih znanstvenih disciplin začel proučevati na ločenih področjih izseljevanja in priseljevanja. Na tak način je bil vzpostavljen redukcionističen pristop, ki omogoča povsem različne premisleke iz različnih gledišč. Vzpostavljena je bila znanstvena terminologija, ki je legitimirala politično ideološke diskurze, v katerih so postali priseljenci v Evropo – denimo Afričani in muslimani - nosilci problemov in zla, evropski izseljenci in kristjani v zgodovinskem in sodobnem kontekstu – denimo v Afriko – pa nosilci napredka in razvoja. Različni in ločeni načini proučevanja »njih«, ki prihajajo, in »naših«, ki odhajajo ali so odhajali, so vzpostavili logiko ločenih gledišč, zaradi katerih so potrebni resni napor, če hočemo zagledati fenomen migracij v njihovi večdimenzionalni kompleksnosti. Izseljenci so v primeru, da so »naši«, iz »naše« perspektive seveda razumljeni kot dobri priseljenci, ki zaslužijo pomoč države pri integraciji in popolno spoštovanje njihove etnične in kulturne ter religiozne identitete. V primeru priseljencev na tla Evrope (in Slovenije) je razumevanje migrantov kot ljudi ukinjeno. Definicija priseljencev, iskalcev azila ali prisilnih priseljencev temelji na postopku dehumanizacije. Priseljence tako politika, ekonomija kot tudi znanstvene vede največkrat zreducirajo na krepke roke, močne noge ali spretno

prste; razumejo jih kot stroje, za katere je treba priskrbeti energijo, sicer pa se njihovo učinkovitost izmeri in se jih po potrebi zamenja. Iskalci azila so zvedeni na nevarne poljude, ki jih je treba zapreti v zapore in strogo nadzorovati, postopke za pridobitev azila pa podaljšati v neskončnost. Razčlovečenje prisilnih priseljencev vključuje prepoved dela in popolno odvisnost od socialnih pomoči v imenu človekoljubja in humanosti.

Če izpustimo politiko, makroekonomske izračune in medije, lahko rečemo, da migrante znotraj znanstvenih ved šele pristop, ki jim prizna subjektiviteto, učloveči. Od tod subverzivnost uporabe avtobiografskih virov in metod v ustni zgodovini, kvalitativni sociologiji, etnoloških študijah, socialni antropologiji in študijah spolov. Ideja subjektivnosti objekt znanstvene prakse učloveči, to pa je še posebej pomembno pri marginaliziranih, odrinjenih, spregledanih, pozabljenih skupinah. Tako dobimo iz objektov subjekte raziskovanja, iz migrantov ženske, moške in otroke, iz fenomenov njihove akterje in iz informantov sodelavce in interpretatorje.

Med avtorji, ki so v zadnjih treh desetletjih opozarjali na pomembnost subjektivizacije »objektov« raziskovanja, je vidnejšo vlogo odigrala Luisa Passerini. Knjiga njenih izbranih spisov, *Ustna zgodovina, spol in utopija*, je spomladi izšla v slovenščini. Delo italijanske zgodovinarke je vredno posebne pozornosti zaradi več razlogov. Prvi razlog je njen prispevek k razvoju ustne zgodovine ter ženskih študij v Italiji in Evropi; drugi je teoretsko in metodološko prevrednotenje znanstvenega ukvarjanja s posamezniki in kulturnimi fenomeni v zgodovini in sedanjosti; in tretji razlog je nedvomno trdna postavitev subjektivnosti in intersubjektivnosti kot privilegirane teme (samo)raziskovanja. Njene številne raziskave in razprave, knjige in študije povezuje tema intersubjektivnosti na različnih ravneh. Kot pravi:

Spomin in utopija označujeta dve različni drži subjekta, ena je obrnjena v preteklost, druga v prihodnost, stična točka obeh pa je trdno usidranje v sedanjosti. Obema pozicijama je skupna kritičnost v odnosu do aktualnega položaja, ki spričo spodbud, izvirajočih iz preteklosti in prihodnosti, vzpostavlja mobilnost usidranja. To je možno le na podlagi koncepcije subjekta, ki ni unitaren, temveč avtorefleksiven, sposoben avtorefleksije in avtoironizacije [...]; intersubjektivnost je vraščena v njegovo konstituiranje, oziroma drugače rečeno, razmerje z drugim je konstitutivno za subjekt. (Passerini 2008: 224)

SPOLNO OBELEŽENE MIGRACIJE

Zakaj se nam zdijo ti razmisleki tako pomembni? Od šestdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja dalje se znanost na marginah različnih ved »demokratizira«. Izraz je uporabil Paul Thompson (1988) za zgodovinopisje, a ga lahko uporabimo za vse tiste premike pozornosti, metod in interpretacij, ki so v zadnjih desetletjih proizvedle nove fokuse na različnih področjih raziskovanja. Med njimi so ženske zagotovo med najbolj vidnimi in izostrenimi skupinami, sledijo pa rasne, etnične in spolne manjšine, marginalizirane

skupine, »navadni« ali »mali ljudje«, migranti, njihova vsakdanja življenja, izkušnje, interpretacije, spomini, dnevniki. V sedemdesetih letih je na primer Abdelmalek Sayad (2004), raziskovalec alžirskih migracij, razlagal, da mora biti sociologija migracij samorefleksivna, kar pomeni, da je vsaka raziskava migracijskih fenomenov hkrati socialna zgodovina teh fenomenov in hkrati socialna zgodovina diskurzov raziskovanj fenomena migracij. To je prav razmislek, na katerega opozarja Passerinijeva s konceptom intersubjektivnosti. Gre za fokus, v katerega se morata postaviti raziskovalec in raziskovalka sama. Kot pravi Liz Stanley, raziskovalka avto/biografskih virov in metod v okviru ženskih študij, gre za zavračanje objektivnosti, ki postavlja pisca in bralca v navidežno enakopraven položaj. Namesto tega Stanleyeva zahteva jasno artikulirano ideološko in socialno gledišče »producenta vednosti«, izpostavljenost procesa produkcije pisanja in vednosti očem bralstva (Stanley 1992). Kot sem nakazala, lahko razlago tega fokusa in temo intersubjektivnosti razloži prav presečišče študij spolov in migracij.

Luisa Passerini je vodila mednarodno raziskavo migrantk, ki je bila nedavno opravljena v več evropskih državah, vključevala pa je pripovedi tako migrantk kot prebivalk držav, kamor so se ženske priselile. Z metodami ustne zgodovine je skupina raziskovalk preučevala, kakšne oblike subjektivnosti proizvajajo sodobne oblike mobilnosti pri migrantkah iz nekdanje Vzhodne Evrope (zdaj del Evropske unije) in pri ženskah v družbah, kamor se migrantke priseljujejo, to so države nekdanje Zahodne Evrope (zdaj prav tako del Evropske unije). Pripovedi so se zgostile okrog človeških razmerij in komunikacije, ljubezni in dela. Pri tem se je pokazalo, da predstavlja vsakodnevna komunikacija za migrantke osrednji prostor sreče in ključno prizorišče sprejetosti. Presenetljiva je tudi podoba pripadnosti kulturi in domu kot kategorijah, ki ju prevladujoče raziskave in teorije o migracijah razumejo kot edninske kategorije. Iz pripovedi, zbranih v omenjeni raziskavi, je mogoče razbrati, da so oblike pripadnosti številne, pluralne, in da je dom množinski samostalnik:

Možnost posedovanja različnih osebnih dokumentov in izkustvo prehajanja več zaporednih nacionalnih meja ustvarita način mišljenja, ki omogoči spremembe migrantove identitete in občutka pripadnosti. Za nekatere vprašane ženske je dom v množini, za druge jih je več hkrati. To pomeni, da nimajo premočrtne identifikacije z eno samo nacionalnostjo. (Passerini et al. 2004: 13)³

S tem v zvezi raziskava poudarja, da so kulture (tudi tukaj je treba uporabljati množinsko obliko) prizorišča bitk, kjer se oblikujejo identitete, strahovi, radovednosti in priznanja kot rezultati intimnih pogajanj. Pogajanje je seveda aktivno poseganje v kulturne forme in pomene ter predstavlja posameznike kot kreativne dejavnike, ki svoja čustva, spomine in zgodbe sami sestavljajo, predvsem pa sestavljajo svoje identitetne pripadnosti. V interpretaciji ugotovitev raziskave sta Rosi Braidotti in Esther Vonk posebej opozorili:

³ V besedilu navajam citate iz zaključnega poročila raziskave, ki je objavljeno na spletu (Passerini et al. 2004), v seznamu literature pa tudi knjižno izdajo raziskave (Passerini 2007).

Vsak/a, četudi samo občasno, doživlja sebe kot tujca/tujko, neznanca/neznanke v svoji državi, prostoru, okolju ali kulturi; nihče popolnoma ne sovпада s svojo nacionalno, seksualno, etnično, socialno, kulturno ali politično identiteto. To nas sili k identifikaciji z drugim, s tujcem. (Braidotti, Vonk 2004: 35)

Z izostritvijo ženske perspektive in uporabo avto/biografskih virov ter življenjskih pripovedi so se migracije prikazale skozi zapletene strukture družinskih odločitev, intimnih premislekov ter gosto stkanih osebnih in sorodstvenih vezi obeh spolov. Kot ugotavlja Passerinijeva:

Prizadevanje po spolnem zaznamovanju celotnih raziskovalnih področij, h kateremu je znatno prispevala ustna zgodovina, je posebej pomembno za študije migracij. Ker sem se sama nedavno angažirala na tem področju, sem hvaležna raziskovalkam, ki so se prve spraševale, na kakšen način lahko ženske pojmujejo kot subjekt migracij v polnem pomenu besede, ne zgolj kot privrženke ali sprejemnice. (Passerini 2008: 204)

Pri nas so se raziskovalci in raziskovalke začeli z uporabo metod ustne zgodovine in z avto/biografskimi viri v migracijskih kontekstih ukvarjati šele nedavno. To seveda ne pomeni, da ni bilo opravljeno že precejšnje pionirsko delo, ki ga na tem mestu omenjam s hvaležnostjo, a nikakor celovito in poglobljeno. Prav tako v kratkem prikazu ne ločujem posebej raziskav ženskih in moških migracij, saj raziskovanje migracij v kontekstu subjektivnosti neizogibno razkrije, da so fenomeni raziskovanja »spolno obeleženi«. ⁴ Povsem v skladu s pristopi, ki ločujejo izseljevanje in priseljevanje, pa se pokaže tudi raziskovanje migracij pri nas. Verjetno prva študija migracij, opravljena s pomočjo življenjskih zgodb, je delo Silve Mežnarić, ki je preučevala delavce iz drugih jugoslovanskih republik v Sloveniji in njihove družine ter odnos med delavci iz drugih republik in Slovenci (Mežnarić 1986). Bogato avtobiografsko gradivo, ki ga je zbrala med »avstralskimi Slovenci«, je Breda Čebulj Sajko predstavila obsežno in na neposreden način, z ohranitvijo značilnosti njihove govorice (Čebulj Sajko 1992), pomemben pa je tudi njen pregled etnološkega raziskovanja Slovencev po svetu od 1926 do 1993 (Čebulj Sajko 1999).

Zgodbe Aleksandrinc je začela prva zbirati Dorica Makuc in njihove avtentične pripovedi predstavila javnosti leta 1993. Raziskovanje teh izjemnih ženskih migracij nadaljujeta Katja Škrj (2009) in Daša Koprivec (2008). Marjan Drnovšek (2004, 2009), Aleksej Kalc (2004) in avtorica pričujočega besedila (Milharčič Hladnik 2005) so proučevali pisne in slišne korespondence migrantskih družin; Jernej Mlekuž (2009) je zbral življenjske zgodbe slovenskih zamejskih deklet na delu v severnoitalijanskih mestih; zbrane so tudi življenjske pripovedi slovenskih izseljenk in njihovih potomk v Združenih državah Amerike (Milharčič Hladnik 2003) ter zgodbe in pričevanja Slovencev na Švedskem

⁴ V slovenskem prevodu besedila *Je kategorija družbenega spola še lahko uporabna za ustno zgodovino?* (Passerini 2008: 202) je za angleški izraz *gendering* uporabljeno *ospoljenje*. Sama uporabljam za angleški izraz *gendered* kar *spolno obeleženi* in upam, da je prevod razumljiv.

(Lukšič-Hacin 2001). Marta Verginella (2004) je kontekstualno opremila in uredila vojni dnevnik tržaškega Slovence⁵, omeniti pa je treba tudi razstavo o slovenskem izseljevanju, ki jo je leta 2001 pripravil Muzej novejšje zgodovine z naslovom »Izseljenec: življenjske zgodbe Slovencev po svetu«. Za razstavo so številni raziskovalci in raziskovalke pripravili zanimive migrantske avto/biografije v kontekstu subjektivnosti.⁶

V zadnjih letih nastaja vedno več interdisciplinarnih študij, ki z avto/biografskimi viri in metodami ustne zgodovine preučujejo priseljevanje v Slovenijo. Špela Razpotnik je z Bojanom Deklevo raziskala življenjske stile potomcev priseljencev v Ljubljani (Razpotnik in Dekleva 2002), potem pa še posebej mlade priseljenke (Razpotnik 2004). Življenjske zgodbe tistih, ki so prišli v Slovenijo mladi in se tu postarali, so predstavljene v slovenskem delu mednarodne raziskave o staranju v tujih kulturah, ki jo je vodila in objavila Alenka Kobolt (2002). V antropološki maniri je zgodbe prebežnikov in njihove usode zbrala Uršula Lipovec Čebren (2002), prisilne priseljence iz Bosne in Hercegovine in njihovo življenje v Sloveniji pa je predstavila Natalija Vrečer (2007). O izkušnjah migrantk iz Bosne in Hercegovine ter Sovjetske zveze v Sloveniji pred in po letu 1991 je v sociološki doktorski disertaciji pisala Sanja Cukut (2008). Prav tako v doktorski disertaciji, vendar z antropološkim aparatom, je oblačilne prakse Bošnjakinj v Sloveniji raziskala Špela Kalčič (2009). Zelo zanimivo raziskavo prostitucije na Slovenskem v kontekstu migracij in trgovanja z ljudmi, ki je zgleden primer *gendered* raziskave, saj vključuje pripovedi žensk in moških, je opravila Mojca Pajnik (2008). Besedila nekaterih omenjenih avtorjev in avtoric so vključena v pravkar izdano monografijo *Krila migracij* (Milharčič in Mlekuž 2009), ki je v celoti posvečena življenjskim zgodbam migrantk – tako izseljenk kot priseljenk.

SKLEP

Za raziskovanje osebnih izkušenj posameznikov ter družbenih in zgodovinskih fenomenov z metodami ustne zgodovine je potrebna posebna lastnost. Natančno jo je opisala Gabriella Gribaudi:

Po mojem mnenju se ustne zgodovine ne moremo naučiti. Z ustno zgodovino se lahko ukvarja le tisti, ki ljubi pripovedovanje drugih, ki je pozoren do pripovedi na splošno, ki uživa v tem, da prisluhne in posluša. Znati mora spoštovati druge in njihove interpretacije življenja ter zgodovine. (Gribaudi 2007: 85)

Poleg spoštljivosti in pozornosti, pa je za raziskovalce avto/biografskih virov in življenjskih zgodb nedvomno pomembno zavedanje dejstva, da je intersubjektivnost

⁵ Tržaški Slovenec Bruno Trampuž je od 1942 do 1945 kot italijanski vojak »prepotoval« pot od Trsta preko Rima, Sicilije, Tunisa, Bengazija, Kaira, Port Saida, Haife, Visa, Somborja nazaj do doma. Morda nenavaden migrant, pa vendar posebej zanimiv z vidika »ospoljenja« zgodovine in migracijskih študij, saj je dnevnik pisal za ženo in otroke.

⁶ Ob razstavi je izšel katalog z zbranimi zgodbami z istoimenskim naslovom.

»vračšena« v konstituiranje subjekta, na kar v slovenski izdaji svojih izbranih del s številnimi primeri opozarja Luisa Passerini.

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SUMMARY

ORAL HISTORY OF LUISA PASSERINI AND THE RESEARCHING OF MIGRATION IN THE CONTEXT OF SUBJECTIVITY

Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik

As the first selected works of an oral historian and theoretician Luisa Passerini has been just published in Slovenian language, the text intends to outline her theoretical and methodological argumentation of two concepts: subjectivity and intersubjectivity. The theme of subjectivity and intersubjectivity seems to me so important because Luisa Passerini defines it as the “privileged theme of (auto) research” (Passerini 2008) The text shows the applicability of the oral history and the auto/biographical material and also the urgent need for (auto) research in the context of migration studies. Migration is one of the most politicized research fields because it is a phenomenon, which is in all aspects – demographic, economic, social, political and cultural, directly connected to the establishing and strengthening of the hegemony and exploitation. For political reasons, migration has been divided into two separated parts – emigration and immigration, which was implemented in all scientific disciplines. In this way, the reductive approach has become the norm and the scientific terminology started to serve the ideological discourses.

Different and separated approaches in studying those who are coming and those who were (and are) leaving produce different perspectives, which make it difficult to see the migration process from both perspectives across time and space. It is obvious that a research approach, which allows migrants to tell their stories and researchers to hear them, breaks this division. There are no immigrants and emigrants who would be different groups of people. Those who come somewhere, have left a place already, and those who are leaving will at some point arrive. In recent years, we see a steady growth of research projects and books, which give the voice to the Slovenians, who left the country and to their descendants but also to those who come to Slovenia as workers, asylum seekers, forced migrants and subjects of trafficking. The text gives some examples of recent migration case studies, which also include the subjective experiences of women migrants or are based on their life stories.

MIGRANT'S TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES.
THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE AND OBJECTS
TRANSNACIONALNE PRAKSE MIGRANTOV.

POTOVANJE LJUDI IN PREDMETOV

MATERIAL ASPECTS OF TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL FIELDS: AN INTRODUCTION

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ABSTRACT

Material Aspects of Transnational Social Fields: An Introduction

The author argues that ethnographic insights into migrants' personal relations achieved through objects, and their involvement in social networks proved through objects, can open up new avenues of understanding and contribute to the creation of new conceptual lenses in studies of migration. Conceptual and methodological issues are discussed, and the themes outlined, that connect ethnographic examples presented in the contributions to this section. Most important is the reconsideration of the migrants' presupposed collective identities. The claims to and representations of (usually ethnic) belonging may be detached from the ways in which people fashion their transnational social fields.

KEYWORDS: transnational social field, object, ethnography

IZVLEČEK

Materialni vidiki transnacionalnih družbenih polj. Uvod

Avtorica trdi, da etnografski vpogledi v osebna razmerja migrantov skozi objekte in njihovo udeležbo v družbenih mrežah, kot se kaže skozi objekte, lahko odprejo nove načine razumevanja migracij in prispevajo k ustvarjanju novih konceptualnih vidikov preučevanja le-teh. Avtorica razpravlja o konceptualnih in metodoloških problemih in oriše teme, ki povezujejo etnografske primere, ki so predstavljeni v prispevkih tega tematskega slopa. Najpomembnejša tema je premislek predpostavljenih kolektivnih identitetah imigrantov. Prisivjanja in reprezentacije (ponavadi etnične) pripadnosti so morda ločene od načinov oblikovanja lastnih transnacionalnih družbenih polj.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: transnacionalno družbeno polje, objekt, etnografija

Several contributions to this section were presented at the workshop *Belonging Embodied, Reciprocity Materialised: Migrants' Transnational Practices* moderated by Tatjana Pezdir and Maja Povrzanović Frykman at the 10th EASA Conference in Ljubljana, 26–30 August 2008. The contributors responded to a call for papers exploring the *movement of people and objects*, led by an interest in how belonging is embodied, reciprocity

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materialised and social networks re-created in different locations in the transnational social fields created by migrants. These fields – or spaces, as some authors prefer to call them – encompass the places in which migrants live their everyday lives, the places they keep returning to, and the physical and virtual journeys between them.

The theoretical intention was to avoid focusing primarily on migrants' ethnicity. While certainly not denying the reality of experiences of group belonging, it is important to turn the relevance of ethnicity into an empirical question. Some of the papers also warn against the assumption that certain practices are only characteristic of migrants in conditions of disadvantage. They shift attention from less privileged to multi-privileged migrants, with potential insights into the similarities of their practices of negotiating normality by means of objects and ways of communication in different areas of everyday life.

In their article on remitting behaviour among Arabs and Bosniaks in Slovenia, Maja Lamberger Khatib and Tatjana Pezdir address motivations, patterns and types of remittances, which can be defined as a set of gifts in different forms. They prove that ethnographic insights into lived experiences, motivations and concerns, with regard to particular social networks, might not only reveal differences, but also significant similarities between migrants of varying class and ethnic background.

Marta Rosales offers ethnographic insights into domestic spaces of Goan Catholic Brahmin families living in Portugal. She sees the analysis of their domestic consumption practices as a path leading towards an understanding of their migration experiences, past and present status-achieving strategies and policies of belonging.

Presenting the dynamics of Poland-to-Finland mobility by following the trajectories of one family and its multiple relations in both countries, Anna Matyska empirically indicates a simultaneity of transnational and integration processes. She traces inclusions into multiple national formations in the migrants' lived experience, with special attention to objects.

Lucija Katulić describes female diplomats' life-styles that incorporate continuous practices of transnational movement of both people and material objects. Practices through which women in diplomacy try to accomplish inclusion in social networks at different locations are defined as a personal creation of transnational space. Special attention is devoted to the material objects they bring to the country they are assigned to in order to maintain their private everyday normality in a new location.

Emanuel Valentin focuses on an example of ritualised reciprocity among people in a different socio-economic position, namely Sicilian labour-migrants in Germany. He shows how belonging is embodied through ephemeral ritual objects charged with notions of local identity, and how these practices bear the potential of serving as cultural reserve for the dispersed community.

The expansion of relatively cheap travel options and the enormous quantities of objects – mostly intended for everyday use – transported in overloaded cars, buses, ships and planes, beg for ethnographic descriptions and interpretations that outline relationships and processes embedded in transnational practices. The focus here is on practices through which migrants accomplish inclusion in different locations and in different networks. What

do they do, send or carry in order to stay connected – to be accepted, remembered, needed or appreciated? Which objects do they consider crucial to the maintenance of their private everyday normality in different locations of attachment? To what extent is involvement in personal relations and social networks achieved or proved through objects, and to what degree does this require physical presence and personal travel? What might the impact, meaning and importance be of “the unmediated experience of actual travel – involving the conduct of face-to-face interactions and a physical contact with familiar places, people, and culture” (Lomsky-Feder and Rapoport 2000: 34)? What are the modes of mutuality and reciprocity? How is the objects’ criss-crossing of transnational social spaces received, used and given meaning in different locations?

Regardless of their different characters, objects can be interpreted as material expressions of belonging, as expressions of status or of family history, as expressions of social and cultural difference. Depending on their kind and purpose, their use, or simple presence, can establish a place of remembrance or pride, mourning or celebration, privacy or symbolic communion, or economic connection with others (see Povrzanović Frykman 2007). Objects are involved in multifaceted quests and attempts to belong. Displacements of people may bring about replacements of objects. Negotiation of meaning often entails communication through objects. Status-gaining strategies often revolve around the material and symbolic values of objects.

These issues are placed in the context of theories concerning the semantic fields of diaspora and transnational social fields (see e.g. Faist 2000; Glick Schiller et al. 1995; Kivisto 2001; Portes et al. 1999; Smith and Guarnizo 1998; Vertovec and Cohen 1997). Yet, the standard interest in symbolic spaces and collective images of ethnic and national belonging is broadened in this section, due to the fieldwork-based perception of the need to also focus on what migrants *do* in practical terms, and not only on what they tell us about.

On the other hand, anthropologists engaged in studies of material culture have offered a respectable body of theoretically advanced work concerning objectification, social memory, consumption of commodities and issues of identity and subjectivity (see Appadurai 1986; Buchli, 2004; Geismar and Horst 2004; Miller 1998a, 1998b, 2001, 2005; Warnier 2001). However, even in the vivid and currently developing field of interdisciplinary interest in material culture (best represented in the *Journal of Material Culture*), material practices concerning migrants, or more specifically, contributing to the making of their transnational social fields, have so far only rarely been in focus (see van der Horst 2006, Salih 2003, Werbner 2000).

Although obvious to the anthropologists and ethnologists contributing to this section, the importance of ethnography should be re-asserted within the vast field of multidisciplinary research on international migration. The ethnographic approach is unsurpassed in its ability to observe practices, discern people’s priorities and represent the individual level of experience while explaining the dynamics of networking or community-making. Indeed, all the contributions to this section are based on recent or ongoing fieldwork.

CONCEPTS AND PARADIGMS

Some concepts and paradigms that have marked studies of migration and migrants' identity formation have delimited potential understandings of the issues mentioned above. Thus, if we conceptualise migrants as people who move from one state in order to organise their lives in another, we cannot be primarily interested in their transnational practices. That is to say, if their everyday practices are discussed, those enacted out of the country of immigration remain invisible. If we conceptualise migrants as 'members of ethnic groups', research is directed towards ethnic markers and the symbolic use of objects, not towards objects of everyday use in which nothing 'ethnic' can be discerned. If we define transnational social fields as consisting of combinations of social and symbolic ties and only look for the convertibility of various sorts of capital, membership of the homeland's political party is of obvious relevance, but not, e.g., the modes of transporting objects across borders.

It is my firm belief that ethnographic insights into migrants' personal relations achieved through objects, and their involvement in social networks proved through objects, can open up new avenues of understanding and contribute to the creation of new conceptual lenses in studies of migration. Ethnographic research into the interplay of sociality and materiality in transnational contexts can provide a solid foundation for the critical reconsideration of certain paradigms.

The reconsideration of migrants' presupposed collective identities is most important. In line with the warning against "locating ethnographic subjects in the comfortable familiarity of bounded ethnic categories of community and belonging" (Amit 2007: 56), collective identities must be assessed empirically. As stressed by Marta Rosales in this section, it is not possible to think of 'Goans from Mozambique' as a unified homogenous community. It is more probable that 'homogeneous communities' are found in terms of communities of practice and never in terms of communities of origin or ethnic affiliation.

Further, there is a "need to distinguish between patterns of connection on the ground and the conditions that produce ideologies of community" (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004: 1006). Such a distinction is critical to the development of methodologies for empirically studying transnational lives. In this respect, claims to and representations of belonging can be detached from the ways in which people actively – here, through objects and domestic practices – fashion their transnational social fields.

Thus, analytical separation of ethnic belonging and people's motives for engaging in some transnational practices may disrupt the rigid understandings that determine people's behaviour due to their ethnicity. Writing about the Goan Catholic elite in Mozambique, Marta Rosales presents a complicated history of pro-colonial inclinations and subtle denials of discrimination in coping with quests for identity. Lucija Katulić points to the role of objects in negotiating personal and gendered identities in the case of female Croatian diplomats. Presenting the example of Sicilian labour migrants' enactment of a patron-saint celebration in Germany, Emanuel Valentin uncovers layers of meaning underlying the standard interpretation of devotional objects as material realization of migrants' at-

tachment to their ethnic groups and countries of origin. Anna Matyska's study of Polish migrants in Finland also confirms that only ethnographic research can show what the notion of *process* means in terms of grassroots agency and identify the role of particular objects' changed circumstances both 'here' and 'there'. Only ethnographic research e.g. can establish when a food item is brought from one place to another because of its unique taste, favourable price, or 'ethnic' nature, when it is simply enabling the normality of consumption, and when it is acquiring representative functions.

Finally, with regard to the statement 'objects flow between the *sending* and the *receiving country*', the articles in this section display the *differentia specifica* of ethnographic methods – that is, their ability to take concrete people with their concrete agendas into consideration. Notwithstanding the patterns of economic and other accumulated effects of people's and institutions' practices at different scales, it is not countries that send things to one another in the realms discussed in this section, but *individuals and grassroots institutions*.

METHODOLOGY

All the papers in this section attempt to contribute to the understanding of the experiences of living simultaneously within and beyond the boundaries of a nation-state. It might be well-established among anthropologists, but in the interdisciplinary field of migration studies, it is not (yet) taken for granted that both 'here' and 'there' are equally relevant research sites. The reasons for this are manifold, and sometimes practical and financial in nature. However, the main underlying reason is what Nina Glick Schiller (2008) criticises as the methodological nationalism of mainstream social science – an ideological orientation that approaches the study of social and historical processes as if they were contained within the borders of individual nation-states.

The articles in this section counteract such a methodological position. They all show that transnational social fields also include people who never migrated themselves but stayed behind in the places "left" by the migrants. Even if the reciprocity of their relations is asymmetrical, 'here' and 'there' exert mutual influences. If research interest is devoted to material aspects of simultaneity of daily activities, routines and institutions incorporated in locations in different countries, it is obvious that people, places and things both 'here' and 'there' must be taken into equally careful consideration. Anna Matyska, for example, points to the changed material circumstances, and the normalisation thereof, in the contexts of emigration. She also shows the vivid traffic of people and objects that, indeed, confirms the continuity of transnational social fields as they are cast and carved by migrants, by their counterparts who stayed behind in Poland, and by their Finnish friends.

'Following the objects' is not a methodological goal per se, but an attempt to investigate new angles in the understanding of migrant lives. Although multi-sited research is seen as an ideal, the impact of transnational relations can be observed by asking individuals about the transnational aspects of their lives, and those they are connected to, in

a single setting (see Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004: 1012). The point is that we must ask about both ‘here’ and ‘there’. Longitudinal studies are necessary, however, which is why participant observation and ethnographic interviewing are particularly appropriate. Also, as “transnational practices ebb and flow in response to particular incidents or crises” (ibid.), or liminal situations in the form of rituals, “a one-time snapshot misses the many ways in which migrants periodically engage with their home countries” (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004: 1011). Again, while this is obvious to anthropologists and ethnologists, it is far from being a dominant methodological requirement in the multidisciplinary field of migration studies.

REMITTANCES AND GUILT

It is also important to consider what is meant by objects ‘flowing’ between countries. Ethnographers of transnational practices know that physically demanding and time-consuming hard work is needed to necessitate this. Sweat, and tough decisions imposed by the logistics and costs of transporting objects, should not be forgotten.

In this context, reading about the burdens imposed by the demands and obligations with regard to remittances, as taken up by Maja Lamberger Khatib and Tatjana Pezdir, is elucidative. Their comparative analysis of the significance of remittances in the formation of social networks among Arabs and Bosniaks in Slovenia supports the need to refine the very notion of remittances. The classical anthropological theme of gift-giving and gift-receiving may be reinvigorated by category-transgressing examples of migrants’ practices. Money, indeed, can be analysed as an object (see Povrzanović Frykman 2008: 158). In this context it is not an impersonal, alienated and alienating means of exchange that disrupts direct human relations. On the contrary, it feeds into – and helps to maintain – the web of social and emotional links, albeit seldom unproblematically.

Kathy Burrell’s (2008) remark that objects of private use sent to those who stayed behind can function ‘almost like remittances’, can be developed into an analytical category. Potential humiliating hierarchies can be re-confirmed in the process otherwise seen as positive by all the actors involved.

The idea of “paying back the debt” is well-known to anthropologists and ethnologists doing research in diasporic contexts. It is both the expectation of others, and a kind of internalised rule, that migrants are supposed to give back to their – or their parents’ – country of origin, through personal relations or institutional involvement. This raises the importance of research directed towards e.g., Western-European right-wing discourses of abnormality of living elsewhere (*immigrants – go home!*), as well as understanding why similar discourses are so present in the countries of emigration (*emigrants are still ‘our people’; they will never cease to be a part of our – national – ‘community’!*).

Although the latter discourse variant serves inclusion and not exclusion, it is simply the other side of the same coin. It, too, normalises the model of belonging to a national space encompassed by state borders, and prioritises a model according to which people

are born into a belonging. Those who actively decide against it, or simply neglect it, are supposed to feel guilty.

THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SPHERES

Much of the literature on globalisation, “while producing wide-ranging claims about the nature of a ‘global transnational elite’, is marked by comparative lack of substantive empirical data” (Fechter 2007: 34). Lucija Katulić provides a gender-sensitive analysis of some material practices of such privileged migrants, namely, practices of making *own* places by means of objects. Her article raises the question of the relation between geographical mobility and domestic fixity, and of home as an important location of identity negotiation. Everydayness “loses its appearance of innocence and stability, when the routine homemaking practices become more intentional, when the ‘everyday’ becomes not so every day and the ‘mundane’ takes on a new significance” (Kurotani 2007: 28).

Affective qualities of places cannot be separated from the concrete materialities of houses, rooms, kitchen tables and all the objects that make places familiar and one’s ‘own’. This is why it is also extremely important to do site research in places and situations *other* than migrants’ public representations of their group identity. Individual practices in the private spheres of homes – both in the places of immigration and in the places of emigration – are equally important as public behaviour at festivities or religious events, where group belonging is enacted and represented. In this regard, Emanuel Valentin, Anna Matyska and Marta Rosales provide examples worth pursuing in a comparative perspective, guided by the question of interplay between private strategies of *practicing* belonging on one hand and public strategies of *representing* it on the other. In anthropological and ethnological research, home is typically recognised as the ethnographic site in which to examine the connection between the domestic space and larger social and economic systems. Several articles in this section demonstrate the benefits of engaging deeply with home as an ethnographic site.

Finally, I would like to point to the ethnographic insight presented by Valentin, which focuses on what objects *do to people* or what they *enable them to do*. Unlike the examples of objects that can or should only be bought in the country of emigration, Valentin offers a telling example of how the very materiality of an object can be more important than the place in which it is produced. When the devotional breads needed for the annual feast did not arrive from Mirabella in Italy, they were made, to everyone’s satisfaction, in Sindelfingen, Germany. Even the Sicilians’ protector saint was pleased, because Sindelfingen – included in a transnational social field – was also ‘his’ town.

CONCLUSION

Identities are constituted through practices and are, to a great extent, dependent on material conditions. Along with ideas and discourses of belonging and integration,

practices and lived experiences involving objects, through which migrants accomplish incorporation in different locations and in different networks, can motivate research.

With regard to the field of migration studies, the contributions to this section draw attention to the benefits of ethnographic research that focuses on objects that constitute people's material worlds, yet via their transnational routes destabilise the commonsensical notions of 'rooted' cultures and localised communities to which they 'belong'.

Following these routes can offer insights into the construction of boundaries that have very little to do with the legal inclusions and exclusions in a certain territory and contribute to the rethinking and reformulating of the concept of society as equated with the borders of a single nation-state – a theoretical priority of the studies of transnational migration.

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POVZETEK

MATERIALNI VIDIKI TRANSNACIONALNIH DRUŽBENIH POLJ. UVOD

Maja Povrzanović Frykman

Uvod začrta teme, ki jih izpostavijo avtorji prispevkov v tematskem sklopu *Transnacionalne prakse migrantov. Potovanje ljudi in predmetov*, predstavi osrednje konceptualne in metodološke probleme in poveže etnografske primere, ki jih podrobneje obdelujejo avtorji prispevkov.

Vsi prispevki tega tematskega sklopa so usmerjeni v širjenje razumevanja izkušenj bivanja istočasno znotraj in onkraj meja nacionalnih držav. Članki pokažejo, da transnacionalna družbena polja vključujejo tudi ljudi, ki se nikoli niso selili, ampak so ostali v krajih, ki so jih migranti »zapustili«. Tudi če je recipročnost njihovih odnosov asimetrična, imajo »tukaj« in »tam« vzajemne vplive. Če je namen raziskave posvečen materialnim vidikom simultantnosti vsakodnevnih dejavnosti, rutin in institucij, ki so vgrajene v lokacije v različnih državah, je jasno, da je potrebno z enako skrbjo v premislek vzeti tudi ljudi, kraje in stvari tako »tukaj« kot »tam«.

S teoretičnega stališča je najpomembnejši premislek o predpostavljenih kolektivnih identitetah imigrantov. Prisivajanja in reprezentacije (ponavadi etnične) pripadnosti so morda ločene od načinov, kako ljudje oblikujejo svoja transnacionalna družbena polja. Ločnica med transnacionalnimi praksami in ideologijami pripadnosti je ključna pri razvijanju metodologij v empiričnem preučevanju transnacionalnih življenj. V tem smislu so prisvajanja in reprezentacije pripadnosti lahko ločene od načinov, na katere ljudje aktivno – skozi objekte in prakse doma – oblikujejo svoja transnacionalna družbena polja.

Čustvenih kvaliteta krajev ni mogoče ločevati od konkretnih materialnosti hiš, sob, kuhinjskih miz in vseh drugih objektov, ki naredijo kraje za domače in kot da pripadajo nekemu. Zato je izjemno pomembno opraviti raziskavo lokacije v krajih in situacijah, ki niso nujno povezani z javnimi reprezentacijami skupinske identitete migrantov. »Tukaj« in »tam« sta lahko razumljena tudi v kontekstu zasebnih in javnih sfer v krajih imigracije in emigracije.

Identitete se izgrajujejo skozi prakse in so v veliki meri odvisne od materialnih pogojev. Poleg idej in diskurzov pripadnosti in integracije so motivacija za raziskave, ki so predstavljene v tem tematskem sklopu, prakse in življenjske izkušnje, ki vključujejo objekte, skozi katere migranti dosežejo vključitev v različne lokacije in družbene mreže.

“COULD I ASK YOU, MY BROTHER, TO SEND ME A LITTLE SOMETHING?” REMITTING BEHAVIOUR AMONG ARABS AND BOSNIAKS IN SLOVENIA

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ABSTRACT

“Could I Ask You, my Brother, to Send me a Little Something?” Remitting Behaviour Among Arabs and Bosniaks in Slovenia

The paper addresses motivations for patterns and types of remittances, which can be defined as a set of gifts in different forms. Generally speaking, remittances refer to a variety of transfers between migrants and individuals or groups remaining in countries of origin. The latter most often include both core and extended families. In addition to transfers, the paper deals with processes of incorporation and preservation of migrants' sense of belonging to the place of origin, and with processes of linking them with places of residence. Furthermore, the authors discuss the essence of social responsibility evident in migrants' incorporation, maintenance of their sense of belonging, their image, social authority, substance, respect and inclusion into their sending societies. The focus is on migrants' motivation, as well as on factors existing in countries involved in transnational connections stimulating and hindering processes of remitting. The authors discuss social and demographic distribution and the importance of social pressures faced by migrants and expectations of other members of the social networks which play an essential part in the aforementioned processes.

KEYWORDS: remittances, social networks, migration, Arabs, Bosniaks

IZVLEČEK

»Bi te lahko prosila, brat moj, da mi pošlješ kaj malega?« Prakse remitiranja med Arabci in Bošnjaki v Sloveniji

Na splošno se remittance nanašajo na vrsto transferjev med migranti na eni in posamezniki ter skupinami v deželah izvora na drugi strani. Poleg samih transferjev članek obravnava predvsem motivacije, vzorce in vrste remitenc, ki jih lahko definiramo kot različne oblike daril. Avtorici se skozi raziskavo praks remitiranja posvečata analizi procesov povezovanja in ohranitvi občutka pripadnosti deželi izvora ter procesom migrantovega vključevanja v deželi sprejema. Razpravljata tudi o pomenu družbene odgovornosti, ki je lahko vidna v migrantovi vključitvi v sprejemno družbo, in hkrati ohranjanju občutka pripadnosti pa tudi imidžu, družbeni moči ter spoštovanju v družbi, iz katere izhaja. Poudarek članka je tako na osebnih motivacijah migranta kot na motivacijskih dejavnikih, ki so prisotni v deželah, vključenih v transnacionalne povezave, ki procese remitiranja lahko ne samo stimulirajo temveč tudi ovirajo. Avtorici nadalje razpravljata o družbeni in demografski distribuciji in

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pomenu družbenega pritiska, s katerim se srečujejo migranti, ter o pričakovanjih drugih članov družbenih mrež, ki imajo pri procesih remitiranja odločilno vlogo.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: remittance, družbene mreže, migracije, Arabci, Bošnjaki

INTRODUCTION

The telephone rings late in the evening. Ahmad picks up the phone: “*Marhaba jahuj kif halak: Kif hal ai’ltak, kif al saha, kif hal ibnak, bintak? In šā’ Allāh, kvajisin.* (Hello my brother, how are you? How is your family? How is your health, and how are your son and daughter? If it is God’s will, good)... Mohammad, your nephew is finishing the university – registration for the last year of studies has started. I am very pressed for the money needed for the tuition and student books. My brother, could I ask you, if it would not be too difficult, to send me a bit? *Šukran kathir, Allah jahalilak auladak.* (Thank you very much, god bless your children).”

This paper addressing the motivations for, patterns and types of remittances, places special attention on the migrant’s family (family/household)³ as the main research unit. The term household is one of the more widely used terms in social research, although it is linked with many conceptual difficulties. A principal point of contention is whether or not all household members must reside in the same dwelling unit or physical locale. However, in the context of our research, where a member of a household migrates but maintains a significant degree of participation in the activities of the household of origin, it is possible to regard the household as having a bi-local or multi-local structure.

Remittances represent a significant tie with loved ones across distance, and place them within complex networks of social relations. The term remittances encompasses sending money, presents and other objects (economic remittances), and ideas, values, beliefs, behaviours, identities, different practices and social capital (social remittances). We believe that by interpreting the meaning and routes of remittances, as well as by comparing different migration experiences, it is possible to point to the significance of the family⁴ as the central socio-cultural framework of life, where specific notions of life emerge and lead family members to engage in a wide array of migratory movements (Olwig 2003).

The motivations, patterns and channels of remitting discussed in the article illuminate the forms of transnational activities among Arabs living in Slovenia and those remaining in Jordan/Palestine/Syria/Egypt, etc., and among Bosniaks in Slovenia and Bosnia.⁵ As

³ According to Caces et al, “those who are identified as ‘migrants’ continue to be a part of the same social and economic unit as those who are at home”.

⁴ Families as socialising agents transmit cultural values and norms influencing who migrates and why. They also transmit norms regarding the meaning of migration and the maintenance of family-based obligations over time and space. Families also represent geographically dispersed social groups. They create kinship networks existing across space that are the conduits of information and assistance (Boyd 1989: 643).

⁵ The country’s full name is Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, in this article we use the term Bosnia,

shown through parallels between remitting behaviours among Arabs and Bosniaks in Slovenia, remitting practices construct or perceive places of origin not only in terms of their transnational character, but just as much in terms of the particular values and social ties that migrants, and their families, practice in relation to these places.

We speak of remittances as a way of maintaining social networks, where the main objective is not merely the maintenance of the networks, but also their definition. This suggests that social networks can be defined by remittances, and vice versa. Relations within social networks are sustained through different forms of remitting to kin, families, and friends. Moreover, social networks are maintained through migrants’ visits to their countries of origin, by taking part in activities connecting both the sending and receiving countries, e.g. marriages, and through remittances, which at the same time confirm the very existence of social networks across space. In addition to their social meaning, remittances bear strong economic significance, at the same time sending important information about standards and possibilities in receiving countries.

The article focuses on:

1. Comparison of motivations and patterns of remittances among Arabs and Bosniaks living in Slovenia.
2. Effects of migration networks on remitting, with a special focus on social distribution, expectations of other members of social networks, and on social pressure faced by migrants connected with these expectations from their families in countries of origin.

It is necessary to stress that the research does not focus on groups, but rather on individuals and their households in the countries of origin, who are engaged in processes of establishing and maintaining their social networks, as well as in processes of remitting within these networks.

To understand the processes of remitting on either individual or the household level, and the significance of remittances in the formation of social networks, we decided to compare Arabs and Bosniaks living in Slovenia. Most of the informants in this research are Slovenian citizens, involuntarily bearing the label of migrants bestowed by the majority society. They identify themselves in many different ways – either on ethnic grounds as Bosniaks or according to their regional affiliation as Bosnians. On the other hand, drawing from the context of generalisation, the Arabs identify themselves foremost as Arabs, and only then refer to their ethnic or regional affiliations (Palestinians, Syrians, Jordanians, Egyptians, etc.). Although Arabs and Bosniaks have different migration experiences, we used a comparative method in order to identify some common factors influencing remitting behaviour and its impact on migrants’ networks. However, it must be stressed that Arabs and Bosniaks living in Slovenia do not have common social networks; it is only possible to speak about Bosniak and Arab social networks that do not intertwine. Migrants’ experiences play the central role in our research, and therefore life-story interviews comprised the fundamental research method. In the interviews we conducted, we put the emphasis

as it was used by our research respondents.

on the migrants' lives before, during and after their migration. A significant part of our research data⁶ was collected through the participant-observation method, complemented with field notes comprising detailed descriptions of manifold social occasions, events and holidays (e.g. meetings with members of the Arab Club during Ramadan, annual Arab picnic marking Slovenia's independence, attending various events and meetings of the Bosniak cultural association, at dinners with friends, family visits). Our fieldwork was primarily based on repeated journeys with migrants visiting their family members in Bosnia, and on meetings with Arabs in Slovenia and their families in Jordan.⁷

MIGRATION HISTORY

For a better understanding of patterns of remitting, it is necessary to outline migration history of both the Bosniaks and the Arabs to Slovenia.

In post-war Yugoslavia, migratory movements and labour market disturbances went hand in hand with early socialist development. Supported by central planning policies which pulled the rural population out of underdeveloped areas without at the same time creating employment opportunities and housing within urban immigration zones, this development pattern generated a kind of "floating" workforce. This uprooted population nested around urban and semi-urban areas waiting for their life opportunity. The opportunity came with Yugoslavia's opening to European labour markets in the early sixties, which first sucked up the "floating" workforce and then a substantial part of the employed population. When the European labour markets began to shut down in the early seventies, the migratory streams, once geared to emigration, were rerouted toward internal, Yugoslav markets and Slovenia in particular. Thus, immigration to Slovenia in the eighties may be explained in part by the interplay of the closing of external labour markets and the attractiveness of the internal ones for the already formatted potential migrants (Mežnarić 1986: 230).

Contrary to migration from Bosnia, where economic reasons played the most important role in decision-making processes, the political situation of the time was the decisive factor in the case of migration from Arab countries.

After the Second World War, Yugoslavian politicians started defining the principles of an active peaceful coexistence, criticising the Soviet bloc's competition, interference with other countries' internal affairs, arming and regional army integrations. Striving for these standpoints, Yugoslavia redefined its foreign policy and came closer to non-engaged states, such as India, Egypt, Indonesia and other former colonial regions that had been transformed into independent countries after the Second World War. At the end of

⁶ The authors have been researching Arabs and Bosniaks living in Slovenia for several years, as they are preparing their doctoral dissertations entitled *The Arab Club, a Place of Changing Social Identifications*, and *Formation of Transnational Communities in the case of Bosniaks in Slovenia*.

⁷ The personal experiences of one of the authors (married to a Jordanian Palestinian) made possible constant ethnographic fieldwork in both Slovenia and Jordan.

the 1950s, Yugoslavia stepped out of the periphery and took on an important position in international relations, as it was, together with Egypt and India, the initiator and founder of the Non-Aligned Movement. They set a paramount task – an engaged fight against the bloc’s policy, imperialism, racism, Zionism, colonialism, and a fight for alignment with all developing countries on the economic and cultural level. These goals led Yugoslavia to closer contact with the Arab countries (more in Petrović 2006).

With its policy of nonalignment that, among others, introduced a new scholarship policy, Yugoslavia enabled Arab students to study at its universities. These students came to Yugoslavia in three different ways: as holders of scholarships awarded by their own countries, as holders of scholarships awarded by Yugoslavia, or at their own expense. Their purpose was to acquire a university-level education in Yugoslavia, return to their countries of origin, and thus help improve difficult political and economic conditions. The majority of them came to Yugoslavia from Palestine, Jordan, Iraq, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Yemen. Those who remained in Yugoslavia were highly educated and created inter-cultural families in Slovenia (more in Lamberger Khatib 2009).

Ahmad remembers his trip to the unknown country:

I came at the beginning of the sixties. [...] what I remember is cold and the train. The journey took us through Turkey to Belgrade. There were representatives of the foreign students’ organisation and the embassies waiting for us. They took us to dinner, after that they put me on a train to Ljubljana. [...] I didn’t have any idea where I was. [...] when I came to Ljubljana, I first looked for my cousin who was already studying here and was helping me to arrange the bureaucratic matters.

The migration patterns changed completely with Slovenia’s independence in the beginning of the 1990s and the outbreak of the war in Bosnia. According to some estimates, around 70,000 refugees came to Slovenia, the majority of whom were Bosniaks from Bosnia.

Although many of them returned home when the conflict in Bosnia ended, there were a few thousand people who changed their refugee status to permanent residence status, since for many refugees the home they knew had ‘disappeared’ (see also Al-Ali et al 2001). The reasons for this are mainly to be found in two facts, the first being that they equated their homes with (the former) Yugoslavia and the second that they had become a minority in their own country (this mainly refers to those who came from the Republic of Srpska). Furthermore, traumas connected with the experience of war reduced the desire to establish connections with the country of origin. On the other hand, however, experiences of war and the feeling of belonging to the ethnic community that suffered the most could represent a strong stimulus for maintaining contacts with individuals and groups in the country of origin.

As the war ended, the political and economic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina gradually took a turn for the better and became more stable. However, unemployment

remains the most serious problem, as it stood at approximately 30 percent in April 2008.⁸ The social and economic situation in Bosnia is highly problematic, although there has been some progress in specific segments of the economy. Of the estimated 3.5 million inhabitants, only approximately 500,000 workers⁹ receive regular salaries, meaning that only one of eight people receives a monthly salary on regular basis. This fact, also bearing in mind that prices are continuously increasing, makes it very difficult to cover food expenses with only one salary per family and even harder with pensions that now suffice for only 30 percent of food expenses.¹⁰ Therefore, in order to survive, families are forced into complementing their budgets with the help of the 'grey economy'.

The economic situation is one of the reasons why many Bosniaks wish to migrate to the 'West'. Due to restrictive migration policies, they use various strategies to migrate. Among them are family reunion and marriage with a Bosniak person already holding Slovenian, or even more desired Swiss citizenship.

This new political situation and the change of migration policy also altered the pattern of Arab migration to Slovenia. The number of Arabs migrating to Slovenia decreased with the change in the student policy, which has made it almost impossible for the Arabs to enter Slovenian universities. The individuals who came in the late 1990s were mostly recognised as political and economic migrants, whereas the next motive to come to Slovenia was for personal reasons (marriages).

[...] I met her at a conference in Cairo. We liked each other and after some years of travelling here and there, we got married. [...] I moved to Slovenia [...] it is not easy to be an Arab here. They ask me for so many papers that don't even exist in my country!

REMITTANCES AS LINKING ELEMENTS OF MIGRANTS' TRANSNATIONAL LIVES?

Transnational activities that could be defined as connections and interactions linking people across borders were in both cases maintained mostly on the individual level, where personal connections with relatives and friends represent the most important base, especially if migrants still have parents or close relatives living in their country of origin. Connections on the institutional and the state levels are of much lesser importance.

According to the Arabs and Bosniaks who were interviewed, remittances refer to economic transfers between migrants on one hand, and to individuals or family members

⁸ As Bosnia is a developing country, the global financial and economic crisis will affect it to a greater degree than developed countries. The crisis will decrease the country's export activities, as well as the level of industrial production, all of which will increase the unemployment rate and cause unpredicted social turmoil (Slovenian embassy in BIH – <http://sarajevo.veleposlanistvo.si/index.php?id=1901>).

⁹ Slovenian embassy in BIH.

¹⁰ According to data provided by the Embassy of the Republic of Slovenia in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are still around one million families with only one employed person in Bosnia.

remaining in countries of origin on the other. The latter most often include both core and extended families. Our research shows that remittances represent one of the main links connecting migrants with their families in the country of origin. As stressed by almost all of the informants, remittances do not only have a simple monetary function, but are an important element of expressing care, commitment, and loyalty to one's family. In addition to economic transfers, remittances have an important influence on conceptions of social responsibility, which is evident in migrants' incorporation, maintenance of their sense of belonging, their image, social authority, respect and inclusion into receiving societies.

According to Lucas and Stark (Lianos 1997: 73), the central idea in the theory of remittances is that they can be seen as implicit, contractual arrangements between migrants and their homes, which are mutually beneficial. Such informal arrangements are voluntary and self-enforcing, where mutual altruism and self-interest play the main role. The research analyses confirmed that migrants remit money because they value the welfare of those in the receiving household. This is seen as altruistic because the migrant receives nothing but the satisfaction of the household's increase in consumption. Lucas and Stark (Lianos 1997) expose altruism as one of the original explanations for remittances. On the other hand, self-interest refers not only to the benefits from implicit arrangement itself, but also to other benefits, such as expectations to inherit part of the family wealth, convenience in investing at home, and the intention to return home. However, Lucas and Stark (Hass 2007) argue that the motives of altruism and self-interest are often inextricable, and that in the end one cannot probe whether the true motive is one of caring or more selfishly wishing to enhance prestige by being perceived as caring.

My aunt lives in a village and she has never worked because she is handicapped. As Bosnia does not have an adequate model of social assistance, she is entirely dependent on us, her relatives, and we just have to help her.

THE ORGANISATION OF SOCIAL NETWORKS AND IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY NETWORKS

Migrants do not move merely as individuals, but just as significantly as members of a family network; therefore, they do not only move to various destinations, but also within family networks. Once established at a migration destination, family members encourage their relatives to join them, at the same time offering help in moving to, and settling into, the new place. Olwig (2003) argues that certain migration destinations become of particular importance in particular family networks.

[...] I have brought quite a few people here: a friend from Palestine, a cousin, a nephew from Jordan, and I helped them in the beginning. I still do, if they need anything [...]

The family as a social institution creates roles and responsibilities within itself. Within this framework of responsibilities and duties, migrants feel committed to the welfare of the family and they remit a part of their incomes (Lianos 1997: 75). Remitting to family members is seldom regular and is more often of a periodical nature, meaning that remitting takes place occasionally and mostly during visits to countries of origin.

Several studies (Levitt 1998; Cohen and Roudrigues 2004; Menjivar et al.1998 etc.) show that the propensity of migrants to remit increases with the number of close family relatives they have in their countries of origin, and with economic needs of the family members. These findings are consistent with the hypothesis that association in a social network and a migrant's concern for his family members motivate remittance-sending behaviour, thus implying that concern is greater for family members in difficult circumstances.

During the wars in Bosnia and Palestine, different forms of help were also organised at the level of formal associations. The Arab Club called upon all its members to provide aid for Palestine, while various Bosniak associations collected both financial resources and other daily necessities. The Bosniak associations in Slovenia were initially established for the purpose of gathering aid for Bosnian refugees seeking refuge in Slovenia, and only later turned to their current principal aim – to foster various cultural practices and the language.

Remittances can also be motivated by the need to maintain social ties while abroad. Sets of social ties between individuals are structured in a social network.

Networks can be explained as sets of interpersonal ties connecting migrants through kinship, friendship and shared community origin (Maggard 2004). Because networks are not normatively defined, at least at their inception, they can take a range of forms, e.g. more institutionalised structures such as families, and formal organisations. Individuals participating in a network might neither conceptualise their relationships as a network nor use the term. On the other hand, however, networks are not spontaneous and ephemeral. The type of individuals regarded as members varies depending on the organising principle and on the resources and perceived needs of those already within the network.

According to Gurak and Caces (1992), migrant networks do not need to be highly institutionalised, but can rather be a set of relationships revolving around certain organising principles underlying the network (reciprocal exchange or other shared common goals).

The social network theory suggests an alternative conception of remittances, emphasising the social rather than the economic role that remittances play in the lives of migrants and their families. From this viewpoint, remittances are resources exchanged between members of a social network, where a social network is defined as “a set of recurrent associations between groups of people linked by occupational, familiar, cultural or affective ties” (Portes 1995). Contrary to the Bosniaks living in Slovenia, social networks among the Arabs in Slovenia tend to be less family-based and more friendship-based.¹¹

The reason for this may be found in the structure of partner relationships, since differences in the ethnic affiliations of a husband and wife, of two partners, are of excep-

¹¹ However, in the connection with the country of origin, their networks are mostly family-based.

tional importance for the actual formation of a social network. Marriages in the case of the Bosniaks interviewed are for the most part endogamic. Regarding religious Bosniak informants, a Muslim woman is socially obligated to marry a Muslim man and carry the Islamic tradition over to their children.

Another important aspect of both partners who migrated from Bosnia to Slovenia is the sharing of a common migration experience, i.e. cultural practices, all of which binds them even closer together. Senada¹² explains:

[...] what I liked about my husband was that he was a real Bosnian and therefore understood what it was like to be a Bosnian living in Velenje [...]

More often than not, weddings between two partners residing in Slovenia are performed in Bosnia.

[...] July and August is the time of weddings in Bosnia. This is already the third wedding in our village in a row, and next week we are having the fourth one [...]

The majority of our Bosniak informants' families and friends spend their summer vacations in Bosnia, as this is also the time when new acquaintances, new connections, sympathies, and future marriages are formed. The receiving country of either partner plays an exceptionally important role, Western European countries, and foremost Switzerland, being the most desired destination.

The Arabs interviewed are all married to Slovenian partners (the Arabs who came to study to Slovenia were mostly men, who befriended and fell in love with their future partners during their studies, and eventually established families in Slovenia).¹³ Friendship networks, too, were created during university years and they have mostly last to this day.

[...] we Palestinians hang out together. Well, there is also Mahdi from Yemen because he is alone. We hang out 2–3 times per week. We always go to someone's house, and talk for a while. During Ramadan, there is dinner at someone's house every Friday. [...] in the summer, we have picnics, everyone brings something [...]

As can be seen from the statement above, the Arab migration history was not based on settling in Slovenia and creating families as the main purpose of their coming to the country where they were to obtain an education. As a result, areas, meeting places and cultural functions have been organised by individuals, as well as by informal friendships

¹² Senada is Muslim, whereas her husband is not. They were both born in Bosnia and later migrated to Slovenia where they met. The fact that they have different religious backgrounds was met with strong disapproval from both their families.

¹³ The Arabs who came to Slovenia in the 1990s due to political, economic or other personal reasons (love), are mostly men married to Slovenian women.

and formal organisations (the Arab Club, several Bosniak organisations, etc.); in the case of the Arabs, in the first period of migration they were established by political organisations.¹⁴ The Arabs that decided to stay in Slovenia after finishing their education expressed willingness to cooperate and share their common culture within an organisation. Immigrants set up organisations to create, express and maintain a collective identity. Such organisations are not only important for the immigrants themselves, but also for their participation and integration into the host society (Schrover and Vermeulen 2005: 823). The Arab Club was established in 1992 as a cultural club located in Ljubljana. Its members are mostly citizens of Arabic origin from many Arabic states/countries (most of them come from Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt, Yemen, and Algeria). According to the Club's administration, there are approximately 150 members, not including their family members. They have a formal statute and the members have to pay membership fees. In other larger ethnic communities, religion prompted the formation of separate associational structures within the same national group. However, in the case of the Arab immigrants, the members of the Arab Club are of different religious backgrounds (mostly Muslims and some Christians). In this sense, religion is only one of many possible markers of ethnicity and not always the most important one, but in the case of the Arabs, it bears little significance for the members.¹⁵ The majority of them are graduates of Slovenian universities. They mostly speak two languages (Arabic and Slovenian), and some of them have organised their lives in two societies. The primary purpose of the Club is to connect people (its members), who use it as a social field with the aim of maintaining their cultural practices, local identities, and language as an element of preserving the collective culture. The stated purpose of their activity is the strengthening of the mutual bonds of all members of Arab nationality and their family members, as well as the strengthening of cultural and club bonds among the members of the Club and their homelands. In the international context, the role of the networks is based especially on relatives and friendship bonds in the process of chain migrations. The networks are especially important in the receiving society, as they create social capital. Elements of solidarity, cooperation and mutuality within the networks are essential for the system of social networks. The Arab Club is an entirely apolitical institution in relation to the Slovenian state. It refers to itself as a cultural club because in the past politics separated them into ideological groups (Al-fatah, ba'athist, communist etc.).

In contrast to the Arab case, social networks among the Bosniaks tend to be more related to families according to migration history, although individuals do take part in associations, which were, as mentioned above, initially established with the purpose of collecting aid for refugees from Bosnia and were later transformed mostly into places of meeting and fostering cultural practices. The central organisation is the Bosniak cultural

¹⁴ In the time of the former Yugoslavia, the Arabs were organised into unions according to their national and even political affiliation: the Union of Palestinian Students, the Union of Iraqi Students; the Syrian students were also united among themselves.

¹⁵ Most of the Arabs living in Slovenia declare themselves "secular believers" (Muslims or Christians).

association, with a number of other associations across Slovenia acting as its members.¹⁶ Social gatherings and maintaining the culture stand as the associations’ principal motive. Their members gather regularly, marking individual holidays, such as *bajram*¹⁷ (“Festival of Sacrifice” or “Greater Bairam”), Bosnian Independence Day,¹⁸ and the Slovenian Culture Day.¹⁹ There are also a few other associations, e.g. *Sevdah* in Ljubljana, *Bošnjaško mladinsko društvo* in Velenje, *Sandžak* and *Diamant* in Koper, and *Sevdah* in Novo mesto, acting as members of the Bosniak cultural association of Slovenia. The associations’ locations indicate the dispersed settlement of the Bosniak community, whose members are usually settle in industrial centres and larger towns where there was a need of additional labour force at the time of intense industrialisation.

Contrary to the aforementioned associations, the Islamic community represents the central religious institution in Slovenia. According to data provided by the census in 2002, there are 47,500 Muslims²⁰ living in Slovenia. Of these, there are approximately 40,000 Bosniaks²¹ from Bosnia and Sandžak, whereas other members of the community are either of Albanian or Roma nationality.

The majority of Bosniaks in Slovenia perceive Islam in the traditional Bosnian manner as asserted at the time of socialist Yugoslavia. This means that Islam is still regarded as something belonging to the intimate sphere, as something not to be displayed on the outside, whereas knowledge about the religion is foremost, but not exclusively, based on the oral tradition of parents, grandparents and religiously literate individuals of Bosnia’s countryside where the majority of Bosniak immigrants come from. This variety of Islam is performed in a ritually loose manner, meaning that the following of the prohibition of alcohol and pork consumption is not consistent, whereas *bajram* is celebrated (Kalčič 2007: 263–264).

... Presuming that the criteria is practicing everyday obligations, then there are five percent of Muslims [among the Bosniaks] in Slovenia; if the criteria is ‘bajram’ and the fact that they don’t eat pork, then eighty percent of all the Bosniaks here are Muslims ...

Motivations for remitting

The main interest in our research was focused on motivations for remitting.

In the case of the Arabs and the Bosniaks, care for family members can be seen as one of the main motivations for remitting. According to Caces et al. (1985: 5), “shadow

¹⁶ Ljiljan from Ljubljana, Izvor from Kranj, and Biser from Jesenice.

¹⁷ Arab.: Eid al-Adha: عيد الأضحى

¹⁸ 1 March.

¹⁹ 8 February.

²⁰ In the Bosnian language, the adjective “muslim” written without the initial capital implies religious affiliation, whereas “Muslim” (with the capital) implies ethnic affiliation.

²¹ They also include ethnically undefined or Muslims (written with the capital), and Bosnians (approximately ¾ of whom are “muslim”).

households²² in the place of destination consist of persons whose commitments and obligations are to households in the sending area". Such person may be especially likely to assist or to remit funds to the family member remaining behind (in Boyd 1989: 643). Thus, we believe that the motivation to remit a share of an income is based on commitment and loyalty to the family.

[...] I regularly help my family, because it simply behoves to do so, because it is a matter of habit and custom ... This is how I take care of my family [...]

When a migrant sends remittances, these can be thought of as transferring resources to the social network. In our case, it is possible to point to three probable reasons for this.

Firstly, the transfer may be considered as being reciprocal, meaning that migrants may be accumulating social obligations from the people the money is sent to. They may also be receiving a 'real time' reciprocity of their remittances in a form of childcare (the case of the Bosniaks), or transfer of goods with traditional or sentimental value (the case of the Arabs: spices, sweets, books), and at times small amounts of money. The central role of the networks is not embedded merely in the processes of distribution and credit, but also stands as the foundation for complex relationships of gift exchanges binding the community together. What is the point of sending such small remittances, given that each diversion of resources is of great material cost for the giver? The answer lies in understanding diversified coping strategies, the power of gift exchange for alliance building. Through gift remitting to relatives "back home", a migrant recognises an act that interlocks the giver and the receiver in a social framework imbued with a range of obligations and meanings (Mauss 1996). In this framework, migrants' remitting behaviour not only includes material exchange but also becomes a process by which they invest in social networks that endure through time and that can serve as buffers against unpredictable modern time (Cliggett 2003: 543).

[...] when we go to Palestine, I buy some clothes for my parents, such as a shirt, socks, scarf, shoes, or even a wallet, purse, a watch... I also take 'Gorenjka'²³ chocolate. Coming back from Jerusalem, I bring spices ('bharat'), almonds, pistachios, olives, olive oil, dates, 'zatar'²⁴; I also bring souvenirs from old Jerusalem [...]

Secondly, migrants may be following moral values that they have learned through membership in a certain social group. To put this more simply, they may have been socialised to believe that sending remittances is the right thing to do. In the eyes of an Arab

²² Shadow households consist of all individuals presently not living in a household, but who have principal obligations and commitments to that household. The concept of 'shadow households' was, according to Caces et. al (1985: 5), spatial mobility at the household level.

²³ Gorenjka is a Slovenian brand of chocolate products.

²⁴ *Zatar* is crushed thyme with sesame, consumed with bread dipped in olive oil, usually for breakfast.

family, care for the elders is a moral obligation, whereas an individual not following this principal is perceived as having failed to be a member of the family. Obligation to remit is higher when most of the sons live abroad and there is not a single (or only one) person that would be able to take care of the family. In such cases, sons usually create a network through which money is sent.

Only one brother is still in Palestine, beside my parents; the rest of us are all abroad. To support our parents, we (all the brothers)²⁵ send money to the brother in Palestine on a monthly basis, and he then gives it to our father.

In the Bosniak case, the situation is slightly different because there are also female, not just male migrants, and distribution of remittances thus includes both genders.

Thirdly, the migrant may be confronted with the norms of behaviour of his social group. He would adopt these norms in order to confirm or increase his social standing in either the sending or the receiving community, and to avoid repercussions in the form of social sanctions, if he does not remit. During the war in Bosnia, remitting was not disputable, nor was economic status, as everyone was obliged to send money or other goods. As explained by one respondent:

Neither I nor anybody else could even imagine that I would spend money on vacations while my family in Bosnia had no money to buy food.

Regarding the Bosniaks, a strong motivation for remitting can be found in the intention of returning to the country of origin some time in the future. Return can also be part of the initial migration strategy, albeit frequently postponed. For example, Bosniaks in Slovenia see themselves as sojourners, target earners motivated by the desire to save money in order to achieve a specific goal back home (see also Brettell 2008: 116). Motivation for remitting is also dependent on the frequency of their visits home, which are more frequent than in the case of the Arabs because of the geographical distance. This finding is consistent with the hypothesis that migrants are motivated to remit by the enjoyment of investments in their home area when they return. It implies that self-interest is stronger when the intention to return home is more certain. Besides the material value, houses built by migrants that are almost by the rule situated in the husband's (father's) village of origin have a strong symbolic meaning, as they represent a symbol of home. Or, as stated by another respondent:

If there was no house how would the kids know where their home is?²⁶ (Žmegač 2003).

According to Hass (2006: 575), construction of a new house is a general process, but

²⁵ But not the sisters living abroad.

²⁶ Taken from an interview with Čapo Žmegač.

in the case of migrants, it is the typical first investment they make. As houses bear a predominantly strong symbolic meaning for both the migrant and the community in Bosnia, they tend to be luxurious, concrete, well-equipped and large. The principal divide runs between households with and those without access to international migrant resources.

The houses are partly built because of the migrants' intention to return when retired, but mostly because of the image and their family members' expectations. Responding to Tatjana's question: "*Why are you building a house in a place where you are not sure that you will return to?*", a respondent answered:

Building a house is a kind of a social norm; you are basically expected to do so as almost everybody did.

Motivation for building a house is to have something of their own in the country of origin, especially when migrants live in rented apartments in the receiving country²⁷.

This is more related to the social than the economic meaning, because migrants' houses are usually "houses to pose with". In the country of origin, the migrant is perceived as the successful one, and his behaviour should correspond to this perception.

Investment in housing nowadays represents one of the main indirect forms of remittances with strong influence on the local economy, since most family meetings (religious holidays, vacations, marriages, and funerals) take place in Bosnia.

... I help my relatives in Bosnia by offering them small jobs at my house, which, however, are not necessary for me, but they do represent an additional source of income for them ...

Capacity of remitting

Migrants' capacity to remit depends on:

1. **Employment and financial status** of migrants and their level of human capital (their language abilities and educational status), which directly affect their earning potential. The actual amount depends on economic capacities in the receiving countries, as well as on the need in origin countries.

Now that my father is retired, my brothers and I are obliged to send money monthly, although we were never requested to. Our father accepts the money, so we know he needs it. If I didn't have extra money to send, I would work extra hours, borrow from my brothers or take out credit.

However, there are instances when household members must hide the fact that they are sending money, for example when a husband does not approve, and vice versa in cases of

²⁷ This relates to those migrants who came between and after the war, and are not well-situated economically.

mixed marriages with Arabs where a wife does not understand why she is obliged to send money to her relatives when she has her own children to be taken care of in Slovenia.

2. **The social and political context of migrants’ reception** determines whether they are welcomed or shunned by the receiving community, and whether they face favourable and unfavourable policies (Briant 2005: 8). Talking about migration history, it is possible to state that the Bosniaks and the Arabs did not experience similar receptions in Slovenia. Since the Bosniaks migrated within one country (during the 1960s and 1970s), they were not perceived as foreigners, but more likely as people from less developed parts of the same country (at least until the 1990s). The Bosniaks came to Slovenia mostly as unqualified workers, whereas the Arabs came as students within the framework of international university agreements, which gave them a priori higher status, as the percentage of Slovenians at universities was very low in the 1960s and 1970s.

Following Slovenia’s independence in the beginning of the 1990s and its adoption of the European migration policy, the Bosniaks and especially the Arabs became increasingly perceived as the ‘other’, partly because of their religious background.

3. **Migrants’ immigration status**, which can range from extremely vulnerable to secure, can play a key role in determining their integration into receiving communities that in turn have an impact on their capacity to remit. As Portes states (see Briant 2005: 8), there is identifiable irony that the factors positively influencing the capacity of migrants to remit (those who increase their earning potential) may also adversely affect their motivation to remit, if a consequence of increased economic and social integration into a sending community is that a migrant becomes less oriented towards their home community.

The extent to which money is remitted and how and where remittances are spent fundamentally depends on the migrant’s social and economic position and destination, as well as on the conditions of investing in the country of origin. As stated by Brettell (2008: 119), “migrant savings are often spent on conspicuous consumer items, rather than for economic investment, and the skills learned abroad can not be easily applied to the rural home context. Rather than being a form of development aid given by rich countries to poor countries, population movements have often resulted in migration-dependent communities and generation of further migration through the diffusion of consumerism”. Nevertheless, it is possible to say that in the Arab case, most of the money is spent on needs within households (foods, clothes, and equipment), payments of bills (electricity, heating and so on), support of family members still involved in the educational process, and payment for health treatments. On special occasions, such as family investments, marriages, funerals and other important events contributing to a family’s image, they send larger amounts of money. Some migrants find financing such events very stressful, or as one respondent described the situation:

It was very hard, they called me all day long, and also at night, I couldn’t handle it, it was too much for me. They requested such a large amount of money to invest in land I could not afford it. I switched off the phone.

The Bosniaks, too, do not depend entirely on remittances; remittances are mainly spent on extra household needs, particularly clothing and food. Housing almost universally occupies the highest range after daily consumption on the list of migrants' expenditure, and migrants have consistently been criticised for these preferences. Criticism of migrants' 'unproductive' or 'irrational' expenditure behaviour also reveals an apparent inability to comprehend the difficult social, economic, legal and political conditions that often prevailed in the migrants' sending countries (Haas 2006: 575). In such an insecure context as in the case of Bosnia, it is relatively safe to invest in housing, which can be presented as a rational strategy for achieving security and improving living standards.

Channels of remitting

According to the World Bank's data, remittances represent 17.2 percent of the GDP in Bosnia, 20.3 percent in Jordan, 22.8 percent in Lebanon, and 5 percent of the GDP in the West Bank and Gaza.²⁸ However, the true extent of remittances, including unrecorded flows through formal and informal channels, is believed to be much larger.

Using informal channels for remitting is one of the reasons why it is hard to estimate the importance of remittances. This holds especially true in the case of the Bosniaks, because according to the informants, two thirds of all remittances travel through informal channels. This is mostly related with the frequency of visits. According to the research data (see also Pezdir 2007), 20 percent of the Bosniaks visit Bosnia 10 times per year or even more frequently.

I now go to Bosnia almost every second weekend. Sometimes, I leave on Friday, directly after the night shift, drive for five hours, and then return the same evening, as I must get to the night shift again. But it's still worth it...

The second reason for informal remitting lies in the size of the Bosniak population in Slovenia, which, according to the last census in 2002, comprised 40,000 inhabitants.²⁹ The migrants thus sometimes give money to their relatives or friends who then take it to their relatives or friends in Bosnia.

...There are also widows in the village, whose husbands were working in Slovenia, but are now deceased. The women are very old and functionally illiterate, therefore they asked my father to collect their pensions in Slovenia and bring them to Bosnia, although they could also get the pensions at a bank in Bosnia... but they are used to my father arranging this for them ...

The importance of these channels was particularly apparent during the war, when communication and traffic infrastructures were destroyed or shut down. During that

²⁸ The World Bank Report.

²⁹ These data are only approximate, as statistical data cannot give the whole picture due to the methodological approach.

time, they used special couriers to deliver money; although extremely dangerous and insecure, that was the only way to send money because all other money-transfer facilities were closed.

The Arabs, on the other hand, mostly opt for formal distribution, through bank transfers. The Arab community is not large, leaving fewer possibilities to use informal channels (through relatives or friends). Nevertheless, they also use informal channels if they can give money to someone they trust.

[...] I am going to Jordan next week. Do you have anything for your family?

The same person who would take money to someone else's relatives in Arabic countries would bring back some goods unavailable in Slovenia. These goods are something they miss in the receiving country and that remind them of home.³⁰ When the migrants themselves visit their countries of origin, they always bring a certain amount of money (usually given to the mother), in addition to the mandatory gifts for all their family members, including second-hand clothes, electrical products, toys, and other utensils.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Ethnographic insights into the practices and lived experiences of remitting behaviour among the Arabs and the Bosniaks living in Slovenia make it possible to conclude that remittances are one of the most significant elements of migrants' transnational lives. The research pointed to two main factors affecting remitting behaviour which could be marked as internal and external ones. The former comprise motivations for remitting, whereas the latter applies to the capacity to remit.

On the basis of the analysed research data, it is possible to state that motivations are linked substantially to commitments and loyalty to kin and friends. We established that social obligations, moral values and behavioural norms play an essential role in motivations for remitting. Therefore, it is possible to say that the sense of obligation to their families plays a dominant role, despite differences between the Arabs and the Bosniaks arising from different migration experiences. The goal of the interviewed Bosniaks was to earn a certain amount of money and help family members left behind. They expected to return as soon as they had achieved this goal. Looking at the Arabs participating in the research, the goal was to obtain a high-level education and return to the country of origin. The Arabs that remained in Slovenia are connected in a friendship-based network, with reference to their countries of origin – whereas membership in family networks remains the principal element in the case of the Bosniaks.

³⁰ In the case of the Bosniaks, for example *sudžuk*, smoked cheese, goat cheese or *crème fraîche* with gherkins, jam, and *raki* as the main product. They also buy fruits and vegetables in season, as they come at lower prices that are of even greater significance when it comes to buying cigarettes, especially of the well-known Bosnian brand *Drina*.

Due to involvement in social and family networks, the social role of remittances remains of exceptional importance, both from the point of view of the giver, as remitting is a way of expressing their concern for the family, and from the view of the receiver (the family) which not only perceives remitting as a simple monetary function, but also as proof of attachment, as money or gifts sent to their family members also express the migrant's love for them.

Presuming that a family is the central socio-cultural framework of migrants' lives, and by comparing parallels between remitting behaviours among the Arabs and the Bosniaks in Slovenia, we point to particular values and social ties that migrants and their families practice in relation to their places of origin. Despite individual differences in remitting practices among the interviewed Arabs and Bosniaks, it is possible to conclude that economic, and even more so social remitting, is a complex process introducing changes in localised communities where places of origin and those of current residence abroad are intertwined. Therefore, remittances not only represent constant exchanges between members of a network in the sending and receiving countries, but also embeddedness in the continuity of the relationship that a migrant maintains with his family members.

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POVZETEK

»BI TE LAHKO PROSILA, BRAT MOJ, DA MI POŠLJEŠ KAJ MALEGA?« PRAKSE REMITIRANJA MED ARABCI IN BOŠNJAKI V SLOVENIJI

Maja Lamberger Khatib, Tatjana Pezdir

Prispevek analizira prakse remitiranja med Arabci in Bošnjaki, ki živijo v Sloveniji. Vsebina prispevka temelji na intervjujih, ki sva jih avtorici opravili večinoma v letih 2007–2009 s pripadniki arabske in bošnjaške skupnosti v Sloveniji. V članku z razlago pomena in poti remitenc ter s primerjavo različnih migracijskih izkušenj pokaževa na pomen družine kot središčnega socio-kulturnega življenjskega ogrodja migrantov.

Migranti, ki so prišli v Slovenijo v času po drugi svetovni vojni, se povezujejo v družinske in prijateljske mreže. Te družbene mreže se vzdržujejo z obiski migrantov v deželah izvora, z vpletanjem aktivnosti, ki povezuje obe državi (deželo izvora in deželo priselitve), kot je npr. poroka, in z remitencami, ki tudi potrjujejo obstoj družbenih mrež med prostori. Poleg družbenega imajo remitence močan ekonomski pomen, hkrati pa pošiljajo tudi pomembna sporočila o standardih in možnostih v državah imigracije. Skozi različne oblike remitiranja družini ali drugim sorodnikom ter prijateljem Arabci in Bošnjaki v Sloveniji vzdržujejo stike znotraj družbenih mrež.

Motivacije, vzorci in kanali remitiranja v članku nam povedo, kakšne so transnacionalne aktivnosti med Arabci na relaciji Slovenija – Jordanija/Palestina/ Sirija/Egipt idr. ter med Bošnjaki v Sloveniji in Bosni in Hercegovini (BIH). Kot pokaževa skozi vzporednice vedenja remitiranja med Arabci in Bošnjaki, prakse remitiranja ne samo konstruirajo ali precepirajo izvirne dežele v smislu transnacionalnega karakterja, temveč tudi v smislu določenih vrednot in družbenih vezi, ki jih migranti in njihove družine prakticirajo v teh prostorih.

Družbena vloga remitenc je zaradi vpetosti v družbene in družinske mreže izjemnega pomena: tako z vidika tistega, ki remitira in na ta način izraža skrb za družino, kakor z vidika prejemnika, družine, ki ji remitence ne predstavljajo le preproste denarne funkcije, ampak tudi pomemben element izkazane navezanosti na družino - denar ali darila pa povezuje tudi z ljubeznijo do njih.

TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES AND INTEGRATION MATERIALIZED: POLISH TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION AND THE WORLD OF GOODS

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ABSTRACT

Transnational Practices and Integration Materialized: Polish Transnational Migration and the World of Goods

The paper addresses the historical and class-contingent processes of transnationalism and integration mediated through material culture. I see the world of goods as a means to uncover the daily, potentially cosmopolitan, practices through which migrants (re)create the ties to their places of origin and destination and contribute to the transnationalization and cosmopolitanization of the subjectivity of the people with whom they interact: the Finnish “natives” and those who stayed behind. The analysis is based on my multi-sited ethnography conducted across Poland and Finland.

KEY WORDS: transnationalism, integration, material culture, Polish migration, Finland

IZVLEČEK

Materializirane transnacionalne prakse in integracija: poljska transnacionalna migracija in svet materialnih dobrin

Ta članek se ukvarja z zgodovinskimi in razredno pogojenimi procesi transnacionalizma in integracije, kot se kažejo skozi materialno kulturo. Svet materialnih dobrin vidim kot sredstvo za razkrivanje dnevnih, potencialno svetovljanskih praks, skozi katere migranti (po)ustvarjajo vezi do krajev izvora in destinacije. Tako prispevajo k transnacionalizaciji in kozmopolitizaciji subjektivnosti ljudi, s katerimi so v interakciji: finskimi »domorodci« in tistimi, ki so ostali doma. Analiza temelji na več-lokacijski etnografiji, opravljeni na Poljskem in Finskem.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: transnacionalizem, integracija, materialna kultura, poljska migracija, Finska

INTRODUCTION

Transnational migration is a paradigm which rose from the shortcomings of the unilinear assimilation theory. It undermined the assumption predominating for decades that migration is a one-way, straightforward act of resettlement from a country of origin

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to a country of destination. The ties to people and places left behind were to be lost along the way of merging into a “mainstream society.” The redefinition of such interpretation, arguing for the continuity of transnational connections, also put forward a new explanatory framework for the process of incorporation. From the outset, transnational scholars have emphasized the theme of simultaneity. Transnationalism has been recognized as a process which takes place *within* and *across* national borders, entailing lived, often cosmopolitan, experience anchored in more than one society. Migrants engage in daily activities and participate in institutional frameworks of the country they “left from”, and at the same build bridges across cultural differences, becoming a part of various segments of the country of destination. In this view, the transnational connections and assimilation, intertwined and concurrent, should be read not separately but in relation to one another (see e.g. Morawska 2003; Levitt and Schiller 2004). Still, as Peggy Levitt and Nadya B. Jaworsky (2007) noticed, although the above-described mutuality is habitually recognized, the stress is predominantly on the transnational ties. The modes of incorporation are looked upon as secondary. With this paper I wish to address both these dimensions and their actual simultaneity, taking as the point of departure material culture, defined as the people’s relationship with the world of goods, starting from goods of the most everyday kind to grand architecture. I argue that a focus on how people use things helps illuminate the actuality of the transnational and integration processes, and uncover the subtleties of how people constitute themselves, create meaning and (re)produce and negotiate their various social relationships aimed at incorporation in new places and the perseverance of old connections. Those processes are enacted both across national borders and in geographically more concrete zones of contact, in which migrants’ transnational and integration, Polish and Finnish social ties intersect and cross-cut each other. These intersections are rooted in and are negotiated through the myriad elements of material culture, leading to a potentially progressive and enriching, cosmopolitan encounter with the Other. At the same time I am attentive to the historically contingent power asymmetries pervading such social relationship and places of meetings. They are “ethnic” and “class”-based and are objectified foremost through hierarchically organized material consumption. The year 1989 and democratic transition in Poland mark the beginning of a significant reconfiguring of these hierarchies.

The analysis is focused on the Polish migrants living in Finland and their significant others both in Finland and in Poland.² Finland can be called a new gateway of migration in Europe. It is a terrain unexplored by transnational migration scholars, which due to its low numbers of foreigners (2.5 per cent of the total population) and their dispersed settlement

² The paper is a result of multi-sited ethnographic study on the transnational kinship conducted between 2006 and 2008 among Polish migrants living in the Southern Finland (both in the urban and rural areas), their children and kin in Poland. It encompassed forty cases. The ethnography involved interviews, informal meetings, talks and attendance of various events of the Polish community (the estimates of the population of Poles in Finland vary from approximately 6000 to 11000 persons). The research was funded by the Finnish Cultural Foundation, the CIMO, the Tampere University Foundation and the Kone Foundation.

patterns provides an interesting site in which direct interactions with the natives and concurrent processes of transnationalism can be studied. In the case of Polish migration, it also gives a possibility to investigate what David Conradson and Alan Latham (2005: 229) called a “middling transnationalism”, i.e. transnational practices of people holding a middle class or status position in the national class structures of their countries of origin and destination. Importantly, the specificity of the Polish migration to Finland is a relatively rare experience of occupational declassification. Yet, consideration of class in structuring the transnationalism and integration, including the emergence of a particular cosmopolitan subjectivity, demands taking into account the different reference points for the production of migrants’ hierarchical locations.

Throughout the paper I use the term integration to denote it as subjectively perceived as a non-coercive character of migrants’ incorporation, entailing a mutual adjustment between them and the “natives”, who themselves become cosmopolitanized (Beck 2002) and transnationally active, whereas cosmopolitanism is read in terms of meeting and cooperation across cultural difference in the contact zones, between people who were previously spatially, historically and in the studied case, politically separated (Pratt 1992, cited by Tan and Yeoh 1996). I would like to start my investigation with a short vignette about a couple whose lives are an embodiment of the processes I want to focus on.

MATERIAL CONSUMPTION AND ITS ROLE IN MEETING ACROSS CULTURAL DIFFERENCE

I met with Hanna and Tadeusz,³ a marriage of musicians, at a Polish Catholic mass in Turku. We were about to travel ninety kilometres to their house in Huittinen, a small rural town. They had resettled there from a major Polish metropolis in 1988. The local music school was looking for a music teacher and Tadeusz seized the opportunity. Because the couple wanted to introduce me to all the places meaningful in their lives in Finland, while driving to Huittinen we made a detour. It took us over two hours to get to the final destination. They showed me where they worked, dwelled, had friends, where their children played and went to school. Because it was the middle of winter, especially for my benefit, we drove across the frozen lake. During the journey they talked about the workings of Finnish society. Although they dreamt about spending their retirement in Poland, they still “cared about the direction in which this country is going”. It was already dark when we arrived in Huittinen. Hanna prepared Polish delicacies: tripe soup (flaki) and pierogi. Being fresh from a visit to Poland (they were about to go there again next week), Hanna emphasized that all the basic ingredients were genuinely Polish. The Polish ham and cucumbers, along with Finnish “ruisleipä” rye-bread, and herrings were served for breakfast the following day. Apart from food, the couple also brought from Poland on a regular basis clothes, cosmetics, medicines, and even bed linen, which they

³ All the names of people and places are fictional.

ironed in Poland. When they arrived in Finland they had only two suitcases. Thus every trip also added up to a more permanent interior of their house, filled with books in Polish, Finnish and English, paintings and family mementos. On the walls, pictures of Tadeusz's music master, Chopin; in the centre of the house a grand piano. I had brought wine, but we decided that the meal would be served with home-made beer. Its production was a legacy of years of impoverishment the family had experienced in Finland. The beverage was much preferred to Polish ones even by the visitors from Poland. Polish beers brought as a gift usually stood unopened. Afterwards we sat in the cosy entrance room to their sauna waiting for the sauna to heat up. We browsed through the family photos, Finnish newspaper clippings on Poland; Hanna showed me the illustrated album she was recently presented by one of the Finnish ladies who sung in the choir that she conducted. It commemorated a trip the choir had recently made to Poland. The trip was organized by Hanna. One of the pictures depicted the choir singing under Hanna's mother's balcony in her Polish home. We went to sauna a couple of times until 4 a.m. We cooled down by going outdoors into the snowy and serene winter night. Hanna commented: "The house has an excellent location, the best in the whole area." She also added: "a sauna will be the first thing we will build after returning to Poland". The next morning I accompanied Hanna in her daily walk through the neighbourhood. The place seemed deserted. Because it was freezing, she gave me a "historical" nylon track suit ("always on hand when a guest comes") – an already faded piece of clothing in which she whooshed down the slopes of the Polish Zakopane winter resort in the nineteen-seventies.

Several years ago, Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo and Ernestine Avila (2003: 317–318) argued that the initial transnational studies overemphasized the ephemerality of movement and underestimated the tendency towards a more permanent settlement. In this, amidst all the multiple rooting of transnational migrants, the desire is inscribed for emplacement and corporeal security. Even if the migration strategy may be still focused towards returning to the home country at the end of their lives, for the time being migrants, to quote Hanna and Tadeusz "lead a normal life here", and "here" means the most ordinary and everyday reality of life in the place of destination. This cognitive recognition entails a particular social action: the attempts at institutional and informal integration, at the establishment of new supportive networks, in other words the cosmopolitan opening to the Other and the building of a "home away from home" (Olwig 1999: 73), simultaneously, however, it is often accompanied by the maintenance of transnational ties of some sort. As the above vignette shows, the most mundane and everyday manifestations of such processes can be found in the migrants' relationship with the material objects and the way they use them to construct their social selves and to relate to the Others across and within national borders. Imprinted in things is the story of migration, the actuality of "here" and "now", but also the past reinvented for the purpose of the present. In the case of Hanna and Tadeusz the meaning and utilitarian value of the worn-out piece of clothing in which I walked through the Finnish woods, or the home-made beer, was the result of the couple's intensive "work" of consumption and appropriation (Miller 1997) linked to the difficult but successful process of rooting in Huittinen, but it was also marked by

constant (re)connections to what in a most straightforward manner could be called the “Polish”, transnational part of their biographies.

On the one hand, similarly to the couple above, many Polish migrants in their ways of eating, drinking, reading, dressing and decorating their houses were attached to what they knew from before migration, engaging in consumption directed practically and ideologically towards Poland rather than Finland. This could point to the migrants’ exclusionary, anti-cosmopolitan politics of identity: unwillingness to accept the cultural novelty encountered in the place of destination, the creation of a hierarchy of difference in which Polish was “better” than Finnish. Indeed, Daniel Hiebert (2002) indicates that transnationalism and cosmopolitanism, even if operating through a similar logic of transgression and linking of various places, do not necessarily have to go hand in hand. However, the migrants’ apparent closeness should be, in the first place, read in the context of unequal cultural encounter and the possibility the material culture offered to the migrants for the negotiation between coercive assimilation and integration, between the enforced and (relatively) voluntary acceptance of cultural difference. For the migrants the mere fact that practically the only way to consume Polish products in Finland was to actually go to Poland, that there were Finnish consumers who regardless of quality and price would always choose Finnish products, and that even after Poland joined the European Union little has changed on the consumer market, was yet another example of the pervasiveness of a hegemonic ideology of “Finnishness”, the Finns’ general closedness towards anything that foreign, and by the same token to the migrants themselves. Their transnational consumption practices, including their engaging in fervent shopping in Poland, were to work against those prejudices, subverting the established social order from the bottom-up. The material consumer culture was thus a politicized space allowing them to score “within the realm of the other” (De Certeau, Jameson and Lovitt 1980: 8), a space where small, everyday, seemingly most ordinary practices made up for the tactics of resisting the inequality. In this context Daniel Miller’s (1997) argument that shopping is empowerment sounds particularly truthful.

Certainly the structural limitations by no means allowed for remaining impervious to various elements of the new material culture. Also, an increasing embeddedness into the Finnish social landscape and at the same time a curiosity about difference contributed to the gradual internalisation of various new tastes and the cosmopolitanization of the migrants’ habitus. Importantly, however, consumption-as-integration was not tantamount to the migrants’ straightforward assimilation. Apart from being selective in their consumer choices (to the extent it was possible), migrants were also quite successful at decoding the elements of Finnish material culture for their own use. The subversive appropriation regarded even the goods which conventionally function as the icons of Finnish culture: the apparently traditional Finnish sauna, which I got to visit in the home of Adam – one of the more affluent migrants – turned out to be built from high-quality timber unavailable in Finland, sent by Adam’s brother who with Adam’s help had established his own sauna-manufacturing company in Poland. Adam explained: “For generations Finns thought that timber was worthless and used it for lighting a fire in the fireplace. Only recently have

they come to their senses but the timber is already gone. Now they have to import it from elsewhere". Another relevant instance was the Finnish Christmas ham, which was brought to Poland every year by Hanna. The ham, taken out of its traditional cultural and spatial context and put on the family Christmas table in Poland, obtained new meaning, as it was enjoyed rather for its utilitarian ("We bring it because grandma likes it so much") than standard symbolic values (ham as a sign of Finnish tradition and continuity). Because objects offer a practically incessant possibility for encoding and decoding, the erasure and giving of new meaning (it is in this context that we can talk about "the social life of things" (Appadurai 1986)), migrants were able to produce material cultural elements which signified both various levels of incorporation to the Finnish society and the persistence of the transnational connections. They were the embodiment of the cultural "hybrid" in the sense of challenging the ideological representations of fixedness and unity from the society's margins (Werbner 1997: 22).

Another important moment when the simultaneity of the migrants' ties to "here" and "there" became materially objectified was during the visits of close ones from Poland to Finland. Such visits were extremely popular, lasting from several days to even a year or more, and functioned as complementary to the return visits paid by the migrants. It was during such stays that migrants were expected to "show" their connections to Finland, display their "cosmopolitan" competence and introduce the non-migrants to the "exotic" and unknown (from the Polish perspective) Finnish culture. The kith and kin crossing national borders were thus implicitly anticipating the experience of "difference" and "diversity" – nowadays a strongly aestheticized desire (May 1996) – and the migrants were in the position to provide those for them. They were the "experts", intermediaries and managers of meaning (Hannerz 1996) for the non-migrants, they were "one of us", but with the simultaneous intimate access to the "Other". Furthermore because the "Finnish" cultural difference seems to be still relatively little commoditized by the capitalist market, the migrants had arguably a lot of scope for its creative materialization. Therefore the engagement in "cosmopolitan" ethnic consumption by the visitors to Finland was to great extent mediated by the personal touch of the migrants who knew them intimately and who were tuned to their idiosyncratic tastes and concerns. The more "authentic" flavour of such encounters was additionally provided by the interaction with the Finns themselves, who at various points were included into the social circle of the migrants as neighbours, friends, family members and co-workers. With them, the non-migrants got to explore the "Finnish" consumption patterns of drinking and eating, the natural landscape and architecture of Finland, went fishing and mushroom picking, and finally went to sauna. Because the cultural things consumed and experienced during such visits were mediated by informal and interpersonal ties, and not by economic exchange on the market, and because there is nothing which functions as more "real" and "authentic" than the intimate and familial (MacCannell 1989), such meetings and exchange across cultural difference could be regarded as one of the most "genuine" experiences of the Other as the foreigner could be granted.

The functionality of the commoditized difference of the Stranger is in its accessibility

(and hence the danger of his/her trivialization, as scholars would argue). It also lies in its movability. One can touch it, smell it, taste it and bring it home. As such it helps give a visible, tangible expression of one's experience of other people and places. Unsurprisingly, by then transporting various goods back to Poland, the non-migrants were taking upon a similar role to that of their close relations in Finland, of being a vehicle of "Finnishness", intermediaries of objectified meaning and meaningful forms (Hannerz 1996) which were not readily accessible on the Polish market. Here, for example, a Finnish sour rye bread could be put on the party table to impress the guests with something "unknown" brought personally from Finland. I also noted the incorporation of transnational-Finnish goods into more everyday use. It could be argued that regardless of the spatial context of consumption, and despite its commoditized character, such instances suggest not simply aesthetic cosmopolitanism, which today may be accomplished even within the vicinity of one's household, but a more profound restructuring of habitus, based on the tangible and enduring personal links to elsewhere. The transnational goods consumed on a daily basis in Poland also represented another side of the exchange chain: the migrant and his/her multiple connections. This argument could be made even more strongly in the cases when the befriended Finns accompanied migrants on their return visits to Poland, or even more so when such travels were undertaken by Finns individually, and the kin of migrants in Poland hosted them during their stay. Again because of their intimate context, such contacts were *potentially* a realization of the "essence" of cosmopolitan encounter, going beyond simple flirtation with cultural difference. This time for the Finns it was a chance to explore the "back regions" of Polish culture, the messy and unexpected, unsafe and "unstaged" (MacCannell 1989). Additionally, the habitual exchange of gifts during such visits converted the Finns' transnational ties to Poland into more tangible, memorable and enduring ones, whereas for the migrants it directly or indirectly constituted a tangible proof of their social acceptance, embodied their "routes" and "roots" (Clifford 1997) and the intimate participation in multiple culturally diversified habitats. Another potential consequence was the development of independent transnational social ties, thriving regardless of migrants' personal involvement. All of the above is well encapsulated by the following quotation, coming from the mother of a migrant who became a successful doctor in Finland:

Years ago Krzysztof [the son] called, asking whether it would be possible to put up some of his friends for several nights. One of them, Jukka, had helped our son a lot during his first year in Finland. We agreed. Jukka came with two men. He spoke a bit of Polish, so we managed to get our messages across. I rose to the occasion and made a hearty dinner. We sat around, Jukka was shining, stirring the conversation and serving as a translator. They came with gifts; he took perfumes, chocolates, some headscarves out of the suitcases for me. They were taking pictures. Jukka stayed at our place upon several other occasions. It was then that I got to know about the tribulations of our son in the initial stages of his life in Finland, problems he had never mentioned. [...] We still exchange Christmas cards with Jukka, because I was

touched by the warmth and friendliness he showed to Krzysztof. Whenever I came [to Finland], he was stopping by to say hello, he threw [me] a party. I remember when Alina was working and there was no grandmother [to baby-sit], Jukka's wife stayed with the kids. So I am grateful to him for all this.

CLASS, DISTINCTION AND PERCEPTION OF “THE OTHER”

The goods which were consumed across and within borders were a more or less conscious expression of the migrants' (and their close ones in Poland) multiple cultural belongings and the cosmopolitanization of subjectivity, which in the discussed cases was commonly mediated through participation in various informal social groups, particularly kinship. The traffic in goods was also the manifestation of a classed character of the human body, its position in the social hierarchy of difference, which again was reproduced locally and transnationally and which affected how the difference of the Others was experienced and evaluated.

In transnational migration studies, a common proxy for class is occupation, interlinked with the race/ethnicity categories in the destination country. Contemporary debates in sociology and anthropology however attempt to go beyond this conventional idea. The trend is towards abandoning the essentializing, causal model in favour of a more culturalist, processual, and individualized approach. Instead of “categorical, explicit, and collective,” class is nowadays “relational, tacit, and hierarchical” (Bottero 2004: 993). This means that the focus is placed on the everyday practices of construction of hierarchical differences (Devine and Savage 2000). In a transnational space these practices are structured by the multiple socio-economic and political contexts. Until very recently the prevailing number of migrants arriving in Finland originated from the intelligentsia. It was a social category which had survived along with the peasants and workers, although not without transformations, from before World War II. In a politically regulated “organized disorder” (Domanski and Rychard 1997: 10–11), in which economic differences were minor and education had relatively little power in comparison to material welfare, the intelligentsia managed to retain its traditional, symbolic distinction and prestige.

It continued to constitute the nation's moral conscience, a group with “a mission” to serve the common, national good (see e.g. Mach 2007). The distinction of the group was reproduced through a specific, embodied habitus which was linked to the education acquired at home and in academia. The intelligentsia ethos had much in common with that of Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) intellectuals, and as I observed, despite the necessity of having to respond to different cultural and political forces working in Finland, also retained much of its characteristics after migration. Most saliently it was always the domain of the intelligentsia to participate most actively in high-brow culture, including the consumption of objectified cultural artefacts. In a transnational context, this (not necessarily conscious) means of distinction was reproduced through the intensive flow to Finland of high-end goods such as books, paintings, quality newspapers, and classical music recordings. The

objectified cultural capital of previous generations was also received or brought personally: antiques, decorative elements, art, which by default were recognized as the source of highest refinement and excellence, a “social power over time”, (Bourdieu 1984: 71) the greater that persisted even against the adverse communist politics aimed at the eradication of Poland’s “bourgeois” heritage. The intelligentsia ethos was furthermore inherently cosmopolitan in the most profound sense of the term: a willingness and competence to experience cultural diversity, an interest and openness towards the Other (Hannerz 1996: 102–111). Constrained by the material and political conditions of the regime, such disposition could objectified fully only in a system of democracy and open borders. And contrary to those less equipped with the relevant cultural capital, the intelligentsia already at the start had all the resources needed to succeed on the Finnish capitalist market, to become a “middle” or “upper” class, and therefore to gather appropriate economic recourse to travel and enrich the cosmopolitan experience beyond Finland.

In recent years scholars have acknowledged that there are many modes of being cosmopolitan and that members of the “working class” (understood as manual labourers) can be cosmopolitan as well (see e.g. Werbner 1999; Lamont and Aksartova 2002). Yet, the cosmopolitan formations they produce differ from the ones created by the elite. Likewise, whereas the intelligentsia, habitually working in high-status occupations in Finland (musicians, doctors, translators, secondary and academic teachers etc.) treated Europe and more generally the world as its playground (the most world-travelled migrant I talked to, a distinguished professor, had visited over 70 countries), the cosmopolitan practices of the manual labourers seemed to be more geographically bounded and their mobility to other foreign places marked by a certain sense of uneasiness. They were also more rarely in Poland, whereas the higher-class migrants went back as often as six times per year. But for them Poland was an obligatory stop on their route to elsewhere (to Lisbon, Spain, China, Bangkok, Egypt, Ethiopia to name a few), where they travelled for work, pleasure, or following their professional and kinship connections. They argued that “Europe is small”. It was an idea which entailed a particular embodied attitude towards mobility: a mind-set which makes conceivable a spontaneous traversing of space and national borders, which does not demand deliberation and preparation. Their homes were an important site where this distinction was manifested. Alongside the goods which marked the migrants’ more localized sense of belonging were the graphics with the hosts’ names written in Chinese, foreign alcohol, pictures with people and landscapes from various places, maps and foreign national flags. One migrant, the aforementioned professor, collected hand-made carpets and Chinese sculpture. Many books were written in English. I was invited to consume tea brought from a recent travel to Tunisia and peanuts from Greece. All these goods implicitly or explicitly were part of the process of individualized hierarchical differentiation, local, transnational, global – if one can make such categorical distinction at all; constitutive for this process was the self-assertion of belonging to the wider social world. The same was true regarding their close relations? in Poland, people who would be misrepresented if to define them as those who “stayed put”. They also travelled to foreign places, and by presenting migrants with the objectified markers of their mobility, made tacitly clear that

both parties assume a similar position in a transnational social hierarchy. Still it would be misleading to assume that, for the latter, the crossing of borders was always so effortless and easily conceivable. It may even be suggested that at times that kind of goods exchange acknowledged the non-migrants' access to the foreign spaces, as much as it concealed that for them the access was more difficult. Unsurprisingly, the least experienced in foreign travel were the kin of the "working-class" migrants, who in Poland occupied a mostly relatively similar position to the one that the migrants occupied in Finland.

The above indicates the visible class-based opportunities for more direct experiencing of the Other. But the consideration of class allows us to see also that there are limits to the cosmopolitan experience even among those who have the most resources and consider themselves the most open to the cultural diversity (implicitly considering themselves "travellers" rather than mere "tourists"). And although they were very much willing to cross the "ethnic" boundaries and express readiness to learn from foreign cultures, it is clear that there were also some cultural boundaries the crossing of which was not only inadvisable but also not really "cosmopolitan", in other words, there were some people who ascribed to an ethos which was not considered worth learning. Recognition of such individuals was based foremost on their practices of material consumption, considered to be the objectification of a particular embodied cultural habitus. More specifically the hierarchical differentiation and symbolic inferiorization regarded above all people acting "offensively" in public spaces, those who abused alcohol, used "vulgar" language and were "overimposing" sexually, and secondly, a critique expressed mainly by the intelligentsia but not only, those who disregarded the "intellectual" dimensions of life: did not read, focused almost exclusively on the "materialistic" aspects of life. Because such features were not necessarily recognized as related to the people's particular "ethnicity" or (occupational) "class" position, they could be applied as easily in relation to their Polish compatriots as to the Finns. This was important for the migrants' social integration, since the process was pervaded by a mixture of certain humility towards the Finnish "natives" who as the "hosts" were higher in the ethnic hierarchy, and a sense of symbolic superiority towards at least those who did not adhere to the bourgeois/intelligentsia ethos. Ironically, this hierarchy was reinforced by the claim made by some migrants that they knew more about Finland than some Finns did. They themselves deliberately mastered the knowledge of Finnish national culture and history through consumption of high-end Finnish books, newspapers, art, and also TV and audio media. Although it is hard to say whether this ethos had any normative power over Finns, it certainly did over some "working-class" Polish migrants, who in order to acquire more "legitimate" cultural capital decided for instance to engage in forms of material consumption unusual for them, like ordering from Poland or reading a book, or the purchase of alcohol such as wine, considered to be more "elite". These distinctions were pursued even despite the fact that migration to welfare-state Finland very quickly granted the manual workers with rather substantial material resources with which to negotiate their "class" position. Through the purchase of new cars, TV-sets and furniture they could at least question the right to exclusive hegemony of the "cultured" others. All things considered, the above points to the constraints of

any cosmopolitan encounter, for as Sylvia Yanagisako and Jane Collier (1987) argue, the hierarchy of difference is an inescapable feature of all social systems.

SHIFTING POWER BETWEEN PLACES AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR MATERIALLY MEDIATED SOCIAL RELATIONS

In this last section I would like to place more attention on the historical, national contingencies of the relationship to goods described above, or more specifically how the hierarchies and power ascribed to particular localities structured the material culture-mediated power play between the migrants, non-migrants and the Finns. This would also allow reading the story of Hanna and Tadeusz, told at the very beginning, in its proper temporal context. Because commodity consumption was one of the arenas most saliently subjected to political control and definition, moulded during the Cold War by the opposing communist and capitalist economic rationales, it serves as if not the best index of transformation, a barometer of changes which affected the migrants' most fundamental and intimate social relations, both those maintained across borders and those within the communities of reception.

The on-going shortages of consumer goods were probably the most commonly and most easily recognized feature of the communist system. In terms of consumption, communism was about endless queues, endless waiting, and exchange within the informal networks which allowed survival. Accordingly, it was during that period that the migrants experienced the most powerful transnational social distinction, mediated through Lego, Sprite, jeans, talking dolls, diapers, sweets etc. The distinction could be achieved even by the mere fact of being accompanied by a Finn: a person from the West who was seen through the aura of the power of the dollar, which "made even the poorest Finn a rich man". Henryk, a musician, told me with amusement about his first return visit after migration. It was 1986 and he was accompanied by his Finnish friend, Jukka. Because from the Polish perspective Henryk was living in Finland illegally, even though in 1986 he was not a Polish citizen any more, he decided to take Jukka as a "backup" in case the authorities wanted to "snatch" him. The two started with shopping spree at Pewex, a chain of shops selling Western goods for dollars, which an ordinary Pole could afford to consume only by looking at the window display. Jukka was "positively stunned" when he discovered that he could actually afford *all* of the alcohol in the display. The alcohol was purchased, and taking Henryk's father as a "designated driver", they set off on a car trip to show Jukka the country. In Krakow they decided to go to the most exquisite restaurant in town. They were told there were no tables left. Then Henryk's father suggested using Jukka as a "leverage card". The plain sentence "but there is a foreigner with us" paved their way into the restaurant.

It is worth mentioning that before 1989, when people in Poland started enjoying more or less similar material conditions, even the slightly "more" which would be meaningless from the Western perspective (a door knob, oranges), could be a source of meaningful

difference. Thanks to that, migrants could provide relatively little and still enjoy status elevation: they could be “nobody” in Finland but by default they were “somebody” in Poland. Although the non-migrants were not completely deprived of the means to reciprocate materially (in fact, many people I talked to came from well-connected urban families, which “lived and did not live in poverty”), and their suitcases when they came to Finland were also filled with various goods (vodka and spirits, sausages and toys among other things), their possibilities in this respect were limited: their money did not have significant purchasing power in Poland and practically none in the West, and the quality of what they brought was comparatively poor. Yet this is important, in that according to the popular Western imagination, the communist system denied people their individual freedoms and also denied them the possibility of negotiating their relationships through commodities (Fiske 1989: 36). In reality, commodity consumption not only offered them a powerful site for resisting the system which they found oppressive, but also bore some weight in the mediation within the transnational kinship.

All this underwent vast changes after 1989. The introduction of a democratic and capitalist system in Poland affected the direction, content and meaning of what started to be consumed transnationally. Suddenly, goods sent from the West declined in providing distinction, and the economic position of the relatives in Poland sometimes exceeded that occupied by the migrants themselves: “we are beggars in comparison to them” said Hanna. The introduction of the capitalist system in particular reversed the privileged position of Finland, which nowadays seems to be less of a country of capitalist affluence (at least from the Polish perspective), and its belonging to “the West” is put to question. This perception is to a various degree shared transnationally, and among the non-migrants especially by those who had extensive experience of travel. Only a visit to the United States, for years constructed as the embodiment of a consumer culture, puts Finland into a more diversified context than the conventional “West” and “the rest.” Except for the “uniquely” Finnish ones, gifts for kin are nowadays bought mainly in Poland. A relative difference in prices between the countries can still be enjoyed, but this is declining rapidly. In comparison with the past, there is thus less possibility of providing others with the instantaneously and unambiguously recognized, enduring sign of one’s transnational mobility as distinction.

Still, although the post-1989 capitalist changes decreased the material power of migrants vis-à-vis those in Poland, they brought also a possibility for migrants to renegotiate the hierarchies of power underpinning their relationship with Finns. The aforementioned transnational shopping constitutive for the identity politics from the margins, and enacted in the face of the closeness of the Finnish market and the richness of the Polish one, was one such means. The bringing or encouraging of the Finns to come to Poland was another. Clearly, according to the migrants (and the non-migrants who hosted the Finns), one of the important consequences of the Finns’ encounter with Poland was to be, it was hoped, a progressive cosmopolitan subjectivity; an appreciation and respect for the Polish material, historical and consumer culture. The understanding of the Polish Other was to include the acknowledgement of the false representations of his/her country of origin as

“backwards”, pre-modern and poverty-stricken. The migrants said that “Poland would defend herself”. Indeed, upon their visits the Finnish friends and kin were reported to be positively “surprised” or even “shocked” with the Polish commodity affluence and historical architecture. A less powerful tactic, but based on a similar principle, was to present the Finns with various Polish goods which were considered by the migrants either to be better than the “Finnish” or not available on from the Finnish market, in order to subsequently enjoy the positive reaction of the benefactors when the gift was consumed. These small tactics did not necessarily lead to the utter eradication of the (symbolic) power imbalance which tacitly pervaded the migrants’ social relations in Finland, but at least helped to destabilize them even if only temporarily.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Since the end of 1970s, when Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood published their seminal volume “The World of Goods”, the social sciences faced an increased interest in the topics of consumption and material culture. At present there is probably nobody in academia who would disagree with the statement that: “Man needs goods for communicating with others and for making sense of what is going around him.” (Douglas and Isherwood 1980: 95). This paper, by focusing on material culture, attempted to at least partially uncover some of the complexities of the transnational/integration processes as they take place at the level of the everyday life, involving people whose experiences, outlooks and interactions are structured by the intimate connections to multiple places in Finland, Poland and beyond. The emerging transnational social formations are multilayered and are produced not only by the migrants, but also involve, sometimes very actively and intimately, the “native” populations of the receiving countries. The investigation of the mundane relations of the transnational actors with the material world shows that the division between transnationalism and integration, between what is aimed at the (re) creation of ties to the place of origin and what is driven by the wish to be included in the destination community, whether it takes place in Poland or in Finland, is strictly academic. The lived experience does not work through such fixed dichotomies. Transnationalism necessitates looking at the processes of integration, as much as the integration cannot be detached from the discussion of the connection to other places. The constant exchange, consumption and appropriation of goods across and within borders between variously positioned social actors is a reflection of such simultaneity: it is done to resist and to belong; it is a basis for creating both sameness and difference, transitionally and locally. But of course the process of constant (re)defining of our material landscape is not a matter of unbounded creativity, but is structured by particular historical, social and cultural forces. The way the people I studied were positioned in a social space affected what meanings they ascribed to things. It also affected their power to make others accept their definitions as legitimate, to make others recognize such definitions as “genuine”, whether they would be a materialized form of “ethnic” difference or a sign of status distinction. Therefore the

same thing might have had totally different, sometimes contradictory meaning depending upon who was looking.

In an increasingly interconnected world, in which gradually more and more people are meeting across various ethnic, national, sexual and class differences, even more attention is being paid to material culture. The numerous studies of cosmopolitanism indicate that it is the material goods that play the leading role in mediating the contact with the Other, sometimes contributing to its facilitization in a progressive, sometimes trivializing, or even destructive manner, enabling the consumption but not a more profound understanding of the Other's difference. Such debates on cosmopolitanism are highly relevant to the discussion of transnationalism and integration. In the end, those concepts also entail questions of how people work across and negotiate cultural difference, both the ones encountered in the new places, and the ones which often emerge in relation to old places and "old" social networks in a consequence of transnational mobility. In the studied cases the "cosmopolitan" outlook was often explicitly indicated as one of the reasons to undertake the migration in the first place. Nonetheless, not everybody and not all of the social situations were considered to be worthy of more deep acquaintance. Their relation with the world of goods was an important basis to make such hierarchies. It is thus indicative that even the most successful combinations of transnationalism and integration involve limits in accepting the Other.

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POVZETEK

MATERIALIZIRANE TRANSNACIONALNE PRAKSE IN INTEGRACIJA: POLJSKA TRANSNACIONALNA MIGRACIJA IN SVET MATERIALNIH DOBRIN

Anna Matyska

Transnacionalizem in integracija sta medsebojno prepletena procesa, ki se pogosto vzajemno krepiata. Ta članek predstavlja pogled na njuno istočasnost skozi prizmo potrošnje materialnih dobrin in mreže družbenih odnosov, v katere je ta potrošnja vstavljena. Pri svoji analizi se opiram na več-lokacijsko etnografsko raziskavo, ki sem jo opravila med poljskimi migranti na Finskem in njihovimi sorodniki na Poljskem. Članek se osredotoča na vsakodnevne in običajne prakse materialne potrošnje in izmenjave, v kateri so udeleženi poljski migranti na Finskem, njihovi ljubljani na Poljskem in »domorodni« Finci. Pokažem, da so bile materialne dobrine, ki jih trošijo migranti, opredmetene manifestacije njihovih poskusov postati del kulturnega in družbenega okolja države destinacije, in posredujejo pogosto oplemenitene svetovljanske interakcije z Drugim. Istočasno so spolitizirane potrošniške dejavnosti, kot so transnacionalno nakupovanje in neprestano kodiranje in dekodiranje dobrin z različnim pomeni, pomagale migrantom doseči integracijo brez prisilne asimilacije. Potrošnja in prisvojitvev dobrin sta torej dovolili migrantom, da se oblikujejo kot transnacionalni subjekti z bližnjo izkušnjo »poljske« kulture in drugačnosti »finske« kulture. Hkrati sta prispevali k transnacionalizaciji in kozmopolitizaciji subjektivnosti ne-migrantov in »domorodskih« Fincev, za katere je migrant služil kot posrednik posameznega Drugega. To je razkrilo tudi »etnično«/nacionalno bolj kompleksno formacijo transnacionalnih družbenih prostorov.

Zadnja dva dela članka sta usmerjena v konstrukcijo *jaza* skozi stvari in udejstvovanje migrantov v družbenih odnosih onkraj in znotraj nacionalnih meja, kot jih pogojujejo

hierarhije moči v povezavi z razrednim položajem in zgodovinsko lokacijo. Razpravljam o različnih transnacionalnih kozmopolitanskih formacijah, kot jih ustvarjajo družbene kategorije intelektualcev in »delovnega razreda«, in meje svetovljanskih izkušenj med obema kategorijama. Nakažem, da je takšna omejena »svetovljanskost« vplivala na migrantske modele simbolične vključenosti v finsko družbo. Nadalje so temeljite strukturne spremembe na Poljskem po zrušitvi komunizma podale nove materialne načine preoblikovanja družbenih hierarhij, ki prežemajo transnacionalni prostor in področja stika. V zaključku trdim, da je pogosto nemogoče razločevati med transnacionalnimi in integracijskimi procesi, in poudarim pomembnost preučevanja odnosov ljudi do stvari za razkrivanje te vrste sočasnosti.

OBJECTS, SCENTS AND TASTES FROM A DISTANT HOME: GOAN LIFE EXPERIENCES IN AFRICA

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ABSTRACT

Objects, Scents and Tastes from a Distant Home: Goan Life Experiences in Africa

This paper reviews part of the outcome of a research project based on the life narratives of a group of Goan Brahmin families with a common past: a long life experience in colonial Mozambique, followed by a forced exodus to Portugal after its independence. The families' life experiences were explored via the discussion of their past homes, their material culture and domestic consumption practices, which proved to be a positive contribution to revealing significant features of their position in the former colonial system.

KEY WORDS: materiality, home, migration, colonialism, Goa

IZVLEČEK

Predmeti, vonjave in okusi daljnega doma: gojevske življenjske izkušnje v Afriki

Članek prinaša del rezultatov raziskovalnega projekta, ki je temeljil na življenjskih zgodbah skupine brahminskih družin iz Goe. Družine imajo podobno preteklost: dolgoročno življenjsko izkušnjo v kolonialnem Mozambiku, ki ji je sledila prisilna množična selitev na Portugalsko po razglasitvi neodvisnosti. Življenjske izkušnje družin so bile preučevane skozi pogovore o njihovih domovih, materialni kulturi in potrošniškimi praksami v zvezi z domom, kar je pripomoglo k razumevanju pomembnih značilnosti njihovega položaja v bivšem kolonialnem sistemu.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: materialnost, dom, migracija, kolonializem, Goa

This paper reviews part of the outcome of a PhD research project based on the life narratives of a group of Goan Brahmin families converted to Catholicism with a common past: a long, intergenerational life experience in colonial Mozambique, followed by a forced exodus to Portugal during the country's independence process. The characterization of their "African experience", a particularly significant period in the families' transcontinental trajectories, will be explored through the discussion of their past mate-

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rial culture and domestic consumption practices. Focused particularly on the objects and consumption practices that travelled with the families from Goa and on the new ones introduced in Mozambique, this option proved to be a positive and expressive contribution to characterise and reveal some of the most significant features of the families' migration experiences and positioning strategies in the former African colony as well as of their relations with Goa.

Material culture and consumption practices are a particularly visible research field within contemporary social sciences. Though not necessarily focused on past colonial contexts, there is a relatively large amount of recent ethnographic research consistently stressing the importance of things and their consumption in contemporary (trans)national and (trans)continental mobilities (Howes, Morley, 2000; Marcoux, 2001; Basu, 2008; Miller, 2008). According to these contributions, material culture and consumption practices should be addressed as a meaningful and expressive site for understanding existing social relations with others and with things, therefore validating the idea that people actively and strategically use objects to produce meaning, as well as to mark their social actions, positions and belongings. These theoretical assumptions were inspired by the foundational work of a group of authors who affirmed the existence of a significant relation between cultural contexts and consumption practices (Douglas & Isherwood 1979; Appadurai 1986; Miller 1987), exposed the relevance of consumption in identity (re)construction processes by equating them as specific materializations of those same processes (Bourdieu 1979; Appadurai 1986; Miller 1987) and acknowledged consumption as a set of practices that, beyond the acquisition of products and services, comprises processes of utilisation, reutilization and domestication of things according to the different contexts they enter (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986; Warde 1996; Miller 1987, 1998).

Though material culture and consumption clearly transcend the domestic realm, its significance to the study of contemporary materiality has also been particularly emphasized in recent works (Silverstone & Hirsch 1994; Gullestad 1995; Mackay 1997; Warde 1996; Miller 2001), especially in the ones focused in migratory settings and groups. According to these contributions, material culture and consumption practices "at home" emerge both as significant to the perception of the appropriations made of the world (Miller 2001) and, often, as (materialized) representations of that same world within the private domain of the house. Moreover, the home is also central to the depiction of the complex processes of evaluation and reordering that all migrations involve since it is, to a certain degree, less constrained by the new social context than the public sphere (Rapport & Dawson 1998).

Concerning this particular research project, the selection of the domestic space as the main site of inquiry has a double explanatory function. First, it acknowledges the home as a key consumption site by taking it as a privileged context for the expression of consumption practices and objects "transported" from the context of origin (Harbottle 1996; Morley 2000), the manifestation of sentiments of loss resulting from migration (Morley 2000; Marcoux 2001) and the management of past memories and relations (Miller 2008; Marcoux 2001). Second, it establishes the conditions necessary to locate the research at the level of "everyday practices" (Longhurst & Savage 1996; Mackay 1997). As the term

suggests, selecting “everyday” routines as the main site of discussion corresponds to a decision that privileges “regular” and “day to day” activities, as opposed to the “exceptional” and “unique” episodes of people’s lives. Furthermore, it allows us to direct our focus to the modalities used by the subjects to, in a critical and active way, interact, transform and appropriate the “things” in their homes, hence providing a useful frame for the stabilisation and integration of their everyday projects (Mackay 1997), the expression of their aspirations, projects and ideals (Clarke 2001) and the materialisation of the relations and memories of their past life experiences (Garvey 2001; Marcoux 2001).

The paper is organised in three sections. The first provides a brief descriptive summary of Goan colonial society and of the Goan elites’ migration movements towards Mozambique. The second is focused on the discourses about the families’ African homes, domestic routines and daily experiences. The last part highlights the most significant trends of the families’ domestic materiality and discusses its relevance as cultural tools and resources to the groups’ integration and positioning strategies within the colonial social structure.

THE COLONISATION OF GOA AND ITS IMPACTS ON MIGRATION

The Goan migration is best characterised as a long and complex process involving different motives, destinations and social groups. The first migrations occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and resulted directly from the Portuguese colonial policies, especially the implementation of a forced and massive conversion to Catholicism that affected a significant part of the population.

These early movements included Hindus who mainly sought refuge and protection from the Portuguese religious intolerance in the neighbouring Indian territories, but were also escaping from the heavy tax system implemented in the colony. During the same period, there are also records of a small but interesting movement of migrants towards Portugal and its colonial territories in Africa and Brazil, by converted Catholic Goans.

The migration of the Goan elites who had converted to Catholicism became especially intense during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Since most were grounded in economic problems, these movements were strongly encouraged by the Portuguese authorities in Goa. The two main destinations were India (Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta) and Mozambique (Gracias 2000: 425). In the latter case, migration coincided with the beginning of the effective occupation of the African Portuguese territories, which needed human resources to expand their administrative structures (Thomaz 1998: 283; Sardo 2004: 101).

Even though there is a scarcity of historical literature regarding the long and intense Goan presence in Mozambique, it was possible to identify some particular aspects that, due to their relevance, were used as guidelines in the research. The first affirms the fact that the Goans, and especially the elite, who had converted to Catholicism, appeared to occupy a unique position in the colonial social structure, quite different from the positions

taken by other non-European social communities. The second aspect relates directly to the first, and gives notice of the fact that this particular position seemed to be understood by the other communities as resulting from the group's 'privileged relationship' with the colonial authorities (Bastos 2002: 62-63), caused by the 'cultural proximity' between them and the Portuguese. The third aspect acknowledges the fact that, despite the particularities mentioned, the dominant colonial group nevertheless perceived the Catholic Goans as 'other' (Bastos 2002; Zamparoni 2000). To better understand these features, as well as their importance to the depiction of the families' African life experience, we should start with a brief overview of some of the most relevant aspects of the Portuguese colonization of Goa.

When the Portuguese arrived in Goa they were confronted with a deeply organised social structure. Although a non-permanent Portuguese population governed the political, financial and military spheres, as a way of consolidating their colonial presence they had to adjust to a certain extent to the indigenous social organisation and seek cooperation with the local groups who controlled the internal relationships of power. For that reason, the Portuguese authorities looked for the support of local elites who, in turn, were also interested in maintaining their privileged positions. The collaboration between the two groups established the basis for a relational process that, although fixed by the first, was controlled by the two parts (Sardo 2004).

The implementation of a '*Portuguese way of life*' in Goa began in the sixteenth century with the opening of local Catholic seminaries and schools largely frequented by the local elites from the Brahmin and Chardó castes² who had converted to Catholicism, followed by the prohibition of Konkani, the Goan local language (Sardo 2004: 93-94). This strategy, aimed at first at the formation of local civil servants, allowed some members of the local elites to achieve prestigious social positions in medicine, law and teaching. Additionally, other measures were taken to reinforce contact between the two communities. Many members of the Goan Catholic elite changed their original family names for Portuguese ones (usually the family name of their christening parents) and Portuguese elements were integrated into Goan music, poetry, food and dress codes (the sari went out of use) as ways of stating their embracement of a '*western lifestyle*' (Thomaz 1998: 272).

These "proximity" policies resulted in a complex cultural matrix formed by a plurality of social categories that, by the middle of the nineteenth century, stabilised in three social groups: the '*Goeses*' (individuals of Goan origin, regardless their religion) the '*Descendentes*' (individuals of Portuguese descent who were born in Goa) and the '*Portugueses*' (individuals who were born in Portugal and tended to return to Portugal after some period of time in Goa). In addition, within the '*Goeses*' group, both among Hindus and Catholic converts, the caste system of stratification was maintained.

² According to Sardo (2004: 82) the term caste was introduced in Goa by the Portuguese as a synonym of *jati* and not *varna*. *Jati* designates social groups based on kinship, marriage and food practices. *Varna* corresponds to four key social tasks (services, royalty, commerce and religion). Since it matches the meaning the families attributed to it, the use of this particular concept during the paper corresponds to this definition.

THE AFRICAN EXPERIENCE: MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE

As stated above, the major migration fluxes to Mozambique took place during the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. Although the majority of migrants were Catholic converted Goans from various castes, these movements also included Hindus and ‘*Descendentes*’. The social diversity of these migration movements played an important part in the strategies developed by the Goan Catholic elite in the new context and is crucial to understand why it is not possible to think of the ‘*Goans from Mozambique*’ as a unified homogenous community. Briefly, it is possible to say that the position occupied by the Catholic Brahmins in colonial Mozambique was marked by two original features: first, their professional and educational skills were, from the colonial power point of view, a surplus value due to the lack of qualified people in the territory; secondly, their familiarity with the Portuguese culture allowed the group to develop a particular relationship with the Portuguese colonial elite, especially when compared with the positions occupied by all other non-European groups, including other South-Asian ones.

The fact that these migrants were Catholic, spoke the official colonial language, adopted Portuguese family names, and were familiar with and incorporated many Portuguese cultural habits clearly influenced their evaluation by the colonial power, therefore establishing the conditions for a different relational process between the two. Nevertheless, and even though this brief outline suggests the existence of objective conditions towards a successful ‘integration’ in Mozambique, there are other accounts that portray a different picture. To observe them more accurately it is necessary to turn to the families’ discourses about ‘*their lives in Africa*’.

The first and more dominant idea that stands out of all the families’ general statements is that the Catholic Brahmins in Mozambique lived a life very similar to the Portuguese:

We lived in a very good neighbourhood and had a very nice relationship with our [Portuguese] neighbours. Our lifestyles were almost the same. You know, we Goans had a western upbringing [...]. We are educated people, with a certain poise.

The similarities with the ‘*Portuguese way of life*’ are confirmed by all families as a way of illustrating that they were not submitted, like the other non-European migrant groups, to a social policy of exclusion³ by the colonial authorities. However, the idea of

³ Although a formal policy of “space segregation” did not exist in Mozambique, the various ethnic communities occupied specific and visible marked territorial spaces in the colonial cities and towns. According to Henriques, the urban organization policy followed by the colonial authorities established “*white zones*” (Henriques 1999: 262) that were off limits to the African population and to the majority of the other non-European inhabitants. As a result of this informal policy the African population was pushed to the peripheries and the other communities (Chinese and Indian were the largest ones) submitted to a “*racial hierarchy that resulted in a physical and spatial separation of bodies*” (Zamparoni 1999: 193).

'belonging' to the same social networks of the Portuguese is somehow absent from the discourses. In a very restrained manner, the Goan Catholic elite chooses to describe their experience in Mozambique without clearly mentioning that, although not directly affected by formal mechanisms of exclusion, there was a plurality of informal subordinating rules in the Portuguese colonies that affected their lives too. The sentence, "*We, the Goans, were neither 'water nor wine.'*" proffered by one of the informants seems to summarise the ambiguity of their position in the social structure of the colony. If the proximity to the Portuguese elites in Goa was '*from the identity point of view, an evidence*' (Sardo, 2004: 104) resulting in a difficulty in identifying and systematizing the '*uniqueness and unity of Goanidade*' (Sardo, 2004: 109), how should we characterize their African experience from this particular point of view? And how does the analysis and discussion of the material culture and domestic consumption practices contribute to understanding its complexities and singularities?

DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION

The discourses gathered on the subject of material culture and domestic consumption practices in Mozambique produced an enormous amount of information that was systematized and gathered into three encompassing categories: interior decoration options (furniture and all decorative domestic objects), food preparation and consumption, and a limited set of specific artistic consumption options (literature, music, and fine arts). Such divisions served only methodological purposes since they worked as a means to organise an extremely varied set of data that needed to be classified in order to be analysed and must not be interpreted as a sign of the existence of specific results or particular features in any of them. Nevertheless, due to methodological contingencies, the option of maintaining this analytical division in the paper was taken.

INTERIOR DECORATION OPTIONS: FURNITURE AND DECORATIVE OBJECTS

The most relevant aspect of the families' decorative options in Mozambique is perhaps the fact that it denotes the same kind of ambivalence and mimesis that can be found in the descriptions of their social position in the colonial social structure. At first, the families suggested the existence of a specific Catholic Brahmin "*habitus*" (Bourdieu, 1979) resulting from the intersection of two main cultural references: their strong linkage to the Portuguese "*ways of living*" and the maintenance of some of the most valuable and distinctive features of their Goan cultural heritage. Vaguely expressed when talking about the Mozambican colonial society, this attribute is made particularly clear in statements regarding the decoration styles and the origins of the objects present in their homes:

My parents' home looked like a European home. There were almost no influences from Goa [...]. We did not inherit any Goan objects.

My parents owned and used almost exclusively Goan objects, especially furniture. [...] This option for Goan furniture was not out of necessity, but because they treasured it. These objects had been in the family for many generations.

These examples illustrate the main positions expressed by the families. If in some of the homes Goan furniture and decorative objects were clearly dominant, in the majority of them the leading style was "European" and most of the objects were acquired in Mozambique. Regardless of the prevailing decorative trend, this fact entails two significant assumptions on the subject of the families' consumption practices. The first calls the attention to the fact that none of the families' homes were either exclusively decorated with objects from Goan or European styles, and the presence of objects of both origins and/or designs in the same domestic context established an original and significant trend that made perfect sense to all the families. The second translates the inexistence of a divergent evaluation of the two sets of objects. The fact that the families unanimously stated the existence of a resemblance between their homes and the homes of the Europeans to illustrate their particular position in the colonial social structure should not be necessarily interpreted as a sign of devaluation of their heritage. An explanation provided by one of the subjects for the apparent Goan "appetence" for objects of occidental design clearly reinforces this image:

In Mozambique there were some homes with lots of Goan furniture. But this was not very usual. You know why? When people migrated from Goa, the majority did not travel with their families. Young single men arrived first, and only when they could provide for a family, they asked their families to find them a Goan wife and send her to Mozambique. Usually these young men were the youngest sons of large families. They were not entitled to any of the families' patrimony. The big family house as well as all its valuable contents remained in Goa, usually for the oldest son to inherit. These young men arrived in Mozambique with a small suitcase.

Besides these considerations, the subjects' discourses about home decoration present one more relevant aspect directly related to a different set of objects, described by the families as "*objects of African origin and design*". Its most relevant aspect views the presence of these sorts of objects as highly restrictive:

There were not many African objects in my parents' home. They were so ordinary that we did not look at them twice. They were not valued. Everybody had one or two things like dark wood lamps or boxes. It was also common to find objects made of ivory in our homes. My parents did not have any, but it was common.

Though this example doesn't prove the existence of an obvious devaluation of African

objects, the fact is that the latter formed a different category of things that, particularly when compared to the previous two, is obviously seen as inferior by most of the subjects. This position would partially be subjected to a re-evaluation process during the last years of their lives in Africa, especially with regard to the work of some Mozambican artists who had begun to be internationally recognized by then. Even so, it is important to say that there were never statements that mentioned the existence of a dominant decorative ‘African style’.

After this overall picture of the general decorative polices of the home, it is necessary to focus the attention in the families’ discourses about specific objects. Again, the first relevant feature indicates the existence of a dominant discourse very similar to the one employed when describing their home decoration preferences. Most families clearly mention their inclination for “classical objects” of European design. This wide-ranging formula is used to describe most of the objects bought in the colony, such as furniture, china, tapestries or decorative pieces. However, their discourses change considerably when describing their objects from Goa. The statements become more precise, different sets of objects are portrayed in specific manners and their biographies carefully explained. Of all the objects included in this category, the most frequently mentioned and valued ones are: Indo-Portuguese chairs, wood boxes and an array of objects directly related with the practice of Catholicism, such as images, sculptures and oratories.

Despite the apparent lack of interest in home furnishings and decoration that some of the subjects’ remarks on this matter tend to indicate, all of them managed to express the significance of at least one object that had the ability to objectify its family’s African life experience. Significantly, most of these objects are ones that also materialized and, therefore, established directly or indirectly their relations with Goa.

FOOD

Food is a central field to the examination of the families’ relations with their past and present domestic contexts. Contrasting with some of the vague statements gathered on the subject of decorative options, food preparation and consumption are intensely mentioned and described in detail by both male and female subjects, which in itself serves to indicate its significance.

Characterized as “*rich and varied*”, Goan cuisine occupied a privileged position both at ordinary daily family meals and on festive occasions and, though the data also includes some references to the preparation of “*Portuguese traditional meals*”, was clearly cherished when compared with ordinary Portuguese food. One of the most illustrative examples of this tendency resides in the fact that many of the Portuguese cooking traditions learned by the families were profoundly modified. These creative processes of appropriation resulted from the addition of new spices and specific ingredients like fruits and vegetables from Goa, and had the objective of “*adapting the Portuguese food to our taste*”. The second

especially relevant aspect regarding food is Goan traditions' privileged position at informal reunions and formal festive events, including the festivities of the Catholic calendar.

On festive occasions it was impossible not to prepare exclusively Goan food. We learned how to prepare it from our mothers, sisters and friends. And then we taught our African servants how to cook them so they could help us. We always had Goan traditional food. It was mandatory. And, you know, our gastronomic traditions are vast and very sophisticated!

We had curry every Sunday. It was a tradition. The other groups [European and African] cook curry on Sundays too. They copied us! It was also common to cook other typical Goan food like Sarapatel or Xacuti.

Even though all families are perfectly aware that the “Goan gastronomic patrimony” had been influenced by the long Portuguese presence in the territory, this fact is not, as in other matters, interpreted as a threat to its originality and uniqueness. The ambivalence of the statements regarding home decorative options is clearly replaced by direct references to “our” culture. This originality is not only patent in the designation – “*our cultural patrimony*”, but also by mentioning that all the other groups shared the same opinion since they intensely imitated and appropriated the “tradition of Sunday curry”, including the colonial elites. This claim tends to reinforce the idea that, when compared with other themes, this field of domestic consumption practices comprises original features, since the appropriation of “*Portuguese consumption practices*” is evidently less treasured than the reproduction of their “*original patrimony*”.

The third relevant feature on the topic of food is related to the dominant representations about the eating habits of the other groups living in colony. Again, African food is negatively valued and the majority of the families do not reveal the slightest curiosity or knowledge about it. The only positive records obtained on this particular topic refer to the existence of a vast number of fruits like mango, papaya and passion-fruit that were described as very tasty and of very good quality.

The first time I ate Matapa (a stew made with pumpkin leaves) was only after the independence. Before that we would not try it. Our (African) servants, the ones that lived in our homes, ate corn flour. Usually they boiled the flour in water and then made small breads with it. Then they dipped them in the curry and ate them. Well, that was not proper curry, it was more like a fish soup but they called it their curry [...].

FINE ARTS, MUSIC AND LITERATURE

The families' descriptions of their artistic consumption practices in Africa reflect a general principle: a positive evaluation of the restricted occidental productions circulating in the colonial market, as well as of those brought from Goa. In both cases, most of

the authors are Portuguese or had a Portuguese background. All families mentioned the existence of a substantial library and music collection in their homes, given that both artistic expressions, and particularly Portuguese literature, were considered fundamental cultural fields in the education of the younger generations:

Our parents really insisted that we should read the most important texts of Portuguese literature. [...] Our upbringing was very “Portuguese”. We have a very classical background. My father loved poetry and all of us knew hundreds of poems.

Music consumption patterns are quite similar to the ones regarding literature except for one special feature. In addition to their interest in European classical music, all families confirm the existence of a very strong relation to Goan music. Like literature, music was also a significant subject in these families’ educational project, so all subjects attended music lessons. As a result of that, a significant number of Goan musical groups were formed. Besides playing in public, most families mentioned that their musical groups used to also play and sing at every formal and informal event held at their home. The music performed at parties was considered one of its key components and usually included European and Goan compositions. Again, and partially contradicting their statements about having a very “*Portuguese upbringing*”, the families picture their relation with their origins as a far more complex process than the general dominant discourse articulated when describing their daily lifestyle in the colony.

I have known Goan music since I was a child. My father was very musical and he used to play in a large band in Beira. Besides that, he formed a small music group that used to play Goan music. At every special party they played the *mandó* and everybody used to sing and dance. I grew up with that music.

One last significant topic regarding this matter concerns the African artistic production. Once more, the dominant discourse clearly illustrates the existence of a distanced relationship between these families and the African population, resulting in a profound lack of knowledge about the generality of their artistic productions. The only relevant observations made about the subject refer to small decorative sculptures and traditional paintings that African artists used to sell on the streets and that the families hardly considered art. Reinforcing their testimonies about their lack of contact and knowledge regarding African objects and food, the families once more affirm their preference and proximity to the dominant colonial logic, except for the specific Goan productions mentioned.

FINAL REMARKS

How did the analysis of the families’ discourses about their “African homes” con-

tributed to the understanding of their lives in colonial Mozambique? To summarise, there are three general topics that emerge from the aspects discussed.

The first points to the existence of a relative continuity between the modalities used by the families to describe their positions and integration strategies in Mozambican society and their daily domestic routines and consumption practices. The “proximity to the Portuguese” and the reproduction of a “Portuguese way of life” are two of the most significant aspects regarding the characterisation of their past African experiences. However, and despite the visibility of this juxtaposition, the analysis of the material culture and domestic consumption practices helped to understand that this dominant feature was complemented with the maintenance and positive use of a significantly diverse set of Goan items and consumption practices such as decorative objects, food and music.

The families’ connections to Goa gained expression and significance by means of a plurality of domestic practices that also constitute a relevant source for the understanding of the Catholic Brahmin position in Mozambican society. While calling our attention to the relevance of the more private and ordinary dimensions of everyday life routines in the study of migration processes (Harbottle 1996; Morley 2000; Petridou 2001), this particular feature provided a better understanding of the families’ relationship with their origins while reflecting the specificities that marked their Mozambican colonial experience. As in most contexts, the domestic spaces in question were less subjected than the public sphere to the Portuguese colonial formal and informal mechanisms of control and, perhaps for that reason, the families choose them to display their *goanidade* in a more open fashion.

The second relevant topic is closely related to the first and calls the attention to the formulas used in mentioning the appropriation of new domestic practices. Although most of the subjects made reference of their interest in the preservation of objects and maintenance of consumption practices directly associated with Goa, a valorisation of the “Portuguese patrimony” also prevails. Always relevant, the “Portuguese influences” became especially significant in matters like the location of the houses (neighbourhood), decorative options and literature consumption, and objectify the ambivalences present in the subjects’ identity discourses.

The fact that the families choose to start their testimonies by stressing that their homes could be easily taken for a Portuguese home is particularly significant. However, it becomes even more relevant if we compare it with the main statements gathered about the other groups living in the colony. As mentioned before, the families didn’t demonstrate any particular interest in African objects, food or art. This apparent lack of contact with African expressive productions can also be found regarding most of the other non-European groups, especially those that, like the Goans, came from the Indian sub-continent. Like the majority of the Europeans living in the colony, Catholic Brahmin families tended to establish a clear division between themselves and all others except the colonial elites. This was particularly significant concerning the other Indian migrants. The fear of being “*confused with an Indian*” was taken seriously and their domestic consumption practices

materialized it by avoiding any integration of non-Goan or non-European elements and by being particularly careful in the display of their links to their origins.

The family homes and domestic consumption practices played a significant part in the affirmation and confirmation of their dominant position in the colony. Closeness to the “Portuguese way of living” was reinforced via a strategic process of corroboration and naturalization of a Portuguese domesticity (Glover 2004) that, even though integrating relevant elements described by the subjects as “Goan practices”, translated and contributed to their main objective: the public display of a “proper Portuguese home” in Africa.

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POVZETEK

PREDMETI, VONJAVE IN OKUSI DALJNEGA DOMA: GOJEVSKE ŽIVLJENJSKE IZKUŠNJE V AFRIKI

Marta Vilar Rosales

Članek predstavi del rezultatov raziskovalnega projekta, ki je bil usmerjen na življenjske zgodbe skupine gojevskih brahminskih družin, ki so se spreobrile v katolicizem, s skupno biografsko preteklostjo: inter-generacijsko življenjsko izkušnjo v Mozambiku med kolonialnim obdobjem, ki ji je sledila prisilna migracija na Portugalsko po razglasitvi mozambiške neodvisnosti. Teoretično je raziskava temeljila na pristopu, ki zagovarja integracijo in prispevanje raziskav materialne kulture in potrošniških praks k opisom in razpravam o migracijskih procesih. Če domnevamo, da vse migracije predstavljajo specifične vrste mobilnosti, ki jih zaznamujejo procesi deintegracije in ponovne integracije, in ki so raznoliki in mnogovrstni v njihovih manifestacijah, je glavni namen tega članka oceniti in razpravljati, kako so objekti in potrošniške prakse v zvezi z domom bili uporabljeni za produkcijo integracijskih strategij, družbenih položajev in življenjskih izkušenj družin v njihovem prejšnjem kontekstu pripadnosti, in torej ustvarjajo pomembna izrazna področja za priznavanje njihove posebnosti in podobnosti z drugimi migracijskimi procesi znotraj portugalskega kolonialnega okvirja.

Kljub temu, da se članek osredotoča zlasti na izkušnje afriškega kolonialnega življenja

družin, so bile potrošniške prakse znotraj doma analizirane s stališča trojnega posredovanja: njihovega sedanjega kulturnega konteksta integracije (Portugalska), njihovega deljenega skupnega kulturnega konteksta (kolonialni Mozambik) in njihovega preteklega kulturnega konteksta izvora (Goa). Tak pristop omogoča nastanek tako edinstvenosti kot podobnosti družinskih »afriških spominov« o njihovi skupni preteklosti z današnje perspektive.

BREADS AND SAINTS: RITUAL PRACTICES OF RECIPROCITY AMONG SICILIAN MIGRANTS IN GERMANY

Emanuel VALENTIN¹

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ABSTRACT

Breads and Saints: Ritual Practices of Reciprocity among Sicilian Migrants in Germany

Using the example of Sicilian migrants in Germany I point out the relationship between ritual revitalisation in the migrant community, the movement and the reproduction of objects respectively. A case in point is the reactivation of a local type of festival of St Joseph, which Sicilian migrants from one particular town began to celebrate in Germany in the 1970s. It shows close connections to the Sicilian hometown on both the material and symbolic level, hence anchoring identity and reproducing memory. I will show how personal touch becomes tradition within the range of individual play and the framework of descent and how the saint's cult becomes translocative through its revitalisation in the migrant community.

KEY WORDS: migration, ritual change, social change, Sicilian migrants, reciprocity

IZVLEČEK

Kruh in svetniki: obredne prakse vzajemnosti med sicilijanskimi migranti v Nemčiji

Na podlagi primera sicilijanskih migrantov v Nemčiji prikažem odnos med oživljanjem obreda v migraciji, to je med premikanjem in reprodukcijo predmetov. Natančneje, gre za ponovno oživitev festivala sv. Jožefa, festivala lokalnega tipa, ki ga migranti iz specifičnega sicilijanskega kraja praznujejo v Nemčiji od 70. let dalje. Ta tako na materialnem kot simbolnem nivoju kaže tesne povezave z njihovim sicilijanskim domačim krajem in torej utrjuje identiteto in reproducira spomin. Pokazal bom, kako osebne variacije postanejo tradicija znotraj obsega individualnega razpona in v okviru rodu, in kako kult svetnika postane translociran skozi njegovo revitalizacijo v migraciji.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: migracija, sprememba obredov, družbena sprememba, sicilijanski migranti, vzajemnost

INTRODUCTION²

In the landscape around Sindelfingen, an industrial city in southwest Germany which is well known as the main production site of one of the biggest German car producers,

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² Parts of this article stem from articles which have been published elsewhere (Valentin 2009a, 2009b forthcoming).

we can find the rare case of a strong agglomeration of chain migrants of Sicilian descent. These emigrants originally all came from Mirabella Imbaccari, an “agrotown” (Schneider & Schneider 1976: 32ff.; Gabaccia 1984: 13f.) located between Caltagirone and Piazza Armerina in the eastern part of Sicily.³ In my research⁴ I focussed especially on a Maccarísian saint cult, which was revitalised by Maccarísian migrants in Germany in the early 1970s, namely the *fiesta di San Giuseppe* (festival of St Joseph), the putative father of Jesus and elected husband of Mary, who is the secondary patron saint and protector of Mirabella, after *Maria SS. Delle Grazie* (Holy Mary of the Graces).

In Mirabella the “neo-colonial period” (Schneider & Schneider 1976: 115), in which the export of manpower was the primary energy loss, set in relatively early. The first migration wave began around 1850 and was directed towards Latin America, i.e. to Argentina, Uruguay and Venezuela. The size of this migration becomes clear when we look at the fact that in 1983 90% of the people older than 80 had re-migrated from Argentina (Horn 1986: 137). The second big migration took place in the early 20th century and was directed towards the USA (Giordano 1984: 448f.).⁵

The Italian South didn’t have any profits of the Italian period of economic development after the Second World War and didn’t participate in the ongoing process of industrialization. This situation led to the third big migration wave in Mirabella. Due to the bilateral agreement of 1955 between Germany and Italy, which regulated the German recruitment of Italian workers (Rieker 2003), there was a growing flood of Maccarísi who emigrated as so-called *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) to Germany. These emigrants concentrated especially in two neighbouring towns in the surroundings of Stuttgart, namely Sindelfingen and Calw and other smaller settlements around these centres (Giordano 1984: 448f.; Horn 1986: 139ff.; Lauer & Wilhelmi 1986: 164; Di Seri 2001: 128; Valentin 2009a; 2009b forthcoming). Due to this initial labour migration in the mid-1950s and the rapidly increasing chain migration in the following decades, almost one third of Mirabella’s population (approximately 3,000 people out of 9,000 inhabitants) was living in Sindelfingen and its close environs in the mid-1980s. To these, around 1,000 people have to be added who emigrated to north-Italian industrial centres (Giordano 1984: 449; Horn 1986: 139). Today the phenomena of migration concerns approximately 60% of Mirabella’s population (Di Seri 2001: 10).

Because of the geographical proximity – which is not comparable with the distance between Sicily and the Americas – the migration between Mirabella and Sindelfingen shows a clear “pendular character” (Giordano 1984), i.e. the emigrants move periodically between hometown and host society. As a logical consequence close transnational contacts

³ They call themselves *Maccarísi*, a term which stems from the second part of the name of the town, namely *Imbaccari*, and which I also have adopted when I refer to them in this paper.

⁴ During different periods between July 2003 and March 2006 I conducted non-stationary fieldwork among Sicilian emigrants in Sindelfingen and surroundings. The fieldwork was carried out for my M.A. thesis.

⁵ Neef (1986) writes on the contrary that the first migration wave was directed towards North America, while the second one was directed towards South America.

still exist between Mirabella and Sindelfingen. Three bus companies offer direct connections between the two towns three times a week, several import-export companies offer food transport or moving services, there is even an international funeral parlour for the many migrants who often possess expensive mortuary chapels for their entire families on the outskirts of Mirabella.

The strong orientation to the hometown and the explicit wish to return to Sicily, which was the point of departure of almost all Maccarísian emigrants, resulted from the insecurity of their status as *Gastarbeiter* (Lauer & Wilhelmi 1986: 173). But many didn't return before reaching their personal economic goals, which often took many years, sometimes provoking nostalgic reactions in form of homesickness and illnesses (Lauer & Wilhelmi 1986: 172; Busch 1983; Frigessi Castelnuovo & Risso 1986). Like the overseas migration (Bianco 1974: XIIf.) the migration to Germany was characterised by a rapidly starting disillusionment which replaced the original wish to return. Many migrants didn't return to Mirabella anymore, even after achieving their economic goals. This was due to the fact that they often had grown-up children who rarely showed any interest in returning to the hometown of their parents (Lauer & Wilhelmi 1986: 174ff.). Especially those who were not yet receiving any pensions had to recognise that the work situation in Mirabella was still as disastrous as in the time of their migration. Even for those who returned the experience of their hometown was often a disappointment, because the reality no longer coincided with their super-elevated home ideal, which served as a psychological rein on their personal hopes and expectations during the time of migration (Lauer & Wilhelmi 1986: 186).

REVITALISATION OF RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS IN GERMANY

In the early 1970s there were clear processes of “ethnic revitalisation” (Lanternari 1977; Giordano 1984) among Maccarísian migrants in Germany, testifying against the supposed passivity or lack of appropriation of foreign space (Lauer & Wilhelmi 1986) and standing for the active occupation of it through the reactivation of social norms and institutions stemming from the society of origin. I refer to the religious festivals of Mirabella, which were revitalised by Maccarísian migrants in the early 1970s in Sindelfingen, Calw and the vicinity – in the chronological order of their appearance: the *festa di San Giuseppe*, the *festa della Maria SS. delle Grazie* and the procession of Good Friday. Through these festivals the migrants reproduce the symbolic-religious spaces of their hometown also in the foreign country and in this way create their own “familiar spaces” (Lauer & Wilhelmi 1986) of transnational character (Glick Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992: 1),⁶ in which they periodically reactivate a feeling of home.

⁶ I am speaking here about the *transnational character* of the festival of St Joseph because it still shows a high degree of information and resources exchange between home town and host town. Following Steven Vertovec (2000: 12) this is – besides the transfer of money, travel and communication – necessary in order to differentiate migration from diaspora.

MACCARÍSIAN ST JOSEPH ALTARS IN GERMANY

A case in point is the reactivation of the festival of St Joseph, who is the secondary patron saint of Mirabella. Every Catholic-formed town has one or more so-called *patron saints*, who are believed to be the protectors of the population of that settlement. In Mirabella St Joseph is celebrated on the 19th of March within the intimate space of single-family households.

In the week before the 19th of March Maccarísian women start with the preparations for the St Joseph altars. These altars, which are erected in different households, are large banquets: big tables are covered with a huge amount of comestible goods like fresh and dried fruits; raw, cooked and partly wild vegetables; fish, flour, pasta, and so forth. Most of these goods are ordered by a transport company, which brings them directly from Sicily. This is necessary because some goods like the wild vegetables or the big laurel branches for decoration can't easily be found in Germany or "just taste better". Next to these foods, which my informants understand as "traditional" and "poor" ("St Joseph was poor.") foods,



Photograph 1: Banquet of St Joseph in the rooms of the *Missione Cattolica Italiana*, Sindelfingen, 2004 (Photo: Emanuel Valentin, 2004)

today we also find a lot of modern consumer and luxury goods like chocolate, coffee, out of season fruits or exotic fruits like mangos or avocados.

Special attention has to be paid to the most important elements of the altars: three devotional breads positioned at the highest point of the altar, ephemeral statues which represent the members of the Holy Family. Besides these, many other devotional loaves of bread cover the altar representing different symbols associated with St Joseph, some of them of phyto- or theriomorphic shape.

Altars in honour of the saint are erected as *ex voto*, which means that they are preceded by a *prummissioni*, a vow. The aim of such a vow, which an individual person takes in front of the saint mainly because of diseases, misfortunes or processes of house building, is to obtain a *grazia* (grace) from the saint. Particularly emigrants of the first generation, who are confronted with their children's disinterest in the parental traditions, build the altar in order "just to keep the tradition alive", bearing the wish to teach their own children something about their "original" culture.

Starting at noon on the 18th of March the altars are visited by numerous friends, relatives and curious people, to whom the members of the host family serve sweets and other typical dishes. Every altar builder knows about the gossip of the people who visit the altar, and is hence very conscious about the social control which comes along with these visits. Therefore it is very important that the altar and everything surrounding it "makes a beautiful figure" ("fare bella figura"). During the ritual the private room of the household goes through a process of opening and being made public. One woman told me: "On the 19th of March your house has to become a church!" This metaphor perfectly brings home the point that during the ritual the private, intimate and closed space of the family is transformed into a public, outwardly oriented, open realm of the community. The banquet becomes an "altar" forming the centre of the "church". Its sacrality is emphasised through a touching taboo, which begins at a fixed point in time, at noon on the 18th of March.

Starting in the afternoon and till late at night the missionary of the Italian parish visits every altar in order to give it his blessing. He is accompanied by a group of 5–10 men, who go from one altar to the next. There they sing in the Sicilian dialect the lamentations of Good Friday (*Lamenti du Vènniri Santu*). These chants are a fundamental part of the procession of Good Friday in Mirabella and are also recited there for San Giuseppe.

Most of my informants both in Sindelfingen and Mirabella told me that the altar has to be left alone during the night, because this is the time during which the saint goes into action. In the discourses of my informants, he visits the altars, making noise and leaving traces behind, such as finger prints in the salt which has been appositely flattened in its cup before the night comes.

According to the tradition, on the 19th of March three poor people have to be invited for a meal at the altar. These are a man, a little boy and a little girl, representing the Holy Family – Joseph, Jesus and Mary. Therefore they are called *santi*, or saints. All the dishes on the altar are offered to the *santi*, who are supposed to symbolically taste all of them. Afterwards all the goods on the altar are offered as gifts to the *santi*, which they take with

them to their homes and share with their families, friends and neighbours. Sometimes the gifts sustain such a family for more than one month. During the distribution of the gifts to the *santi*, friends and relatives are also integrated into this ritual of commensality. Several dishes are served to every single visitor, among them countless sweets, bread and a plate of *Pasta di San Giuseppe*, noodles with broad beans prepared according to a special recipe for that ritual occasion. Some of the festive pasta is even brought into the houses of old and sick people (for a deeper analysis see Valentin 2009a; 2009b forthcoming).

THE MATERIALISATION OF RECIPROCITY IN A LOAF OF BREAD

The main periods in which Maccarisian emigrants returned to their hometown of Mirabella were those in which the religious festivals took place, i.e. the festival of *San Giuseppe* (Giordano 1984: 450f.) and the festival of *Maria SS. Delle Grazie* (Horn 1986: 136). Their significance as “cultural magnets” (Turner & Turner 1978: 27), which they certainly still retain, decreased gradually, especially when the process of families joining their emigrant kin came to an end in the early 1970s. At this time the first emigrants began to celebrate the festival of St Joseph also in Sindelfingen and its environs. Probably because of its private character, it was the first festival introduced in the migrant community, followed some years later by the public procession, during which a copy of the painted image of *Maria SS. Delle Grazie*, Mirabella’s patron saint, is carried through the streets.

We see that the meal of the poor bases its fundamentals on archaic forms of exchange and reciprocity, namely on the distribution of food and rites of commensality (Lanternari 1959; Di Nola 1976: 193ff.). Its aim is the fulfilment of the contract between humans and the saint. It is the gift as the structuring instrument of every social and sacral interaction which starts the circle of exchange (Mauss 1968; Baal 1976; Burkert 1987; Godelier 1999), keeping up the relation between *parenti* (relatives) and others (Gabaccia 1984: 7f.). The reciprocal gift institutionalises social and symbolic membership and solidarity on different levels. Hence the rigorous formalism of the behaviour related to the banquet and ceremonial gift exchange isn’t surprising (Giallombardo 2005: 38). Both the quality and quantity of the goods, which are *destroyed* (i.e. offered as gifts) in this Sicilian form of *potlatch*,⁷ as well as the aesthetics of their public presentation produce prestige for the donor and his family, also implying almost classical incidences of antagonism.

The ritual bears a strong function in identity forming. During the festival the Maccarisian community goes through a metamorphosis, which on one hand fits into Turner’s notion of “anti-structure”, while on the other it represents a reproduction of the social life during festive moments in Mirabella. The society, which is fragmented in the everyday life of the migrant community, becomes incorporated again. “Like in Italy!” a man shouted during the festival of St Joseph in the Italian mission, sitting in a circle with his friends

⁷ The *potlatch* is a ritual of gift exchange and symbolic destruction of material goods among populations of the American Northwest Coast.

and welcoming the new arrivals with a broad smile. Another custom has to be understood in this integrating, defragmenting context, i.e. the custom of incorporating old and sick people, who are not able to come to the altar, into the circle of commensality by bringing portions of *Pasta san Giuseppi* directly into their houses.

ABOUT THE MOVEMENT AND THE REPRODUCTION OF OBJECTS

Since the process of festival revitalisation set in, the objects at the centre of these festivals have also moved. If we look at the example of the St Joseph's banquets, they represent a kind of mobile shrine, which can be reproduced wherever wished. At the same time they are directly connected to the hometown on both material and symbolic levels, hence anchoring identity and reproducing memory.

On the material level, the most important point is that most of the goods on the altar originally come from Mirabella. Here I refer not only to the huge quantity of vegetables and fruits, but also the laurel branches needed for the decoration of the banquets, or the often handmade tablecloths (produced according to the Maccarisian art of bobbin lace making) which cover the huge tables. Most of the vegetables and fruits are ordered by a transport company, which brings them directly from Mirabella, or at least from Sicily. This is necessary because some goods like the wild vegetables or the big laurel branches can't easily be found in Germany. Another explanation was that they "just taste better", which is surely linked to a certain degree of melancholy and romanticism, too.

Another interesting point is that next to these foods stemming from Mirabella, today we can also find a lot of modern consumer and luxury goods like chocolate, coffee, out of season fruits, exotic fruits like mangos or avocados, and other goods, which – like Turkish chickpeas – don't have any connection to Mirabella. Even so they don't simply represent something we could designate as *emblems of globalisation*. They merely constitute what we should understand as the *personal touch* given to a ritual setting. Nevertheless, this personal touch is discursively perceived by my informants as "tradition" and hence *serves* as "tradition". The goods on the banquets – independent of their origin – are finally the ingredients for a large variety of dishes, identified by the migrants as typical local dishes of Maccarisian or Sicilian origin, among them especially cooked and fried foods like *sfingi*, *cassateddi*, *pesche*, *impanati* and many others. Within the range of individual play and the framework of descent the personal touch becomes tradition and vice versa. Personal touch has the capacity of transforming objects of modern consumer society into objects of romantic melancholy attached to "tradition". Annette B. Weiner (1980: 71) is definitely correct when she states as her basic premise "that any society must reproduce and regenerate certain elements of value in order for the society to continue".

On the symbolic level, the St Joseph's banquets are clearly connected to the hometown, because they represent first of all a devotional practice towards one of the patron saints of Mirabella. Let us look again on the objects on the altar. If we look at the devotional breads, the most important elements of the banquets, one of them represents St Joseph

and is called *u pagnoccu*. It has a roughly anthropomorphic shape, in which it is possible to recognize a body without extremities, decorated with flowers. For my informants the loaves of bread are like images of saints, like statues.

In 2004 and 2005 the devotional breads for the St Joseph's banquet in the Italian mission in Sindelfingen were ordered from a bakery in Mirabella. Together with a huge quantity of offerings amounting up to € 600 they were brought to Sindelfingen by a Maccarísian transport company. When in 2006 these devotional breads didn't arrive, it caused a great deal of agitation among the women involved in the construction of the altar, because – as they told me – “the [construction of the] altar can't begin before the breads have been put on it.” The women quickly arranged to bake the big breads in a bakery near Sindelfingen. On the day of the festival we praised the fine breads on the altar. A woman told me: “They just didn't bring us the bread. So we said: ‘St Joseph this year wants us to make it, here in Sindelfingen.’ And we made it very well.” A man commented: “It is clear that St Joseph wanted to be made here, at his home, in his town/country [*paísi*].”

This short anecdote shows that the saint, which was honoured before as *deus loci*, becomes released from its local town context. “It is clear that St Joseph wanted to be made here, at his home, in his town/country [*paísi*].” The home of the saint, his town and hence his sphere of action have shifted with those of the migrants. Hence locality, i.e. the hometown, seems to lose its meaning; the saint and its cult become *delocated*. But it is a relative delocation, i.e. the ritual isn't totally released from the hometown Mirabella, but rather becomes “translocative”⁸ (Tweed 1997: 94). As such it offers surfaces of overlapping linking the old home with the new. Paradoxically, it is precisely this relative delocation of the festival which allows a relocation of the Maccarísian migrant's identity: because of its originally strong relation to the locality (Mirabella) it represents – especially in the migrant community – a meaningful factor as an identity anchor, point of reference and orientation. The delocation of the saint also facilitates the expansion of the social unity emerging around his cult, from Maccarísian migrants alone to the whole community of Italian migrants. The saint isn't a symbol of intra-Italian diversity anymore, but becomes an inter-regional symbol with manifold meanings which is associated according to the situation with Maccarísian, Sicilian or Italian identity.

CONCLUSION

The rare case of a very strong agglomeration of migrants from a particular Sicilian town (Mirabella Imbaccari), who now live in the close environs of an industrial city in south-western Germany (Sindelfingen), offers itself as ideal example for the analysis of the interweavement between ritual and social change. In this article I focus on ritual practices of reciprocity in the context of a local patron saint cult, namely the festival of St Joseph,

⁸ “[Translocative] refers to the tendency among many first- and second-generation migrants to symbolically move between homeland and new land.” (Tweed 1997: 95)

which – among other festivals – was revitalised within this migrant community in the early 1970s. Through these festivals the migrants reproduce the symbolic-religious spaces of their hometown in the foreign country and in this way create their own familiar spaces of transnational character, in which they periodically reactivate a feeling of home.

At the heart of the festival of St Joseph are the large ritual banquets, which are erected *ex voto* by individuals within the private realm of single family households: large tables are covered with huge amounts of comestible goods like fresh and dried fruits; raw, cooked and partly wild vegetables; fish, flour, pasta, and so forth. Starting at noon on the 18th of March the altars are visited by numerous friends, relatives and curious visitors. During the ritual the private, intimate and closed space of the family household goes through a process of opening and public making, and is transformed into a public, outwardly oriented, open realm of the community. According to the tradition, on the 19th of March three poor people have to be invited for a meal at the altar. These represent the members of the Holy Family and are therefore called *saints*. All the dishes on the altar are offered to the *saints* as gifts. During the distribution of the gifts to the *saints*, friends and relatives are also integrated into this ritual of commensality. Several dishes are served to every single visitor and some of the festive dishes are even brought into the houses of old and sick people.

Since the process of festival revitalisation set in, the objects at the centre of these festivals have also moved. If we look at the example of the St Joseph's banquets, they represent a kind of mobile shrine, which can be reproduced wherever wished. At the same time they are directly connected to the hometown on both material and symbolic levels, hence anchoring identity and reproducing memory. On the material level, the most important point is that most of the goods on the altar originally come from Mirabella. Another interesting point is that next to these foods stemming from Mirabella, today we can also find a lot of modern consumer goods like chocolate, coffee, out of season fruits, exotic fruits like mangos or avocados, and other goods, which – like Turkish chickpeas – don't have any connection to Mirabella. Even so they don't just represent something we could designate as *emblems of globalisation*. They merely constitute what we should understand as the *personal touch* given to a ritual setting. Nevertheless, this personal touch is discursively perceived by my informants as "tradition" and hence *serves* as "tradition". Within the range of individual play and the framework of descent the personal touch becomes tradition and vice versa. Personal touch has the capacity of transforming objects of modern consumer society into objects of romantic melancholy attached to "tradition".

On the symbolic level, the St Joseph's banquets are clearly connected to the hometown, because they represent first of all a devotional practice towards one of the patron saints of Mirabella. But the saint, which was honoured before as *deus loci*, becomes released from its local town context. The home of the saint, his town and hence his sphere of action have shifted with those of the migrants. Hence locality, i.e. the hometown, seems to lose its meaning; the saint and its cult become *delocated*. But it is a relative delocation, i.e. the ritual isn't totally released from the hometown Mirabella, but rather becomes *translocative*. As such it offers surfaces of overlapping linking the old home with the new. Paradoxically, it is precisely this relative delocation of the festival which allows a relocation of the

Maccarísian migrant's identity: because of its originally strong relation to the locality (Mirabella) it represents – especially in the migration – a meaningful factor as identity anchor, point of reference and orientation. The delocation of the saint also facilitates the expansion of the social unity emerging around his cult, from Maccarísian migrants alone to the whole community of Italian migrants. The saint isn't a symbol of intra-Italian diversity anymore, but becomes an inter-regional symbol with manifold meanings which is associated according to the situation with Maccarísian, Sicilian or Italian identity.

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POVZETEK

KRUH IN SVETNIKI: OBREDNE PRAKSE VZAJEMNOSTI MED SICILIJANSKIMI MIGRANTI V NEMČIJI

Emanuel Valentin

Redek primer zelo intenzivnega kopičenja migrantov iz specifičnega sicilijanskega kraja (Mirabella Imbaccari), ki sedaj živijo v bližnji okolici industrijskega mesta v jugozahodni Nemčiji (Sindelfingen), lahko služi kot idealni primer za analizo prepletanja med obredno in družbeno spremembo. V tem članku se osredotočim na obredne prakse vzajemnosti v kontekstu kulta lokalnega svetnika zavetnika, to je festivala Sv. Jožefa, ki je bil – med drugimi festivali – oživljen znotraj te migrantske skupnosti v zgodnjih 70. letih. Skozi tovrstne festivale migranti reproducirajo simbolno-religiozne prostore njihovega domačega kraja tudi v tuji državi in na ta način ustvarijo svoje lastne znane prostore transnacionalnega značaja, v katerih periodično reaktivirajo občutenje doma.

V središču festivala Sv. Jožefa so obilne obredne pojedine, ki jih posamezniki pripravijo kot *ex voto* znotraj posameznega enodružinskega gospodinjstva: velike mize so prekrite z ogromno količino užitnih dobrin, kot so sveže in posušeno sadje, surova, kuhana in deloma divja zelenjava, ribe, moka, testenine, itd. Številni prijatelji, sorodniki in radovedneži obiskujejo oltarje od poldneva dalje, na dan 18. marca. Med tem obredom se zasebni, intimni in zaprti prostor družinskega gospodinjstva skozi proces odpiranja javnosti spremeni v javno, navzven usmerjeno, odprto polje cele skupnosti. Glede na tradicijo morajo biti 19. marca na obed pri oltarju povabljeni trije revni ljudje. Ti predstavljajo člane svete družine in se tudi imenujejo *svetniki*. Vse jedi na oltarju so ponujene *svetnikom* kot darila. Med razdeljevanjem daril *svetnikom* so v ta obred pogostitve vključeni tudi prijatelji in sorodniki. Vsakemu obiskovalcu se postreže z različnimi jedmi, starejšim ali bolnim ljudem pa praznične jedi prinesejo celo na dom.

S tem ko se je proces revitalizacije festivalov ustalil, so se premaknili tudi objekti v središču teh festivalov. Če pogledamo na primer pojedine Sv. Jožefa: te na nek način predstavljajo mobilne svetinje, ki se jih lahko po želji reproducira kjerkoli. Istočasno so direktno povezane z domačim krajem, tako na materialnih kot simbolnih nivojih, in torej utrjujejo identiteto in reproducirajo spomin. Na materialnem nivoju je najpomembnejše dejstvo to, da večina dobrin na oltarjih izvira iz Mirabelle. Zanimivo je tudi, da lahko danes poleg teh jedi, najdemo tudi veliko modernih potrošniških dobrin, kot so čokolada, kava, nesezonsko sadje, eksotično sadje kot mango in avokado in ostale dobrine, ki – kot turška čičerika – nimajo nobene povezave z Mirabello. Kljub temu te ne predstavljajo nekaj, kar bi lahko označili kot *znake globalizacije*. Enostavno predstavljajo to, kar bi morali razumeti kot osebno variacijo znotraj okvira obreda. To osebno noto moji informanti v pogovoru dojemajo kot »tradicijo« in torej *deluje* kot »tradicija«. V obsegu individualnega razpona in v okviru izvora ta osebna nota postane tradicija, in obratno. Takšna osebna

nota lahko preobrazi predmete moderne potrošniške družbe v romantično melanholijo, ki se navezuje na »tradicijo«.

Na simbolnem nivoju so Jožefove pojedine jasno povezane z domačim krajem, ker v prvi meri predstavljajo pobožno prakso v povezavi z enim od lokalnih svetnikov zavetnikov Mirabelle. Toda svetnik, ki je bil prej čaščen kot *deus loci*, je osvobojen iz konteksta lokalnega kraja. Dom svetnika, njegov kraj in torej njegova sfera delovanja so se premaknili skupaj z migrantskimi. Zatorej vtis, da lokalnost, to je domači kraj, izgublja pomen; svetnik in njegov kult sta postala *dislocirana*. Toda ta dislokacija je relativna, to je, obred ni popolnoma ločen od domačega kraja Mirabelle, temveč postane *translokalen*. Kot takšen nudi prekrivajoče se vidike, ki povezujejo stari dom z novim. Paradoksalno je, da je ravno ta relativna dislokacija festivala tista, ki omogoča relokacijo identitete makariškega migranta: zaradi njegove originalne močne navezave na lokaliteto (Mirabella), prestavlja festival – zlasti v migraciji – pomemben dejavnik kot utrjevalec identitete, točka reference in orientacije. Dislokacija svetnika tudi pospeši širitev družbene enotnosti, ki se poraja okoli tega kulta, od samih makariških migrantov do celotne skupnosti italijanskih migrantov. Svetnik ni več simbol intra-italijanske raznovrstnosti, temveč postane inter-regionalni simbol z več pomeni, ki je odvisno od situacije povezan z makariško, sicilijansko ali italijansko identiteto.

WOMEN IN DIPLOMACY: THEIR PRIVATE TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES

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ABSTRACT

Women in Diplomacy: Their Private Transnational Practices

The paper concerns women in diplomacy observed through the anthropological perspective of migrants' transnational practices. It focuses on the transnational practices of women in diplomacy that include efforts to establish and maintain the everyday normality of their own choices in their temporary place of living. Shifting attention from less privileged to multiply privileged transnational migrants enables potential insights into the similarities of their practices of negotiating normality by the means of objects and ways of communication in different places of everyday life.

KEY WORDS: diplomacy, transnational migration, women, practices, objects

IZVLEČEK

Ženske v diplomaciji in njihove zasebne transnacionalne prakse

Članek obravnava ženske v diplomaciji s stališča antropološke perspektive migrantskih transnacionalnih praks. V središče postavlja transnacionalne prakse žensk v diplomaciji, ki si prizadevajo ustanoviti in ohraniti vsakodnevno normalnost po njihovi izbiri v krajih njihovega začasnega bivanja. Članek s preusmeritvijo pozornosti z nepriviligiranih na različne privilegirane transnacionalne migrante omogoča različne vpoglede v podobnosti med praksami, s katerimi migranti izpogajajo normalnost skozi predmete in načine komuniciranja v različnih krajih vsakodnevnega življenja.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: diplomacija, transnacionalna migracija, ženske, prakse, predmeti

INTRODUCTION - DIPLOMACY IN THE CONTEXT OF TRANSNATIONAL PRACTICES

A diplomat's lifestyle implies frequent movement across national borders, and it thus incorporates continuous practices of transnational journey of people as well as material objects. Therefore, diplomatic migration provides an excellent foundation for a grounded theory about the creation of transnational spaces. In this paper the term transnationalism is employed from the perspective of transnational social spaces that "constitute sets of

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social and symbolic relations beyond and across national states and supranational institutions” (Faist 2004: 23).² In the context of the transnational practices of diplomats, *to be a migrant* could be conceptualized as part of their job. However, they migrate in a specific way and in specific conditions. Diplomats are usually considered as privileged transnational migrants. They have guaranteed jobs in their country of placement and they are entering a relatively safe environment about which they are well informed. In addition to their legally privileged diplomatic status, diplomats are better paid when they are abroad than when at home. Therefore, diplomacy is considered a profession with a high economic and social status. Because of their profession, diplomats represent a very particular group in the context of transnational migrants.³

The very precise period of staying abroad is one of the most important conditions in an anthropological perspective of migrants’ transnational practices, so I focused on the specific implications of time-limited diplomatic postings that influence and considerably define the transnational practices of my research participants: “We all know that we are coming back; we don’t want to stay there, work there.”⁴ It is also important to mention why I have chosen to interview women for my research. Many anthropological studies have observed women’s roles in various kinds of migration (e.g. Brettell 2003; Burrell 2008; Kurotani 2007). However, it is important to mention that women’s experiences were not the focus of ‘classical migration theories’ and that women were not conceptualised as active agents in the migration process, but mostly as accompanying spouses. Such portrayal of women has mainly been overcome in the past two or three decades.⁵

This paper focuses on the experiences of women in diplomacy by observing them as active agents in the migration process and the creation of transnational spaces.⁶ In this regard, the situation for women in diplomacy is very specific. According to Croatian law, the spouse of a diplomat is not allowed to work in the country of temporary placement. Therefore, he or she has to leave their job and put their career on hold.⁷

² Some referential articles on this subject can be found in the publication *Transnational Spaces: Disciplinary perspectives* - conference proceedings from the international workshop held at the School of International Migration and Ethnic Relations, Malmo University in June 2003.

³ I employ a transnational perspective that frames migration as a “process which encompasses both sending and receiving countries, and which involves continuing mobility and often the development and maintenance of emotional and other bonds with both countries”(Gustafson 2004: 73).

⁴ Each of my research participants emphasised time-limited diplomatic migration as a significant determinant, in the sense that it was important that they knew in advance that this was only temporary and that they would return to Croatia in four years: “...I knew that I was going to Finland for 4 years, and that I am coming back in 4 years”, “Then, on the other hand I know I am somewhere doing something for a few years and after that I am going home.”

⁵ Cf. Mirjana Morokvašić Muller, Eleonore Kofman, Floya Anthias, Giovanna Campani, etc.

⁶ Regarding this, the intention was not to base my views on gender theory or distinctively on women’s studies, but rather to try to overcome numerous migration studies that are mainly “male oriented” and to offer one possible ethnographic description of transnational mobility experiences from the women’s point of view.

⁷ It is important to mention that there is no empirical data being collected about the percentage of women in Croatian diplomacy (both as diplomats and accompanying spouses).

Basing my research on anthropological perspectives of migrants' transnational practices (e.g. Amit 2007; Brettell 2003; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Povrzanović Frykman 2003; Robertson 1994) my interest was primarily directed towards those transnational practices of women in diplomacy that include efforts to establish and maintain the everyday normality of their own choices in their temporary place of living. This can be partly achieved through the material objects that they bring to the country to which they are assigned. The efforts of *homemaking away from home* in the example of the five diplomats who participated in this study could be conceptualized as their personal creation of transnational spaces. Given that my aim is to better understand these women's creation of transnational spaces in the private and public spheres, I have investigated similarities between the practices of female diplomats and those women who accompany their husbands, of single women in diplomacy as well as those who also organize transnational lives for their children.

METHODOLOGY – THE EXPERIENCES OF FIVE WOMEN

My research is primarily ethnographic, which means “recording the life of a particular group and thus entails participation and observation in their milieu, community, or social world” (Charmaz 2006: 21). I have interviewed five women on several occasions during May and June 2008. Four of the interviewees are friends of my best friend, and one of them is also my close friend. I interviewed each of them individually, some of them in their homes in Zagreb and some in their offices. My research participants are all highly educated Croatian women in their forties. Each of them had a different situation concerning family, accommodation, career, interests and personal worldview. Given that each diplomat who participated in this research has specific life circumstances, we can compare the collected data to emphasize the similarities and differences of their experiences.

In-depth interviewing has been a useful data-gathering method because it involves eliciting each participant's interpretation of her experiences (see Charmaz 2006). I asked the interviewees to describe and reflect upon their experiences in ways that seldom occur in everyday life. Each of the five research participants said that prior to these interviews they had not thought about their diplomatic migration experience in this way. Since my interest was primarily focused on their efforts to establish and maintain everyday normality by means of the material objects that they bring with them, I started with an open-ended question: what kind of things were in the diplomatic truck that moved your belongings to your new location?⁸ My aim was to indirectly invite detailed discussion about *homemaking away from home* and to encourage unanticipated statements and stories to emerge. All of my interviewees have been abroad in the last ten years. The first one, Sanja,⁹ ac-

⁸ The moving of diplomats' personal belongings is regularly performed by diplomatic trucks and carries the denomination of *diplomatic pouch* – sealed transport that is not subject to being opened or searched, i.e. customs inspection, at border crossings.

⁹ The names of my research participants (as well as the names of their family members) have been

accompanied her husband who works as a diplomat. She and their two children, according to established practice, also had diplomatic status. Up to the present they have been on two diplomatic tours of duty, both in countries of former Yugoslavia. The second, Marina, went alone as a diplomat to Italy. Before she went on her diplomatic tour of duty, she had been living and working (for a family) in Switzerland for a few years, so she had previous migration experience. The third one, Nadija, also went alone to work at the embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia. Before her diplomatic migration she had lived in England for almost two years. Today she is married and has a son. Danijela's situation was unusual. She was sent as a diplomat and her husband and son accompanied her. They went to Slovakia and this was her first tour of duty. During her tour of duty her husband helped at the embassy, but now he is unemployed. My fifth informant, Lana, who has two sons, had been on two tours of duty with her family. The first location was in Austria, where she accompanied her husband, and the second in Finland, where she worked at the embassy on contract, as an external associate.¹⁰

From the point of view of the spouse that follows the diplomat, issues related with leaving his/her job and sacrificing their own careers is one of the key elements of diplomatic migration. However, this problem does not occur only in the case of diplomatic families. As Fechter observes, the wives of managers and directors of large industrial enterprises who are posted abroad also do not work. During their stay abroad they usually join some of the various ladies' clubs, which engage in various charity activities or organize women's gatherings for coffee or tea, so-called "coffee mornings".¹¹ A key issue in these cases is that the activities of women's clubs do not meet the needs and wishes of all of these women. Some of them consider such gatherings to be artificial, and seek fulfilment in other activities, which generally have a connection with their own professions (see Fechter 2007: 44–49). Such examples provide fertile ground for further research and review of theories that deal with gender-power relations in the family and in the field of work theory. Another topic that emerged as very significant during conversations with my informants concerns financial motives, which implies the question of whether diplomacy is a form of economic migration. Based on the testimony of the five diplomats who participated in this study, it is legitimate to retain a certain amount of reserve when it comes to the glamorous life of diplomats. My interest however does not focus on gender relations, or on the financial motives of diplomatic migration. To examine these, further field research would be necessary. The number of informants should be increased, while the in-depth interviewing and even participant observation should aim to answer the analytic questions

changed in order to protect data and privacy.

¹⁰ Despite the fact that the law states that the spouses of diplomats cannot work, in some states it is possible to work on a so-called *temporary work contract*, but only at the embassy. In this case he/she is not a permanent employee of the Croatian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

¹¹ The experience of my interviewee Sanja also confirmed this. One of her best friends during her stay in Ljubljana was a Frenchwoman whose husband worked in the Slovenian subsidiary to a large French company. They have remained close friends, and now regularly visit each other in Paris and Zagreb.

that have emerged and to fill conceptual gaps as Cathy Charmaz suggested: “Qualitative researchers have one great advantage over our quantitative colleagues. We can add new pieces to the research puzzle or conjure an entirely new puzzle – while we gather data.” (Charmaz 2006: 14)

It is important to mention here that this study is not based only on interviews with five diplomats, but also on my long-standing participation in the diplomatic milieu in various ways. In order to protect the privacy of all those who directly or indirectly made contributions to this study, I have avoided a more detailed explanation of my acquaintances and position in the diplomatic circle. It is only important to emphasize that for several years I had the opportunity to participate and observe the personal creation of transnational spaces of women in diplomacy. Regarding epistemological insight on this issue I find it important to mention that my position as both a semi-insider and a woman definitely had an influence on the research process. In this regard, the most significant aspect was that I had easy access to the field i.e. found my interviewees, and had a possibility to obtain personal or confidential (professional) information due to my semi-membership in this specific milieu.¹²

This participation provided me some advance knowledge of the research subjects and therefore I can use my own experience as ethnographic material¹³ (cf. Marcus 1995). However, keeping in mind that ethnographers are expected to be reflexive in their work I have tried to avoid subjective assumptions based on my previous experience and focus on the real stories and the experiences of my five respondents.

Because “grounded theory ethnography gives priority to the studied phenomenon or process – rather than to the description of setting” (Charmaz 2006: 22), by applying the instructions of Charmaz (2006), who described the process of qualitative analysis and constructing grounded theory, I have tried to study what is *happening in the setting* in order to build a conceptual framework of the actions and practices of my research participants.

THE PROCESS OF LEAVING AND SETTLING

The first problem connected to the process of leaving on diplomatic tours of duty concerns the country to which one is assigned. It is not always the case that a diplomat will be assigned to their first choice of country. The process of leaving begins with an application in a mostly internal competition, which publicises vacancies in certain countries. Those who apply choose three destinations to which they are willing to go. However, it often happens that they get assigned to the country that was only their “third option” (or they didn’t even want it, but they had to write something). If they are not satisfied they

¹² In order to avoid confusion I want to mention that I personally have never had a legal diplomatic status or diplomatic passport.

¹³ As was already mentioned, I am friendly with and family related to several diplomatic families. I have regularly mingled with them in Croatia, and I had an opportunity to visit some of them in their homes abroad.

are not forced to go, but the practice is still such that if they have previously been on a tour of duty in a country of their own choice, they are now obliged to accept a posting at some less attractive (to them) destination. As Danijela said, “I applied for Slovakia too but it wasn’t my first preference, it wasn’t the destination I wanted the most, not at all.”

Although diplomatic relocation is voluntary migration, certain involuntary aspects appear, such as the possibility of compelled living in a country you did not want. This is not something that is impossible to avoid. Coercion or “punishment” is not a practice in diplomacy, but as in any other profession there are certain compromises that are required in certain circumstances, or certain aspects of the job that are expected to be accepted. After accepting the job the second stage is to find a place to live. Before they find an apartment they usually live in a hotel for a month. When asking the participants in this study to describe some negative experiences, they all mentioned the period of searching for an apartment. To quote Danijela:

When we arrived in Slovakia, my idea was to find an apartment as soon as possible. You have the right to be in a hotel while finding accommodation. This shouldn’t of course take a long time, they have rules about that, but it wasn’t in my interest to stay too long in the hotel because I would have to be alone there. On the other hand, a person can’t function from a hotel room, I mean, until you settle in and find yourself an apartment you can’t function, so we tried, I was looking to find an apartment as soon as possible.

While describing the moving as being stressful during the time they lived in improvised, unsettled conditions, they all stress the fact of their settlement becoming “normal” as soon as they obtained stable accommodations.

But it was very hard to find a place, to rent it, specifically in that period, it was the year 2000. I couldn’t find one. The rule is that you can stay in the hotel for a month. Normally, nobody threw you out of the hotel, I would just have to write a request and they would approve me a longer stay at the hotel, but that unsuccessful and long search was like, “how am I going to”. [...] Then [when she found an apartment; L.K.] follow those lovely things; I’m in an apartment, now I have to give a soul to this place, so I can feel good in it. I took some photos of my entire family and some friends. Those were the photos of some special moments. They were on one wall. Then, I had a picture of Zagreb’s stone gates, the cathedral, which I both got, so all of those things ended up somewhere on the walls. I also brought my table-cloths.

The need and possibility of organizing a home on their own shows the need for a *material realm* in which they could act freely and furnish it according to their own needs and taste.

Since the same was the case for all of my interviewees, as in stories of some other migrants (see Povrzanović Frykman 2008), this example shows that certain material conditions are necessary for *making* a home. In the analysis proposed here, ‘home’ is

considered as an empirical, experiential category. It is a place “which acquires meanings through practice; and as such, it forms part of the everyday process of creation of the self” (Petridou 2001: 88). I employ the term *homemaking* as practice and a combination of processes through which its inhabitants acquire a sense of history and identity. In the context of this research the home is a place/space of lived experience where objects, practices and identifications, the material and the symbolic come together (see Povrzanović Frykman 2008).

THINGS THAT ARE ALIVE

The process by which “the material culture of the home is used to examine realizations of the self by focusing on the self-creation of the subject through interaction with the object” (Petridou 2001: 88), is called the process of *objectification* (Miller 1987). In contemporary societies, which are characterized by a high level of mobility (see Hannam, Sheller and Urry 2006), “the process of self-creation of the subject through interaction with objects associated with home does not need to be geographically bounded” (Petridou 2001: 88). It is rather about a dynamic process in which every day practices make the home meaningful to those who inhabit it. In most cases people do not move with all their belongings. In response to the desire to select what matters, they face of the difficulty of separating themselves from an object that may be considered in a way as a part of oneself (see Marcoux 2001). Responding to my question as to the belongings they took with them to the places abroad that were to become their homes for the next four years, my interviewees all talked about knick-knacks and personal belongings that have some special meaning or emotional importance in their intimate, private or family life.

Yes, that is a part of family history which you like to carry with you, for example these photos of the family, for children, so they can, when they arrive at a new school or kindergarten, show them to their peers, they can show them their grandma, relatives, cousins, friends ... [...] you take some things you like very much, some picture or a poster, I had some boats that always reminded me of Split, and we always carried books. There were some books that we carried everywhere we went.

We have brought absolutely an entire household, from Zagreb to Vienna, from Vienna to Zagreb, from Zagreb to Finland. So, all of our books, coffee cups, bedclothes, but furniture we didn't take since as tenants we did not even have any. The embassy [in Finland; L.K.] had functional furniture that of course remained the property of the Embassy, so we did not bring it back. But all the memories, we took all, from the children's drawings, everything.

All my interviewees mentioned the same or similar personal belongings, but Lana explicitly stressed that she and her family transferred “absolutely their entire household” to Finland. The reason for this was that they were living as tenants (before their tour of duty). However, within the framework of these five cases, Lana's specific experience

confirms the importance of grounded theory, i.e. conclusions grounded in the collected data – which always appear as a specific cases (see Charmaz 2006).

Travelling between Croatia and a new home also involved carrying new things to and fro. These were mostly things that they bought during their visits to Croatia, or gifts they brought for their friends and families. During these peregrinations, the regular contents of their suitcases included items that cannot be purchased in either location or country. It was most often specific types of food, then books and music that reminded them of their homeland.

My husband and I are southerners so we prefer olive oil, fish and so on, cooked food, and they simply ... their food just did not suit us, so we would bring everything that we could, every year. Olive oil, some bacon, Čokolino for the kids, Vegeta. We always had Croatian wines. We always brought our music.

Nadija, who was in Jakarta, says:

Yes, and I think I took some photos, I even didn't take them by myself, when someone would come for a visit, they would always bring me a little thing, a photo or something, in fact I built so to say a collection of "Croatian things" out of it.

Visiting friends also brought the same objects, e.g. photographs of some mutual friends or family. That was a way to maintain the connection with those who were left behind. Creating "Croatian things" in Nadija's example can be defined as the creation of personal transnational spaces between Indonesia and Croatia. In this process of creation of transnational space, it was not only her, but also her friends who visited her and brought her those objects. Objects travel from country to country, but also from hand to hand. They enable the process of self-creation through the migrants' involvement in personal relations and social networks achieved or maintained through objects. In the same way the personal creation of transnational space was expanding in "the other direction", towards Croatia. When travelling to Croatia, Nadija would always bring her friends and family a part of her life in Jakarta: "Yes, absolutely always, every time (when she went home L.K.) I would put a present in my bag, and always something specific, something Indonesian." By transporting personal belongings of symbolic value in the places that were their real homes for those four years, or bringing them as gifts to their friends at home, they – through these objects – maintained a sense of continuity of their own personal life, a sense of personal history and identity.

OBJECTS OF EVERYDAY USE

The second group of objects that the women I interviewed brought along with them could be termed *objects of everyday use*. It is very interesting that, without any sugges-

tion on my part, their responses were practically identical: “But we have always taken our cutlery, plates, everything that has to do with the dining table and sleeping, it has always been our bedclothes.”

Those were the things for everyday use, I mean, for instance a funny example, we took our plates, our bedclothes, everything, not because I would have to buy all that and make additional costs but because it is mine, I have just transferred part of my life, we transferred our pictures from the walls so we could make the apartment our own, our books, our library, we have transferred all of that, because we live there.

At first glance it seems a bit odd that they bothered to carry quite practical things, objects of no sentimental value. However, the last example perfectly illustrates why Croatian diplomats bring along their own bedclothes and tableware to the places abroad that are to become their homes for the next four years. By bringing those objects of everyday use “they establish the continuity of the very material core of the intimacy of a home; those are domestic objects that are in direct touch with our bodies” (Povrzanović Frykman 2008). Bringing their own books, pictures or Croatian music is also a regular example of creating and maintaining domestic space. Which objects that the migrants consider crucial for keeping their own private everyday normality in different locations of attachment is obviously a matter of personal choice. There are considerable differences between the choices and practices of my informants, however, it is crucial to stress that they all wanted to *bring their places with them*, also when returning to Croatia – not only as mental references, but also in the form of objects. “The intention is to ensure the homely feeling naturalized in the country of immigration, also in a place that is emotionally or ideologically defined as ‘(real) home’” (Povrzanović Frykman 2008: 7).

THE TASTE OF HOME

In describing basic experiential elements of everyday life, the women I interviewed all addressed the importance of food.

A person realizes then how important nutrition really is in everyday family life. In the beginning you search for food and groceries that you are used to, and it makes you happy when you find a Kraš store, or some candy that you know.

Friends and family were also always bringing them the same food products when they would visit. They knew how much they yearned for anything of “Croatian taste”: “Yes, yes always. They would always bring us these same things, everybody knew that when visiting a package of Cedevita always comes in handy.” Their friends were providing them with tastes they were used to, the smells from their “normal” everyday lives in Croatia. In this context the “known food served for the purpose of providing the sense

of stability and continuity” (Petridou 2001: 102). On the other hand they were also sending new tastes to their family and friends in Croatia, so the trucks or cars carrying the diplomatic pouch were loaded not only with official letters and documents, but one could also normally find foreign chocolates and wines in them: “I would always send Finnish chocolate. That was necessary.”

The indispensability of food in studying homemaking lies in the fact that the food is perceived through a combination of senses, and it can, therefore, evoke the experience of home. Referring to the packages of food sent abroad, Petridou referring to Sutton (2001) argues that “food sent from home constitutes a symbolic process of restoring the fragmented world of the displaced through reconstructing the sensory totality of the world of home” (Petridou 2001: 89). Sanja stated: “The French were very glad that LeClerc was opened (in Slovenia L.K.), since that is their national supermarket and they made their purchases exclusively there, exclusively.”

Food from home evokes a large network of association between values and practices (cooking, cleanliness, family). In a new environment where the migrants find themselves deprived of the familiar homeland structures, bringing the known food, the known taste is closely tied up with the construction of the self and to the process of *homemaking away from home*. Food brought from the homeland, prepared and served in a new home abroad becomes an active object of transnational practices.

USE OF TRADITION IN HOMEMAKING

All these examples confirm that objects generate cultural meanings, evoke feelings, but also – or in the first place – animate practices (cf. Woodward 2001). In lived experience, the meaning and consequences of object-use are inseparable. This practice-oriented ethnography grounded in everyday experience focuses on “not what material culture *means*, but of what it *does* to people with active roles in the maintenance of transnational spaces” (Povržanović Frykman 2008: 15). One of the practices that the women who participated in this study used to create their transnational spaces and keep them active is related to preserving traditional customs. My research participants told me a lot about Easter or Christmas celebrations.

Totally the same as in Zagreb, with decorations from Zagreb. Decorations are something, which is a pure symbol of Christmas, we would always take these decorations with us, and the Nativity scene, Bethlehem.

Usually somebody from Croatia came, mom or sister, or we went to Croatia. They came to us more often. Then, we used to make our traditional breakfast, the most traditional Croatian Easter breakfast; we would always meet at somebody’s place, all together. We would usually invite some people from the embassy, because there were people who were alone, their families weren’t there with them.

The fact that they brought their Christmas decorations from home and that they paid special attention to preserving traditional customs indicates that traditional practices and traditional objects also served to keep the customary normality in the place of their temporary residence. To have a homely Christmas in a foreign location has a meaning of maintaining the continuity and identity of their family and home, by positioning them within the traditional framework. They all mentioned (more or less directly) that this was not about the preservation of tradition in the terms of representing the affiliation with the Croatian people, but to maintain the everyday normality of their family lives. The fact that the interviewees who have a family talked a lot about Christmas, while on the other hand Nadija didn't even mention it before I asked her, confirms the hypothesis that the practice of maintaining traditional customs in the practices of migrants should be interpreted primarily as a practice of maintaining the stability of their own (family) life, their own daily lives,¹⁴ and not as confirmation of national belonging.

For example, that is what has been very important for us, as we plant young wheat for Christmas, and Slovaks don't have that custom, I couldn't find it anywhere to buy, and it was horrible for me, because what kind of Christmas would it be without wheat? Luckily, some friends from the Croatian minority had it, and they gave me some so I could have a traditional Christmas. After that, we at the embassy always had wheat for Christmas, just like at home ...

In leaving the place that for them contained their historical foundations and arriving in another place where they are foreigners, they evoke a sense of stability of home through using familiar objects. However, sometimes the performances of traditional customs abroad were limited due to the lack of necessary items. Such situations could generate frustration because of the disruption of continuity in the practice of family life. However, by establishing new social connections in the foreign country they were able to purchase items previously not available to them. This shows how identities are actually created in the practices that subjects perform. The *personal creation of transnational spaces* in my research participants' experience was significantly marked by the material objects which they were transmitting, bringing and using in the place of their temporary residence. Through these practices the process of *homemaking away from home* was actualised, and the temporary location became a fully functioning home aboard.

When we were leaving, we said: we shall live here for four years, it is temporary, but I can't live a temporary life. I can't just wait for four years to pass and simply throw those years away, because it's temporary? No, we live here, it is beautiful, and we want to make most of it. We didn't leave because we were punished; we left because we wanted to.

¹⁴ It is important to stress that this article discusses the *private* transnational practices of five respondents, which means their personal everyday activities and everydayness in their family lives and homes.

When it comes to maintaining tradition, the discrepancies in my interviewees' statements poses the question of whether tradition *per se* is important to certain people? The thesis of this paper is that the maintenance of private everyday normality is important to everyone. Some of the interviews fully support this, while some, like Nadija's case, are divergent.¹⁵ It could be possible to interpret this divergence due to Nadija's age (she was the youngest), or the fact that she didn't have children. Again, it is possible that this was the case simply because of her personal worldview and life circumstances. However, for a more detailed analysis of the reasons for the differences in my interviewees' statements, an extension of the pattern and theory established in a larger number of collected data would be necessary (see Charmaz 2006).

On the basis of this research, we can conclude that when it comes to maintaining traditional customs and the use of traditional symbolic objects (such as Christmas decorations),¹⁶ it is primarily about the creation of personal or family practices. Therefore, in the process of homemaking abroad, the "household" customs and people's personal preferences are essential – all in order to maintain a specific (personal) everyday normality.

MAINTAINING CONNECTIONS OR MAKING NEW ONES

Maintaining connections with family and friends in the homeland is a crucial sphere in the debate about transnational spaces. My informants told me that one of the motives for accepting their diplomatic postings was the geographic closeness of their future location: "It is a lot easier when you are closer, I mean, a friend or a family member can visit, it is a lot easier and faster." Despite the emphasised advantage that the new location should preferably be close to Croatia (that is, in Europe), it turned out that during their tour of duty they actually travelled to Croatia quite rarely. Their intention was based primarily on a personal feeling that if they wanted or needed to they would be able to go home easily and relatively quickly.¹⁷ It was about the possibility of unproblematic access that counted, although it was not often realized.

It is very important for me to know, in my mind, that I can take a flight every Friday and return home for a weekend, although while I was in Rome I rarely returned home, maybe twice a year.

¹⁵ As a contribution to the discussion above I present a part of Nadija's interview: When asked about her Christmas holidays in Indonesia, she answered: "That didn't interest me at all, I spent one Christmas in Bali, one New Year I was in Australia. Here [in Jakarta; L.K.] everybody just cried White Christmas [in the embassy; L.K.]. To me it does not mean anything. I'm not the traditional type, I mostly miss the people."

¹⁶ That was the same as with the food which my interviewees brought from Croatia.

¹⁷ The proximity of the homeland where their parents, family or friends live may also have practical value, for example, if the parents are old and they need to be cared for (see Povrzanović Frykman 2008).

They travelled to Croatia mostly once or twice a year, during vacations. Consequently, the desire for a location in Europe refers to the maintenance of *easy access* to their homes in Croatia. Although they rarely visited Croatia, they would all regularly, a few times a year, invite and entertain their friends and family at their new locations: “They would often pay me a visit. That was the advantage of being rather close.”

However, regardless of the fact that some would frequently, while others rarely see their friends and family, intense communication was kept through telephone and e-mail, several times a week, even every day through text messages (see Povrzanović Frykman 2008). Lana called “home and particular friends regularly, other friends occasionally through e-mail”, as well as my other interviewees who all regularly contacted their families and close friends in Croatia: “We heard from each other at least twice a week.” Considering the nature of their work, they received the latest daily information from Croatia, which was not only official. They read the Croatian papers that arrived daily at the embassy, and they watched Croatian television. The children of those who had Croatian satellite TV enjoyed watching Croatian cartoons.

One particular example supporting the process of self-creation through interaction with objects concerns the letters that Nadija sent to her family and close friends. Nadija’s letters perfectly illustrate the importance, nature and the role of material objects in the in the *creation of personal transnational spaces*: “But I wrote a lot. Real, material letters, I corresponded with my sister, mother, father and my best friends, I had four people I was in touch with regularly.”

Making new friends at the location of the diplomatic posting is also very important with regard to constructing and maintaining a transnational space, especially given the fact that all of my informants even after their return to Croatia continue to contact and to communicate with the people whom they met abroad. They have kept their transnational friendships alive until today (i.e. the time of the interviews).

We even made some friendships. One of them [friends L.K.] calls me, sends me e-mails from Israel. She and her husband even came to stay permanently in Slovenia but she couldn’t find a job for over three years. Now she wants to come to Croatia so she called me and asked me if I could help her find a job.

Making new social connections abroad was also extremely important in creating a sense of stability in the place of their temporary location. After they formed their circle of friends, they established normality through community-based contacts and inclusion in social networks: “When I finally managed to get company, when I finally acquired friendships, everything became absolutely fantastic.” They all made their circle of friends not only among other diplomats, people from the embassy or Croatian clubs, but they also socialized with other foreigners, as well as natives.¹⁸ Children who attended international

¹⁸ Despite the fact that one of my interviewees even said that it was suggested to her that she should be aware of whom she hung out with, since she is diplomat, it was the case with all my interviewees that they created their circle of friends according to personal preference and inclination. Social, economic

schools mingled with children from all over the world. My interviewees and their spouses socialized with the parents of their children's peers as well. They remained in contact even after they returned to Croatia.

Yes we hang out a lot [with Slovaks; L.K.], and mostly through Luka, because he practiced judo there with the Slovaks, sometimes his judo club had a barbecue party, a whole day of fun, and we, the kids and everybody would hang out the whole day, so we made some friendships there, some have even visited us in Zagreb.¹⁹

The fact that my informants and their families did not socialize only with diplomats leads to the conclusion that despite of the specificity of their migration and their legal status, they were not a part of an enclave, did not live in some kind of a ghetto, or a hothouse – which are the usual metaphors for the nature of the spaces that higher-class expatriates create. They did not live in a “bubble”, as suggested by Fechter (2007). The bubble metaphor implies a suspended, self-contained world with its own microclimate – out of touch with the reality of the country of residence. That was not the case in the experiences of the transnational lives of my informants.

FAMILY AGREEMENT – “ACCOMPANYING WIVES”

As mentioned in the introduction, I chose to interview female diplomats because of their specific situation in the diplomatic milieu. Because of the legal restrictions, diplomats' spouses are unable to work and thus become “accompanying spouses”. Subsequently, diplomats' lives are more gender-segregated because of labour division restructuration. The spouses who cannot work are often assigned housekeeping tasks, childcare and generally the reproduction of the domestic sphere abroad. This situation primarily invokes the question of gender roles:

This is not just a problem in Croatia; there are many countries with the same situation and because of that there are fewer women than men in diplomacy. Because women give up on their careers more easily.

This gender division is reflected in the creation of women's organizations, such as international ladies clubs.²⁰ In those clubs they organize all kinds of activities and courses: language courses, cooking courses, book clubs, tea afternoons or coffee mornings, excursions etc.

or educational status could not be taken as criteria in the process of creating new social networks and friendships. It can be said that everybody mingled with everybody, even if they had been suggested the opposite.

¹⁹ Luka is Danijela's son.

²⁰ It should be noted that there are no men's clubs of this kind.

In Slovenia there is an organized women's association, not only for diplomats' wives but also for all unemployed women whose husbands work in various firms. This has been done precisely in order to make their lives easier in the new environment.

A lot of women, not just my interviewees, sacrificed their own professional and personal interests when following their husbands. They left their jobs, knowing that it was questionable whether they would be able to resume their careers after the tour of duty. That presented a big problem for them. While explaining their own career setback as a "family arrangement", they struggled with an undeniable sense of loss and frustration. Sawa Kurtoani (2007) cited similar examples describing Japanese women and their experience of transnational migration. Following their husbands to their job assignments in the US they were also not legally permitted to work, so they become housewives, and were faced with similar problems as the examples described in this study (see Kurotani 2007: 21).

It is very hard to adapt to things when you switch from an active life to another, completely different one. I had to put a lot of effort to organize my day. I studied a new language; I tried to meet new people from my [professional; L.K.] field, but with a lot of effort.

While being a diplomat's wife is usually perceived as high-class lifestyle, in the reality of everyday life these women became "accompanying wives". Very often they couldn't adapt to the new environment and their new role. All of my informants stated that for some women this situation was even impossible to maintain. These women were all highly educated, sophisticated and had successful careers, so for them to be an "accompanying wife" was hard to endure.

There were some women who were endlessly bored, they were amazingly capable and educated, but all of that was too difficult for them, they just couldn't last long.

I would argue that this is probably the case because those women did not want to live in some unreal or artificial world, in some improvised Disneyland (see Fetcher 2007). As diplomats' wives they were unable to work and thereby restrained in their self-expression and self-realization. By adopting the 'accompanying' identity they had to accept particular sets of rules regarding social ranking, dress codes and forms of socializing, like those in ladies clubs. However, some of them found themselves in some of the activities of ladies clubs and others found their interests somewhere else (e.g. attending seminars, public lectures or conferences in their own professional field), but some of those women, as described by Sanja, could not find fulfilment in the role of "accompanying wife".

You know, there were a lot of women who just stayed at home, dying from sorrow, grief ... they had no initial determination to join SILA [Slovenian International Ladies Association; L.K.], or they did just give up ... since that was my second tour

of duty I already recognized when someone had such problems, so I tried to help them pull out of that slump.

IMPLICATIONS OF “HIGHER CLASS”

“If class is based on occupation, depending on education and providing financial grounds for a certain standard of living” (Povrzanović Frykman 2008: 2), diplomats can be considered as members of the privileged class.

Undoubtedly [diplomatic migration; LK] has many advantages, as a diplomat you have a secure job, an apartment, you find it, but it was partially paid. You don't have any existential problems; you do not have that [emigrational; L.K.] struggle. If you go abroad to work you are a foreigner, you at least have to prove yourself and you have to fight. As a diplomat you are in a privileged position in many ways. I do not need a work permit; I don't have to wait in line for it. I do not have to extend it every year; I don't have to worry what is going to happen.

It was definitely much easier for me. O.K. Indonesia is pretty specific, but surely you don't have such privileges in Europe as we had in Indonesia, because as soon they noticed a diplomatic passport everything became much simpler. For instance, I could have waited in front of the airplane door when someone came to visit, literally in front of the airplane door.²¹ Small things like that made your life much nicer.

Diplomats have guaranteed jobs and they are entering a relatively safe environment about which they are well informed. They even have a specific legal status (diplomatic immunity) and their going away from home is compensated with a higher salary. However, none of my interviewees regarded themselves as “special” or “elite”.

Of course our migration is a privilege, especially for people on the outside it seems like something untouchable, something far away, exotic, but for us it is just a regular everyday job.

Despite all of the mitigating circumstances of diplomatic migration I would suggest that although diplomats belong to the class of privileged mobile professionals, diplomacy cannot be simply described and defined as a profession reserved for elite *workers* that promises a fast-track career and a high standard of living.²² Simply put, it is not as wonderful as it seems

²¹ For a better understanding of the advantages of privileged diplomatic passports compare Ovar Löfgren's article *The Nationalization of Anxiety* (1999), which describes the problems that “regular” travellers face at border crossings.

²² Karen F. Olwig and Angela Torresan discuss privileged travellers and privileged migration in a similar manner (Cf. Olwig 2007 and Torresan 2007).

That's a stereotype like any other. To everybody who says they would immediately go into diplomacy I say no, you wouldn't, because after few months you experience that pattern ... the ambassador goes to the same parties with the same people over and over again, and after some time it gets pretty boring.

My material poses a question that requires further investigation. As I mentioned earlier, the data that I have collected suggests that diplomatic migration is in many cases driven by economic reasons. Behind all that glamour visible from the outside, the living body of diplomacy does not consist only of the ambassador and the first attaché, but rather of many other officials who are in fact regular people with a traditionally elite vocation.

Yes, I knew, we were in this situation, mortgage and all, we were able to go abroad, therefore I think it is. I think that for the majority of people it is economic migration, at least it is for the people I talk to.

Therefore the further questioning of the importance of class background as the taken for granted explanatory framework of migrants' transnational practices is necessary.

NEW HOME ABROAD

As Mary Douglas (1991) noted, home is a "localizable idea". But it is also a kind of place that acquires meanings through practices and as such it forms part of the everyday process of the creation of the self as well as the family.

Our tendency, to move our lives to Bratislava completely, was perhaps because we didn't want to drag the children, or to make our lives chaotic. Bratislava is close enough for someone to say: ok, my summer wardrobe is here with me, and my winter wardrobe is in Zagreb. Because, in fact, I live in Zagreb, so I will travel on weekends. We didn't want that, we have moved completely, we said: we live here now; therefore we brought all of our stuff with us.

This example describes emplacement in a new environment. During the tour of duty, diplomats' families created a fully functioning home abroad – it wasn't just a space of temporary placement for them. However, they did not end all connections with Zagreb, they did not "eliminate" their Zagreb home, they rather remained in active contact with Zagreb (they contacted and visited friends and family regularly), keeping the transnational lives of their families dynamic. However, through these four years of diplomatic mandate they have organised their home somewhere else, in Bratislava, Rome, Copenhagen ... All five interviewees emphasised the importance of the creation of a fully functioning home abroad.

When returning from holiday, we used to say "let's go home" [to Bratislava; L.K.].

Because, you know, you go for a vacation for a few weeks, it passes in surroundings of family, friends, every time someone gets angry because he feels you didn't share enough time with him. Then you have to do some things you can't do over the phone, there is always some hustling around, so you just wait to return to your peace – let's go home.

In the process of *homemaking away from home*, the interplay of sociality and materiality was crucial – the reciprocity of experiences and memories become embodied and represented by objects that were carried to and fro, participating in the creation of transnational homes. While talking about their return from the diplomatic posting to Croatia, all of my research participants, without being asked, began to talk about items they brought with them back to Zagreb.

I brought a lot of stuff, but nothing useful really. Others brought furniture, sofas, something like that, something valuable. When I hear what other people have brought, it seems like I didn't bring anything, but actually I did: a chair, a carpet, mostly some works of art. After four years you collect so many things you can't really believe it.

We brought a lot of stuff [back to Croatia L.K.]. We bought a lot of souvenirs, their famous Ital porcelain, candle holders, Finns adore candles, the smell of candles ... but most of all I have souvenirs, I have a house full of it, and I brought things for my whole family. We brought smoke-dried salmon, and other food. We brought a lot of books, in Finnish, so he [their seven-year old son; L.K.] can keep up his language.

By bringing books in Finnish, Lana enabled her son to remain transnationality active. Not only by preserving linguistic competence but also by continuing to maintain the familiar atmosphere by through the use of objects which were part of the other environment – from their home abroad. However, those were the objects that her son was used to, things that are undoubtedly objects of his home.

Each of their tours of duty changes them. They experience new things, see different places and make new friendships: “When I returned I felt sad, because in three years I gained some beautiful friendships. It was the hardest to leave the people, not so much the country, but the people.” When your job is *to be a perpetual migrant* you have to learn how to leave something or somebody behind, but that does not preclude the manifold possibilities for keeping in touch, transnationally.

I'm preparing for a new posting now, and I'm going to miss it for sure. I'll miss my friends here, definitely, because we have such a good time. At some point I will miss that, just like I miss some things from Rome right now.

CONCLUSION

Keeping the transnational space active is the essence of diplomacy. Because of that, diplomacy migration provides an excellent foundation for a grounded theory regarding the creation of transnational spaces. “International mobile *elites* are often pointed to as the embodiment of the new transnational world” (Favell 2003: 399). However, it is important to emphasize the importance of distinguishing transnationality from the private modes. Based on the transnational practices of women in diplomacy interviewed in this study, I claim that the notion that such professionals as diplomats lead “borderless lives” and that they do not represent “culturally interchangeable citizens of the world” does not apply in the cases examined here. They are privileged but their lives are also, as much as any other migrants, significantly affected by boundaries, especially those determining *homemaking*.

Describing the efforts of five women in diplomacy in the process of *homemaking away from home*, I assumed a notion of home as created and continuously modified through individuals’ practices and through the presence of objects. The objects they brought with them abroad played an important role in the process of their own personal *creation of transnational spaces*. They were important because of personal attachments, practical usefulness, or the ‘everydayness’ of their presence in a person’s life (see Povrzanović Frykman 2008). They ensured a continuity of various practices and places and also of a feeling of “being at home”.

However, as it is pointed out in the article, diplomats’ lives are gender-segregated due to labour division restructuring. Any exploration of objects of material use that are used to construct a home abroad is thus a highly gendered discussion. Moreover, constructing domesticity and a sense of home is very much a “women’s task”, both at the ideological level and at the level of everyday life. Therefore, at the end I find it important to mention that Danijela’s husband, the only man who was the accompanying spouse of a woman diplomat among my interviewees, was also responsible for the “reproduction of the domestic sphere” abroad.

This detail raises the question whether women diplomats assume such responsibility (of *homemaking*) to the same extent as those that are accompanying spouses? Since these are not questions that can be answered in this article, they could be discussed as possible focus points for further field research of gender and power relations in such families.

By bringing newly acquired personal family belongings back to Croatia, the women I interviewed maintained the continuity of their personal and family history and identity, now also incorporating other elements, originating in places where they were on diplomatic duty. Objects, memories, and experiences were added to the personal and family histories, situating people in transnational contexts of personal experiences, and, often, of prolonged contact with people and places in other countries.

In the cases presented here, homes are created in different places on the basis of material elements as well as memories originating in very different places. The fact that the diplomats have to change the location of their homes relatively often opens up an especially interesting field of research of home as a steady point of reference in the search

for meaning, a starting point for the journey of self-creation (see Petridou 2001). In this paper, I have explored the material things involved in that journey. When we focus on the personal level, questioning how women in diplomacy experience migration, we come to the conclusion that to recognize the multifaceted experiences and practices involved in creating transnational spaces the attention should be shifted to the *conditions established by migration* and less on peoples' social status in the country of migration.

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POVZETEK

ŽENSKÉ V DIPLOMACIJI IN NJIHOVE ZASEBNE TRANSNACIONALNE PRAKSE

Lucija Katulić

Diplomati poklicno predstavljajo zelo specifično skupino v kontekstu transnacionalnih migrantov. Življenjski slog diplomatov narekuje pogosto premikanje preko nacionalnih meja in tako vključuje nenehne prakse transnacionalnega potovanja ljudi in predmetov. Diplomatske migracije tako nudijo izvrstno osnovo za temeljno teorijo o ustvarjanju

transnacionalnih prostorov. Članek obravnava ženske v diplomaciji skozi opise njihovih izkušenj z antropološkega vidika transnacionalnih praks migrantov.

Ta študija je v prvi meri etnografska. V raziskavi je bilo udeleženih pet diplomatk, s katerimi so bili večkrat opravljeni intervjuji v maju in juniju leta 2008. Vse osebe so bile Hrvatice, v starosti med tridesetim in štiridesetim letom, z visoko izobrazbo, vendar so bile med njimi razlike glede na družinske, nastanitvene in karijerne razmere, glede zanimanj in osebnih pogledov na svet. Zbrane podatke je glede na te specifične življenjske razmere mogoče med seboj primerjati, pri čemer je poudarek na podobnostih in razlikah v njihovih izkušnjah.

Čeprav mnoge antropološke raziskave obravnavajo vlogo žensk v različnih oblikah migracij, so razmere za ženske v diplomaciji zelo specifične. Po hrvaški zakonodaji soprogu ali soprogi diplomata ni dovoljeno delati v državi začasne nastavitve. Zato mora zapustiti službo in začasno prekiniti kariero. Soprogi/e, ki ne morejo delati, pogosto prevzamejo gospodinjska opravila, skrbijo za otroke in na splošno za domače okolje. Posledično so življenja diplomatov bolj spolno segregirana zaradi prerazporeditve delitve dela med spoloma.

Druga neizogibna značilnost diplomacije je v naprej določeno trajanje nastavitve, ki ni stvar pogajanj. Čeprav je zelo natančno določen čas bivanja v tujini eden izmed najbolj pomembnih pogojev antropološkega raziskovanja transnacionalnih praks migrantov, je bila ta raziskava prvenstveno usmerjena v preučevanje transnacionalnih praks žensk v diplomaciji. Prakse vključujejo prizadevanja po ustanovitvi in vzdrževanju vsakodnevene normalnosti po njihovi lastni izbiri v kraju njihovega začasnega bivanja. To je bilo deloma doseženo skozi materialne objekte, ki so jih ženske prinesle v državo, kamor so bile poslane.

Predmeti, ki so jih udeleženke raziskave odnesle v tujino, so imeli pomembno vlogo v procesu njihovega osebnega *ustvarjanja transnacionalnih prostorov*. Pomembni so bili zaradi osebnih vezi, praktične uporabnosti, ali »vsakdanjosti«, ki so jo predstavljali v življenju posamezne osebe. S prenašanjem osebne lastnine s simbolno vrednostjo v kraje, ki so bili štiri leta njihovi realni domovi, ali s tem, ko so predmete prinesle kot darilo prijateljem domov, so diplomatke – skozi te objekte – vzdrževale občutek nepretrganosti različnih praks in krajev kot tudi občutek »biti doma«.

Prizadevanja *narediti dom stran od doma* na primeru petih diplomatk, ki so sodelovale v tej raziskavi, je mogoče razumeti kot njihova osebna *ustvarjanja transnacionalnih prostorov*. Namen te raziskave je bil bolje razumeti, kako te ženske *ustvarjajo transnacionalne prostore* v zasebnih in javnih sferah. V tukaj predlagani analizi zasebna sfera vključuje sfero »doma«. V kontekstu te raziskave je dom prostor živete izkušnje – empirična in izkušnjska kategorija, ki pridobiva pomene skozi prakse. Za opis tega procesa avtorica uporablja izraz *ustvarjanje doma* kot kombinacijo praks, skozi katere prebivalci obdržijo občutek zgodovine in identitete. Dejstvo, da se vseh pet informantk in njihove družine niso družili izključno z drugimi diplomati, vodi z vidika javne sfere do zaključka, da kljub specifičnosti njihove migracije in njihovega pravnega statusa diplomati niso del enklave.

Glede na to, da je diplomacija opredeljena kot poklic z visokim ekonomskim in

družbenim statusom, ta raziskava preusmerja pozornost z manj privilegiranih na različno privilegirane transnacionalne migrante. Toda na podlagi transnacionalnih praks žensk, s katerimi so bili opravljeni intervjuji, avtorica članka ugotavlja, da imajo meje znaten vpliv tudi na življenje diplomatov, zlasti na *delanje doma*, in to kljub dejstvu, da gre za privilegirane migrante.

Namen tega članka ni teoretični diskurz, temveč opis procesa osebnega ustvarjanja transnacionalnih prostorov. Znani materialni objekti so diplomatkam in njihovim družinam olajšali nastanitev v novem okolju in istočasno pomagali pri vzdrževanju nepretrganosti njihovih zasebnih in družinskih zgodovin in identitete. V procesu *ustvarjanja doma stran od doma* je imelo ključno vlogo prepletanje družbenosti in materialnosti – vzajemnost izkušenj in spominov je postala utelešena in predstavljena z objekti, ki so jih prenašale sem in tja, in ki so tako sodelovali v ustvarjanju transnacionalnih domov.

K N J I Ź N E O C E N E

B O O K R E V I E W S

Janja Žitnik Serafin, Večkulturna Slovenija. Položaj migrantske književnosti in kulture v slovenskem prostoru, Založba ZRC, Ljubljana, 2008, 314 str.

Delo znanstvene svetnice na Inštitutu za slovensko izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU dr. Janje Žitnik Serafin z naslovom *Večkulturna Slovenija* in podnaslovom *Položaj migrantske književnosti in kulture v slovenskem prostoru* obravnava nekatera izrazito aktualna vprašanja slovenske izseljenske in priseljske problematike. V središču avtoričinega zanimanja sta predvsem vprašanji, kako lahko plodnejše medsebojno povezovanje slovenskih izseljencev v različnih delih sveta, zlasti povezovanje na področju njihove kulturne in umetniške ustvarjalnosti, pripomore k nadaljnjemu ohranjanju njihove narodne in kulturne zavesti ter kakšno vlogo lahko pri tem odigra posodobitev strategij Republike Slovenije na področju krepitve vezi s slovenskimi izseljenci. Delo uveljavljene in priznane raziskovalke vprašanj slovenskega izseljenstva, predvsem pa izseljenske književnosti, ne odraža samo avtoričinega izredno temeljitega in podrobnega poznavanja obravnavane problematike, temveč tudi njeno poudarjeno osebno angažiranost na vseh strateških področjih, ki jih vključuje njena obravnava.

Izredno obsežno in temeljito znanstveni delo, namenjeno vprašanjem migrantske književnosti, sestoji iz dveh temeljnih delov: problematike slovenske izseljenske književnosti in problematike književnosti priseljencev v Slovenijo. Razdeljeno je na več temeljnih poglavij, ki dejansko predstavljajo monografije v malem. Avtorica je obe vprašanji, od katerih je vprašanje slovenske izseljenske književnosti vsekakor dlje časa prisotno v slovenskih znanstvenih krogih, predstavila ne zgolj iz literarno zgodovinskega, ampak tudi iz širših socioloških in drugih vidikov.

V uvodnem poglavju je strnjeno in pregledno povzela tako predmet svojih v monografiji objavljenih raziskav kot dosedanje študije obravnavanih vprašanj, teoretska izhodišča, metodološka in terminološka pojasnila (med njimi narod, etnična skupnost, migracije, priseljenec, zdomec, zamejec) ter opredelila ustreznost oziroma neustreznost nekaterih danes zelo »vročih« pojmov, zlasti novih oziroma »novih« manjšin, jezikovne in kulturne integracije ter gostiteljske družbe oziroma države.

Naslednje poglavje, kot že omenjeno monografija v malem, obravnava položaj slovenske izseljenske književnosti v matičnem slovenskem prostoru zlasti z vidikov njene razpoznavnosti, obsega in kvalitete, njenega razvoja in njenih najpomembnejših piscev. Opredeli vlogo slovenske izseljenske književnosti v matični slovenski kulturi, njeno (ne) vključenost v slovensko literarno zgodovino in posledično tudi (ne)vključenost in neprepoznavnost v učnem načrtu matičnega slovenskega šolstva.

Kot je znano, smo bili Slovenci skozi svojo zgodovino pretežno narod izseljencev in slovensko ozemlje področje pretežnega izseljevanja. Šele v najnovjšem času postaja slovensko ozemlje področje priseljevanja, zlasti s prostora bivše skupne jugoslovanske države. Naslednje poglavje, posvečeno književnemu delu in položaju priseljskih avtorjev v slovenski kulturi, je prispevala zunanja sodelavka Inštituta za slovensko izseljenstvo

literarna zgodovinarica - komparativistka dr. Lidija Dimkovska in tako tezi o knjigi kot vrsti monografij v malem dodala še dodaten argument.

Najobsežnejše poglavje v knjigi je posvečeno prikazu kulturnega položaja priseljencev v Slovenijo in njihovih potomcev. Nastal je na podlagi odgovorov v anketi, razposlani na 67 priseljskih društev, na katero je odgovorilo 156 pripadnikov prve priseljske generacije in 90 njihovih potomcev. Med obravnavanimi temami v poglavju so vprašanja vezi priseljencev z njihovimi kulturnimi društvi, »neslovenstvo«, slovenski stereotipi o priseljskih, jezikovno (ne)prilagajanje, jezikovna in kulturna nestrpnost ter priseljska izkušnja v luči integracijskih načel, verska vprašanja, vprašanja (ne)enakopravnosti na različnih področjih življenja, od zaposlovanja, politične dejavnosti, socialnih pravic do udeležbe v kulturnem življenju.

Posebno poglavje je posvečeno vprašanjem procesa enakopravne jezikovne in kulturne integracije priseljskih skupnosti v Sloveniji, dinamiki kulturnega življenja priseljskih skupnosti, statističnega prikaza literarne in publicistične dejavnosti slovenskih izseljencev v ZDA ter predvojnih in povojnih slovenskih izseljencev v Argentini, vodikom literarne dvojezičnosti, mejam nacionalne književnosti ter njeni koncentrični shemi v okviru nacionalne kulture.

Avtorica knjige si v monografiji med vrsto drugih upravičeno zastavlja vprašanje, kakšne so poti k enakopravnejši integraciji slovenskega izseljskega leposlovnega in drugega kulturno-umetniškega ustvarjanja v skupno kulturno dediščino slovenske književnosti in kulture. V to dediščino sodi tudi izseljska književnost ne glede na to, ali je objavljena v slovenščini ali v prevladujočem jeziku nove domovine. V tem sklopu in za primerjavo avtorica obravnava vprašanje kulturnega položaja priseljencev v Sloveniji, še zlasti pa položaj priseljskih piscev in drugih priseljskih umetnikov ter njihove dvojne kulturne vpetosti, v kateri je mogoče najti celo vrsto paralel s položajem (tudi dvojezičnih in tujejezičnih) slovenskih izseljskih književnikov, umetnikov in kulturnih delavcev.

Avtorica odklanja zavračanje vključevanja tujejezičnega leposlovnega dela in drugih »besednih kulturnih dejavnosti« v korpus slovenske nacionalne književnosti in kulture kot neproduktivno, saj je jezikovna pripadnost matičnemu narodu le eden od dejavnikov narodne in kulturne identitete, ki pa nikakor ni odločilen. Trdi prav ravno nasprotno: svobodna izbira jezika literarne in kulturne komunikacije zagotavlja pri drugi in tretji generaciji izseljencev boljše možnosti za ohranjanje in nadaljnji razvoj slovenske izseljske kulturne dediščine.

Avtorica poudarja, da v tujih jezikih objavljena literarna dela izseljskih piscev pomembno prispevajo k mednarodnemu prodoru njihovih matičnih kultur in tradicij. Z vrednotenjem in prevajanjem teh del v matični jezik ter z njihovo integracijo v matično književnost in kulturo se krepijo vezi med nosilci narodove kulture znotraj in zunaj njenih teritorialnih in jezikovnih meja, s tem pa seveda tudi sama narodova kultura. Na drugi strani pa se s tovrstnimi vezmi tudi pri potomcih izseljencev krepi njihova izvorna narodna in kulturna identiteta, ki se še naprej prenaša iz generacije v generacijo.

Janja Žitnik Serafin je kot prodorna raziskovalka dolga leta pod imenom Janja Žitnik objavljala svoja dela s področja slovenske izseljske literarne in kulturne zgodovine. Njena

bibliografija obsega prek dvesto bibliografskih enot z opaznim deležem objav v tujini. V slovenskih humanističnih krogih se je uveljavila s svojimi štirimi samostojnimi monografijami o slovenskem izseljenskem pisatelju Louisu Adamiču, še bolj pa kot pobudnica in nosilka projekta *Slovenska izseljenska književnost* in kot glavna urednica osrednjega rezultata tega projekta, ki je izšel pod istim naslovom v treh obsežnih knjigah. Prav s tem delom je vzbudila zanimanje učiteljev in raziskovalcev slovenskega jezika, literature in kulture ter živahen odziv širše slovenske kulturne javnosti tako v matičnem prostoru kot v izseljenskih skupnostih po svetu.

Znanstvena monografija dr. Janje Žitnik Serafin *Večkulturna Slovenija. Položaj migrantske književnosti in kulture v slovenskem prostoru* predstavlja obsežno, celovito obravnavo tu orisane slovenske izseljenske in priseljenske problematike tako na področju književnosti kot kulture v širših razsežnostih. Odlikuje se po sistematični zgradbi, koherentni, zaokroženi vsebini in poudarku na uporabnosti. Ob nedvomni znanstveni prepričljivosti in kompletni znanstveni opremi, v katero je vključenih kar 25 strani temeljitih seznamov uporabljenih virov in literature, razdeljenih v poglavja Tiskane objave, Spletni viri, Drugi viri in Leposlovje ter Imensko kazalo, pa je knjiga tudi izrazito berljiva, saj je njen jezik živ, jasen in nazoren.

Andrej Vovko

Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik in Jernej Mlekuž (ur.), Krila migracij: po meri življenjskih zgodb, Založba ZRC (zbirka Migrantke), Ljubljana, 2009, 249 str.

Kdo so ženske, ki so pred pol stoletja strmele v oddaljujočo domačo obalo, ko so z ladjo odhajale v Francijo, v Aleksandrijo ali pa preko oceana v Ameriko? Zakaj so odhajale? Kakšne strahove in kakšne upe so imele?

Na takšna in podobna vprašanja poskuša odgovoriti sedem raziskovalk in raziskovalcev v knjigi z naslovom *Krila migracij: Po meri življenjskih zgodb*. Prispevki se osredotočajo na življenjske izkušnje in usode migrantk, delavk, mater in žena, gospodinjskih pomočnic in dojlj na tujem ter ukrajinskih, ruskih priseljenk in pokritih muslimank v Sloveniji. Zgodbe oz. prispevke sta povezala in uredila Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik ter Jernej Mlekuž. Delo je izšlo pri založbi Migrantke, na Inštitutu za slovensko izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU v Ljubljani leta 2009.

Že v uvodu objavljeni osebni zgodbi obeh urednikov – *storija none* in *otroške varuške* – napovedujeta vsebinski ter metodološki horizont zbornika z osrednjim raziskovalnim vprašanjem: kako približati posameznice oz. njihove izkušnje javnosti ter jih zapisati v zgodovinski in družbeni spomin.

Poudarek pri tem je prav na zgodbah posameznic, ki niso obravnavane kot predstavnice homogenih kategorij migrantk, žensk, Slovenk, Ukrajink, gospodinjskih pomočnic, dekel ali pokritih muslimank, temveč so akterke z *lastnim načinom razmišljanja, vrednotenja in obnašanja* (Strle: 89). Pri srečanju migrantk z večinskim prebivalstvom torej ne gre le za srečanje priseljenk ali industrijskih delavk in menedžerjev, temveč zelo raznolikih ljudi, ki so se razlikovali glede na svetovne nazore, ideološka prepričanja in ne le po uveljavljenih kategorizacijah etničnosti, razreda in spola (Milharčič Hladnik: 33).

Takšna analitična izhodišča so pomembna za razumevanje preteklih migracijskih procesov in tudi sodobnosti, saj kljubujejo (še vedno) prevladujočim stereotipom in razširjenim predstavam o navalu brezimnih, brezobraznih ali brezspolnih migrantov.

Relevantno je izpostaviti, da se avtorji ne sprašujejo o (pretekli niti sodobni) resnici, temveč o tem, kaj specifične izkušnje posameznicam pomenijo ter kakšne pomene jim pripisujejo. V ospredju je perspektiva, iz katere govori posameznica; se pravi razumevanje okolja in okoliščin, v katerih je živela oz. živi še danes. Ravno na ta vidik perspektive je opozorila tudi ena izmed sogovornic, Stanka, ki je v 50-ih letih prejšnjega stoletja odšla v Kanado: »*Poskusi se postaviti v mojo kožo,*« je spregovorila avtorici prispevka; »*bila sem mlada in doma nisem želela ostati.*« (Strle: 101).

Ženske so odhajale zaradi različnih razlogov; želele so se pridružiti možu ali pa so domači kraj zapustile zaradi lastnih ambicij, zaradi zaslužka (pogosto predvsem z razlogom rešiti kmetijo ali prispevati k družinskemu gospodinjstvu), ker so v tujino »hodila vsa druga dekleta v vasi«, »ker se je šlo, da se je kej vidlo« (Mlekuž: 131) oz. zaradi vsakega od naštetega po malo.

Prispevki avtorjev so razdeljeni v tri tematske sklope z naslovi *Življenje, kot so ga pisale*, *O glasu lepih Vid* in *One, ki jim ne vemo imen*. Večina prispevkov obravnava

migracijske izkušnje skozi prizmo družinskih odnosov – preko pisne korespondence, intervjujev ali pogovorov z ljudmi.

Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik na podlagi pisne družinske korespondence predstavi odhod in življenje Pepice (iz Jelšan) ter njene družine v prvi polovici 20. stoletja v Clevelandu. Marjan Drnovšek analizira pisma, ki jih je Francka z Gorenjske med letoma 1929 in 1931 pisala svojemu možu na Nizozemsko. Analizi pisne korespondence kažeta na čustvena doživljanja tako tistih, ki so odšli, kot tistih, ki so ostali. Migrantska izkušnja namreč zajame tudi tiste, ki so ostali doma. Zgodbe so bile seveda namenjene specifični publikli: bratu, sestri, mami ali pa možu in tako pisma preveva čustveni naboj ter hrepenenje po novem snidenju.

Pri analizi pisemske korespondence ne gre le za spoznavanje doživljanja novega okolja, ampak tudi za naravo družinskih odnosov: čustveno predanost, hrepenenje, osamljenost, skrb, a hkrati tudi za pomisleke in negotovosti, v primeru korespondence žene z možem tudi zaradi zvestobe zakonskega partnerja. V pismih se srečujemo z družbenimi vrednotami, s socialnimi vlogami moških in žensk, ki pa so se v marsikaterem primeru zaradi odhoda enega od zakoncev morale redefinirati. Pri Pepici je ohranjena družinska korespondenca z več strani, medtem ko je analiza odnosov med Francko in možem nastala na podlagi Franckinih pisem.

Prvi tematski sklop zaključuje Urška Sterle z življenjsko zgodbo Stanke, ki se je kot mlado 19 letno dekle leta 1951 odločilo za prebeg preko Italije v Kanado. Prispevek je zasnovala na podlagi intervjujev in pogovorov s Stanko ter njenimi sorodniki.

V drugem sklopu so v ospredju ženske (»lepe Vide«), ki so odšle delat na tuje (iz Beneške Slovenije v Italijo ali Aleksandrinke iz Vipavske doline, Goriškega in Tržaškega v Egipt); opisan je odnos lokalnega okolja do njih ter njihove izkušnje, pogledi in pripovedi.

Jernej Mlekuž se osredotoči na odhajanje mladih deklet, ki so se kot gospodinjske pomočnice zaposlile v Italiji v prvi polovici 20. stoletja, in na konstruiranje njihovih podobo v lokalnem okolju. Katja Škrj izpostavi Aleksandrinke: odnos javnosti do žensk, ki so kot dovilje, varuške, pomočnice, spremljevalke ali služkinje odhajale v Egipt, njihove podobe ter njihove osebne izkušnje.

Mlada dekleta so se v novem okolju soočala z različnimi problemi zaradi nepoznavanja jezika ali tehnoloških novitet (kot na primer niso znale uporabljati telefona ali električnih likalnikov). Delo na tujem pa je vendar pogosto odpiralo življenjske perspektive in s tem tudi nove možnosti. Vrnitev v lokalno domače okolje je za marsikatero žensko pomenilo novo stresno izkušnjo: tujih jezikov, ki so se jih naučile, v domačem okolju niso več potrebovale, zaradi navad, ki so jih prevzele iz meščanskega sveta, pa so v vaškem okolju izstopale.

Zgodbe migrantk, gospodinjskih pomočnic in dekel opozarjajo na socialne mreže in vezi, ki so jih ženske spletle med seboj. Pri tem ne gre le za strategije ekonomskega preživetja temveč tudi za širjenje razumevanja in pomena družine. Ko je Johana kot dovilja odšla v Egipt, je svoje otroke zaupala sosedu. V tem primeru ni šlo le za ekonomsko rešitev in medsosedsko pomoč, temveč za redefinirano razumevanje družine: soseda je namreč

postala družinska članica (Škrlj: 162). Pomene in podobe družine so spreminjale tudi vezi in navezanosti med dojiljami in njenimi »otroci po mleku« (otroci, ki jih je dojila) oz. »brati in sestrami po mleku« (vezi med otroci, ki jih je dojila).

Življenjske zgodbe pričajo o negotovostih in dilemah, s katerimi so se srečevale posameznice v vsakdanjem življenju: po eni strani z željo po spoznavanju novega in avanturizmu, po drugi s strahom pred zapustitvijo ter žalostjo. Čeprav so se ženske preselile v neznano in kulturno drugačno okolje (ne le v drugo državo, ponavadi tudi iz ruralnega v urbano okolje), so v novih okoljih pogosto že živeli znanci, sosedge ali sovaščani. Socialne mreže sorodnikov, znancev, sosedov ali sovaščanov so se izkazale pomembne v več primerih. V migrantske procese je — kot kažejo vsi avtorji — vedno vključenih več ljudi. Preko družinskih mrež so dekleta našla delo v Italiji ali Aleksandriji. Stanka in njen bodoči mož sta se sredi prejšnjega stoletja odločila za življenje v mestu Edmonton v Kanadi na podlagi informacij in priporočil njenih dobrih prijateljev, ki sta tam že živela. Ker pogosto v preteklosti v številnih državah ni bilo nobenih skladov in pomoči za priseljence, so bili le ti večinoma prepuščeni sami sebi. Zato so bile lokalne ekonomije in socialne mreže toliko bolj pomembne.

Z oblikovanjem socialnih mrež, infrastrukture (slovenske šole, kulturni dom in cerkev v Clevelandu) in razvojem lokalnih (tudi neformalnih) mikroekonomij so se v novem okolju širili tradicionalni podeželski kodeksi. Prihajalo je do prilagajanja, predvsem pa do pogajanja med novim, starim, drugačnim in pa podobnim načinom življenja. Ženske so živele več vlog, z več identitetami, jeziki, domovi, domovinami, v več socialnih okoljih, ne da bi katerega koli ovrgle, zamenjale ali zapustile (Milharčič Hladnik: 24).

Posledic migracij niso čutile le migrantke, temveč tudi sorodniki v Sloveniji, ki so se preko pisem srečevali z drugačnim načinom življenja. Prejemali so pakete z darili ali pa devize. Otroci, ki so jih v Egiptu dojile ženske z Vipavske, Goriškega ali Tržaškega, so se spoznavali z otroškimi pesmimi in uspavankami v slovenščini, otroci doma pa z arabskimi poštevankami.

Glas o lepih Vidah pa je dejansko glas oblasti, tisti najbolj glasen, ki je ženske na delu v tujini obtoževal ter jih predstavljal v luči »moralnega in fizičnega propada«: glas cerkve, medijev, znanosti, vsemogočnih posameznikov ali skupin (Mlekuž: 121, 122). Oblastnemu glasu — *pa čeprav nekaj stoletij kasneje* — odgovarjajo avtorji ravno z zgodbami in izkušnjami posameznic ter mu tako preprečujejo, »da bi živel kot edina resnica« (Mlekuž: 125).

To, da ne odgovarjamo le »za nazaj«, ampak se na glas oblasti odzivamo tudi danes, poudarita Sanja Cukut in Špela Kalčič. Problematičnih reprezentacij v javnosti ni konec. Na njihovo razširjenost in posledično diskriminacijo opozarja ena od sogovornic Sanje Cukut: »Napišite kaj lepega o nas. Ljudje mislijo, da so vse Ukrajinke in Rusinje iste.« (Cukut: 193) Z empiričnim gradivom o migrantkah nekdanje SZ v Sloveniji Cukutova izpostavlja nevarnosti esencializacije migrantskih skupin. Termina Ukrajinka in Rusinja sta glavna označevalca seksualizirane pasivne žrtve trgovine z ljudmi. Stereotipi so esencializirani in ženske reducirajo na prostitutke, t.i. neveste po pošti ali eksotične plesalke. Te ženske so prikazane kot žrtve, a hkrati naj bi same ogrožale družbeno skupnost.

Zgodbe o migrantkah – kot kažejo različni primeri v knjigi – se skozi čas niso dosti spremenile. Odločitve ljudi niso le produkt racionalnega. Podobno kot v preteklih primerih tudi v sodobnosti ne gre razmišljati o migracijah le v ozkih okvirih ekonomskih razlogov. Migracijski proces oblikujejo ter preoblikujejo socialni in kulturni konteksti: tudi želja po pridobivanju izkušenj in nečesa novega.

Prispevki zajamejo več ravni: osebno, družbeno, lokalno in globalno. Avtorji postavljajo življenjske zgodbe, usode in izkušnje posameznic v okvir družbeno političnih prostorskih specifik ter opozarjajo na družbene procese, dinamiko in odnose. Gre za zgodbe, ki ne prinašajo črno-belo obarvanih »velikih« uradnih zgodovin, temveč z različnimi odtenki, intonacijami in protislovji ravno nasprotujejo takšnim »velikim resnicam« in enoznačnostim. Pri raziskovanju družbenih zgodb in zgodovin je pomembno upoštevati protislovja, saj nam ravno analize vsakdanjega življenja kažejo, da ljudje delujemo protislovno in da »dejanja niso vedno v soglasju z našimi idejami, ideali, pričakovanji okolice in realnimi možnostmi« (Strle: 114).

S knjigo *Krila migracij* se iz brezimnih in brezspolnih množic zarisujejo konkretne individualne in družinske zgodbe, teorija in zgodovina migracij pa dobivata vpogled v dinamiko procesov, socialno organiziranost migrantov, heterogenost, predvsem pa v različna pogajanja, do katerih je prihajalo in prihaja med različnimi interpretacijami ter razumevanji v vsakdanjem življenju.

Z natančnim terenskim opazovanjem tudi zgodba o pokrivanju muslimank v Sloveniji ni več enoznačna. Z analizo muslimanskih oblačilnih praks na Jesenicah postavi Špela Kalčič ruto za simbol, ki ga napolnjujejo raznovrstne konotacije. Pokrivanje žensk je potrebno obravnavati v specifičnih kontekstih tudi v smislu vidnega upora nekaterih Bošnjakinj, ki se poskušajo distancirati od poniževalnih pripisov večinskega prebivalstva. Takšen »identitetni aktivizem« spremljajo različne interpretacije, med drugimi tiste, ki rute ne razlagajo v strogem verskem smislu. Ženske se svojim načinom oblačenja dejansko »ne skrivajo in zakrivajo«, temveč se »razkazujejo«, saj v večinsko nemuslimanskem okolju v Sloveniji dokazujejo, da so muslimanke. Odpoved ruti torej v takšnih primerih ne gre tolmačiti kot odpoved verski dogmi, temveč svoji samopodobi in identiteti (Kalčič: 243, 244).

V ospredju knjige je empirično gradivo, ki pa ga raziskovalke in raziskovalci nevsiljeno umestijo v teoretske analitične kontekste sodobnih konstruktivističnih teorij, kjer so identitete obravnavane v smislu večplastnosti, hibridnosti in fluidnosti. Osrednje pozornosti so deležna tudi prevpraševanja metodoloških dilem. Refleksija različnih pozicij v knjigi namreč ne zajame le položajev gospodinjskih pomočnic, »dikl«, lepih Vid ali pokritih mladenk, temveč tudi avtorjev samih. Metodološki pomisleki pa se razlikujejo glede na različne metode dela. Vsaka izmed metod izpostavlja specifične dileme, etična in moralna vprašanja: ali objaviti intimna pisma med ženo Francko in njenim možem, ki so bila kupljena na boljšem trgu, kako preučevati in pripovedovati življenjske zgodbe sorodnikov, kako se soočiti z odklonilno reakcijo sogovornikov na terenu zaradi negativne medijske reprezentiranosti.

Med metodološkimi dilemami pa gre največ pozornosti vprašanju raziskovanja

življenjskih zgodb, spominov in pripovedi. Prispevki se na dileme različno odzivajo, nekateri problem izpostavijo pogosteje, drugi redkeje. To verjetno kaže na različno uveljavljenost – reflektiranje, problematiziranje, priznavanje in samo vključevanje – življenjskih zgodb, ustne zgodovine, terenskega dela v različnih disciplinah. Knjiga je namreč zastavljena interdisciplinarno in lahko bi rekli, da združuje različne akademske tradicije etnologije, antropologije in zgodovine.

Vsako pripovedovanje, interpretiranje kot tudi poslušanje je vedno družbeno umeščeno, vključeno v kulturno specifično mrežo pomenov (v katero so ujeti tudi raziskovalci). Seveda gre torej za zgodbe, v katerih nastopajo igralci, pripovedovalci, interpreti ali prevajalci in poslušalci. V tem primeru se mi zato ne zdi tako pomembno spraševanje o objektivnem in subjektivnem (v humanistiki in družboslovju vendar ne more biti več razmišljanja o objektivnem, nevtralnem načinu pisanja in reprezentiranja sveta!), ampak poudarek, da gre pri naracijskih tehnikah za pripovedne konstrukcije ljudi o preteklosti, kar zajame tudi proces spominjanja. To je proces, ki se odvija, oblikuje in preoblikuje v specifičnih kontekstih – v konkretnih situacijah in relacijah. Čeprav gre za zgodbe o preteklosti, se spomini oblikujejo *tukaj in zdaj*. Pripovedi pa so konstrukcije (performensi), ki strukturirajo izkušnje prav na poseben način (Mlekuž: 124).

Pri tem je relevantno tudi razmišljanje o političnih implikacijah zgodb »brezimnih«, »skritih« in »zakritih«, na katerega opozorijo posamezni avtorji. Ideja knjige ni v tem, da bi z zgodbami, izkušnjami posameznic iskali bakle upora, s katerimi bi jasno in glasno odgovarjali takšnim ali drugačnim trdnopribitostim (Mlekuž: 10). Kot že rečeno, analize življenjskih zgodb in izkušenj kažejo ravno nasprotno in nas opozarjajo, da moramo razmišljati izven okvirov enodimenzionalnega in enoznačnega. Pa vendar se pri reprezentiranju Drugega – četudi ne govorimo eksplicitno – vedno pojavlja vprašanje za oz. v imenu koga govorimo, kar se navezuje na problematiko političnih in etičnih odgovornosti. Zgodbe knjige *Krila migracij* tako neizbežno nosijo emancipacijski in politični naboj.

Knjiga predstavlja novost in enkratni poskus, kako v prihodnosti ne le misliti o migracijah, temveč tudi o identitetah, o zgodovinskem spominu ali družinskih relacijah, mikro ekonomijah, različnih strategijah preživetja tistih, ki so odšli, tistih, ki so prišli, ali tistih, ki so ostali. Z analizo življenjskih zgodb, pisne korespondence med brati in sestrami, hčerami, sinovi in materami ali pa ženo in možem, terenskih zapisov ali intervjujev spoznavamo različne miselne in čustvene horizonte (svetove), hkrati pa odpiramo nova raziskovalna vprašanja. To ni le knjiga, ki z vsebino posega na številna področja družboslovnega in humanističnega analitičnega pisanja, demitizira in ruši enoznačne stereotipe, temveč nas tudi užalosti in nasmeje, ne daje le misliti, temveč tudi občutiti. Zato to ni le knjiga, ki naj jo primeta v roke raziskovalka in raziskovalec življenjskih ali ustnih zgodb, zgodovin, migracij, spolov, identitetnih procesov ipd., temveč tudi katerikoli drug znanstveni ali »neznanstveni« človek, saj je izredno berljiva, za kar poskrbijo tudi pripovedovalke same s svojimi izkušnjami, jezikom, s svojimi dikcijami in pogledi.

Nina Vodopivec

NAVODILA AVTORJEM ZA PRIPRAVO PRISPEVKOV ZA DVE DOMOVINI / TWO HOMELANDS

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Revija *Dve domovini / Two Homelands* je namenjena objavi znanstvenih in strokovnih člankov, poročil, razmišljanj in knjižnih ocen s področja migracij. Revija, ki izhaja od leta 1990, je večdisciplinarna in večjezična. Letno izideta dve številki v tiskani in elektronski obliki na svetovnem spletu (<http://isi.zrc-sazu.si/?q=node/436>). Članki so objavljeni v slovenščini in angleščini, po odločitvi uredniškega odbora tudi v drugih jezikih, in so recenzirani.

Prispevke, ki morajo biti urejeni po spodnjih navodilih, pošljite na naslov uredništva:

Inštitut za slovensko izseljenstvo in migracije ZRC SAZU,

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Članki morajo imeti sestavine, ki si sledijo po naslednjem vrstnem redu:

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- **članek** (1. skupaj s presledki naj ne presega 45.000 znakov oz. 25 tipkanih strani; 2. celotno besedilo naj bo označeno z »Normal« – torej brez oblikovanja, določanja slogov in drugega; 3. pisava Times

New Roman, velikost črk 12, brez poravnave desnega roba; 4. odstavki naj bodo brez vmesnih vrstic, prazna vrstica naj bo pred in za vsakim naslovom in predvidenim mestom za tabelo ali sliko; 5. vsi zamiki odstavkov morajo biti narejeni ročno (s tabulatorjem), pri tem so odstavki za naslovi brez zamikov, ročno mora biti narejeno tudi morebitno označevanje in oštevilčevanje vrstic in odstavkov; 6. naslove označite ročno, podnaslove prvega reda z velikimi tiskanimi črkami in okrepjeno, podnaslove drugega reda z malimi tiskanimi črkami in okrepjeno, velikost črk je pri obeh vrstah naslovov 12.

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V besedilih **se izogibajte** podčrtavanju besed in okrepljenemu tisku. Želeni poudarki na bodo označeni s poševnim tiskom. S poševnim tiskom označite tudi navedene naslove knjig in časopisov.

3. Citiranje v člankih

V reviji *Dve domovini* je **citiranje** možno **med besedilom** in v obliki **opomb pod črto**, vendar naj avtorji uporabijo le enega od načinov.

Avtorji naj pri **citiranju med besedilom** upoštevajo naslednja navodila:

- **Citati**, dolgi tri ali več vrstic, morajo biti ročno oblikovani v ločenih enotah, zamaknjeni s tipko »tab«, brez narekovajev, za in pred vsakim citatom je prazna vrstica, pri odstavku za citatom ni zamika v prvi vrstici; citati, krajši od treh vrstic, naj bodo med drugim besedilom v narekovajih in pokončno (ne poševno).
- Če citirate cel stavek nekega avtorja, postavite na konec stavka ločilo, narekovaj in vir v oklepaju (V zvezi s tem Anderson pravi: »Dejstva so morda jasna, njihova razlaga pa ostaja predmet daljnosežnih razprav.« (Anderson 2003: 11)). Če citirate le del stavka ali besedno zvezo postavite na konec stavka, ga zaključite z narekovajem, virom v oklepaju in ločilom (Če tudi so dejstva znana, njihova razlaga, kot pravi Anderson, ostaja »predmet daljnosežnih razprav« (Anderson 2003: 11)).
- Pri **navajanju avtorjev** med besedilom (ne v oklepaju) prvič navedite ime in priimek avtorja v celoti, sicer navajajte samo priimek avtorja.
- Navajanje avtorja v oklepaju naj sledi temu vzorcu: oklepaj, priimek, leto, dvopičje in strani, ki so ločene s stičnim pomišljajem, zaklepaj, pika (Anderson 2003: 91–99); več navedb naj bo ločenih s podpičjem in razvrščenih po letnicah (Hobsbawm 2007: 23–45; Anderson 2003: 91–99).
- **Seznam literature in virov** je v tem primeru na koncu besedila, enote naj bodo razvrščene po abecednem redu priimkov avtorjev, enote istega avtorja pa razvrščene po letnicah; če imamo več del istega avtorja, ki so izšla istega leta, jih ločimo z malimi črkami (Anderson 2003a; 2003b). Seznam literature in virov je brez zamikov. Upoštevajte naslednji vrstni red in načine zapisov pri različnih navedenih enotah:

- a navajanje pri knjigah: priimek in ime avtorja, (leto izida), *naslov knjige*, kraj, založba (primer: Anderson, Benedict (2003). *Zamišljene skupnosti: o izvoru in širjenju nacionalizma*. Ljubljana: Studia Humanitatis.);
- b pri člankih v zborniku: priimek in ime avtorja, (leto izida), naslov članka, *naslov zbornika* (ime urednika), kraj, založba, strani (primer: Drnovšek, Marjan (2004). Izseljenke v očeh javnosti. *Zbornik referatov 32. zborovanja slovenskih zgodovinarjev* (ur. Aleksander Žižek). Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije: 383–393.);
- c pri člankih v revijah: priimek in ime avtorja, (leto izida), naslov članka, *naslov revije*, letnik, številka, strani (primer: Brightman, Robert (1995). Forget Culture: Replacement, Transcendence, Relexification. *Cultural Anthropology*, 10 (4): 509–546.);
- d seznam literature in virov naj vsebuje vse v članku citirane vire in literaturo in naj ne vsebuje enot, ki v članku niso citirane.

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. Grafične in slikovne priloge

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

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

1. Orientation of the Journal

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

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

Slovenian Migration Institute SRC SASA

P.P. 306, SI Ljubljana;

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

E-mail: jure.gombac@zrc-sazu.si, or spelam@zrc-sazu.si

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

Manuscripts that are accepted for publishing by the editorial board of *Dve domovini/Two Homelands* are not to be sent for consideration and publishing to any other journal. Authors are responsible for language and style proficiency.

2. Elements of Contributions

Articles should contain the following elements in the stated order:

- **Title** (in capital letters, font size 16, bold, alignment center)
- **Name and surname of the author** (bold, alignment center, font size 12, after the surname a footnote should be inserted, marked with *, stating: 1. author's education and title (e.g. PhD, MA in History, Research Fellow); 2. author's full postal address (e.g. Institute for Slovenian Emigration Studies, Novi trg 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana); 3. author's e-mail address, phone and fax number);
- **Type of the contribution** (original, review or short scientific article; professional article)
- **Abstract** (title of the article and abstract, up to 600 characters together with spaces, font size 10);
- **Key words** (up to 5 words, font size 10);
- **Article** (1. together with spaces it should not exceed 45.000 characters or 25 typed pages; 2. style of the entire text should be "Normal"; 3. font Times New Roman, size 12, alignment left; 4.

paragraphs should not be separated by an empty line, empty line should be used before and after every title and intended space for a chart or picture; 5. paragraphs should be indented manually (with the tabulator), paragraphs following the titles should not be indented, bullets and numbering of lines and paragraphs should be done manually; 6. titles should be marked manually, headings 1 with bold capital letters, headings 2 with bold small letters.

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

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

- **Reports from conferences and other events, debates:** title of the event (in bold capital letters), date of the event, name and surname of the author (bold small letters, alignment center, style of the entire text “Normal”); paragraphs should be indented manually (with the tabulator; paragraphs following the titles should not be indented, bullets and numbering of lines or paragraphs should be done manually), between 5000 and 15000 characters including spaces;
- **Book reviews:** name and surname of the author or editor of the book, title of the book, name of publisher, place of publication, date of publication, number of pages (small letters, font size 12, author and title in bold), between 5000 and 15000 characters including spaces, on the top right hand corner include the name and surname of the reviewer.

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

3. Citation in Articles

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

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

- **Long citations** (three lines or more) should be typed as an indented paragraph (with the use of “tab”), without quotation marks, the first line of the paragraph after the citation should not be indented; citation shorter than three lines should be included in the main text and separated with quotation marks, in normal font (not in italic).
- When citing an entire sentence, place the punctuation mark, quotation mark and reference in the brackets at the end of the sentence (e.g. Regarding this issue Anderson believes argues: “Facts might be clear but their interpretation is a subject of far-reaching debates.” (Anderson 2003: 11)). When citing a part of the sentence or when placing a phrase at the end of the sentence, finish the sentence with quotation marks, reference in brackets and punctuation mark (e.g. Even if the facts are known, their interpretation, as argued by Anderson, “remains the subject of far-reaching debates” (Anderson 2003: 11)).
- When **naming the author** within the text (not in brackets) for the first time, include both full name and surname of the author, then continue using only last name.
- When naming the author in brackets use the following form: bracket, surname, year, colon, pages separated by hyphen, full-stop (Barthes 1999: 91–99); when naming more authors separate their names with semicolon and name them according to the year of publishing in ascending order (Said 1999: 98–99; Ford 2006: 14–45).
- **List of references** should be placed at the end of the written text and arranged in the alphabetical order according to author’s surname. Multiple references by one author should be arranged according to the year of publishing. Multiple references by one author published in the same year should be separated with small letters (e.g. Ford 1999a; 1999b). Use the following style:
 - a. books: surname and name of the author, (year of publishing), *title*, place of publishing,

publisher (e.g. Žitnik Janja (1995). *Orel in korenine med "brušenjem" in cenzuro*. Ljubljana: Znanstvenoraziskovalni center SAZU);

- b. articles in series: surname and name of the author, (year of publishing), title, *title of the volume* (name of the editor), place of publishing, publisher, pages (e.g. Drnovšek, Marjan (2004). Izseljenske v očeh javnosti. *Zbornik referatov 32. zborovanja slovenskih zgodovinarjev* (ed. Aleksander Žižek). Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije: 383–393.);
- c. articles in journals: name and surname of the author, (year of publishing), title, *title of the journal*, year, number, pages (e.g. Brightman, Robert (1995). Forget Culture: Replacement, Transcendence, Relexification. *Cultural Anthropology*, 10 (4): 509–546.);
- d. list of references should include all cited sources and literature.

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

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

Citation of archive material should include:

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

Citation of internet sources should include:

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

4. Graphics and illustrations

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