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**DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY**  
FACULTY OF ARTS, UNIVERSITY OF LJUBLJANA



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Mojca Ilc Klun\*, Ana Vombergar\*\*



# PREDSTAVE IN ODNOS MLADIH DO MIGRACIJSKIH PROCESOV – PRIMER ZDA IN SLOVENIJE

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## Izvleček

Prispevek obravnava predstave in odnos mladih do migracijskih procesov v dveh državah – ZDA, ki že stoletja veljajo za državo priseljevanja, in Sloveniji, ki je bila v različnih zgodovinskih obdobjih del različnih migracijskih procesov (kot država izseljevanja, država priseljevanja ali država tranzitnih migracij). Prvi del prispevka se osredotoča na migracijske procese v obeh državah in prikaže pregled predstav in odnosa mladih do priseljevanja, drugi del pa predstavi rezultate raziskave, ki smo jo opravili med 44 mladimi Američani in Slovenci, v kateri so nas zanimale njihove predstave in odnos do migracijskih procesov.

**Ključne besede:** izseljevanje, priseljevanje, predstave, odnos, mladi, Slovenija, ZDA

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## 1 UVOD

Migracije lahko opredelimo kot proces premikanja ljudi znotraj države ali čez mednarodne meje. Ne gre za nov demogeografski pojav, ampak so migracije del človeške zgodovine že od samega začetka (Bellwood, 2013). Ljudje se selimo znotraj države, iz ene države v drugo ali z ene celine na drugo. Po podatkih IOM (Mednarodne organizacije za migracije) je po vsem svetu več kot ena milijarda migrantov, vključno z 272 milijoni mednarodnih migrantov (World migration report 2020, 2019). Čeprav gre za majhen delež svetovnega prebivalstva (3,5 %), je ocenjeno število in delež mednarodnih migrantov že presegel nekatere projekcije za leto 2050, ki so napovedovale 230 milijonov migrantov (World migration report 2020, 2019).

Migracije imajo dolgotrajen vpliv na vse vidike družbe. Na političnem področju je lahko vsaka država vključena v migracijske procese v določeni obliki, kot država priseljevanja, država izseljevanja ali država tranzitnih migracij, zato ima svojo migracijsko politiko, s katero ureja migracijske procese znotraj svojih meja. Prav tako migracije vplivajo na gospodarstva po vsem svetu; v zadnjih desetih letih so priseljenci predstavljali »47 % povečanja delovne sile v ZDA in 70 % v Evropi« (Migration policy debates, 2014). V demografskem smislu vplivajo mednarodne migracije na prebivalstvo države neposredno s spreminjanjem številčnosti in starostne strukture prebivalstva ter posredno z vplivom na nataliteto v prihodnosti (Fihel in sod., 2018). Tudi v izobraževalni proces se vedno pogosteje vključujejo teme, povezane z migracijami, vpeljava teh tem v šolske kurikule pa postaja vse bolj nujna, z namenom da bi mladim zagotovili celovito izobraževanje in jasnejše razumevanje sveta (Ilc Klun, 2017a). Migracije imajo lahko pomembno vlogo tudi pri kulturni raznolikosti priseljskih držav, kar se odraža v hrani, veri in etničnih soseskah.

Kljub temu, da so migracije pogosto pomemben del mednarodnih političnih razprav in da se poudarjajo pozitivni učinki migracij k številnim vidikom življenja, mediji pogosto predstavljajo temo v negativni luči, s čimer vplivajo na predstave o migracijah pri različnih generacijah (How the world views migration, 2015). Zaradi novic o migracijah v medijih se včasih pojavljajo napačne interpretacije, da ljudje migracije dojemajo negativno. Med letoma 2012 in 2014 je Gallupova raziskava, v katero je bilo vključenih več kot 183.000 odraslih v več kot 140 državah po vsem svetu, spraševala anketirance o njihovem dojemanju migracij. V sedmih od desetih držav z najštevilčnejšim priseljevanjem (ZDA, Kanada, Avstralija, Združeni arabski emirati, Savdska Arabija, Nemčija in Francija) državljani pravijo, da je treba priseljevanje povečati ali vsaj ohraniti v obstoječi obliki, medtem ko so Evropejci izrazili bolj negativen odnos do priseljevanja (How the world views migration, 2015). Rezultati omenjene raziskave so bili osnova za zasnovo naše raziskave. Da bi ugotovili predstave in odnos mladih do migracij v dveh zelo različnih državah, ZDA in Sloveniji, smo zasnovali raziskavo, v kateri smo primerjali razmišljanja ameriških in slovenskih študentov na to temo.

Kot vodilno državo po številu priseljencev po vsem svetu ameriško ministrstvo za zunanje zadeve opisuje Združene države Amerike kot »najbolj velikodušno državo na svetu za priseljevanje«. Dejansko lahko statistika o priseljevanju v ZDA podpre to trditev; vsako leto se približno milijon priseljencev priseli v Združene države Amerike, medtem ko na stotine tisoč v tujini rojenih prebivalcev postanejo naturalizirani državljani (International migration, 2020). Leta 2018 je priseljevanje v Združene države Amerike doseglo številčno najvišjo vrednost, saj je več kot 44,7 milijona priseljencev živelo znotraj državnih meja ZDA (Batalova in sod., 2020). Tudi med letoma 2015 in 2019 se je število prebivalcev, ki so bili rojeni v tujini, povečalo za 5 %, v ZDA pa danes živi približno 51 milijonov priseljencev (World migration report 2020, 2019). Pew Research Center ugotavlja, da je ameriška priseljska populacija precej raznolika, saj priseljenci prihajajo v ZDA iz skoraj vseh držav na svetu (Radford, 2019).

V nasprotju z ZDA je Slovenija kot ena manjših držav v Evropi vključena v različne migracijske tokove, ne le priseljevanja, ampak predvsem izseljevanja. Slovenija je bila zaradi svojega tranzitnega položaja, političnih in socialno-ekonomskih razlogov vseskozi vključena v migracijske procese. V kontekstu migracij lahko Slovenijo uvrstimo med izseljenske države [pred začetkom 20. stoletja se je iz Slovenije izselilo 300.000 ljudi, kar je takrat predstavljalo tretjino celotnega prebivalstva države (Ilc Klun, 2017a); in še 100.000 ljudi se je iz Slovenije izselilo med drugo svetovno vojno in po njej (Ilc Klun, 2017a)], priseljske države [v 60. in 70. letih se je Slovenija soočala z imigracijskim tokom več kot 80.000 ljudi iz drugih republik Jugoslavije (Ilc Klun, 2017a) in med tranzitne migracijske države [ko ljudje predvsem iz držav nekdanje Jugoslavije prečkajo Slovenijo, da dosežejo druge Srednje in Zahodnoevropske države (Ilc Klun, 2017b)]. V Sloveniji trenutno živi približno 250.000 priseljencev in njihovih potomcev, kar predstavlja približno 12,1 % celotne populacije Slovenije. S takšnim deležem priseljencev se Slovenija med državami članicami EU uvršča na 16. mesto (SURs, 2019). Med 250.000 ljudmi priseljskega porekla jih je 216.000 (86 %) imelo prvo bivališče v eni od držav, ki so nastale po razpadu Jugoslavije. Med temi so najštevilčnejši tisti, katerih prvo bivališče (po rojstvu) je bilo v Bosni in Hercegovini (108.000), sledijo tisti, katerih prvo bivališče je bilo na Hrvaškem (45.000), nato pa tisti s prvim bivališčem v Srbiji (25.000) (SURs, 2018). Med priseljenci iz drugih evropskih držav so najštevilnejši tisti, katerih prvo bivališče je bilo v Nemčiji (7.300), sledijo tisti s prvim bivališčem v Italiji (4.100) in v Ruski federaciji (3.000). Med osebam, katerih prvo bivališče je bilo v eni od neevropskih držav, jih je imela večina prvo bivališče na Kitajskem (1000), sledijo tisti s prvim bivališčem v ZDA (800) ter v Argentini in Kanadi (po 400) (SURs, 2018). Po podatkih SURs-a je tipičen priseljenec v Sloveniji oseba, ki se je v Slovenijo priselila med letoma 2008 in 2017, je moški, star 30–39 let in živi sam. Je tuji državljan s stalnim prebivališčem v Sloveniji in se je v Slovenijo priselil iz Bosne in Hercegovine. Stanuje v eni od mestnih občin. Je zaposlen in ima poklicno izobrazbo (SURs, 2019).



Ker se v nadaljevanju naša raziskava osredotoča na odnos in predstave mladih do migracij, bomo v naslednjih korakih predstavili predvsem statistiko, ki se navezuje na mlade in migracije v ZDA in Sloveniji.

V Združenih državah Amerike so raziskave pokazale, da so milenijci (osebe, rojene med 1981 in 1996) bolj naklonjeni do priseljencev kot generacije pred njimi, morda zaradi vse večje diverzifikacije in globalizacije ameriške družbe (Rouse, Ross, 2018). Milenijci so odraščali v vse bolj raznolikih okoljih z večjim številom priseljencev kot kdaj koli prej in te demografske spremembe so zagotovo vplivale na njihov sodobni odnos do priseljevanja (Rouse, Ross, 2018). Kljub navidezno širokemu sprejemanju in strpnosti do priseljencev pa se stališča milenijcev do priseljencev še vedno razlikujejo glede na širok razpon identifikatorjev (Rouse, Ross, 2018). Priseljevanje je namreč na različne načine oblikovalo življenja različnih skupin ameriškega prebivalstva. Za Američane azijske in latinskoameriške narodnosti je na primer bistveno večja verjetnost, da so sami priseljenci, imajo družino ali prijatelje, ki so priseljenci, in v svojih domovih govorijo drug jezik, razen angleščine. Nasprotno velja za belopolte Američane in Afroameričane (Cohen in sod., 2018). Kljub tem razlikam so milenijci vseh etničnih okolij izrazili podporo različnim tematikam, kot je na primer vprašanje pridobitve državljanstva za posameznike, ki izpolnjujejo pogoje za DACA, in širitev ameriškega programa gostujočih delavcev (Cohen in sod., 2018).

Tudi v Sloveniji se zdi, da se strpnost do priseljencev povečuje. Raziskava iz leta 2014 je v primerjavi z letom 2002 pokazala, da več Slovencev meni, da priseljenci državo izboljšajo (Heath, Richards, 2016, str. 4). Na splošno so Evropejci izrazili enako mnenje, vendar so bolj naklonjeni priseljencem iz svoje etnične (tudi evropske) skupine in izražajo bolj negativna mnenja o priseljencih iz gospodarsko slabše razvitih držav izven Evrope (Heath, Richards, 2016, str. 12). Tudi v Sloveniji raziskave potrjujejo, da je več skupin (kot so Bošnjaki in Romi) neprekinjeno obravnavanih kot tujci, čeprav živijo v Sloveniji, govorijo slovensko in imajo slovensko državljanstvo (Bajt, 2016). Ne glede na kraj rojstva je veliko priseljencev v Sloveniji izrazilo svoje izkušnje z diskriminacijo in izkoriščanjem, navsezadnje pa menijo, da jim njihova »tujost« preprečuje, da bi bili v družbi popolnoma sprejeti (Bajt, 2016).

## 2 METODOLOGIJA

V raziskavi smo s pomočjo spletnega vprašalnika proučevali podobnosti in razlike med predstavami in odnosom ameriških in slovenskih mladih do migracij. Anketni vprašalnik je bil razdeljen na tri dele; v prvem delu so bili zbrani demografski podatki o anketirancih, v drugem delu so se vprašanja osredotočala na njihov odnos do priseljevanja v domovini, zadnji del vprašalnika pa se je nanašal na področje njihovega zanimanja za izseljevanje. Spletni vprašalnik s podporo spletnega orodja 1.ka.si smo odprli 7. julija 2020, študenti pa so imeli možnost sodelovati v anketi do 24. julija 2020.

Skupno je v raziskavi sodelovalo 44 študentov, od tega jih je bilo 19 iz ZDA in 25 iz Slovenije.

V ameriški skupini anketirancev je bilo vseh 19 študentov starih med 20 in 21 let, večina (68 %) pa je bila ženska. Več kot polovica (58 %) študentov se je opredelila za kristjane (26 % ni vernih, 11 % je Judov in 5 % ruskih pravoslavcev). Vsi anketiranci imajo končano srednjo šolo, večina pa ima vsaj nekaj izkušenj na visokošolski ravni. Glede na mednarodne izkušnje je 71 % anketirancev že delalo ali študiralo v tujini. Omeniti je treba tudi, da ta vzorec ne odraža značilnosti cele populacije ameriških dodiplomskih študentov; v nasprotju z 10 % ameriških študentov, ki študirajo v tujini, veliko študentov v našem raziskovalnem vzorcu študira mednarodne odnose, politične vede in jezik, zato je bolj verjetno, da so preživeli določen čas v tujini (US Study Abroad, 2018). Politično gledano je 88 % anketirancev izjavilo, da so liberalno usmerjeni (6 % se jih je opredelilo kot konservativne in še 6 % kot sredinsko usmerjene), kar je v skladu z dejstvom, da je veliko anketirancev izpostavilo, da uporabljajo predvsem levo usmerjene vire dnevnih novic, kot sta CNN in The New York Times. Hkrati 76 % študentov uporablja vsaj dva vira za zbiranje svojih dnevnih novic, 18 % anketirancev pa dnevne novice zbira preko platform družbenih medijev.

Rezultati raziskave so pokazali, da ameriški študentje na svojo narodnost gledajo precej nevtralnno; čeprav so se rezultati razlikovali, je 41 % anketirancev navedlo, da je biti Američan nekoliko pomembno za njihovo identiteto, 35 % jih je izjavilo, da je precej pomembno, 12 % jih je trdilo, da je to zelo pomembno, 12 % pa, da to sploh ni pomembno. Kljub temu, da je 88 % anketirancev trdilo, da je biti Američan vsaj malo pomembno za njihovo identiteto, se je 29 % ameriških anketirancev opredelilo kot »sploh ne domoljubne«, 41 % anketirancev se je opredelilo za rahlo domoljubne, 18 % za zelo domoljubne in preostalih 12 % za precej domoljubne.

Slika 1: Povprečni ameriški študent, vključen v raziskavo.



V skupini slovenskih študentov jih je bilo največ, 65 %, starih 20 let, 13 % 25 let, 9 % 22 in 24 let ter 4 % 23 let. Večina, 60 %, je bilo žensk. Skoraj polovica študentov se je opredelila za kristjane (48 %), drugi pa so izjavili, da so ateisti, ali trdili, da so ti podatki osebni in zato niso odgovorili na vprašanje ali pa so v svojih odgovorih poudarili regionalno identiteto pred vero. Vsi anketiranci so končali srednjo šolo in imajo nekaj visokošolskih izkušenj – 76 % jih je končalo srednjo šolo in so trenutno študenti prve stopnje, drugi pa imajo že diplomu in so trenutno študenti magistrskega programa. Glede na mednarodne izkušnje jih večina, 92 %, še nikoli ni študirala ali delala v tujini, kar močno odstopa od prej omenjenega visokega deleža ameriških študentov z mednarodnimi izkušnjami, ki so sodelovali v naši raziskavi. 60 % slovenskih študentov meni, da so njihova politična stališča zmerna, 36 % jih je svoja politična stališča opredelilo kot liberalna in 4 % kot konservativna. V primeru prebiranja dnevnih novic, jih večina (44 %) uporablja različne, vsaj dva ali več virov novic, 20 % slovenskih študentov pa je pri pridobivanju novic izpostavilo platforme različnih družbenih medijev (npr. Facebook). Večina slovenskih študentov, 58 %, je navedlo, da je biti Slovenec zelo pomemben identifikator njihove identitete, 21 % jih je navedlo, da je precej pomemben, 17 % rahlo pomemben, le 4 % pa so izpostavili, da biti Slovenec sploh ni pomembno za njihovo identiteto. Kljub temu da so svojo nacionalno identiteto navedli kot zelo pomembno, se slovenski študenti ne smatrajo za zelo domoljubne. Večina, 44 %, se jih zdi precej domoljubna, 28 % rahlo domoljubna, 20 % zelo domoljubna in 8 % sploh ne domoljubna.

Slika 2: Povprečni slovenski študent, vključen v raziskavo.



Preglednica 1: Demografski podatki anketirancev.

		Ameriški študenti (%)	Slovenski študenti (%)
Mednarodne izkušnje	Da	71	8
	Ne	29	92
Politična usmerjenost	Liberalno usmerjeni	88	36
	Konzervativno usmerjeni	6	4
	Sredinsko usmerjeni	6	60
Narodna identiteta	Zelo pomembna	12	58
	Pomembna	35	21
	Manj pomembna	41	17
	Sploh ni pomembna	12	4
Domoljubje	Zelo domoljubni	18	20
	Domoljubni	12	44
	Rahlo domoljubni	41	28
	Sploh ne domoljubni	29	8

Preglednica 1 izpostavlja nekatere ključne razlike med ameriški in slovenski študenti, predvsem je očitna velika razlika v njihovih mednarodnih izkušnjah. V naši raziskavi smo študente povprašali, ali so kdaj delali ali študirali v tujini in čeprav ima večina ameriških študentov že vsaj eno izkušnjo izven svoje države, je velika večina slovenskih študentov nima. Kot že omenjeno, je ta delež višji med ameriški študenti zaradi njihove usmerjenosti v študij mednarodnih odnosov. Med slovenski študenti pa je ta delež zelo nizek, saj je večina študentov, ki so sodelovali v raziskavi, študentov 1. letnika prve stopnje in se še niso odločili za študijske izkušnje v tujini. Druga pomembna razlika med ameriški in slovenski študenti je njihova politična usmerjenost. Večina ameriških študentov se je politično opredelila za liberalno usmerjene, medtem ko se je večina slovenskih študentov opredelila za sredinsko usmerjene, razlike pa se kažejo tudi v njihovih opredelitvah nacionalne identitete in domoljubja. Večina ameriških študentov na primer svojo nacionalno identiteto dojema kot rahlo pomembno in se opredeljujejo kot rahlo domoljubni. Slovenski študenti pa imajo svojo nacionalno identiteto za zelo pomembno in izražajo več domoljubja kot njihovi ameriški kolegi.

### 3 REZULTATI

Rezultati naše raziskave so razdeljeni na dva dela; prvi del obravnava predstave in odnos ameriških in slovenskih študentov do priseljevanja, drugi del pa njihovo mnenje o morebitni bodoči emigraciji.



### 3.1 Odnos in predstave ameriških študentov do priseljevanja

Obe državi, ZDA in Slovenija, sta (bili) vključeni v procese priseljevanja. Združene države Amerike imajo na primer dolgo zgodovino priseljevanja in priseljenci z vsega sveta še naprej diverzificirajo ameriški narod. Slovenija pa je bila del dveh večjih priseljenjskih valov v 20. stoletju (skozi šestdeseta in sedemdeseta leta 20. stoletja in ponovno po letu 1991), ko so se priseljenci iz (nekdanje) Jugoslavije priseljevali v Slovenijo, večinoma iz ekonomskih razlogov. V naši raziskavi nas je zanimalo, ali je vpletenost države v procese priseljevanja mogoče povezati z odnosom mladih do priseljevanja in njihovo predstavo o priseljevanju. Rezultati raziskave Mednarodne organizacije za migracije 2012–2014 so pokazali, da imajo največje priseljenjske države (ZDA, Avstralija, Kanada itd.) pozitiven odnos do priseljevanja, medtem ko so evropske države na splošno nenaklonjene priseljevanju (How the world views migration, 2015).

V naši raziskavi smo udeležence vprašali, ali imajo sami izkušnje s procesom priseljevanja. Večina ameriških študentov je izrazila vsaj eno družinsko ali prijateljsko povezavo s priseljevanjem. Dejansko je skoraj polovica (47 %) vprašanih navedla, da se je vsaj eden od njihovih starih staršev priselil v Združene države Amerike, 41 % pa jih je izjavilo, da imajo vsaj enega tesnega prijatelja, ki je priseljenec. Hkrati jih je 24 % izpostavilo, da je vsaj eden od njihovih staršev priseljenec, ostalih 24 % študentov pa nima nobenih povezav s procesom priseljevanja.

Glede identitete so se vsi ameriški študentje strinjali, da ni razlike med Američanom, rojenim v Ameriki, in Američanom, rojenim v tujini. Številni študenti so opozorili, da bi moral priseljenec imeti določene vrednote, povezane z Združenimi državami Amerike, kot je prepričanje v svobodo in pravičnost za vse, medtem ko drugi trdijo, da so pridobitev državljanstva, sodelovanje v vladnih procesih in prispevek h gospodarstvu bistvenega pomena za opredeljevanje za Američana/Američanko. Hkrati je veliko študentov poudarilo osrednji pomen priseljevanja in raznolikost skozi ameriško zgodovino in v kulturi ter navedlo, da je treba spoštovati razlike med Američani. Kljub soglasju, da je treba vse Američane obravnavati enako, je eden od anketirancev opozoril, da bodo Američani, rojeni v tujini, verjetno soočeni z diskriminacijo na podlagi barve kože in naglasa pri govornem sporazumevanju.

Ameriški študenti so jasno povedali, da je priseljevanje prednostno politično vprašanje, saj je priseljevanje 83 % anketiranih označilo za zelo pomembno, preostalih 18 % pa za dokaj pomembno politično vprašanje. Pri ocenjevanju političnih vprašanj, ki so pomembnejša od priseljevanja, so ameriški študenti izpostavili vprašanja zdravstvene oskrbe, podnebnih sprememb, reform policije/zaporov in nadzora nad orožjem. Skoraj polovica (47 %) vprašanih meni, da je tematika priseljevanja pomembna tudi v gospodarskem kontekstu. 29 % anketiranih je odgovorilo, da je gospodarsko gledano, priseljevanje precej pomembno, preostalih 24 % pa je navedlo, da je rahlo pomembno. Čeprav noben študent ni izpostavil priseljevanja kot ekonomsko povsem nepomembno, je večina študentov menila, da so vprašanja premoženjskih neenakosti,

minimalnih plač, brezposelnosti, revščina ter dostop do zdravstvenega in socialnega varstva trenutno ekonomsko pomembnejša vprašanja od vprašanj priseljevanja.

Kar zadeva znanje in izobraževanje v zvezi z migracijami, je večina ameriških študentov (47 %) izjavila, da povprečno razume ameriško politiko priseljevanja (41 % jih je trdilo, da je njihovo razumevanje dobro, preostalih 12 % pa je svoje razumevanje označilo kot slabo). Da bi izboljšali svoje razumevanje ameriške politike priseljevanja, je veliko študentov izrazilo željo, da bi izvedeli več o politiki odloženega ukrepanja za prihode otrok (DACA), pa tudi o delu ameriške službe za priseljevanje in carino, ki je splošno znana kot ICE. Nekateri so tudi izrazili željo, da bi radi bolje razumeli proces pridobivanja ameriškega državljanstva in vladno obravnavo priseljencev.

Na splošno se zdi, da je ameriška mladina naklonjena do priseljencev v svoji družbi. Večina naših ameriških anketirancev (88 %) meni, da priseljenci zelo pozitivno prispevajo k ameriški družbi; ostalih 12 % študentov je prispevek priseljencev označilo za nekoliko pozitivnega. V širšem kontekstu 59 % anketirancev ocenjuje odnos svoje generacije do priseljencev kot zelo pozitiven, 29 % ga ocenjuje kot nekoliko pozitiven, 6 % kot nevtralen in preostalih 6 % kot nekoliko negativen.

Kljub na splošno pozitivnemu dojemanju priseljencev v Združenih državah Amerike je v naši raziskavi veliko anketirancev izrazilo zaskrbljenost zaradi rasizma, ksenofobije in drugih oblik diskriminacije ameriške priseljske skupnosti. Medtem ko 16 % ameriških študentov meni, da imajo vsi priseljenci v ZDA podobno izkušnjo na podlagi občutka, da so tujci in ustvarjajo novo življenje na neznanem ozemlju, preostalih 84 % anketirancev trdi, da se lahko izkušnje priseljencev v ZDA močno razlikujejo glede na različne dejavnike, kot so država izvora, izobrazba in ekonomsko ozadje, barva kože, vera, tekoče znanje angleškega jezika, pravni status in raven podpore družine. En študent je opozoril, da imajo ZDA »najljubše« države, kar pomeni, da Američani cenijo priseljence iz teh držav bolj kot druge, verjetno zaradi verskih in rasnih dejavnikov. Podobno je drug študent omenil vlogo stereotipov v izkušnji priseljencev v Združenih državah Amerike; na primer, priseljenec iz Latinske Amerike ali Bližnjega vzhoda se lahko sooči z več izzivi, povezanimi z diskriminacijo in asimilacijo, kot evropski priseljenec, v veliki meri na podlagi svojega videza kot »tujca«. Dva študenta sta tudi trdila, da lahko sistem podpore (družine ali prijateljev) vpliva na izkušnjo priseljenca v Združenih državah Amerike, saj lahko območje, v katerem živijo priseljenci, in ljudje, s katerimi komunicirajo, na koncu vpliva na njihovo izkušnjo priseljenstva v Združenih državah Amerike.

Podobno so se vsi ameriški študentje strinjali, da se priseljenci v Združenih državah Amerike ne počutijo kot polnopravni in enakovredni državljani z vsemi pravicami in zaščito, ki jih imajo drugi ljudje, kar še dodatno poudarja prisotnost ksenofobije v ameriški javnosti. Ameriški študentje so poudarili, da se priseljenci verjetno soočajo z diskriminacijo; vendar pa je veliko študentov tudi ugotovilo, da so priseljenci brez dokumentov in prejemniki DACA bolj verjetno prikrajšani, saj jim lahko vsaka manjša nediskrecija odvzame pravno varstvo. Podobno je 24 % anketirancev izjavilo, da je

politika, ustvarjena pod Trumpovo administracijo, priseljencem dodatno zmanjšala integracijo (in občutek, da so sprejeti) v Združenih državah Amerike.

Ne glede na zaznano grožnjo diskriminacije priseljencev v Združenih državah Amerike, se 71 % anketiranih ameriških študentov sploh ne strinja z idejo, da bi več Američanov sprejelo kulturne razlike priseljencev, če bi se le-ti bolj potrudili, da bi se vključili v ameriško družbo (24 % se jih ne strinja, 6 % pa se jih strinja). Večina študentov je izrazila prepričanje, da priseljenci ne bi smeli opustiti svoje kulture in porekla, da bi se uskladili z ameriški standardi; študentje so opazili, da kulturna raznolikost pomembno in pozitivno prispeva k ameriški družbi (tako zgodovinsko kot sodobno), saj priseljenci prispevajo nove ideje in usmerjajo ameriško družbo v prihodnost z več sprejemanja raznolikosti. En študent je opozoril tudi na dejstvo, da ameriška javnost pogosto priseljenca, ki se »preveč trudi, da bi se vklopil v ameriško družbo«, kategorizira kot »tistega, ki je pod velikim vplivom belopoltnih Američanov«, a kljub temu kot priseljenca, ki se »ne trudi dovolj, da bi se vklopil« in ga tako opredelijo kot »ne pravega Američana«.

Večina ameriških študentov meni, da mediji negativno vplivajo na predstave o priseljencah v Združenih državah Amerike, saj mediji pogosto objavljajo stereotipe o priseljencah in kriminalizirajo priseljevanje. Številni študenti menijo, da mediji ne omenjajo prednosti oziroma pozitivnih stvari, ki jih priseljenci prinašajo ameriški družbi. En študent je posebej izpostavil zaskrbljenost za varnost priseljencev v Združenih državah Amerike. Nekaj študentov je tudi izpostavilo, da različni mediji predstavijo različna stališča o priseljevanju v Združenih državah Amerike, kar povzroča polarizacijo družbe glede vprašanja priseljencev. Drugi študent je izpostavil, da imajo mediji ključno vlogo pri oblikovanju mnenj ameriških mladih o priseljevanju in priseljencah.

### 3.2 Odnos in predstave slovenskih študentov do priseljevanja

V nasprotju z ameriški anketiranci večina slovenskih študentov (72 %) nima nobene povezave s procesi priseljevanja. Kar zadeva prijatelje in družino, je le 20 % slovenskih študentov navedlo, da ima tesnega prijatelja, ki se je priselil v Slovenijo. Le 16 % študentov ima enega ali več starih staršev, ki so se priselili v Slovenijo. Za razliko od 24 % ameriških študentov, ki imajo vsaj enega starša priseljenca, nobeden od slovenskih študentov nima starša s priseljenko zgodovino.

V demografskem delu naše raziskave je 58 % slovenskih študentov opredelilo svojo nacionalno identiteto kot zelo pomembno za njihovo osebno identiteto. Pri obravnavi slovenske narodne identitete je večina slovenskih študentov (52 %) izpostavila, da med Slovincem, rojenim v Sloveniji in v tujini, ni razlike, 8 % jih je navedlo, da razlika obstaja, preostalih 40 % pa k temu vprašanju ni podalo jasnih odgovorov. Ko smo jih vprašali o dejavnikih, ki opredeljujejo posameznikovo nacionalno identiteto, je 32 % slovenskih študentov odgovorilo, da sta najpomembnejša identifikatorja slovenske identitete jezik in kultura. Tako so slovenski študenti v okviru opredelitve nacionalne identitete poudarili eno komponento, jezikovno-kulturno komponento, ki jo pogosto

najhitreje opazimo, pri tem pa na splošno zanemarili zgodovinsko, prostorsko, ekonomsko-socialno in politično komponento nacionalne identitete (Zupančič, 1998).

Pri obravnavi pomena priseljevanja na političnem in gospodarskem področju so slovenski anketiranci to problematiko označili za splošno pomembno. V političnem smislu je, na primer, skoraj polovica (48 %) študentov priseljevanje označila kot precej pomembno, 32 % kot zelo pomembno, preostalih 20 % pa kot rahlo pomembno. Pravzaprav nihče od slovenskih anketirancev ne zaznava, da priseljevanje nima pomembnega vpliva na slovensko politiko. Tudi na gospodarskem področju večina slovenskih študentov meni, da je priseljevanje precej pomembno (48 %), 24 % slovenskih študentov pa ga ocenjuje kot zelo pomembno ali rahlo pomembno. Le en slovenski študent je poudaril, da priseljevanje z ekonomskega vidika ni pomembno. Pri ocenjevanju političnih vprašanj, ki so pomembnejša od priseljevanja, so se med slovensko študentsko populacijo izkazali za pomembne zdravstvene zadeve, podnebne spremembe, brezposelnost, brezdomstvo, enakost spolov, oskrba starejših in korupcija.

Tako kot ameriški študenti v raziskavi je večina slovenskih študentov (48 %) svoje razumevanje slovenske politike priseljevanja označila za povprečno, 28 % kot dobro, 12 % kot slabo in še preostalih 12 % kot zelo slabo. Za boljše razumevanje politike priseljevanja so slovenski študentje izrazili željo, da bi izvedeli več o postopkih za pridobitev slovenskega državljanstva, azilu, postopkih vključevanja priseljencev v družbo, izzivih, s katerimi se priseljenci soočajo v slovenski družbi, možnostih zaposlovanja priseljencev, zdravstvenem varstvu ipd.

V primerjavi z večinoma pozitivnimi predstavami o prispevkih priseljencev k družbi, ki so jih izpostavili ameriški študenti, so slovenski študenti predstavili pretežno negativen pogled priseljencev na družbene razmere. Natančneje, večina slovenskih študentov meni, da priseljenci nevtralnno (33 %) ali nekoliko negativno (33 %) prispevajo k slovenski družbi. Čeprav je drugih 4 % prispevke priseljencev označilo za zelo negativne, so drugi izrazili bolj naklonjena stališča; 25 % slovenskih študentov je prispevke priseljencev ocenilo kot nekoliko pozitivne, še ostali 4 % pa kot zelo pozitivne. Tudi na ravni svoje generacije slovenski študentje priseljence dojemajo precej negativno. Namreč, 44 % slovenskih študentov je odnos svoje generacije do priseljencev opisalo kot nekoliko negativen, 28 % kot nevtralen, 16 % kot nekoliko pozitiven, 8 % kot zelo negativen in 4 % kot zelo pozitiven. Na splošno ti statistični podatki potrjujejo rezultate študije Mednarodne organizacije za migracije 2012–2014 (How the world views migration, 2015), ki je pokazala, da odrasli v Evropi negativno dojemajo priseljevanje. Natančneje, naša raziskava je pokazala, da imajo mladi v Sloveniji, ki so bili v središču naše raziskave, nekoliko bolj negativen odnos do priseljencev in priseljevanja.

Pri obravnavanju družbene sprejemljivosti priseljencev v Sloveniji je večina slovenskih študentov (72 %) menila, da vsi priseljenci v Sloveniji nimajo podobnih izkušenj in jih je mogoče obravnavati različno glede na dejavnike, kot so etnična pripadnost, kulturno ozadje in izobrazba. Številni študenti so v svojih odgovorih opisali osrednjo vlogo etnične pripadnosti priseljencev pri sprejemanju družbe; po njihovem mnenju



je za priseljence, ki so se v Slovenijo priselili iz držav nekdanje Jugoslavije, veliko manj verjetno, da bodo sprejeti v Sloveniji kot tisti, ki so se v Slovenijo priselili iz drugih držav. Poleg tega je veliko študentov izpostavilo, da Slovenci priseljence z drugačnim kulturnim ozadjem in nižjo izobrazbo dojemajo bolj negativno in se zato le-ti počutijo slabše sprejete v družbi.

Na vprašanje, ali se priseljenci v Sloveniji počutijo polnopravni in enakopravni državljani z vsemi pravicami in zaščitami, ki jih imajo drugi Slovenci, so bila mnenja slovenskih študentov deljena. S trditvijo se je strinjala večina (44 %) študentov, ki menijo, da se priseljenci v Sloveniji počutijo popolnoma enakopravne. Nekateri slovenski anketiranci so v svojih odgovorih tudi ppodprli idejo o sprejetosti z dejstvom, da lahko številni priseljenci iz nekdanjih jugoslovanskih republik govorijo v svojih maternih jezikih in jih slovensko prebivalstvo splošno razume. 40 % študentov pa je izjavilo, da priseljenci v Sloveniji niso enakopravni in se soočajo z diskriminacijo drugih. Podobno 71 % slovenskih študentov meni, da bi Slovenci bolj verjetno sprejeli kulturno raznolikost priseljencev, če bi se le-ti bolj potrudili, da bi se bolje vključili v družbo (46 % se je strinjalo s trditvijo, 25 % pa se je močno strinjalo). Predvsem pa so poudarili, da bi Slovenci bolj sprejeli priseljence, če bi se naučili slovenskega jezika in sprejeli slovensko kulturo. Po drugi strani pa se s trditvijo ni strinjalo 29 % slovenskih študentov, ki so menili, da imajo priseljenci pravico obdržati svoj jezik in kulturo.

Pri obravnavi vpliva medijev na oblikovanje predstav o migracijah, ki jih imajo Slovenci, je večina slovenskih študentov (44 %) menila, da mediji vplivajo na način, kako Slovenci gledajo na migracije, ni pa posebej izpostavila, ali je ta vpliv pozitiven ali negativen. Vendar pa je 28 % študentov izjavilo, da slovenski mediji prikazujejo zelo negativno podobo migracij, kar vpliva na družbeno dojetje migracij. Zanimivo je, da nihče od slovenskih študentov ne verjame, da bi slovenski mediji migracije predstavili kot pozitiven demografski proces.

### 3.3 Odnos in predstave ameriških in slovenskih študentov o izseljenstvu

Glede na možnosti za izseljevanje se zdi, da so ameriški študenti precej zainteresirani za življenje v tujini. Pravzaprav je 59 % ameriških anketirancev izjavilo, da se bodo v prihodnosti verjetno izselili iz ZDA (24 % jih je navedlo, da so zelo prepričani v izselitev, 35 % pa se jih je opredelilo kot nekoliko prepričane v izselitev). Po drugi strani je 6 % študentov ostalo nevtralnih glede tega vprašanja, 12 % jih je izpostavilo, da je malo verjetno, preostalih 24 % pa, da je zelo malo verjetno, da se bodo v prihodnosti izselili iz ZDA. Hkrati je 63 % študentov navedlo, da lahko zakonec ali otrok vpliva na njihovo verjetnost izselitve; mnogi so opisali željo po vzgoji otrok zunaj Združenih držav Amerike, drugi pa so izpostavili, da bi se bili pripravljene preseliti v tujino, da bi bili s tujim partnerjem. En študent je mednarodno življenje opisal kot »odlično priložnost za spoznavanje drugih kultur, pridobivanje novih veščin in pogled na svet z vidika, ki ni osredotočen na ZDA«.

Na vprašanje o njihovih glavnih treh razlogih za selitev v tujino je bil najpogostejši odgovor osredotočen na kariero, a mu je tesno sledila želja po pridobivanju novih izkušenj v tujem kulturnem okolju; en študent je namreč zapisal: »življenje je kratko in mislim, da je medvedja usluga, če ostaneš v istem kraju na istem mestu in se nikoli ne poskušaš učiti drugje«. Pretekle raziskave kažejo, da mlade samoiniciativne izseljence (SIE) poleg finančnih in poklicnih želja močno motivirajo avanture in življenjske spremembe (Ceric, Crawford, 2016, p. 138). Študija Boston Consulting Group (BCG), v okviru katere so raziskovali globalno mobilnost in zaposlitvene preference, je pokazala, da želijo mladi posamezniki postati globalni državljani z različnimi poklicnimi in osebnimi izkušnjami v tujini (Strack in sod., 2014, str. 13).

Pri pridobivanju poklicnih izkušenj v tujini raziskave kažejo, da večina (59 %) Američanov, starih med 21 in 30 let, bolj kot ostala ameriška populacija razmišlja o mednarodnih zaposlitvenih možnostih. Ta visok delež je morda povezan tudi s finančno krizo, ko je veliko izobraženih mladih Američanov iskalo tudi netradicionalne začetke svoje poklicne kariere prek začasnih zaposlitev v tujini, nekateri tudi v neprofitnih organizacijah (Strack in sod., 2014, str. 6–8).

Poleg osebne in poklicne rasti v tujini je veliko ameriških anketirancev navedlo, da bodo v prihodnosti politični dejavniki pomembno vplivali na njihovo verjetnost selitve v tujino. Kar 25 % ameriških študentov je izrecno opisalo ponovno izvolitev Donalda Trumpa kot potisni dejavnik. Med drugim so študenti pri možnostih za selitev v tujino izpostavili tudi dostopnost zdravstvenega varstva in izobraževanja, težave z dvostrankarskim političnim sistemom, težave z nadzorom orožja in rasnimi neenakostmi. Vendar te ugotovitve niso presenetljive. Po izvolitvi predsednika Trumpa leta 2016 je raziskava Gallup pokazala, da je 30 % Američanov, starih od 15 do 30 let, izjavilo, da bi se želeli preseliti v drugo državo, kar predstavlja rekordno visoko željo po izselitvi (Ray, Esipova, 2019). Glede na zeleno destinacijo izselitve so ameriški mladi izpostavili Evropo; kar 69 % ameriških anketirancev naše raziskave je navedlo, da bi najverjetneje emigrirali v države Evropske unije (13 % jih je navedlo Severno Ameriko, 6 % Azijo, 6 % Vzhodno Evropo, preostalih 6 % pa Oceanijo). Po drugi strani pa je potrebno omeniti, da si nobeden od anketiranih študentov ne želi večno življenja preživeti v tujini. Dejansko želi 44 % ameriških študentov živeti v tujini 1–5 let, 38 % 5–20 let, 13 % manj kot eno leto in 6 % 20–50 let.

Ameriški študenti so kljub tej močni želji po življenju v tujini izrazili dvome o njihovi sposobnosti vključevanja v tujo družbo. Na vprašanje, ali bi se počutili kot polnopravni in enakopravni državljani z vsemi pravicami in zaščito, ki jih imajo drugi v tujini, je 77 % anketirancev odgovorilo, da ne, saj menijo, da se priseljence pogosto obravnava kot tujce. Medtem ko so nekateri navedli, da je državljanstvo morda potrebno, da bi se v tuji državi počutili kot polnopravni in enakopravni državljani, so drugi opozorili, da so identifikatorji, kot sta rasa in socialno-ekonomski status, morda še pomembnejši (morda zato, ker so bolj vidni) pri sprejemanju v družbo. En študent je na podlagi osebnih izkušenj tudi izjavil, da so nekatere države precej

nacionalistične, imajo zakoreninjeno dojemanje tega, kakšen bi moral biti njihov državljani, in da je manj verjetno, da bodo sprejele priseljence v svojo družbo.

Tudi v Sloveniji je izseljevanje postal vse pomembnejši demogeografski pojav. Med letoma 2010 in 2016 se je število mladih, ki so se izselili iz Slovenije, skoraj štirikrat povečalo, saj veliko posameznikov kaže željo po spoznavanju drugih kulturnih okolij (Naterer in sod., 2019, str. 39). Raziskave so pokazale, da se mladi v Sloveniji pogosto pripravljajo na prihodnjo morebitno izselitev (z jezikovnimi tečaji ipd.), čeprav se običajno načrtujejo izseliti le za krajše obdobje in se nato vrniti domov (Naterer in sod., 2019, str. 39–40). Morda so bili zaradi evropeizacije Slovenije (pridobitev članstva v EU, prevzem evra ipd.) v procesu razmišljanja o izselitvi mladih, vlečni dejavniki pomembnejši od potisnih dejavnikov, saj so druge evropske države postale vse bolj dostopne za priseljevanje Slovencev (Naterer in sod., 2019, str. 40). Prav tako so k izseljevanju mladih v Sloveniji prispevala tudi številna tuja mednarodna podjetja (Naterer in sod., 2019, str. 40).

Večina slovenskih študentov naše raziskave nima želje po izselitvi iz Slovenije 39 % slovenskih študentov je namreč odgovorilo, da se iz Slovenije verjetno ne bi izselili, 13 % pa, da je to zelo malo verjetno. Ta rezultat se nekoliko razlikuje od prejšnjih raziskav (Naterer in sod. 2019, str. 39; Ilc Klun, 2017). V raziskavi, ki jo je izpeljala Ilc Klunova, in je vključevala več kot 1100 učencev slovenskih osnovnih in srednjih šol, je 63,5 % učencev izrazilo željo po izselitvi iz Slovenije (Ilc Klun, 2017b). Čeprav ta raziskava ni vključevala študentov, je pokazala pozitivno korelacijo med starostjo in željo po izselitvi, kar pomeni, da so bili starejši učenci in dijaki bolj naklonjeni do izseljevanja kot mlajši (Ilc Klun, 2017b). Naša raziskava pa je pokazala, da se 26 % slovenskih študentov želi izseliti iz Slovenije (22 % nekoliko verjetno in 4 % zelo verjetno). Pri ocenjevanju razlogov za izseljevanje so se kot glavni razlog izkazale družinske povezave. Natančneje, raziskava je pokazala, da bi se 50 % slovenskih študentov izselilo zaradi družinskih vezi (večja je verjetnost, da bi se izselili iz Slovenije, če bi imeli zakonca iz tuje države). Kljub temu pa po drugi strani 35 % slovenskih študentov ne bi upoštevalo družinskih vezi kot pomemben razlog za izselitev iz Slovenije.

Pri navajanju razlogov za izselitev iz Slovenije je 80 % slovenskih študentov poudarilo, da bi se, če bi se odselili, odselili zaradi delovnih izkušenj. 35 % jih je v svojih odgovorih navedlo, da bi bil razlog za izseljevanje tudi družina ali ljubezen.

Glede na destinacijo izseljevanja bi se večina slovenskih študentov (57 %) odselila v eno od držav Evropske unije, sledijo Severna Amerika (17 %), Vzhodna Evropa (13 %), Oceanija (9 %) in Južna Amerika (4 %). Glede na čas, preživet v tujini, je večina slovenskih študentov (48 %) izpostavila, da bi se v tujino odselila za obdobje 1–5 let, 22 % bi se odselilo za 5–20 let, 17 % za manj kot eno leto in le 4 % že več kot 50 let.

Glede na to, da je večina slovenskih študentov izrazila željo, da bi se izselili v eno od držav Evropske unije, je prepričanje, da bi se v državi priseljevanja počutili enakovredno kot priseljenci, razumljivo. 40 % slovenskih študentov je odgovorilo, da bi se v državi priseljevanja počutili enakopravne z drugimi državljani, 20 % slovenskih študentov pa je izrazilo dvome o tej trditvi.

## 4 ZAKLJUČKI

ZDA in Slovenija sta geografsko zelo različni državi. Kljub svoji velikosti, zgodovini, gospodarskim in političnim značilnostim sta obe državi vključeni v različne migracijske tokove. Zato so v obeh državah teme, povezane z migracijami, del vsakodnevne medijskega poročanja in političnih odločitev. Glede na splošno prepričanje, da ima večina ljudi negativne predstave in odnos do migracij, saj veliko negativnih novic o migracijah in migrantih posredujejo predvsem mediji, nas je zanimalo, kakšne predstave in odnos do migracij in migrantov imajo mladi v Sloveniji in ZDA. Julija 2020 smo med 44 študenti iz ZDA in Slovenije izvedli spletno anketo, v kateri nas so nas zanimale njihove predstave in odnos do priseljevanja in priseljencev na eni strani ter njihovo mnenje o izseljenstvu na drugi strani. Glede predstav in odnosa do migracij je naša raziskava pokazala, da so si ameriški in slovenski študentje v nekaterih pogledih podobni (npr. povprečno razumevanje migracijske politike, priseljenci imajo različne izkušnje), a v mnogih pogledih precej različni.

Prvi del naše raziskave se je nanašal na tematsko področje priseljevanja in priseljencev. Rezultati raziskave so pokazali, da ima večina ameriških študentov vsaj eno bližnjo izkušnjo s procesom priseljevanja, kar pomeni, da se je eden od njihovih družinskih članov ali prijateljev priselil v ZDA. Po drugi strani pa večina slovenskih študentov (72 %) teh izkušenj nima. Na vprašanje, ali menijo, da obstaja razlika med priseljenimi državljani in tistimi, ki so rojeni v državi, so vsi ameriški študentje odgovorili, da po njihovem mnenju ni razlike, slovenski študenti pa so bili pri odgovorih precej deljeni, saj jih je nekaj več kot polovica (52 %) izjavilo, da ni razlike. Kasneje je 83 % ameriških študentov poudarilo, da je priseljevanje zelo pomembno politično vprašanje, medtem ko le 48 % slovenskih študentov meni, da je priseljevanje dokaj pomembno politično vprašanje. Razlike med skupinami so se odrazile tudi v njihovih mnenjih o gospodarskem pomenu priseljencev. 47 % ameriških študentov meni, da je priseljevanje zelo pomembno z ekonomskega vidika, medtem ko 48 % slovenskih študentov meni, da je priseljevanje ekonomsko dokaj pomembno. Mnenja študentov so se med seboj močno razlikovala o prispevku priseljencev k družbi v državi. 88 % ameriških študentov meni, da imajo priseljenci pozitiven prispevek k ameriški družbi, medtem ko ima takšno mnenje le 29 % slovenskih študentov. Večina slovenskih študentov meni, da imajo priseljenci nekoliko negativen (33 %) ali nevtralen (33 %) prispevek k slovenski družbi. Ameriški študenti so v svojih odgovorih izpostavili, da ima večina mladih Američanov po njihovem mnenju pozitiven odnos do priseljencev in priseljevanja. Precej večji odstotek slovenskih študentov pa meni, da ima njihova generacija do priseljevanja nekoliko negativen odnos. Ta rezultat gre z roko v roki z raziskavo, ki jo je med letoma 2012 in 2014 opravila IOM, ki je med drugim pokazala, da imajo odrasli Američani bolj pozitiven odnos do priseljevanja in priseljencev kot odrasli Evropejci (How the world views migration, 2015). Ker imajo mediji pomemben vpliv na mnenje ljudi, nas je zanimalo mnenje mladih o vplivu medijev na odnos do migracij. Rezultati raziskave so pokazali, da vsi ameriški študenti menijo,

da mediji negativno vplivajo na mnenje ljudi o migracijah, medtem ko ima takšno mnenje le 28 % slovenskih študentov.

Druga polovica naše raziskave je bila povezana s področjem izseljenstva. Zanimalo nas je, ali se mladi v ZDA in Sloveniji zanimajo za izseljevanje, kam in za koliko let bi se odselili, kakšni so glavni razlogi za izseljevanje iz države ipd. Rezultati raziskave so pokazali, da se večina ameriških študentov (59 %) želi izseliti iz države, vendar običajno le začasno, za obdobje največ 1-5 let. Po drugi strani večina slovenskih študentov ni naklonjena izseljevanju (52 %), v primeru izseljevanja pa bi se večina odločila tudi za začasno izselitev za obdobje največ 1–5 let. V obeh skupinah študentov so bili razlogi za izseljevanje povezani predvsem s poklicno kariero in pridobivanjem novih delovnih izkušenj v tujini, na odločitve za izselitev v obeh skupinah pa bi vplivali tudi družinski razlogi. Obe skupini študentov sta izpostavili, da bi v primeru izseljevanja najverjetneje izbrali eno od držav Evropske unije. Ameriški študenti so v svojih odgovorih tudi izpostavili, da se po njihovem mnenju ne bi počutili enakovredne drugim državljanom v drugi državi, medtem ko je velik delež slovenskih študentov izrazil mnenje, da bi se v drugi državi počutili enakovredne in da bi imeli tam najverjetneje enake pravice kot državljani.

Na koncu je treba omeniti, da je bila raziskava izvedena na relativno majhnem vzorcu študentov (44), zato rezultatov raziskave ni mogoče v celoti posplošiti na celotno populacijo mladih v Sloveniji in ZDA. V ta namen bi bilo treba izvesti raziskavo na bistveno večjem vzorcu, ki bi lahko potrdil ali ovrgel nekatere rezultate, ki smo jih predstavili z našo raziskavo.

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# YOUTH PERCEPTION AND ATTITUDE TOWARD MIGRATION PROCESSES – THE CASE OF THE USA AND SLOVENIA

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## Abstract

The paper deals with the perception and attitude of young adults toward migration processes in two countries – the United States, which has been considered an immigration country for centuries, and Slovenia, which has been part of various migration processes in different historical periods (as an emigration country, immigration country, or transit migration country). The first part of the paper focuses on the migration processes in both countries and presents an overview of the average of youths' perception and attitude toward immigration, while the latter part discusses the perception and attitude toward migration processes of the 44 young Americans and Slovenians included in our survey.

**Keywords:** emigration, immigration, perception, attitude, youth, Slovenia, USA

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

We can define migration as a process of moving people either within a state or across international borders. It is not a recent demogeographic phenomenon but has been a part of human history since its beginning (Bellwood, 2013). People have been migrating internally, from one country to another or from one continent to another. According to IOM, there are more than one billion migrants around the world, including the 272 million international migrants globally (World migration report 2020, 2019). Despite being a small percentage of a world's population (3.5%), the estimated number and proportion of international migrants has already surpassed some of the projections made for the year 2050, which were 230 million (World migration report 2020, 2019).

Migration has a longstanding impact on all aspects of society. In the political sphere, for example, every country is included in migration processes in some form, as an immigration country, emigration country, or transit migration country, and therefore has its own migration policies through which it regulates migration processes within its borders. Likewise, migration has affected economies across the globe; within the past few years, immigrants have represented “47% of the increase of the workforce in the United States and 70% in Europe over the past ten years” (Migration policy debates, 2014). In terms of demography, international migration affects a country's population directly by changing its size and age structure, and indirectly by influencing the overall number of births in the future (Fihel et al., 2018). Educationally, as well, the implementation of migration-related topics into school curricula has become increasingly necessary in providing children with a well-rounded education and accurate depiction of the world (Ilc Klun, 2017a). In fact, migration can play an important role in cultural diversity of immigration countries, which is reflected in food, religion, and ethnic neighborhoods.

Despite migration's centrality in global discussions and positive contributions to many aspects of life, the media often present the topic in a negative light, thereby influencing contemporary attitudes toward migration-related topics across generations (How the world views migration, 2015). Due to news about migration in the media, there are sometimes misinterpretations that people have a negative perception of migration. Between 2012 and 2014, Gallup World Poll surveyed over 183,000 adults in more than 140 countries worldwide, asking them about their perception on migration. In seven of the top ten immigration countries (the United States, Canada, Australia, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Germany and France) citizens say immigration should be increased or stay the same, while Europeans presented more negative attitudes toward immigration (How the World Views Migration, 2015). The results of this report were the basis for the design of our own research. In order to find out the perception and attitude of young people toward migration in two very different countries, the United States and Slovenia, we designed a study to compare American and Slovenian students' thoughts on the topic.

As the leading host country for immigrants across the globe, the U.S. Department of State describes the United States as “the world’s most generous country for immigration.” In fact, the nation’s immigration statistics may support this claim; every year, approximately one million immigrants arrive in the United States, while hundreds of thousands of foreign-born residents become naturalized citizens (International migration, 2020). In 2018, immigration to the United States reached a numeric high, with more than 44.7 million immigrants living within the nation’s borders (Batalova et al., 2020). Between 2015 and 2019, as well, the foreign-born population increased by 5%, and approximately 51 million immigrants are living in the United States today (World migration report 2020, 2019). In this way, Pew Research Center notes that the American immigrant population is rather diverse, with immigrants coming to the U.S. from nearly every country in the world (Radford, 2019).

In contrast to the United States, Slovenia, as one of the smaller countries in Europe, is involved in various migration flows, not only immigration, but especially emigration. Because of its transit position, political and socio – economic reasons, Slovenia has always been involved in migration processes. In the context of migration, Slovenia can be categorized as an emigration country [before the start of the 20th century, 300,000 people had emigrated from Slovenia, which was at that time one third of whole population of the country (Ilc Klun, 2017a); and another 100,000 people emigrated from Slovenia during and after the Second World War (Ilc Klun, 2017a)], immigration country [in the 1960s and 1970s Slovenia faced immigration flow of more than 80,000 people from other Yugoslavian republics (Ilc Klun, 2019)], and as a transit migration country [when people especially from ex-Yugoslavian countries cross Slovenia to reach other Central and Western European countries (Ilc Klun, 2017b)]. About 250,000 immigrants currently live in Slovenia, which represents about 12.1% of the total population of Slovenia. With such a share of immigrants, Slovenia ranks 16th among EU member states (SURS, 2019). Among 250,000 people of immigrant background, 216,000 (86%) had their first residence in one of the countries that emerged after the break-up of Yugoslavia. Among these, the most numerous are those whose first residence (after their birth) was in Bosnia and Herzegovina (108,000), followed by those whose first residence was in Croatia (45,000), and then those with their first residence in Serbia (25,000) (SURS, 2018). Of the immigrants from other European countries, the most numerous are those whose first residence was in Germany (7,300), followed by those with their first residence in Italy (4,100) and in the Russian Federation (3,000). Among people whose first residence was in one of the non-European countries, most of them had their first residence in China (1,000), followed by those with their first residence in the United States (800) and in Argentina and Canada (400 each) (SURS, 2018). According to this research, a typical immigrant in Slovenia, who immigrated to Slovenia between 2008 and 2017, is a man aged 30-39 and lives alone. He is a foreign citizen with permanent residence in Slovenia and immigrated to

Slovenia from Bosnia and Herzegovina. He resides in one of the city municipalities. He is employed and has a vocational education (SURS, 2019).

Our research centers around youths' attitudes and perceptions toward migration, and therefore focused primarily on statistics related to youth and migration in the United States and Slovenia.

In the United States, for example, studies have shown that Millennials (born between 1981 and 1996) harbor more favorable views of immigrants than the generations before them, perhaps due to the increasing diversification and globalization of American society (Rouse, Ross, 2018). Millennials have grown up in increasingly diverse environments with greater numbers of immigrants than ever before, and these demographic changes have influenced their contemporary attitudes toward immigration (Rouse Ross, 2018). Despite the seemingly widespread adoption of tolerance toward immigrants, Millennial viewpoints still vary based on a wide range of identifiers (Rouse, Ross, 2018). Looking toward race and ethnicity, immigration has shaped the lives of various groups of the American population in different ways; Asian-Americans and Latin-Americans, for example, are significantly more likely to be an immigrant, have family or friends that are immigrants, and speak another language other than English in their homes when compared to whites and African-Americans (Cohen et al., 2018). Despite these differences, Millennials of all racial and ethnic backgrounds have expressed support for various issues, such as creating pathways to citizenship for DACA-eligible individuals and expanding the U.S. guest worker program (Cohen et al., 2018).

In Slovenia, as well, tolerance toward immigrants seems to be increasing. Compared to 2002, a 2014 study found that more Slovenians believed that immigration was making the country a better place to live (Heath, Richards, 2016). In general, Europeans have echoed this sentiment, yet have tended to favor immigrants from their ethnic or racial group and express more negative opinions about immigrants from poor countries outside of Europe (Heath, Richards, 2016). In Slovenia, too, research confirms that several groups (such as Bosniaks and the Roma) are continuously treated as outsiders, despite living in Slovenia, speaking Slovenian, and holding Slovenian citizenship (Bajt, 2016). Regardless of their place of birth, many immigrants in Slovenia have voiced their experiences with discrimination and exploitation, ultimately believing that their "foreignness" prevents them from fully being accepted in society (Bajt, 2016).

## 2 METHODOLOGY

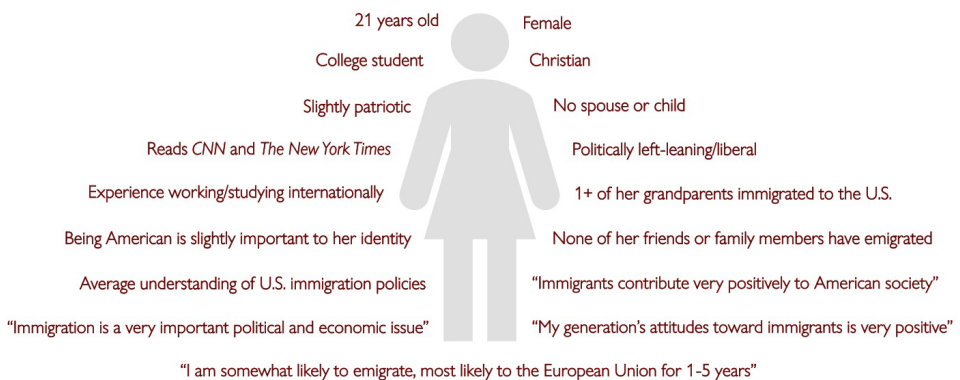
This study used an online questionnaire to examine the similarities and differences between American and Slovenian youths' perceptions and attitudes toward migration. The questionnaire was divided into three parts; the first part collected demographic data about respondents, the second part focused on attitudes toward immigration in their home countries, and the final part addressed emigration. The online questionnaire with

the support of the e-tool Ika.si was launched on July 7, 2020, and students had the opportunity to participate in the survey until July 24, 2020. In total, 44 students participated in the study, of which 19 were from the United States and 25 from Slovenia.

In the case of the American students, all 19 respondents were between the ages of 20 and 21 and the majority of them (68%) were female. More than half (58%) of the students identified as Christian (26% were not religious, 11% were Jewish and 5% were Russian Orthodox). All respondents have completed high school and the majority have at least some college experience. In terms of international experience, 71% of respondents have worked or studied abroad. It should be noted, as well, that this sample is not reflective of the American undergraduate student population; in contrast to the 10% of American students that study abroad, many of the students in the sample study international affairs, politics, and language, and may be more likely to spend time abroad (US study abroad, 2018). Politically, 88% of respondents said they were liberal (6% identified as conservative, and another 6% as moderate), consistent with the fact that many respondents said that they primarily utilize left-leaning news sources, such as *CNN* and *The New York Times*. At the same time, 76% of students use at least two sources to collect their news, with 18% of respondents utilizing social media platforms.

At the same time, it seems as though American students view their nationality rather neutrally; although the results varied, 41% of the respondents indicated that being American was slightly important to their identity, while 35% stated that it was fairly important, 12% claimed it was very important, and 12% claimed it was not at all important. Despite the 88% of respondents that claimed being American was at least slightly important to their identity, 29% of our sample described themselves as not at all patriotic. 41% of respondents did, however, identify as slightly patriotic, 18% as very patriotic, and the remaining 12% as fairly patriotic.

Figure 1: An average American student who participated in the study.





In the case of Slovenian students, the majority of them, 65%, were 20 years old, 13% 25 years old, 9% 22 and 24 years old and 4% 23 years old. Majority of them, 60%, were female. Almost half of students identified as Christian (48%), while others stated they are atheist, or claimed that this information is personal, did not answer the question, or emphasized regional identity over religion in their answers. All respondents completed high school, and all have some college experience - 76% completed high school and are currently students of first bachelor level, while others have already a bachelor's degree and are currently students of a master's program. In terms of international experience, the majority, 92%, have not studied or worked abroad, which starkly contrasts the high percentage American students with international experience who participated in the study. 60% of Slovenian students considered their political views as moderate, while 36% liberal and 4% as conservative. In terms of utilizing news platforms, the majority of them (44%) use different, at least two or more news sources, and 20% of Slovenian students have exposed social media platforms (eg. Facebook) when obtaining the news. Majority of Slovenian students, 58%, indicated that being Slovenian is very important to their identity, while 21% stated it is fairly important, 17% slightly important and only 4% indicated that being Slovenian is not at all important for his/her identity. Nevertheless, they indicated their national identity as very important, Slovenian students do not consider themselves as being very patriotic. Majority of them, 44%, find themselves as fairly patriotic, 28% as slightly patriotic, 20% as very patriotic and 8% as not at all patriotic.

Figure 2: An average Slovenian student who participated in the study.

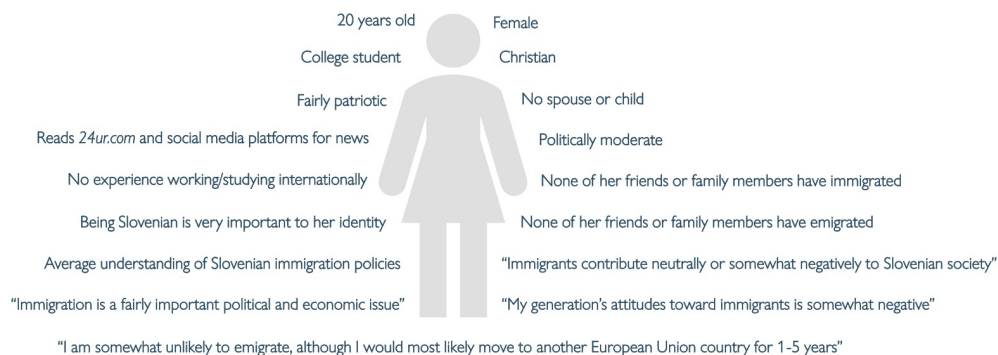


Table 1: Demographic information of respondents.

		American students (%)	Slovenian students (%)
International experience	Yes	71	8
	No	29	92
Political orientation	Liberal	88	36
	Conservative	6	4
	Moderate	6	60
National identity	Very important	12	58
	Fairly important	35	21
	Slightly important	41	17
	Not at all important	12	4
Patriotic	Very patriotic	18	20
	Fairly patriotic	12	44
	Slightly patriotic	41	28
	Not at all patriotic	29	8

Table 1 highlights some key differences between American and Slovenian students, most notably the major gap in international experience. In our survey, we asked students if they had ever worked or studied abroad and, while most American students already have at least one experience outside of their home country, the vast majority of Slovenian students do not; as previously stated, this share is higher among American students due to their involvement in the study of international relations. Among Slovenian students, however, this percentage is very low because most of the students who participated in the research are first-year students and have not yet made the decision to study abroad. Another significant difference between American and Slovenian students is their political orientation. The majority of American students defined themselves politically as left-leaning/liberal, while the majority of Slovenian students defined themselves as moderate, and these differences are reflected in their definitions of national identity and patriotism. Most American students, for example, perceive their national identity as slightly important and define themselves as slightly patriotic. Slovenian students, on the other hand, consider their national identity very important and express more patriotism than their American colleagues.

## 3 RESULTS

Survey results are divided into two parts; the first section discusses our American and Slovenian respondents' perceptions and attitudes toward immigration, while the second part assesses their feelings toward future emigration.

### 3.1 Attitude and perception of American students about immigration

Both countries, the United States and Slovenia, have been part of immigration processes. The United States, for example, has a long history of immigration, and immigrants from all over the world continue to diversify the nation. Slovenia, on the other hand, has been part of two major immigration waves in the 20th century (through the 1960s and 1970s and again after 1991), when immigrants from (former) Yugoslavia immigrated to Slovenia, mostly for economic reasons. In our research, we were interested in whether the state's involvement in immigration processes can be linked to the attitude and perception of young people toward immigration; in fact, the results of the International Organization for Migration's 2012–2014 survey showed that the largest immigration countries (the United States, Australia, Canada, etc.) have a positive attitude towards immigration, while European countries are generally averse to immigration (How the world views migration, 2015).

In our research, we asked the participants whether they themselves had any experience with the immigration process, and most American students expressed at least one familial or friendship-based connection to American immigration. In fact, nearly half (47%) of the respondents noted that at least one of their grandparents immigrated to the United States, and 41% said they have at least one close friend who is an immigrant. At the same time, 24% stated that at least one of their parents is an immigrant, and other 24% of students have no connections to the immigration process.

In terms of identity, all American students agreed that there is no difference between an American-born American and a foreign-born American. Many students noted that an immigrant should hold certain values associated with the United States, such as a belief in liberty and justice for all, while others stated that obtaining citizenship, participating in governmental processes, and contributing to the economy are essential to being "American." At the same time, many students emphasized the centrality of immigration and diversity in American history and culture, stating that differences among Americans should be celebrated. Despite the consensus that all Americans should be treated equally, one respondent noted that foreign-born Americans are likely to face discrimination based on the color of their skin and the accent of their voice.

American students have made it clear that immigration is a high-priority political issue, as 83% of respondents described it as very important, with the remaining 18% describing it as fairly important. In assessing issues more important than immigration, healthcare, climate change, police/prison reform, and gun control proved to be

significant among American student population. Economically, almost half (47%) of respondents viewed immigration as very important, 29% said it was fairly important, and the remaining 24% stated that it was slightly important. Although no students described immigration as completely unimportant economically, most students believed that addressing the wealth gap, minimum wage, unemployment, poverty, and access to health-care and social welfare are currently more economically significant than immigration.

In terms of migration-related knowledge and education, most American students (47%) stated they have an average understanding of U.S. immigration policies (41% claimed their understanding was good, while the remaining 12% described it as poor). To improve this understanding, many students voiced their desire to learn more about the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) policy, as well as the work of the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, known widely as ICE. Others also hoped to better understand the process of becoming an American citizen and the governmental treatment of immigrants during this process.

Overall, American youth seem to possess favorable views of immigrants in their society. According to 88% of our American respondents, immigrants contribute very positively to American society; the other 12% of students described the immigrant contribution as somewhat positive. On a larger scale, 59% of respondents describe their generation's attitude toward immigrants as very positive, 29% describe it as somewhat positive, 6% describe it as neutral, and another 6% describe it as somewhat negative.

Despite the generally positive youth perception of immigrants in the United States, many of our respondents expressed concerns about racism, xenophobia, and other forms of discrimination against the American immigrant community. While 16% of students say that all immigrants in the United States share a similar experience, based on the feeling of being an outsider and creating a new life in an unfamiliar territory, the remaining 84% of respondents claim that immigrant experiences in the U.S. can differ widely, based on factors such as country of origin, educational and economic background, skin color, religion, fluency in English language, legal status, and level of familial support. One student noted that the U.S. has “favorite” countries, meaning that Americans value immigrants from these countries more than others, likely because of religious and racial factors. Similarly, another student mentioned the role of stereotypes in an immigrant's experience in the United States; for example, a Latinx or Middle Eastern immigrant may face more discrimination and assimilation-related challenges than a European immigrant, based largely on their appearance as an “outsider.” Two students also claimed that a support system (of family or friends) can influence an immigrant's experience in the United States, as the area in which immigrants live and the people with whom they interact can ultimately impact their experience in the United States.

Similarly, all American students agreed that immigrants to the United States do not feel like a full and equal citizen with all the rights and protections that other people have, further highlighting the presence of xenophobia within the American general

public. Yet again, students believed that immigrants are likely to face discrimination; however, many students also noted that undocumented immigrants and DACA recipients are more likely to be disadvantaged, as any minor indiscretion can strip them of their legal protection. Likewise, 24% of respondents stated that policies created under the Trump administration have further barred immigrants from integrating (and feeling accepted) in the United States.

Regardless of the perceived threat of discrimination against immigrants in the United States, 71% of American students surveyed strongly disagreed with the idea that more Americans would accept immigrants' cultural differences if they tried harder to fit in (24% disagreed, and 6% agreed). The majority of students expressed their belief that immigrants should not have to abandon their culture and background to conform to American standards; rather, students noted that cultural diversity contributes significantly and positively to American society (both historically and contemporarily), as immigrants consistently bring new ideas to the forefront and propel the nation into the future with more acceptance. Addressing the hypocrisies of assimilation, one student noted that an immigrant that “tries too hard to fit in” will be categorized as “white-washed” by the American public, yet an immigrant that “doesn't try hard enough to fit in” will be described by others as “not a real American.”

In fact, the majority of American students believed that the media negatively influenced their perceptions of immigrants in the United States by feeding into pre-established stereotypes of immigrants and criminalizing immigration. Many students felt that the media fails to discuss the “overwhelming good” that immigrants bring to American society, causing a student to feel concerned for the safety of immigrants in the United States. A few students also noted that different sources will present different viewpoints of immigration in the United States, perhaps polarizing the issue. Addressing the importance of immigration coverage, another student mentioned that the media is where they receive information about immigrants and immigration, which in turn impacts their perception of the topic; in this way, it seems as though the media play a key role in the formation of American youths' opinions on immigration.

### 3.2 Attitude and perception of Slovenian students about immigration

In contrast to American respondents, most Slovenian students (72%) have no connections to immigration processes. In terms of friends and family, only 20% of Slovenian students stated that they have a close friend who immigrated to Slovenia, and only 16% of students have one or more grandparents who immigrated to Slovenia. Unlike the 24% of American students with at least one immigrant parent, none of Slovenian students have parental immigration history.

In the demographic section of our survey, 58% of Slovenian students described their national identity as very important to their personal identity. In addressing Slovenian national identity, the majority of Slovenian students (52%) stated that there

is no difference between a Slovenian-born Slovenian and a foreign-born Slovenian, 8% stated that there is a difference, and the remaining 40% were not clear in their answers. When we asked them about the factors that define an individual's national identity, 32% of students answered that the most important identifiers of Slovenian identity are language and culture. Thus, in the context of defining national identity, Slovenian students emphasized one component, the linguistic-cultural component, which is often the fastest to notice, while generally disregarding the historical, spatial, economic-social and political components of national identity (Zupančič, 1998).

In addressing the significance of immigration in the political and economic realms, Slovenian survey respondents described the issue as generally important. Politically, for example, almost half (48%) of students described immigration as fairly important, 32% as very important, and the remaining 20% as slightly important. In fact, none of Slovenian respondents perceive immigration has an unimportant part of Slovenian politics. In the economic sphere, too, most Slovenian students consider immigration to be fairly important (48%), while 24% of Slovenian students describe it as very important or slightly important. Only one Slovenian student emphasized that immigration is not all important in terms of economic issues. In assessing issues more important than immigration, healthcare, climate change, unemployment, homelessness, gender equality, elderly care, and corruption proved to be significant among the Slovenian student population.

Like American survey respondents, most Slovenian students (48%) described their understanding of Slovenian immigration policies as average, 28% as good, 12% as poor, and another 12% as very poor. To improve understanding of immigration policies, Slovenian students voiced their desire to learn more about the procedures for acquiring citizenship, asylum, the procedures for integrating immigrants into society, challenges that immigrants face in Slovenian society, employment opportunities for immigrants, healthcare, etc.

In comparison with American students' overwhelmingly positive perception of immigrant contributions to society, Slovenian students presented a largely negative view of immigrants' societal impacts. More specifically, most Slovenian students suggested that immigrants neutrally (33%) or somewhat negatively (33%) contribute to Slovenian society. Although another 4% described immigrants' contributions as very negative, others expressed more favorable views; 25% of Slovenian students described immigrant contributions as somewhat positive and another 4% as very positive. On a generational level, as well, Slovenian students tend to perceive immigrants rather negatively. For example, 44% of Slovenian students described their generation's attitudes toward immigrants as somewhat negative, 28% as neutral, 16% as somewhat positive, 8% as very negative, and 4% as very positive. Overall, these statistics confirm the results of the International Organization for Migration's 2012-2014 study (*How the World Views Migration*, 2015) which showed that adults in Europe have a negative perception of immigration. More specifically, our research showed that young



people in Slovenia, who were at the center of our research, have a slightly more negative attitude toward immigrants and immigration.

In addressing societal acceptance of immigrants in Slovenia, the majority of Slovenian students (72%) believed that immigrants in Slovenia do not share similar experiences and may be treated differently based on factors such as ethnicity, cultural background, and education. In their responses, many students described the centrality of immigrants' ethnic affiliations in societal acceptance; in their opinion, immigrants who immigrated to Slovenia from the countries of former Yugoslavia are much less likely to be accepted in Slovenia than those who immigrate to Slovenia from other countries. In addition, many students noted that immigrants with different cultural backgrounds and lower levels of education may be perceived more negatively by Slovenians, and therefore less likely to feel accepted in society.

When asked if immigrants in Slovenia feel like full and equal citizens with all the rights and protections that other people have, Slovenian students' opinions were divided. The majority (44%) of students agreed with the statement, believing that immigrants in Slovenia feel completely equal. In their answers, some Slovenian respondents emphasized the idea that many immigrants from former Yugoslav republics can speak in their native languages and be generally understood by the Slovenian population. Another 40% of students, however, stated that immigrants in Slovenia are not equal and may face discrimination by others. Similarly, 71% of Slovenian students believe that Slovenians would be more likely to accept the cultural diversity of immigrants if they tried harder to fit in (46% agreed with the statement and 25% strongly agreed). Above all, they emphasized that Slovenians would be more accepting of immigrants if they learned the Slovenian language and accepted Slovenian culture. On the other hand, 29% of Slovenian students did not agree with the statement, ultimately believing that immigrants have the right to keep their language and culture.

In addressing the media's impact on Slovenians' perceptions of migration, the majority of Slovenian students (44%) believed that the media influence the way Slovenians view migration, but did not mention whether this influence is positive or negative. However, 28% of students stated that the Slovenian media depict a very negative image of migration, which in turn affects society's perceptions of migration. Interestingly, none of the Slovenian students believed that the Slovenian media would present migration as a positive demographic process.

### 3.3 Attitude and perception of American and Slovenian students about emigration

Looking toward prospects for emigration, it seems that American students are rather interested in living abroad. In fact, 59% of American respondents stated that they're likely to emigrate in the future (24% said they were very likely and 35% described themselves as somewhat likely). On the other hand, 6% of students remained neutral

on the issue, 12% said they were somewhat unlikely, and the remaining 24% said they were very unlikely to emigrate. At the same time, 63% of students said that having a spouse or child may influence their likelihood of emigrating; many described a desire to raise children outside of the United States, and others said that they would be willing to move abroad to be with a foreign partner. One student described living internationally as “a great opportunity to learn about other cultures, gain new skills, and see the world from a perspective that isn’t focused on the U.S.”

When asked their top three reasons for moving abroad, the most common answer was career-focused, yet closely followed by a desire to gain new experiences within a foreign cultural context; to further describe this sentiment, one student wrote “life is short and I think it’s a disservice to yourself to stay put and never try learning in other places.” In fact, previous research suggests that young self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) are motivated significantly by adventure and life changes, in addition to financial and professional desires (Ceric, Crawford, 2016). A study conducted by the Boston Consulting Group (BCG) on global mobility and employment preferences echoed these ideas, stating that individuals want to become a global citizen through diverse professional and personal experiences abroad (Strack et al., 2014).

In addressing the yearning for occupational experience abroad, research suggests that Americans between the ages of 21 and 30 are 59% more likely than Americans in general to consider international employment opportunities; although this high percentage may be correlated with the financial crisis, many educated young Americans have also been seeking non-traditional starts to their careers through temporary overseas assignments, perhaps with nonprofit organizations (Strack et al., 2014).

In addition to personal and professional growth, many American respondents stated that political factors will significantly impact their likelihood of moving abroad in the future. While 25% of students explicitly described the re-election of Donald Trump as a push factor, other students also stressed the importance of healthcare and education accessibility issues, as well as problems with the two-party system, gun control, and racial inequalities. However, these findings are rather unsurprising. Following the election of President Trump in 2016, a Gallup poll found that 30% of Americans between the ages of 15 and 30 said they would like to move to another country, representing a record high in the desire to emigrate (Ray, Esipova, 2019).

In terms of desired destination, Europe appears to be popular among American youth, as 69% of our respondents stated that they would most likely emigrate to countries within the European Union, 13% stated North America, 6% stated Asia, 6% stated Eastern Europe, and the remaining 6% stated Oceania. However, none of the students surveyed want to live abroad forever; in fact, 44% of students want to live internationally for 1–5 years, 38% for 5–20 years, 13% for less than a year, and 6% for 20–50 years.

Despite this strong desire to live abroad, American students expressed doubts about their ability to integrate into a foreign society. When asked if they would feel like a full and equal citizen with all the rights and protections that others have when

abroad, 77% of respondents said no, believing that immigrants are often treated as outsiders. While some stated that citizenship may be necessary to feel like a full and equal citizen in a foreign country, others noted that identifiers such as race and socio-economic status may be even more important (perhaps because they are more visible) in gaining acceptance. Speaking from personal experience, one student also stated that some countries are quite nationalistic, have an ingrained perception of what a citizen should look like, and may be less likely to accept immigrants into their society.

In Slovenia, as well, emigration has become an increasingly popular phenomenon. Between 2010 and 2016, the number of young people emigrating from Slovenia nearly quadrupled, as many individuals exhibit a desire to experience a foreign culture (Naterer et al., 2019). Studies have shown that young Slovenians often prepare for future migration (through language classes, etc.), although they typically plan to return home (Naterer et al., 2019). Perhaps through the Europeanization of Slovenia (gaining EU membership, adopting the Euro, etc), pull factors have been more significant than push factors when young people consider emigration, as other European countries have become increasingly accessible (Naterer et al., 2019). Likewise, many international companies have contributed to this population's high likelihood of emigrating by targeting young educated individuals (Naterer et al., 2019).

In regard to emigration, most Slovenian students have no desire to emigrate from Slovenia; in fact, 39% of Slovenian students answered that they would be somewhat unlikely to emigrate from Slovenia, and 13% very unlikely. This result is slightly different from previous research (Naterer et al., 2019); Ilc Klun, 2017). In this survey, which included more than 1100 pupils from Slovenian primary and secondary schools, 63.5% of pupils expressed a desire to emigrate from Slovenia (Ilc Klun, 2017b). Although this research did not include college students, this research showed a positive correlation between age and desire to emigrate, meaning that older students looked more favorably upon emigration than younger students (Ilc Klun, 2017b). However, our research showed that 26% of Slovenian college students want to emigrate from Slovenia (22% somewhat likely and 4% very likely). In assessing reasons for emigration, familial connections proved to be a major motivator. More specifically, the survey showed that 50% of Slovenian students would emigrate due to family ties (they would be more likely to emigrate from Slovenia if they had a spouse from a foreign country), but 35% of Slovenian students would not consider family ties an important factor for emigration from Slovenia.

When stating the reasons for emigrating from Slovenia, 80% of Slovenian students emphasized that if they emigrated, they would emigrate for work experience. 35% of them stated in their answers that the reason for emigration would also be family or love.

In regard to the destination of emigration, most Slovenian students (57%) would emigrate to one of the countries of the European Union, followed by North America (17%), Eastern Europe (13%), Oceania (9%) and South America (4%). In terms of time spent abroad, most students (48%) pointed out that they would emigrate abroad

for a period of 1-5 years, 22% would emigrate for 5-20 years, 17% for less than a year and only 4% for more than 50 years.

Given that the majority of Slovenian students have expressed a desire to emigrate to one of the countries of the European Union, the belief that they would feel equal in the country of immigration as immigrants is understandable. 40% of Slovene students answered that they would feel equal to other citizens in the country of immigration, and 20% of Slovene students expressed doubts toward this statement.

## 4 CONCLUSIONS

The United States and Slovenia are geographically very different countries, and despite their size, history, economic and political characteristics, both countries have been involved in different migration flows. Therefore, in both countries, migration-related topics are part of daily media coverage and political decisions. Given that there is a general belief that most people have negative perception and attitude toward migration, as most negative news about migration and migrants is mainly provided by the media, we were interested in the perceptions and attitudes of young people in the US and Slovenia towards migration and migrants. In July 2020, we conducted an online survey among 44 students from the USA and Slovenia, in which we were interested in their perception and attitude towards immigration and immigrants on the one hand, and their opinion on emigration on the other. In terms of perception and attitude toward migration, our research showed that American and Slovenian students are similar in some ways (ex. average understanding of migration policy, immigrants have different experiences), but quite different in many aspects.

The first part of our research was related to the thematic area of immigration and immigrants. The results of the survey showed that most American students have at least one closer experience with the immigration process, meaning that one of their family members or friends immigrated to the United States. On the other hand, most Slovenian students (72%) do not have this experience. When asked if they thought there was a difference between immigrant citizens and those born in the country, all American students answered that in their opinion there was no difference, while Slovenian students were quite divided in their answers, as slightly more than half (52%) stated that there is no difference. Subsequently, 83% of American students emphasized that immigration is a very important political issue, while only 48% of Slovenian students think that immigration is a fairly important political issue. Differences between the groups were also reflected in their opinions on the economic importance of immigration. For example, 47% of American students think that immigration is very important from an economic point of view, while 48% of Slovenian students think that immigration is only fairly important economically. The students' opinions differed greatly from each other on the contribution of immigrants to the country's society. 88% of American students believe that immigrants have a positive contribution to American society, while only

29% of Slovenian students have such an opinion. Most of them believe that immigrants have a somewhat negative (33%) or neutral (33%) contribution to Slovenian society. In their answers, the American students pointed out that, in their opinion, most young Americans have a positive attitude towards immigrants and immigration. A much higher percentage of Slovenian students, however, believed that their generation has a somewhat negative attitude toward immigration. This result goes hand in hand with a survey conducted by the IOM between 2012 and 2014, which showed, among other things, that adult Americans have more positive attitudes toward immigration and immigrants than adult Europeans (How the World Views Migration, 2015). Since the media have a significant influence on people's opinions, we were interested in youths' opinions on the media's impact on migration. The results of the survey showed that all American students believe that the media have a negative impact on people's opinions on migration, while only 28% of Slovenian students have such an opinion.

The second half of our research was related to the field of emigration. We were interested in whether young people in the United States and Slovenia are interested in emigrating, where and for how many years they would emigrate, their top reasons for emigrating from the country, etc. The results of the survey showed that the majority of American students (59%) want to emigrate from the country, but usually only temporarily, for a maximum of 1–5 years. On the other hand, the majority of Slovenian students are not in favor of emigration (52%), and in the case of emigration, the majority also opted for temporary emigration for a maximum period of 1–5 years. In both groups of students, the reasons for emigration were primarily related to professional careers and gaining new work experience abroad, and the decision for emigration in both groups would also be influenced by family reasons. Both groups of students pointed out that if emigrating, they would most likely choose one of the European Union countries, and in their answers, American students pointed out that, in their opinion, they would not feel equal to other citizens in another country, while a large proportion of Slovenian students expressed the opinion that they would feel equal to other citizens in another country and that they would have the same rights.

Finally, it should be noted that the survey was conducted on a relatively small sample of students (44), so the results of the survey cannot be fully generalized to the entire youth population. To this end, it would be necessary to conduct research on a significantly larger sample, which could confirm or refute some of the results we presented with our research.

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Uroš Stepišnik\*



# FLUVIOKRAS ŽIBRŠKE PLANOTE S HOTENJSKIM IN LOGAŠKIM KRAŠKIM POLJEM

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## Izvleček

Proučevano območje Žibrške planote z okolico je z morfografskega vidika eno od najbolj pestrih fluviokraških območij v Sloveniji. Namen naše raziskave je interpretacija fluviokraških oblik in procesov ter načina delovanja fluviokraških geomorfoloških okolij. V raziskavi smo interpretirali delovanje fluviokraškega površja Žibrške planote in dolin, ki planoto razčlenjujejo. Pojasnili smo tudi delovanje dolin v okolici Žibrške planote, kjer so se površinski vodotoki pretočili v kraški vodonosnik, ter interpretirali geomorfološki razvoj Hotenjskega in Logaškega kraškega polja.

**Ključne besede:** geomorfologija, kras, fluviokras, kraško polje, Hotenjsko kraško polje, Logaško kraško polje

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# FLUVIOKARST OF THE ŽIBRŠE PLATEAU WITH HOTEDRŠICA AND LOGATEC POLJE

## Abstract

The study area of the Žibrše Plateau and its surroundings is one of the most morphologically diverse fluviokarst areas in Slovenia. The aim of our research is to interpret the fluviokarst forms and processes, as well as the functioning of the fluviokarst geomorphological environment. In this study, we interpreted the fluviokarst surface of the Žibrše Plateau and the valleys that dissect the plateau. We also explained the functioning of the valleys around the Žibrše Plateau, where surface streams drained into the karst aquifer, and interpreted the geomorphological evolution of the Hotedršica and Logatec poljes.

**Keywords:** geomorphology, karst, fluviokarst, polje, Hotedršica polje, Logatec polje

## 1 UVOD

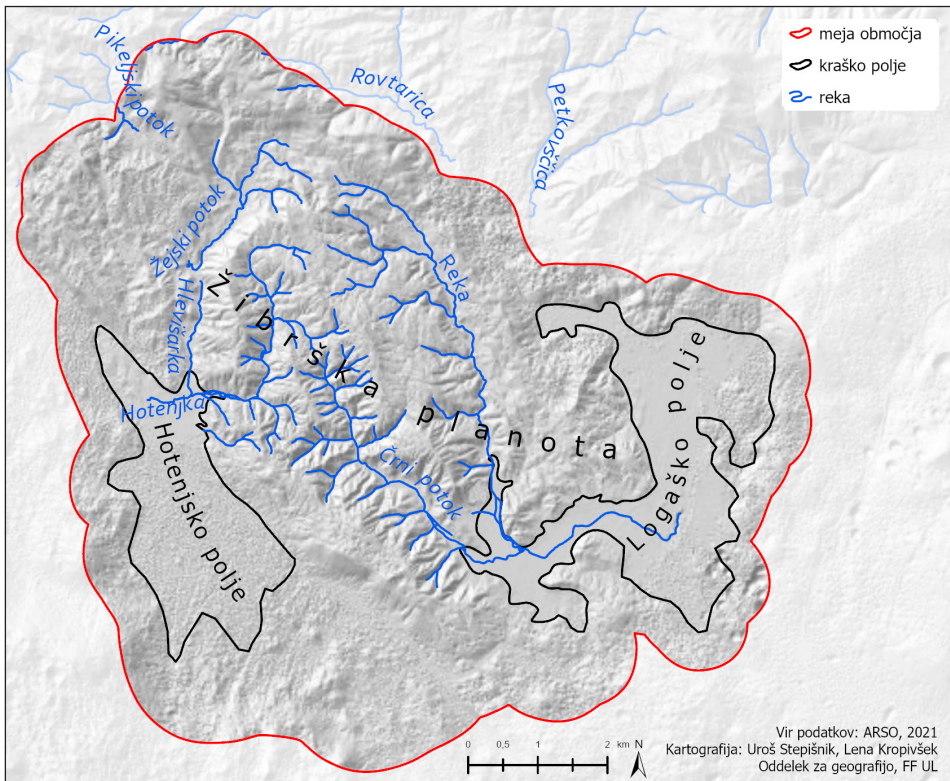
Strokovni izraz fluviokras je v krasoslovno terminologijo vpeljal Roglič (1959) in je s tem podrobneje opredelil starejša termina polkras (nem: halbkarst) (Grund, 1914) in merokras (nem: merokarst) (Cvijić, 1924). Oba izraza sta zelo splošno opisovala kraška okolja, kjer kras ni dobro razvit in se kraški procesi prepletajo s fluvialnimi. Moderno krasoslovje fluviokraška okolja povezuje z zakraselimi kamninami, ki na površju intenzivno mehansko preperevajo. To so najpogosteje dolomiti, zato se v literaturi kot sopomenka fluviokrasu uporablja tudi dolomitni kras (Gabrovec, 1994; Gabrovec, 1995; Komac, 2003; Komac, 2004; Komac, 2006; Gostinčar, 2016). Fluviokraška okolja so pogosta tudi na tankoplastnatih apnencih, lapornatih apnencih in tudi na tektonsko deformiranih območjih (Roglič, 1958; Stepišnik, 2020a). Fluviokraška okolja so značilna le za pobočja na teh kamninah, kjer vsa padavinska voda ne odteka vertikalno skozi preperelino v kraški vodonosnik, ampak delno odteka tudi površinsko. Površinski tokovi tako z erozijskimi in akumulacijskimi procesi značilno preoblikujejo površje.

Fluviokraška geomorfna okolja so v Sloveniji relativno dobro proučena, saj je tej tematiki veliko število geomorfologov namenilo množico raziskav (npr. Melik, 1959a; Melik, 1961; Melik, 1962; Gams, 1968; Gams, 1974; Habič, 1986; Gams, 1986; Mihevc, 1987; Kranjc, 1992; Gabrovec, 1995; Gams, 2003; Komac, 2004; Komac, 2006; Gostinčar, 2011; Gostinčar, Stepišnik, 2012; Gostinčar, 2016). Območje Žibrške planote z okolico je z morfografskega vidika eno od najbolj pestrih fluviokraških območij v Sloveniji. Na njem so v velikem številu prisotne vse reliefne oblike, značilne za ta okolja, vključno tudi z največjimi, ki sta dve kraški polji pritočnega tipa. Tudi Žibrška planota

je bila v preteklosti že proučena s stališča splošnega morfografskega orisa (Mihevc, 1979; Mihevc, 1986; Mihevc, 1987) ter detajlnega proučevanja dolgov v osrednjem delu planote (Komac, 2003; Komac, 2006). Večjo pozornost geomorfoloških raziskav je pritegnila okolica planote, kjer so poskušali razložiti razvoj predkraškega porečja Ljubljani (Kosmat, 1916; Krebs, 1924; Rus, 1925; Melik, 1928; Melik, 1952; Melik, 1955; Mihevc, 1987; Gams, 2003).

Namen naše raziskave je sistematično geomorfološko analizirati fluviokraško okolje Žibrške planote in okoliških kraških polj, ki veljajo za najznačilnejša in najbolj proučena fluviokraška območja v Sloveniji, ter na posameznih primerih interpretirati oziroma reinterpretirati fluviokraške oblike in procese ter način delovanja fluviokraških okolij.

Slika 1: Lokacija proučevanega območja.



## 2 METODE

Pri geomorfološki analizi fluviokraških okolij Žibrške planote ter Logaškega in Hotenjskega kraškega polja smo uporabili prilagojeno analitsko geomorfološko metodo (Pavlopoulos, Evelpidou, Vassilopoulos, 2009). Morfografska analiza, ki je vključevala identifikacijo in prostorsko dokumentacijo geomorfoloških oblik, je temeljila na analizi topografskih kart v različnih merilih, digitalnih ortofoto posnetkov, Lidarja (ARSO, 2021) ter terenskega morfografskega kartiranja. Vzporedno z morfografsko analizo smo opravili tudi morfometrično analizo relevantnih oblik, na podlagi katere je mogoče tipizirati določene površinske oblike in interpretirati procese. Morfometrična analiza je temeljila izključno na analizi podatkov Lidar (ARSO, 2021). Morfostrukturalna analiza je temeljila na rezultatih morfografske analize in podatkov geoloških raziskav tega območja (Buser in sod., 1967; Čar, Placer, Ogorelec, 2010). Interpretacijo morfogeneze in morfodinamike reliefnih oblik proučevanega območja smo izdelali na osnovi geomorfološke analize območja in reinterpretacije pretekle literature o delovanju fluviokrasa.

## 3 DOSEDANJE RAZISKAVE

Prve interpretacije geomorfološkega razvoja Žibrške planote in okolice so temeljile na paradigmi predkraške faze, ki je interpretirala razvoj kraškega površja s predhodnim fluvialnim preoblikovanjem. Tako je Kossmat (1916) v okviru geomorfoloških raziskav območja med Jadranom in porečjem Save zaključil, da je Ljubljanka v predkraški fazi tekla površinsko od Cerknškega jezera preko Planinskega in Logaškega polja ter Ljubljanskega barja proti Savi. Ob zakrsevanju območja naj bi se vodotoki večinoma pretočili v podzemlje; del rečne mreže, ki se je ohranil na površju, pa naj bi oblikoval kraška polja. Kossmat (1916) je prav tako predvideval, da se je preko Hotenjskega podolja površinsko pretakala Hotenjka, levi pritok tedanje Ljubljance, ki je imela površni del v današnjih porečjih Idrijce, Bele in Kanomeljščice. Ugotovitve Kossmata sta nadgradila Krebs (1924) in Rus (1925), ki sta povirje predkraške Ljubljance premaknila proti jugovzhodu na Babno polje. Ljubljanka naj bi od tam odtekala do Cerknškega polja in nato preko Logaško-Begunjskega ravnika in Logaškega polja proti Ljubljanskemu barju. Sotočje Hotenjke in Ljubljance sta uvrstila na območje Logaškega polja (Krebs, 1924; Rus, 1925). Melik (1928) je razvoj območja tolmačil nekoliko drugače. Predvideval je, da je Ljubljanka tekla preko Planinskega polja in se pri Kalcah združila s Hotenjko. Na območju Logaškega polja pa naj bi se v Ljubljanko izlival tok Cerknščice, ki naj bi v času pleistocena pritekal preko Logaško-Begunjskega ravnika.

Melik (1952) je nekaj desetletij kasneje podal interpretacijo razvoja porečja Ljubljance na popolnoma morfostrukturalni način. Sklepal je, da se je območje površinske rečne mreže prvotno razvilo na sedimentih eocenskega morja, ki naj bi segalo na to območje. Kamnine, ki naj bi dokazovale obstoj nekdanih morskih zalivov, naj bi bili

fliši eocenske starosti v okolici Kalc in Kališ. Kasneje, v srednjem in mlajšem terciarju, naj bi se površinska rečna mreža ob tektonskem dvigu tega območja prilagodila geološkim strukturam; vzdolž notranjskega podolja po Idrijskem prelomu in od Kalc preko Logaškega polja do Vrhnike po močnejši prelomnici, ki naj bi potekala v tej smeri. Na območju Kalc in Logaškega polja naj bi bilo večje sotočje Ljubljani in Hotenjke.

Že nekaj let kasneje je Melik (1955) na osnovi paradigme o klimatski geomorfologiji razložil geomorfološki razvoj reliefa na proučevanem območju kot rezultat dominantnega klimatskega vpliva. Območje Logaškega polja in njegovega zaledja je bilo v času diluvija (obdobje intenzivnejšega mehanskega preperevanja in akumulacije, ki ga avtor (Melik, 1955) pogosto povezuje s pleistocenom) prepredeno s površinsko rečno mrežo. Na severni del Logaškega polja so pritekali potoki vzhodno od Žibrške planote, Rovtarica in Petkovščica, ki sta se kasneje pretočili v podzemlje. Zaradi teh pritokov naj bi bil severni del Logaškega polja na debelo prekrit z naplavinno.

V okviru interpretacije geomorfološkega razvoja Slovenije je Melik (1959b) interpretiral morfogenezo okolice Žibrške planote. Hotenjsko podolje naj bi bila stara, zelo široka suha dolina, ki naj bi razpadla v obilico vrtač in majhnih uval. Po tej dolini naj bi v srednjem pliocenu tekla Hotenjka, ki naj bi imela svoje zaledje vse od Trnovskega gozda preko porečij Belce in Kanomeljščice do Idrijce. Hotenjka naj ne bi tekla proti Planinskemu polju, ampak je pri Kalcah spremenila smer proti severovzhodu na območje Logaškega polja. Melik (1959b) je za Logaško polje, ki ga imenuje Logaška kotlina, ugotovil, da leži na močnejši tektonski prelomnici. Vsi potoki, ki pritekajo na Logaško polje iz severozahodne smeri, naj bi ponikali južno od prelomnice. Za Rovtarico in Petkovščico (Melik (1959b) jo imenuje Potok v Logu) domneva, da sta se nekoč stekali na Logaško polje, kar je razvidno iz lege suhe doline, ki naj bi od njujnih ponorov segala vse do Logaškega polja. Prav tako ugotavlja, da Logaška kotlina nikakor ne more biti kraško polje, saj ji manjkajo tipične značilnosti. Ugotavlja, da je Logaška kotlina bolj podobna slepi dolini. Na obeh straneh Logaške kotline naj bi bile ohranjene rečne terase, ki naj bi jih vrezal nekdanji površinski tok Ljubljani. Za tok Ljubljani proti severu pa je Melik (1959b) predvideval dve možnosti: v suhih dolinah zahodno ali vzhodno od kopaste vzpetine Raskovec.

Mihevc (Mihevc, 1979; Mihevc, 1986; Mihevc, 1987) je v okviru proučevanja Logaških Rovt obravnaval tudi Žibrško planoto z okolico. Celotno območje je označil kot svojevrstno obliko fluvioakraškega reliefa. Ob splošnem preglednem opisu geomorfoloških značilnosti območja je povzel ugotovitve Melika (1952; 1955) in povezal zapolnjevanje slepih dolin s sedimenti z intenzivnejšim mehanskim preperevanjem v hladnejših obdobjih pleistocena. Toplejša holocenska klima pa naj bi prispevala k eroziji sedimentov. Na proučevanem območju naj bi tako bilo v času pleistocena več površinskih vodotokov, ki so se kasneje delno pretočili v podzemlje.

Gabrovec (1994) je v okviru raziskave dolomitnih območij Slovenije povzel, da so najpomembnejše oblike v dolomitni matični podlagi dolki (imenuje jih dolci), ki so usmerjeni vzdolž pobočij, lahko pa tudi prečno na pobočja, saj so navezani na



tektonske linije ali na preostanke starejše površinske hidrološke mreže. Ugotavlja, da so dolki značilni za vršne dele planot, medtem ko v strmih pobočjih prehajajo v strme dolke in celo v erozijske jarke (imenuje jih erozijske grape) (Gabrovec, 1994).

Slika 2: Dolek na Žibrški planoti (foto: U. Stepišnik).



Gams (2003) je med splošnim opisom kraških okolij Slovenije ugotovil, da je Hotenjsko podolje, to je poimenovanje za del Notranjskega podolja med Kalcami in Godovičem, kraški ravniki, ki je v veliki meri razčlenjen z vrtačami, le v okolici Novega Sveta pa je valovito in dolasto (avtor ni pojasnil, katere oblike imenuje doli). Ugotovil je, da je v okolici Hotedršice ravniki prekrit s peščeno ilovnato naplavino, ni pa slepe doline niti večjih požiralnikov ali ponorov. Celoten Hotenjski kraški ravniki je Gams (2003) interpretiral kot del nekdanjega širšega kraškega ravnika, katerega deli so se ohranili na zahodnem robu Žibrške planote v okolici naselja Ravniki pri Hotedršici in nekoliko zahodneje pri Črnem Vrhu. Ravniki naj bi oblikovala Belca in zgornja Idrijca, preden ju je pretočila Idrijca proti severozahodu. Uravnani del Hotenjskega podolja naj bi bil le del nekdanjega fluvialno uravnane površja, ki je zaostal v tektonskem dvigu. Površinske vode iz porečja Idrijce naj bi odtekale do Kalc in nato preko Logaškega polja in suhe doline med Raskovcem in Ljubljanskim vrhom na območje Ljubljanskega barja. Nekarbonatni prodniki na Bodiškem vrhu (559 m n. v.) vzhodno od Logatca naj bi potrjevali to razlago (Gams, 2003).

Logaško polje je Gams (2003) opredelil kot izrazito robno polje pritočno-ponor-niškega tipa, ki leži na jugovzhodnem robu dolomitnega ozemlja Žibrške planote.



Površinska vodotoka, ki danes združena tečeta preko Logaškega polja v ponor Jačka, naj bi v preteklosti odtekala na južni del polja pod kopasto vzpetino Ženček (Gams, 2003). Kot utemeljitev te domneve je Gams (2003), podobno kot Melik (1928), navedel ustni vir. Na severni del polja naj bi po interpretaciji Gamsa po suhi dolini še vedno občasno pritekali Rovtarica in Petkovščica, ki danes ponirata v slepih dolinah okoli 1,5 km severneje. V hladnejših obdobjih pleistocena naj bi bilo pritekanje na polje pogostejše. Živoskalne vrtačaste terase na vzhodnem robu Logaškega polja je Gams (2003) interpretiral kot del Logaško-Begunjskega ravnika in naj bi jih oblikovali potoki iz dolomita, ki so tekli naprej proti vzhodu.

Komac (2006) je med proučevanjem dolkov (imenuje jih dolci (dolec), kljub temu, da predhodna literatura uporablja termin dolek (Gams, 1968; Gams, 1974; Gams, 1986)) po Sloveniji podrobneje analiziral tudi osrednji del Žibrške planote, za katero ugotavlja, da so dolki razporejeni v zatrepnih erozijskih jarkov in manjših dolin, na slemenih in na robovih planote. Dolki so na območju med seboj povezani in se v spodnjih delih pogosto iztečejo v erozijske jarke. Njihov nastanek poveže z diferencialno korozijo površja in s površinskim spiranjem, ki pa naj bi imelo drugoten pomen pri oblikovanju (Komac, 2004; Komac, 2006).

Nagode (2002a) je med proučevanjem Logaščice in njenih pritokov prišel do zaključkov, da so razlogi za poplave vzdolž njenega spodnjega toka v posegih, ki so regulirali struge. Poplave so se namreč začele pojavljati v 20. stoletju zaradi urejanja struge in mašenja manjših požiralnikov za potrebe žagarstva in mlinarstva. Pred tem v 19. stoletju naj ne bi bilo večjih poplav oziroma o tem ni poročil (Nagode, 2002a).

Breg Valjavec (2012) je med analizo vrtač na Logaškem polju ugotovila, da je v drugi polovici 20. stoletja 77,5 % vrtač popolnoma izginilo. Zapolnjene so bile z odpadnim materialom ali pa so bile pozidane (Breg, 2007; Breg, Smrekar, Gabrovec, 2008).

## 4 RELIEFNE, GEOLOŠKE IN HIDROLOŠKE ZNAČILNOSTI ŽIBRŠKE PLANOTE Z OKOLICO

Žibrška planota se nahaja severozahodno od naselja Logatec. Planota je omejena z Notranjskim podoljem na jugozahodu in Žejno dolino na zahodu ter Reško dolino in Logaškim poljem na vzhodu. Čeprav območje imenujemo planota, ni popolnoma uravnana, temveč je razčlenjena z grebeni in vmesnimi dolinami. Največje doline, ki razčlenjujejo Žibrško planoto, so dolina Hotenjke na zahodu, dolina Črnega potoka na jugu in dolina Reke na vzhodnem delu območja. Nadmorske višine planote so med 600 in 700 m. Najvišji vrh območja je Bresčev hrib (738 m n. v.), ki se nahaja na višjem slemenu z dinarsko smerjo.

Zahodno od Žibrške planote se ob iztoku Žejne doline in doline Hotenjke nahaja Hotenjsko kraško polje, ki ga uvrščamo med večja pritočna kraška polja (Stepišnik, 2020b). Južno od polja je obsežna korozijska uravnava s toponimom Hotenjsko

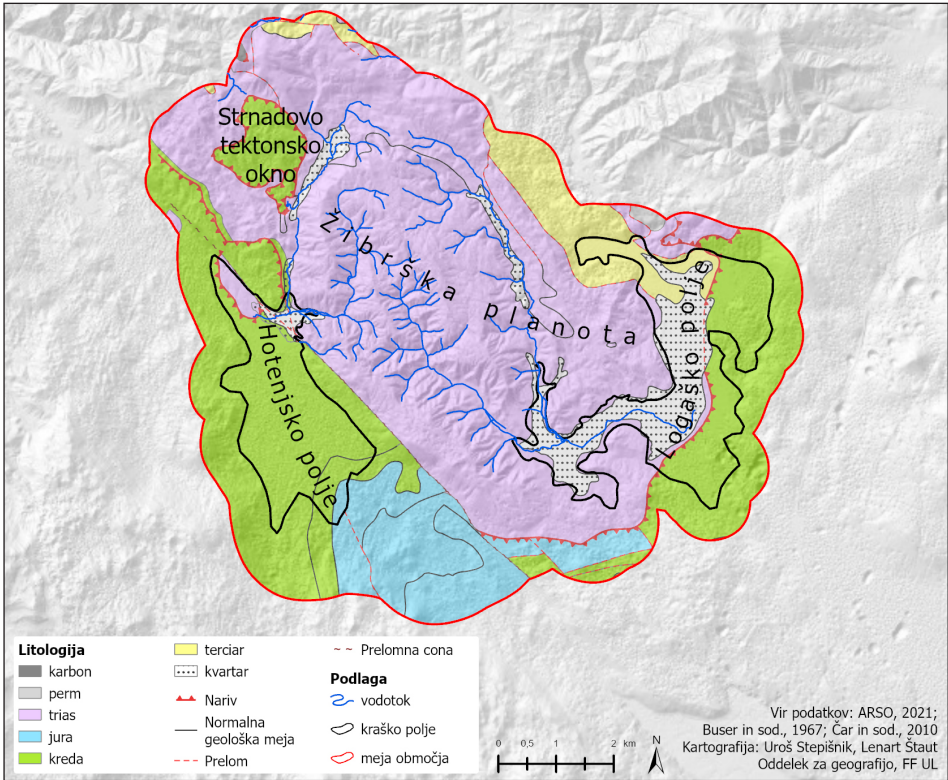
podolje (Mihevc, 1986), ki na jugovzhodu sega do Kalc, na zahodu pa do pobočij planote Hrušica. V južnem delu proučevanega območja se ob izteku doline Črnega potoka in Reške doline nahaja Logaško kraško polje, ki ga prav tako opredeljujemo kot pritočno kraško polje (Stepišnik, 2020b).

Slika 3: *Hotenjsko kraško polje (foto: U. Stepišnik).*



Tektonski območji Žibrške planote in Logaškega polja pripadata Idrijsko-žirovskemu ozemlju. Na jugu je ob Logaškem prelomu narinjeno na Vrhniško-cerkniško grudo, na vzhodu pa je narinjeno na Zaplansko lusko. Proti zahodu je vzdolž Idrijskega preloma, ki poteka vzdolž Notranjskega podolja, Idrijsko-žirovsko ozemlje narinjeno na Hrušiški pokrov (Pleničar, 1963; Buser in sod., 1967). Celotno Žibrško planoto in nekatera okoliška območja gradijo plastnati glavni dolomiti noriške in retijske stopnje zgornje triasne starosti ( $T_3^{2+3}$ ); dolomiti so temnosivi ali sivi, zrnati z redkimi vložki sivega luknjičavega apnenca. Severni in severovzhodni del območja, ki obsega Žejno in povirne dele Reške doline, gradijo kamnine karnijske ( $T_3^1$ ) starosti. Med njimi so sivi, temnosivi in rjavi plastnati dolomiti ter temni gomoljasti apnenci. Poleg karbonatnih kamnin so na tem območju tudi karnijski kremenovi peščenjaki in konglomerati. Skrajne severne dele proučevanega območja gradijo črni tankoplastnati apnenci z vložki črnega skrilastega laporovca, vzhodni del območja pa beli in svetlosivi zrnati neplastnati porozni dolomiti z lečami sivega neplastnatega organogenega apnenca. Te kamnine so prav tako karnijske starosti. Vrhniško-cerkniško grudo gradijo predvsem spodnje kredne in cenomanske plasti ( $K_{1,2}$ ) sivega ploščastega apnenca z vložki zrnatega bituminoznega dolomita. Hrušiški pokrov gradijo predvsem zgornjekredni ( $K_{1,2}$ ) sivi do svetlo sivi plastnati in beli neplastnati apnenci z rudisti (Čar, Placer, Ogorelec, 2010). Ta stratigrafska enota je prisotna tudi kot tektonsko okno severozahodno od Žejne doline, ki ga imenujemo Strnadovo tektonsko okno. V skrajnem južnem delu območja v okolici Kalc kredni apnenci preidejo v spodnjekredne ( $J_{1,2}$ ) in zgornjekredne ( $J_3^{1,2}$ ) dolomite in apnenca (Pleničar, 1963; Buser in sod., 1967; Čar, Placer, Ogorelec, 2010).

Slika 4: Geološka karta proučevanega območja.



Na območju so štirje večji površinski tokovi. Reka in Črni potok se po sotočju združita v Logaščico, ki v vzhodnem delu Logaškega polja odteka v ponor jačka. Ob visokih vodostajih potok poplavlja nižje dele polja. Hotenjka se steka na Hotenjsko polje in ponikne ob robu polja v umetno razširjenem ponoru ali številnih ponikvah ob robu polja. Ob visokih vodostajih poplavi del polja. Žejski potok odteka v podzemlje v požiralniku v Žejski dolini. Ob visokih vodostajih pa poplavi nižje dele doline in se preliva preko 5 m visoke dolinske stopnje v nadaljevanje doline, ki se na pritočnem delu Hotenjskega polja steče v Hotenjko (Mihevc, 1986). Podzemni tokovi Logaščice so usmerjeni proti izvirom Ljubljance pri Vrhniki. Žejski potok in Hotenjka pa se podzemno raztekata delno proti izvirom Ljubljance pri Vrhniki, delno pa v izvira Podroteja in Divje jezero ob Idrijci (Gospodarič, Habič, 1976).

## 5 GEOMORFOLOŠKE ZNAČILNOSTI ŽIBRŠKE PLANOTE, FLUVIOKRAŠKIH DOLIN IN HOTENJSKEGA TER LOGAŠKEGA KRAŠKEGA POLJA

### 5.1 Žibrška planota

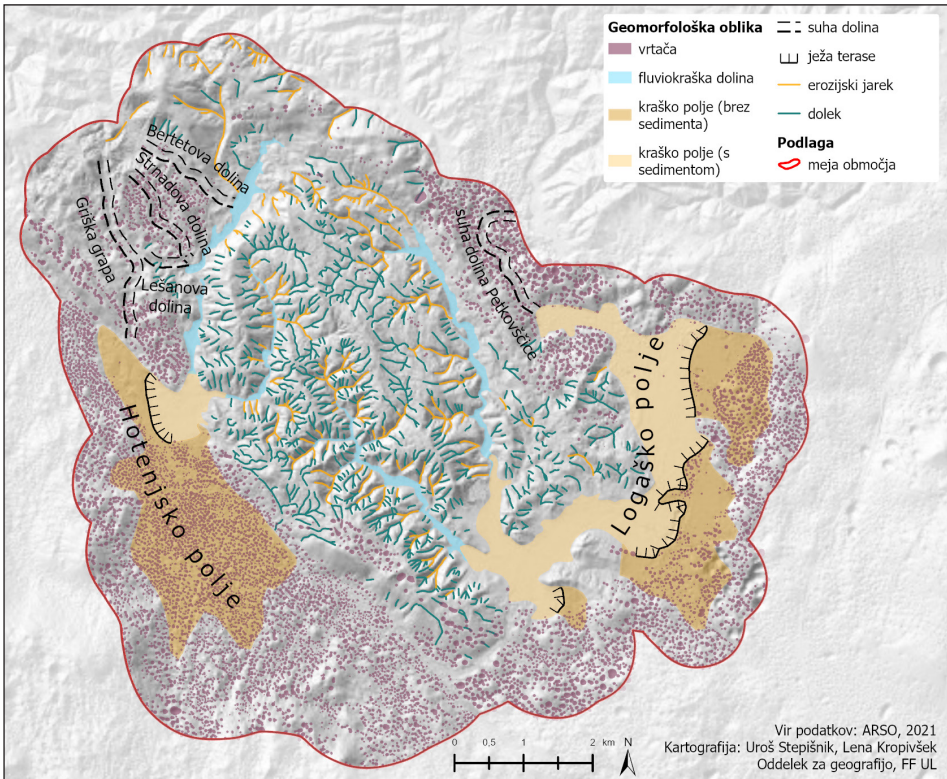
Žibrška planota, osrednje območje našega proučevanja, na zahodu in jugozahodu meji na Žejsko dolino in Hotenjsko podolje. Južna meja območja je jasna, saj preko podolja pri Kalcah preide v Logaško polje. Na severovzhodu in vzhodu pa meje ne predstavlja dolina Reke, ampak se planotasto območje Žibrške planote kljub drugačni toponomiji reliefno nadaljuje na greben, ki se imenuje Laze, in planotasto območje severno od Logaškega polja, ki ga je Mihevc (1979) imenoval Blekovska gmajna. Na vzhodu tako meji na Logaško polje, na severovzhodu pa na suho dolino Petkovščice.

Žibrška planota je reliefno v grobem razčlenjena s slemenami in dolinami. Relativno uravnani planotasti deli med slemenami in dolinami so nekoliko nagnjeni proti vzhodu, tako da nadmorske višine upadajo od okoli 700 m na zahodnem delu do okoli 550 m na območju Laz in Blekovske gmajne na vzhodu. Planotasti deli Žibrške planote obsegajo jugozahodne dele v okolici naselja Ravnik pri Hotedrščici, osrednji del planote v okolici naselja Žibrše ter dele Blekovske gmajne. Ostala območja Žibrške planote so pobočja fluviokraških dolin. Celotno območje gradijo zgornjetriasni glavni dolomiti (Pleničar, 1963; Buser in sod., 1967; Čar, Placer, Ogorelec, 2010), ki v bližini površja intenzivno mehansko preperevajo. Na teh uravnanih območjih zaradi pokrova prepereline na površju ni izdankov matične kamnine in jih zato tipiziramo kot pokriti kras. Nekateri deli pokritega krasa Žibrške planote delujejo popolnoma kraško, saj voda skozi preperelino vertikalno odteka v kraški vodonosnik. Tovrstna kraška okolja so le na zahodnem delu Žibrške planote v okolici naselja Ravnik pri Hotedrščici, na manjšem območju osrednjega dela planote pri Žibršah, na območju Laz in na delih Blekove gmajne nad Logaškim poljem. Zaradi nemotenega delovanja kraških procesov so na teh območjih vrtače. Nekatere vrtače so izrazito razpotečene, tako da je njihova dolžina nekajkrat večja od širine. Na območju pokritega krasa Žibrške planote so registrirana tudi tri brezna (Kataster jam JZS, 2021), kar nakazuje, da deluje kot okolje globokega krasa (Stepišnik, 2020a).

Na pobočjih pokritega krasa padavinska voda ne odteka v celoti vertikalno skozi preperelino v kraški vodonosnik, ampak delno odteka tudi površinsko. Zaradi procesov spiranja se oblikujejo linearne vdolbine vzdolž pobočij, ki jih na podlagi morfografskih in morfodinamičnih značilnosti delimo v dolke in erozijske jarke. Vršni del Žibrške planote, kjer ima površje blage naklone, je popolnoma razčlenjen z dolki. Dolki so usmerjeni v smeri največjega naklona pobočja. V prečnem prerezu so manj strmi in imajo navadno blago konkavno dno. Dna dolkov zapolnjuje debelejša plast



Slika 5: Geomorfološka karta proučevanega območja.



sedimenta, ki se akumulira z okoliških pobočij ali z višjih delov dolkov. Dna dolkov so najpogosteje hidrološko neaktivna, torej brez vodotokov (Gostinčar, Stepišnik, 2012; Stepišnik, 2020a). Erozijski vodni tokovi v dolkih je zanemarljiva oziroma manjša od akumulacije, saj v nasprotnem primeru dna dolkov ne bi zapolnjeval sediment, ampak bi bile prisotne erozijske reliefne oblike. V dolkih je poleg poljenja tal s pobočij in vzdolž dolkov poglavitni način mehanskega premeščanja sedimenta površinsko spiranje in odtok vode skozi preperelino. Torej večina sedimenta iz dolkov odteka v obliki suspenzije kot drobna peščena, meljasta in glinena frakcija. Zaradi odtekanja vode skozi preperelino so v dneh dolkov pogoste manjše sufozijske vrtače. Skoraj vsi dolki na Žibrski planoti so prostorsko organizirani v dendritično strukturo. Usmerjeni so proti robovom planote in rečnim dolinam, kjer na bolj strmih reliefu večinoma preidejo v erozijske jarke. V primeru, da pod dolki ni erozijskih jarkov, se le-ti prav tako iztečejo v vršaje, ki jih gradijo drobnozrnati sedimenti. Na jugovzhodnem delu območja pri naselju Ravnik in na območju Blekove gmajne se dolki pogosto iztečejo v kraške kotanje, ki so živoskalne in imajo podobne dimenzije kot vrtače. Te kotanje

po funkciji niso klasične vrtače, ampak imajo funkcijo odvajanja vod in sedimenta iz dolkov. Torej bi te kotanje lahko opredelili kot poseben tip ponikev, ki so značilne za fluviokraška pobočja. Prihodnje raziskave fluviokraških okolij bodo morale večjo pozornost posvetiti prav delovanju tovrstnih kraških kotanj ob iztekih dolkov in erozijskih jarkov.

Na območju, kjer blaga pobočja Žibrške planote prehajajo v strma pobočja dolin, dolki večinoma preidejo v erozijske jarke. To so tipične fluvialne oblike, ki nastanejo zaradi erozijskih procesov na pobočjih. Ko se padavinske vode zbirajo v večje površinske vodotoke, se le-ti vrežejo v pobočja. Navadno nastajajo z zadenjsko oziroma retrogradno erozijo, ki deluje po pobočju navzgor. V fluviokraških okoljih nastanejo zato, ker del vode s pobočij ne odteče skozi preperelino v kraški vodonosnik, ampak odteka površinsko (Summerfield, 2013; Huggett, 2017). Površinski odtok mora biti zadosten, da povzroča erozijo in s tem oblikovanje erozijskih jarkov (Gostinčar, Stepišnik, 2012; Stepišnik, 2020a). Skoraj vsi erozijski jarki na proučevanem območju se preko vršajev iztečejo v dna dolin.

## 5.2 Fluviokraške doline

Na območju proučevanja je tudi 5 dolin. Doline Hotenjke, Črnega potoka in Reke sekajo Žibrško planoto v osrednjem delu in jo reliefno razčlenjujejo. Dolina Žejnega potoka in suha dolina Petkovščice pa iz zahodne in vzhodne strani omejujeta območje Žibrške planote. Vse doline so orientirane v smeri juga na Hotenjsko oziroma Logaško kraško polje.

Doline v fluviokraških okoljih označujemo s terminom fluviokraške doline (Stepišnik, 2020a). Njihova pobočja so zaradi izdatnega mehanskega preperevanja blaga, hkrati pa so razčlenjena z erozijskimi jarki in dolki. V teh dolinah, podobno kot v erozijskih jarkih v fluviokraških okoljih, občasni ali stalni vodotoki vanje transportirajo zadostne količine sedimenta, da vode ne morejo sproti odtekati v kraški vodonosnik. Fluviokraške doline ob zmanjšani količini transportiranega sedimenta pogosto presahnejo, saj začne voda odtekati skozi naplavino v kraški vodonosnik. Tovrstne suhe doline dobijo sčasoma blage topografske poteze, podobne manjšim podoljem (Stepišnik, 2020a).

Fluviokraške doline na proučevanem območju, ki imajo najbolj stalne vodotoke, so doline Hotenjke, Črnega potoka in Reke. Doline gradijo pretežno glavni dolomiti norijske in retijske starosti, le povirni del doline Črnega potoka gradijo predvsem dolomiti ter kremenovi peščenjaki in konglomerati karnijske starosti (Pleničar, 1963; Čar, Placer, Ogorelec, 2010). V teh dolinah nismo identificirali večjih ponikev ali požiralnikov, kjer bi površinski vodotoki odtekali v podzemlje. Literatura pa navaja, da sta Črni potok in Reka odtekala v podzemlje, preden so ju v začetku 20. stol. regulirali za potrebe mlinarstva in žagarstva na Logaščici. Vsa pobočja dolin so razčlenjena z

erozijskimi jarki in dolki, dna pa so zapolnjena z nekaj 10 metrov široko aluvialno uravnavo. Zaključijo se ob iztoku na širši uravnavi kraških polj.

Ob zahodnem robu proučevanega območja je dolina Žejskega potoka (tudi Žejska voda), ki jo imenujejo tudi Žejska oziroma Žejna dolina. Dolina je tipična fluviokraška dolina, kjer se je del vodotoka že pretočil v podzemlje. Po zgornjem delu doline teče Žejski potok, ki v spodnjem delu doline odteka v jamo z imenom Kmetov brezen – ponor, ki ima skupno dokumentirano dolžino rovov več kot kilometer (Kataster jam JZS, 2021). Povirni del doline leži v kamninah zgornje triasne starosti (karnij), ki jih gradijo sivi, temno sivi in rjavi plastnati dolomiti in temni gomoljasti apnenci ter kremenovi peščenjaki in konglomerati. Skrajne severne dele porečja gradijo karnijski črni tankoplastnati apnenci z vložki črnega skrilastega laporovca, vzhodni del območja pa beli in svetlosivi zrnati neplastnati porozni dolomiti z lečami sivega neplastnatega organogenega apnenca (Čar, Placer, Ogorelec, 2010).

Pobočja so v povirnem in vzhodnem delu doline razčlenjena z erozijskimi jarki in dolki. Zahodna pobočja pa ne delujejo fluviokraško, ampak popolnoma kraško, saj so razčlenjena z vrtačami. Ta pobočja gradijo namreč zgornjekredni sivi do svetlo sivi plastnati in beli neplastnati apnenci z rudisti Strnadovega tektonskega okna (Čar, Placer, Ogorelec, 2010). Na območju tektonskega okna so ohranjene tri suhe doline, po katerih so se površinski vodotoki iz fluviokraških območij stekali v Žejski potok. Največja suha dolina se imenuje Bretetova dolina, ki ima v povirnem delu, ki jo gradijo predvsem zgornjetriasni glavni dolomiti, površinske vodotoke Pikeljske vode s pritoki. Površinski vodotoki odteka v podzemlje v ponoru z imenom Pucovo brezno (Kataster jam JZS, 2021), ki leži v bližini litološkega stika s tektonskim oknom. Dve suhi dolini se iztečeta v Žejsko dolino v bližini Kmetovega brezna. Na južni strani je Lešanova suha dolina (poimenovana po toponimu Lešanova ravan v povirnem delu suhe doline), ki ima povirni del v glavnih dolomitih, kjer so dolki in erozijski jarki. V osrednjem delu preide na območje tektonskega okna, kjer je ohranjena le še suha dolina, ki je popolnoma razčlenjena z vrtačami. S severozahoda pa do Kmetovega brezna vodi Strnadova suha dolina (poimenovana po zaselku Strnad), ki je popolnoma razčlenjena z vrtačami, saj je v celoti na apnencih Strnadovega tektonskega okna (Čar, Placer, Ogorelec, 2010). Nekoliko zahodneje poteka še ena suha dolina, ki pa kljub bližini ni bila pritok Žejskemu potoku, pač pa se izteka v skrajnem severnem delu Hotenjskega kraškega polja. Njen povirni del, kjer se imenuje Griška grapa, gradijo zgornjetriasni glavni dolomiti, njen osrednji del pa leži na območju Strnadovega tektonskega okna.

V nadaljevanju Žejska dolina proti jugu zvezno preide v dolino potoka Hlevišarka. Podobno kot Žejski potok tudi Hlevišarka odteče v podzemlje v skupini ponikev tik preden se dolina razširi na Hotenjsko polje. Površinski vodotok odteče v podzemlje na geološkem stiku glavnih dolomitov na vzhodu in zgornjekrednih apnencev, ki gradijo zahodno pobočje (Čar, Placer, Ogorelec, 2010).

Vzhodni rob proučevanega območja poteka vzdolž suhe doline, ki se nahaja med ponori Petkovščice pri Logu in se izteče na severozahodnem delu Logaškega polja.



Slika 6: Pikeljski potok v ponornem delu Bertetove doline (foto: U. Stepišnik).



Petkovščica priteka iz območja pod Zaplano, ki ga gradijo dolomiti triasne starosti in karbonski ter permski skrjavci. Ob litološkem stiku s triasnimi dolomiti Petkovščica ponira v Loški jami (Kataster jam JZS, 2021). Dno suhe doline se nahaja le nekaj metrov višje od sedanjih ponorov, zato je popolnoma jasno, kot navaja že predhodna literatura (Melik, 1959b; Mihevc, 1986; Mihevc, 1987), da se je v preteklosti po njej pretakala Petkovščica. Literatura (Melik, 1959b; Mihevc, 1986; Mihevc, 1987) tudi navaja, da je ta suha dolina nekoč prevajala tudi Rovtarico, ki danes odteka v podzemlje v izteku slepe doline okoli kilometer severozahodno od suhe doline Petkovščice. Teh ugotovitev v okviru naše raziskave nismo mogli potrditi, saj v nadaljevanju slepe doline Rovtarice, ki naj bi se iztekala v suho dolino Petkovščice, ni suhe doline.

### 5.3 Hotenjsko kraško polje

Hotenjsko kraško polje (Stepišnik, 2020b), ki ga literatura opredeljuje tudi kot Hotenjsko podolje (Melik, 1952; Gams, 1974; Mihevc, 1986; Gams, 2003), leži jugozahodno od Žibrške planote. Danes hidrološko aktivni del polja leži na skrajnem severnem delu v

okolici naselja Hotedršica, kjer se na polje iztekata dolina Hlevišarke in dolina Hotenjke. Celotni aktivni del polja je vršaj, ki ga gradijo dolomitni peski in prodi ter drobnejše frakcije. V vrhnjem delu vršaja so nadmorske višine okoli 545 m, v najnižjih delih pa so za okoli 10 m nižje. Dolžina vršaja je okoli 800 m, največja širina pa en kilometer. Preko vršaja poteka regulirana struga Hotenjke, ki vodi do skupine ponikev in katavatronov v skrajnem zahodnem delu vršaja. Del vodotoka je speljan proti požiralniku, nad katerim je Tomažinov mlin, ki ima mlinska kolesa nameščena v breznu in je edini tovrstni mlin v Sloveniji. Ob izteku vršaja so tudi številne sufozijske vrtače in ponikve.

Slika 7: Katavatron v strugi Hotenjke (foto: U. Stepišnik).



Aktivni del polja brez reliefnega pregiba ali stopnje prehaja v okoliško kraško uravnano. Večji del kraške uravnave gradijo zgornjekredni apnenci Hrušiškega pokrova, le na manjšem območju severozahodno od vršaja je tektonska krpa Idrijsko-žirovskega ozemlja, ki ga gradi glavni dolomit (Čar, Placer, Ogorelec, 2010). Zaplate drobnozrnatih sedimentov, ki prekrivajo karbonatno matično podlago, se z oddaljevanjem od vršaja krčijo. Robne dele vršaja dosežejo površinski tokovi le ob izrednih meteoroloških dogodkih (Mihevc, 1992; Pavšek, 1993), kar se je nazadnje zgodilo leta 2010. Ob visokih vodostajih se vode površinsko stekajo na vrtačasto površje zahodno in južno od vršaja, kjer odteka v podzemlje v različnih kraških kotanjah.

Južno od aktivnega dela polja leži obsežna uravnava, ki obsega celotno območje med pobočji Žibrske planote in Hrušice. Literatura to območje opredeljuje tudi kot

Hotenjski ravnik (Mihevc, 1979) ali kot del Hotenjskega podolja (Melik, 1952; Gams, 1974; Mihevc, 1986; Gams, 2003). Celotno območje je polgoli kras, ki ga razčlenjujejo vrtače. Gradijo ga zgornjekredni apnenci, ki jih le v okolici naselja Novi Svet prekri-va večja zaplata fino zrnatih sedimentov. Ob prehodu aktivnega dela polja v vrtačasto uravnava so nadmorske višine okoli 535 m, v južnem delu, kjer se po 3,8 km kraška uravnava zaključí z višjim območjem kopastega krasa, pa so nadmorske višine okoli 495 metrov, kar je 40 m nižje. V tem delu polja so površinske vode občasno prisotne le v skrajnem južnem delu (Mihevc, 1992). Najnižje kotanje ob ekstremnih vremenskih dogodkih poplavi, saj je tukaj območje plitvega krasa, kjer se gladina podzemne vode v krasu občasno dvigne do površja. V bližini najnižjega dela vrtačaste uravnave se nahaja tudi Brezno v Grudnovi dolini (Blatnik, 2020; Kataster jam JZS, 2021), ki ima občasno funkcijo izvira. Vhod v brezno je na nadmorski višini 495 metrov, globina brezna, kjer se nahaja najnižja gladina podzemne vode v krasu, pa je na višini okoli 435 metrov.

#### 5.4 Logaško kraško polje

Logaško polje leži jugovzhodno od Žibrške planote. Glede na hidrološko aktivnost in oblikovanost površja ga delimo na tri dele: južni, hidrološko aktivni del, severni, neaktivni in živoskalne uravnave na vzhodu. Dno polja z izjemo živoskalnih uravnav gradijo prodi in peski ter drobnejše frakcije. Ti sedimenti prekrivajo glavni dolomiti noriške in retijske stopnje, ki tektonsko pripadajo Idrijsko-žirovskemu ozemlju. Približno ob vzhodnem robu polja je strukturna enota Idrijsko-žirovskega ozemlja nari-njena na Vrhiško-cerkniško grudo, ki jo gradijo predvsem spodnjekredni apnenci z vložki dolomita.

Na južni del polja, ki je danes hidrološko aktiven, pritekata Črni potok in Reka s severozahoda. Ob sotočju se preimenujeta v Logaščico, ki teče po popolnoma reguli-rani strugi proti vzhodnemu robu polja, kjer odteka v skupino ponorov, imenovanih Jačka. Zahodni del tega območja, do naselja Zgornji Logatec, gradi obsežen vršaj, ki ga gradijo dolomitni prodi in peski in drobnejše frakcije naplavin. Zgornji del vršaja je na nadmorski višini okoli 495 m, ob izteku, ki je približno ob sotočju, pa je nadmorska višina okoli 10 m nižja. Aluvialno uravnava, ki obsega dno polja vzhodno od vršaja, gradijo dolomitni peski in drobnejše frakcije sedimenta. Zaključí se ob ponorih na zahodnem delu polja na nadmorski višini okoli 470 m, kjer je razčlenjena v nekaj manjših teras. Rečna struga je ob ponorih zarezana v okoli 15 m globok kanjon. Ob vzhodnem robu aluvialnih uravnav je več sufozijskih vrtač.

Aktivni del polja proti vzhodu in jugovzhodu prehaja v dve živoskalni uravnavi, ki sta razčlenjeni z vrtačami. Južna živoskalna uravnava je okoli 5 m nad aktivnim delom polja, vzhodna uravnava pa je za okoli 3 m nad okoliško aluvialno uravnava. Manjša uravnava na jugovzhodu sega okoli 300 m od reliefnega pregiba z aluvialnim dnom polja, medtem ko večja uravnava na vzhodu poteka vzdolž celotnega roba polja v širino okoli 1500 m od reliefnega pregiba. Manjšo jugovzhodno teraso gradijo glavni



Slika 8: Ponorni del Logaškega polja (foto: U. Stepišnik).



dolomiti, večjo na vzhodu pa kredni apnenci. Mihevc (1979) je vzhodno živoskalno teraso interpretiral kot rezultat hitrejšega preperevanja dolomita in robne korozije.

Severni del Logaškega kraškega polja se imenuje tudi Pusto polje, saj je hidrološko neaktivno oziroma nima površinskih vodnih tokov. Njegov najvišji del je na severozahodu, ob iztoku suhe doline nekdanjega toka Petkovščice, kjer ima nadmorsko višino okoli 475 m, na njegovem vzhodnem delu pa je okoli 15 m nižja. Dno polja gradijo dolomitni peski in drobnejše frakcije naplavine, med katerimi so tudi nekarbonatni peski in droben prod skrilavih glinavcev, ki dokazujejo, da je na polje v preteklosti pritekala Petkovščica (Melik, 1955; Gams, 1974; Mihevc, 1979), saj ima del njenega porečja takšno kamninsko zgradbo. V dnu polja so številne sufozijske vrtače, ki jih je bilo v preteklosti mnogo več, a so jih zaradi gospodarske rabe prostora zasuli (Breg, 2007; Breg, Smrekar, Gabrovec, 2008). Vzdolž celotnega vzhodnega roba polja je obsežna živoskalna uravnava, ki je okoli 5 m višja od aluvialnega dna polja. Uravnava v celoti leži na krednih apnencih in je popolnoma razčlenjena z vrtačami. Uravnava sega do 1,2 km od reliefnega pregiba z aluvialnim dnom polja.

Slika 9: Severni del Logaškega polja ob izteku suhe doline Petkovščice (foto: U. Stepišnik).



## 6 DISKUSIJA

Fluviokras je termin za kraška okolja, kjer na pobočjih deluje spiranje po površju ali v preperelini, ki povzroča fluvialno denudacijo in agradacijo sedimenta. S tem nastanejo značilne reliefne oblike, ki so rezultat lokalnega fluvialnega premeščanja sedimenta na kraškem površju, in jih zato imenujemo fluviokraške. Proces, ki pogojuje oblikovanje fluviokrasa, je intenzivno mehansko preperevanja matične kamnine. Rezultat tega procesa je debelejša plast prepereline, ki jo lahko iz hidrogeološkega vidika opredelimo tudi kot cono talnega prenikanja, ki prekriva epikraško hidrogeološko cono krasa. Kraška okolja, kjer sklenjena cona talnega prenikanja prekriva epikraško cono, imenujemo tudi pokriti kras. V primeru, da je preperelina drobnozrnata, zavira vertikalni odtok padavinskih vod v nižje dele kraškega vodonosnika. Na pobočjih pokritega krasa je vertikalni odtok padavinske vode zavrt, zato del vod odteka vzporedno s pobočjem. Lateralni odtok vode odnaša sediment po površju in v preperelini in ga nato odlaga na nižjih delih pobočij. Na površju se lahko transportirajo tudi večje frakcije sedimenta, medtem ko je transport skozi preperelino omejen le na raztopljen in suspendiran sediment. Torej je fluviokraško površje vezano izključno na pobočja pokritega krasa, kjer prihaja do lateralnega premeščanja sedimenta.

Fluviokraška okolja so litološko in strukturno geološko pogojena, saj naj bi bila odvisna predvsem od odpornosti kamninske podlage na mehansko preperevanje.

Literatura predvideva, da je v humidni zmernotopli klimi, kjer je tudi slovenski kras, tovrstno mehansko preperevanje vezano predvsem na zmrzalni tip preperevanja (Gams, 1974; Gams, 2003; Stepišnik, 2020a). Podrobnejših raziskav načinov preperevanj, ki pogojujejo delovanje fluviokraških procesov, do zdaj še ni bilo in bodo morale za potrebe boljšega razumevanja biti opravljene v prihodnje.

Namen raziskave je bil interpretirati oblikovanost fluviokrasa in procese na primeru Žibrške planote z okolico. To območje je namreč eno od najbolj pestrih fluviokraških območij v Sloveniji in so ga v preteklosti proučevali številni avtorji (npr. Melik, 1928; Melik, 1952; Melik, 1955; Mihevc, 1979; Mihevc, 1986; Mihevc, 1987; Gabrovec, 1995; Gams, 2003; Komac, 2003; Komac, 2004; Komac, 2006; Breg, 2007; Breg, Smrekar, Gabrovec, 2008; Gostinčar, 2016), zato je to območje idealno za interpretacijo in reinterpretacijo geomorfoloških značilnosti tega reliefnega okolja.

Nekateri deli Žibrške planote niso fluviokraški, ampak so le območja pokritega krasa. Ta območja so v okolici naselja Ravnik pri Hotedršici, pri Žibršah, na območju Laz in na delih Blekove gmajne. Zaradi pretežno vertikalnega odtoka padavinske vode so na teh območjih številne vrtače. Nekatere izmed njih so izrazito razpotegnjene, saj nekatera pobočja vrtač preoblikujejo fluviokraški procesi. Intenzivnost spiranja je vezana na debelino prepereline, kar je rezultat litoloških ali geološko strukturnih značilnosti območja. To interpretacijo razpotegnjenosti vrtač pokritega krasa je v svojih raziskavah navedel že Gabrovec (1994).

Najpogostejša reliefna oblika na pobočjih pokritega krasa so dolki (Gostinčar, 2016; Stepišnik, 2020a). Starejša literatura njihov nastanek povezuje z intenzivnim mehanskim preperevanjem, ki naj bi bilo aktivnejše v hladnejših obdobjih pleistocena (Melik, 1961; Melik, 1962; Mihevc, 1986; Gabrovec, 1995). Kasneje se je njihov nastanek povezoval z intenzivno kemično denudacijo v njihovih dneh, saj naj bi se skozi preperelino spirala raztopina ter tudi drobnozrnat sediment v suspenziji. Dolki naj bi nastali iz začetnih plitvih vdolbin v pobočjih, kjer naj bi v sedimentu zastajala voda in pospeševala kemično in mehansko preperevanje (Komac, 2006).

Novejše interpretacije povezujejo razvoj dolkov z erozijskimi jarki (Gostinčar, 2011; Gostinčar, Stepišnik, 2012; Gostinčar, 2016; Stepišnik, 2020a). Dolki so skupaj z erozijskimi jarki organizirani v enotne dendritične sisteme na pobočjih, ki delujejo fluviokraško (Gostinčar, Stepišnik, 2012). Zgornje dele sistemov navadno tvorijo dolki, medtem ko v spodnjih delih postopoma preidejo v erozijske jarke. Pod obema oblikama so odložene akumulacije sedimentov v obliki vršajev. Tovrstna prostorska razporeditev teh reliefnih oblik je značilna za vsa pobočja Žibrške planote razen za pobočja v okolici naselja Ravnik, kjer se dolki iztekajo v kotanje velikosti vrtač, ki delujejo kot fluviokraške ponikve.

Dolke lahko morfogenetsko opredelimo kot podedovane reliefne oblike, ki so nastale iz erozijskih jarkov. Dinamika erozije v njihovih dneh se je zmanjšala, saj so padavinske vode skozi preperelino začele odtekati v kraški vodonosnik. Razlog za spremembo smeri odtoka je v manjši dinamiki mehanskega preperevanja, ki je

najpogosteje geološko ali klimatsko pogojeno. Zaradi manjšega lateralnega spiranja v dneh so se dna dolgov postopoma preoblikovala v blage konkavne oblike. Vsekakor pa v dneh dolgov še vedno delujejo manj intenzivni pobočni procesi odtoka sedimenta v raztopini in suspenziji na način, kot ga je interpretiral Komac (2006).

Preko Žibrške planote poteka pet dolin, ki se iztečejo na Logaškem ali Hotenjskem kraškem polju. Doline Hotenjke, Črnega potoka in Reke gradijo predvsem glavni dolomiti in so tipične fluviokraške doline (Stepišnik, 2020a). Zanje je značilno, da so pobočja zaradi izdatnega mehanskega preperevanja blaga, hkrati pa so razčlenjena z erozijskimi jarki in dolki. V teh dolinah stalni vodotoki vanje transportirajo zadostne količine sedimenta, da vse vode ne morejo sproti odtekati v kraški vodonosnik. Potoki v dolinah ob zmanjšani količini transportiranega sedimenta presahnejo, saj voda začne odtekati skozi naplavino v kraški vodonosnik. V treh dolinah na proučevanem območju nismo identificirali reliefnih oblik, kot so ponikve ali požiralniki, ki bi dokazovali odtok površinskih vodotokov v podzemlje. Literatura (Nagode, 2002b) pa vseeno navaja, da sta vsaj Črni potok in Reka občasno odtekala v podzemlje preden so ju v začetku 20. stol. regulirali za potrebe lokalnih mlinov in žag.

Dolin Žejskega potoka in Petkovščice pa ne moremo opredeliti kot tipičnih fluviokraških dolin. Dolina Žejskega potoka, po kateri v nadaljevanju teče tudi Pikeljski potok, se izteče na območju Strnadovega tektonskega okna (Čar, Placer, Ogorelec, 2010), kjer izdajajo zgornjekredni apnenci, ki delujejo popolnoma kraško. Površinski vodotok ob geološkem stiku odteče v kraški vodonosnik v ponoru Kmetovo brezno (Kataster jam JZS, 2021). Nekdanji desni pritoki Žejskega potoka v Betetovi dolini, Lešanovi dolini in Strnadovi dolini so se prav tako zaradi denudacije krovne dolomita zgornjetriasne starosti nad Strnadovim tektonskim oknom popolnoma ali le delno pretočili v kraški vodonosnik. Na enak način na stiku fluviokraškega površja triasnih dolomitov in permsko-karbonskih glinavcev in peščenjakov s triasnimi apnenci v kraški vodonosnik odteka Petkovščica. V nadaljevanju nekdanjega površinskega vodotoka je ohranjena suha dolina, ki se izteče na skrajni severozahodni del Logaškega polja. Dolin Žejskega potoka, Pikeljskega potoka, Betetove doline, Lešanove doline, Strnadove doline in doline Petkovščice ne moremo opredeliti kot fluviokraških dolin. So le preslikave fluviokraških dolin v apnenčasto matično podlago, ki deluje kot geomorfno okolje globokega krasa, ker je bila dolomitna krovina delno ali v celoti denudirana. Tovrstne suhe doline, ki so nastale s preslikavo reliefnih oblik, ki jih v geomorfologiji opredeljujemo tudi kot podedovane reliefne oblike, sčasoma dobijo blage topografske poteze, podobne nekakšnim manjšim podoljem (Stepišnik, 2020a).

Kraški polji v okolici Žibrške planote so starejši raziskovalci (Kossmat, 1916; Krebs, 1924; Rus, 1925; Melik, 1928; Melik, 1952; Gams, 2003) povezovali z nekdanjimi površinskimi tokovi Idrijce, Belce in Ljubljance. Te paradigme so temeljile na nekdanjih interpretacijah delovanja kraškega geomorfnega sistema, kjer naj bi kraška območja pred zakrasevanjem delovala kot fluvialni geomorfni sistemi. Tudi dominantna klimatsko podprta paradigma Melika (1955), ki razloži morfogenezo kraških polj z



razpadom rečne mreže v deluviju, je s sodobnim razumevanjem kraškega geomorfnege sistema manj verjetna in tudi slabo podprta z dokazi.

Hotenjsko in Logaško kraško polje ustrežata vsem kriterijem kraških polj (Gams, 1978), saj imata sklenjen obod okoli relativno uravnane dna, ustrezne dimenzije in odtok površinskih vodotokov v kraški vodonosnik, torej ju lahko nedvomno opredelimo kot kraški polji. Tip kraških polj, ki je značilen za kraška okolja, v katera pritekajo površinski vodotoki, starejša literatura (Gams, 1978; Gams, 2003) po hidrološki funkciji opredeljuje kot pritočno-ponorniška polja, po nastanku pa kot robna polja. Po navedbah literature (Gams, 1978; Gams, 2003) naj bi bil ta tip polj značilen za litološke stike med nekraškimi in kraškimi kamninami. Iz primerov, ki jih navaja ista literatura, je razvidno, da vode nanje vedno pritekajo iz fluviokraških in nikoli iz fluvialnih geomorfnihih okolij, ki so v okolici slovenskega krasa najpogostejša na fliših eocene ali glinavcih permsko-karbonske starosti (Gams, 1978; Gams, 2003). Kraška polja na stiku fluviokraških in kraških okolij, kjer vode površinsko pritekajo na polja in tam odteka v kraški vodonosnik, novejša morfodinamična tipizacija kraških polj (Stepišnik, 2020b) opredeljuje kot pritočni tip kraških polj. Za manjša pritočna kraška polja je značilno, da se nanje stekajo vode s sedimenti iz okoliških fluviokraških pobočij preko dolgov in erozijskih jarkov. Na večja pritočna kraška polja, kakršni sta tudi Hotenjsko in Logaško, pa poleg lokalnih pobočnih vodotokov pritekajo tudi večji površinski tokovi iz fluviokraških dolin.

Dna večjih robnih kraških polj so lahko ob višjih pretokih tudi ojezerjena, zato kamninsko podlago prekrivajo fluvialni in jezerski sedimenti. Za pritočna kraška polja je tudi značilno, da se na odtočni strani njihova dna nadaljujejo v uravnava, ki jih na gosto razčlenjujejo vrtače (Stepišnik, 2020b). Teh uravnav ne prekriva sediment, temveč skoraj povsod izdanja kamninska podlaga. So na višini dnov kraških polj ali pa kot nekaj metrov višje terase. Literatura teh uravnav ne obravnava kot del kraških polj, ampak jih opredeljuje s terminom robne uravnave oziroma robni kraški ravniki (Gams, 1973; Gams, Kunaver, Radinja, 1973; Gams, 1974; Gams, 2003). Značilne naj bi bile za robove nekaterih kraških polj in slepih dolin. Gams (1973) je njihovo morfogenezo pojasnjeval z dvofazno dinamiko produkcije sedimentov zaradi izmenjevanja hladnejših in toplejših obdobij pliocena in pleistocena. Ob večjih produkcijah sedimentov, ki naj bi bile vezane na hladnejša klimatska obdobja, je bila izdatna akumulacija sedimenta v kraških poljih in slepih dolinah. Debelina sedimentnih zapolnitev naj bi bila tolikšna, da so sedimenti prekrili tudi te robne uravnave. V toplejših klimatskih obdobjih, kakršno naj bi bilo tudi danes, pa naj bi zaradi manjše produkcije sedimenta in večje vodnatosti sediment denudiralo na višine, ki so primerljive z današnjimi (Gams, 1973). Mihevc (1979) je interpretiral nastanek robne kraške uravnave na vzhodnem delu Logaškega polja nekoliko drugače, saj jih je opredelil kot rezultat hitrejšega preperevanja dolomita in robne korozije. Podrobnejše razlage načina in dinamike delovanja teh dveh procesov ni podal.

Pritočna kraška polja, kakršni sta tudi Hotenjsko in Logaško, gradijo relativno uravnani, hidrološko aktivni deli, kjer kamninsko podlago prekriva sklenjen sedimentni

pokrov, in hidrološko neaktivni del, kjer izdanja kamninska podlaga, površje pa razčlenjujejo vrtače. Te vrtačaste uravnave pri Hotenjskem polju obsegajo veliko območje med Žibrško planoto in Hrušico, pri Logaškem polju pa so omejene na manjša območja vzdolž vzhodnega in jugovzhodnega roba polja. Nastale so kot del kraških polj, ko je bil dotok vod in sedimenta na obe polji bolj izdaten. Z denudacijo fluviokraškega zaledja, ki zaradi součinkovanja mehanske in kemične denudacije poteka hitreje kot na okoliškem krasu, se je reliefna energija pritokov zmanjšala, s tem pa tudi dotok sedimenta. Tudi s pretočitvijo površinskih vodotokov v kraški vodonosnik se je zmanjšal vnos vod in sedimenta na polji. Kraške pretočitve pritokov pa lahko nastanejo zaradi vrezovanja fluviokraških dolin v kamninsko podlago, ki deluje popolnoma kraško, kot je bilo v primeru Žejskega potoka s pritoki in Petkovščice. Lahko pa so vezane izključno na fluviokraške doline, saj se lahko del vod zaradi zmanjšane sedimentacije v njihovih dneh pretoči v kraški vodonosnik, kar je bilo dokumentirano na primeru Črnega potoka in Reke (Nagode, 2002a). Zaradi zmanjšane dotekanja vod in sedimenta na polji se je prekinila ali zelo zmanjšala agradacija sedimenta v njihovih distalnih delih. Kot rezultat denudacije sedimentne krovline, ki ji je sledilo površinsko kraško razčlenjevanje izpostavljene kamninske podlage, so nastali hidrološko neaktivni deli kraških polj, ki so v grobem ohranili uravnano obliko dnov polj, a so popolnoma razčlenjeni z vrtačami.

## 7 ZAKLJUČEK

Glavni namen raziskave fluviokraškega geomorfnege sistema Žibrške planote in okoliških kraških polj je interpretacija geomorfni oblik, predvsem njihove morfogeneze in morfodinamike. Analitski del metod je zajemal morfografske, morfometrične in morfostrukturne pristope v okviru terenskega dela, analize s pomočjo geografskih informacijskih sistemov in analize geomorfološke, hidrološke in geološke literature območja.

Območje Žibrške planote je z geomorfološkega vidika eno od najbolj proučenih fluviokraških območij v Sloveniji (Mihevc, 1979; Mihevc, 1986; Mihevc, 1992; Gabrovec, 1994; Gabrovec, 1995; Nagode, 2002a; Komac, 2003; Komac, 2006; Gostinčar, 2016). Razlog je najverjetneje v izredni pestrosti geomorfni oblik, ki so vezane na tovrstna kraška okolja. Prav tako sta bili okoliški kraški polji – Hotenjsko in Logaško – predmet mnogih proučevanj (Rus, 1925; Melik, 1928; Melik, 1952; Melik, 1955; Melik, 1961; Gospodarič, Habič, 1976; Mihevc, 1987; Nagode, 2002b; Breg, 2007; Breg, Smrekar, Gabrovec, 2008).

Zaradi relativno nekonsistentnih opredelitev fluviokraškega geomorfnege okolja v obstoječi literaturi (Cvijić, 1924; Melik, 1961; Gams, 1974; Habič, 1986; Gams, 1986; Gabrovec, 1995; Komac, 2003; Komac, 2004; Gostinčar, Stepišnik, 2012; Gostinčar, 2016; Stepišnik, 2020a) smo tovrstno okolje najprej morfodinamično opredelili (Stepišnik, 2020a). Oprli smo se na interpretacijo Rogliča (1958), ki je prvi definiral

tovrstna kraška okolja kot kraška pobočja na manj odpornih kamninah, kjer prihaja do lokalnega lateralnega premeščanja mehanskega sedimenta po kraškem površju.

V okviru raziskave smo ugotovili, da uravnana območja Žibrške planote kljub prevladi mehansko manj odpornih glavnih dolomitov ne delujejo fluviokraško, ampak kot globoki pokriti kras. Pobočja vrtač na tem območju so preoblikovana s fluviokraškimi procesi, zato so nekatere med njimi razpotegnjene v smeri prevladujočih geoloških struktur. Njihovo razpotegnjenost bi lahko interpretirali tudi kot rezultat preoblikovanja dolgov v vrtače. Tovrstne vrtače bi bile razporejene v linijah nekdanjih dolgov, prav tako bi njihova razpotegnjenost nakazovala smer nekdanjih dolgov. Na ta način lahko interpretiramo tudi vrtače v linijah, ki potekajo vzdolž nekaterih pobočij.

Najznačilnejša oblika fluviokraških okolij so dolki, ki preoblikujejo predvsem zgornje, manj strme dele pobočij Žibrške planote, medtem ko so na spodnjih, bolj strmih delih pobočij, predvsem erozijski jarki. Zaradi povezanosti erozijskih jarkov in dolgov v enotne dendritične sisteme in zaradi fluvialnih akumulacij v izteku nekaterih dolgov, smo zaključili, da so dolki podedovane reliefne oblike, ki so se razvile iz erozijskih jarkov. Ob analizi dolgov smo identificirali tudi takšne, ki se iztečejo v kotanjah, ki imajo velikosti vrtač. Nastanek in funkcija teh kotanj do sedaj še nista bili proučeni, ampak njihova oblika in lega implicirata, da delujejo kot nekakšne fluviokraške ponikve.

Doline Hotenjke, Reke in Črnega potoka smo opredelili kot fluviokraške, saj v njihovih dneh vodotoki tečejo po naplavini; del vod odteka skozi naplavino v kraški vodonosnik, del vod pa odteka po površju na kraška polja. Dolini Žejskega potoka in Petkovščice pa sta se erozijsko poglobili preko dolomitne krovne, ki deluje kot fluviokraško okolje, v zakrasele apnenice, zato so se njuni vodotoki pretočili v kraški vodonosnik. Obe suhi dolini sta tako podedovani reliefni obliki fluviokraškega okolja na kraškem površju.

Hotenjsko in Logaško kraško polje ustrežata morfodinamični tipizaciji pritočnih kraških polj (Stepišnik, 2020b). Dna obeh polj lahko geomorfološko razčlenimo na dva dela. Pritočni, hidrološko aktivni del, je relativno uravnan, kamninsko podlago pa prekrivajo sedimenti. Na odtočni strani se dna nadaljujejo v dele, kjer sedimenti ne prekrivajo kamninske podlage, površje pa je na gosto razčlenjeno z vrtačami. Predpostavljamo, da so neaktivni deli dnov v preteklosti bili prekriti s fluvialnimi in jezerskimi sedimenti, ki so jih prinašale vode z višjih fluviokraških območij. Zaradi denudacije fluviokraškega zaledja se je pritok sedimenta na območje polja zmanjševal, prav tako so se nekateri pritoki delno ali v celoti pretočili v kras. Tako se je obseg aktivnih dnov kraških polj postopoma krčil, neaktivne dele pa so ob denudaciji sedimentne krovne razčlenile vrtače. Gladina podzemne vode v krasu v spodnjem, neaktivnem delu Hotenjskega polja ob visokih vodostajih seže do površja (Blatnik, 2020), zato sklepamo, da je to polje v preteklosti delovalo kot kombiniran tip polja – pritočno in prelivno hkrati.

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## FLUVIOKARST OF THE ŽIBRŠE PLATEAU WITH THE HOTEDRŠICA AND LOGATEC POLJES

### Summary

Fluviokarst is the term for karst environments where the slopes are subject to surface slope wash, causing fluvial denudation and aggradation of sediments. This creates characteristic landforms that are the result of local fluvial transport of sediments on the karst surface and are therefore called fluviokarst. The process that leads to the formation of a fluviokarst is the intense mechanical weathering of the bedrock. The result of this process is a thicker layer of weathering mantle. Geomorphologic environments in which an uninterrupted weathering mantle overlies an epikarst zone are also referred to as covered karst. When the overburden is fine-grained, it impedes the vertical flow of rainwater into the lower parts of the karst aquifer. On the slopes of the covered karst, the vertical runoff of rainwater is inhibited, so that some of the water flows parallel to the slope. Lateral runoff transports sediment across the surface and within the weathering mantle, depositing it on the lower portions of the slopes. Larger fractions of sediments may also be transported on the surface, while transport through the weathering mantle is limited to dissolved and suspended sediments. The fluviokarst is thus exclusively associated with the slopes of the covered karst, where lateral transport of sediments takes place.

Fluviokarst environments are lithologically and structurally geologically determined, as they are thought to depend primarily on the bedrock's resistance to mechanical weathering. Literature suggests that in humid-temperate climates, where Slovenian karst is located, this type of mechanical weathering is mainly related to frost action (Gams, 1974; Gams, 2003; Stepišnik, 2020a). The aim of our research is the systematic geomorphological analysis of the fluviokarst environment of the Žibrše Plateau and the surrounding poljes, which are considered the most characteristic and best studied fluviokarst areas in Slovenia, as well as the interpretation or reinterpretation of fluviokarst forms and processes, and the functioning of fluviokarst environments.

Our investigations have shown that the flat areas of the Žibrše Plateau, although dominated by mechanically less resistant dolomites, do not act as fluviokarst, but as deep karst. The slopes of the dolines in this area have been reshaped by fluviokarst processes, and some of them are therefore elongated in the direction of the dominant geological structures.

The most characteristic form of fluviokarst environments are the dells, which mainly transform the upper, less steep parts of the slopes of the Žibrše Plateau, while the lower, steeper parts of the slopes are mainly dissected by erosion gullies. Based on the connection of erosional gullies and dells into single dendritic systems and due to presence of fluvial accumulations in the outflow of some of the dells, we concluded that the dells are inherited landforms that developed from erosional gullies. Analysis of the dells has also identified dells that drain into relief depressions the size of dolines. The origin and function of these depressions has not yet been investigated, but their shape and location suggest that they function as a type of fluviokarstic sinkholes.

The valleys of the Hotenjka, Reka and Črni Potok were defined as fluviokarst because the watercourses in their floors flow on alluvium; part of the water flows through the alluvium into the karst aquifer and part of the water flows on the surface into the poljes. However, the valleys of the Žejski Potok and the Petkovščica have eroded through the dolomitic bedrock, which functions as a fluviokarstic environment, into the karstified limestones, and their watercourses have therefore drained into the karst aquifer. The two dry valleys are thus the inherited landforms of a fluviokarst environment on the karst surface.

The Hotedršica and Logatec Poljes correspond to the morphodynamic typification of inflow poljes (Stepišnik, 2020b). The floors of both poljes can be geomorphologically divided into two parts. The tributary area, which is hydrologically active, is relatively flat and the bedrock is covered by sediments. On the downstream side, the bedrock continues into parts where sediments do not cover the bedrock and the surface is densely covered by dolines. It is assumed that the inactive parts of the floors were covered in the past by fluvial and lacustrine sediments transported by water from higher fluviokarst areas. Denudation of the fluviokarstic hinterland has led to a decrease in sediment inflow into the polje, and some of the tributaries have also partially or completely drained into the karst aquifer. In this way, the active polje floors



have gradually shrunk and the inactive parts have been dissected by sinkholes as the sediment cover has been denuded away.

*(Translated by the author)*

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# PARK-PEOPLE INTERACTION IN MOUNTAINOUS GEORGIA: THE CASE OF KAZBEGI NATIONAL PARK

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## Abstract

This paper traces the case of Kazbegi National Park expansion and seeks to explore factors that shape or prevent trust-building between the park representatives and stakeholders. The research employed a qualitative methodology, using participatory mapping within discussions to allow the interview partners to link spatial information with extension areas. Comprehensive geographical coverage and participants' maximal variation ensured the representativeness of the data collected. Overall, the article reviews various case studies and summarizes the similarities and differences in building trust during the expansion of protected areas in the Caucasus and other regions.

**Keywords:** protected areas, trust, management, participatory mapping, local participation, Kazbegi National Park

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## INTERAKCIJA MED PARKOM IN LJUDMI V GORATI GRUZIJI: PRIMER NARODNEGA PARKA KAZBEGI

### Izvleček

Prispevek predstavlja širitev Narodnega parka Kazbegi in poskuša raziskati dejavnike, ki oblikujejo ali zavirajo vzpostavljanje zaupanja med predstavniki parka in deležniki. Raziskava je uporabila kvalitativno metodologijo. Z uporabo sodelovalnega kartiranja je omogočila intervjuvancem povezati prostorsko informacijo z območji širitve. Celovito geografsko pokritje in kar največja raznolikost intervjuvancev sta omogočila reprezentativnost zbranih podatkov. V splošnem prispevek predstavlja različne primere in povzema podobnosti in razlike pri vzpostavljanju zaupanja v času širitve zavarovanih območij na Kavkazu in drugih območjih.

**Ključne besede:** zavarovana območja, zaupanje, upravljanje, sodelovalno kartiranje, lokalna participacija, Narodni park Kazbegi

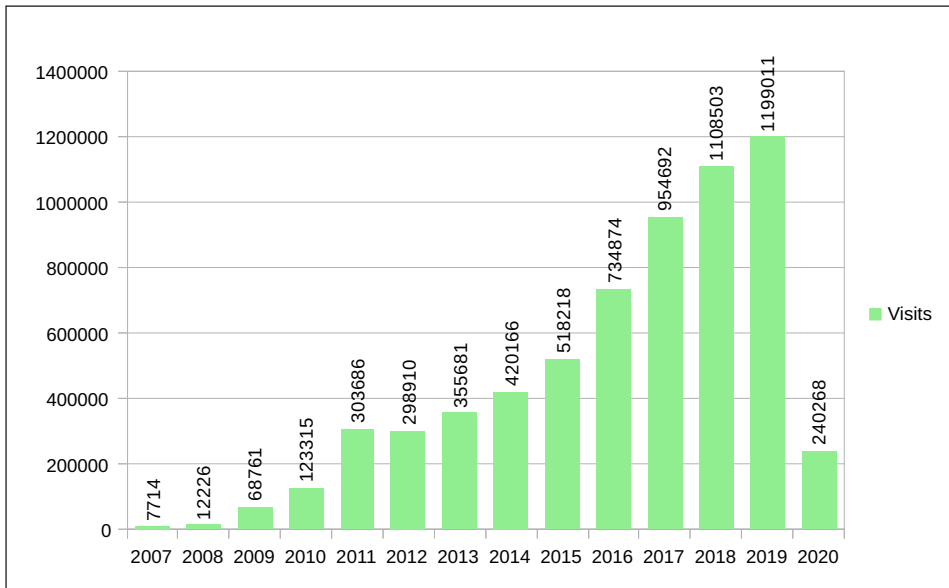
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## 1 INTRODUCTION

Outwardly, substantial progress is being made in developing conservation areas worldwide, with many of them expanding every year (Juffe-Bignoli et al., 2017). Georgia, with its biodiversity-rich mountainous areas, abundant species, and magnificent elegance, is a part of this mushrooming dynamic. Over the previous ten years, there has been an increase in protected areas (PAs), renovation/construction of tourism facilities, and a steady increase in domestic and foreign tourists. According to the Agency of Protected Areas (APA) statistics, the number of tourists visiting PAs rose progressively from 2007 until the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak in 2020. According to statistics, the number of visits to conservation areas surpassed 500 thousand in 2015 and one million in 2018 (see Figure 1).

Georgian PAs' structural growth has been reflected in the continuous extension and construction of new conservation areas. The PA coverage increased by 91,833 hectares (1.3%) since 2011, which in 2018 amounted to 597,556 hectares (8.57% of the total area of Georgia). Notably, the PAs reached a new high in 2020, increasing by 122,374 hectares to a total of 793,351 hectares accounting for 11.38% of Georgia's overall landmass. According to the International Union for Conservation of Nature standards, Georgia has 93 protected areas divided into five categories: 14 state reserves, 13 national parks, 40 natural monuments, 23 sanctuaries, and 3 protected landscapes (Agency of Protected Areas, 2019). Three new PAs were created in 2020,

Figure 1: Number of visits in protected areas (Georgia) 2007–2020.



Source: Agency of Protected Areas.

and one was extended with the prospects to establish several additional new PAs for the coming years (Agency of Protected Areas, 2020; 2021).

Along with increased PA development initiatives, community engagement and the shift from traditional livelihoods to new alternatives are evolving. Specifically, the establishment of a PA is accompanied by prohibitions and regulations aimed at ecosystem protection, which are broadly consistent with the IUCN principles. Through its concept and rules, the PA establishes a new reality in the area (Paige, Igoe, Brockington, 2006). In this respect, local residents must adjust their daily social and economic activities to new regulations. Many scholars have argued that there have been apparent tensions between indigenous communities and PA officials since the establishment of PAs (e.g., Nepal, 1997; Puntser et al., 2017). Some researchers took a step further in their studies by defining the socio-demographic traits of the locals, which have a substantial effect on the distinction of household benefit compositions in and around PAs (Adiyia et al., 2017; Müller-Böker, Kollmair, 2000). Several writers contended that a better knowledge of park–people interactions is necessary to promote resilient development (De Pourcq et al., 2017; Puntser et al., 2017). Building trust between the PA administration and stakeholders, particularly residents living near PAs, is critical. According to Nastran and Pirnat (2012), public interest in park development reflects

the public's faith in the government regarding conservation aims and management strategies. To achieve all intended goals, these considerations need a thorough scientific understanding (e.g., nature preservation, economic development of the region).

As previously noted, Georgia underwent a rapid expansion of PAs and their coverage in a brief period; therefore, this fact questions the extent to which sound engagement and interest in the functioning of the national park is formed. The presented case-study-based article explores whether there is trust between the park management and stakeholders in Kazbegi National Park (KNP).

Based on the baseline study for Kazbegi National Park (Bakuradze et al., 2016), it is planned to expand the park area from 8,686.6 to 70,553 hectares. The case of KNP is crucial because the additional areas that will be granted national park status and landowners that will be functionally related to the delimited areas will have to adapt to the “new reality”. It is vital in this process to highlight current developments in the socioeconomic status of local households and the long-term viability of these solutions.

## 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

The issue of complicated relations and disagreements between the local population and PA administration during the foundation or expansion of PAs has been widely aired in the academic literature. In some cases, locals resist declaring a nearby territory as a PA, which instigates a conflict between them and representatives of PAs (Nepal, 1997; Puntsher et al., 2017). Many studies (e.g., Stern, 2008b; Puntsher et al., 2017; De Pourcq et al., 2017) have brought to the fore the issue of building effective interaction between PAs' representatives and local people, as this is a prerequisite for parks to achieve their objectives. In developing this point, Stern (2004) outlined that “trust for park managers is the most consistent factor associated with how local residents respond to national parks”. The study findings of Turner et al. (2016) underlined trust as a key implication and prerequisite for effective management, which, if high, may ensure sound collaboration between different actors. Many authors have pointed to the importance of trust (De Koning et al., 2017), among which the study by Stern (2008b) revealed that a lack of trust towards PA representatives, caused by the poor communication with neighboring populations, was the most consistent predictor of active opposition towards the establishment of parks. Among other factors, assessments of the benefits and disadvantages of park presence, including interactions with rangers, were commonly assumed to be of primary importance in park–people relationships. According to some authors (De Pourcq et al., 2017; Nepal, 1997; Puntsher et al., 2017), proper communication between the mentioned actors creates a solid foundation for achieving the maximum benefits possible and, overall, sustainable development. Based on the research findings by Turner et al. (2016), building high levels of trust in PA administration demonstrates the particular importance of determining

the perceived legitimacy of park management resolutions according to stakeholders. Furthermore, some authors (Goldman, 2011; De Pourcq et al., 2015) have argued that building trust between parks and people by achieving more effective participation by local groups in national park administration NPA management is an essential condition. As the findings suggest, the latter plays a crucial role in preventing or mitigating conflicts, which can be seen as a daunting task, but far from impossible.

In Georgia, recently implemented studies (Gaprindashvili, 2018; Gloveli, 2017) shared findings regarding the participation of local stakeholders in the decision-making process in the expansion of national parks. Since the local population is actively using exactly those resources (e.g., pasture, firewood) in the area, which may be granted PA status, failing to provide them with information and excluding their involvement in the process creates negative attitudes towards the PA administration (Gaprindashvili, 2018). Such actions significantly hinder the achievement of conservation goals and park objectives and undermine the sound communication between responsible institutions and stakeholders, the restoration of which requires further resources (Gloveli, 2017). In this regard, Stern (2008a) argued that the authorities should ensure the availability of adequate alternatives to resource exploitation within national parks. Moreover, based on the study by Davenport et al. (2007), six primary factors have been identified as the reasons for embracing distrust, confusion, and skepticism towards PA administration; these factors are as follows: i) unclear communication; ii) limited community engagement; iii) limited community power; iv) historical resentment; v) conflicting values, and vi) slow progress. Based on the findings, all these factors fall under one common reason – the opinion and participation of the population were not at the PA administration's epicenter. While people called for better communication, the authorities limited locals' engagement, which led to constraints to building trust. Based on the reviewed literature, various approaches are used to address trustworthiness, including the initiative implemented in Zimbabwe for creating a collaborative arena for local communities and PA representatives. The participatory modelling approach has been integrated to build credibility between PAs and local people, which ensured their collaboration to produce effective management plans (Perrotton et al., 2017). Yet, while there are several approaches to deepening trust between managers and local communities, building trust remains a challenging issue (Sarkki et al., 2015).

Remarkably, due to its profound socioeconomic alterations and rapid expansion of tourism, including in the park, the case study area, Kazbegi municipality, has been the focus of various types of research (Tskvitinidze, 2020; Gugushvili et al., 2017). KNP's biodiversity monitoring and conservation programs have also been evaluated (Dietrich, 2018); however, the local community's attitudes towards park management and, currently, park expansion have not been explored.

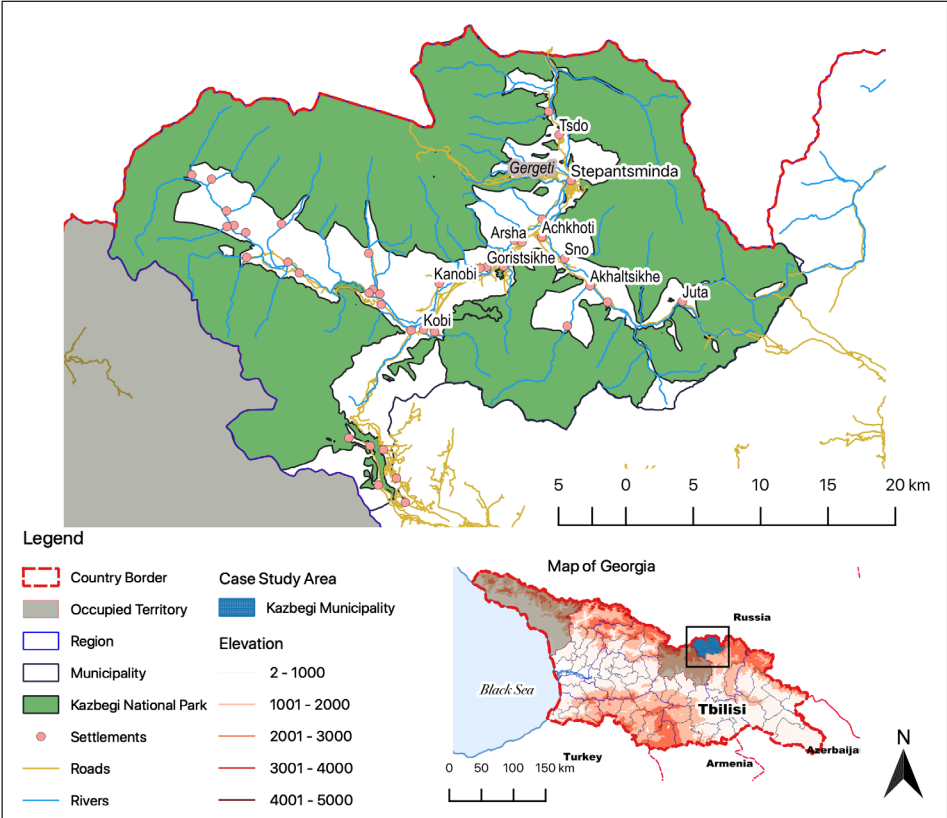


### 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Study context

This paper is based on a case study carried out in the Kazbegi municipality in Georgia’s north-eastern region of Mtskheta-Mtianeti. According to the National Statistics Office of Georgia (2014), its population is 3.800 people, and it is one of Georgia’s most visited highland tourist destinations, associated with picturesque surrounding mountains and natural beauty. The extension process of Kazbegi National Park influenced the research area’s selection to explore issues of trust between park administration and stakeholders in KNP. The borough of Stepantsminda and several villages in four communities (Kobi, Goristsikhe, Sioni, and Sno) located near KNP, with no inhabitants on Park land, were used to study how local residents felt about the park enlargement.

Figure 2: Map of Kazbegi Municipality, Georgia.



Source: Own illustration.

### 3.2 Data collection

The case study took place in 2019 and employed a qualitative research method, namely participatory mapping within in-depth interviews and group-based discussions (Narayanasamy, 2009). As the research aimed to integrate perspectives on the topic from a wide range of stakeholders, purposive sampling was used to ensure participants' maximal variation (Patton, 2015). As a result, participatory mapping covered the local population, selected through their geographical location (adjacent to KNP) and field of economic activity. The mapping also covered other stakeholders selected using a similar approach and considering the following traits: i) local development group members; ii) protected area administration representatives; iii) local initiative group representatives. Ultimately, twenty people took part in the interviews and group discussions through a participatory mapping tool.

During the fieldwork process, the utilization of the participatory mapping approach enabled the participants to bring forward their geospatial understanding of the studied area through physical maps. The pre-printed maps included the territory of the whole municipality and various sections to allow participants to mark preferences, specific locations, and other features related to a given topic on relatively small-sized plots. Such a research tool mostly allowed the local communities to articulate and communicate spatial knowledge about PA expansion areas. Furthermore, the research process gave participants the freedom to shape the discussion on a studied topic with minimal intervention from researchers. The interview guideline focused mainly on respondents' overall opinions regarding the national park, their understanding of and engagement in KNP management, and the park's role in tourism development.

The use of maps made discussions and interviews with stakeholders easier in the sense that local, traditional geographical names (which were not known to the interviewers) were marked on the map and indicated the geographical locations to which the participants referred. Eventually, the interview partners combined knowledge with each other's input and formed a complete picture for the researchers with the help of the maps.

### 3.3 Data analysis

The collected data within the case study was processed through different methodological tools. Qualitative data, transcribed from audio into text files, were analysed based on a seven-step thematic analysis method with computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (MAXQDA). The open coding led to distinguishing five main subcodes related to trust between PA administration and stakeholders: (i) unanswered questions and vague information, ii) more financial benefit than conservation, iii) past frustrating experiences, iv) river banks, and v) KNP as a tourism actor. Qualitative Geographic Information System (QGIS) software was used to reference, analyse, and illustrate spatial data collected through participatory mapping.

### 3.4 Research ethics

The research implementation did not include obtaining ethical approval from the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences of Tbilisi State University; however, the scientific committee approved its implementation based on the positive evaluation of the proposal, including, among several other components, its research ethics. The fieldwork framework included explanations to interview partners about the research project, discussion procedures, voluntariness, confidentiality, and the importance of their participation. After obtaining verbal consent from the respondents, they were informed that an interview had to be audio-taped, transcribed, and anonymized for accurate data analysis. Furthermore, they were made aware that the tapes would be destroyed after the data analysis.

## 4 RESULTS

### 4.1 KNP in the eyes of locals: Clear questions and blurry answers

According to the analysis of the narratives, at the local level, the KNP administration actively carries out various activities to make the community aware of planned activities. Among them, the establishment of the KNP Friends Association and the Regional Advisory Board was referred to as the main activity. The PAs' representatives consider the Advisory Board, which includes actors from all communities in the municipality, to be a facilitator between them and the local population. Its direct function is to inform the local people about the news and current processes occurring in KNP.

Despite these efforts, respondents raised the issue that they do not possess detailed information about the advantages of KNP and, importantly, its enlargement. In this study, residents' unanswered questions, such as *“What is the main mission of expansion of the National Parks?”*, *“What are the protected areas protecting?”* and *“Are they protecting the national park area from local people?”* (field interview, stakeholder, 2019) were unfolding a significant information gap that existed in reality. Local participants highlighted that their overall low information level about the future development of KNP was exacerbated by the fact that they were not officially informed about the park's changing borders. Furthermore, the locals are not precisely aware of the general purpose of national park growth, and the emerging questions, such as *“What was the purpose of this project in general?”* and *“What kind of restrictions would the population have?”* (field interview, stakeholder, 2019), remain unanswered.

Given that the population uses pastures for sheep and cattle grazing in these areas, they have many questions and attached fears regarding the possible withdrawal of some of those fields for KNP expansion. These concerns are in apparent contradiction with the positive expectations of the park administration regarding the natural benefits for the local population (and beyond) created by the national park enlargement.

*A Tushetian [a representative of Tusheti district/area] tells us that both places where I stand are protected areas, and if the sheep flees away from me to those areas, then I am full with fines ... they [Tusheti national park administration] did things on the traditional pastures so that the sheep could not move a little ... they divided [the park] into different restriction zones.*

*(field interview, stakeholder, 2019)*

## 4.2 KNP expansion of 70,000 hectares: Is a larger park more for conservation or financial benefit?

The responding participants pointed out that people affiliated with the APA, including supportive NGOs, mostly talk during meetings with the population about the financial benefits of the municipality and the region in general due to the expansion of the national park. In this process, the reasons why the park's enlargement will be beneficial in terms of nature conservation and biodiversity deserve brief attention. The interview partners insightfully mentioned that both the state and the agency are mainly focused on tourism development. Environmental protection, which is the primary function of the national park, is often left in the background for some reason. The respondent associated with KNP outlined that most projects and activities focus on tourism rather than the environment. The latter became quite noticeable to the public, which raises additional questions and scepticism about the agency's intentions. Based on the interviews, the official meetings exacerbated the KNP representatives' lack of credibility among the locals. The officials mostly talked about the grants and funding available for the locals rather than nature protection issues.

*That is the biggest problem when people come and give [money]. Why? Why are you obliged to help me, and why am I obliged [to help you]? Why should you offer it [money] to me if there is no interest in it for you? Then the person starts asking questions to himself and looking for answers.*

*(field interview, stakeholder, 2019)*

At the outset of the expansion process of the KNP border, several social projects and local initiatives were supported by donor organizations. According to the local participants, they expected to experience more activities for strengthening nature conservation and achieving sustainable development. The discussions divulged that the population had numerous suspicions about the actual financial support of the donors. In particular, mistrust arose when the donors provided financial assistance to locals in various economic areas without monitoring their further implementation.

In essence, this has further heightened suspicions among the population that the park's enlargement by the APA does not only serve nature conservation; there are

other interests. Perhaps the most unexpected finding is that these facts reinforced stakeholders' feeling that funders were offering unconventional financial support in exchange for receiving something unspoken from stakeholders. Such an approach created unreliable attitudes towards the KNP administration.

*Why do they allocate such an amount of money to our region; do they want something from us?*

*(field interview, stakeholder, 2019)*

### 4.3 KNP and local resentment: Your Park and my land?

Respondents pointed out that the first serious rift between the population and the KNP administration arose when the municipality's large forest (Elias Forest), part of which is also covered by KNP, was auctioned and leased for 49 years to a commercial entity without the participation of local stakeholders. Historically, it is a unique, artificially cultivated forest built a few decades ago and transferred to a PA to preserve it. Therefore, the fact that the same agency that had to maintain it alienated it for commercial purposes has led to significant mistrust among the population towards the national park representatives. It is noteworthy that the citizens' protest has resulted in the temporary stoppage of the alienation process by the agency.

Based on the collected information, despite the past frustrating experience, a significant gap is still observed in local community participation in KNP management. The latter has been exacerbated since the expansion of the park area was initiated without the participation of local residents.

*Whoever is writing those laws for us without leaving his/her office [i.e., not visiting the spot], and tells me something that he has no idea about ... and I, Mokheve [a resident of Khevi district/area] have to live with these laws... do you understand? They tell me this, and even do not come here [to the municipality].*

*(field interview, stakeholder, 2019)*

Due to insufficient cooperation, locals consider themselves outsiders in the decision-making process and in elaborating new ideas. After the Elias Forest case, the locals mostly perceive the administration's allocation of large land areas to the national park as a suspicious idea. This is mainly seen when KNP is leasing out the land (e.g., land tenancy for businesses), which is entirely outside of conservation purposes, and the intention seems to favour entities other than the locals.

#### 4.4 Public facts and private intentions: What may we miss in nature conservation?

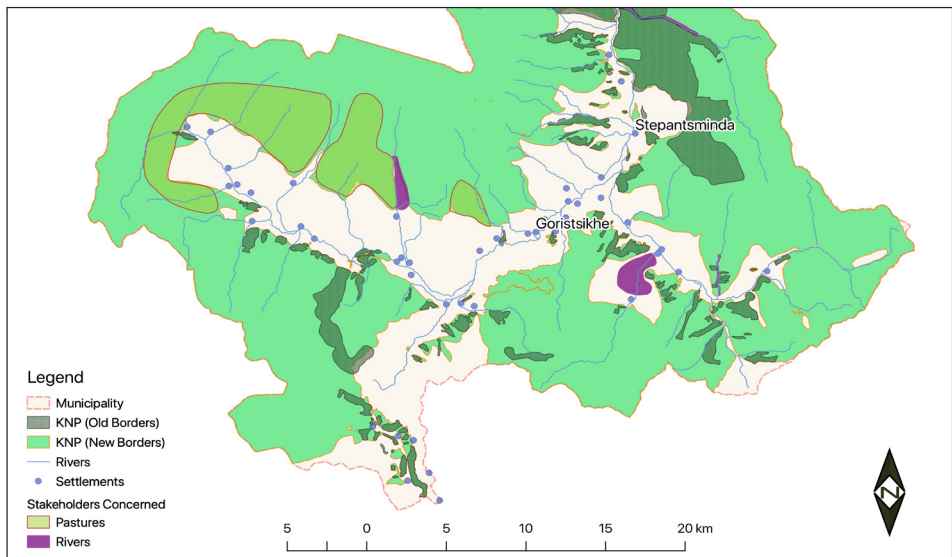
The national park's expansion plan intensified existing suspicions. In particular, the respondents emphasized that different places, primarily areas located along the rivers (see Figure 2 – purple polygons), are omitted according to the plan. During the participatory mapping, participants marked places along the river valleys. Such areas are scattered within the municipality and are outlined by most of the stakeholders.

*It [expansion of KNP] was blocked for two years. People interested in rivers and quarries, some energy “Mafiosi” were blocking this project, which is why these lands are cut out now.*

*(field interview, stakeholder, 2019)*

The participants have assumptions about why rivers and river banks are reserved; most likely, these land plots are intended for economic use, including the construction of hydroelectric power plants and gravel-quarrying businesses. All these assumptions brought further misunderstanding and ambiguity to this development plan. Residents once again faced the fact that they could not get a clear answer as to why the mentioned areas are not part of the national park, and if not explicitly included, what the reason for this is, and how they are planned to be used.

Figure 3: Cut out rivers and riverbanks around expanded KNP borders.



Source: Participatory mapping.



#### 4.5 KNP and tourism: From conservation to commercialization?

Respondents pointed out that initiatives or actions by KNP often go beyond the ecosystem protector's goal, which significantly undermines local residents' trust in KNP's intentions. In particular, they emphasized the support of the development of commercial activities. Among them, stakeholders noted that tourism is one area in which they are actively lobbying. Based on the respondents' narratives, it is unclear why the KNP institution is so motivated to be involved in tourism.

*When we talk about their [APA] goals and visions, they [APA] talk about the development of tourism. I do not understand what the Agency of Protected Areas has to do with developing tourism in the country with their function and duties.*

*(field interview, stakeholder, 2019)*

In this sense, locals see KNP as a rival in the tourism business. In their opinion, KNP possesses many more resources and has better opportunities to prevail over the locals who operate tourism businesses and become a powerful and unchallenged tourist service provider in the municipality.

## 5 DISCUSSION

Ramphal (1993, p. 56), in his foreword to the IUCN's fourth World Parks Congress report on the principle and importance of local support for PA development, stated that "quite simply, if local people do not support protected areas, then protected areas cannot last". Therefore, one of the most significant forms of opposition can be the lack of local support, occurring on various grounds. Our findings are following the recent study by Michel and Wallner (2020), indicating that during the acceptance process of new PAs, among other factors, trust between people and the park representatives is a core issue. The research outcome mirrors the results of Böker and Kollmair (2000), who, based on the study in Nepal, reported that the local communities usually have a high level of acceptance at the beginning of conservation projects, and mainly, the critical voices become louder due to a lack of transparency and misinformation in the process. In contrast to the study mentioned above, this paper presents reasons that trigger scepticism towards the administration, such as cutting off lands along rivers from the National Park Expansion Plan, which underlines the pursuit of private interests that are not in line with local perspectives.

The study has confirmed the findings of Stern (2008b), who argued that the more limited the interaction is between PAs and local communities, the more gaps remain for disseminating misinformation, which ultimately hinders the formation of trust. Following many other studies (Marcus, 2016; Treffny, Beilin, 2011; Turner et al., 2016), this study has found that trust between stakeholders and PA administration is a critical issue and reveals the factors that hinder trust-building. The present study

confirms the writings of Davenport et al. (2007) on circumstances that prevent the formation of trust and contributes additional evidence suggesting past resentment between locals and PA administration as a factor in future mistrust and speculation. Furthermore, our research results accurately echo Michel and Backhaus' (2019) view that the weak involvement of locals in the functioning of PAs makes them feel alienated from their land and deepens their distrust of the intentions of decision-makers. However, excessive reliance on finances is a novelty that has not previously been described as a focus of the PA administration.

## 6 CONCLUSION

The presented study is the most recent documentation of trust between PA administration and stakeholders during the KNP expansion. This study investigated the factors that influence or discourage a solid belief between the park administration and key actors, such as local inhabitants.

In general, stakeholders are likely to be under-informed and lack sufficiently detailed information about KNP's projected enlargement process. More specifically, the administration's responses regarding the exposed principles are vague and lack context, preventing the actions from being accessible to stakeholders. These factors result in significant distrust and suspicion, creating the impression that the process is implicit.

Based on the in-depth interviews, we can conclude that one of the most pressing questions concerns plots left outside the national park following enlargement, which has yet to be resolved. The study found that this ambiguous issue significantly prevents trust-building between local residents and the APA. The current outcomes highlight the importance of resolving this vague issue instead of leaving it an open question.

The perceptions of interviewed partners disclose that they do not take positively the context in which the representatives of the PAs talk about the expansion of the national park. In particular, a considerable focus on expected economic benefits gives the impression that the outcome of this process is negligible in terms of nature conservation.

One of the main conclusions drawn is that the KNP administration is regarded as a competitor in tourism development by the local population, given its resources and interest. The latter significantly impinged upon the trustworthiness of the APA. To avoid reinforcing the existing views and help eliminate the mistrust between the actors, the KNP administration should ensure the local population's involvement in the developing tourism activities.

Taken together, these findings suggest that trust-building between PA administration and stakeholders is mainly contingent upon how the interaction and timely engagement of stakeholders in the national park functioning is managed.

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## INTERAKCIJA MED PARKOM IN LJUDMI V GORATI GRUZIJI: PRIMER NARODNEGA PARKA KAZBEGI

### Povzetek

Prispevek obravnava zaupanje med upravo zavarovanih območij in deležniki v času širitve Narodnega parka Kazbegi. Temelji na raziskavi, opravljeni v občini Kazbegi v severovzhodni gruzijski regiji Mtskheta-Mtianeti. Po podatkih državnega statističnega urada Gruzije (2014) ima 3.800 prebivalcev in je ena najbolj obiskanih gorskih turističnih destinacij v Gruziji. Kot obravnavano območje je bilo izbrano okrožje Stepantsminda oz. več vasi, ki se nahajajo v bližini Narodnega parka Kazbegi. Raziskava je potekala leta 2019 in je uporabila kvalitativno raziskovalno metodo, in sicer sodelovalno kartiranje in intervjuje. Uporabljeno je bilo namensko vzorčenje, da je bila tako dosežena kar največja raznolikost vzorca. Sodelovalo je 20 udeležencev. Raziskava se je osredotočila na dejavnike, ki vplivajo na zaupanje med upravo parka in ključnimi akterji, kot so lokalni prebivalci.

Ugotovitve kažejo, da so na splošno deležniki premalo obveščeni in nimajo dovolj podrobnih informacij o načrtovanem procesu širitve Narodnega parka Kazbegi. Odgovori uprave so nejasni in brez ustreznega konteksta, kar onemogoča, da bi bili ukrepi razumljivi deležnikom, zato se med njimi pojavlja precejšnje nezaupanje. Na podlagi poglobljenih intervjujev je mogoče sklepati, da se eno najbolj perečih vprašanj nanaša na zemljišča, ki so po širitvi ostala zunaj narodnega parka. Raziskava je pokazala, da to dvoumno vprašanje v pomembni meri preprečuje vzpostavitev zaupanja med lokalnimi prebivalci in Agencijo za zavarovana območja. Rezultati poudarjajo potrebo po razjasnitvi s tem povezanih dilem.

Percepcije intervjuvancev razkrivajo, da nimajo pozitivnega odnosa do konteksta, znotraj katerega predstavniki zavarovanih območij govorijo o širitvi narodnega parka. Zlasti precejšnja osredotočenost na pričakovane gospodarske koristi daje vtis, da je vidik ohranjanja narave manj pomemben. Lokalno prebivalstvo vidi v upravi Narodnega parka Kazbegi konkurenta v razvoju turizma. Slednje je močno vplivalo na verodostojnost Agencije za zavarovana območja. Da bi se izognili utrjevanju obstoječih pogledov in pomagali odpraviti nezaupanje med akterji, bi morala uprava Narodnega parka Kazbegi zagotoviti vključevanje lokalnega prebivalstva v razvoj turistične dejavnosti.



Te ugotovitve nakazujejo, da je vzpostavljanje zaupanja med upravo zavarovanih območij in zainteresiranimi stranmi v glavnem odvisno od kakovostne interakcije in pravočasne vključitve deležnikov v delovanje narodnega parka.



# TRANSFORMATION OF FAMILY-BASED ENTREPRENEURIAL ACTIVITIES IN RURAL AREAS: VIEW ANGLE FROM HUMAN CAPITAL

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## Abstract

The shift in policy focus from agriculture to rural development enables rural families to diversify their economic activities. Household-based resources, particularly human capital, are essential for capitalizing on newly developed opportunities. Locals with sufficient resources seize possibilities in agriculture and emerging economic sectors such as tourism. A case study (33 in-depth interviews) of Caucasus mountain households in Kazbegi and Mestia municipalities revealed the importance of human capital in attaining other types of resources, such as social and financial capital, and, ultimately, in the process of family-based economic development. Local families are encouraged to engage in and embrace contemporary farming practices in order to determine the most effective sustainable livelihoods. Along with long-established industries, households employ traditional knowledge to enter entrepreneurial tourism activities.

**Keywords:** human capital, rural areas, Caucasus, family-based economic activities, diversification

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# PREOBRAZBA DRUŽINSKIH PODJETNIŠKIH DEJAVNOSTI NA PODEŽELSKIH OBMOČJIH: VIDIK ČLOVEŠKEGA KAPITALA

## Izvleček

Premik osredotočenosti politike s kmetijstva na razvoj podeželja omogoča podeželskim družinam diverzifikacijo gospodarskih dejavnosti. Viri gospodinjstev, zlasti človeški kapital, so bistveni za izkoriščanje na novo razvitih priložnosti. Lokalni prebivalci z zadostnimi sredstvi izkoriščajo možnosti v kmetijstvu in nastajajočih gospodarskih sektorjih, kot je turizem. Študija primera (33 poglobljenih intervjujev) kavkaških gorskih gospodinjstev v občinah Kazbegi in Mestia je razkrila pomen človeškega kapitala pri pridobivanju drugih vrst virov, kot sta socialni in finančni kapital, in v procesu na družini temelječega gospodarskega razvoja. Lokalne družine se spodbuja, da se vključijo in sprejmejo sodobne kmetijske prakse, da bi določili najučinkovitejše načine trajnostnega preživetja. Poleg že dolgo uveljavljenih dejavnosti gospodinjstva uporabljajo tradicionalno znanje za vstop v podjetniške turistične dejavnosti.

**Ključne besede:** človeški kapital, podeželska območja, Kavkaz, družinske gospodarske dejavnosti, diverzifikacija

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

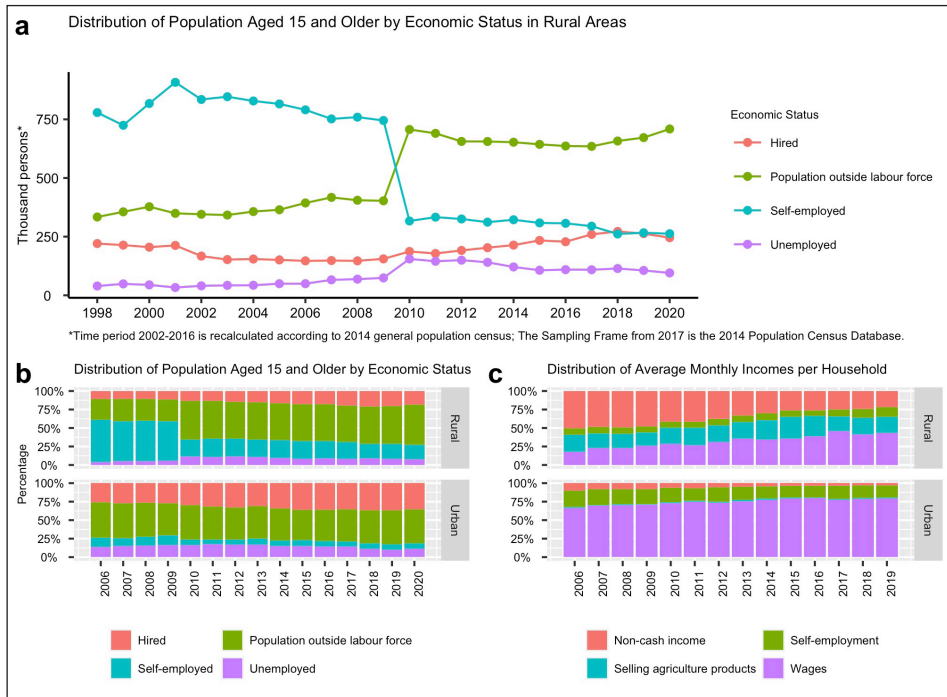
The destruction of the natural-resource-based/extractive industries enabled the development of small businesses in rural and mountainous areas (Siemens, 2013). In light of these changes, rural entrepreneurship and self-employment become an essential component in rural development strategies, including the promotion of family-based economic activities. Evidence suggests that such policies have a positive role in addressing income growth, poverty reduction, and depopulation (Green, Zinda, 2013; Sohns, Revilla Diez, 2017). Programmes and projects supporting entrepreneurship and self-employment encourage locally owned, family-based small businesses and livelihood development in rural areas (Robinson et al., 2004). Furthermore, development strategies are oriented to introduce new opportunities for residents and build on unique and niche local resources (Green, Zinda, 2013). All this not only has a positive impact on the diversification of economic activities and the activation of the local population but also gives pride to members of the community, preserves and gives new life to cultural heritage, and revitalizes the whole living environment (Pato, 2020). Studies also link the advancement of rural entrepreneurship to the provision of “new goods and services” (Andersson et al., 2009) for rural communities, resulting in increased rural economic welfare and quality of life (Wortman, 1990).

While family-based economic activities provide opportunities for further economic development, questions have been raised about increasing income inequality among households. Notably, poor rural households find it especially difficult to rise out of poverty because of their limited capabilities to expand income from diversified activities (Salifu, 2019). Scoones (1998) argued that the ability to pursue different livelihood strategies depends on the primary material and social, tangible, and intangible assets that people own. Drawing on an economic metaphor, livelihood resources can also be defined as “capital”, which forms the basis for deriving various productive streams to generate livelihoods. Among other assets, human capital plays one of the primary roles in the further economic development of the household (Xue, Kerstetter, 2018). The issue of developing and maintaining human capital is especially acute for rural and mountainous settlements, as these areas are particularly vulnerable to their scarcity. Economically active people often migrate from such settlements to urban areas in order to harness more job opportunities and economic potential (North, Smallbone, 2006).

Importantly, in many countries, self-employment in rural areas is a prevalent livelihood practice (Eliasson, Westlund, 2013, p. 490); Georgia is no exception in this regard. In Georgia, 42 per cent of the population was living in rural areas, according to the last General Population Census in 2014 (Hakkert, 2017). Notably, over the last 15 years, the proportion and the absolute number of self-employed people in rural areas have gradually decreased (see Fig. 1a). However, self-employment still plays a significant part, accounting for 20 per cent or more (self-employed people who are not market-oriented and who produce agricultural goods primarily (more than 50 per cent) for their own consumption will no longer be considered as self-employed under the ILO’s (International Labour Organization) new standard (Geostat, 2020)) of the rural population (see Fig. 1b). According to the Households Incomes and Expenditures Survey in 2019, 57 per cent of the average monthly income of the rural households consists of self-employment, selling agricultural products, and non-cash income (see Fig. 1c). Overall, the majority of the households in rural areas rely on family-based livelihoods.

In 2017 adoption of the Georgian National rural development strategy, indicating a switch in “general policy orientation” (Hodge, Midmore, 2008) from agricultural to rural development, triggered one of the significant shifts in Georgia’s rural and mountainous livelihood practices. The latter were supported by government entities (e.g. Enterprise Georgia’s micro and small business support programme) and international donors (e.g. the LEADER programme) with the intent to promote sustainable non-agricultural activities, diversification of the rural economy, and reinforcement of local community participation to tackle poverty and inequality. One of the latest empirical study results confirmed that mountain households have embraced alternative economic opportunities through integrating additional agricultural, non-agricultural, and tourism activities as a source of income. Some of the families could diversify their economic activities by maintaining agriculture while adding tourism to supply this new market with their local products (Salukvadze, Backhaus, 2020).

Figure 1: Distribution of the population in Georgia by economic status (a; b) and by type of household's average income (c).



Source: Household's Incomes and Expenditures Survey, Labour Force Survey (2017–2019) (National Statistics Office of Georgia, 2020a, 2020b).

Note: The data for 2010–2019 are recalculated according to the International Labour Organization (ILO) standards adopted at the 20th International Conference of Labour Statisticians; The data for 1998–2009 are in line with the ILO's standards adopted at the 13th International Conference of Labour Statisticians.

In light of the changes presented above, this article provides an in-depth understanding of the role of human capital in the process of family-based business transformation. Ultimately, an understanding of human capital during the livelihood changes will be revealed.

## 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

A thorough review of the literature shows a considerable number of papers studying the issues related to setting up a small family-based business in rural areas. In the

literature, the factors shaping the development of new economic activities by rural households are studied from various perspectives. Notably, this issue is getting attention in research fields such as entrepreneurship (Munjal, 2019; Pato, 2015), self-employment (Tuijl, 2016; Wang, Li, Lien, 2016), farming (Alsos, Ljunggre, Pettersen, 2003), livelihood strategies (Scoones, 1998), and diversification studies (Khai, Danh, 2014). Although each of the terms mentioned covers a broad range of economic activities (e.g. wage employment, remittance, migration), they also incorporate those that focus on small family businesses. Consequently, from a broad perspective, examining the role that human capital plays in starting economic activities in rural households will ensure that the paper provides a vivid picture.

According to Scoones (1998), human capital refers to the skills, knowledge, ability to carry out labour, and good health and physical capability that are essential for successfully pursuing different livelihood strategies. Flora et al. (2015) proposed the definition of human capital in the community context, also focusing on the skills and abilities of people to advance and magnify owned and external resources. Despite the common understanding of the concept, the operationalization of human capital differs in the studies; more precisely, authors employ various measurements, such as formal, informal, and traditional human capital.

Some of the papers focused only on formal education, including school, university education attainment, and post-school training (Wang, Li, Lien, 2016). Several authors observed specific formal education, such as entrepreneurial education (Anosike, 2019; Sánchez, 2013), which promotes entrepreneurship-specific competencies and entrepreneurial intention. In addition to the quality of human capital, attention has been paid to the quantity of human resources, especially in the process of households' economic activities diversification (Bhandari, 2013; Khai, Danh, 2014). Other studies, alongside formal education, integrated informal human capital (Meccheri, Pelloni, 2006; Skuras et al., 2005) to explore how work experience (e.g., running economic activities, employment in the business) and tacit knowledge have effects on enhancing livelihood strategies. The latter is closely related to the traditional and local knowledge that has been passed from one generation to another (Munjal, 2019; Pato, 2015).

The reviewed studies mainly addressed the question of whether human capital plays a role in the enhancement of households' economic activities (McElwee, Bosworth, 2010; Skuras et al., 2005; Stockdale, 2006) and are limited in terms of further investigation. Khai and Danh (2014) claimed that the higher the education level is, the more it contributes to the diversification of income sources. The Alsos, Ljunggren and Pettersen (2003) study findings correspond with those of the mentioned authors in claiming that the livelihood diversification into non-farm activities depends on the household member's level of education, particularly completion of university. Up to now, fewer attempts have been made not only to test hypotheses but to explore the function of the human capital in the process of starting or expanding economic activities. The local knowledge helps local families create services shaped by authentic



characteristics demanded by the foreign and domestic tourist market. Tourists are looking for unique tourist destinations to experience traditional culture (Munjal, 2019). The study by Meccheri and Pelloni (2006) found out that education and work experience are prerequisites for ensuring access to financial resources. In some cases, specific skills, such as cooking and building skills, make it easier to transition to new economic activities (Xue, Kerstetter, 2018). There is a relatively small amount of scientific literature describing and investigating the ways in which households gain various forms of human capital.

The reviewed literature showed the crucial role of human capital in forming the new household's livelihoods; however, a lack of in-depth understanding of the issue was observed. As such, this article is an attempt to provide insights into the rural household's pathway to gaining and using human capital for their micro-entrepreneurial activities.

### 3 METHODOLOGY

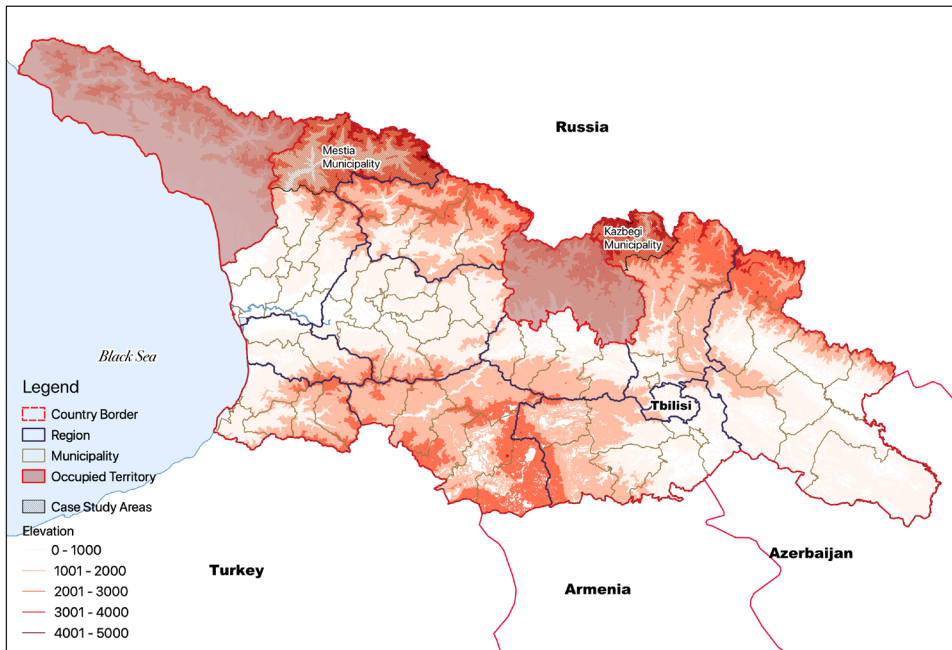
This study employed a transformative mixed methods research design (Driscoll, Salib, Rupert, 2007) to explore the households' economic activities in mountain areas from both qualitative and quantitative methodological orientations. The information collected via in-depth interviews was analysed according to the principle of qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2000), hence quantifying the qualitative data into numerical forms (Chang et al., 2009; Miles, Huberman, Haldaña, 2019; Tashakkori, Teddlie, 1998).

The study was carried out in two mountainous destinations of Georgia – Kazbegi and Mestia municipalities (in 2018) (see Figure 2).

An in-depth interview method was employed to explore 33 local households' experiences of starting new economic activities or scaling up existing ones. The discussion guideline was developed based on the sustainable rural livelihood concept (Chambers, Conway, 1991). It should be highlighted that Sakdapolrak's (2014) criticism based on Bourdieu's theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1972) on the livelihood approach was incorporated. This is manifested in the fact that the presented study overcomes the lack of temporal dynamics of livelihood analysis and extends focus on long-term social change rather than only studying the current situation. The main discussion topics included households' economic activities, the role of human capital in developing livelihood practices, the ways households gain human capital, and outputs of their activities. Such an approach covers all the pathways and provides an answer to the central question of how human capital shapes and is shaped by households' livelihoods.

The predefined households' characteristics, such as geographical distribution, demographic characteristics, and economic activities, were employed to reach the maximal variation (Patton, 2015) of interview partners (see Table 1).

Figure 2: The research areas Kazbegi and Mestia municipalities.



Source: Gugushvili et al., 2019.

Table 1: Distribution of interviewees by gender, age, and municipality.

Municipality	Kazbegi		Mestia		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Age					
<=29	1	1	0	0	2
30-39	1	4	1	2	8
40-49	3	0	1	2	6
50-59	4	1	5	2	12
> 60	1	1	1	2	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>33</b>

The obtained audio recordings were transcribed and, afterward, processed and analysed using computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDA). The hybrid approach of the qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2014; 2000) was applied, incorporating inductive category development and deductive category assignment.

Based on the research purpose, at the first stage, main categories, such as economic activities, types of human capital, and sources of human capital, were developed. Sub-codes were created based on the locals' narratives; first, they were coded closely to the interview texts, followed by merged and generalized codes at the later stage. The definition and explanation of the codes and subcodes were documented in the memos. The code agreement was achieved by applying two analysis techniques: (i) the coding system was reviewed by an external colleague working in the same field, and (ii) coding was reviewed by the author two times after a period of three or four weeks.

The quantified qualitative information allows for observing the scale of each thematic category and intersections between categories and interview partners. The coded segments were explored and presented in the forms of crosstabulation, 2-dimensional heatmap, a map utilizing initial MAXQDA special mixed-methods tools, such as crosstab, a code relation browser, MAXmap, and, at a later stage, the Rstudio package ggplot2 (Wickham, 2016).

## 4 RESULTS

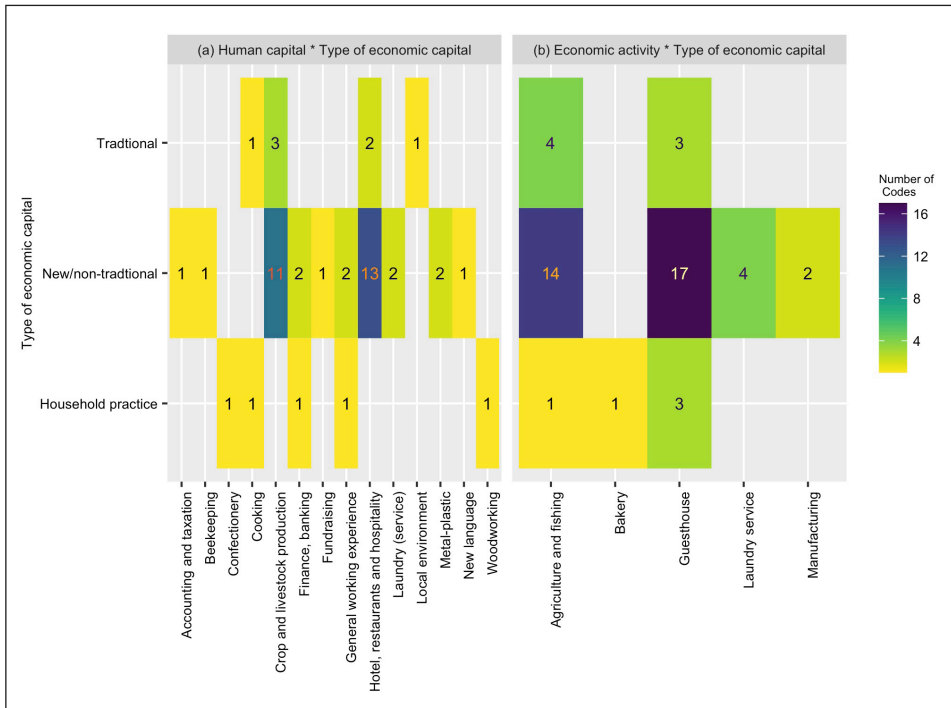
The findings are based on the narratives of the interviewed rural households primarily involved in the hospitality industry, agriculture, and fishing. Alongside the mainstream economic activities, the research presents the story of the pioneers who introduced new economic activities, such as metal-plastic manufacturing, wood workshops, and laundry services. Besides covering two main mentioned economic activities, the study covers a wide range of sub-economic sectors, in particular non-traditional agriculture (e.g., lettuce farming), livestock farming, fishing, greenhouses, and beekeeping. The continual growth of the hospitality business in both study areas made it especially significant to explore rural households' adaptation processes of the guesthouse establishment.

The research reveals that the local households employ both traditional and non-traditional forms of human capital in the process of initiating new economic activities. Based on the human capital and strategies of gaining human capital, three main categories were distinguished: (i) new/non-traditional, (ii) household practice, and (iii) traditional. Based on the data analysis, new/non-traditional human capital is an essential facet of starting a family business, which the households gain through various means. Importantly, new/non-traditional human capital refers to the knowledge and skills that are new for the study areas. It appeared that the households are equipped with a wide range of non-traditional forms of human capital, including knowledge of crop and livestock farming, hospitality, laundry, metal-plastic manufacturing, and foreign languages. Another type of human capital is the household practice, which consists of family members who acquire human capital in their own or a neighbouring household. Such respondents live in a family where they are able to familiarize themselves with new, non-traditional forms of human capital. Such households are

distinguished in the study areas through practicing non-typical economic activities of the region. The third type, traditional human capital, is mainly passed down from one generation to another, which reveals the common knowledge and practice of hospitality, crop and livestock management, and the local environment.

Crosstabulation of the two-family codes, namely economic activities and types of human capital, shows that locals integrate non-traditional crops or practices (14 code intersections) (see Figure 3b) in traditional fields, such as agriculture. In this regard, they diversify their livelihoods and respond to the changing market requirements or customer preferences. Along the integrating new methods in the agriculture locals maintain traditional practices. Part of it, such as knowledge of local environment helps farmers to put successfully into practice new agricultural crops and methods. According to the findings of the research, traditional and household practice (6 code intersections) (see Figure 3b) have an important role in the sphere of hospitality. The practices, which are part of the locals' lifestyle in hosting the guests, cooking, and woodworking (see Figure 3a), turned out to be vital assets for starting a family business in tourism (e.g., open guesthouses).

Figure 3: Crosstabulation of human capital, economic activity and type of human capital.



Source: In-depth interviews collected by research team.

*In a way, this happened after the fall of the Soviet Union... When a guest came, whoever visited, everyone was obliged to show hospitality [free of charge]; whether a guest was from Tashkent, Saint-Petersburg, Warsaw, or Budapest – the natives of Eastern Europe... In my family, for example, the influx of tourists from democratic countries started in 1996, and we became a democratic state as well. That's when, by default, all that switched to paid services.*

*(Mestia, Guesthouse)*

Possession of human capital is not a given, but the opposite; families try numerous strategies to equip themselves with new skills and knowledge. The acquisition of non-traditional human capital is distinguished by a variety of strategies, which also depend on pre-existing human capital and the specifics of economic activities. **Formal education** plays its part in introducing new knowledge to the residents of study areas. It is presented in a variety of ways, including to students studying in another region, or through international, national, and local programmes that provide subject-focused trainings on-site. The latter encourages and supports people in adopting fresh human capital in new (e.g., tourism) or traditional (e.g., agriculture) economic activities.

*After graduating from Tbilisi State University, Faculty of Economics, I worked for 25–30 years as the head of the Financial Division – currently, preparing financial reports and other official documents [for my family business].*

*(Mestia, Guesthouse)*

There are forms of knowledge and skill acquisition that show local people's great motivation to discover new methods or new economic activities and then use them as their livelihood practice. To achieve this, locals use every possible **self-learning** means to acquire the desired knowledge through books, the internet, or online tutorials. Some of the interested people put in extra effort (time, money) in order to test different methods in practices they are **learning by doing**. Like other strategies, learning by doing is a way to put into practice new economic activities. Along with the positive side of this, especially in agriculture, its disadvantages are clearly observed. Due to the different natural environments of the mountain region, attempts to use methods tried in other places are sometimes unsuccessful. The poor economic condition makes it difficult for the population to cope with the amount of finances and time.

The research revealed two main types of communication (**sharing the experience** and **inviting specialists**) between local residents and professionals in different fields. At the initial stage of planning a business or on particular occasions where they are unable to cope with the challenges themselves, locals use a social network of professionals to find a solution. The study found several cases where locals shared information and experiences with their neighbours. This is a core custom to spread good

practices in the region after the introduction of new rural agriculture or other new economic practices for the selected beneficiaries by rural development programmes. For introducing knowledge on new economic activities, it has been revealed that there is a practice where locals invite an external specialist from another region or the capital to the settlement to share specific skills. The specialists themselves take part in the family business and teach the locals how to develop the product or provide services.

*I had an idea [start laundry service]. When I was working as a receptionist in the Rooms hotel, I have noticed that several times staff encountered challenges in laundry service delivery. ... The guest was complaining about this matter. At that time, I thought about why we do not have a local laundry service. Around us, there are a lot of guesthouses, demand for this service.*

*(Kazbegi, Laundry service)*

It should be highlighted that small and medium private companies are also a source of non-traditional human capital. Locals, through their accumulated work experience, familiarize themselves with the particular economic sector. They are equipped with special skills or identify a needed supportive service, which is the inspiration for a start-up's ideas. The experience gained in the households is also diverse, especially the knowledge saturated with specific local knowledge. The competence acquired in the family includes the preparation of traditional food, hosting the guests, and the knowledge of the natural environment.

The analysis of the coded narratives disaggregated by interview partners showed that the locals apply different combinations of knowledge, skills, and experience acquisition methods (see Figure 4). Each source of human capital shows how household members try to diversify their livelihood practices. Some combine formal education and work experience in local private enterprises; others mix self-learning, formal education, and learning by doing. By any means obtained, human capital enhances the readiness of households to commence new micro-entrepreneurial activities.

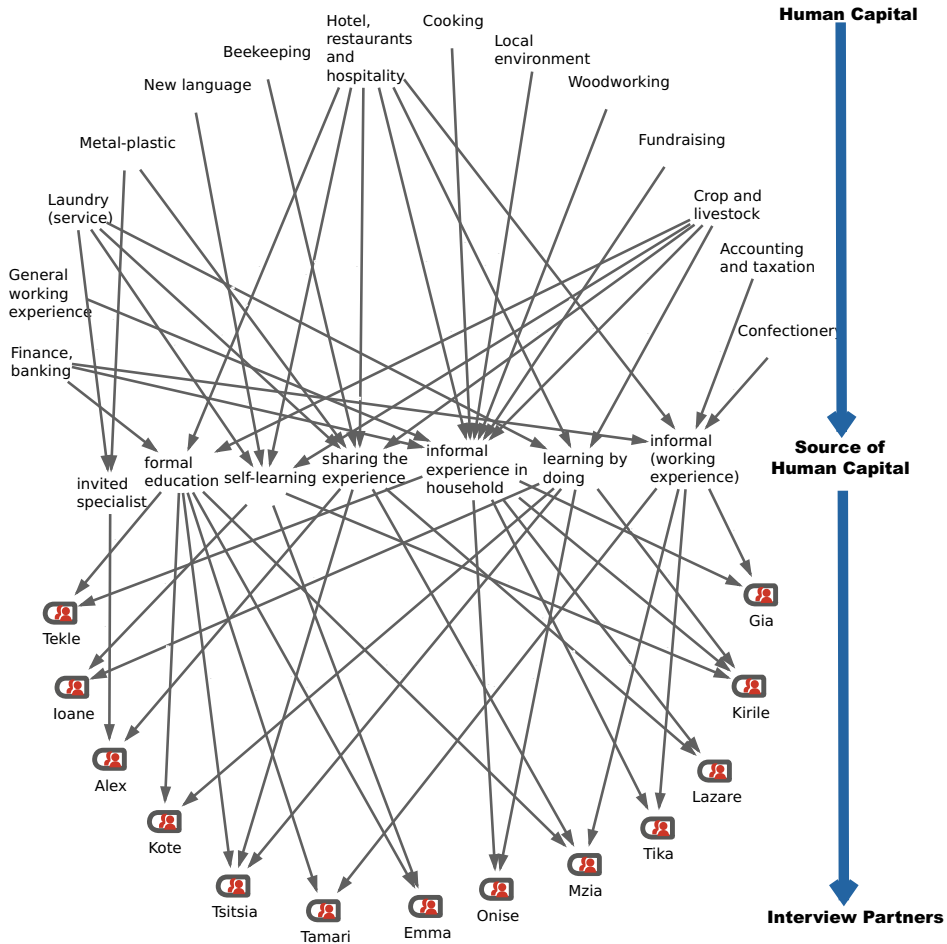
*The way it was earlier, here, in Kazbegi, we were only harvesting potatoes. Then, I once harvested lettuce leaves, and it grew. I did not know how to do it. Then, I learned something myself and developed further... I separated them from each other (lettuce leaves) and it grew wonderfully. Then I took various studies, training classes, all of that and learned how to manage and look after that. Furthermore, it evolved from harvesting lettuce leaves to market gardening.*

*(Kazbegi, Agriculture)*

Interview partners highlighted the importance of human capital, as the accumulated capacity is a prerequisite to accessing or gaining another type of capital. Locals



Figure 4: Network map of human capital, source of human capital and interview partners.



Source: In-depth interviews collected by research team.

are provided with the opportunity to obtain financial support to strengthen their economic condition through international or governmental programmes. It is essential for the applicant to have a clear business plan, budget, several additional formal documents, and access to e-platforms to apply for funding. The difficulty of the application procedures differs depending on project requirements. It should be mentioned that young household members mostly take the lead in the procedures for uploading and submitting documents online.

*As soon as this [Micro and Small Business Support] program started, some idea came up to start the family business. Since we had built a house, we just wanted to renovate it [make it ready for tourists]. My parents shared a business idea, I have written it up for [submission], we got the funding.*

*(Mestia, Guesthouse, a young member of the household)*

Ultimately, in the hospitality sector, the significant role of all three types of human capital was clearly observed in setting up guesthouse services for tourists. The locals provide traditional dishes for guests by employing cooking skills gained within their families, create a home atmosphere using the experience of the long-standing Georgian tradition of hosting guests, and make use of foreign languages studied at educational institutions. The locals' tourism services have been improved by hospitality standards acquired through formal education, such as university programmes and training. Last but not least, tourist services are continually developing based on hands-on experience in their economic activities.

## 5 DISCUSSION

Changes in economic activities at the family level or rural development at the community level are not explained solely on the basis of a single form of capital (Coleman, 1988; Sutherland, Burton, 2011; Svendsen, Sørensen, 2007). To extend this concept to real-world challenges (such as poverty eradication, support for innovation, and empowerment of local economic activities), decision-makers should address the system of interdependent forms of capital rather than just one of them. Ultimately, the presented article is saturated with the idea that each form of capital plays a role in the transition of family-based economic activities. The results of a case study conducted in a post-Soviet republic offer a more comprehensive understanding of this issue from the perspective of human resources. Households' experience of diversifying their economic activities shows that human capital is needed to obtain financial support from governmental or non-governmental organizations through grants, loans, and other types of assistance. The farmers need the same capital to gain social capital and increase the demand for agricultural products or tourism services. Such real-life examples demonstrate plainly that, due to a lack of appropriate skills and knowledge, not all family members can take advantage of existing/provided opportunities.

The limitations of the sustainable livelihood concept are addressed in this article, specifically the temporal dynamic (Sakdapolrak, 2014) of changing economic activities and livelihood practices. The whole transition phase of family-based economic activities reveals a comprehensive framework, from human resource enhancement to the utilization of the capital by rural households to initiate or extend economic activities. This method produced results that were not achievable within the framework's constraints.

Local households use a combination of traditional and new human capital, similar to how they approach agriculture, to develop tourism services. The study findings are consistent with the writings of various writers who, in their publications, emphasized the value of traditional skills in providing authentic tourist experiences for visitors and traditional industries (e.g. the herb industry) for their regions (Gornik, Potočnik Slavič, 2019; Meccheri, Pelloni, 2006; Munjal, 2019; Xue, Kerstetter, 2018). The presented article agrees with the scholars listed; the study found that cooking skills and hospitality heritage passed down through generations genuinely shape and add value to tourism services. Furthermore, formal education or work experience is also necessary for this process. The opportunity for local families to learn cutting-edge skills in educational institutions, participate in brief theme-focused teaching, and integrate this knowledge with authentic customs results in a distinctly local tourism product (Gugushvili, Salukvadze, Salukvadze, 2019). As a result, services that provide a local experience while still being of high quality are established, attracting visitors and turning them into ambassadors for others.

Local Georgian households are generally considered hesitant to use modern farming methods and technology (Bantsuri, Tsertsvadze, 2020; ISSA, 2017). Interestingly, our findings show that rural families have adopted new crops and agricultural skills in various ways. Engaged farmers are not only passive receivers of further agricultural information; in some situations, they are actively attempting to gain experience and expertise by cultivating (piloting) some crops in their small plots. As a result, local farmers in the study areas mix conventional and modern farming practices, diversifying or expanding their product range.

The presented results are essential to promote the methodological perspectives in future studies. Since human capital studies that only concentrate on or measure formal education are limited (Anosike, 2019; Sánchez, 2013; Wang, Li, Lien, 2016), a holistic and integrated approach incorporates formal education, work experience, and conventional knowledge would create a more accurate picture. According to our conclusions, future research should focus on operationalizing human capital not only through school or university education but also through a broader range of expertise and experience. The study's primary limitation was its sampling, which included interview participants who had changed their economic practices but excluded households that had not. Respondents who have difficulty diversifying their subsistence practices may be included in further investigations, which might assist researchers in better understanding the process.

## 6 CONCLUSION

The study aimed to observe the whole transformation process of family-based economic practices in rural areas. These results lead to the evidence that locals gain

human capital through various methods, including formal education, self-learning, learning by doing, sharing experiences, inviting experts, informal practices in households, and work experience. Notably, most human resource acquisition strategies present locals as active participants in gaining more current knowledge in the economic area in which they work. Rural households employ various techniques, resulting in a synthesis of traditional and modern skills and experience in the regions' two most important economic sectors, tourism and agriculture. The findings further highlight the significance of human capital as a prerequisite for adopting other types of capital, such as financial and social capital.

The research findings point to the conclusion that the development policies can adequately address rural poverty and inequality if several types of capital, including human resources, are approached at once. The financial support provided for micro-entrepreneurial activities should be encouraged by bringing new knowledge to the regions and respecting existing knowledge. In addition, the importance of social capital between and among communities should be considered to achieve inclusive rural development and help those who lack resources.

This research was conducted to better understand the transformation of household-based economic activities in rural areas and the role of human capital. However, the current study was limited by the fact that it only examined families who started new economic activities and did not observe locals who did not embrace new opportunities. Future studies on this topic will therefore need to pay more attention to the perceptions and experiences of those who stayed behind.

## Acknowledgement

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## PREOBRAZBA DRUŽINSKIH PODJETNIŠKIH DEJAVNOSTI NA PODEŽELSKIH OBMOČJIH: VIDIK ČLOVEŠKEGA KAPITALA

### Povzetek

Podeželske družine diverzificirajo svoje gospodarske dejavnosti zaradi premika osredotočenosti politike s kmetijstva na razvoj podeželja. Viri gospodinjstev, zlasti človeški kapital, so ključni za izkoriščanje novih možnosti. Lokalni prebivalci, ki razpolagajo s primernimi viri, izkoriščajo priložnosti v kmetijstvu in novih gospodarskih panogah, kot je turizem. Ugotovitve raziskave temeljijo na 33 poglobljenih intervjujih s podeželskimi gospodinjstvi, ki se ukvarjajo s turizmom, kmetijstvom in ribištvo v občinah Kazbegi in Mestia. V raziskavi so obravnavane tudi dejavnosti, kot so netradicionalno kmetijstvo (npr. pridelava solate), govedoreja, ribištvo, rastlinjaki in čebelarstvo. Raziskava se poglobi tudi v izkušnje tistih lokalnih prebivalcev, ki so se prvi začeli ukvarjati z novimi gospodarskimi dejavnostmi, kot so proizvodnja kovinske plastike, obdelava lesa in storitve pranja perila.

Lokalni prebivalci na podeželju so v literaturi pogosto prikazani kot nezainteresirani za sodobne kmetijske prakse in tehnologije (Bantsuri, Tsertsvadze, 2020; ISSA, 2017). V nasprotju s splošnim mnenjem je raziskava pokazala, da so podeželska gospodinjstva na različne načine sprejela nove pridelke in kmetijske prakse. Zavzeti kmetje niso le pasivni potrošniki novega kmetijskega znanja; z učenjem z delom aktivno pridobivajo izkušnje in strokovno znanje. Za netradicionalno pridobivanje človeškega kapitala so značilni različni pristopi, kot so formalno izobraževanje, samoučenje, učenje z delom, izmenjava izkušenj, povabila strokovnjakom, neformalne gospodinjne prakse in delovne izkušnje.

Lokalna gospodinjstva spodbujajo k sodelovanju in sprejemanju sodobnih metod kmetovanja. Različne dejavnosti diverzificirajo njihove prihodke in jim omogočajo prilagajanje spreminjajočim se zahtevam trga in željam potrošnikov. Poleg vključevanja trenutnih kmetijskih praks domačini uporabljajo tradicionalne tehnike, kot je npr. poznavanje lokalnega okolja, ki kmetom pomaga pri učinkovitem izvajanju novih pristopov. Gospodinjstva uporabljajo tradicionalno znanje za vključevanje v podjetniške turistične dejavnosti poleg že dolgo uveljavljenih panog. Veščine, ki so del načina življenja domačinov, kot so gostoljubnost, kuhanje in obrt, postanejo neprecenljivo orodje za zagon družinskega podjetja v turizmu. Lokalne družine imajo možnost, da se naučijo najsodobnejših veščin v izobraževalnih ustanovah, sodelujejo v kratkem tematskem izobraževanju in povezujejo to znanje z edinstvenimi praksami, kar ima za posledico izrazito lokalni turistični proizvod (Gugushvili in sod., 2019). Posledično se oblikujejo storitve, ki ponujajo lokalno izkušnjo ob ohranjanju visoke kakovosti in privabljajo turiste, ti pa s svojimi pozitivnimi vtisi vplivajo na obisk drugih.

Študija primera iz postsovjetske države omogoča boljše razumevanje tega vprašanja z vidika človeških virov. Izkušnje gospodinjestev pri diverzifikaciji njihovih gospodarskih dejavnosti kažejo, da je človeški kapital pomemben pri pridobivanju finančne pomoči vladnih ali nevladnih organizacij v obliki nepovratnih sredstev, posojil in drugih vrst pomoči. Ugotovitve raziskave kažejo, da je mogoče uspešno obravnavati revščino in neenakost na podeželju le, če se sočasno obravnavajo različni kapitali, vključno s človeškim kapitalom. Finančno podporo dejavnostim mikropodjetij morajo spremljati pobude za prenos novega znanja na posamezna območja ob ohranjanju starih znanj. Poleg tega je treba prepoznati pomen socialnega kapitala v skupnostih in znotraj njih za ustvarjanje vključujočega razvoja podeželja.

Jurica Botić\*, David Grebenar\*\*



# CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN THE TERRITORIALISATION OF REGIONAL IDENTITIES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ON THE EXAMPLE OF CROATS IN HERZEGOVINA

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## **Abstract**

The article analyses new trends in the territorialisation of regional identities in the case of Croats in Herzegovina and other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. An analysis of media reports, popular culture and field research revealed a shift in the perception of Herzegovina's regional identity. It spread northwest into the area of Canton 10 with a predominantly Croat population, persisted in the areas of Herzegovina's historical borders, and decreased to some extent in eastern Herzegovina with a Serb ethnic majority.

**Keywords:** region, regional identity, Herzegovina, Croats, Bosnia and Herzegovina

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# SODOBNI TRENDI V TERITORIALIZACIJI REGIONALNIH IDENTITET V BOSNI IN HERCEGOVINI NA PRIMERU HERCEGOVSKIH HRVATOV

## Izvleček

Prispevek analizira nove trende v teritorializaciji regionalnih identitet na primeru Hrvatov v Hercegovini in drugih delih Bosne in Hercegovine. Z analizo medijskih poročil, popularne kulture in terenske raziskave je bil ugotovljen premik v dojetanju hercegovske regionalne identitete. Ta se je razširila severozahodno na območje Kantona 10 s pretežno hrvaškim prebivalstvom, zadržala na območjih zgodovinskih meja Hercegovine in do neke mere zmanjšala v Vzhodni Hercegovini s srbsko etnično večino.

**Ključne besede:** regija, regionalna identiteta, Hercegovina, Hrvati, Bosna in Hercegovina

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

Changes in the identification features of the group also affect the personal identity of the individual. Ethnic and regional identities are some of the most important forms of group identity. Considering the variability of regional identities, the article deals with new trends in the territorialisation of regional identities in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H) on the example of Croats in Herzegovina and neighbouring parts of Bosnia. Among this population, there are changes in the understanding of Herzegovinian regional identity in relation to the traditional spatial coverage of Herzegovina.

By deviating from its historical borders, the border areas of Bosnia inhabited by Croats are added to Herzegovina, which leads to a new territorialisation of the Herzegovinian regional identity that is intertwined with the Croatian national identity. The territorial-political development of Herzegovina and the spatial distribution of the Croatian population will be presented below. The article will try to determine the link between the change in the spatial perception of Herzegovina and the strength of national identity due to post-war socio-political circumstances.

The objectives of this research are to identify: changes in the spatial perception of Herzegovina among Croats in the territories of B&H; changes in the regional identity of Croats in the areas of their settlement in B&H; typical indicators of the described changes in the media and popular culture; the impact of changes in the spatial coverage of Herzegovinian identity on the socio-political occasions in B&H. Accordingly, a hypothesis is put forward: by establishing the Dayton administrative-territorial arrangement of B&H and the strengthening of Croatian national identity, a new trend

of territorialisation of the Herzegovinian regional identity develops, which is reflected among Croats in Herzegovina and other areas of Croatian settlement in the country through changing spatial perception of Herzegovina.

## 2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In methodological terms, the article analyses the spatial distribution of the Croatian population in Herzegovina and neighbouring parts of Bosnia and provides an overview of the spatial perception of Herzegovina in contemporary media reports and popular culture. In addition, a survey was conducted to determine the spatial perception of Herzegovina among Croats in the area. The data analysis of the target census years determines the link between the research results and the spatial distribution of the Croatian population in the observed area. The article uses census data for 1971 and 2013 because in 1971 the Muslim national category was introduced, which provides a more realistic insight into the national composition. The 2013 census is important for its insight into the post-war population structure.

Researching the media reports and popular culture, the elements of the new spatial perception of Herzegovina are determined. The research covered twenty electronic media operating in Bosnia and Herzegovina and neighbouring Croatia and a total of fifty media reports from which one can clearly recognize or implicitly sense the spatial perception of Herzegovina and belonging to the Herzegovinian regional identity. Elements of popular culture, i.e. popular songs, videos and promotional messages that promote the sale of products with regional origin, were treated in the same way. The research was conducted from August 2019 to February 2020. Based on the established spatial framework, in order to test the hypothesis, examples have been singled out that indicate changes in the spatial perception of Herzegovina and the Herzegovinian regional identity among the Croats of the observed area.

The survey determines the spatial perception of Herzegovina and the identity features of the Croatian population of Herzegovina and neighbouring parts of Bosnia through research on the perception of the spatial coverage of Herzegovina among this population. The questionnaire survey was conducted in the period from May to October 2019 on a sample of 190 randomly selected respondents among the residents of this area exclusively of Croatian ethnicity. The sample is not sufficient to be considered representative, but it is indicative. The survey included both men and women of all age groups. Despite the excessive share of respondents aged 30 and under, which does not reflect the actual age structure, the sample is a useful indicator of future identity trends. The survey results were processed in the SPSS program by conducting chi-square testing of responses. Conducting chi-square testing determined differences in attitudes and answers to questions based on gender and age, place of birth and sense of belonging to the Herzegovinian identity.



### 3 REGIONAL IDENTITY AND ADMINISTRATIVE-TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION AS FACTORS IN POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

A region is defined as an intermediate territorial level, between state and locality, distinguished by special natural and social features (Painter, Jeffrey, 2009, p. 162). Regions are not only spatial forms, but also territorial configuration set in relation to the governance and identity formation. Omhae sees the region as a flexible unit with multiple territorialisations for economic, political or cultural interests (Painter, Jeffrey, 2009, p. 162). Due to the political aspect of regionalism, regions are also politically defined territories subject to change (Painter, Jeffrey, 2009, p. 163). Life in border and peripheral areas has influenced community development and the creation of regions (Zorko, 2018, p. 44). Such processes have encouraged the development of regional identities. In the relation between ethnic and regional identification, a two-dimensional model is applicable where the variability of identity dimensions is determined by two continuities: weak-strong and latent-manifest (Banovac, 1998, p. 250). In B&H, there is a strong ethnic identity in a manifest form, which creates a conflict over the redistribution of major resources (territorial, political, economic, and cultural) among the dominant ethnic groups. Ethnicity is aimed at protecting collective interests leading to ethnic-based mobilization that often includes demands for administrative and territorial autonomy within the state. Territory is a reference form in which there are historical features of one's own identity, but also a significant element in the conception of future political autonomy, i.e. secession (Banovac, 1998, p. 252). There are four types of relation between regionalism and ethnicity: 1) overlapping ethnic and territorial aspects of identification; 2) attempts to construct ethnic identification on a regional basis; 3) non-institutionalized ethnicity (ethnic groups and national minorities without regionalist requirements); 4) regional institutionalization on a non-ethnic basis, i.e. regionalization as an administrative-political division of the state territory (Banovac, 1998, p. 254).

Territorialisation presupposes an understanding of the logic of space for the purpose of understanding political, economic and historical phenomena through the analysis of their spatial features. Territories are a combination of space, the people who inhabit it and the concept of power, whereby the territory creates the preconditions for population and power, and the population gives that space meaning in attempts to exercise power (Zorko, 2018, p. 17). Territory is a product or consequence of territoriality (Tunjić, 2004, p. 27). Theses about the end of history, ideology and geography after the end of the Cold War order claim that in a virtual, globalized World, territory and borders are losing their meaning. Deterritorialisation implies the loss of the importance of territoriality in the exercise of power, the end of geography and the shift of geopolitics to geoeconomics. However, critical geopolitics and real events in the international arena have shown that territory remains a crucial source of power.

Reterritorialisation respects changes in the perception of territory without denying it or diminishing its importance (Zorko, 2018, 24). The background and motives of the one who depicts the space are important, but also of the one who reads it. Hiding behind the geopolitical tools of depicting space, official state policies can influence people's emotions and attitudes (Zorko, 2018, p. 73). While practical geopolitics refers to geopolitical practice visible in public appearances, popular geopolitics refers to expression in popular culture (O'Tuathail, 2007, p. 23). Mental maps of individuals have common parameters with various communities, nations or like-minded people, and are based on similar or the same impacts from the environment: education, socialization or pop culture products (Zorko, 2018, p. 82). Since different geopolitical discourses shape different spatial perceptions, in the case of Herzegovina, differences in perceptions of its spatial coverage are to be expected depending on the geopolitical discourse or national identity.

#### 4 CONTEMPORARY TRENDS IN THE TERRITORIALISATION OF THE REGIONAL IDENTITY OF CROATS IN HERZEGOVINA

Herzegovina is a geographical, historical and functional region in B&H at the southern corner of its spatial triangle (Figure 1), which is separated from Bosnia in the north by the dissected shale zone of Bitvonja, Ivan-saddle and the southern slopes of Bjelašnica, Visočica, Treskavica, Zelengora, Volujak and Lebršnik, and in the north-west by the mountain range of Zavelim, Midena, Lip-planina, Čvrstica, Vran, Ljubuša and Raduša (Markotić, 1983, p. 30). Among Croats in Herzegovina, the feeling of belonging to a regional identity is very pronounced. Although the spatial framework of this region does not coincide with the ethnic borders, a significant part of Herzegovina, especially the western one, is the most ethnically compact part of B&H inhabited by Croats. Therefore, Croats are expected to have a close link between regional and national identity.

Figure 1: Historical borders of Herzegovina.



Source: Wikimedia, 2021b.

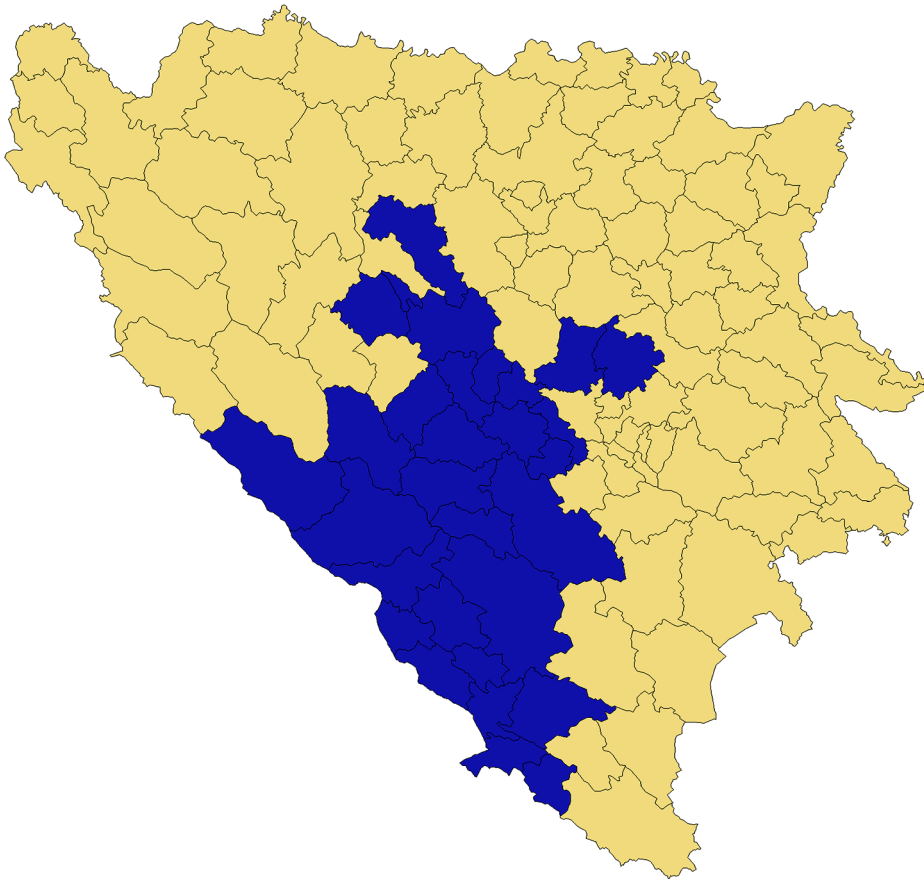
#### 4.1 Territorial-political development of Herzegovina

Herzegovina has changed its spatial extent throughout history. Some parts of today's Herzegovina were partly or entirely within historical areas: *Neretva (Paganja)* (Čapljina, Ljubuški, Grude, Posušje), *Hum* (Mostar, Blagaj, Konjic, Nevesinje, Stolac, Ljubinje), *Podrinja* (Gacko), *Travunia* (Trebinje, Bileća), *Rama* (Prozor, Jablanica), and *Završje* (part of the Posušje Municipality) (Markotić, 1983, p. 29). The first mention of the name of Herzegovina is related to Stjepan Vukčić Kosača, who proclaimed himself Duke (Herzog) of Hum and Primorje in 1448 with the aim of emphasizing

autonomy. Since the original Herzegovina spatially coincided with the territory under Kosača's rule, its borders exceeded the borders of present-day Herzegovina and included parts of neighbouring countries. In 1482, the Ottomans occupied most of Herzegovina. The borders of Herzegovina in the Ottoman period changed in accordance with the administrative-territorial organization of the Empire. The status of Herzegovina was changing from the level of the sanjak to the level of the vilayet, and towards the end of the Ottoman rule Herzegovina became one of the six sanjaks of the Bosnian vilayet. With the occupation of B&H in 1878, Herzegovina came under Austro-Hungarian rule, which lasted until 1918. The Dual Monarchy retained the Ottoman territorial organization in such a way that the former sanjaks became districts, and the Mostar district included almost the whole of Herzegovina, except for the peripheral parts in the northeast and northwest. Abolished in the time of the Ottomans, who allowed religious service only to the Franciscans, the regular Catholic Church organization was restored during the Austro-Hungarian rule, whereby Herzegovina was organized into two dioceses, Mostar-Duvno Diocese and Trebinje-Mrkan Diocese.

From 1918 to 1941, Herzegovina was part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, i.e. the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (from 1929). Within the administrative-territorial organization of the kingdom in 33 counties (oblast) in 1922, Herzegovina largely preserved its borders within the Mostar County. With the reorganization of the state into nine banates in 1929, the territory of Herzegovina was divided between the Littoral Banate (Primorska banovina) and Zeta Banate, and in 1939 the part of Herzegovina from the Littoral Banate became part of the Banate of Croatia. In 1941, Herzegovina became part of the Independent State of Croatia, founded under the auspices of the fascist powers, and from 1945 to 1991 it was part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In socialist Yugoslavia, Herzegovina did not have a special administrative status, but was mostly gathered as part of the Mostar district until the abolition of the districts, after which the territory of Herzegovina was organized into great municipalities. During the last war, after Owen-Stoltenberg plan for the administrative-territorial organization of B&H, in 1993 the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia was proclaimed (Figure 2), which was abolished by the Washington and Dayton Agreements and its accession to the Federation of B&H. Herzegovina gained a significant role in the then territorialisation of Croatian self-government, which included about thirty Herzegovinian municipalities and parts of Bosnia with a significant share of Croats. Since western Herzegovina was the political core and space of ethnic compactness of Croats in B&H, the Herzegovinian regional identity gradually took on more and more national connotations among Croats. This phenomenon is especially pronounced after the abolition of Herzeg-Bosnia when the Herzegovinian regional identity began to serve as a mimicry of the Croatian national identity, and regionalism as a substitute for the non-existence of the Croatian territorial unit within Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Figure 2: Municipalities declared as a part of Herzeg-Bosnia.



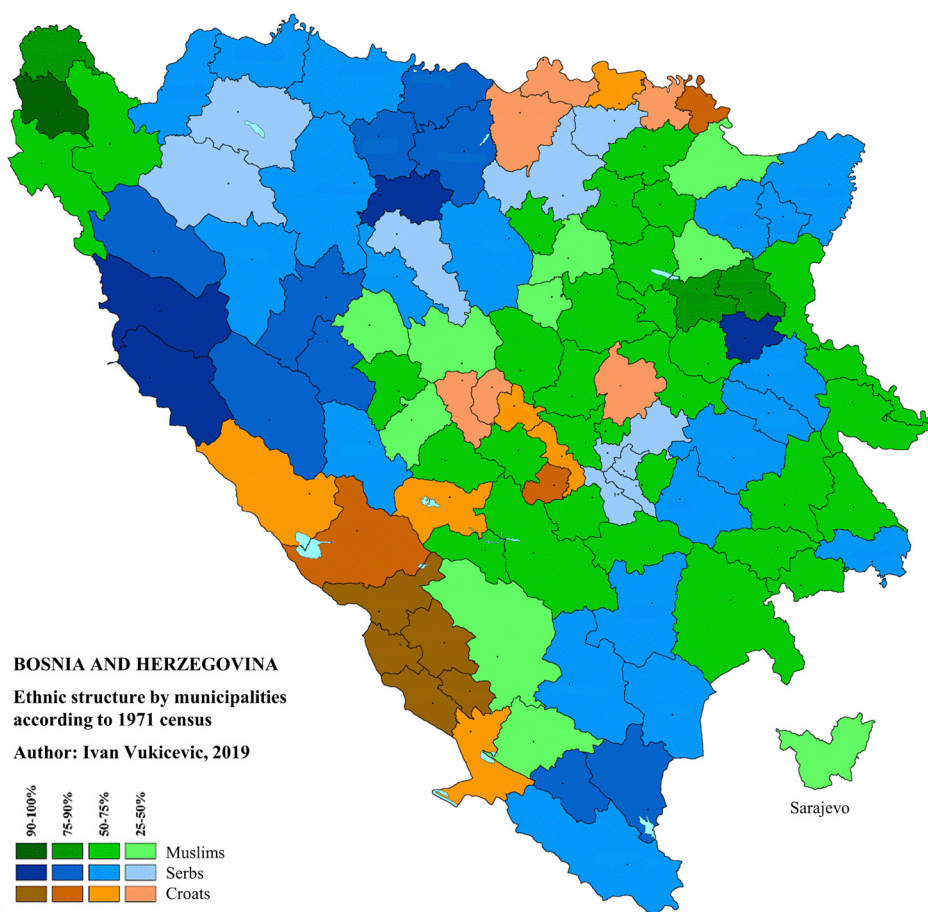
Source: Wikimedia, 2021d.

## 4.2 Spatial distribution of Croats in Herzegovina

The 1971 census showed that Herzegovina was a nationally heterogeneous area (Figure 3), especially in developed areas and municipal centres, while rural areas were mostly nationally homogeneous. Despite the mixture, especially in the area of Mostar, nationally homogeneous areas stand out: a) western Herzegovina (Čitluk, Grude, Lištica, Ljubuški and Posušje) as a homogeneous area of Croats; b) eastern Herzegovina (Bileća, Gacko, Ljubinje, Nevesinje and Trebinje) as a homogeneous area of Serbs; and c) central Herzegovina (Čapljina, Jablanica, Konjic, Mostar, Prozor and Stolac) as a heterogeneous area with a dominant share of Muslims (except in the municipalities of Čapljina and Prozor). In 1971, Croats made up 48.7% of the region's total population.

Muslims made up 25.7% of the region's population and Serbs 23.5%. Croats lived in all municipalities of Herzegovina with a share from 0.1% in Gacko to 99.5% in Grude. In seven municipalities (Čapljina, Čitluk, Grude, Lištica, Ljubuški, Posušje, Prozor) Croats formed an absolute or relative majority, while in four municipalities they were second in terms of share (Jablanica, Konjic, Mostar, Stolac). The largest number and share of Croats lived in western Herzegovina as one of the most nationally homogeneous areas in the former Yugoslavia (Markotić, 1983, pp. 186–192).

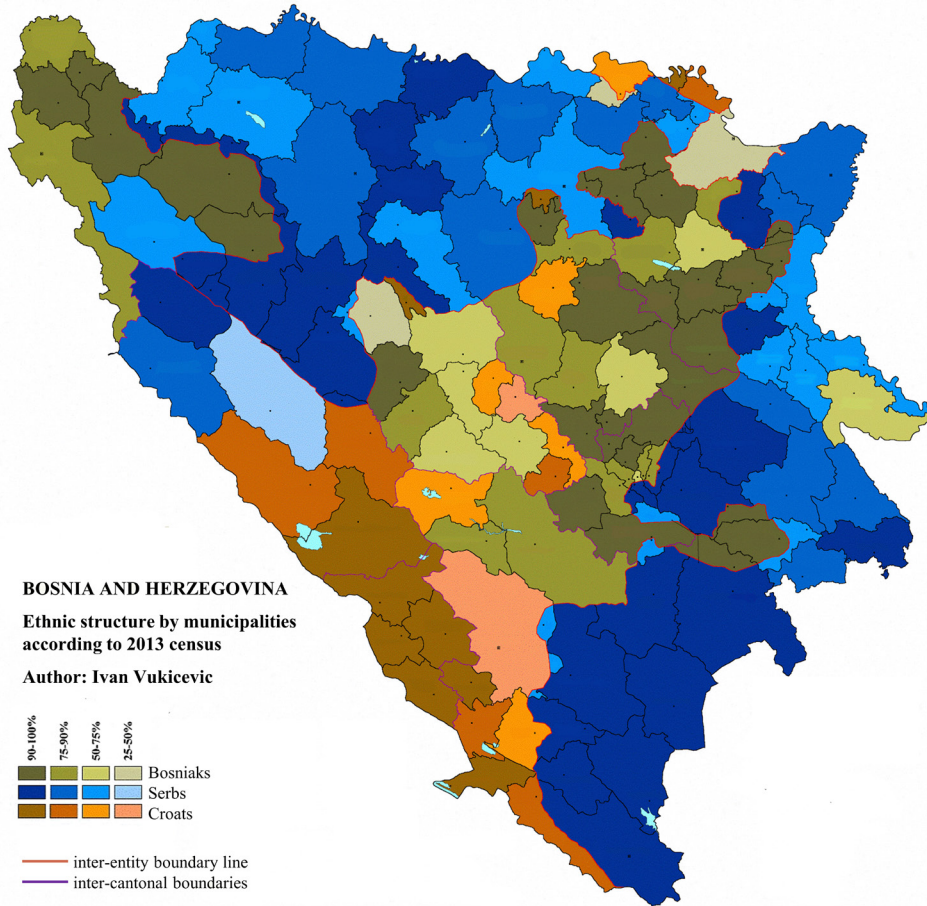
Figure 3: Ethnic structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina by municipalities according to 1971 census.



Source: Wikimedia, 2021a.



Figure 4: Ethnic structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina by municipalities according to 2013 census.



Source: Wikimedia, 2021c.

From 1991 to 2013, no census was conducted in B&H. Although they do not traditionally belong to Herzegovina, in the context of this research, the analysis will also include the municipalities of Drvar, Kupres and Livno. The analysis also includes the entire municipality of Tomislavgrad, whose peripheral parts cross the traditional borders of Herzegovina. The increase in the number of Croats compared to 1991 occurred in the municipalities of Čapljina, Mostar, Posušje, Čitluk, Stolac, Široki Brijeg, Ljubuški, Grude, Neum, Tomislavgrad, Glamoč, Drvar and Kupres. The municipalities with a reduced number of Croats are Konjic, Trebinje, Nevesinje and Bileća, but

also Prozor, although Croats made up the majority there in 1991 and 2013. Religious affiliation deviates slightly from national, since national identities are formed on the ethno-religious principle. The war ethnic homogenization resulted in the loss of multiethnicity of the largest number of municipalities in B&H (Figure 4), with the exception of Mostar, and further differentiated the three Herzegovinian areas: western with a Croat majority, heterogeneous central with Bosniak and Croat domination, and eastern with a Serb majority. Ethnic homogenization was transferred beyond the traditional framework of Herzegovina to Kupres and Livno (Census..., 2016).

### 4.3 Contemporary perceptions of the spatial definition of Herzegovina and the regional identity of the Croats of Herzegovina and neighbouring parts of Bosnia

By the Dayton organization, the territorial autonomy of national segments was constitutionalized at two levels: at the level of the state of B&H in the form of entities and at the level of the Federation of B&H in the form of cantons (Kasapović, 2005, p. 152). Empowered national identities have become the basis of personal identification, and regional identities are identified with the dominant ethnic community. With a territorial organization without foundation in geography, history or economy, Herzegovina found itself divided between two entities. Consequently, among the Croats of Herzegovina and the peripheral parts of Bosnia, a change in the spatial perception of Herzegovina is observed. Also, in the same area, there is a trend of equating the Herzegovinian regional with the Croatian national identity.

Such phenomena are confirmed by numerous examples in the media and pop culture. The song in which Herzegovina was sung as “our holy Croatian land for a thousand years” was promoted into the informal anthem of Herzegovinian Croats (Kasapović, 2005, p. 116). A similar example are the verses “I am a Croat, it is written in my heart, Croatian genes are in my blood, a Herzegovinian breathes for Croatia”. The song *Herzegovinian Girl from Mostar* begins with the verses “I loved a lot of girls from Neum to Drvar”, rounding off the space under Croatian ethnic or political domination. Examples of adding non-Herzegovinian space to Herzegovina can also be found in the media. Enumerating the cities in Herzegovina, host Joško Lokas also mentioned Livno on Croatian state television (Kviz potjera, 2019). There are statements in the media such as: “We investigated how the famous Herzegovinian ski resorts and tourist destinations of Kupres and Blidinje welcomed the beginning of the winter season” (Cvitković, 2011), or that Livno cheese is a Herzegovinian product (okusihercegovinu.com, 2020), and “Herzegovina – Livno is preparing a great welcome for Zlatko Dalić” (Livno sprema..., 2018), Croatian football selector originally from Livno, often characterized in the media as “Herzegovinian” (bhfudbal.ba, 2017). For some media, “wild horses” living on the plateaus “between Kupres and Livno” are “in north-western Herzegovina” (Prizori koji ..., 2018). However, the omission

of Trebinje or Konjic from Herzegovina confirms the key role of Croatian national identity as a criterion for belonging to the region. Among the above examples of the equating of Herzegovinian and Croatian identity, such a phenomenon is surprising in the media of non-Croatian ethnic origin.

As stated in the chapter on methodology, the survey presents the perception of the spatial coverage of Herzegovina and the Herzegovinian regional identity among the Croats of Herzegovina and neighbouring areas of Bosnia. The questionnaire was conducted on a sample of 190 randomly selected residents of this area, all of Croatian ethnicity, and a chi-square test was performed using SPSS software. The sample is not sufficient to be considered representative, but it is indicative. 115 men and 75 women participated in the survey, with 1.6% of respondents under the age of 18, 62.1% aged 19 to 30, 27.4% aged 31 to 45, 7.4% were between 46 and 60 years old, and only 1.6% were over 60 years old. Despite the excessive proportion of respondents aged 30 and under, which does not reflect the actual age structure, the sample is a useful indicator of future identity trends. The largest number of respondents was born in the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton (42.1%), while 14.7% were born in the Canton 10, 14.2% each in the West Herzegovina and Central Bosnia Canton, and 8.9% in other cantons in the Federation of B&H, and 5.8% of them in another entity or state. A similar ratio applies to the place of residence, with 50.5% of them living in the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton, 20% in the West Herzegovina Canton, 12.6% in the Canton 10, 10.5% in the Central Bosnia Canton, 4.2% in other cantons, and 1.6% in another entity or state.

Of the 190 respondents, over two-thirds (69.5%) said they considered themselves Herzegovinians, about a quarter (25.3%) did not share that identity, and 5.3% were unsure (Table 1). As expected, this identity is shared by almost all respondents born in the Herzegovina-Neretva and West Herzegovina Canton, about half born in the Canton 10 and almost none born in other cantons of the Federation of B&H, another entity or state. Almost half of the respondents (45.3%) believe that the borders of Herzegovina have not changed since the last war. However, it is indicative that 17.4% of respondents believe that the borders of the region have changed, while 37.4% of them do not know or are not sure. Chi-square testing found no differences in attitudes depending on gender or age. More than half of the respondents (54.2%) believe that Herzegovina should be a single administrative-territorial unit, 32.6% do not agree with that, while 13.2% did not know how to answer (Table 2). Chi-square testing found no differences in attitudes depending on gender or age, but it did in the case of place of birth or residence. Herzegovina is mostly seen as a single region by those born or living in the Herzegovina-Neretva and West Herzegovina Canton, while about half of those born and residing in Canton 10 agree, but almost no one born or residing in other cantons, entity or state. The largest number of advocates of Herzegovina as a single administrative-territorial unit is among respondents who consider themselves Herzegovinians (71.2%), and only 12.5% among those who do not share that identity.

Table 1: A sense of belonging to the Herzegovinian identity.

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	132	69.5	69.5
No	48	25.3	94.7
Unsure	10	5.3	100.0
Total	190	100.0	

Table 2: Herzegovina as a single administrative-territorial unit.

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	103	54.2	54.2
No	62	32.6	86.8
Other	25	13.2	100.0
Total	190	100.0	

Examining the perception of the affiliation of a particular settlement to Herzegovina, it was expected that almost all respondents (99.5%) believe that Mostar is located in Herzegovina. Even 96.3% of respondents think that Ljubuški is in Herzegovina, 89.5% of them think the same for Stolac, and 88.9% for Neum. Over half of the respondents (61.6%) see Tomislavgrad as part of Herzegovina, while 38.4% of them do not consider this settlement on the north-western edge of the region to be Herzegovinian. The respondents have a similar attitude for Prozor/Rama, which only 55.4% of them consider part of Herzegovina, and even 44.7% do not consider it. There are interesting views on settlements where Croats do not form an absolute or relative ethnic majority. Although 78.9% of respondents consider Trebinje to be part of the region, even one fifth of respondents do not consider this town to be in Herzegovina. Bearing in mind that the respondents are ethnically Croats, the small share of Croats in the population of Trebinje certainly influenced the reduced perception of this town as Herzegovinian. The conditionality of the attitude towards the ethnicity of the inhabitants is even more visible in the cases of Konjic and Gacko. Only 53.7% of respondents see Konjic in Herzegovina, while 46.3% do not think so. Gacko is the only Herzegovinian settlement in the questionnaire that more respondents (58.4%) believe does not belong to Herzegovina than vice versa (41.6%). The reduced perception of the affiliation of the settlements of eastern Herzegovina to this region can be explained by the fact that due to the entity organization of B&H, this

part of Herzegovina does not belong to any administrative-territorial unit named after this region (Botić, 2014, p. 966).

In the case of traditionally non-Herzegovinian settlements, even 42.6% of respondents consider Livno to be part of Herzegovina, while 57.4% do not think so. However, only 28.5% of those born in the Canton 10 see Livno in Herzegovina, as opposed to 48.8% of those born in the Herzegovina-Neretva and 40.7% of those born in the West Herzegovina Canton. Half of the respondents who consider themselves Herzegovinians believe that Livno is located in Herzegovina. Even 31.1% of respondents see Kupres as a Herzegovinian settlement, as opposed to 68.9% who disagree with them. The perception is clearest in the case of Drvar, which only 3.2% of respondents see as part of Herzegovina, while a convincing majority of 96.8% of respondents reject it. It is indicative that the perception is clear only in the case of Drvar, where Croats are a convincing ethnic minority, while the dilemma increases with the increase in the share of Croats and approaching the traditional borders of Herzegovina.

The largest number of respondents believe that Herzegovinians are determined by regional affiliation (85.8%), while 21.1% of them believe that they are determined by nationality, and 11.6% by religion. Although this was expected, when selecting settlements that belong to Herzegovina, respondents were still more inclined to choose settlements with a Croatian majority. This statement is further valid when respondents were asked to support their selection with a concrete answer, whereby 53.7% of those who opted for regional affiliation thought of the southern part of B&H, while a quarter of respondents thought of the southwestern part of B&H inhabited by Croatian majority. Even 92.3% of respondents to whom Herzegovinians are determined by national identity thought of Croatian identity, and even 95.5% of those who emphasize the religious affiliation thought of Catholic religion.

The analysis of media reports, elements of popular culture and survey mainly confirmed the hypothesis that with the establishment of the Dayton administrative-territorial organization of B&H and the strengthening of the Croatian national identity, a new trend in the territorialisation of regional identity develops, which manifests itself among Croats in Herzegovina and peripheral areas of Bosnia through changing spatial perception of Herzegovina. Although the perception of the traditional borders of Herzegovina is mostly preserved, the results indicate tendencies of shifting the spatial perception of Herzegovina towards the northwest, with respondents showing much less doubt about belonging to Herzegovina in relation to settlements with Croatian ethnic majority. Therefore, changes in perception indicate that in belonging to the Herzegovinian regional identity in the area of Croatian ethnic continuity, Croats seek a substitute for the non-existence of a single Croatian administrative-territorial unit within B&H.

## 5 CONCLUSION

Herzegovina is the name for a historical region located in the south of B&H. The Croatian population predominates in its western and partly central part. With the entity division, the Federation of B&H is organized into predominantly Bosniak, Croat or mixed cantons, while the Republic of Srpska has no medium level of government. Such an administrative-territorial organization has initiated new trends in regional identities. In the case of the Croats of Herzegovina and neighbouring parts of Bosnia, the Herzegovinian regional identity is identified with the Croatian national identity. Such trends are manifested by a change in the spatial perception of Herzegovina by including the entire Canton 10 and excluding the area mostly inhabited by Bosniaks and Serbs.

By the analysis of media reports, elements of popular culture and survey, the hypothesis that with the establishment of the Dayton administrative-territorial organization of B&H and the strengthening of the Croatian national identity, a new trend in the territorialisation of regional identity develops, which manifests itself among Croats in Herzegovina and peripheral areas of Bosnia through changing spatial perception of Herzegovina, is mostly confirmed. Despite the fact that Herzegovina is still viewed within a more or less unchanged historical spatial framework, the research indicates significant trends that inaugurate changes in perception by shifting the Herzegovina's borders to the northwest, depending on the ethnicity of the majority of the population. Finally, the changes indicate that in the Herzegovinian regional identity in the area of Croatian ethnic continuity, Croats are seeking a substitute for the non-existence of a single Croatian administrative-territorial unit within B&H.

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## SODOBNI TRENDI V TERITORIALIZACIJI REGIONALNIH IDENTITET V BOSNI IN HERCEGOVINI NA PRIMERU HERCEGOVSKIH HRVATOV

### Povzetek

Prispevek obravnava sodobne trende teritorializacije regionalnih identitet v Bosni in Hercegovini na primeru Hrvatov v Hercegovini in sosednjih območjih Bosne. Razumevanje hercegove regionalne identitete, ki je bila doslej vezana na zgodovinsko

opredeljeno pokrajino Hercegovino, se pri hrvaškem prebivalstvu sedaj spreminja. Tradicionalnemu pojmovanju Hercegovine se dodajajo nekatera sosednja območja Bosne, naseljena s Hrvati, kar vodi do nove teritorialnosti hercegovske regionalne identitete, ki upošteva predvsem hrvaško narodno identiteto. Cilji te raziskave so bili: ugotoviti spremembe v prostorskem dojemanju Hercegovine med Hrvati na območjih Bosne in Hercegovine; opredeliti spremembe regionalne identitete Hrvatov na območjih njihove poselitve v BiH; opredeliti vzorce sprememb v geografski opredeljenosti hercegovske regionalne identitete; ugotoviti, kateri so značilni indikatorji opisanih sprememb v medijih in popularni kulturi ter oceniti vpliv sprememb prostorske razširjenosti hercegovske identitete na družbene razmere v BiH. V raziskavi je bila postavljena hipoteza, da se z vzpostavitvijo daytonske upravno-teritorialne ureditve BiH in s krepitvijo hrvaške nacionalne identitete razvija nov trend teritorializacije hercegovske regionalne identitete, ki se kaže med Hrvati v Hercegovini in drugih območjih hrvaške poselitve v državi prek spreminjanja prostorskega dojemanja. Raziskava je zajela (poleg Hercegovine) tudi občine Drvar, Kupres, Livno in Tomislavgrad. Slednja je posebna, ker njeni obrobni deli prečkajo tradicionalne meje Hercegovine. Vojna (1992–1995) je povzročila etnično homogenizacijo določenih območij. Večina občin BiH je izgubila predvojni multietnični značaj, z izjemo Mostarja. Oblikovale so se tri hercegovske teritorialne entitete: zahodna ima hrvaško večino, osrednja je ostala heterogena z bošnjaškim in hrvaškim prebivalstvom, vzhodna pa ima srbsko večino.

Raziskava je ugotavljala sedanje prostorsko dojemanje Hercegovine in identitete značilnosti prebivalstva Hercegovine in sosednjih delov Bosne (kot zgodovinsko opredeljenih regij). Poglavitna delovna metoda je bila analiza medijskih poročil in popularne kulture ter dopolnjena z anketiranjem prebivalstva na večjem vzorcu ( $n = 190$ ; anketiranci so bili po etnični pripadnosti Hrvati). Prvi del je vključeval predvsem analizo pesmi, ki povezujejo hercegovsko regionalno in hrvaško nacionalno identiteto, ter pesmi in medijskih člankov, v katerih prostorski okvir Hercegovine bistveno odstopa od tradicionalnih meja te regije in v njih prevladuje hrvaško prebivalstvo. S tem so bili sistematično opredeljeni številni primeri novega prostorskega dojemanja Hercegovine in hercegovske regionalne identitete. Rezultati raziskave so bili obdelani v programu SPSS. Od 190 anketiranih Hrvatov v Hercegovini in sosednjih delih Bosne se jih je več kot dve tretjini opredelilo za Hercegovce. Pričakovano si to identiteto delijo skoraj vsi anketiranci, rojeni v Hercegovsko-neretvanskem in Zahodnohercegovskem kantonu, pridružuje pa se jim tudi približno polovica rojenih v Kantonu 10, ki pa ni del zgodovinsko opredeljene Hercegovine. Oseb s hercegovsko regionalno identiteto v drugih kantonih Federacije BiH in Republike Srbske skoraj ni. Pri preučevanju dojemanja pripadnosti določenega naselja k Hercegovini je bilo ugotovljeno, da so anketiranci pričakovano vključevali vsa hercegovska naselja s hrvaško etnično večino v Hercegovino. Poleg tega pa je hercegovsko regionalno identiteto izražal visok odstotek naselij s hrvaško etnično večino, ki tradicionalno niso del te regije. Rezultati raziskave kažejo, da se z zmanjšanjem deleža hrvaškega prebivalstva v naselju, ki sicer

pripada zgodovinski Hercegovini, zmanjšuje odstotek vprašanih s hercegovsko regionalno identiteto. Omejeno dojetje pripadnosti naselij vzhodne Hercegovine (s srbsko etnično večino in pripadnostjo Republiki Srbski) k hercegovski identiteti je do neke mere mogoče razložiti z dejstvom, da po zaslugi daytonske administrativno-politične organizacije BiH ta del Hercegovine ne pripada nobeni upravno-teritorialni enoti, ki bi v svojem imenu omenjala Hercegovino. Čeprav največ vprašanih meni, da so Hercegovci odvisni od regionalne pripadnosti (85,8 %), so bili anketiranci pri izbiri naselij, ki pripadajo Hercegovini, vseeno bolj nagnjeni k izbiri naselij s hrvaško večino. Poglavitni indikator določanja hercegovske regionalne identitete je postala (hrvaška) etnična pripadnost. Tak sklep podpira dejstvo, da so se anketiranci po pozivu, naj svojo odločitev utemeljijo s konkretnim odgovorom, v 53,7 % primerov odločili za hercegovsko regionalno pripadnost glede na lego te regije na jugu BiH, četrtnina vprašanih pa je kot Hercegovino izrecno izpostavila jugozahodni del BiH s hrvaškim prebivalstvom. Kar 92,3 % vprašanih, ki so se za Hercegovce odločali glede na svojo narodno pripadnost, je mislilo na hrvaško identiteto, kar 95,5 % tistih, ki so med indikatorji poudarjali svojo versko pripadnost, pa je navedlo katoliško veroizpoved.

Analiza poročil v medijih, elementov popularne kulture in terenska raziskava z anketiranjem prebivalcev je v glavnem potrdila hipotezo, da se z vzpostavitvijo daytonske upravno-teritorialne ureditve BiH in krepitev narodnih identitet razvijajo novi trendi v teritorializaciji regionalnih identitet. Pojem Hercegovine kot regije se je prostorsko razširil proti severozahodu, pri čemer je hrvaška narodna pripadnost prebivalstva poglavitni indikator tega novega teritorialnega opredeljevanja, medtem ko se hercegovska regionalna identiteta na območju zgodovinskih meja te pokrajine večinoma ohranja. Spremembe v teritorialni percepciji kažejo, da Hrvati, ki pripadajo hercegovski regionalni identiteti na območju hrvaške etnične poselitve, na nek način iščejo nadomestilo za odsotnost enovite hrvaške upravno-teritorialne enote znotraj BiH.

*(Prevod: Jernej Zupančič)*

## NAVODILA AVTORJEM ZA PRIPRAVO PRISPEVKOV V ZNANSTVENI REVII DELA

1. Znanstvena revija DELA je periodična publikacija Oddelka za geografijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani. Izhaja od leta 1985. Namenjena je predstavitvi znanstvenih in strokovnih dosežkov z vseh področij geografije in sorodnih strok. Od leta 2000 izhaja dvakrat letno v tiskani in elektronski obliki (<http://revije.ff.uni-lj.si/Dela>). Revija je uvrščena v mednarodne baze (Scopus, CGP – Current Geographical Publications, DOAJ, ERIH PLUS, GEOBASE, Central and Eastern European Academic Source, GeoRef, Russian Academy of Sciences Bibliographies, dLib.si, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences) in ima mednarodni uredniški odbor.

2. V prvem delu so objavljeni znanstveni članki (1.01 in 1.02 po kategorizaciji COBISS). V drugem delu se objavljajo informativni prispevki v rubriki POROČILA, in sicer biografski prispevki (obletnice, nekrologi), predstavitev geografskih monografij in revij, pomembnejše geografske prireditve in drugi dogodki idr.

3. Znanstveni in strokovni članki so lahko objavljeni v treh jezikovnih različicah: dvojezično slovensko-angleško, samo v slovenskem jeziku, samo v angleškem jeziku. Prispevki morajo imeti naslednje sestavine:

- naslov članka;
- ime in priimek avtorja/avtorjev;
- avtorjev poštni naslov (npr. Oddelek za geografijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, Aškerčeva cesta 2, SI-1000 Ljubljana);
- avtorjev elektronski naslov;
- izvleček (skupaj s presledki do 500 znakov);
- ključne besede (do 8 besed);
- besedilo članka (skupaj s presledki do 30.000 znakov; v primeru daljših prispevkov naj se avtor predhodno posvetuje z urednikom);
- v primeru enojezičnih člankov tudi povzetek/summary v drugem jeziku (skupaj s presledki od 5000 do 8000 znakov) ter prevod izvlečka in ključnih besed v drugi jezik;
- ime prevajalca.

4. Članek naj ima naslove poglavij in naslove podpoglavij, označene z arabskimi številkami v obliki desetiške klasifikacije (npr. 1 Uvod, 2 Metode, 3 Rezultati in razprava, 4 Sklep, Literatura in viri ipd.). Razdelitev članka na poglavja je obvezna, podpoglavja naj avtor uporabi le izjemoma.

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Liplje so najsevernejši del Logaškega polja. Ležijo ob iztoku suhe doline,  
po kateri je nekoč tekla Petkovščica (foto: U. Stepišnik).

*Liplje is the northernmost part of Logatec Polje. It is located at the mouth of the dry  
valley through which the stream Petkovščica once flowed (photo: U. Stepišnik).*