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Milica Antić Gaber, Marko Krevs

Številni obrazi migracij

Začasne ali stalne, lokalne ali mednarodne, prostovoljne ali prisilne, legalne ali ilegalne, registrirane ali neregistrirane migracije posameznic in posameznikov, celih družbenih skupnosti ali posameznih skupin predstavljajo pomemben dejavnik v konstruiranju in spreminjanju (sodobnih) družb. Razsežnosti mednarodnih migracij so resnično ogromne, saj je bilo vanje v času nastajanja te publikacije po ocenah Združenih narodov v enem letu vključenih več kot 200 milijonov ljudi. Po ocenah Gallupovega inštituta pa se jih še trikrat toliko želi preseliti, največ iz podsaharske Afrike ter proti nekaterim gospodarsko najbolj razvitim območjem sveta (Esipova, 2011). Nekateri avtorji zato, čeprav ob zavedanju, da ne gre za nov fenomen, govorijo o dobi migracij (Castles, Miller, 2009) ali o globalizaciji migracij (Friedman, 2004). Zagotovo je na globalne razsežnosti migracij vplivalo tudi to, da so vse bolj vidne značilnosti sodobnih družb nenehno spreminjanje razmer, nestabilnost, fluidnost, negotovost ipd. (Beck, 2009; Bauman, 2002).

Na obseg, smeri in vrste migracij ter na njihove posledice vplivajo številni družbeni in naravni dejavniki, tako na območjih odseljevanja kot tudi na območjih priselitev. Poleg tega si raziskovalke in raziskovalci iz številnih znanstvenih disciplin, ki proučujejo migracije, v raziskavah zastavljajo »neverjetno raznovrstna« vprašanja (Boyle, 2009, 96), uporabljajo različne metodološke pristope in iščejo različne interpretacije, in sicer v različnih prostorskih, časovnih in vsebinskih okvirih. Vse bolj prihaja do izraza, da so migracije kompleksen, večplasten, spremenljiv in kontekstualen proces, ki poteka na več ravneh. Prav zaradi tega spoznanja je raziskovanje migracij postajalo vse bolj interdisciplinarno polje, saj so teme in problemi tako kompleksni, da jih ni mogoče zgrabiti zgolj in izključno iz perspektive ene same znanosti ali teorije. Zato smo priča pravemu bogastvu »obrazov migracij«, ki ga odraža ter obenem k njemu tudi prispeva pričujoča tematska številka revije *Ars & Humanitas*.

Čeprav mobilnost oziroma migracije niso nov pojav, saj so se ljudje selili in preseljevali skozi celotno zgodovino človeštva, pa se šele v zadnjem času, v zadnjih nekaj desetletjih, z njimi resno teoretsko in raziskovalno ukvarjamo. V zadnjih dveh desetletjih so se pojavili številni raziskovalni projekti, univerzitetni programi in predmeti, raziskovalni inštituti, znanstvene konference, posveti, revije, knjige in druge publikacije, pri katerih sodelujejo tako raziskovalna in akademska sfera kot tudi politika in različne civilnodružbene organizacije. To priča o v zadnjem času izjemnem

zanimanju za vprašanje migracij, tako kar zadeva poznavanje samih procesov in njihovo mapiranje v zgodovini človeštva kot tudi teoretski razvoj migracijskih študij in vsakodnevno urejanje tega politično občutljivega vprašanja.

Migracije zadevajo številne subjekte na številnih ravneh: posameznice in posameznike, njihove družine ter celotne skupnosti tako na lokalni ravni v družbi emigracije kakor tudi na vseh teh ravneh v imigrantski družbi. Z migracijami se spreminjajo ne samo življenja posameznikov in posameznic, ampak se spreminjajo celotne skupnosti oziroma družbe in družbeni odnosi, zamikajo se kulturni vzorci, prihaja do pomembnih družbenih transformacij (Castles, 2010). Ob tem se seveda odpirajo številne teme, problemi in vprašanja, ki se gibljejo v širokem razponu od kršenja človekovih pravic do literarnih presežkov. Nekaterih od njih se dotikajo tudi prispevki v pričujoči tematski številki.

Povezovalni naslov prispevkov v tej tematski številki revije, »Številni obrazi migracij«, smo si sposodili iz že omenjenega poročila Gallupovega inštituta o globalnih selitvah (Esipova, 2011). Temeljno vsebinsko vodilo pri izbiri prispevkov je bila raznovrstnost, kar nakazuje tudi pregled znanstvenih disciplin, iz katerih prihajajo avtorji: sociologija, geografija, etnologija in kulturna antropologija, zgodovina, umetnostna zgodovina, sodobne sredozemske študije, študiji spola in medijski študiji. Tak pristop nujno pripelje ne le do raznolikih, ampak tudi do vsaj navidezno neskladnih, morda celo nasprotnih pogledov na obravnavane tematike. Vendar nismo želeli utišati glasov iz »drugih« znanstvenih disciplin, temveč smo raje v recenzentske postopke povabili znanstvenike s področij, s katerih so tudi avtorji. Bogastvo zbranih prispevkov torej ni v njihovi medsebojni skladnosti in potrjevanju, temveč prav v mnogoterosti pogledov, zgodb in interpretacij.

Prispevek Zore Žbontar obravnava odnos do tujcev v antični Grčiji, kjer je bilo gostoljubje do tujcev tako častivredna vrlina, da je vsak moral »izkazati gostoljubje in zaščititi kateregakoli tujca, ki je potrkal na vrata«. Zlasti je izzivalen kontrast med gostoljubjem v antični Grčiji in sodobnim pojavljanjem ksenofobije ter načini soočanja z migracijsko problematiko v gospodarsko razvitih državah. »Antični Grki so v odprti gesti gostoljubja do tujcev prepoznali svojo civiliziranost.«

Čeprav omenjene raziskave Združenih narodov in Gallupovega inštituta podpirajo nekatere uveljavljene stereotipe o glavnih globalnih tokovih migrantov ter o območjih, o katerih »sanjajo« potencialni migranti, Bojan Baskar opozarja na sočasen obstoj tudi drugačnih migracijskih želja, tokov migracij in njihovih interpretacij. Posebej se osredotoči na preseganje in relativizacijo stereotipov in teorij o nemobilnem in nepodjetnem (alpskem) hribovskem prebivalstvu in migracijah.

O tem, kako različne strategije pri prehajanju, prestopanju in prečkanju meja razvijejo migrantke, piše Mirjana Morokvasic. Označi jih kot prave socialne inovatorke, ki izumijo različne načine transnacionalnega življenja in tako od spodaj navzgor prispevajo k integrativnim procesom po vsej Evropi. V svoji inovativnosti gredo nekatere tako daleč, da premikajo različne, tako realne kot simbolne meje pripadanja naciji, spolu in poklicu.

Elaine Burroughs in Zoë O'Reilly izpostavita tesno povezanost med sicer uveljavljeno terminologijo, s katero v statistiki in tudi znanosti označujejo imigrante na Irskem in širše v EU, ter negativnimi reprezentacijami nekaterih tipov migrantov v politiki in javnosti. Razpravo navežeta zlasti na iskalce azila in nezakonite priseljence, ki pridejo iz držav zunaj EU. Raba jezika lahko hitro postane politični način izključevanja, zato predlagata razvoj in uporabo obzirnejše in pravičnejše migracijske terminologije.

Za spremembo izhodišča opredeljevanja in interpretacije sicer dobro proučenih selitev v nekdanji Jugoslaviji se zavzame Damir Josipovič. Predlaga zamenjavo dualističnega pogleda na te migracije s celostnim. Namesto njihovega poenostavljenega razumevanja kot mednarodnih in notranjih ali prostovoljnih in prisilnih migracij pa se zavzema za koncept psevdoprostovoljnih migracij.

Na zanimiv fenomen zamikanja ustaljenih vzorcev spolnih vlog opozori tekst Maje Korać-Sanderson, katere zaključki izhajajo iz študije družinskega življenja kitajskih trgovcev v tranzicijski Srbiji. Medtem ko številne študije ugotavljajo, da skrbstveno delo v zadnjih desetletjih v imigrantskih družbah v glavnem opravljajo migrantke, njena študija ugotavlja, da v Srbiji kitajske trgovke skrb za svoje otroke večinoma zaupajo lokalnim ženskam srednjega razreda. Ta obrat vlog pri »delitvi dela« v skrbstveni sferi, ugotavlja avtorica, je v prid obema vpletenima stranema.

Specifičen del mozaika sodobnih migracij v Sredozemlju, bangladeške skupnosti imigrantov na visoko industrializiranem severovzhodu Italije, razkriva Francesco Della Puppa. Izsledki poglobljenega kvalitativnega proučevanja odstirajo dejavnike, ki oblikujejo ta segment bangladeške diaspore, izkušnje migrantov ter učinke selitve na njihove družbene in biografske trajektorije.

Izsek iz bolj tipičnih sredozemskih migracijskih procesov na primeru priseljavanja na Malto predstavi John A. Schembri in Maria Attard. Ugotavljata zmanjševanje števila selitev med Malto in Veliko Britanijo ob hkratnem povečevanju priseljavanja iz ostalih držav Evrope in podsaharske Afrike. Med učinki priseljavanja na Malto izpostavi izredno zgoščenost priseljenega prebivalstva, ki presega gostote celotnih prebivalstev v nekaterih evropskih državah.

Miha Kozorog obravnava povezavo med migracijami in konstruiranjem krajev, iz katerih te migracije izvirajo. S pomočjo Ardenerjeve teorije »odročnost« izrazito emigracijske Benečije izrazi ne toliko v topografskem kot v topološkem smislu, v razmerju do drugih krajev. »Odročnost« nastaja v razmerju z »zunanjim svetom«, s tistimi, ki govorijo o »odročnih krajih« iz privilegiranih središč. Na primeru umetniškega dogodka, s katerim želijo organizatorji »odpreti tak kraj zunanjemu svetu« in »spodbuditi produkcijo bolj svetovljanskega kraja«, pokaže zgolj začasnost učinka tega dogodka na zmanjšanje »odročnosti«.

O temeljnih časovnih in prostorskih značilnostih selitev »prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem« v Sloveniji piše Jani Kozina. Pri opredeljevanju tega specifičnega dela prebivalstva in pristopa k proučevanju njegovega migriranja se opre zlasti na dela Richarda Floride. Ugotavlja, da so prebivalci z ustvarjalnim poklicem v Sloveniji prostorsko zelo nemobilni in po tem kriteriju precej podobni ostalim poklicnim skupinam v Sloveniji, obenem pa tudi prebivalcem z ustvarjalnimi poklici v južni in vzhodni Evropi, za katere velja, da so med najmanj mobilnimi v Evropi. Podrobnejše analize pokažejo, da se ustvarjalci bolj razvitih regij načeloma intenzivneje selijo in so tudi v večji meri pripravljeni na selitev.

O izkušnjah migrantk pri dostopu do trga delovne sile v Sloveniji govori članek Mojce Pajnik in Veronike Bajt. Obstoječa zakonodaja in posamezne politike namreč migrantke potiskajo v položaj, ko, če hočejo priti do zaposlitve, pristajajo na manj zahtevna dela. Pri tem so tarče stereotipnih reakcij in praks diskriminiranja tako na podlagi spola kot tudi starosti, pripisane etnične in religiozne pripadnosti ali kakšne druge okoliščine, še posebej dejstva, da so migrantke. Obenem pa prav zadnje vpliva na to, da s strani države niso deležne nikakršne zaščite.

Migracijske študije pogosto domnevajo, da so ciljne države »moderne«, države izvora pa »tradicionalne«. Razprava Anil Al-Rebholz ugotavlja, da takšna dihotomija pojmovanja modernega in tradicionalnega dodatno spodbuja stereotipne, esencialistične in homogenizirajoče predstave o muslimanskih ženskah v »zahodnem svetu«. Na podlagi biografskih pripovedi mlade Maročanke in Kurdinje ter razmerij med materami in hčerami prikaže raznolike strategije opolnomočenja mladih žensk v transnacionalnem migracijskem kontekstu.

Specifični obraz migracij prinaša tekst Svenke Savić, namreč obraz umetniških migracij med Slovenijo in Srbijo po drugi svetovni vojni. Avtorica v njem ugotavlja, da je v treh ansamblih (opernem, gledališkem in baletnem) več kot trideset umetnic in umetnikov iz Slovenije s svojim pionirskim delom pomembno zaznamovalo razvoj gledališke umetnosti v Srbskem narodnem gledališču v Novem Sadu.

Verjamemo, da nam je uspelo v pričujočo tematsko številko ujeti pomemben del sodobnega evropskega raziskovalskega utripa s področja migracij. Poleg uveljavljenih znanstvenikov s tega področja se je v ožji izbor prispevkov uvrstilo tudi več mladih avtoric in avtorjev, ki začenjajo raziskovalne kariere. Njihov uspeh nas veseli, saj obeta živahnost tega raziskovalnega področja tudi v bodoče. Obenem nas veseli, da so se vabilu odzvali predstavniki tako številnih znanstvenih disciplin ter da je število prispevkov, ki smo jih prejeli, znatno presegalo največji možni obseg revije. Spoznavanje in razumevanje številnih obrazov migracij sta pomembna koraka proti celovitemu znanju, potrebnemu za uspešno soočanje z izzivi migracijske problematike danes in, kot kaže, še posebej v prihodnosti. Zato je izjemnega pomena, da raziskovalci najdemo načine prenosa svojih znanstvenih spoznanj v prakso – na vse ravni izobraževanja, v medije, širše strokovne javnosti ter seveda tudi odločevalcem v lokalnih, državnih in mednarodnih ustanovah. Poziv velja tudi vsem avtorjem prispevkov v tej številke revije.

Milica Antić Gaber, Marko Krevs

Many Faces of Migrations

Temporary or permanent, local or international, voluntary or forced, legal or illegal, registered or unregistered migrations of individuals, whole communities or individual groups are an important factor in constructing and modifying (modern) societies. The extent of international migrations is truly immense. At the time of the preparation of this publication more than 200 million people have been involved in migrations in a single year according to the United Nations. Furthermore, three times more wish to migrate, mostly from sub-Saharan Africa towards some of the most economically developed areas of the world according to the estimates by the Gallup Institute (Esipova, 2011). Some authors, although aware that it is not a new phenomenon, talk about the era of migration (Castles, Miller, 2009) or the globalization of migration (Friedman, 2004). The global dimensions of migration are definitely influenced also by the increasingly visible features of modern societies like constantly changing conditions, instability, fluidity, uncertainty etc. (Beck, 2009; Bauman, 2002).

The extent, direction, type of migrations and their consequences are affected by many social and natural factors in the areas of emigration and immigration. In addition, researchers from many scientific disciplines who study migrations have raised a wide range of research questions (Boyle, 2009, 96), use a variety of methodological approaches and look for different interpretations in various spatial, temporal and contextual frameworks. The migrations are a complex, multi-layered, variable, contextual process that takes place at several levels. Because of this, research on migrations has become an increasingly interdisciplinary field, since the topics and problems are so complex that they cannot be grasped solely and exclusively from the perspective of a single discipline or theory. Therefore, we are witnessing a profusion of different “faces of migration”, which is reflected and at the same time also contributed to by this thematic issue of the journal *Ars & Humanitas*.

While mobility or migration are not new phenomena, as people have moved and migrated throughout the history of mankind, only recently, in the last few decades, has theoretical and research focus on them intensified considerably. In the last two decades a number of research projects, university programs and courses, research institutes, scientific conferences, seminars, magazines, books and other publications, involving research, academia as well as politics and various civil society organizations have emerged. This shows the recent exceptional interest in the issue of migration,

both in terms of knowledge of the processes involved, their mapping in the history of mankind, as well as the theoretical development of migration studies and daily management of this politically sensitive issue.

Migration affects many entities on many different levels: the individuals, their families and entire communities at the local level in the emigrant societies as well as in the receiving societies. The migration is changing not only the lives of individuals but whole communities and societies, as well as social relations; it is also shifting the cultural patterns and bringing important social transformations (Castles 2010). This of course raises a number of questions, problems and issues ranging from human rights violations to literary achievements. Some of these are addressed by the authors in this thematic issue.

The title “Many faces of migration”, connecting contributions in this special issue, is borrowed from the already mentioned Gallup Institute’s report on global migration (Ešipova, 2011). The guiding principle in the selection of the contributions has been their diversity, reflected also in the list of disciplines represented by the authors: sociology, geography, ethnology and cultural anthropology, history, art history, modern Mediterranean studies, gender studies and media studies. Such an approach necessarily leads not only to a diverse, but at least seemingly also incompatible, perhaps even opposing views “on a given topic. However, we did not want to silence the voices of “other” disciplines, but within the reviewing procedures actually invited scientists from the fields represented by the contributors to this volume. The wealth of the selected contributions lies therefore not only in their coherence and complementarity, but also in the diversity of views, stories and interpretations.

The paper of Zora Žbontar deals with the attitudes towards foreigners in ancient Greece, where the hospitality to strangers was considered so worthy a virtue that everyone was expected to “demonstrate hospitality and protection to any foreigner who has knocked on their door”. The contrast between the hospitality of ancient Greece and the modern emergence of xenophobia and ways of dealing with migration issues in economically developed countries is especially challenging. “In an open gesture of hospitality to strangers the ancient Greeks showed their civilization”.

Although the aforementioned research by the United Nations and Gallup Institute support some traditional stereotypes of the main global flows of migrants, and the areas about which the potential migrants “dream”, Bojan Baskar stresses the coexistence of different migratory desires, migration flows and their interpretations. In his paper he specifically focuses on overcoming and relativising stereotypes as well as theories of immobile and non-enterprising (Alpine) mountain populations and migrations.

The different strategies of the crossing borders adopted by migrant women are studied by Mirjana Morokvasic. She marks them as true social innovators, inventing different ways of transnational life resulting in a bottom-up contribution to the integrative processes across Europe. Some of their innovations go as far as to shift diverse real and symbolic boundaries of belonging to a nation, gender, profession.

Elaine Burroughs and Zoë O'Reilly highlight the close relations between the otherwise well-established terminology used in statistics and science to label immigrants in Ireland and elsewhere in EU, and the negative representations of certain types of migrants in politics and the public. The discussion focusses particularly on asylum seekers and illegal immigrants who come from outside the EU. The use of language can quickly become a political means of exclusion, therefore the authors propose the development and use of more considerate and balanced migration terminology.

Damir Josipovič proposes a change of the focal point for identifying and interpreting the well-studied migrations in the former Yugoslavia. The author suggests changing the dualistic view of these migrations to an integrated, holistic view. Instead of a simplified understanding of these migrations as either international or domestic, voluntary or forced, he proposes a concept of pseudo-voluntary migrations.

Maja Korać-Sanderson's contribution highlights an interesting phenomenon in the shift in the traditional patterns of gender roles. The conclusions are derived from the study of the family life of Chinese traders in transitional Serbia. While many studies suggest that child care in recent decades in immigrant societies is generally performed by immigrants, her study reveals that in Serbia, the Chinese merchants entrust the care of their children mostly to local middle class women. The author finds this switch of roles in the "division of labour" in the child care favourable for both parties involved.

Francesco Della Puppa focuses on a specific part of the mosaic of contemporary migrations in the Mediterranean: the Bangladeshi immigrant community in the highly industrialized North East of Italy. The results of his in-depth qualitative study reveal the factors that shape this segment of the Bangladeshi diaspora, the experiences of migrants and the effects of migration on their social and biographical trajectories.

John A. Schembri and Maria Attard present a snippet of a more typical Mediterranean migration process - immigration to Malta. The authors highlight the reduction in migration between Malta and the United Kingdom, while there is an increase in immigration to Malta from the rest of Europe and sub-Saharan Africa. Amongst the various impacts of immigration to Malta the extraordinary concentration

of immigrant populations is emphasized, since the population density of Malta far exceeds that of nearly all other European countries.

Miha Kozorog studies the link between migration and constructing their places of their origin. On the basis of Ardener's theory the author expresses "remoteness" of the emigratory Slavia Friulana in terms of topology, in relation to other places, rather than in topography. "Remoteness" is formed in relation to the "outside world", to those who speak of "remote areas" from the privileged centres. The example of an artistic event, which organizers aim "to open a place like this to the outside world", "to encourage the production of more cosmopolitan place", shows only the temporary effect of such event on the reduction of the "remoteness".

Jani Kozina presents a study of the basic temporal and spatial characteristics of migration "of people in creative occupations" in Slovenia. The definition of this specific segment of the population and approach to study its migrations are principally based on the work of Richard Florida. The author observes that people with creative occupations in Slovenia are very immobile and in this respect quite similar to other professional groups in Slovenia, but also to the people in creative professions in the Southern and Eastern Europe, which are considered to be among the least mobile in Europe. Detailed analyses show that the people in creative occupations from the more developed regions generally migrate more intensely and are also more willing to relocate.

Mojca Pajnik and Veronika Bajt study the experiences of migrant women with the access to the labour market in Slovenia. Existing laws and policies push the migrants into a position where, if they want to get to work, have to accept less demanding work. In doing so, the migrant women are targets of stereotyped reactions and practices of discrimination on the basis of sex, age, attributed ethnic and religious affiliation, or some other circumstances, particularly the fact of being migrants. At the same time the latter results in the absence of any protection from the state.

Migration studies often assume that the target countries are "modern" and countries of origin "traditional". Anil Al- Reholz argues that such a dichotomous conceptualization of modern and traditional further promotes stereotypical, essentialist and homogenizing images of Muslim women in the "western world". On the basis of biographical narratives of young Kurdish and Moroccan women as well as the relationships between mothers and daughters, the author illustrates a variety of strategies of empowerment of young women in the context of transnational migration.

A specific face of migration is highlighted in the text of Svenka Savić, namely the face of artistic migration between Slovenia and Serbia after the Second World War.

The author explains how more than thirty artists from Slovenia, with their pioneering work in three ensembles (opera, ballet and theatre), significantly contributed to the development of the performing arts in the Serbian National Theatre in Novi Sad.

We believe that in the present thematic issue we have succeeded in capturing an important part of the modern European research dynamic in the field of migration. In addition to well-known scholars in this field several young authors at the beginning their research careers have been shortlisted for the publication. We are glad of their success as it bodes a vibrancy of this research area in the future. At the same time, we were pleased to receive responses to the invitation from representatives of so many disciplines, and that the number of papers received significantly exceeded the maximum volume of the journal. Recognising and understanding of the many faces of migration are important steps towards the comprehensive knowledge needed to successfully meet the challenges of migration issues today and even more so in the future. It is therefore of utmost importance that researchers find ways of transferring their academic knowledge into practice – to all levels of education, the media, the wider public and, of course, the decision makers in local, national and international institutions. The call also applies to all authors in this issue of the journal.

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Študije

Zora Žbontar

Tujci v antični Grčiji

Ključne besede: tujci, gostje, gostoljubje, *xenia*, *xénos*, izmenjevanje daril, antična Grčija

Izhodišče

V prispevku želim predstaviti odnos do tujcev v antični Grčiji, zlasti načine njihovega sprejema, darila, ki so jih prejeli, ter vzpostavitev prijateljstva med tujcem in domačinom. Gre torej za vprašanje, kako so bili tujci sprejeti v novih okoljih. Pri tem se osredinjam na to, kako je odnos do tujcev vplival na delovanje in ravnanje s telesom ter kako se je to odražalo na izbranih primerih upodobitev, predmetov in literature tistega časa. Na podlagi tega, da je beseda *xénos* v literarnih virih označevala gosta, gostitelja, prijatelja, spet drugič tujca, popotnika, želim pokazati, da je bilo tudi razmerje *xenia*¹ v antični Grčiji razumljeno večplastno.²

Od tujca do prijatelja – izmenjevanje daril v razmerju *xenia*

Gabriel Herman je razmerje *xenia* opredelil kot »ritualno prijateljstvo« – prijateljstvo med pripadniki različnih socialnih skupin. To razmerje se je odražalo v izmenjavi dobrin in različnih uslug (Herman, 2002, 10; Belfiore, 1993–1994, 114; Evripid, *Hekaba*, 2011, 4, 5). Strukturo obdarovanja je poglobljeno raziskoval Marcel Mauss, proučevanje arhaičnih oblik pogodbe ga je privedlo do zaključka, da izmenjevanje daril primarno ni bilo znak dobrodelnosti, temveč je jasno izrazilo pričakovanja obeh strani – tako tistega, ki je darilo podaril, kot tistega, ki ga je prejel; slednjega je namreč darilo obvezalo, da je poklon povrnil. Obdarovanje je pripadalo

- 1 Razmerje *xenia* je bilo predmet številnih raziskav. O njem so med drugim pisali Haarhoff, 1948; Millett, 1991; Konstan, 1997; Belfiore, 2000; Mitchell, 2002; Herman, 2002; Christ, 2006. Kljub temu to področje pušča odprtih še veliko zanimivih raziskovalnih področij; npr. vprašanje podobnosti med razmerjem *xenia* in sistemom sorodstvenih/svaških vezi ter zakonskim stanom, kar je nakazal že G. Herman (Herman, 2002, 16–28), raziskovanje večpomenskosti termina *xénos* ipd. V prispevku ne podajam dokončnih zaključkov, toda upam, da bom s fuzijo različnih vidikov razmerja *xenia* lahko ponudila izhodišče za nadaljnje raziskovanje tega področja.
- 2 D. Movrin v opombi k Evripidovi *Hekabi xénos* prevede kot »gostinski prijatelj«, *xenia* pa kot gostinsko prijateljstvo med pripadniki različnih okolij (Evripid, *Hekaba*, 2011, 4–5). Večpomenskost teh terminov razkrije tudi Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (Frisk, 1960).

širši dinamiki socialnih vezi, ki so učvrstile socialni status in posameznikom dodelile družbeno identiteto (Mauss, 1996; Padilla, 2000, 180).³ Zanimiva je primerjava s primeri iz antične Grčije, kjer je obdarovanje med drugim obeležilo konec spopada, pomiritev napetosti in enakovrednost vojskujočih se strani. Hektor in Ajant sta si izmenjala darili po neodločeni bitki. Ajantov meč je bil dar za Hektorja, ki ga je sovražil bolj kot vse ostale sovražnike. Hektor mu je v zameno podaril svoj pas (Belfiore, 1993–1994, 117; Homer, *Iliada*, 1992, XII, 244–312; Sofokles, *Ajant*, 2000, 817–818).⁴ Obdarovanje je narekovala tudi tradicija razmerja *xenia*, ki je vzpostavila medsebojno zaupanje med tujcem in domačinom kot tudi nadvladovanje tistega, ki je bil deležen gostoljubja. V nadaljevanju prispevka želim prikazati, kako se je gostoljubje izražalo v zasebnem okolju in kakšni so bili moralni temelji, na katerih je temeljila ta praksa.

Domačini so morali biti prav posebej pozorni na vsakega tujca, saj bi bil lahko bog v preobleki popotnika.⁵ Tujce je štítil Zevs Ksenios, tako je bilo gostoljubje do njih tesno prepleteno s spoštovanjem bogov (Roth, 1993, 2). Prekršena pravila gostoljubja so pomenila kršitev človeških, pa tudi božjih zakonov. Zasebno gostoljubje je temeljilo na moralni in ne zakonski obvezi. Domačin, ki je v svojo hišo povabil tujca, naj bi imel popolno zaupanje v prišleka in v iskrenost njegovih izjav (Nybakken, 1946, 249).⁶ Posameznik je s svojim dejanjem gostoljubja do tujcev daroval bogovom; pa vendar tega ni mogel nikdar spoznati, saj je bilo njegovo gostoljubje dar anonimnemu prejemniku (Derrida in Morion, 2004, 135). Bogovi so bili lahko priklicani kot očitvidci z zaprisego in s pitno daritvijo (Belfiore, 1993–1994, 115).

Tujec naj bi bil toplo pozdravljen že ob prihodu. Čakanje na dobrodošlico je nakazovalo nespoštovanje do njega, saj ga je postavilo v neprijeten položaj. Tujca, ki je potrkal na vrata, naj ne bi spraševali o njegovi identiteti in poslanstvu, vse dokler

3 O daru je pisal tudi J. Derrida. V ospredje je pritegnil okoliščine, ki omogočijo, da spregovorimo o daru kot takšnem, kljub temu, da ga, kot pravi sam, ne moremo teoretsko ali fenomenološko opredeliti (Derrida in Morion, 2006, 132; Derrida, 2004). Njegov študent J. L. Morion je poudaril, da nezmožnost razložiti dar izhaja iz dejstva, da večina analiz ne zapusti horizonta ekonomije (Derrida in Morion, 2006, 134). Takšnega prepričanja ni bil D. Graeber, ki je podal kritično analizo obdarovanja s perspektive dolga, s čimer je pokazal na neenakovredno recipročnost obdarovanja (Graeber, 2011).

4 »Poznejši avtorji uvedejo motiv, da prineseta ti darili nesrečo novima lastnikoma: ko Ahil premaga Hektorja, ga priveže na svoj voz in vlačí po tleh prav z Ajantovim pasom, medtem ko se Ajant zabode s Hektorjevimi mečem« (Grošelj, 2008, 210).

5 Ovidij v *Metamorfozah* opisuje, kako sta Zevs in Hermes v preobleki beračev obiskala neko frigijsko vas, vendar sta bila le pri Filemonu in Bavkidi sprejeta gostoljubno. Zakonca sta živela zelo skromno, toda za gosta sta želela darovati svojo edino gos. Bogovi so vas kaznovali tako, da so jo, razen njune kolibe, v celoti poplavlili. Njuno gostoljubje je bilo kasneje poplačano z uresničitvijo želje, da bi umrla skupaj (Jankovič, 2004, 125).

6 Razmerje *xenia* je v Homerjevih epih že uveljavljena praksa (Nybakken, 1946, 248).

ni bilo poskrbljeno za njegove osnovne potrebe in udobje. Med obiskom je bil tujec na varnem, saj je bil zanj odgovoren domačin. Hkrati je tujec sprejel obveznost, da bo ravnal podobno, ko se bo sam znašel v vlogi domačina, saj ni bil le upravičen do določenih pravic, temveč se je tudi zavezal, da bo izpolnil določene zahteve (Derrida in Dufourmantelle, 2000, 23). O povračilu gostoljubja je spregovoril tudi Neoptolem.

*Prijatelj, ki dobroto vrača z dobrim,
je vreden več kot vsak zaklad na svetu.* (Sofokles, *Filoktet*, 2000, 672–673)

Tujec, ki je iskal zavetje pri nekom, naj bi pred njim počepnil in izrekel svoje želje. Domačin ga je nato prijel za roke in dvignil iz počepa ter s tem potrdil, da mu bo ponudil pomoč, s čimer prej čepeči ni bil več tujec, temveč gost. S takšnim ritualom sta tujec in domačin vzpostavila medsebojno prijateljstvo. Njuno vzajemno razmerje je temeljilo na zvestobi (*pistis*). Zaobljubo sta lahko izvedla na različne načine – z gostijo, izpovedovanjem prijateljskih čustev, izmenjavanjem daril oziroma z ritualnim stiskom rok, kar je označeval termin *dexia* (Herman, 2002, 46, 49, 59; Nybakken, 1946, 249). Zapisego sta na tak način obudila Filoktet ter Neoptolem, ko je slednji prvemu vrnil lok, kot sta se bila dogovorila ob vzpostavitvi razmerja *xenia* (Sofokles, *Filoktet*, 2000, 815–816, 941–944).

*Dejanje bo dokazilo: desnico
mi daj – in vzemi lok, lastnino svojo!* (Sofokles, *Filoktet*, 2000, 1291–1292)

Herakles je Admeta nagovoril, da je iztegnil desnico in se dotaknil Alkestide, s čimer je povrnil izkazano gostoljubje (Eviprid, *Alkestida*, 2007, 1117).

Samo tvoji desnici jo zaupam. (Eviprid, *Alkestida*, 2007, 1115)

Gesta rokovanja, znamenje zaveznitva in dobrodošlice, je tudi motiv na upodobitvah iz tistega časa. Na atiški amfori je upodobljen Folos ob sprejemu Herakla (slika 1), ki je veljal za nepredvidljivega gosta, s katerim je bilo treba ravnati previdno (Padilla, 2000, 195).⁷ Herakles je postal Folosov *xénos*, s čimer si je zagotovil njegovo zaščito pred sovražniki (Herman, 2002, 52).

7 Poznane so tudi nagrobne plošče z upodobitvijo umrle osebe, ki se rokuje z živimi. Motiv rokovanja, ki ga zasledimo na atiških pogrebnih spomenikih klasične dobe, najverjetneje ne priča le o ponovnem srečanju nekoč v Hadu, temveč tudi o zakonski obvezi med živimi in mrtvimi (Garland, 2001, 68; Rhem, 1994, 31). Obdarovanje je bilo pomembna vez med mrtvimi in živimi (Vermeule, 1981, 42, 177).



Slika 1: Atiška keramična amfora, 520 pr. n. št., The British Museum, London.
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Razmerje *xenia* je vključevalo izmenjavo predmetov (npr. *xenia*, *dora*, *pista*), ki so bili tesno povezani z osebnostjo darovalca in njegovim statusom v družbi. Zavrnitev darila ni potrdila začetka prijateljstva *xenia*. Podarjena darila so bila predmeti, ki so predstavljali družbeni položaj darovalca (Herman, 2002, 50, 60). Vsako je imelo svojo simbolično in funkcionalno vrednost. Tako je bilo v grški družbi pogosto darilo orožje. Prijatelja sta se lahko poslovila z izmenjavo darila, imenovanega *symbolon*, npr. vsak je dobil polovico predmeta, kar je nakazovalo vzpostavitev njunega razmerja *xenia*. Toda raziskovalci niso enotnega mnenja, ali sta gost in gostitelj svoj dogovor o gostoljubju in prijateljstvu resnično potrdila z majhnimi ploščicami (Herman, 2002, 59, 61–63).⁸ Te naj bi služile kot opomin na njuno prijateljstvo. To je sicer v nasprotju z izjavo, da je bilo gostoljubje utemeljeno le na človeški besedi in zaupanju v prišleka. Nybakken je poudaril, da je težko dokazati, ali so ploščice, npr. kosti, kovanci, služile kot *tesserae hospitales*. Literarni motiv, ki je nakazoval tovrstno prakso, lahko najdemo v tragediji *Medeja*. Jazon je svoji ženi Medeji ob odhodu iz Korinta za popotnico podaril nekaj svojega denarja. Poudaril je, da ji bo služil tudi kot znak, ki ga bodo prepoznali

8 Prim. G. Herman (Herman, 2002, 62, 64).

njegovi prijatelji in ji zato ponudili zatočišče (Evripid, *Medeja*, 2000, 610–614). Da niso uporabljali takšnih ploščic, je podkrepljeno v Evripidovem delu *Helena*. Helena namreč o *tesserae hospitales* govori v drugačnem kontekstu – z njihovo pomočjo naj bi se venomer prepoznala z možem (Evripid, *Helena*, 2006, 290–291). Na podlagi teh primerov ne moremo z gotovostjo še ničesar trditi, saj lahko v literaturi in drugih ohranjenih virih najdemo raznolike primere (Nybakken, 1946, 250).

Velja opomniti, da v literarnih delih mesto preobrazbe tujca v gosta in prijatelja kot tudi pomen besede *xénos* variirata ter sta pogosto težko določljiva. Pogosto je nejasno tudi natančno razlikovanje med začasnimi prijateljskimi vezmi in trajnejšimi zavezništvu (Belfiore, 1993–1994, 117).

Večplastnost razmerja *xenia*

Gostoljubje do tujcev je bilo častivredna vrlina ter ena najsvetejših ustanov antičnih Grkov, saj so bili tujci razumljeni kot blagoslov za hišo (Nybakken, 1946, 250).⁹ Pomenilo je prostovoljno, moralno in sveto dolžnost človeka. Vsak je moral izkazati gostoljubje in zaščititi kateregakoli tujca, ki je potrkal na vrata. To je bilo med drugim tematizirano tudi v Ajshilovi *Oresteji*, Sofoklovem *Filoktetu*, pa tudi v Evripidovi *Alkestidi* in *Hekabi*. Tujci niso služili le za opazovanje razlik in konstruiranje moške, državljanske, temeljno patriarhalne identitete (Slapšak, 2011, 18), temveč so imeli možnost izražanja svojih pravic in želja. V *Apologiji* (Platon, 1967, 5–6) se je Sokrat na sodišču proti obtožbam branil z dejstvom, da ni poznal uradnega jezika, prav zato je bil, kot je rekel sam, tujec (*xénos*), in je zahteval pravice, ki so pripadale tujcem (Derrida in Dufourmantelle, 2000, 19, 21, 33, 35). Derrida je poudaril, da je bila tovrstna gostoljubnost do tujcev znak družbe, ki je celovit nadzor razvila tako, da je razpršila odgovornost med ljudi in ustanove (Derrida in Dufourmantelle, 2000, 64, 66).

Razmerje *xenia* je vključevalo tudi dogovore med posamezniki in tujo skupnostjo ter je tako postalo eno od zgodnejših oblik mednarodnega sodelovanja, saj je odigralo pomembno vlogo pri tvorjenju vezi z vplivnimi ljudmi zunaj domačega okolja (Herman, 2002, 34). V širšem smislu je imelo razmerje *xenia* pomembno mesto v antični družbeni in politični sferi (Nybakken, 1946, 249). G. Herman je raziskoval zmanjševanje pomembnosti neformalnega razmerja *xenia*, ki naj bi nastopilo s povečanjem pomena *polis*. Eden od mogočih vzrokov je bilo spodbujanje patriotizma in zagovarjanje pravic ljudstva pred posameznikom. To se je odražalo v zmanjševanju pomena individualnih zavezništev z ljudmi iz različnih okolij (Herman, 2002, 3, 34). Individualno zavezništvo in neformalna zahteva po gostoljubju do tujcev sta se tako

9 V *Odiseji* je bilo razmerje med tujcem in domačinom že jasno izraženo. Odisej je na poti iz Troje na Itako doživel različne oblike gostoljubja. Bival je pri Laistrigonih, Lotofagih, Kiklopih, čarovnici Kirki in nimfi Kalipso, obiskal je gospodarja vetrov Ajola itd. (Homer, *Odiseja*, 1991, V–XIII).

prepletala z novimi zahtevami *polis* in se ohranila tudi zunaj grških mest, npr. med Perziji (Herman, 2002, 80).¹⁰

Zanimiva je primerjava razmerja *xenía* in eksogamne tradicionalne skupnosti, ki jo je raziskoval C. Lévi-Strauss (Lévi-Strauss, 1969). Tako kot je razmerje *xenía* služilo za tvorjenje vezi z vplivnimi ljudmi zunaj domačega okolja, je sklepanje porok le s predstavniki drugih skupnosti omogočilo sklepanje zavezništev o prijateljstvu in nenapadalnosti, s čimer je tujec postal zaveznik (Lévi-Strauss, 1969, 48). Paralelna socialna institucija razmerja *xenía* je bil zakonski stan, kjer je bila osnovna ideja obeh, da tujca poveže s skupnostjo. Na vzporednico med zakonsko zvezo in razmerjem *xenía* je opozorila Kasandra v *Oresteji* (Roth, 1993, 3). Klitajmestrino zločinsko dejanje je vzporejala s Parisovim pogubnim razmerjem z Menelajevo ženo Heleno in s Tiestovo negostoljubnostjo do brata Atreja (Ajshil, *Oresteja*, 2008, I, 1095–1098, 1156, 1217–1222). Ta je zapeljal njegovo ženo, Atrej pa mu je nato ponudil obed, pripravljen iz njegovih otrok.

Tako je tudi Paris

ob prihodu v hišo Atridov

s tatvino ženske

oskrupil gostoljubno mizo ... (Ajshil, Oresteja, 2008, I, 399–402)

Ženske je bilo treba preoblikovati v ne-tujke, s čimer so jim podelili novo socialno identiteto. Obe obliki razmerja sta vključevali tudi izmenjavo daril in oblikovanje vezi, iz katerih so izhajale določene vzajemne obveze med družinama oziroma med gostom in gostiteljem. Ta vzporednica je jasno izražena v zadnjem delu trilogije *Oresteja*, v katerem je poudarjeno, da sta tudi mož in žena drug drugemu tujca, saj ju ne povezujejo krvne vezi. Z zakonom sprejmeta določene obveze, mati se zaveže, da bo vzgojila in varovala otroke (Roth, 1993, 4; Ajshil, *Oresteja*, 2008, III, 211–212, 660–662). Na podoben način se je zavezal *xénos*, od katerega se je pričakovalo, da bo varoval otroke svojega prijatelja in z njimi ravnal kot njihov krušni oče (Belfiore, 1993–1994, 114–115). Dolžan jim je bil ponuditi zatočišče, posoditi denar, priskrbeti ritualne usluge in vojaško pomoč, drug drugemu so pomagali do politične oblasti. Na takšen način sta bila povezana Ahil in Filoktet, slednji je Ahilovega potomca med drugim poimenoval z besedo »sin« (Sofokles, *Filoktet*, 2000, 932). Opomin na sklenjeno razmerje *xenía* se je namreč prenesel na ostale družinske člane, iz česar je med drugim izhajalo poimenovanje lastnega otroka z enakim imenom, kot ga je imel *xénos* (Herman, 2002, 127–128). V tradicionalnih družbah je takšno poimenovanje povezano s sistemom sorodstvenih in svaških razmerij. Razmerje *xenía* se je izoblikovalo med dvema tujcema, strukturirano pa je bilo na način posnemanja zakonskih in sorodstvenih vezi

10 Razmerje med individualno (*oikos*) in kolektivno (*polis*) lastnino je na kompleksen način predstavljeno tudi v literarnih delih tistega časa (Padilla, 2000, 184).

(Herman, 2002, 33–34; Nybakken, 1946, 249). Prav v podobnostih med razmerjem *xenía* ter sistemom sorodstvenih ter zakonskih razmerij je mogoče zaznati razlago za ambivalentno razumevanje razmerja *xenía* v antični Grčiji, v katerem sta se prepletali področji javnega (*polis*) in zasebnega (*oikos*).

Ob različnih vidikih, ki jih je vsebovalo razmerje *xenía*, se odpira tudi vprašanje povezave med razmerjem *xenía*, *theoroi* in *theorodokoi*. V antični Grčiji so bili *theoroi* ambasadorji, ki so potovali na posvečene festivale. To je bilo t. i. »uradno romanje« (*theoria*), ki so ga organizirale mestne države. *Theoroi* so se udeležili festivala v tujem kraju ter izvedli posvečene aktivnosti, s čimer je bilo mestnim državam priznано sodelovanje na tem festivalu. Odposlance (*theoroi*) so v kraju, kjer je bil organiziran festival, sprejeli gostitelji (*theorodokoi*). Skrb zanje je temeljila tudi na obrazcu, ki ga je predpisovalo razmerje *xenía* (*theorodokoi* so jim ponudili toplo večerjo ipd.) (Dillon, 1997, 11, 16, 19).¹¹

Literarni primeri razmerja *xenía*

Gostoljubje je bilo pomembna tema v grški literaturi vseh žanrov (Roth, 1993, 1). Vpogled v razmerje med gostom in gostiteljem nam med drugim dajo literarna dela, v katerih lahko najdemo primere kršitve tega razmerja oziroma posebne primere, ko ni bilo treba ponuditi gostoljubja.

Tradicija ni narekovala gostoljubja do tujcev v posebnih primerih, in sicer v trenutku družinske krize; prav zato se je Herakles v Evripidovi *Alkestidi* prostovoljno namenil drugam, saj je bil gost v breme tistim, ki so žalovali (Evripid, *Alkestida*, 2007, 540–542; Padilla, 2000, 195–196). Kljub žalovanju pa je Admet Heraklu izkazal gostoljubje. Z izkazanim gostoljubjem je želel pokazati svoj človekoljubni značaj in družbeni ugled dobrega gostitelja (*philoxenos*), vendar ga je njegovo vedenje postavilo v obratni položaj (*ekhthroxenos*). Prevelik pomen je pripisoval ugledu, gostoljubju in prijateljstvu, ki se je razvilo med gostom in gostiteljem, prikril pa je svoje žalovanje (Evripid, *Alkestida*, 2007, 530–533, 553–560, 597–601; Padilla, 2000, 196). Herakles je bil deležen prav posebnega gostoljubja, zato je bil zavezan, da ga povrne na enak način (Evripid, *Alkestida*, 2007, 853–860; Padilla, 2000, 195, 198–199). To je storil tako, da je njegovo ženo Alkestido obudil od mrtvih. Herakles se je iz podzemlja vrnil kot Admetov prijatelj (*philos*). Tvegal je življenje, da je lahko izročil darilo svojemu

11 V tistem času so bili razlogi za potovanje številni. Razloge za potovanje prebivalcev Ciren, grške kolonije, je našela Dobias-Lalou. Razlogi so bili religiozni (npr. obisk svetišča svečenice Pitije, Asklepija ipd.), komercialni, izobraževalni in uradni (potovanja politikov). Malo pa je bilo pričanj o turističnih potovanjih (Dobias-Lalou, 2003, 12–16). Potovanja v izobraževalne namene (retorika, gramatika) je na primeru Male Azije (v 2. stol.) predstavil Henri Fernoux (Fernoux, 2003, 61–72). Potovanja guvernerjev so bila del njihove poklicne funkcije (Bérenger, 2003, 227). Lukijan je pisal tudi o potovanjih v veselje (Roussel, 2003, str. 101–109).

gostitelju za izkazano gostoljubnost. Razmerje *xenia* se je na tem primeru pokazalo na najvišji stopnji medosebne izmenjave in zaupanja (Padilla, 2000, 201–202).

Obrazec gostoljubja v nadaljevanju predstavljam z literarnimi primeri, v katerih je prišlo do kršitve pravil gostoljubja, ki jih je narekovalo razmerje *xenia* (Belfiore, 2000).¹² Klitajmestra in Orest sta v Ajshilovi tragiški trilogiji *Oresteja*¹³ storila zločin zoper svoje najbližje. Njuno grozodejstvo je stopnjevalo dejstvo, da sta za svoje dejanje izkoristila razmerje *xenia*, ki je imelo veliko podobnih elementov kot sorodstvo in zakonski stan. Umor »gostinskega prijatelja« je Izokrat interpretiral kot enega najhujših zločinov, enačil ga je z umorom bratov, očeta in matere, s krvoskrunstvom in z ljudožerstvom (Eviprid, *Hekaba*, 2011, 5).

Klitajmestra je v *Orestji* zasedla tako položaj gostje kot gostiteljice. Njen zakonski stan z Agamemnonom ji je dodelil vlogo gostje, vlogo gostiteljice pa je imela, ko je v prvem delu trilogije na svoj dom sprejela moža in prerokinjo Kasandro (Ajshil, *Oresteja*, 2008, I, 905–913, 1035). V drugem delu trilogije, *Prinašalke pitnih darov*, je gostila tudi svojega sina Oresta in njegovega prijatelja Pilada (Ajshil, *Oresteja*, 2008, II, 891). Ob sprejemu moža je obrazec gostoljubja postavila na glavo, saj ga je izkoristila za umor. Z Agamemnonom in Kasandro je ravnala pod pretvezo predpisanega vzorca, ki ga je predpostavljalo razmerje *xenia* (Ajshil, *Oresteja*, 2008, II, 888–889). Agamemnonu je ponudila toplo kopel in sveža oblačila, nato pa ga je v kadi prav s temi oblačili zadušila.¹⁴ Tudi s Kasandro ni ravnala tako, kot bi morala, saj je bilo njeno gostoljubje zaigrano le na začetku, pred vhodom v dom. Tako jo je zvalila v hišo ter nato uresničila svoj morilski načrt (Ajshil, *Oresteja*, 2008, I, 1106–1110, 1125–1130, 1256–1265). S svojim pretkanim dejanjem je kršila osnovna pravila gostoljubja do tujcev (Roth, 1993, 5–7).

Smrt Agamemnona in Kasandre je poplačal Agamemnonov sin Orest v drugem delu trilogije, *Prinašalke pitnih darov*. Tudi on je kršil pravila razmerja *xenia*, saj je umoril svoja gostitelja – mater Klitajmestro in Ajgista (Ajshil, *Oresteja*, 2008, II, 988–990). Na koncu drugega dela trilogije so povzeti trije zločini v Atrejevi hiši, in sicer pojedina iz umorjenih Tiestovih otrok, Agamemnonova usodna kopel in

12 V *Iliadi* je ključno vlogo odigrala kršitev razmerja *xenia*, tj. ugrabitev Helene (Herman, 2002, 125). Evripid se je v *Hekabi* pogosto vračal k Polimestorjevi kršitvi zaupanja *xenia*, kot je poudaril D. Movrin (verzi 19, 26, 82, 710, 715, 774, 790, 803–804, 852, 890, 1216, 1247).

13 Sestavljajo jo drame *Agamemnon*, *Prinašalke pitnih darov* in *Evmenide*. Agamemnon je bil vrhovni poveljnik grške vojske v trojanski vojni. V prvem delu trilogije se je po padcu Troje domov vrnil s Kasandro, njegova žena Klitajmestra pa ju je nato umorila. Sin Orest je očetovo smrt maščeval v drugem delu trilogije, ko je s pomočjo sestre Elektre ubil Ajgista in svojo mater. V tretjem delu trilogije se je Orest zagovarjal na atenskem sodišču areopagu, kjer ga je Atena oprostila krivde.

14 Orest se je v drugem delu trilogije, *Prinašalke pitnih darov*, zgražal nad Agamemnonovim ogrinjalom, ki ga je Klitajmestra uporabila za umor, in sicer pod pretvezo, da so bila to sveža oblačila za gosta (Ajshil, 2008, II, 997–1005).

Klitajmestrina smrt (Ajshil, *Oresteja*, 2008, II, 1068–1074). Vsi ti zločini so se zgodili zaradi kršitve gostoljubja do tujcev – gostoljubje ob vходу, ki mu sledijo topla kopel, sveže oblačilo in na koncu obilen obrok. Zanimivo je, da je bil po Homerjevem mitu Agamemnon umorjen šele med gostijo, Ajshil pa je kršitev razmerja *xenia* premaknil na začetek trilogije (Roth, 1993, 8–11).

Zadnji del trilogije, *Evmenide*, je služil kot potrditev svetosti, ki je bdela nad zavezo med gostiteljem in gostom. Na samem začetku je Orest iskal zatočišče v Apolonovem svetišču v Delfih. Apolon je začel z obredom očiščenja Orestovih grehov in ga zaščitil pred Evmenidami (Ajshil, *Oresteja*, 2008, III, 70–88). Storil je prav to, kar naj bi vesten gostitelj ponudil svojemu gostu. Ob Orestovem odhodu je Apolon svojemu bratu Hermesu naročil, naj ga na poti varuje in se izkaže kot vesten vodnik (Ajshil, *Oresteja*, 2008, III, 89–92). Orest je nato na višjem sodišču, na atenskem areopagu, poiskal uradno obsodbo svojega dejanja (Ajshil, *Oresteja*, 2008, III, 235–243). Zadnji del trilogije slavi tradicijo gostoljubja do tujcev v antični Grčiji. Trilogija se sklene z veljavnostjo in s potrditvijo zahteve po gostoljubnosti, ki je v tej tragediji predstavljena tudi kot podlaga za vojaška zavezništva. Apolon, Orestov zagovornik, je na atenskem areopagu Ateni obljubil povečanje mesta in vojske (Ajshil, *Oresteja*, 2008, III, 668–675). To je P. Roth vzporejal s pomiritvijo napetosti in vzpostavitvijo zavezništva med Orestovim domačim mestom Argosom in Atenami leta 463 pr. n. št. (Roth, 1993, 12, 14–16).

Izdaja prijateljstva in gostoljubja med gostiteljem in gostom je tematizirana tudi v Sofoklovem *Filoktetu*. Filokteta so prijatelji zapustili na otoku Lemnos zaradi neznosnega smradu, ki je prihajal iz njegove rane. Prerokbe so napovedale, da brez Filokteta oziroma njegovega loka Troja ne bo poražena, zato je Odisej skoval skrivni načrt. Neoptolema, Ahilovega sina in Filoktetovega prijatelja, je prepričal, da si je zopet pridobil Filoktetovo zaupanje, seveda vse pod pretvezo sovraštva do Grkov, ki so Filokteta zapustili na otoku, in z obljubo, da mu bo pomagal priti v rodni kraj. (Sofokles, *Filoktet*, 2000, 70–85; Belfiore, 1993–1994, 113). Prevara je uspela, saj so Filokteta preplavila prijateljska čustva, ki so ga hitro vodila do prvega koraka proti bolj formalnemu prijateljskemu razmerju (Belfiore, 1993–1994, 118). Sam se je spustil v počep, Neoptolema je na kolenih prosil, da bi ga odpeljal domov in pri bogovih prosil za usmiljenje, dokler ni bila uslišana njegova želja (Sofokles, *Filoktet*, 2000, 468–490; Belfiore, 1993–1994, 120). Zbor je Neoptolema prosil, naj se ga usmili, sicer bi moral trpeti jezo bogov. Ta je nato uslišal njegovo prošnjo, saj bi bila sramota, če tujcu ne bi želel pomagati (Sofokles, *Filoktet*, 2000, 524–527). Neoptolemu je uspelo pridobiti lok, ki ga Filoktet pred tem ni zaupal nikomur drugemu (Sofokles, *Filoktet*, 2000, 667–670). Lok mu je podaril prijatelj Herakles in je imel božanski značaj (Sofokles, *Filoktet*, 2000, 655–656). Ta je odigral pomembno vlogo pri reminiscenci na razmerje *xenia* (Belfiore,

1993–1994, 121).¹⁵ Imel je funkcionalno vrednost, saj je Filoktetu pomagal preživeti, pa tudi ključno vlogo pri uničenju Troje. Simbolna vrednost, ki jo je nosil lok, ga je približala darilu, imenovanemu *xénia*, toda nosil je breme lažnega prijateljstva, saj ga je Neoptolem želel izkoristiti v druge namene, in to kljub temu, da ga je ob izmenjavi Filoktet opomnil na njegove obljube. Neoptolem mu je nato razkril svoje resnične namere, Filoktet pa ga je v agoniji prosil, naj mu vrne lok (Sofokles, *Filoktet*, 2000, 915–916, 920–930). Filoktet je v žalosti zbor naslovil kot prijatelje, ki ga bodo zapustili, s čimer je ustvaril aluzijo na kršitev razmerja *xénia* (Sofokles, *Filoktet*, 2000, 1070). Kasneje je Neoptolem obžaloval svoje lažno prijateljstvo ter Filoktetu vrnil njegov lok (Sofokles, *Filoktet*, 2000, 902–903). Šele tedaj se je izkazal za pravega prijatelja. Ni mu bilo več mar, da mu ni uspelo prepričati Filokteta, da bi se vrnil v bitko za Trojo, s čimer je Sofokles bolj poudaril pomen razmerja *xénia* kot izvrševanje vojaških dolžnosti (Belfiore, 1993–1994, 124, 128). Sofokles nas v *Filoktetu* sooči z dvema človekoma v različnih fazah razmerja *xénia*. Spretno je uporabil večpomenskost besede *xénos* za opis razmerja med Filoktetom in Neoptolemom. Prepletal je njeno večpomenskost – drug drugemu sta bila prijazna tujca, sovražna neznanca, gost in gostitelj ter ritualna prijatelja (Belfiore, 1993–1994, 117, 128).

V Sofoklovem *Filoktetu* in *Ajantu* je mogoče najti veliko adaptacij in aluzij na razmerje *xénia*. Tako Ajantov meč kot Filoktetov lok sta bila močna simbola nestabilnosti človeškega prijateljstva. Filoktet je svoj lok zaupal Neoptolemu, toda ta je kršil pravila razmerja *xénia*, saj se ni podvrjel etičnim pravilom, ki jim je bil podvržen *xénos*.

Herodotov odnos do tujcev

Tujce je poglobljeno raziskal Herodot (Herodot, 2003), ki je na podlagi svojih potovanj in zanimanja za grško-perzijske vojne temeljito razčlenil njihovo geografijo in etnografijo. Raziskovalci Herodotovega opusa so njegov odnos do tujcev opredeljevali različno. M. Pohlez ga je denimo označil kot branilca in zagovornika svobode ter skupnosti Zahoda nasproti imperializmu barbarov (Payen, 1997, 44). P. Payen je ta pogled zasukal in poudaril Herodotov ambivalenten odnos do barbarov, oziroma zlasti njegovo sprejemanje barbarov. Payen je v Herodotovem opusu iskal primere, s katerimi je pokazal, da njegova podoba barbarov ni bila enotna. Oznaka barbar pri Herodotu pravzaprav ni bila negativen pojem – Perzijce je enačil z barbari, toda ne v zaničevalnem smislu, saj je povečeval njihov pogum v bitkah (Herodot, 2003, 49). Zmago Grkov nad Perzijci je opisal kot znak poguma Grkov in ne strahopetnosti njihovih nasprotnikov. Payen je poudaril Herodotovo naklonjenost kulturnemu relativizmu in njegovo občutljivost za opazovanje razlik med središčem in obrobjem.

15 Orožje je bilo v razmerju *xénia* pogosto sredstvo menjave.

Tako je zasukal ustaljeno prepričanje o očetu zgodovine v zgodovinopisju in spodnesel samoumevnost zgodovinopisja, ki je utemeljeno na konceptu *mi – oni*, saj je pokazal, da razlikovanje ene skupine ljudi od druge ne vključuje nujno zaničevanja. Herodot je s svojim pisanjem pripomogel k fiksiranju tradicionalnih pojmov – Grki in barbari, središče in obrobje –, toda o njih ni pisal na razdruževalen način, ni jim pripisoval pozitivnih ali negativnih lastnosti. V spominu je želel ohraniti enakopravnost Grkov in barbarov ne glede na izid bitke. Zanimivo je, da v Herodotovem besedilu opis bitke ne zavzame celotne pripovedi, temveč služi tudi kot zemljepisno-etnografsko poročilo (Payen, 1997, 165, 173–175, 177, 189, 218, 241, 243).

Sklep

Ksenofobija, s katero se borijo sodobne države, prinaša temo odnosa domačinov do tujcev, o kateri je vedno znova smotrno razpravljati. Antični Grki so v odprti gesti gostoljubja do tujcev prepoznali svojo civiliziranost. Vedenje do tujcev je bilo velikokrat tematizirano v literarnih delih, tudi prek kršitve obrazcev gostoljubja in kazni, ki je sledila. V prispevku je bil poudarek na predstavitvi zasebnega vidika razmerja *xenia*, ki pa je lahko postavilo temelje za tvorjenje vezi z vplivnimi ljudmi zunaj domačega okolja. Razmerje *xenia* je tako služilo kot podlaga za vojskovanje, diplomacijo, romanje in trgovanje.¹⁶ Kar nekaj skupnih točk se je pokazalo z vzporejanjem razmerja *xenia* s sorodstvom in zakonskim stanom. Na večplastnost razmerja *xenia* kaže njegovo prepletanje javnega in zasebnega področja. To razmerje, v številnih elementih podobno najintimnejšim človeškim razmerjem, je predstavljalo eno zgodnejših oblik mednarodnega sodelovanja in bilo hkrati temelj za vzpostavitev medsebojnega zaupanja med tujcem in domačinom.¹⁷

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16 Henri Fernoux je poudaril, da raziskovanje razmerja *xenia* ni nepomemben sociološki fenomen (Fernoux, 2003, 61).

17 Za strokovni pregled besedila se zahvaljujem red. prof. ddr. Nataši Golob in red. prof. dr. Svetlani Slapšak, za filološki pregled pa Juliji Hoda.

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Zora Žbontar

Foreign Guests in Ancient Greece

Keywords: foreign guests, hospitality, *xenía*, *xénos*, exchange of gifts, Ancient Greece

Xenía was a special relationship between a foreign guest and his host in Ancient Greece. The ritual of hosting a foreigner included an exchange of objects, feasting, and the establishment of friendship between people from different social backgrounds. This relationship implied trust, loyalty, friendship, and mutual aid between the people involved. Goods and services were also exchanged without any form of payment. There were no formal laws governing *xenía* – it was based entirely on a moral appeal. Mutual appreciation between the host and the guest was established during the ritual, but the host did retain a certain level of superiority over the guest. *Xenía* was one of the most important institutions in Ancient Greece. It had a lot of features and obligations similar to kinship and marriage. In literary sources the word *xénos* varies in meaning from “enemy stranger”, “friendly stranger”, “foreigner”, “guest”, “host” to “ritual friend”, and it is often hard to tell which usage is appropriate in a given passage.

The paper describes the emphasis on hospitality towards foreigners. It presents an example of a depiction indicating *xenía* is presented, as well as several objects which were traded during the ritual. The paper also addresses the importance of hospitality in Greek drama in general, especially with examples of violations of the hospitality code.

Bojan Baskar

Hribovske migracije in nova antropologija Alp: prispevek h kritiki Braudelovega rezidualnega sedentarizma in imobilizma

Ključne besede: Fernand Braudel, Alpe, Mediteran, hribovske migracije, mobilnost, antropologija Alp

Uvod

Področje migracijskih študijev je danes tako obsežno, heterogeno in porazdeljeno med številnimi družboslovnimi vedami, da je težko govoriti o tem, katere naj bi bile njegove glavne značilnosti in katere naj bi bile prevladujoče težnje v njem. Verjetno pa lahko brez večjega tveganja trdimo, da je danes težišče raziskav na tem področju na imigrantskih in morda tudi na transnacionalnih okoljih, medtem ko je zanimanje za okolja, ki jih migranti zapuščajajo, razmeroma pičlo. Med razlogi, ki botrujejo pomanjkanju zanimanja za kraje, od koder migranti izvirajo, bomo izpostavili enega, na katerega naletimo tudi pri Fernandu Braudelu in njegovi tematizaciji geohistoričnega kontrasta med hribi (gorami) in ravnino (oziroma mesti). Gre za nereflektirano podmeno, da ljudi k emigraciji prisilijo revščina, pomanjkanje in nesreče, ki možnost preživetja postavijo pod vprašaj, in jih usmerijo v kraje, kjer so na razpolago delovna mesta in blagostanje. Teorijam migracij, ki nekritično izhajajo iz te podmene, pravimo tudi mizerabilistične teorije. Te teorije so v dvajsetem stoletju vse do njegove zadnje četrtine prevladoval v praktično vseh tradicijah preučevanja migracij. Z ozirom na klasično distinkcijo migracijskih študijev med dejavniki privlačnosti (*pull*) in dejavniki potiska (*push*) lahko rečemo tudi, da so mizerabilistične teorije pogosto usmerile malone vse svoje zanimanje na dejavnik potiska in temu ustrezno izkazovale relativno ali celo absolutno nezainteresiranost za življenje migrantov na novih destinacijah. Migranti so jih zanimali predvsem kot emigranti in manj kot imigranti. To na splošno velja toliko bolj, kolikor bolj se je mizerabilizem tovrstnih naziranj napajal iz nacionalizmov. Razmah nacionalizmov je predstavljal idealno okolje za razmah mizerabilističnih umevanj migracij. Pomislimo na *aleksandrinke*. Lamentacija zaradi migracij goriških migrantk v Egipt je vsebovala močne nacionalistične podtone (aleksandrinkam so med drugim očitali, da s svojim »slovenskim« mlekem hranijo tuje otroke, njihovi lastni otroci pa so prikrajšani zanj). Domači (slovenski) diskurzi

o aleksandrinkah so do nedavna videli samo dejavnik potiska (revščina, zadolžene kmetije ...), dejavnik privlačnosti (Aleksandrija kot privlačen trg delovne sile in kot nič manj privlačen kraj kozmopolitskih doživetij) pa je ostajal onkraj njihovega obzorja (prim. Koprivec, 2013; Baskar, 2013).

Verovanje zahodnjakov, da Afričani in drugi svetovni reveži »silijo« na bogati Zahod – in da ne migrirajo nikamor drugam kot na Zahod –, je na prvi pogled verovanje, ki pripisuje večjo težo dejavniku privlačnosti kakor dejavniku potiska. Tak vtis okrepi tudi s tem verovanjem pogosto povezano moralnično stališče, da bi se morali Afričani in njim podobni bolj potruditi, da bi svoje domovine naredili znosne za bivanje, namesto da izberejo lagodno pot in »silijo k nam« (ki smo se morali v preteklosti tudi močno potruditi, da smo naredili naše kraje urejene, premožne in varne). Toda to stališče hkrati praktično priznava bedo, zaradi katere so ljudje prisiljeni migrirati na Zahod, če se že niso pripravljene dejavno spopasti z njo. A moralnično priznanje »bede«, iz katere migranti »pribežijo«, še ne pomeni, da nas kraji, od koder migranti prihajajo, in njihovo življenje v teh krajih zanimajo in da o njih zaradi tega kaj več vemo.

Kakor hitro nas namreč začno ti kraji in življenje v njih zares zanimati – in se začnemo temu ustrezno seznanjati z etnografsko, geografsko in sociološko literaturo –, zlahka uvidimo, da je realnost migracij in njihovih spodbud precej drugačna. Naš veliko prezgodaj preminuli prijatelj, antropolog Borut Brumen, denimo, je pokazal, da so najbolj priljubljene destinacije nigrskih Tuaregov, ki iščejo delo, Libija, Alžirija, Nigerija in celo Burkina Faso, šele nato Evropa (Brumen, 2004, 239). Podobnih primerov bi lahko navedli veliko. Ne obstaja torej *bogati Zahod* kot univerzalno zaželena imigrantska destinacija, temveč je Zahod le ena mogočih destinacij. Veliko je migrantov, ki ne sanjajo o Zahodu in rajši migrirajo manj daleč stran od doma.

Kar velja za današnje migracije na večje razdalje, velja – in je veljalo v preteklosti – tudi za migracije med podeželji in mesti. Ruralno prebivalstvo še zdaleč ni migriralo zgolj v mesta, kot so do nedavna verjeli sociologi in zgodovinarji. Ruralni eksodus je zato problematičen pojem, pri čemer pa ni problematičen le drugi del besedne zveze, ki z biblično metaforo sugerira dramatičen odhod celotnih prebivalstev na novo destinacijo, temveč je tak tudi zaradi pridevnika, ki sugerira enosmerno ter izključno migracijo iz ruralnega v urbani svet. Demografija severnoistrske župnije Krkavče (vasi Krkavče, Nova vas, Sv. Peter in Padna) v devetnajstem stoletju, kot smo jo rekonstruirali na podlagi župnijskega arhiva, kaže na stalni zunanji pritok obrtnikov (čevljarjev, krojačev, mizarjev ...) v te vasi. V veliki večini so se priseljevali iz alpskih krajev, najpogosteje iz Karnijskih Alp. Kot kažejo raziskave historičnega demografa Paul-Andréja Rosentala, je v prvi polovici devetnajstega stoletja skoraj polovica migracij na daljše razdalje v

Franciji potekala med vasmi. Šele v drugi polovici stoletja se je težišče migracij počasi preneslo na relacijo vas–mesto (Rosental, 1999). Niso torej vsi ruralni migranti sanjali o življenju v mestu. V novejšem času, ko so zahodnoevropske družbe začele spodbujati imigrante z drugih celin in z robov Evrope k sprejemanju zaposlitve in prebivališča na podeželju, zahodnoevropska podeželja postajajo vse bolj jezikovno in kulturno pisana. V luči tovrstnih podatkov je precej očitno, da pojem ruralnega eksodusa kliče po ponovnem premisleku.

Težnjo, da bi podeželje zadržali zunaj dinamične slike migracijskih tokov oziroma da bi ga omejili na prizorišče enkratnega in nenadnega ruralnega eksodusa, ki sta ga sprožili industrializacija in modernizacija, lahko opazimo tudi pri Braudelu. Za tiste, katerih poznavanje Braudela se omejuje na njegovo poudarjeno dinamično koncepcijo Mediterana, na njegovo nenehno poudarjanje gibanj, poti in tokov, utegne biti ta konstatacija presenetljiva. Namen naše razprave je osvetliti ta paradoks z natančnejšo analizo Braudelovega videnja mesta (mediteranskih) hribov in gora v razmerju do migracij ter, širše, v kontekstu tematske opozicije sedentarnosti in mobilnosti. Pokazali bomo, da je Braudelovo videnje hribov (in posredno podeželij) ter mobilnosti hribovskih prebivalstev še pretežno ujeto v tradicijo videnja podeželij – in še posebej hribovskih podeželij – kot imobilnih. V zadnjih treh desetletjih se je v antropoloških preučevanjih Alp oblikovala nova paradigma, ki je omogočila temeljito revizijo pogledov na mobilnost hribovskih prebivalstev, na njihove demografske značilnosti in bogate povezave z zunanjim svetom. Oblikovan je bil model alpskih migracij, ki vse bolj dokazuje potencialno uporabnost pri preučevanju drugih hribovskih migracij. Zato bomo skupaj s kritično analizo Braudelovih pojmovanj hribovske (i)mobilnosti izpostavili nekaj ključnih premis tega novega pristopa v sodobnem antropološkem preučevanju mobilnosti in migracij, katerega etnografska »domovina« so Alpe in ki ga povezujemo predvsem z imenom italijanskega antropologa Pier-Paola Viazza in njegove »šole«, v katero lahko štejemo tako njegove neposredne učence kakor tudi vrsto francoskih, švicarskih in italijanskih antropologov oziroma etnologov, ki jih povezujejo nekatera skupna izhodišča.

Braudelov paradoks

Nova koncepcija Mediterana, ki jo je zgodovinar Fernand Braudel ponudil v svoji veliki tezi o *Mediteranu in mediteranskem svetu v času Filipa II.*,¹ je med zgodovinarji in geografi odmevala predvsem zaradi velike dinamičnosti. Za merilo določitve meja Mediterana je vzel ne klimatski ali kateri drugi fizičnogeografski kriterij (npr. meja

1 Knjiga – Braudelova doktorska disertacija – je prvič izšla leta 1949, v naslednjem natisu iz leta 1966 pa je bila precej revidirana. Revidirana verzija knjige iz leta 1966 je postala izhodišče vseh ponatisov in prevodov v druge jezike.

rasti oljke in datljeve palme), kot je bilo v geografiji do tedaj običajno, temveč človeške komunikacije in povezave (v njegovi terminologiji: poti, *routes*). V prvem zvezku njegovega opusa magnum, kjer se posveti geografskim okvirom in s tem omejitvam ter prisilam fizičnega prostora, da bi demonstriral delovanje najpočasnejšega časa (*longue durée*), Braudel razgrne obilico vseh mogočih poti, rut in tokov: morskih in kopenskih, poti morskih in rečnih plovb, transhumantnih poti med hribovji in ravninami, trgovskih poti itn. Mediteran tako postane omrežje poti, ki pa mu Braudel doda še drugi ključni člen, mesta. Torej poti in mesta v njihovi medsebojni konstituiranosti: mesta nastanejo kot točkovna materializacija poti, mesta vpeljujejo in vzdržujejo nove poti menjave. Braudel je to sežel v slavni formuli, po kateri je Mediteran »človeška enota: poti in mesta, mesta in poti« (*l'unité humaine : routes et villes, villes et routes*). Meje Mediterana so torej meje mediteranskega omrežja poti in mest, se pravi meje človeške dejavnosti, predvsem menjalne, trgovske dejavnosti in ne klimatske meje. Od tod nujen sklep, da obstajajo različno obširni Mediterani: od tod tudi koncept največjega Mediterana (*la plus grande Méditerranée*), ki se vzdolž trgovskih rut razteza vse do terminalnih postaj mediteranskega ekonomskega sistema (npr. do Kitajske kot terminalne točke svilne poti).

Braudelov geografski opis Mediterana je izhajal iz tradicije francoske človeške geografije, ki jo je zasnoval Paul Vidal de la Blache. Če je Braudel tako v svojem opus magnum kakor v poznejših delih (in najizraziteje v zadnjem delu o identiteti Francije) v marsičem zaznamovan s to tradicijo, je vpeljava mest, dinamike, mobilnosti in trgovine pomenila oster prelom z njo. V Vidalovi geografiji namreč ni mest, ni industrije, ni države, ni državnih meja: so le pokrajine ali dežele, zvedene na ruralne *genres de vie*, zaprte vase, avtarkične, zunajčasne, imobilne. Glede na njegov prelom z vidalovskim imobilizmom in glede na to, da je v svoji tezi precej pozornosti posvetil transhumantnim potem in gibanjem ter da je sorazmerno veliko prostora namenil tudi mediteranskim hribom, bi logično pričakovali, da je Braudel dinamiziral tudi podeželje ter da je v hribih namesto imobilnosti in izolacije odkrival mobilnost in priključenost hribovcev na omrežja.

Čeprav primeri hribovske izoliranosti, ki jih navaja, v resnici marsikdaj kažejo prej na mobilnost in povezanost hribovskih vasi v širša omrežja in čeprav izrecno priznava, da obstajajo izjeme glede na pravilo izoliranosti, zaostalosti, revščine in ruralnega eksodusa (gl. Braudel, 1990 [1966], 30–31), Braudel stereotipne podobe izoliranih hribov ne postavi pod vprašaj. Glede tega lahko pritegnemo antropologinji Judith Scheele, ko zapiše, da je bilo gibanje oziroma mobilnost za Braudela resda ključ za konstrukcijo Mediterana kot človeške enote, vendar pa to velja le za urbano dimenzijo Mediterana: gibanje je naredilo mesta, vasi pa je obšlo (Scheele, 2007, 261). Braudel je z novo, dinamično koncepcijo Mediterana v Mediteran spustil mesta,

mobilnost, poti in omrežja, podeželja, še posebej hribovska, pa je pustil taka, kot so bila v francoski antropogeografski tradiciji: imobilna, izolirana, izključena iz povezav, zaostala in revna – valilnice presežnega prebivalstva, ki se odliva v mesta oziroma na ravnine.

Vendar pa ne gre za vse kriviti le tradicije francoske človeške geografije, ki je v tedanjem času pokrajine oziroma dežele jemala ne le kot edini pravi okvir, temveč tudi kot sam predmet geografske obravnave. Da je šla ruralna mobilnost v pozabo oziroma da je (p)ostala neopažena in kot taka ni postala predmet migracijskih študijev, je bilo posledica veliko splošnejših in globlje zakoreninjenih verovanj o imobilnosti podeželja, ki jih je Dionigi Albera označil za »paradigmo sedentarnosti« (2000, 8). Albera sodi, da je »francoski sedentarizem« (2000, 13), difuzno razpršen po vseh vedah, ki se tako ali drugače dotikajo ruralnega sveta, močnejši od severnoevropskega, pa tudi od italijanskega sedentarizma. Svojo tezo podpre z zgledi nekaterih francoskih zgodovinarjev, ki vse do danes vztrajajo, da so bile (predvsem francoske) kmečke populacije v preteklosti praktično imobilne. Premaknile naj bi se edino pod zunanjim pritiskom ali prisilo (2000, 13). Braudel je v svoji zadnji knjigi o identiteti Francije, kjer je regresivno zdrsnil globoko v vidalovski imobilizem in republikanski organizem (Francija kot organizem in njene pokrajine kot organi), tako kot že dolga vrsta francoskih zgodovinarjev pred njim napisal knjigo o stoletjih oblikovanja francoske nacionalne identitete, v kateri so migracije preprosto odsotne. Nepreglednih množic imigrantov iz mediteranskih dežel, srednje ter vzhodne Evrope, Afrike in Indokitajske, ki so sicer po francoskem državljanskem umevanju nacije postali Francozi, kot da nikoli ne bi bilo: identiteta Francije je implicitno predstavljena kot dosežek stabilnih domačih populacij, katerih trajanje in kontinuiteta segata daleč nazaj v zgodnjerednjeveška stoletja.

Hribi – valilnica prebivalstva

Skladno s predstavo, da se kmetje iz svoje vasi premaknejo edino pod pritiskom ali prisilo, so zgodovinarji in sociologi (francoski na splošno bolj kot večina drugih) celotno, stoletja trajajočo ruralno mobilnost zvedli na enkratni dogodek množične emigracije s podeželja v mesta in ga poimenovali ruralni eksodus. Zgodil naj bi se pod pritiskom pomanjkanja in lakote na podeželju, pred katerima je bilo mogoče pobegniti v mesta, zahvaljujoč industrializaciji in modernizaciji.

Za hribovska podeželja naj bi vse to veljalo v še bolj zaostreni obliki. Repertoar splošnih predstav in klišejev o hribih in hribovcih, ki so se oblikovali predvsem v drugi polovici devetnajstega stoletja, je vseboval podobe revščine, zaostalosti, izoliranosti in prenaseljenosti kot posledice previsoke rodnosti in celo psihofizične degeneracije (npr.

»alpski kretenezem«). Takšno je v osnovi tudi Braudelovo videnje, čeprav Braudel, kot smo že rekli, ne pozabi dodati, da obstajajo številne izjeme.

Slavna formula, v kateri je Braudel sežeh svoj pogled na demografsko usodo hribovskih prebivalstev, se glasi, da so hribi delavnica ljudi, ki jih porabijo drugod, *une fabrique d'hommes à l'usage d'autrui* (1990 [1966], 56). Porabijo jih kajpada na ravnini, v mestu. Braudel govori o hribovcih tudi kot o roju: ko postane panj preštivilen, ne zadostuje več, in hribovci morajo začeti »rojiti« (48). Hribovci tudi »mrgolijo«: »Zares, ni je mediteranske pokrajine, kjer ne bi mrgoleli ti gorjanci, nujno potrebni življenju ravnine in mest ...« (50). Skliče se tudi na katalonski pregovor »zmeraj navzdol, nikdar navzgor« (*baixar sempre, mountar no*).

V teh centralnih formulacijah, ki ne razodevajo le mizerabilističnega pogleda na ruralne migracije, temveč tudi skoraj osupljive predsodke do hribovcev, izstopa verovanje v visoko nataliteto hribovskih prebivalstev – torej verovanje v odsotnost njihovega »maltuzijanskega« demografskega vedenja. Ta naj bi bila logična posledica njihove zaostalosti in atavizma, po drugi strani pa naj bi bila eden od ključnih vzrokov njihove revščine. Braudel je to prepričanje ohranil še v revidirani izdaji knjige iz leta 1966, ko so se že pojavljale prve raziskave o alpskih sezonskih migracijah, ki so odkrivale obstoj aktivnih ekonomskih strategij migrantskih omrežij. V prvi polovici dvajsetega stoletja pa je bilo verovanje, da imajo gorjanci zelo visoko plodnost, seveda še absolutno prevladujoče. V njem se je ne le izražal prikriti prezir do gorjancev, ki niso sposobni obdržati svoje plodnosti pod nadzorom in razumeti, da dvig iz revščine zahteva omejitve števila otrok, temveč ga je bilo mogoče tudi instrumentalizirati v funkciji nacionalističnih ideologij in njihovih pronatalističnih zadržanj. Tako je tudi geograf Jovan Cvijić v svoji knjigi o Balkanskem polotoku (Cvijić, 1918) navedel rek *Hercegovina ceo svet naseli a sebe ne raseli* (Hercegovina je poselila ves svet, ne da bi samo sebe razselila), do katerega ni pokazal niti najmanjše skepse in je hercegovskim emigrantom povsem nekritično pripisoval zmožnost poselitve obsežnih področij okoli Hercegovine.²

Braudelov model hribovskih migracij sam po sebi torej ni nikakršna novost, saj gre za ustaljeno videnje, ki se je oblikovalo že od sredine devetnajstega stoletja naprej. Migracije so po tem videnju pasiven, bolj ali manj avtomatičen proces, ki ga sproži pomanjkanje. Pomanjkanje je neposredna posledica prevelikega prirastka prebivalstva na področjih, kjer so možnosti za poljedelstvo bolj omejene kakor na ravnini, kjer so donosi manjši in kjer je tveganje delnega ali polnega izpada pridelkov večje. Poleg podmene o visoki nataliteti ta model vsebuje še podmeno o ekonomski

2 Cvijić je svoje delo najprej izdal v Parizu, kjer je bil v tesnih in produktivnih stikih s francosko geografsko šolo. Vplivi so bili vzajemni. V Braudelovem videnju zahodnega Balkana in še posebej dinarskega območja je očitno močan Cvijićev vpliv.

izolaciji hribovskih vasi, katerih viri naj bi se omejevali na avtarkično poljedelstvo in transhumantni pastoralizem. V okolju z dokaj omejenimi možnostmi preživljanja so migracije avtomatična posledica naraščanja prebivalstva; so pravzaprav *periodični odliv* presežnega prebivalstva na ravnino.

Braudel je z velikanskim vplivom, ki ga je imelo njegovo delo o Mediteranu in ki je izjemno močno vplivalo tudi na temeljne predstave o mediteranskih hribovskih, stari podobi hribov in hribovskih migracij vdihnil novo življenje in v tem smislu lahko govorimo o Braudelovem modelu.

Migrirati, da bi obstali v hribih ...

Preden ta model izpostavimo kritiki, ki so jo omogočila novejša spoznanja o hribovskih migracijah, velja opozoriti, da bi vsekakor zabredli v novo enostranost, če bi v celoti zanikali obstoj migracij kot posledice pomanjkanja in pavperizacije. Marsikdaj so bili posamezniki ali skupine dejansko prisiljeni k spustu na ravnino zaradi pomanjkanja. To so bili pogosto hribovski reveži, ki so že pred odločilnim trenutkom odločitve za migracijo živeli v pomanjkanju, včasih pa so migrirale tudi premožnejše skupine, ki so se nenadoma znašle v brezizhodnem položaju zaradi izpada letine, izgube čred, izjemno hude zime, bolezní sviloprejk, propada lokalne manufakturne proizvodnje itn. Upoštevati je treba tudi klimatska nihanja, ki so neposredno vplivala na zgornjo mejo poselitve. Obdobja ohladitve, številne »male ledene dobe«, ki so lahko trajale nekaj stoletij ali le nekaj desetletij, so najvišje ležeče vasi vklenile v led in torej celo vas prisilile k spustu, ki pa ni bil nujno spust na ravnino. Zaradi večje nestabilnosti hribovskih in planinskih ekosistemov so bile subsistenčne krize pogoste ali kar endemične, mala ledena doba pa je vse skupaj le še poslabšala. Kar je bilo sicer mogoče reševati z normalno dinamiko sezonskih in začasnih migracij, je tedaj postalo predmet krizne emigracije. Množične krizne migracije so za hribovske skupnosti pomenile kolektivno travmo in so imele močan vpliv na hribovske družbe Alp, Pirenejev, Jure in Centralnega masiva (Fontaine, Siddle, 2000, 48). Tovrstne travmatske izkušnje so vplivale tudi na percepcije in vrednotenja hribovskih migracij (in migracij sploh), ne nazadnje na vrednotenja in percepcije raziskovalcev migracij.

A migracije iz obupa in bede so bile zmeraj le ena plat zgodbe, le ena dimenzija migracij. Novejše raziskave, katerih začetek konvencionalno datiramo z letom 1980, so začele odkrivati novo, pozabljeno dimenzijo alpskih migracij in so slednjič rezultirale v temeljiti reviziji družboslovnih spoznanj ne le o alpskih migracijah, temveč tudi o drugih hribovskih migracijah in slednjič o migracijah nasploh. Kar zadeva raziskave v Alpah, so ključno vlogo pri tem odigrali antropologi. Paradoksalno pa je bil predpogoj njihove revolucije pogleda na alpske družbe ta, da so se močno oprli na lokalne arhive

in da so rekonstruirali demografsko zgodovino vasi, v katerih so raziskovali, pri čemer so si morali pomagati z metodami in tehnikami historične demografije. Dokler so se socialni antropologi v Alpah še zanašali izključno na sinhrono terensko raziskovanje à la Malinowski, so docela nekritično sprejemali in reproducirali stereotipe o vaški izolaciji in imobilnosti.

Eno od prvih pomembnejših spoznanj antropologov, ki so se začeli zanimati za demografsko in migracijsko zgodovino svojih vasi, je bilo, da so Alpe veliko bolj raznovrstne, kot se je dotlej mislilo. Posebno pomemben je bil poseg Viazza (1989), ki je za svojo vas Alagna pokazal, da je imela zelo bogato zgodovino mobilnosti, migracij in povezav s svetom. Svoje rezultate je postavil ob rezultate Nettingovih raziskav v švicarski alpski vasi Törbel. Nettingu, ki je prav tako kot Viazzo temeljito preučil demografsko zgodovino svoje vasi, je uspelo dokazati presenetljivo stabilnost družinskih rodbin v vasi, iz česar je izpeljeval tezo, da je bil Törbel »zaprta korporativna kmečka skupnost«. Sklep, ki ga je iz tega izpeljal Viazzo, pa ni bil, da je bil Netting glede svoje vasi v zmoti (med eno in drugo je le dobrih trideset kilometrov zračne razdalje), temveč da je treba preučiti vsako lokacijo posebej, in sicer brez vnaprejšnjih predpostavk o izoliranosti ali odprtosti alpskih vasi. Ne gre torej za to, da bi, izhajajoč iz »svojih« vasi, vanje polagali svoje preference in se prerekali, ali so alpske vasi odprte ali zaprte, mobilne ali imobilne skupnosti, temveč gre za to, da njihove lastnosti ugotovimo empirično in dopuščamo variabilnost adaptacij.

Viazzo je s svojo »revizionistično« monografijo alpske vasi pomembno spodbudil raziskave alpskih demografskih vedenj, ki kažejo, da je značilen alpski demografski režim »nizkotlačen«, ne »visokotlačen«. Se pravi, ne visoka mortaliteta in še znatno višja nataliteta, temveč razmeroma nizka mortaliteta (nižja kot na ravnini!) in le malenkost višja nataliteta. Alpe (in kot potrjujejo novejša raziskave, tudi večina drugih hribovij) niso generirale divjih presežkov prebivalstva, ki bi se moralo zlivati na ravnino, temveč so imele minimalno demografsko rast. To pomeni, da je bilo demografsko vedenje alpskih gorjancev »maltuzijansko«, morda še bolj kakor na ravnini: zelo visoka stopnja celibata, pozna poroka pri obeh spolih (Viazzo, 1998, 40). Drži pa, da teh ugotovitev ne gre preveč posploševati in da so hribovska prebivalstva v ugodnih pogojih (dobre letine, blagostanje v vaseh, spodbuda zemljiških gospodarjev k povečanju rodnosti ...) znala pomembno povišati rodnost (Fontaine, Siddle, 2000, 47). Prej omenjene krizne migracije so bile marsikdaj posledica predhodne demografske in ekonomske ekspanzije, ki jo je nenadoma pretrgala klimatska, ekonomska ali ekološka katastrofa.

Zaradi pomanjkanja prostora naj omenimo samo še dve od ključnih novejših spoznanj o hribovski mobilnosti in migracijah, ki jih sicer ni mogoče ekskluzivno

pripisati alpskim antropologom, čeprav so ti pomembno prispevali k njim. Prvič, migracije niso bile toliko rezultat pritiska pomanjkanja kolikor rezultat zavestnih izbir in strategij družin in drugih skupin, ki so pletle migrantska omrežja ter vzpostavljale ustaljene migracijske poti in destinacije. Pri migracijah je treba upoštevati celoten diapazon njihovih oblik (sezonske, občasne, trajne ...), med katerimi so se sorodstvene in lokalne skupnosti odločale ter jih kombinirale v skladu s svojimi ekonomskimi in reprodukcijskimi strategijami. Te strategije so bile predvsem strategije najpremožnejših in najpodjetnejših družin in posameznikov, ki so merile na povečevanje blagostanja, demografsko konsolidacijo skupine ter razpršitev resursov in možnosti preživetja v času nesreče. Vaške skupnosti, ki so se prek svojih predstavnikov uspešno vključevale v trgovske tokove in oblikovale trgovske diaspore po različnih mestih in državah, so bile glede tega še posebej uspešne. Tako obogateli trgovci so si v domačih vaseh dajali graditi imenitne hiše, v katere so se vrnili ob upokojitvi, pogosto pa so prispevali h gradnji verskih in drugih objektov, pozneje k elektrifikaciji vasi, postavljanju šol in drugim oblikam mediteranskega evergetizma. In seveda remitence, ki so najzgovornejši izraz dolgoročnega strateškega investiranja v migracije, saj lahko marsikdaj omogočijo preživetje lokalne skupnosti, ki so ji remitence ostale edini vir preživetja – in edini vir obstanka v hribih. Migracije so v pomembni meri služile tudi temu, da so hribovci lahko ostali v hribih: mobilnost nekaterih je bila potrebna, da bi lahko vsi ohranili svojo hribovsko skupnost.

In drugič, odkritje, da so migracije lahko ekonomske strategije blagostanja in varnosti, je pripomoglo k spoznanju, ki sta ga formulirala Viazzova najvidnejša učenca Laurence Fontaine in Dionigi Albera, da niso migracije posledica prenaseljenosti, temveč je prenaseljenost posledica migracij. Migracije, ki so temelj vseh drugih povezav, so namreč predpogoj hribovskega blagostanja, blagostanje in občutek varnosti, občutek možnosti izbire med različnimi možnostmi, pa tudi rastoča potreba po delovni sili v okviru rastočega, na migracijah utemeljenega družinskega podjetja pa lahko spodbujajo demografsko rast.

Sklepne opombe

Braudelova velika freska mediteranskega sveta in njegove zgodovine počasnega časa je kljub dinamizaciji antropogeografskega imobilizma iz obdobja Belle Époque ostala glede migracij in mobilnosti ruralnih, posebej hribovskih prebivalcev molčeča, kolikor pa je o njih spregovorila, je ostala ujeta v imobilistični pogled. V zadnjih treh desetletjih smo priča velikemu napredku na področju preučevanja mobilnosti in migracij, vključno z intraruralnimi. V istem času se je globoko spremenila tudi podoba hribov in njihovih prebivalcev. Transdisciplinarna preučevanja hribov, imenovana

tudi *mountain studies*, so zelo zanimivo, propulzivno in vse bolj teoretsko relevantno področje. Braudel nedvomno tudi na tem področju predstavlja enega pomembnih prednikov in »svetilnikov«, čeprav je njegov pogled na hribe danes v temelju presežen.

Ob dejstvu, da je prišlo do odločilnega napredka v preučevanju hribovskih družb prav v kontekstu Alp, se neizogibno zastavlja vprašanje, koliko so z Alpami povezana spoznanja in koncepti prenosljivi na druga hribovja oziroma gorovja. Ker so Alpe v primerjavi z drugimi, bolj perifernimi evropskimi hribovji (na primer Karpati, Stara Planina, Dinarske Alpe ...) veljale za razvitejše in naprednejše, je do nedavna prevladovalo mišljenje, da kar velja za Alpe, morda ne velja za druga (manj ugledna) hribovja. Alpski prebivalci so vendar Švicarji, Francozi, Avstrijci, Nemci, ki jih ne gre postavljati na isto raven z balkanskimi ali iberskimi narodi ... A z začetkom bolj sistematičnih preučevanj drugih hribovij so začele v prvi plan prihajati predvsem podobnosti, manj kontrasti. Podjetne in zelo mobilne populacije so začeli odkrivati v vseh hribih, vključno s tistimi na Balkanskem polotoku, kjer so postali deležni privilegirane pozornosti Vlaha. Hkrati s tem je bil pogled na Vlahe temeljito revidiran. Podobno se je dogajalo z odkrivanjem blagostanja v libanonskih hribih, ki je bilo posledica maronitske in družovske mobilnosti in trgovske podjetnosti. Dionigi Albera in Paola Corti sta si v nekem članku (Albera, Corti, 2000) zastavila vprašanje, koliko so spoznanja o alpskih družbah veljavna za zahodni Mediteran (zlasti za Pireneje, Apenine in Rif). Članek sugerira, da med Alpami in temi hribovji, vključno s tistimi na afriški obali Mediterana, ni globoke ločnice. O dinarskem in drugih balkanskih hribovijih v članku nista razpravljala, ker ta hribovja ne sodijo v njuno regionalno specializacijo. Kolikor o tem presojava sami, se s poglobljanjem raziskav o balkanskih hribovijih prav tako vse bolj kaže, da med njimi in »imenitnimi« Alpami ni prave diskontinuitete. Tudi zahodnoevropski popotniki, ki so po balkanskih hribovijih potovali konec osemnajstega in v prvi polovici devetnajstega stoletja – torej v času relativne hribovske prosperitete, ko hribi še niso postali sinonim za zaostalost in izoliranost, s tem pa tudi v času, ko se balkanistični diskurz še ni zares vzpostavil –, niso posebej poudarjali diskontinuitete oziroma balkanske drugačnosti. Eden slavnejših popotnikov po Balkanu iz tega obdobja, francoski potopisec Ami Boué, je Vlahe iz Metsova v Epiru, kar zadeva delovne migracije, primerjal s savojskimi hribovci, takoj zatem pa še z obrtniki iz visokih alpskih dolin Piemonta, kjer se skupina poročenih moških (t. i. *compagnonage*) poveže v skupno družbo in se odpravi trgovat ali ponujat obrtne usluge v inozemstvo (Boué, 1854, 57). Najmanj, kar lahko ob tem rečemo, je, da je Boué opazil, da gre za isto mobilnost in isto logiko, ki žene hribovce v migracijske ritme tako v Alpah kakor na Balkanu. V njej ni videl nič tragičnega in v metsovskih migrantih ni videl revežev, ki so morali zapustiti hribe, temveč sposobne in podjetne hribovce, ki znajo izkoristiti priložnosti, ki se ponujajo drugod.

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Bojan Baskar

Mountain migrations in recent Alpine anthropology: some critical remarks to Braudel's residual sedentarism and immobilism

Keywords: Fernand Braudel, the Alps, the Mediterranean, mountain migrations, mobility, Alpine anthropology

It is argued in this paper that Braudel's view of mountain communities (which he, though allowing for numerous exceptions, depicted as isolated, largely immobile and prolific) remains heavily indebted to the tradition of the Vidalian School of Human Geography, characterized by its immobilism and anti-urban bias. Braudel is famous for “dynamizing” the Mediterranean and thereby opposing Vidalian immobilism. However, Braudel's dynamism and his stress on mobility and connectivity applies only to his view of the urban part, whereas his view of the rural, and especially mountainous, hinterlands remains largely exempted from it. This questioning of the Braudelian model of mountain migrations is based on the recent developments within Alpine anthropology made possible by its cross-fertilization with historical demography (Pier Paolo Viazzo and his “school”) as well as within recent mountain studies in general. The new picture of mountain communities emerging from these studies is one of highly mobile mountain populations who are characterized by entrepreneurial spirit and proactive strategies of migration, and is often based on prosperity instead of misery and hunger, and it aims at making the survival of mountain communities possible. As this “Alpine model” has been progressively expanded and tested on other mountain environments, this paper argues for the continuities between the Alps and the mountains of the Balkan peninsula.

Mirjana Morokvasic

Transnational mobilities and gender in Europe

Keywords: transnational migrations and mobility, Europe, gender

Introduction: migrant transnationalism

Freedom of circulation within the EU has made the borders inside the EU space less important for citizens, for those who have a legal status or come from visa-free countries. For others, the controls have tightened and most have to rely on different economic, cultural and other networks capable of circumventing the restrictive border-management regimes.

In this text I will highlight the experiences of migrants who use borders and mobility as a resource in order to improve their social, political and economic condition.

The transnational perspective in migration research identified the phenomena of double and multiple belonging and creation of social spaces linking migrants (Glick Schiller et al., 1992; Portes 1996, 1999, 2001; Faist, 2000; Vertovec 2009). It challenged the static view of migration as a one-way movement from one location to another and helped rediscover and reappraise multiple historical examples of transnational practices among migrants which remained invisible, incompatible with the dominant integrationist/assimilationist wisdom in migration research, with little understanding for double and multiple allegiances.

European scholars have both adopted and adapted the transnational perspective, while producing a myriad of related conceptualisations (diasporas, mobilities, circulations, circulatory territories), trying to capture the changing realities of the re-composed migration landscape of the continent (Bauböck, 1991; Clifford, 1994; Faist, 2000; Faist et al., 2013, Ma Mung, 1999; Kastoryano, 2000; Morokvasic, 1992, 1999, 2004; Peraldi, 2001; Potot, 2005; Wallace, Stola, 2001; Weber, 2007; Riccio, 2001; Morawska, 2003; Nedelcu, 2009; Ambrosini, 2008). The pioneering research by Alain Tarrus (1992, 2013) on transmigrants and “circulatory territories” mobilized and inspired researchers mainly in southern Europe and the francophone world.

Criticisms notwithstanding (Vertovec, 2009), one has to recognize the heuristic value of the transnationalist perspective. It captures the complexity of phenomena

related to migration and the post-migratory experience in the world characterised by the expansion of low cost transport, increased interdependencies, and global interconnectedness. For a long time, for instance, maintaining contacts with and orientation towards the country of origin was believed to have a negative impact on immigrants' opportunities and to jeopardize their upward mobility. The transnationalist approach suggests the opposite: that the cultivation of networks with the country of origin can be a valuable resource.

There is a vast variety of transnational migration experiences and many typologies provide useful lenses for understanding them (Portes, 1999; Faist, 2000; Ambrosini, 2008; Vertovec, 2009). The overwhelming focus on the nation-state as a frame, on durability and sustainability of transnational links over time leaves however little room to capture transnational practices which are not a strategy of already settled immigrants, but of mobile individuals who “migrate in order to remain in their place of residence” (Morokvasic, 1999) or to examine the lasting mobilities of those for whom the options of immigration and settlement are neither accessible nor desirable goals.

In this paper I look beyond the frame of the nation state at trajectories of migrants whose focal point remains their place of origin and who are on the move for purposes of work and trade, in order to improve their condition at home (Kuzma, 2012; Morokvasic, 1999; Wallace, Stola, 2001).

Using examples from some of my previous work and other studies I will focus on mobility whereby migrants shift the various boundaries of belonging, transgress national boundaries but also gender norms as well as blurring the lines of occupational boundaries. They all to a different degree develop a transnational habitus and their transnational practices are gendered.

Shifting the boundaries of ethnicity

The way people practice border-crossing depends on the social and political context and their positioning in it relative to class, gender, migrancy. Some can ignore borders, for others they represent challenging obstacles.

Legal status and the state of origin are essential in discriminating between those who can and others who cannot cross a border, those who can have free access to the labour market and others who need a work permit, or have no other option but to remain undocumented. Therefore, state policies remain important for the formation of migrants' transnational circuits, but migrants' own networking and market forces also regulate and shape their practices. States cannot eradicate transnational migration phenomena, but they can make coming and going unattractive by raising taxes and

increasing transport prices. They can make it more or less difficult by tightening or loosening their visa regimes or access to citizenship, or by imposing a restrictive definition of a family (excluding children above certain age or accepting only biological, nuclear family) or by extending waiting periods for family reunification or residency.

Social knowledge about border-crossing is unevenly distributed, and reliance on “gatekeepers” and migration brokers, either among the previously established personal networks or among professional smugglers or traffickers, becomes unavoidable for many border crossers, especially as border-management regimes tighten up.

Therefore, transnational relations between different social places in different countries are often initiated, shaped and sustained by those in possession of a legal and stable status. Shifting boundaries of group membership and identity markers of belonging, rendering them negotiable according to a situation, may facilitate trans-border objectives and functioning.

The modification of borders (as with the German reunification in 1990 or with each EU enlargement) has both unified and fractured the spaces of regional cooperation in South, East and Central Europe and the Balkans, encouraging the practice of ethnic preference, whereby those who can claim a common origin with their target EU country obtain preferential treatment. Considered as “repatriation” or “return to the homeland”, the migration of ethnic Germans to Germany was strongly supported by the FRG during the Cold War: from 1950 to 1990 the FRG received close to 2.5 million ethnic Germans, more than half of them originating from Poland. So when Poland liberalized its passport legislation in 1988, more than one million German Poles already residing in the FRG constituted an important base for the newcomers. As settled residents with a stable status and often as German citizens, they served as intermediaries between the newcomers and German society as employers, landlords and interpreters. Dual citizenship opened up opportunities on both sides of the border for their businesses: for instance, as Germans they had access to the EU enterprise creation schemes for the unemployed, and as Poles they could rely on production facilities and cheap labour thanks to their Polish networks across the border in Poland.

Germans from Transylvania (Saxons) who left Romania permanently before 1989 (which under the Ceausescu regime was the only option) initiated circulation from Germany to Rumania in the 1990s, but also created opportunities for non-ethnic German Romanian migrants seeking work. Bénédicte Michalon (2003) demonstrates how the Saxons, mobilizing ethnicity and relying on pre-existing networks engaged in migration conceptualized as a “permanent return to the home

country”, actually produced diverse migration dynamics, including circulation. Their networking structures expanded to incorporate non-Saxon Romanians for the purpose of work in Germany or elsewhere in the Schengen area. Many Romanian Gypsies also migrated in this way, first heading to Germany before moving on to other European countries, developing cross-border networks and knowledge of institutions (Reyniers, 1996).

In contrast, in a situation where restrictions to mobility persisted after 1990 as in the case of Albanians heading to Greece, the border and the activities related to border-crossing became a resource that only certain groups of people could use (De Rapper, Sintès, 2006). In a situation where doors selectively open, when speaking Greek and being Christian orthodox increases migration opportunities, ethnic markers and religious belonging become a matter of negotiation. People find various means to claim Greek ancestry and religion, such as changing names, adding a second, Christian name to the Muslim one or marrying a Greek as some women did enabling the rest of their Albanian family to move into the border region.

Migratory capital: gendered ‘settling in mobility’

Mobility has a specific significance for women. In many societies obstacles and restrictions to women's mobility still persist. Historically they have been associated with immobility and passivity, for a long time invisible or regarded as dependents rather than migrants in their own right, their migration tied to that of men. And yet the capacity to be mobile is sometimes more easily available to women than to men because of specific demand (especially in the domestic and care sectors). They may become primo-migrants, pioneering migration chains.

Women are therefore exposed to contradictory pressures, relating to their role as breadwinners (requiring emigration and absence) and as family carers (habitually implying a physical presence near those they care for). They are typically blamed for the social costs of migration and disruption of a gender order, and can be targets of moral stigmatization (Ogaya, 2004; Keough, 2006; Morokvasic, 2007)

While for both men and women the crossing of borders can lead to more autonomy and the challenging of established gender norms and intergenerational hierarchies, it can also lead to new dependencies and reinforce existing gender boundaries and hierarchies.

In the following examples of cross border mobility in three different occupations, it will be shown how gender norms are challenged, apparently preserved, but also renegotiated.

Incessant mobility can last over a long period of migrants' lives. Rather than trying to immigrate and settle in the target country, some tend to settle in mobility, staying mobile as long as they can in order to improve or maintain the quality of life at home (Cyrus, 2008; Morokvasic, 1999; Potot, 2005). Migration thus becomes their lifestyle, a 'career'. Paradoxically, their leaving home and going away becomes a strategy for staying at home and an alternative to emigration.

Their resource is their "know-how-to-move" (Tarrus, 1992) and their capacity to stay mobile (Irek, 1998; Morokvasic, 2004). It is an important dimension of their social capital (Bourdieu, Wacquant, 1992) if and when they can mobilize it. Access to a stable status (residence, citizenship, regularisation) can be just one aspect of it, rather than a search for permanent settlement (Razy, Baby-Collin, 2011). It provides for easier mobility including other members of the network: for example, Zahra's regularisation in France through marriage creates a further link to her home country enabling her to travel and to bring over her sister (Tarrus et al., 2013, 169).

The people on the move from Central and Eastern Europe capitalize either on their own previous experience of shuttle migration in the socialist period when they acquired a know-how-to-travel, a migratory capital (Irek, 1998; Morawska, 2003), or they join the existing networks, learn from and rapidly emulate the experience of others (Michalon, 2003). Polish "guest workers" in the German Democratic Republic and Russian military personnel were among the precursors in "suitcase trading" because they could move during a period when others could not.

Commuting to improve the level of living at home belongs to a way of life among families in an agricultural region in Romania. One or more members leave at regular intervals for Andalusia, Spain, where there is a demand for cheap, flexible, Eastern European labourers, welcomed by the local employers as adaptable, undemanding, and non-visible (Potot, 2005). Like Poles, Romanians acquired a certain kind of a mobility know-how participating in various labour export schemes concluded under the Ceausescu regime with the FRG, Libya, Egypt and Iraq.

During their itineraries, migrants rely on transnational networks of "friends" built on the common experiences and interests of those who have worked in the target country, who travel the same distances, invest in the same spaces and deal with the same intermediaries (travel agents, guides, recruiters, lodgers, train attendants, border guards, customs officers, shop owners). The strength of these ties lies in their functionality and the effectiveness of the activities that migrants engage in rather than in a community-related frame (Morokvasic, 1999; Peraldi, 2001). They are instrumental acquaintanceships based on trust and reciprocity rather than on kin, connecting members of different groups beyond ethnicity boundaries into networks of information and assistance.

'Self-managed' rotation in domestic sector and care

First I worked three years in order to be able to finish building our house. Now, I have been working for three further years to maintain that house, because the heating and the rest are enormously costly and my husband is unemployed. One could never pay that without my Belgian salary. That is my life: six years of cleaning jobs in exchange for a beautiful house in which I live only for one or two months a year. (Polish migrant, Brussels–Podlasie, Kuzma, 2012).

This is an example of people for whom incessant mobility is their career over a long period of their lives. The issues of integration, segmented assimilation or return do not capture their experience and projects: they do not 'integrate' in a specific national context and return has no significance for those who think of themselves as having never left.

Polish women I observed in Germany and Poland create a transnational migratory space in which they try to optimise the opportunities and minimise the obstacles relative to their reproductive and productive work. They set up a system of rotation so that they can go home at regular intervals, while their female substitutes take up their cleaning or other jobs in Germany during that time. They are usually a group of four to five women sharing both employers and housing (thus reducing the cost incurred by double residence). The regularity of their commuting seems to be determined by their care for the family remaining in Poland.

As for their own families, they rely on a network of family members or paid caregivers (Cyrus, 2008; Kuzma, 2012). They improvise new caring arrangements different from the typical joint, simultaneous arrangements functioning on a daily basis, closely bound spatially and temporarily, which are constructed as a norm and which transnational mothers and carers contribute to maintain in the households of their employers (Morokvasic, 2004). In the case of the men who work mainly in construction or in agriculture, commuting takes place at less regular intervals and is determined by the seasonal nature of their jobs.

In addition to enabling women to have a transnational, double presence that combines their caring lives "here" and "there", the rotation system yields other opportunities for agency. Firstly, women avoid being trapped in an institutionalized form of dependency on a single employer (Morokvasic, 1999; Hess, 2005). Secondly, the constant mobility enables women to avoid the drawbacks of illegal status, or to avoid being illegal altogether as long as their sojourn takes place within the three-month visa-free period for tourists. Thirdly, in a sector where upward mobility is

almost impossible and where most of the Central and Eastern European women are de-classed and de-skilled, some of them draw on their accumulated social knowledge and their experience in a rotation system and eventually develop into a small migration-management business as brokers: the contact addresses and job offers are marketable because without an address, a telephone and a “recommendation” of a trustworthy person, it is impossible for a newcomer to get a job (Kuzma, 2012).

The leading “broker” may be a German-Polish connection – a woman who has a stable status as a German citizen or as a long-term resident (Münst, 2008). She starts using her own rotation group, her established local connections, and builds up a new network.

Gender order seems resistant to change in migration, even in situations of apparent reversal, when women become main breadwinners. While circulatory migration brings to both men and women more autonomy and opportunities in using the acquired social capital within a broader migratory space, back in the home country the gender order reasserts itself and women have fewer opportunities to make use of their success, confronted with moral stigmatization (Potot, 2005).

Whereas the presence of migrant women in personal services contributes to increasing equal opportunities in the labour market between local middle class women and men, it enhances inequalities among women and in the same time the gender division of labour in the household remains unquestioned (Oso, 2003; Lutz, 2008). Especially when employment is considered as a “family obligation” for women, it is not likely to bring about changes in male–female relationships (Kalwa, 2008).

Mobile entrepreneurs: a comparison

Trading is another occupation of the people on the move. Among Eastern Europeans it involves mixed groups: gender and intergenerational role attribution during trips provide a family-like profile to the group, an inconspicuous one because it appears more private than professional. Trading further relies on unquestioned gender relationships and hierarchies which assign to women and men different positions and related expectations. Men act as group leaders and protectors, while women are assigned the task of negotiators. They are in charge of the transport of more sensitive goods and may be expected to make use of their charms to attract customers or deal with customs officers (Irek, 1998; Karamustafa, 2001; Peraldi, 2001).

The circulation in the Euro-Mediterranean region involves other groups of people beside Eastern Europeans, mostly from North Africa. Increasingly feminised, present-day flows from that region do not correspond any more to former male-dominated

patterns where women stay behind or later follow as part of a family reunion process. With the exception of female traders from West Africa, female traders are a rather new development in North Africa. Now in the majority, they have not only invaded an originally completely male sphere, but they also go out into a public space to do the trading. Gaining autonomy for themselves and the social promotion of their family are the main incentives of such moves (Peraldi, 2001). Besides the changing patterns of migration and trading, the feminisation of the cross-border trading circuits also reflects the power that the newly performed mobility confers to women in societies which traditionally limited their mobility.

Being a woman becomes an advantage: crossing borders, confronting obstacles (visas, customs officers) can be easier for women. Feminine attributes and dress are (like with women from the Eastern Europe) used as a tactic to cross borders and to smuggle some articles. North African women, for example, instrumentalise the veil which, as the 'instrument of the weak' confers a feeling of security enabling women to cross the boundaries into public space (Schmoll, 2005).

Their "know-how to circulate" differs between the rotation of Polish domestic workers and traders. The Polish function as a group, but travel individually and substitute each other at weekly or monthly intervals. The North Africans travel in groups: by having a socializing function for the newcomers as a social control, the group minimizes the risk of transgression of the gender code implied in geographic mobility.

Women in the world of men often have a male "protector": whereas among the Eastern Europeans the male protector regulates and manages the services – including sexual services – which some women of the group would provide as a part of trade negotiations (Irek, 1998), the protector of Tunisian women observes that their moral code is preserved and that they are not sexually assaulted (Schmoll, 2005).

Sex work and entertainment

Sex workers are primarily economic migrants, they tend to consider their work as a transitory gate opener to the EU labour markets, as swiftly remunerative activity, practiced because of the lack of alternatives or as an extension to other activities.

Sex work often implies mobility and circulation, either required by the work, by entry regulations or by family and other commitments at home (Thiévent, 2010). Post-communist trading trips also involved occasional prostitution. Housewives, badly paid civil servants, school-girls and students resorted to it in order to increase their own travel gains or the likelihood of a successful trade transaction. Some women travelled

across the border exclusively as weekend prostitutes, which enabled them to keep their jobs at home and double or triple their salaries in just one trip (Morawska, 2003). Engaging in prostitution is considered as a quick way to make ends meet for single mothers without job or to get a starting capital for a project at home (Karamustafa, 2001), whether under pressure from or in agreement with the family.

Our trans-European study of migrant women in the labour market shows that women also move into or reenter prostitution from other low paid and undesirable jobs, performed in degrading and humiliating conditions for low pay, like domestic work or agriculture. Carmen, from Columbia, earns well and can afford to shuttle between Germany, where she works for periods of two months, and Spain, where she is meanwhile a citizen, and where she spends time with her family. Masza and Viola commute between Krakow and their home towns in Ukraine, whereas Lilia, also a Ukrainian, worked as a dancer in the Middle East and Italy before coming to Slovenia (Catarino, Morokvasic-Müller, 2013).

Sex workers, who remain independent and in control of their mobility, use the accumulated capital to improve their condition by setting up businesses at home.

Others are obliged to rely on a protector or a smuggler in order to cross borders (Lazaroiou, Ulrich, 2003). The risk is being trapped in the circuit of forced sexual nomadism, being rotated by pimps from one European city to another within a system in which gender power hierarchies are exacerbated. Women are usually aware of the limits of promises of a “decent and well-paid work”, but are also aware that this is their only way into the European labour market.

Concluding remarks

Resistance to the nation state-based logic of exclusion and segregation

In this presentation the focus has been on those who can build on their spatial mobility and know-how and successfully use the opportunity structures made available to them in the process of changing border management regimes. Mobility as a strategy can be empowering, a resource, a tool for social innovation and agency, if it is under the migrants' own control. Women and men rely on spatial mobility as a resource to mitigate risks by transnationalizing them. Individual strategies can become a collective resource, social knowledge about border crossing being shared by the members of the network, beyond its ethnic boundaries (as in the case of Saxons or numerous mobility managers during the trading trips). When the Greek state closes the borders,

the reinforced ethnic heterogeneity becomes a resource, a useful migratory capital for some of the potential border crossers or their clients on the Albanian side.

Migrants are acting in the context of globalization which tends to eliminate barriers to the circulation of capital and goods while selectively maintaining or even erecting new barriers to the circulation of people. They are not abolishing borders, but trying to circumvent them and even use them as a resource. They contribute to “democratizing borders” as Etienne Balibar (2003, 170) would call such resistance to the state logic of exclusion and segregation.

Gender orders unbound?

Women from Eastern Europe innovate transnationally in the organization of their work and private life: the rotation system enables them a transnational dual presence that combines life here and there. In the domestic and caretaking sectors, where women are predominant and where upward mobility is practically impossible, they also find niches for business creation.

Being a woman may sometimes be advantageous when engaging in migration. Tunisian women go out into the public space and enter a previously male-dominated sector (Schmoll, 2005). By acquiring material prosperity, women also become empowered to abandon unsatisfactory relationships at home or to impose more tolerant and egalitarian relationships with their partners. Those with families often mention that they find themselves able to renegotiate the division of labour in the household. They feel they have more respect and authority in decision making (Irek, 1998).

In a stigmatized activity as sex work, leading a transnational life, relying on mobility and crossing borders in order to maintain a balance between home and the workspace, is one of the ways of gaining autonomy, resisting exclusion and illegality and coming to terms with the stigma. Commuting between Ukraine-home and Poland-work or Spain-home and Germany-work enables women to keep their two lives separate making sure that their earnings as sex workers in the country of work contribute to their respectable social position as breadwinners in their families and in their home milieu (Catarino, Morokvasic-Müller, 2013).

And yet, the deep-rooted gender order is not, at least not openly challenged. Gender norms and expectations often remain unquestioned in migration, even in situations of apparent reversal, when women become main breadwinners. The cultural ideals about men as economic providers often prevail, shaping both behaviours and outcomes.

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Mirjana Morokvasic

Transnacionalna mobilnost in spol

Ključne besede: transnacionalne migracije in mobilnost, Evropa, spol

Prispevek osvetljuje izkušnje migrantov kot socialnih inovatorjev, ki izumijo različne načine transnacionalnega življenja, izkoristijo meje in mobilnost kot vire za izboljšanje svojih socialnih, političnih in ekonomskih pogojev življenja ter tako od spodaj navzgor prispevajo k integrativnim procesom po vsej Evropi. Avtorica se prek empiričnih primerov iz lastnega raziskovalnega dela in primerov iz študij drugih osredotoči na mobilnost, pri kateri migranti premikajo meje različnih zamejevanj pripadanja, ne upoštevajo nacionalnih meja, kršijo spolne norme in brišejo meje poklicev.

Elaine Burroughs, Zoë O'Reilly

Discursive Representations of Asylum Seekers and Illegal Immigrants in Ireland

Keywords: Ireland, non-EU migration, asylum, illegal immigration, representation, categories, labels, terminology

1 Introduction

Migrants are often referred to as an all encompassing group of people and the “many faces of migration”, the variety of people, legalities and complexities involved, can be overlooked. The same can be said for non-EU migrants in the Irish context. Non-EU migrants (or those that are not Caucasian) are generally viewed to be a distinct cohort of comparable migrants. Indeed, these migrants are often portrayed in a broadly negative way by key Irish institutions (such as the parliament or the media), and these representations impact upon how Irish society views non-EU migration and indeed migration in general. While Ireland is by no means the only European country in which this type of practice occurs, this paper aims to draw attention to generalized, inaccurate and misleading representations of non-EU migrants in Ireland, by specifically examining representations of asylum seekers and illegal immigrants. There can be an overlap in how these “types” of migrants are conceptualized and this paper therefore aims to develop an understanding of the implications involved for migrants categorized as an “asylum seeker” or an “illegal immigrant.”¹ Furthermore, these topics are under-researched within the Irish context, yet they receive much political and public attention. At the same time however, this paper aims to challenge the labels assigned to non-EU migrants and the terminology that is used to define their identity so concretely. In the Irish

1 The term “illegal immigration” is employed throughout this paper. We are aware of the political connotations associated with this phrase and the preferences of others to use less negative terminology – a stance which we broadly agree with. However, it is important to utilize the term “illegal immigration” in this case, as the phrase “illegal immigration” is used frequently by the Irish Government, state agencies, and the Irish newsprint media to describe immigrants who are residing without permission in Ireland, while the term “undocumented” is mainly utilized to describe Irish citizens who are illegally resident/employed in the US. This paper examines discourses that surround immigrants who are deemed to be illegal, thus, it is important to engage with the term that key institutions use to define them. The alternative, posed by NGOs and academics, to employ a more politically correct term, would be distancing this research from that which is under analysis: the portrayal of non-EU migrants in institutional discourses and the examination of how such representations are linked to identity construction and power formations.

context there is much confusion in relation to the multiple “faces” of non-EU migration, as a range of terminology is used to refer to them. This terminology is often used in an interchangeable manner, in an array of societal contexts. There is a consistent (whether this happens intentionally or unintentionally is debatable) misuse of categories and migration terminology in Irish institutional discourses. Quite often those seeking asylum are referred to as illegal immigrants and vice versa. Paradoxically, to an Irish audience it is very clear who the “undocumented Irish” in the US are, as these Irish emigrants, who are residing and/or employed illegally/without documentation in the US, have gained and still gain huge public and government support, both politically and financially. The paper draws attention to the confusion that exists around the different statuses of non-EU migrants, focusing in particular on the categories of “asylum seeker” and “illegal immigrant”, and explores the differing practices of labelling of non-EU migrants in Ireland. It will be argued throughout this paper that the categorizing and labelling of migrants is an implicitly political act of exclusion.

2 Non-EU Migration in Europe and Ireland

Over the last three decades, asylum and various forms of what is defined as illegal migration have become key policy and political issues in the European context. The practice of restricting unwanted “economic” migrants from Europe has developed into a legitimate practice and is broadly accepted both at a political level and by the general public. Indeed, since the 1990s there has been a broader movement towards “Fortress Europe” with security organizations, such as Frontex, guarding peripheral areas of the EU against unwanted immigration. In recent years those trying to seek asylum have been curtailed through more restrictive policies and narrower interpretations of the 1951 Geneva Convention. Recent migration policies of European States aiming to combat illegal immigration and those “abusing” the asylum system have led to the blurring of the boundaries between refugee protection and immigration control. The increasing relationship at EU level between security, immigration and integration (Maguire, 2010; Maguire et al., 2010) and protection has led to practices that would once have been considered exceptional (for use during times of extreme crisis) becoming the norm – namely detention, incarceration, and deportation (see Bloch et al., 2005; Schuster, 2004; Tyler, 2006). This increasing shift towards the normalization of such practices has led to the further exclusion of migrants from Europe. Alongside these various institutional methods of prevention and expulsion, other additional mechanisms of exclusion exist in Europe, such as discrimination, racism, inequality (Lentin, 2003; Schuster, 2003), and the increased fragmentation (Zetter, 1991, 2007) of labels and categories. Within Europe there is

a rising disregard for the basic human rights of non-EU migrants in the name of security and immigration control.

Placed within this broader European context and a developing framework of migration control, the Irish State began to receive significant numbers of immigrants in the 1990s. This increase in immigration to Ireland can partly be attributed to rapid economic growth and a demand for labour, liberal immigration policies at that time, and the general integration of Ireland into the EU's migration system (Samers, 2010, 22-25). Prior to this time period, the country was largely ethnically homogenous (Quinn et al., 2005, viii) and non-EU immigration was quite rare, aside from some professionals in the multinational sector. Apart from the very modest inward migration of a number of "programme refugees" (planned and agreed to by the Government), substantial immigration from countries outside of the English speaking world is very recent to Ireland. Returning Irish migrants accounted for a considerable proportion of those immigrating to Ireland in recent years. Other immigrants also came to Ireland, including those from both EU and non-EU countries, who were permitted access to the State through short-term work permits, student visas, and asylum applications (Mac Éinri et al., 2008, 153-154). In the early 1990s, the number of people claiming asylum was quite low (39 in 1992). This figure grew to over 7,000 in 1999 and over 11,000 in 2002 (RIA, 2011, 2). The level slowly declined thereafter, due in part to restrictive measures at both Government and EU level, for example, a list of "safe" countries of origin and the policy of Carriers' Liability.² Prior to 2004, all non-EU citizens required a work permit to be employed in Ireland. With the accession to the EU by ten new Member States in 2004, the work permit scheme altered when Ireland (along with the UK and Sweden) permitted citizens of the new Member States access to the labour market (Mac Éinri et al., 2008, 154). This amendment contributed to accelerated EU immigration to Ireland (Ruhs, 2009). Following from this, Ireland moved away from its more liberal work permit system for non-EU workers and enforced stricter policies, resulting in the permitting of mainly highly skilled workers only. The country met its low skilled labour needs with migrants from within the enlarged EU area (Mac Éinri et al., 2008, 154; Ruhs, 2009). Currently in Ireland, EU migrants can reside and be employed with virtually no restrictions. Non-EU migrants, on the other hand, consist of wealthy, highly educated and/or skilled individuals in employment (e.g. doctors), students, refugees, those granted Leave to Remain, asylum seekers, or illegal immigrants. The paper will now proceed by discussing the situation of asylum seekers and illegal immigrants in Ireland in more detail.

2 As part of EU policies to tackle the number of migrants entering Europe, "carrier sanctions" are carried out against transport companies who allow "improperly documented aliens" to reach Europe (UNHCR, 2000).

2.1 Seeking Asylum in Ireland

As referred to previously, migrants seeking protection, or asylum, have only very recently arrived in Ireland in significant numbers. Those that are permitted to seek protection through the Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner (ORAC), are placed within the “direct provision” system where they reside in a reception centre and are provided with full board, accommodation, and a minimal allowance (€19.10 per week per adult and €9.60 per child). These centres consist of a variety of types of accommodation, including former hotels, nursing homes, army barracks, and holiday villages. This system was initially established in 2000 as an emergency measure in order to deal with the rising number of asylum applications. Previous to this, asylum seekers could access the mainstream social welfare system (Breen, 2008). The establishment of the “direct provision” system was accompanied by a dispersal policy, whereby centres were located in different areas of the country, in line with similar programmes in the UK (Conlon, 2010, 101).

In conjunction with the number of asylum applications decreasing significantly since its peak in 2002, the number of those granted refugee status has also declined considerably, falling from almost 10% in 2007 to below 1.5% in 2010 (IRC, 2011, 2). These figures are significantly below the average EU rate of 27% (Smyth, 2011b). According to Eurostat, the Irish Government rejected nearly 99% of asylum claims at first instance in the third quarter of 2010 (Smyth, 2011a). These numbers reflect the “culture of disbelief” (IRC, 2011, 3) that is inherent within the Irish asylum system. The direct provision system was originally designed to accommodate people for up to six months while they awaited a decision on their claims. However, the system is marked by long delays, with people residing in direct provision centres for many years awaiting a decision, causing misery to people and incurring a huge and unnecessary expense on the State. In February 2013, there were 4,826 people living in thirty five direct provision centres across the country. Over half (59.4%) of these people had been living within the system for over three years and 9% for over seven years (RIA, 2013, 19). According to the Irish Refugee Council (2011), one of the main reasons for the delays in the Irish system is the lack of a single protection procedure. Those denied asylum in Ireland (the majority of applicants) have a number of narrow options. Firstly, they can appeal to the Refugee Appeals Tribunal. If the result of this application is negative, they may submit to a deportation order. Alternatively, they may apply for Subsidiary Protection and/or Leave to Remain on humanitarian grounds. The final alternative for those denied asylum in Ireland is to remain illegally without documentation.

2.2 Illegal Immigration in Ireland

In contrast to the relatively detailed information that is known about those seeking asylum in Ireland, there is very little known about illegal immigrants. There are no official or accurate figures on the quantity, the countries of origin, the average age, gender, family status or location of people residing illegally in Ireland (Quinn et al., 2005, ix-9). The State does not maintain a register of resident non-EU migrants. Those that stay in the country for less than 90 days (e.g. on a tourist visa) are not required to register with the State, there are no exit checks at the borders, and some of those assigned a deportation order may leave of their own accord. Therefore, it is not known how many migrants have overstayed their permission to be in the State or how many have left voluntarily. Nonetheless, some varying estimates have been made. Quinn et al. (2012, ix-55), for example, approximate a figure of 4,325 for 2010, while the Migrant Rights Centre of Ireland published a significantly higher figure of 30,000 for the same year (Quinn et al., 2012, 4). One method of estimating the number of people attempting to enter the State illegally is to identify those refused permission to enter the State. This data shows that over 42,000 people were refused permission to enter between 2002 and 2009. Of these migrants over 5,000 subsequently applied for asylum (Shatter, 2012), which in itself is an indication of the limited "legal" options non-EU migrants have to enter the State. These figures point out, to some extent, the level of immigrants trying to enter the country, but this does not reflect exactly how many immigrants entered the country through legal methods and subsequently became undocumented or illegal (Coghlan, 2007, 13). This data also reveals the overlaps that exist between illegal immigration and asylum and how people can move between legally defined categories.

There is much debate about whether the majority of illegal immigrants entered the State illegally or became undocumented over time. Given Ireland's peripheral geographic location, the number of people entering the country through illegal methods is likely to be low. When illegal entry does occur, however, it most likely takes place either through the ports or through the land border with Northern Ireland, which is easily accessed due to the Common Travel Area agreement between Ireland and the UK (Quinn et al., 2005, 10-11; Ruhs, 2005, 22-23). In recent years, members of government have argued that most illegal immigrants entered the country by travelling through the border with Northern Ireland (Ahern, 2009, 693; McDowell, 2006, 613). In contrast, the majority of civil society groups hold the view that most illegal immigrants initially enter the State legally and become illegal over time (Coghlan, 2007; Ruhs, 2005, 2009). A recent study by Quinn et al. (2012, xi) reveals that the Garda National Immigration Bureau found that the majority of illegal immigrants overstayed their

permission to visit or reside in the State. This evidence indicates that the immigration system is so inflexible and difficult to navigate that it can lead to permissions expiring and to people becoming illegal (Crosscare Migrant Project, 2009, 6-7). It is important to make this distinction, as it shifts negative attention away from non-EU migrants and highlights the inadequacies of the Irish immigration system. Indeed, the lack of legal migration channels for non-EU migrants and/or regularizations (although a time-limited “Bridging Visa” regularization scheme was granted in 2009) leaves illegal migrants with some narrow options. They can apply for asylum or Leave to Remain. However, as previously mentioned, the number of applicants granted either of these statuses is very low and if an application is unsuccessful the person will be assigned a deportation order. Alternatively, these migrants can either leave the State of their own accord or they can remain illegally (Quinn et al., 2012, xii-xiii).

3 Discursive Representations of Non-EU Migrants

Thus far we have examined the current situation of asylum seekers and illegal immigrants in Ireland, focusing on the specifics of these legally defined categories, but also identifying the multiple overlaps that exist between these statuses. Our attention now turns to discursive representations of these migrants. This discussion is also inclusive of references to all non-EU migrants, due to the substantial overlap in the usage of migration terminology. Discursive representations of non-EU migrants are constructed through two aspects: firstly, through legally defined categories/legal language (e.g. “asylum seeker”); and secondly, through associated terminology/phrasings (e.g. “bogus asylum seeker”). Both the legal categories and the associated terminology are loaded with implicitly negative connotations. Examining the legal categories firstly, the term “asylum seeker” identifies people as “not-refugees”. It indicates that they are yet to be proven to be legitimate and implies that they are bogus and illegal (Tyler, 2006, 190). The category “illegal immigrant” is more explicit in its message, definitively representing migrants as unwelcome, unsanctioned, and associating them with deception, danger, and criminality. The categorizing of migrants leads to the perpetuation of stereotypes, which serves bureaucratic and political ends by aiding in the process of exclusionary procedures. Categorization ignores the complexities of peoples' lives, experiences, and identities. The label “asylum seeker” or “illegal immigrant” creates an illusion of a homogenous identity, where a certain “type” of migrant with a particular experience “fits” into that category of migrant. These categories are employed as a method of smoothing over complexities and clearly identifying the “other”, both discursively and legally (Mountz, 2011, 256; Rotas, 2004, 52). These legal categories are moulded and amended into a range of terms which have highly negative connotations and no legal basis, such as “failed asylum seeker”,

“bogus asylum seeker”, “economic refugee”, “economic migrant”, “irregular migrant”, and “non-national”.

All of this language (in terms of both categories and terminology) materializes in multiple forms depending on the context (e.g. place, time, or political agenda). In addition, there is much confusion in the use of this language; it is employed interchangeably, inaccurately, and inappropriately in various societal contexts. The most notable instance of this in the Irish context is the practice of referring to asylum seekers as illegal immigrants and vice versa. This takes place regularly in the Irish Parliament and newsprint media. Two brief examples vividly illustrate this practice. The first example is taken from the Irish Parliament:

Major economies can be attained by ensuring that illegal immigrants are dealt with speedily...They must be deported with the minimum of delay to the country from which they last travelled to this State. To underline the urgent need for this course of action, we must bear in mind that senior Gardaí [police officers] and government officials are reported as believing that the vast majority of claims for asylum are bogus. (O'Flynn, 2003, 565)

Asylum seekers are represented here as “bogus” and as “illegal immigrants”. The second quotation (below) relays the Irish Government's firm approach towards illegal immigration through one of the country's leading newspapers, *The Irish Times*. Once again the topics of asylum and illegal immigration are referred to in tandem. Additionally, asylum seekers are referred to as “failed”, implying that they have not passed some type of immigration test:

The programme for Government makes it clear that the new Cabinet will take a tough line on illegal immigration and seek to increase the rate of repatriation where asylum applications have failed...The Coalition Government is anxious to devise a voluntary repatriation programme for illegal immigrants. (*The Irish Times*, 2002, 15)

A further aspect that is notable from Irish institutional discourses is the manner in which illegal immigration and/or asylum are discussed in conjunction with other (at times unrelated) topics. Indeed, on one particular occasion in the Irish Parliament, illegal immigration was referred to in the context of human trafficking (Naughten, 2009, 694) and in *The Irish Times* illegal immigration was mentioned in an article that concentrated upon prostitution (O'Regan, 2009, 8). This practice adds to the confusion around migration issues, fosters uncertainty, and creates a general haze around migrant identities.

While we recognise that not all discourses from the Irish Parliament and newsprint media are negative about non-EU migration (indeed some representations are quite

positive), the above examples highlight that skewed and inaccurate representations occur in these key institutions. Indeed, these institutions have often served as vessels of exclusion by portraying immigrants in general, and particularly non-EU immigrants, in a variety of negative ways. It is argued here that the consistent use of categories and terminology has become so normalized, naturalized and taken for granted (Zetter, 1991, 45) that a steady negative attitude towards non-EU migrants in Ireland has been maintained over time. The consistent use and misuse of these terms form general stereotypes, representing migrants as cheats, liars, criminals, and spongers (Schuster, 2003, 244). Indeed, classifications and labels are often used as a method of dehumanising people. Lentin (2003, 305) refers to the use of language in this way as a form of “psychological distancing”, employing certain discourses/terms to represent non-EU migrants negatively, which can lead to practices of “legitimate” exclusion. These discourses can influence both public and political attitudes towards migrants, and, more importantly, migration policies. The labelling of migrants functions to decrease their chances of protection, rights, or regularization (Duvell, 2008, 484). Certainly, one can argue that the increasing exclusion of non-EU migrants in Ireland through policy and legislation has developed side by side with a variety of negative, stereotyped representations and “common-sense” (Schuster, 2003) understandings of migration control. An example of this is the removal of asylum seekers from the mainstream Irish welfare system. It has become natural for asylum seekers to have lesser welfare and education rights and to be excluded from policies aimed at addressing poverty and disadvantage (Fanning, 2007, 11). Similarly, it is “legitimized” through Irish legislation that illegal immigrants are not entitled to any rights of employment, accommodation, education, or welfare. Ultimately, the labelling and classification of migrants is a political act, which is often a means of justifying their exclusion.

4 Conclusion

This paper has examined recent non-EU migration to Ireland, drawing particular attention to the categories of “asylum seeker” and “illegal immigrant”, and placing the current situation in Ireland into the context of recent restrictive policies in Europe. Following this, the paper explored the various categories and terms used to refer to non-EU migrants in the Irish context, offering some examples from the Irish Parliament and newsprint media. It is argued here that the perpetuation of negative representations of non-EU migrants through categorization and labelling is a political act. The use of language in this way fosters negative attitudes towards non-EU migrants and allows for processes of exclusion from the State and from mainstream society to be justified. Repeated negative discourses and the labelling and mislabelling of migrants can influence policies and attitudes towards immigrants.

This process allows for the erosion of migrant rights over time to seem like a “natural” process. In addition to this, these practices homogenise migrant identities, reproduce stereotypes, and overlook complexities and overlaps between categories. Awareness of the use of language in relation to migration, and the political implications of how this terminology is misused in Irish society is extremely important. As researchers, we have a responsibility to draw attention to, and to challenge, the manner in which these classifications, labels and terms are employed. By highlighting these issues in the Irish context, we hope to bring awareness to the constructed nature of discursive representations and the ways in which language can influence policy, attitudes, and most importantly, individual lives.

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Elaine Burroughs, Zoë O'Reilly

Diskurzivno predstavljanje prosilcev za azil in nezakonitih priseljencev na Irskem

Ključne besede: Irska, migracije izven EU, azil, nezakonito priseljivanje, reprezentacija, kategorije, oznake, terminologija

V irski družbi obstaja negativen odnos do migrantov, zlasti tistih, ki niso iz Evropske unije. Negativno prikazovanje (ki diskurzivno izhaja tako iz političnih kot medijskih virov) je še posebej značilno za tiste, ki iščejo azil, ter za tiste, ki so opredeljeni kot nezakoniti priseljenci. Namen tega prispevka je osvetliti ta »tipa« migrantov, saj sta deležna manj znanstvene pozornosti kot druge kategorije migrantov, obenem pa jima je namenjena pomembna pozornost politike in javnosti. Prispevek se posebej osredotoča na kategorizacijo in označevanje priseljencev izven EU ter na terminologijo, ki se v ta namen uporablja. Avtorici razpravljata o tem, da nejasna uporaba ali zloraba oznak in z migracijami povezane terminologije prispeva k razvoju negativnih reprezentacij nekaterih vrst migrantov. Takšna raba jezika je impliciten politični način izključevanja. Medtem ko je sprejeto, da se je uporabi migracijske terminologije in praks označevanja težko izogniti, želita avtorici opozoriti na krivične tehnike negativne reprezentacije ter spodbuditi obzirnejšo in pravičnejšo uporabo migracijske terminologije.

Damir Josipovič

Psevdoprostovoljne migracije: primer sistema notranjih migracij v nekdanji Jugoslaviji

Ključne besede: teorije migracij, teorija sidrišč, notranje in mednarodne migracije, psevdoprostovoljne migracije, nekdanja Jugoslavija, Slovenija

Uvod

O teorijah migracij imamo na voljo zajetno literaturo, verjetno najboljše, če govorimo o teorijah, ki razlagajo temeljne demografske komponente, kot so nataliteta, mortaliteta in migracije. Čeprav je seznam teorij migracij nenavadno obsežen, ostajajo teorije nezmožne celostno razložiti tako kompleksen pojav, kot je človeška mobilnost (cf. Massey et al., 1993).

Teoretski migracijski korpus je že dolgo razcepljen vzdolž kartezijanskega dualizma. Lep primer za to je denimo Greenwoodova študija iz leta 1985 o notranjih migracijah v ZDA. Greenwood omenja »fundamentalne spremembe«, ki so se zgodile v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja in ki jih je pripisal novim metodološkim pristopom k analizi in modeliranju podatkov (Greenwood, 1985). Z današnje perspektive se zdijo taka razmišljanja tehnokratska, saj je, kot je opozoril že Harvey (2005, 12), svet zgrmel v globalno krizo še pred naftno krizo leta 1973, kar je povzročilo razmah neoliberalne razvojne paradigme. Prav ta je narekovala »revolucioniranje« ekonomskih postopkov. Med njimi je zlasti pomembna uvedba finančnih instrumentov, ki so uveljavljali nove in nove metodološke aplikacije na različnih področjih. Seveda je razmah te »nove ekonomije« povzročil spremembo v razmestitvi delovnih mest v ZDA, s tem pa posledično tudi nove migracijske vzorce. Ne glede na to Greenwoodovo pričakovano kratkovidnost pa je njegov članek uveljavil kartezijansko delitev na notranje in zunanje migracije. Ta oblika dualizma še vedno dominira v splošnem, posledično pa tudi v migracijskem raziskovanju (prim. Gerber, 1997).

Zavedajoč se zmotnosti tega dualizma (po Gerber, 1997), predlagamo predrugečen pogled na migracije, s pomočjo katerega bi celostno razumeli »obe vrsti migracij«, in sicer kot prepleteni in praktično nerazdružljivi. Pri tem gradimo na podatkih, zbranih

z raziskavo o jugoslovanskih notranjih migracijah (2002–2006) in njihovih učinkih v Sloveniji. Na osnovi analize uradnih jugoslovanskih (1948–1991) in slovenskih (po letu 1991) statističnih podatkov ter podatkov ankete, izvedene v obdobju 2001–2004, trdimo, da je delitev na notranje in zunanje migracije z vidika definiranja vzrokov in posledic migracij v Slovenijo irelevantna. Poleg tega zagovarjamo tezo, da je še ena od delitev migracij, in sicer na prostovoljne in prisilne, prav tako nezadostna. Zlasti v jugoslovanskem prostoru uveljavljeni raziskovalec migracij P. Klinar (1985) je denimo na primeru zdomcev oziroma začasnih delavcev v Zvezni republiki Nemčiji poleg delitve na zunanje in notranje migracije uveljavljal tudi delitev na prisilne in prostovoljne migracije. Prav njegov pomemben teoretski doprinos nam je pomenil izhodišče za idejo, da smo pričeli preverjati vidik prisilnosti migracij. Kot bomo pokazali v nadaljevanju, jugoslovanske migracije (1945–1991) obravnavamo v okviru potencialno prisilnih, polprisilnih ali »psevdoprostovoljnih migracij«. Na podlagi teoretskih in empiričnih ugotovitev smo proizvedli tudi posodobljen analitski okvir za individualno ali skupinsko analizo migracij.

Teoretski okvir migracijskih raziskovanj

Mednarodne vs. notranje migracije

V drugi polovici 20. stoletja se je pojavila serija teorij mednarodnih migracij. Na začetku devetdesetih let je skupina pod vodstvom Douglasa Masseyja, organizirana pod okriljem OZN, začela s projektom pregleda migracijskih teorij in ocene njihove vrednosti. Eden od analitskih izdelkov je bil tudi pregledni članek, v katerem Massey (1993) teorije mednarodnih migracij deli na dve skupini: a) glede na sprožilce (»initiation«) in b) glede na dolgoročnost oziroma obstojnost (»perpetuation«) migracijskih premikov. V prvo skupino je uvrstil ekonomske teorije migracij (neoklasična makro- in mikro teorija, teorija nove ekonomike, teorija dualnega trga dela) in sociološke teorije migracij, primarno izhajajoče iz Wallersteinove »world systems« teorije (Massey et al., 1993). V drugo skupino je uvrstil teorije, kot so teorija omrežij, institucionalna teorija, teorija kumulativne kavzalnosti in teorija migracijskih sistemov (ibid.). Večinoma so bile vse omenjene teorije disciplinarno zamejene in šele v zadnjem obdobju je postajalo jasno, da brez interdisciplinarnega in multidisciplinarnega pristopa ne bo mogoče oblikovati kompleksne in koherentne teorije migracij.

Poleg razcepljenosti v teoriji obstaja posledična kartezijanska razcepljenost tudi pri metodologijah zbiranja migracijskih podatkov. Te prav tako temeljijo na omenjenih delitvah, kar povzroča velike težave pri samem zbiranju podatkov in njihovi kakovosti.

Malačič (2012) na primer ugotavlja, da kljub informacijski dobi prav neprimerljivost podatkov celo v Evropi še vedno velikokrat predstavlja nepremostljivo metodološko oviro v meddržavnih primerjavah. V tesni navezavi s kakovostjo in obsegom podatkov je tudi problem nekoherentnega izvajanja popisov, saj je kar sedem evropskih držav v zadnjem popisnem obdobju prešlo na registrski tip popisa, ki še povečuje neprimerljivost podatkov med državami in onemogoča pertinentne analize (na primer Coleman, 2012). Ne glede na te težave pa celo evropski statistični urad vztraja na prej omenjenih delitvah na mednarodne in notranje migracije. Da bi preseгли te delitve, se bomo v nadaljevanju posvetili primeru migracij na območju nekdanje Jugoslavije. Na podlagi tedanjih migracijskih razmer in razmer, nastalih po razpadu te federacije, ugotavljamo, da jih nobena od teorij mednarodnih migracij ne pojasnjuje ustrezno. Še več, prav primer Slovenije po osamosvojitvi potrjuje tezo o prepletenosti notranjih in zunanjih (mednarodnih) migracij, saj migracijski vzorci še vedno ostajajo podobni (Josipovič, 2006).

Sprememba perspektive

V nadaljevanju ne bomo analizirali vseh potencialno relevantnih pristopov v teoriji mednarodnih migracij, pač pa bomo posvetili pozornost drugim teoretskim prispevkom, s pomočjo katerih lahko lažje skonstruiramo enovito shemo za analizo migracij kot takih. Ko govorimo o inkluzivnem analitskem okviru za študij migracij, ne moremo mimo pomena disciplin, kot je socialna psihologija. Eden od pionirskih socialnopsiholoških pristopov pri študiju migracij je bila študija Petra Rossija (1955), v kateri je proučeval migracijske značilnosti družin na urbanih območjih. Ta študija, ki je prvič »uporabila« družino kot objekt proučevanja, je sprožila niz pristopov, ki so jih v naslednjih desetletjih v geografiji označili kot »behavioristične« ali kot »behavioralistične« (prim. Gold, 1980). Tako je bil radikalni behaviorizem Skinnerjeve šole pospremljen z vrsto kognitivistično-behavioralnih pristopov, ki so bili poimenovani kot »behavioralizmi«. Njihov prispevek h geografskim teorijam migracij je neprecenljiv – še posebej ko gre za vprašanja okoljskih stimulov, ki sprožajo ali vplivajo na odločitve posameznika ali skupine, da pride do točke, ko migrira. Take »etiografije« lahko veliko pripomorejo k osvetljevanju tako vzrokov kot tudi posledic migracij, in sicer tako v območju odselitve kakor tudi v območju priselitve (prim. Jones, 1990, 178).

Ob geografiji in socialni psihologiji sta veliko teoretskega znanja o migracijah prispevali že omenjeni ekonomija in sociologija, pa tudi antropologija ter druge discipline. Poleg teorije človeškega kapitala so ekonomisti razvili mikro- in makroekonomsko teorijo migracij ter uveljavili številne ekonometrične in kvantitativne

metode (na primer Malačič, 2006, 173–4). Sociologi so se bolj posvečali posledicam migracij, kot so vprašanja inkluzije v novih okoljih (na primer Castles, Davidson, 2000; Westwood, Phizacklea, 2000) ali vprašanja »identitete« in »kulture« migrantov, globalizacije migracij in podobno (na primer Featherstone, 2000; Papastergiadis, 2000).

Kljub dokaj postranskemu interesu za migracijsko kavzalnost je sociološka teorija odločilno vplivala na utrditev iz geografije izhajajočih teorij verižne migracije, migracijskih omrežij in teorije migracijskega stresa (prim. Meyer, 2001; Bhaldraithe, 1999). Očaranost z globalizacijo in drugimi velikimi temami je sociologijo oddaljevala od mikrovpogleda, ki se je izkazal za eno od oporišč antropoloških pristopov (na primer Basch et al., 2000). Specifične metodologije, vpeljane v študije sorodstev in družin, so utrdile zavedanje o pomenu »mehkih« pristopov, kot so naracije, trajektorije in življenjske zgodbe v geografskih študijah migracij (Knowles, 1995; Lawson, 2000).

Zgodovinsko gledano je prelomen doprinos k študiju migracij ob koncu 19. stoletja prispeval angleški statistik Ernest George Ravenstein. Njegovih enajst »zakonov migracij« je odločilno vplivalo na nadaljnje, bolj poglobljeno ukvarjanje z migracijami. Everett Lee (1966) je tako prek preverjanja Ravensteinovih zakonov prišel do lastnega koncepta »push-pull« dejavnikov migracij. Kljub mehanistični naravnosti in teoretskim pomanjkljivostim je Leeju s tem konceptom uspelo osvetliti pomen hkratnega vpogleda v vzroke in posledice splošnih migracij, čeprav jih je obravnaval ločeno. Nekaj let zatem se je pojavila še ena geografska teorija migracij, katere avtor je bil Wilbur Zelinsky (1971). Njegova teorija migracijske tranzicije je bila bolj dopolnilo splošne teorije demografske tranzicije, v zvezi s katero je že Friedlander (1969) kritično ocenil, da ne vsebuje predpostavk migracij. Po zaslugi teorije migracijske tranzicije se je fokus proučevanja migracij preusmeril na znotrajmestne in medmestne migracije ter na cirkularno migracijo, ki je še danes eden od ključnih postulatov migracijskih politik številnih gospodarsko razvitih držav (prim. Rowland, 2003, 391).

Še ena od pogosto citiranih teorij, ki se dotika tako notranjih kot mednarodnih migracij, je Mabogunjejev (1970) sistemski pristop k študiju ruralno-urbanih migracij v državah v razvoju. Koncept predstavlja metodologijo, ki je uporabna tudi na perifernih območjih gospodarsko razvitejših držav po Evropi in svetu. Vendar zaradi izrazito funkcionalističnega pristopa ne more razložiti družbenih sprememb in socialnih konfliktov. Še več, posameznika vidi predvsem v vlogi »respondenta« na stimule iz sistema, podsistemov in okolja (Woods, 1982, 194). Ne glede na to, da so vse štiri teorije uporabne pri študiju tako notranjih kot zunanjih migracij, jim manjka splošna razlagalna moč.

Teorija »sidrišč«

Kot smo že uvodoma izpostavili, je na začetku devetdesetih let Masseyjeva skupina pod okriljem OZN objavila vpliven članek o »trenutnih teorijah mednarodnih migracij«. Članek je s svojimi vehementnimi ugotovitvami pustil globoke posledice na področju proizvodnje »velikih teorij« mednarodnih migracij, ki so poslej skorajda izginile s programa raziskovalnih ambicij raziskovalcev. Po drugi strani pa je prav ta članek prispeval, da se je leta 1995 pojavila teorija avstralskega geografa Brucea Moona, ki je s preureditvijo perspektive temeljno posegla v kasnejši razvoj migracijske teoretske produkcije.

Moon je analiziral dosedanje modele in teorije ter predvsem pristope pri študiju in razlagi migracij. Ugotovil je, da je bil vidik posameznikovega odločanja sicer postopoma povzdignjen v osrčje problema razlage migracij, ni pa bil obravnavan na pravičen način. Po njegovem mnenju so vseskozi prevladovale skrajnosti v pristopih, ki so se vsakič izkazali kot neceloviti in kot taki ne povsem primerni za razlago procesa odločanja posameznika ali skupin za migriranje. Kot odgovor na to je predstavil shemo »sidrišč«. Ta shema ni zgolj razlagalna teorija, pač pa na podlagi dosedanjih dognanj predstavlja tudi možen metodološki okvir bodočih migracijskih raziskav.

Moon ugotavlja, da so migracijske raziskave zašle v krizo. Zato predlaga nov razmislek, ki bi bolj celovito oziroma manj enostransko, na ravni »mezoanalize«, kolektivne izkušnje povezal s širšimi vzorci migracijskih tokov. Trenutna praksa v migracijskem proučevanju je namreč neustrezna zaradi podvrženosti neprožnim predpostavkam družbenega obnašanja, izpeljanih iz funkcionalistične sociologije. S tem je bila preprečena teoretična povezava med »makromigracijskimi« procesi in »mikrolokusom« migranta. Po njegovi oceni v migracijski teoriji trenutno prevladujejo trije ločeni pogledi (perspektive) na družbeno konstrukcijo: socialna, osebna in kulturna. S ciljem oblikovanja nove paradigme jih je nujno treba povezati. Raziskovanje socialnih dejavnikov sta močno zaznamovali funkcionalistična in behavioristična teorija, raziskovanje osebnih dejavnikov pa predvsem funkcionalizem. Čeprav je bil dosežen premik v smeri od »obnašanja« do »spoznanja« kot dominantnega teoretičnega okvira, kulturnim dejavnikom ni bilo posvečeno dovolj pozornosti. Kar lahko prinese nov rezultat, je po Moonu povezovanje motivacijske teorije z razvijajočim se razumevanjem kulturnih vplivov. Ti so na eni strani domena »osebnega« v migracijah in na drugi strani domena regionalnega institucionalnega okvira politično-ekonomske strukture, znotraj katerega se ljudje odločajo.

Tudi pri konceptu sidrišč nastopa klasični problem migracij, namreč kdaj neka oseba postane migrant. V skladu z definicijo migracij se koncept odreja znotrajmestni (intraurbani) mobilnosti. Shema sidrišč je načeloma zasnovana na predpostavkah o migracijah znotraj širšega kulturnega konteksta (na primer skupine držav, države ali etnične skupine), potemtakem je ustrezna tudi za proučevanje zunanjih ali mednarodnih migracij. Moon migracijo opredeli kot pomemben dogodek, ki vključuje tako posameznika – migranta – kot širšo skupnost, saj zarezé v pričakovano normo osebne in kulturne stabilnosti.

Shema sidrišč kot migracijsko raziskovalno metodo Moon naslanja na Mansfieldov (1992) model, ki ga nekoliko prilagodi potrebam »sidrišč«. Pri tem Mansfieldov koncept samega na sebi zavrača, saj v njem vidi vnaprejšnjo premo sorazmerno pogojenost praga selitvene netolerantnosti s socio-ekonomskim statusom. Moon namesto ukalupljenosti koncepta v svoj model vnaša raven optimizma, ki se lahko seli med poljubnimi socialnimi skupinami in s tem vpliva na vrednostni raztezek. Ta dinamična vertikalna shema sestoji iz treh plasti, ki so navzgor in navzdol druga proti drugi omejene. Najvišjo točko oziroma raven pomeni »stopnja idealov«, naslednja je »stopnja pričakovanj«, sledi »stopnja tolerance«, na dnu pa je »najnižji prag netolerance«. Vmesne plasti tvorijo prostore, v katerih so določene »sidriščne teme«. Te teme so odprt skupek zadev, povezanih z našim bivanjem, od katerih je odvisna naša potencialna preselitev. Višje ko so določene teme v shemi, manjša je možnost za spremembo lokacije. Seveda ti »vrednostni raztezki« variirajo od posameznika do posameznika, pač odvisno od njegovega/njenega dojemanja ideala, pričakovanj in tolerance, kar lahko označimo s horizontalnim vektorjem optimizma. Skratka, Moon ponuja drugačen, bolj fleksibilen sistem, ki števila variabel ne določa vnaprej, pač pa pušča sistem odprt, celo do te mere, da »sidriščne teme« ob poizvedbi našteje migrant sam.

Ko analiziramo koncept sidrišč, se vsiljuje povezava s tako imenovano teorijo migracijskega stresa Juliana Wolperta (1964). Ta je bil eden pionirjev aplikacije socialnopsiholoških in »obnašajskih« konceptov v geografijo. Njegova ključna ideja je bila usmerjena v iskanje »stresorjev« – dejavnikov, ki pri posamezniku povzročajo stres, ki ga postopno prisili k preselitvi (Wolpert, 1970). Wolperta je zanimala tudi »prostorska koristnost«, s pomočjo katere je poskušal definirati zadovoljstvo migranta tako z območjem odselitve kakor tudi z območjem priselitve. Wolpertovo obetavno delo ni pripeljalo do oblikovanja celovite in splošne teorije migracij, je pa njegova uvedba potencialne neracionalnosti v procesu odločanja posameznikov bistveno vplivala na nadaljnji teoretski razvoj.

O prisilnosti in selektivnosti migracijskih tokov v nekdanji Jugoslaviji

Vprašanje prisilnosti oziroma prostovoljnosti migracij je še ena nevrvalgična točka na področju študijev migracij, ki nas sili h kategorizaciji velikokrat nerazvrstljivih fenomenov. Tako je, denimo, enostavno reči, da gre pri beguncih za prisilne migrante, ne da bi poznali izkušnje vseh posameznikov iz take skupine. Tak primer smo imeli po letu 1991, ko je v Slovenijo prišel dotekati močan tok pretežno bošnjaških beguncev – okrog 70.000 se jih je nastanilo po begunskih centrih, še dodatnih 30.000 pa pri svojcih ali sorodnikih (prim. Šmid in Štrumbl, 2004). Ko pa govorimo o »prostovoljni« migraciji, postanejo takšne rokohitrške klasifikacije kaj kmalu neproduktivne, saj pogled skozi dihotomne leče zamegli bistvo: da je pravzaprav nemogoče sklepati, da kakršnakoli prostovoljna migracija sploh obstaja (prim. Wolpert, 1970). Kot smo uvodoma napovedali, se bomo znova ustavili ob pomembni temi tako imenovanih »kriznih« razmer, ki jih je v teoretiziranje migracij pri nas uvedel Klinar (1985; 1993). Prav krizne razmere so tiste, na katerih utemeljujemo tukajšnje stališče o »psevdoprostovoljnih« migracijah. Iz vseh naborov podatkov – intervjujev z migranti ter analize razmer tako na izvornih kot ciljnih območjih migracije – ni bilo vedno enostavno izluščiti okvira, znotraj katerega se je odvil posamezen migracijski cikel, pa naj gre za časovni, prostorski, teritorialni ali »krizni« vidik.

Po drugi strani je treba poudariti, da so se posamezni raziskovalci zavedali problema »prostovoljnosti« v migracijah. Še posebej znotraj demografije je bilo veliko prostora posvečenega »selektivnosti migracij«. Malačič (2000, 169) je na primeru nekdanje Jugoslavije na podlagi podatkov iz popisov iz let 1971 in 1981 pokazal na protislovje med ponudbo kadrov v povezavi s preostalimi kadri na območju izvora ter dejanskim odlivom v povezavi s potrebami na območju priliva. Po eni strani se namreč kaže, da je nekdanjo skupno državo zapuščalo predvsem mlajše, zrelo in kvalificirano prebivalstvo, ki je po poklicih sodilo v kmetijski in industrijski sektor. Po drugi strani pa je to prebivalstvo razbremenjevalo omenjene sektorje doma in s tem sproščalo delovna mesta, kar je precej v nasprotju s siceršnjimi naziranjmi, da so bile jugoslovanske notranje migracije kot posledica lokalnega in regionalnega pomanjkanja delovnih mest pretežno ekonomskega značaja.

Seveda je možno, da so se v Slovenijo selili tudi tisti, ki so prišli na podobno ali celo slabše delovno mesto, a so morda dobili višjo plačo. To bi še vedno lahko razlagali kot ekonomsko migracijo, vendar ostane popolnoma nepojasnjeno, zakaj so denimo državne oblasti »dovolile« tolikšen odliv delovne sile iz Slovenije v Nemčijo in druge države, če so hkrati pričele z masovnim zaposlovanjem delovne sile iz drugih delov SFRJ, predvsem iz Bosne in Hercegovine, v Sloveniji. Teze, da so se iz Slovenije kot

zdomci izseljevali visoko usposobljeni kadri ali vsaj bolje izobraženi od prebivalstva, ki je v Slovenijo prišlo iz drugih republik, popisni podatki iz leta 1991 ne potrjujejo (vir: popis 1991, SURS). Pri priseljenih z območja nekdanje SFRJ je bil višji tako delež višje in visoko izobraženih kot tudi delež srednješolsko izobraženih. Pri »slovenskih« zdomcih pa je izstopala osnovnošolska izobrazba, ki je po deležu (nad 40 odstotkov) močno prekašala ostale (ibid.). Taka izobrazbena sestava zdomcev je z geografskega vidika povsem razumljiva, saj se je v zdomstvo usmerilo predvsem prebivalstvo iz perifernih območij (predvsem iz severovzhodnega dela) Slovenije, ki je v povprečju izkazovalo manj ugodno izobrazbeno sestavo (Josipovič, 2006, 94). Zaradi vsega omenjenega je lahko »selektivnost« le druga beseda za pripravo okoliščin, ki določene profile ljudi silijo k migraciji.

Problem prostovoljnosti se prav v zadnjem času pojavlja v nekaterih mednarodnih raziskavah. Tako sta Zaloznaya in Gerber (2012) objavila primer »prostovoljne« skupinske remigracije krimskih Tatarov, kjer pojasnjujeta nesamoumevnost skupinskih odločitev. Nenazadnje je pri vidiku prostovoljnosti treba upoštevati, da se vsa migracijska podatkovna materija zbira pod hipotezo prostovoljnosti, pri čemer se hipoteza sploh ne preverja. Le ena kategorija migrantov sovпада s prisilnimi migracijami – iskanci azila –, pa še ti statistično največkrat »končajo« v rubriki prostovoljnih migrantov, ker jim prošnjo za azil zavrnejo.

Kolonizacija ali psevdoprostovoljna migracija?

Kot lahko vidimo iz jugoslovanske izkušnje, je bilo veliko migracij potencialno ali latentno prisilnih ali pa so se zgodile pod vplivom množice prisilnih okoliščin. Posameznik je lahko osebno nezadovoljen zaradi vrste razlogov in se zato odloči za selitev (sprejemanje odločitev na osebni ravni). Te 'osebne' okoliščine pa so prav lahko oblikovane ali celo neposredno vodene prek silnic najbližjega (primarnega) socialnega okolja. Po tej poti lahko starši ali sorodniki (lokalna družbena raven) mlade ljudi prepričujejo (ali drugače pritiskajo nanje), da bi se preselili na »boljše«, da bi si s tem zagotovili boljši družbeni status in veljavo ob potencialnem povratku ali obiskih »domačega« kraja (prim. Bofulin, 2011). Na tej ravni se družinski člani, sorodniki ali prijatelji ne 'obremenjujejo' s tem, kako je potencialnemu ali »sojenemu« migrantu, pač pa zasledujejo svoje interese, na primer z izrazi, kot so »ena lačna usta manj«, ali s pričakovanjem pomoči oziroma pošiljanja sredstev in dobrin (širši vidik remitanc in splošnega pretoka blaginje). »Nagnjenost« k odselitvi je tako odvisna od števila otrok v izvorni družini, odnosov med socialnima spoloma, stopnje patrilokalnosti, količine premoženja v odvisnosti od števila dedičev itd. Ta serija možnih izidov se vedno dogaja v luči specifičnih širših družbeno-kulturnih okoliščin in institucionalnega okvira, ki

se lahko izvaja skozi lokalne, regionalne ali nacionalne vladne aktivnosti. »Kulturno vzdušje« z manjšo ali večjo zavzetostjo oblikuje vse medosebne in javne odnose znotraj danega območja in tako narekuje »tonus« regiji ter jo tako dela specifično v celi vrsti možnih pogledov (delitev dela, odnosi moči, vrednostni sistem, procesi mejnosti in etničnosti itd.).

Potencialni migrant je vedno odvisen od informacij, ki jih ima na razpolago, in od svojega vedenja in znanja ter kapacitete ali volje uporabiti ju (Pred, 1969). Ko doseže končni prag netolerance (po Moon, 1995), se odloči za preselitev. Kot smo povedali, je lahko selitev v paru, posamično, z družino, zaporedoma ali celo v skupinah – vse to je seveda znova odvisno od celega niza variabel. Med tovrstnimi premiki (migracijami) si migranti že predstavljajo, kam se selijo. Z naraščanjem starosti potencialnega migranta pa postaja proces »prepričevanja« (ali samoprepričevanja) zaradi dodajanja novih variabel čedalje bolj zapleten. Poleg vseh ostalih variabel so pri takem posamezniku/posameznici sedaj izpostavljeni tudi doseženi socialni status, kulturna vloga, položaj v lokalni delitvi dela ter okoljski ali institucionalni dejavniki. Po določenem času se število dejavnikov ter količina informacij in izkušenj poveča prek vrhnjega praga, ko človeka ni več mogoče »pripraviti« do »prostovoljne« preselitve niti pod grožnjo smrti, kakor smo se imeli priložnost prepričati v zadnjih jugoslovanskih vojnah.

Enaka vrsta kompleksnih okoliščin lahko nastopi na ciljnem območju migranta. Lahko se skozi čas tudi enkrat ali večkrat ponovi. Takrat dobimo gibanja, ki jih nominalno označujemo remigracija, postopna migracija (»step-by-step« migracija), povratna migracija, cirkularna migracija in podobno, če sploh ne omenjamo vzpodbujevalcev in sprožilcev, ki lahko aktivirajo dolgotrajne in stabilne migracijske tokove, ki vzpostavljajo okolje tako imenovane »kulture migracij« (prim. Bofulin, 2011).

Pri konceptu postopne migracije (step-by-step migration) je v ospredju vprašanje zaporednosti migriranja, kjer je treba opredeliti vlogo postopnosti (na primer Ogden, 1984, 70; prim. Jackson, 1986, 5–8). V tem kontekstu nam podatki o »postajah« migrantov pomagajo razkriti številna ozadja, kot so migrantski cilji, želje, »realnosti«, lokacije, razdalje ipd. Če pogledamo konkreten primer migracije gospe Rade (60 let, poročene, brez otrok), vidimo, da je navedla naslednje »postaje«: Jelašinovci – Sanski Most – Banja Luka – Ljubljana – Frankfurt – Ljubljana (vir: anketa, 2004). Njen življenjski cikel se je pričel v rojstni vasi Jelašinovci v hribovitem zaledju Sanskega Mosta v severozahodni Bosni. Leta 1974, pri 20 letih, se je preselila v Sanski Most, kmalu zatem pa v Banja Luko, kjer je delala v tovarni za predelavo sadja. Po potresu leta 1969 je Banja Luko zapustila in se preselila v Ljubljano, kjer je že poznala nekaj ljudi iz svoje rojstne vasi. Po nekaj mesecih je spoznala Jova, ki je prihajal iz Sanskega

Mosta, in se z njim poročila. Na ponudbo njegovega znanca sta se skupaj kmalu odločila, da gresta delat v Frankfurt kot podporno osebje na mednarodnem letališču. Po petih letih v Nemčiji sta se vrnila v Ljubljano, kjer še vedno živita. Do upokojitve je delala v industriji elektronike, medtem ko je mož delal v telekomunikacijah.

Območje Sanskega Mosta je ena najpomembnejših priselitenih mikroregij iz Bosne in Hercegovine v Slovenijo. Še en primer priselitve iz tega območja v Slovenijo je gospa Almira (46 let, poročena, dva otroka). V Ljubljano je prišla stara 18 let, in sicer neposredno iz rojstne vasi Skucani Vakuf, 20 km zahodno od Sanskega Mosta. Najprej je stanovala pri sorodnikih, v tem času pa je v Ljubljani spoznala Tajiba in se z njim poročila. Po tistem je dobila službo kot šolska čistilka, kjer je delala tudi v času intervjuja.

Oba primera predstavljata dve zelo tipični poti migracij v Slovenijo iz tega območja severozahodne Bosne. Hkrati ponazarjata tudi etnično specifično pogojenost tipa ruralno-urbane migracije. Bosanskosrbska vas Jelašinovci je tipično emigracijsko območje, kjer je od leta 1961, ko je imela 1.200 prebivalcev, do leta 1991 njihovo število upadlo na manj kot 600. Na drugi strani je Skucani Vakuf bošnjaška vas, kjer je prebivalstvo v istem obdobju z nekaj manj kot 1.000 najprej naraslo na 1.400 (leta 1981), nato pa pod vplivom večjega izseljevanja upadlo na okrog 1.300 leta 1991. Kot posledica kasnejše migracije iz tega naselja se je oblikovala prava verižna migracija v Slovenijo, kjer je v Ljubljani kolonija s 137 prebivalci iz tega naselja (vir: anketa, 2004).

Ti dve naselji sami zase odslkavata etnično-demografski razvoj v občini Sanski Most med letoma 1971 in 1991. Občina je imela okrog 62.000 prebivalcev (1971), od katerih je bilo 49 odstotkov opredeljenih kot Srbov, 40 odstotkov kot Muslimanov in 10 odstotkov kot Hrvatov. Že leta 1981 so etnična večina postali Muslimani (43,4 odstotka od 62.000), medtem ko je število Srbov upadlo na 42,7 odstotka, Hrvatov pa na 8,5 odstotka. To potrjuje tezo o etnično specifični emigraciji, kajti razlike v rodnosti med tremi glavnimi etnijami so bile minimalne (Josipovič, 2006). Šele po letu 1981 se pričnejo masovno izseljevati Muslimani, medtem ko so tedaj Srbi že imeli izoblikovano močno »kulturo migracij«. Do leta 1991 se je delež Muslimanov (Bošnjakov) zvišal na 46,7 odstotka (od 60.000), čeprav so numerično stagnirali, medtem ko je delež Srbov rahlo upadel (42,1 odstotka). Precej bolj je upadel delež Hrvatov (7,2 odstotka), ki so bili emigracijsko izrazito vezani na Hrvaško, potem ko je bila leta 1963 ukinjena občina Ljubija, v kateri so tvorili večino.

Drugačen, mnogo manj prikrit način redistribucije prebivalstva se je odvijal neposredno po drugi svetovni vojni, ko so jugoslovanske oblasti na posesti izgnanih Nemcev in drugih »sovražnih etničnosti« Bačke in Banata naseljevale pretežno pravoslavno prebivalstvo iz dinarskih predelov od Like do Črne Gore (Gaćeša, 1984;

Petrović, 1987, 12; Djurić et al., 1995; Plavša in Bubalo-Živković, 2002). Ko se celoten proces migracij odvija pod vplivom institucionalnega okvira ali skozi institucije prek neformalnih komisarjev, se določene skupine prebivalstva iz določenih območij »izbirajo« za preselitev. Posamezniki se ne zavedajo nujno prikrite prisilnosti takih planiranih migracij, pač pa svojo selitev vidijo kot lastno izbiro ali celo kot oznako »vsi so takrat naredili enako«. Po drugi strani oblasti take migracije označujejo kot »selitev na boljše«, zato je le s subtilno analizo manj opaznih detajlov mogoče priti do vtisa o stopnji prisilnosti posameznih migracij.

Zaključek

Visoka zasičenost s teoretskimi teksti o migracijah je od devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja teoretiziranje naredila izjemno zahtevno. Po znamenitem Masseyjevem članku je veliko raziskovalcev svoja raziskovanja preusmerilo na področja specifik posamičnih primerov migracijskega gibanja in v odsotnosti »velike teorije migracij« bolj evalviralo obstoječe parcialne teorije. Največja pomanjkljivost »velikih teorij« je nezmožnost aplikacije na specifične primere, območja, etničnosti, različna merila (lokalno, regionalno, globalno), historične razvoje, pestro geografijo itd. Zato bi veljalo razmišljati o izboljšanju obstoječih teoretskih in analitskih okvirov.

Ena od takih možnosti bi lahko bil tudi regionalno-geografski pristop, deloma očrtan v »jugoslovanski šoli migracij« (Petrović, 1987, 15–18). Tak pristop lahko precej pripomore k boljšemu poznavanju določenega prostorsko-geografskega kompleksa in k tisti tako zaželeni »mezoanalizi«, ki manjka tudi v Moonovi analitski shemi sidrišč.

Drug pomemben vidik se nanaša na starostno specifičen proces odločanja. Kot smo opozorili v analizi, prevladuje splošna domneva, da je lahko *sidrišče* mladega človeka hitreje »izkoreninjeno« in »udomačeno« drugje. Vendar lahko, upoštevajoč konformnost, na najbolj presenetljive starostno specifične razlike naletimo v migracijah, ki so povezane z daljšim šolanjem, kasnejšim zaposlovanjem in šibkimi možnostmi pridobitve lastnega stanovanja mlajših generacij v celi vrsti evropskih držav.

Da bi izrabili kapacitete Moonovega teoretskega okvira v perspektivi visoko fluidnih konceptualizacij migracijskih gibanj (skupaj z dualistično in arbitrarno delitvijo na notranje in mednarodne ter prisilne in prostovoljne migracije), je treba vanj vključiti širši prostorsko-geografski kontekst. Jugoslovanski primer nam namreč kaže, da je poleg specifičnega socio-političnega in ekonomskega sistema obstajala tudi velika verjetnost etnično specifičnih migracij. Ko na procese odločanja posameznika pogledamo s te perspektive, moramo osrednjo vlogo *individualnega (osebnega)* v

stalni interakciji z *družbenim, institucionalnim* in *kulturnim* nadgraditi s *kolektivnim* in *kolektivno-institucionalnim* ozadjem procesov odločanja. Zato bi morala shema *pseudoprostovoljnih* migracij zajemati:

- večplastni institucionalni okvir na danem območju (emigracije in imigracije), ki vključuje fizično, socialno in politično okolje, skupaj s kulturno specifičnimi vidiki, v smislu ekologije prostora, ki se razlikuje od sosednjega ali drugih prostorov;
- »kulturni« okvir skupaj s procesom individualnega obnašanja in odločanja v povezavi s stimuli iz specifičnega geografskega okolja, ki vpliva na zahteve in pričakovanja individualnega življenjskega okolja;
- opredelitev vloge lokalnih »modrecev«, tipičnih za ruralna območja, ki v odvisnosti od demografske velikosti naselij intenzivno vplivajo na razsežnost emigracijskih tokov in na splošno kulturo migracij;
- starostno specifične dejavnike, ki včasih neodvisno od drugih dejavnikov mlajšo populacijo »obremenijo« z večjo verjetnostjo emigracije in oblikujejo migrantsko izkušnjo posameznika; v tem smislu tudi regulirajo posameznikov »optimizem« v smislu zadovoljevanja potreb, ki izhajajo iz sidriščnih tem;
- »primarizacijo« problema migracije kot take: migracija je lahko posledica določene sekundarne akomodacije na razmere, kot so tip ter lokacija bivanja in zaposlitve, družina ali preprosto posameznikova percepcija dostopnosti; migracija je lahko tudi primarni odziv na individualno aktivnost (respondentsko ali operantsko obnašanje), ki je povezana z njegovimi/njenimi ontološkimi perspektivami življenja in bivanja ter iz tega izhajajočimi cilji;
- opredelitev vloge drugih človeških ali 'nečloveških' »aktantov« (po Thrift, 1999) tako na območju odselitve kakor na območju priselitve.

Vsekakor je temeljnega pomena, da v analizi migrant sam navede ključne sidriščne teme, ki tvorijo analitsko shemo sidrišč.

Kot smo videli, je vprašanje razlaganja migracij ostalo težko in kompleksno, vsekakor pa lahko priznamo, da je geografska realnost v svoji celostnosti tista, ki primarno pogojuje in oblikuje migracijo tako na izvornih kot ciljnih območjih.

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Damir Josipovič

Pseudo-voluntary migration: the case of internal migration system in former Yugoslavia

Keywords: migration theory, theory of moorings, internal and international migration, pseudo-voluntary migration, Ex-Yugoslavia, Slovenia

Migration theory has been dichotomised from several different analytical perspectives. The aim of this article is to view migration movements in a holistic scheme taking into account the geographical factors shaping migration patterns at both the point of origin and destination, rather than on the conceptualizations involving the built-in dualisms. The former Yugoslavia with its myriad of cases shows that migration has to be viewed without biased international or internal lenses. Furthermore, the author argues that the migration movements were instead part of a more or less organized system which tended to create circumstances, possibilities and/or impossibilities to migrate. In this way, instead of classifying migrations as either forced or voluntary, the concept of pseudo-voluntary migration movements was proposed. In changing the perspective in which migrations are view in this, the article draws extensively on the *moorings theory* developed by Bruce Moon. The author gives an updated framework for individual or small group migration analysis. The latter is supplemented by a set of variables and factors in order to make a further use possible at the level of international or internal migration. The author argues that the internal Yugoslav migration system between 1945 and 1991 should be viewed within a framework of potentially coerced, semi-coerced or 'pseudo-voluntary migration'.

Maja Korać-Sanderson

Chinese traders in Serbia: Gender opportunities, translocal family strategies, and transnational mobility¹

Keywords: gendered strategies of care, translocal family strategies, transnational mobility and incorporation, Chinese traders, Serbia

Since the late 1980s and early 1990s developing countries and transition societies have become attractive new destinations for Chinese traders. As “economies of scarcity” (Nyíri, 2007, 139) they provide opportunities to import and trade in a range of inexpensive Chinese goods. These new destination countries have become particularly attractive to Chinese traders also because they have weak links to the global economy, and do not have severe restriction to immigration. Consequently, many countries in Africa as well as Central and South Eastern Europe have become new destinations for Chinese migrants who operate in trade and services as transnational, petty entrepreneurs (Haugen, Carling, 2005; Mohan, Tan-Mullins, 2009, 595; Chang et al., 2011; Krasteva, 2005; Nyíri, 1999, 2003, 2007).

In this paper I focus on Chinese trading migration to Serbia. I argue that in choosing destinations for their businesses Chinese traders increasingly opt for underdeveloped regions and transition societies not because they provide good business opportunities measured by economic indicators alone. Rather, these destinations are chosen because they provide better opportunities for an entrepreneurial life embedded in self-reliance and self-management. Some of these opportunities, as my discussion will demonstrate, are importantly gendered, opening up new gender space for young families and for women in particular. My discussion will further point out that because business opportunities in Serbia do not necessarily imply desirable living conditions, Chinese traders diversify their family strategies, which are translocally and transnationally

1 This article is based on data collected from September 2009 to January 2010, for a pilot study on the situation of Chinese immigrants in Serbia. The study benefits from 20 semi-structured interviews with Chinese immigrants, 15 semi-structured interviews with local women childminders, as well as officials, academics and other ‘hosts’ about the phenomenon of Chinese migration to Serbia. Additional data were collected through (informal) group discussions with Chinese traders during my many observation visits to the Chinese market or our gatherings over supper in a Chinese restaurant, which they frequent after their shops close. Data were also collected on the local media coverage on Chinese traders in order to shed more light onto the economic, socio-cultural and political processes underpinning their migration to Serbia.

negotiated. In doing so, I argue, they become protagonists, actively involved in establishing their livelihoods and flexible ways of incorporation.

Chinese traders in Serbia

According to the official data, at the end of October 2009, there were 4,947 Chinese nationals living in Serbia, almost all had temporary permits to stay in the country, three had permanent residence permits, and only one had Serbian citizenship.² These official figures match my own estimates as well as those made by well established and connected Chinese immigrants in Belgrade/Serbia. According to these estimates, there are up to 6,000 Chinese traders in Serbia. Although the numbers involved are small, the fact that this pattern of migration has been continuous for nearly two decades indicates that it is there to stay and, thus, merits academic attention.

The majority of Chinese traders in Serbia/Belgrade come from Zhejiang province in Southeast China, which in the past two decades has become one of the main sending areas in China, both in terms of internal, rural-urban migration (Yang, 2000; Zhang, 2000) as well as international and European in particular (Skeldon, 2000). These poorly educated Chinese migrants speak the local dialect and come mostly from two or three villages in Qingtian County.³ Others come from the other two important sending areas in China, Beijing and places around Shanghai, as well as from the Northeast of China (Skeldon, 2000). They speak Mandarin, are (well) educated, come with professional experience and social capital that could be used to enhance their migration prospects.

Arrival of the Chinese traders in Serbia in the second half of the 1990s was facilitated through resources and networks linked to Chinese migration to Hungary, since the late 1980s (Nyíri, 1999). That was a good vantage point to assess the regional markets and economic opportunities as well as socio-political factors shaping conditions of entry. When the Hungarian Government tightened entry visa requirements for the Chinese in 1993, and increased import tariffs in 1995 (Nyíri, 1999) many turned to neighbouring countries seeking new opportunities, taking with them other compatriots. Some also came from Bulgaria, where they first obtained information about the possibilities of establishing small retail and trading businesses in Serbia. They mostly started off as shuttle traders, but by the end of the 1990s Chinese shops, as they are locally known, had become dotted around Serbia. Their main trading business is situated, however, within the so-called Chinese markets.

2 Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs, Department for Foreigners; data valid for October 31, 2009.

3 The population of Zhejiang province speak various sub-dialects of the Shanhai dialect group (Wuyu) (Christiansen, 2003, 17).

The Chinese market in Belgrade is the largest wholesaler facility in the Balkans. It is a run-down version of a shopping mall situated in Block 70, in the municipality of New Belgrade. It has some 500 shops with approximately 1,200 Chinese immigrants renting shops, trading, and working there.⁴ Almost all shops are rented to Chinese, except for a few cafes and fast food outlets owned by or rented to locals. Rents range from €800 to €1,600, depending on the size of the shop and its location.⁵ Additionally, there are also 12 shops rented to locals selling mostly Chinese goods too. Some of the rented spaces have been turned into Chinese restaurants, hairdressers, travel as well as import agencies, casinos and DVD shops, all of which are run by the Chinese and catering to their compatriots.

Most of these businesses are family run. Wage workers, who work for their relatives or compatriots, are relatively few. Chinese traders hire local people instead, at a relatively low cost. As they go back to China on average three times a year and stay between two to three weeks, hiring locals facilitates these frequent and prolonged visits and enables shops to stay open six or seven days a week. At the time of my research, some 300 to 400 local workers were employed in approximately 2/3 of shops at the Chinese Market in Belgrade. They were paid between €4.5 and €12 per day, in the local currency, depending on how long they have worked in the shop, whether they were “trustworthy, reliable and loyal”, as they explained the differences in their pay. A minority of these employees were working legally, others were not registered.

What makes Serbia an attractive migrant destination? Agency, entrepreneurial and gendered opportunities

Chinese traders started arriving in Serbia in 1996-97, during a ‘post-war moment’ in the country, after the wars in Croatia and Bosnia had ended (1991-95), and just before a full-scale conflict in Kosovo, its then southern province. Consequently, the first Chinese traders arrived at the time when the majority of the population in Serbia was experiencing immense economic hardship exacerbated by an exceptionally high number of refugees and internally displaced persons in the country.⁶

Agency of migrants in transforming disadvantages into opportunities can help explain how societies which are considered unattractive as migratory destinations, and are in fact themselves sending areas, may become desirable options to migrants. From

4 Data on the number of shops was obtained from the Head of Security, the company that provides security on the site(s).

5 These rents were valid for the second half of 2009.

6 In relative terms the country was ranked, at the time, as the third refugee producing country in the world (Castles et al., 2003, 6).

the vantage point of agency and its role in shaping motivation and goals of migration it is possible to understand how the intersection of economic, social, political and cultural factors unfolds in specific contexts of migration and how this in turn shapes migratory processes themselves.

Serbia was put on the map of potential migratory destinations worth considering or trying out for an initial period, before making any decisions to set up a trading business there, by the introduction of a more relaxed entry visa system for Chinese trading entrepreneurs in 1996. The rationale behind this more open door policy was the Serbian Government's hope for Chinese investment as well as the collection of steady revenue from visa applications, business registration and so forth.⁷ It is important to emphasise, however, that the relaxation of the entry visa regime for Chinese migrants wishing to come to Serbia in effect acknowledged and supported an already ongoing process of new Chinese migration since the late 1980s and early 1990s, as mentioned earlier.

This more open visa regime in Serbia prompted some of my respondents to reconsider their initial decisions to migrate to Africa, for example, in their search for better economic and life opportunities. There were also those who broke the pattern of chain migration from their village in Qingtian County, Zhejiang province, to Italy. After they learnt about a possibility of setting up a trading and retail business legally in Serbia many came to Belgrade initially “as tourists”, as they put it, to assess the situation and conditions in the country, before making a decision to “settle” there. More freedom and choice in developing their own businesses and consequently, their personal, family and household strategies compared to, for example, their relatives and friends in Italy, who were confined to long hours of low paid wage work, was emphasised. Furthermore, the opportunity to establish their trading and retail businesses legally in Belgrade/Serbia, also gives them access to social services, such as health care and (primary) education for their children. Chinese immigrants in Serbia are overwhelmingly young, in their 20s and early 30s, and very many of them start or establish their families there. On average, they have two children, in most cases both born in Serbia and, consequently, they benefit considerably from their right to access health care, especially when it comes to pre and postnatal care.⁸

The social rights of Chinese traders associated with temporary permits to establish their businesses and live in Serbia represent an improvement compared to the rights

7 Information comes from a retired official from the then Office for Foreigners, The Ministry of Interior; personal communication, October 29, 2009.

8 Some chose to have routine, minor medical checks privately, rather than on the National Health. This is a pattern they share with many citizens of Serbia, many of whom make the same decision about their health care provided that they can afford it. As Chinese immigrants are economically better off than the majority of local citizens, they are likely to be able to afford and benefit from this type of health care.

enjoyed by a majority of rural-urban migrants in China. This is because the largely unchanged household registration system within China permits only temporary residence in urban destinations within the country, meaning that rural-urban migrants do not have the right to education for their children, to health care, labour insurance, and old age pensions in their place of temporary residence (Davin, 1996, 26, Goldstein et al., 2000, 240).⁹ This comparison between the rights of internal migrants within China and Chinese migrants in Serbia is by no means to imply that the temporary nature of their permit to live and work in Serbia does not put them in a vulnerable position. Disadvantages arising from their legal status in Serbia are indeed numerous (see Chang, 2011). In assessing the legal status and situation of Chinese traders in Serbia today it is important, however, to view it not only from the perspective of the EU debates on legal systems and practices, discrimination and minority rights, but also from the context of the sending country. This approach provides a valuable insight about the structures and processes involved in turning specific migratory destinations into attractive places for migrants who themselves come from countries which do not fully protect their rights.

My research also reveals that Serbia has not been an attractive destination only for disadvantaged populations from rural China. The same theme of choice, self-reliance and self-management associated with entrepreneurial and other life opportunities in a society such as Serbia can be traced in experiences of Chinese men who lived and worked in highly regulated and competitive Western economies, such as Britain, Canada, and Germany, but then have decided to migrate to Belgrade, as discussed elsewhere (Korać, 2013a, 2013b). Clearly, from the vantage point of Chinese traders there are many advantages for them in a society such as Serbia. To appreciate this dynamics and to understand the meanings of migratory choices of those on the move it is important to explain specific migratory processes unfolding at a particular point in time and linking particular locations (Korać, 2009). Therefore, such movements should not be treated as “unexpected”, as some studies claim, referring to the instances of secondary migration of Chinese migrants to “the East”, despite their right to reside in the so-called ‘Western destination countries’ (IOM, 1998, 337).

The intersection of agency of Chinese migrants as well as of local people has also opened up a gender specific opportunity in Serbia, for young migrant families and women in particular. This, I argue, has become central to the development of their family strategies of creating livelihoods and of incorporation. Many of the Chinese traders in Belgrade/Serbia are women. Some are single women, running their own trading and retail businesses. Others are there with their husbands and families, but they did not always typically follow them, as in earlier waves of Chinese migration. In

9 For more information on the household registration system in China see Yang (2000, 198).

fact, many came to Belgrade and Serbia before their husbands and paved the way for their families to join them. Many also have their husbands stay in China with their children. This is not surprising, given the increased mobility within China linked to structural changes and development that prompted a segregated and gender-segmented market, resulting in the rising levels of migration of women (Yang, 2000, 203), and an increase in those who move in connection with their own businesses (Goldstein et al., 2000, 227). However, this gender pattern of Chinese migration does not unequivocally suggest radically different gender relations of power and greater gender equality in the family, community and the state. Indeed, as studies demonstrate (e.g. Goldstein et al., 2000, 228; Zhang, 2000, 193), women are not a monolithic category and although migration leads to the economic betterment of women's and men's lives and their households, many Chinese women remain or may become even more vulnerable in many aspects of their lives.

For most Chinese women who migrate with their families to the Western 'attractive destination', migration means that they carry the full burden of domestic responsibilities and childcare in addition to contributing to the family economy (Lee et al., 2002, 614). Their strong desire and need to work often runs into direct conflict with childcare needs, which are extremely difficult to meet (Zhou, 2000). In this respect, migration to a transition society has obvious advantages for women migrants, as many of them can afford to hire local women to care for their children. Thus, children of many Chinese traders are not only born in Belgrade/Serbia, as mentioned earlier, as very many of them are brought up by local women and their families. Many Chinese migrant women in Serbia hire local childminders to care for their children both "full-time", as they refer to 24/7 childcare arrangements, and "part-time", that is – from 9am to 5pm seven days a week. Due to such arrangements many local women *de facto* foster children of Chinese traders in Belgrade. Some of the children left in the care of "Serbian grannies", who are "good grannies", as Chinese traders refer to them with fondness, are often babies less than a month old. Their mothers immediately return to work for their family's trade and retail businesses. At times, they travel back to China for business a day after their 11-day-old child "had been dropped on my doorstep", as one of the "Serbian grannies" related.¹⁰

Local women doing paid childcare work are almost exclusively women in their late 50s, early 60s, who have not only children of their own, but also grandchildren. A majority are well educated middle class women who had been made redundant or had to retire early due to the economic crisis and restructuring in Serbia in the late 90s and early 2000. At the time of my research, full-time carer (*de facto* foster parent)

10 This woman *de facto* fostered children of several Chinese couples since 2000, some of whom were less than two weeks old (personal communication, November 25, 2009).

was, measured by the local standards, well paid, earning typically €300 per month, plus expenses; at the time, this was just under an average salary in Serbia. Although well paid, for the local women and very often for their entire families this work has become much more than an 'economic betterment' strategy. In many cases it brought a renewed sense of purpose in life at the time when "we felt that there was no hope for us", as a childminder said, "when our lives were overshadowed by prolonged economic problems and war". 'Serbian grannies' treat babies left in their care as one of their own, keeping their photographs in family albums, alongside the photos of their own children and grandchildren.

Because the work of local women childminders is highly valued, and consequently well paid, it allowed them to develop (or maintain) a notion of themselves as professional women, the identity that was shattered by redundancy/early retirement experience, the years of war, economic hardship. Their sense of the importance of the job they do has contributed to their perception of themselves as competent, particularly concerning their experience in childrearing, as well as their educational and class backgrounds compared to those of the young and inexperienced Chinese mothers. This sense of competence at times bordering the notion of 'superiority' has been importantly augmented by their experience and ability in domains of the local knowledge, values, culture and language. Consequently, identities of the local women childminders are carefully negotiated around the notion of professionalism with which they do this work, as well as their perceived role of "ambassadors of the local knowledge and culture". "Serbian grannies" take full responsibility for bringing up the children they have in their care and, thus, childcare arrangements with local women have become the preferred pattern of caring for children among the Chinese traders in Belgrade – so much so that a Chinese kindergarten opened by a group of Chinese women in Ledine in 2008, the part of Belgrade in which most of the Chinese immigrants live,¹¹ had to close down just after a year the opening, as the demand was low and it was not profitable to run it.

By making this type of childcare arrangements with local women, Chinese women migrants are to a certain extent 'undoing' their gendered obligations in the international system of care work, the role that has become associated with immigrant women in so-called attractive migration destinations.¹² This in turn enables them to

11 Ledine, on the outskirts of Belgrade, is a 15-minute drive from the Market. It offers affordable housing arrangements for (larger) families. Warehouses are also available for rent in the neighbourhood making it easier for Chinese traders to coordinate and oversee this important segment of their business. Since the Chinese immigrants have moved in, two Chinese restaurants have opened, catering primarily for their compatriots. Many go there after work, either for a meal with their families and friends or for a drink, chat and karaoke.

12 Lutz (2010, 1651) points out that middle class women in countries of immigration are 'undoing' their gender obligations in care work by hiring immigrant women to do it.

pursue their individual or family business, as immigrant women entrepreneurs. In this sense, migration to transition societies provides “gendered opportunities and motivations” (Lutz, 2010, 1659) for migrant women, which they would not have in global cities and other sought after immigrant destinations of the world.

For many young Chinese migrant women, this shift in gender roles within their own families does not necessarily imply an equally radical shift in gender power structures within the family and the community, as mentioned earlier.¹³ It does, however, give them an opportunity to exert agency over their livelihood strategies and to explore their entrepreneurial potential in trading. It also opens up a valuable space for them to negotiate and redefine their motherhood role and the notion of caring for their children, in some novel ways. This process for young Chinese women unfolds first within the local context, as translocal motherhood, while their children are in full-time care of local women childminders and their families. It is followed by the development of transnational motherhood strategies of care, because the majority of Chinese families in Belgrade/Serbia send their school age children back to China to live with their grandparents or other relatives, learn the language and go to school there.

Translocal family strategies and transnational mobility

Closely knit family and friendship ties among Chinese, as studies demonstrate, have become central to individual economic betterment as well as to the local, regional, and national development in China. Scholars argue that the economic success of Chinese reforms and industrialisation of rural areas, since the late 1980s, is centrally linked to the embeddedness of the local economy in social structure of family, kinship and personal networks (Christerson, Lever-Tracy, 1997). Translocal family and household life is an important feature of life in China and has also become an important resource and mechanism of support for those who decide to go abroad. Transnational family lives, households and businesses are a *sine qua non* in this process.

As people whose business strategies and family lives are “settled in mobility” (Morokvasic, 2004) and embedded in transnational and translocal connections, temporariness and flexibility are central to their mode of operation. Their strategies of incorporation are guided first and foremost by the transnational character of their trading and retail business and the economic betterment of their translocal families and households. One such strategy has been the organisation of childcare locally.

13 It is well known, for example, that it is normal for women, in both pre-modern and modern China, to be involved in the production from early stages of childbirth. The resulting shift in childcare responsibilities has not been associated to any radical shift in gender power relations in the family, the community or the society at large.

Children of Chinese traders cared for by local women and their families are brought up like the local children: they are fluent in Serbian, hardly speak any of their own language, eat local food, and socialise with the children, grandchildren, family and friends of their carers. Organising childcare locally is not, however, an acculturation or assimilation strategy on the part of the Chinese traders. Rather, it is a pragmatic decision and a strategy to capitalize, at least short term, on the structural disadvantages of the receiving society, i.e. unemployment of the local population/women, and to turn these disadvantages into an opportunity for immigrant parents, particularly women, and their family run businesses. Moreover, given that most of the children of Chinese traders in Belgrade/Serbia are sent back to China to obtain their primary education, their parents are securing their cultural and other types of literacy within China, equipping their children with skills, knowledge, and social capital they will require to tap into the economic and other resources and opportunities in China and use them globally.

My research reveals that there is an emerging trend among the Chinese immigrants in Belgrade: some are bringing their teenage children from China and enrolling them in international secondary schools in the city. Although costly, this is still a more affordable option than having them educated in the same type of schools in the West, and it is yet another comparative advantage of a society such as Serbia that Chinese traders benefit from. Once they graduate from these schools, hopes and plans are that they will be able to obtain a university degree somewhere in the West. It is hoped that this will help them to take over and expand their family businesses and/or establish their own companies in China and/or abroad, including Serbia. As they are continuously monitoring and exploring trading opportunities in other transitory places and less developed economies, lacking access to global markets, more and more Chinese traders in Belgrade have started to use strategically the opportunity to enrol their children into a more affordable international (private) secondary schools there. In doing so, they are preparing them to join and expand family businesses.

Children of those who arrived in the late 1990s, and who were left behind with their grandparents or other relatives, are now joining their parents in Belgrade. Many of the Chinese immigrants are referring to them as “the second generation” of the Chinese in the city. These young people in their late teens or early 20s have secondary education from China and are gradually entering their family businesses in Belgrade and Serbia. On arrival, most of them take intensive Serbian language courses and are able to speak it better than their parents. While “the second generation” is gradually taking over the running of their family businesses in Belgrade, their parents focus more on the establishment or further development of their businesses or property in China. Many also talk about “retirement”, which

in most cases means returning, living, and working in China, thus settling in one place, rather than living transnationally.¹⁴

Concluding remarks

The discussion in this article aimed to point to the intersection between the local and global contexts shaping the situation of Chinese traders who, as social agents, create opportunities for themselves and their families in a transition society such as Serbia. Societies such as Serbian society provide a space for choice and active management of risks involved in this type of trading migration. In contrast to the situation of immigrants in many societies of immigration, which tend to prescribe how the newcomers should 'fit in' by developing (exclusionary) policies of immigration and integration, a non-immigrant country such as Serbia opens up a space for Chinese traders to become protagonists, more actively involved in establishing their livelihoods and ways of incorporation. Migrants, understood as social agents, are central to this process. They engage in transnational activities and practices linking their countries of origin and destination in some fundamental ways. They are simultaneously involved in a range of legal and regulatory systems of sending and receiving states, they are also engaged in many non-institutional transnational as well as local links and practices. In doing so, they actively manage risks involved in this type of migration and are able to control better their livelihoods as well as the quality of their existence. Some of these opportunities, as argued in this article, are importantly gendered and linked to a radical shift in gender roles of childcare. This shift, as argued, is central to their transnational pathway of incorporation aiming not to 'settle' somewhere abroad 'for good', but to remain mobile for the better.

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14 The parents of 'the second generation' are in their late 40s, early 50s.

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Maja Korać-Sanderson

Kitajski trgovci v Srbiji: priložnosti spolov, translokalne družinske strategije in transnacionalna mobilnost

Ključne besede: spolno zaznamovane strategije skrbi, translokalne družinske strategije, transnacionalna mobilnost in umeščanje, kitajski trgovci, Srbija

Članek razpravlja o položaju kitajskih trgovcev v Srbiji, eni njihovih novejših destinacij v Evropi. Zasnovan je na v glavnem kvalitativnih/etnografskih podatkih, zbranih za pilotno študijo trgovskih migracij v Srbijo. Članek preiskuje intersekcijo med lokalnim in globalnim kontekstom oblikovanja položaja kitajskih trgovcev, ki kot spolno zaznamovani akterji ustvarjajo priložnosti zase in svoje družine v tranzicijski družbi, kakršna je Srbija. Trdi, da je nekaj teh priložnosti pomembno spolno zaznamovanih in povezanih z radikalnim zamikom v vzorcih spolnih vlog v skrbi za otroke in druge, ki so značilni za večino družb sprejema. Medtem ko je bilo v zadnjih desetletjih skrbstveno delo v imigrantskih družbah v glavnem vezano na delo imigrantov in še posebej imigrantk, tranzicijska družba, kot je srbska, kitajskim trgovkam omogoča, da skrb za otroke poverijo večinoma lokalnim ženskam srednjega razreda. Ta obrat vlog pri »delitvi dela« v skrbstveni sferi med imigrantkami in lokalnimi ženskami prevladuje v t. i. »privlačni« migrantskidestinaciji – kot demonstrira tudi razprava v pričujočem članku, je v prid tako kitajskim trgovkam in njihovim družinam kot tudi lokalnim ženskam in njihovim družinam. Ta premik je osrednji v razvoju spolno zaznamovanih translokalnih in transnacionalnih družinskih strategij kitajskih trgovcev v Srbiji.

Razprava v pričujočem članku dokazuje, da so te spolno zaznamovane strategije pomembne za transnacionalne poti umeščanja kitajskih trgovcev, katerih cilj ni nekje se »namestiti« za vedno, ampak ostati mobilen za »na bolje«.

Francesco Della Puppa

A *bidesh*¹ in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea: Biographical trajectories and migration patterns in the Bangladeshi Diaspora in Italy²

Keywords: Bangladeshi diaspora, immigrants in Italy, migrations, transnationalism, social stratification, reasons for migrations

1 Introduction: some theoretical perspectives on migration

The scientific literature proposes three main fundamental approaches to the study of international migration (Ambrosini, 2005; Massey, 2002; Massey et al., 1993, 1998).

The first approach is based on macro theories that connect migration to inciting structural causes (war, poverty, wage gap, economic dependence induced by colonial relations and the capitalist system, growth inequalities, etc.) that would interact with factors of attraction (need of the destination countries for a low-cost workforce vulnerable to blackmail, the segmented structure of their labour market, etc.).

For this current of study, it is necessary to address the issue of growth inequalities and also to define precisely the type and the conditions of work required by the contemporary economy of the countries that are major receivers of migrants (Amin, 1974; Basso, Perocco, 2003; Castles, Miller, 2003; Gambino, 2003; Piore, 1979; Sassen 1998; Wallerstein, 1979).

The second current of study, associated with the paradigm of neoclassical economics, is based on the micro approach, thus putting emphasis on the “protagonism” of the individual (Todaro 1969) and family group (Stark 1991), which are considered social actors that do not passively endure the structural conditions but, instead, are able to make, independently, rational choices related to a possible transfer (Borjas, 1990).

1 In the Bangla language, it literally means “foreign land”, “abroad”, as opposed to *Bangla-desh*, “The country, the land where Bangla is spoken.”

2 The article is a result of a wider research aimed at analysing the process of gender construction of immigrant men from Bangladesh that have reunited with their families in Alte Ceccato.

The third and final current of study consists of meso-level theories which imply that the author maintains a certain degree of independence within the action and deploys an individual (and family) agency, getting by (or having to get by) structural constraints (Boyd, 1989; Faist, 2000; Tilly, 1990).

This paper, with a focus on a specific empirical case, aims at showing how the different dimensions considered by these briefly described theoretical approaches intersect and co-construct each other. It will further demonstrate how structural inequalities at the global level help to shape the ambitions and individual “protagonisms” and networks within which the subjects are moving.

2 Alte Ceccato: From an urbanised land to Italy's North-eastern bangla-town

Alte Ceccato, a hamlet of Montecchio Maggiore, Province of Vicenza, in Italy. Yesterday, the expanse of the fields in a time when working class children were emigrating and the factories could be counted on the fingers of one hand. Today, a globalised place from the Venetian “rururban” sprawl and an industrialised territory hosting one of the world’s most important tannery districts: the tannery district of the Chiampo Valley. With a workforce composed of more than 50% of immigrants, the Vicenza tannery district was responsible – until the economic crisis – for 1% of the national GDP, generating 20% of the world production and 70% of the European production, with a turnover of 3 billion euros per year (Finco 2004; Foresti and Tenti, 2006).

This productive system obviously *attracted large sections of the workforce* from all over the country and abroad. This area and Montecchio Maggiore itself are, indeed, characterised by the highest rate of immigrant residents in the entire country (20%). In the village of Alte itself, non-Italian citizens represent about one third of its 6,804 inhabitants, with 50% of them coming from Bangladesh.³

2.1 Across seven seas and thirteen rivers⁴ to reach the Mediterranean shores

Bangladeshi immigration in Italy is a relatively recent phenomenon. Many Bangladeshi started arriving at the Peninsula in the 1980s. This was also due to the

3 Source: Demography office of the Municipality of Montecchio Maggiore.

4 *Across Seven Seas and Thirteen Rivers* is the evocative title of the monograph by Caroline Adams (1987), devoted to life stories of the Bangladeshi pioneers in Great Britain. It was used again in Italy by post-colonial fiction writers (Ali, 2003) and by some diaspora observers (Priori, 2012).

closure of the other European countries' borders, mainly those of France and the Federal Republic of Germany, in combination with the deep economic and social transformations and the political turbulence that was taking shape in the country of origin.

One of the most popular destinations of the Bangladeshi Diaspora in Europe – obviously after Great Britain, the ex-colonial motherland – was, in principal, the Federal Republic of Germany, where it was relatively easy to obtain recognition of political asylum right after the coup of 1975, which has led, in Bangladesh, to the military dictatorship of Ziaur Rahman and his Bangladesh Nationalist Party (Van Schendel, 2009).

In 1979 the German government imposed new restrictions on the granting of asylum and, consequently, migration flows moved from Bangladesh to France by virtue of its relatively welcoming attitude towards political refugees. Furthermore, the election of a socialist president in the Elysée in 1981 inculcated hope for a quick granting of amnesty, attracting even more Bangladeshi migrants towards the French territory. Compared to countries like Germany and Switzerland, which in a few years transformed from easy targets to impenetrable fortresses, France was characterised by a relatively permissive legislation, at least until 1989, when the new Interior Minister, Chales Pasqua, implemented a crackdown on entries into the country.

In the same period the war remembered as the First Gulf War began, which rendered impossible migration towards most of the Middle Eastern oil countries.

These changes reversed migration flows to Mediterranean Europe and the Soviet Bloc. The collapse of “real socialism” made the eastern European countries open to immigration, transforming them into emerging contexts.

Moreover, the relations with the People's Republic of Bangladesh had been intense since the first two socialist governments of *Awami League* – the political party of the first president, Sheikh Mujibur Rahaman, who led the struggle for the national independence from Pakistan, which was gained in 1971. These relations allowed the establishment of scholarships, thanks to which thousands of young Bangladeshis went to the Soviet Union or to other Warsaw Pact countries in order to attend university. Many of them stayed in these countries to pursue entrepreneurial and commercial activities in the years following the Soviet implosion, creating large compatriot communities.

The economic stagnation at the dawn of the post-Soviet era and the growing racism affecting migrants in large Russian cities ended up discouraging many Bangladeshis who, listening to insistent voices promoting great possibilities for economic growth in

the new destinations of the Mediterranean Europe, left Russia to go to Spain, Greece and, especially, to Italy⁵ (Priori, 2012).

2.2 A *bidesh* called Italy

It was in the 1990s, then, that Italy qualified as an important destination: following the 1986 amnesty (Law 943/86, the so-called “Martelli law”) only around one hundred Bangladeshi citizens were granted a residence permit; following the 1990 amnesty (Law 39/90) this figure grew to almost 4,000, and by the early 2000s more than 70,000 had received such a permit (Priori, 2012; Zeitlyn, 2006).

Today the Bangladeshi community represents the sixth biggest non-European community with regard to the number of migrants in Italy, counting between 80,000 and 120,000 migrants (Caritas-Migrantes, 2012; Cologna et al., 2008).

The territorial distribution of Bangladeshis appeared far from homogeneous: until the end of the 1990s they were concentrated almost exclusively in Rome, where, according to the Census of 1991, 92% of them lived (King and Knight, 1994; Knights, 1996; 1998; Knight and King, 1998).

In these years the settlement of Bangladeshis in the capital – encouraged by effective *migration networks* connecting the country of origin, various poles of diaspora in Europe and Italy (Abbatecola, 2001; Ambrosini, 2005; 2006; 2008; Boyd, 1989; Tilly, 1990; Massey, 2002; Massey et al., 1993) – was so fast that it made the community living in the capital one of the largest in Europe, second only after London.

Indeed, a large city like Rome exercised a great power of attraction over migrants for both the presence of compatriots – pioneers of this migration – who were strengthening the networks and offering the first support to newcomers and the fascinating imagery it evoked among the middle class educated youth of the world's peripheries. The *main* reasons were, however, the work placement opportunities in the context of the *informal economy* (services, catering, tourism, small business, etc.) and the *possibility of mimesis* within the dense mesh of the community of compatriots that the metropolis offered to migrants who were *initially without a valid residence permit*.

The 1990s were also characterised by *fragmentation* of the Bangladeshi community and *dispersion* of many *probashi*⁶ across the country. It was characteristic for subjects

5 European countries with “recent” immigration offer relatively good working, social and wage conditions, on account of – especially in Italy – a growing labour market, the structural importance of the shadow economy and the instrumentally lax immigration policies (Basso and Perocco, 2003).

6 In Bangladesh, the emigrants are called *probashi*, which means “external inhabitants” or “those who went abroad.”

without documents to stay longer in the capital, as they depended on the Bangladeshi community and their support. Conversely, the ones that finally came into possession of a valid residence permit left the capital in order to achieve better social, working and living conditions (Knights, 1996; Zeitlyn, 2006).

Thus, various “bangla-towns” came into being in many areas of the Province, offering great possibilities of stabilisation, usually close to major industrial centres with vast employment *opportunities* in northern regions. Alte Ceccato can be included among these contexts.

3 Why going to *bidesh*?

The interviewees belong to the first generation of *probashi* in Italy: young and single, from the upper-middle class, with a higher education qualification. Children of lawyers, landowners, teachers, entrepreneurs, public administration employees, military officers, managers, that grew up in wealthy families in post-independence Bangladesh and that are today working as unskilled workers, inclined to work overtime and categorised under low-profile contracts. The Bangladeshi employed in the tannery district do not correspond to the working class in their country of origin and the work they do in Italy is something “they would never dream of doing in their home country” (Zeitlyn, 2006, 32).

Subsequently, individual and family motivations for immigration will be studied in depth, while acknowledging the structural factors of international migration (Basso, Perocco, 2003).

3.1 Migration as a means of family support and a coping strategy

Migration – especially to the West – represents a road that can be followed only by a small group of relatively well-off candidates, configured, thus, as a strategy to defend one's standards of living rather than a desperate attempt to survive.

In a strongly polarised and extremely impoverished Bangladeshi society, it is essential for the middle classes to defend their standards of living in order to avoid falling within a dispossessed majority group employed in the informal economy and striving every day to satisfy their daily food needs.⁷

7 For reasons of space it is not possible to discuss in greater detail the phenomenon of migration from Bangladeshi rural to urban areas (Abrar, Azad, 2004; Abrar, Lama, 2003; Abrar, Seeley, 2009; Khandakher et al., 2012; Siddiqui, 2003), which is often a consequence of climate change (Abrar, 2000; Abrar, Lama, 2003; Afsar, 2000; Ali, 1999; Gardner, 2010; Zug, 2006), structural adjustments

For Reevu, coming from a white-collar family, migration was a compulsory choice following the death of his father, the sole breadwinner of the family. This strategy was the only way to ensure a standard of living to which his family of origin was used, to ensure access to private health care and to keep the door to university education open for the younger brothers.

I have started my MPhil, but haven't finished it. Because when my father died I became the breadwinner of the family, I was the eldest son and all the responsibilities fell on my shoulders and so, for my five brothers, my sister and my mum I gave up the university and I came to Europe. Then all my life changed, suddenly. I don't like this life. I was also a student, I also wanted to have a job that I would like. I did the MPhil, the university, but I didn't find a job. I would like to live in my country, with my parents, with my family. But I cannot because of the "economic management" of the world that does not allow it. It is not only my issue but of the whole Bangladesh. I didn't have a choice.

(Reevu)

Migration, in this case, is considered *in* the family of origin and *for* the family of origin: Reevu cannot and does not want to avoid his responsibilities for economic support that his family attributes to him as a man and as a firstborn. He was forced to emigrate by global inequalities that put Bangladesh into a subordinate position compared to *bidesh* but also by expectations, hierarchies and family obligations.

3.2 Self-downgrading in *bidesh*, self-upgrading "in the country of origin"

Migration can also represent a strategy to defend one's status, which can lead to refusing a job considered inadequate with respect to one's qualification, social status and family prestige. In the rigidly hierarchical and ascriptive⁸ Bangladeshi society, where the legacy of the caste system – common for the social organisation of the subcontinent – still operates today, to work manually or to do work considered inappropriate to one's social background is considered an individual and collective failure which would undermine the honour and prestige of all the family members.

(Chossudovsky, 2003; Muhammad, 2007), privatisation and liberalisation process (Ali, 2007) and expropriations (Afsar, 2000; Ragusa, 2008; Saha, 2000 Zug, 2006) directly or indirectly imposed by international financial institutions and Western corporations.

8 Similarly to the requirements of the caste hierarchy, the social *status* is given according to belonging to a certain family clan. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the debate on (non)existence of a real hierarchical caste structure of the Bangladeshi society is marked by contrasting theoretical positions and empirical reflections (Priori, 2012).

I thought it would be difficult to find work for me in Bangladesh because I did not like to work as a bricklayer or in the tannery, I cannot work in a tannery in Bangladesh.

(Morad)

I studied up to high school, then I didn't start to work: two or three more years of study and I went away. I am not from a poor family, my dad has a little something in Bangladesh, but I have not found a suitable job and so, I came here. In Bangladesh I cannot find the job I studied for, if I find a work, I find a manual work.

(Ali)

Not being “from a poor family” implies fulfilment of specific social and professional expectations that, if they cannot be fulfilled in the country of origin, can push one to emigrate. Experiences lived by a son from a family traditionally working in the trade sector who becomes an employee, or of one belonging to a family of proprietors who moves from a condition ensuring an income not related to work to a condition requiring sale of one's own labour, are exclusively admissible in *bidesh*.

The migrants' moving from the south to the north (and from the east to the west) implies an improvement of their prospects and living standards with respect to those in the society of origin, but at the same time it is a social downgrading in the host society. Economic and development inequalities existing between the context of emigration and immigration entail a change of individual actors' social status: through a physical and symbolic movement the *probashi* moved from being first-class citizens in the “third world” to “second class citizens” – as one interviewee said – in the “first world”.

3.3 For a “first world” quality of life

Despite the downgrading inherent in migration, permanent stay in Europe offers *probashi* living standards that would be unimaginable in their country of origin:

I heard, I read, that in England, in the USA, in Europe the life is more beautiful. For example, the worker of a company, if the company is rich, he is not so rich but he can still buy a car. This is not possible in our country. [...]

We are in the third world. For the people from the third world it is not easy to come to the first world. I tried to do it, otherwise life would be difficult, I would not live well.

(Tariq)

Whoever, belonging to a middle class family, comes to Alte Ceccato has access to the living and working conditions of the working class in Europe – which means, in

any case, an improvement in living standards. Indeed, being a worker in Europe makes it possible to achieve some goals difficult to achieve in Bangladesh for the same job placement, while allowing access to a series of securities which would be unattainable in the context of origin.

Rumon, too, highlights the better living conditions in *bidesh*, explicitly stressing the limits of the services in the country of origin, giving particular attention to the health sector. Shantu emphasises the almost total lack of a social security system:

In my country the hospitals work very badly and the quality is low. There are many private hospitals and clinics, like in America, but they are very expensive. Health care is better in Italy. I am getting old and I am thinking about so many things...

(Rumon)

The government doesn't help you there, in my country there is no pension, who works for the government has the pension, but few people work for the government. So I left because I was seeking a future in *bidesh*.

(Shantu)

Daily difficulties are added to the uncertainty about the future: lack of foodstuffs not compromised by harmful substances, the highest population density in the world,⁹ a widespread micro criminality forcing the inhabitants of the major urban centres to self-impose an evening curfew, difficulties in moving and limited infrastructure connections. These are just some factors that compromise quality of life and curtail future achievements.

3.4 Regaining upward mobility

A further boost to migration is fuelled by the desire to regain the upward social mobility that the *probashi* recognise in their family's previous generations and from which they feel they cannot benefit. In order to understand the social immobility of many representatives of the younger generations of the Bangladeshi middle-class, it is necessary to trace the historical, political and economic evolution of the first thirty years of the country.

Bangladesh was founded as an independent state in 1971, after a bloody war of independence from Pakistan. After the initial enthusiasm for independence expressed by many representatives of the national bourgeoisie, the newly formed People's Republic became the protagonist of a systematic program of nationalisation, but also

9 More than 1,000 inhabitants/km² at the national level, 49,000 inhabitants/km² in the capital (Muhammad, 2007).

of a series of coups, military dictatorships and political crises. This has resulted in a long period of instability that – despite the formal establishment of a parliamentary democracy – has lasted until present and that has seen two main political formations alternating in the government, bringing their supporters even to violent physical confrontation (Van Schendel, 2009). Political instability has seen a rise in economic insecurity related to structural adjustments and intense privatisation campaigns imposed by international financial institutions (Chossudovsky, 2003; Muhammad, 2007).

The continuous changes in the political landscape and the deep budget cuts have brought about a climate of profound violence, extreme insecurity and widespread corruption, thus blocking the aspirations of those groups of families who, although possessing means of subsistence and cultural capital, cannot improve their social status. On the contrary, they risk a worsening of their condition.

Following the establishment of military regimes, the industrial and economic growth, and the growth of the education have stopped. Normally it takes five years to finish college but it took me eleven years because the universities were continuously closed by the military government. In the '80s and '90s, there were many problems related to the politics, social problems that have triggered frustration of the younger generations. [...] For this, many people were pushed to leave the country. The migration was the only way to have something done.

(Zaeed)

Migration is configured as a strategy of the middle classes to regain the path of upward mobility blocked by recent historical and political developments and by the radical economic changes that have affected the country. The perception of social immobility can be easily felt in the words of Tariq and Rinku.

I was from a neither rich and neither poor family. An average family. "Average" means that my father had a work and we have always had a life without problems. We ate, we slept and every month we haven't saved anything, we were always at the same level. For this, when I grew up, I was thinking: "What if I take over the work that was doing my dad who lost his life."

(Tariq)

In Bangladesh our dad was not really rich but my grandfather, father of my father, had a lot of land. [...] Here a worker manages to live a normal life. From here, the middle-class cannot come up, cannot come down, it remains stable.

(Rinku)

Significant representatives of the first generations of graduates, a quarter-century since the end of the liberation war and the birth of the country, embark on migration. This way, they can, in Europe, put to use their university degrees and professional skills. However, this illusion is quickly replaced by the reality of having to remain, in the land of immigration, “labourers for life” (Sayad, 1999), unskilled workers excluded once again from all forms of mobility in spite of the qualification obtained in the country of origin.

3.5 Escaping political repression

Not even the formal establishment of parliamentary democracy in 1991 has succeeded in stabilising the Bangladeshi political framework (ivi 2.4). Political violence and the practice of physical elimination of rivals carried out by the military establishment obedient to the ruling party – which alternates between the Awami League and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party – represents a daily reality up to the present time, one which has driven many to leave the country.

I was involved in the activities of the Awami League. It all started with two murders. Two leaders of Awami League were murdered. This happened when I was at their house because I belonged to their political group. I had to escape. They were searching for me and I had to change the city. I went to Naria where I had stayed for over four years at my father's cousins' place. There I saw that they were all going to Italy, so I asked my brother if he could arrange my departure for Italy. He managed to get a study visa and I managed to come to Italy. I had to go to Italy because the police and Rab were looking for me.

(Uddin)

These interviewees, who fled the country due to political alternations that would endanger their lives, are undergoing a long process towards regularisation in *bidesh*. The condition of administrative irregularity prevents their comeback to Bangladesh for years, thus forcing them to begin a process of rooting in the context of immigration. On the occasion of their first return to their home country, the *probashi* find a significantly transformed society, even more polarised and with further reduced growth margins for the middle classes to which they belong.

Devoid of social capital to undertake a job or a commercial activity in a context in which, moreover, the cost of living has now significantly increased, Uddin decided to take advantage of the administrative regularity obtained with difficulty to permanently move his life project to Italy, thus prolonging what was initially meant to be a temporary exile for political reasons:

I don't have political problems anymore. [...] It has already been ten years, it was already long time ago and the situation in Bangladesh has changed a lot. But now I have to do something in Italy because I am no longer “compatible” with my country. [...] Ten years ago I could start a business with 500 thousand taka, but now I could not do it even with 5 million taka! Besides, if I return to Bangladesh I have to resume the political activity, but if the Awami League loses again I would have problems again.

(Uddin)

Rahaman, on the other hand, is aware that the years spent outside “the country” has rendered impossible both his inclusion in the labour market back home – because of his age – and a comeback as a leader within the ranks of his party – because of the long absence from the political scene. Moreover, the male breadwinner responsibilities towards the family built in Italy in the meantime do not allow him to give up his current position as a labourer in a chemical factory in Vicenza.

Now the Awami League has won again but I cannot go back to the country because I would not find a job: I'm thirty-five, thirty-six. [...] Now in my country there are no problems. This year the Awami League went up, that's fine, but I lost so many years, it makes no sense to return. I cannot go back and do the “mayor” of my village.

(Rahaman)

The migration of the protagonists of these narrations, albeit represented by themselves as a rough experience due to contingent causes with respect to a precise political picture, has been configured over the years as an irreversible process.

3.6 Getting married “higher”

In a hierarchical and ascriptive society, marriage exchanges occur according to a logic tending towards homogamy. The variables existing in the marriage negotiations, however, constitute the intersection between the qualities attributed at birth and the elements of class distinction. Failure to possess some characteristics acquired through the family of origin can, indeed, be compensated by other possessions that ensure greater negotiation power in the marriage arena.

The lack of job prospects in line with the relevant level of education and the lack of opportunities for social mobility push many unmarried men from the middle class towards the edge of the marriage market. Migration is, once again, the solution to this socio-biographical impasse. Indeed, it transfers to *probashi* the economic power symbolising *bidesh* and reactivates the upward social dynamism, thus improving their position in the marriage market.

The administrative irregularity and the subsequent regularisation accomplished in the framework of migration, however, force them to redefine the marriage project due to the delayed return that it causes, the ageing factor related thereto and, therefore, the inevitable widening of the gap between the *probashi* and the candidate bride. Consequently, the choice of partners is narrowed down but also to be reconsidered at the parental project and the number of children of the couple:

My mother wanted to see me married, she kept telling me to get married. [...] But everything depended on my residence permit in Italy: until I didn't have the permit I had to put off the wedding because I could not go back to Bangladesh.

(Uddin)

When I left [Bangladesh] I wasn't married, I had to do it right away, otherwise I would get old and would get married too late. My mother was always crying because of this. [...] As soon as I got the residence permit I went back to Bangladesh to get married. But it was too late. [...] I got married late because I came to Europe and I managed to go back to Bangladesh only eleven years afterwards. [...] I should have got married a bit sooner, so that my son would be born sooner and now he would be big and could help me when I will be old. If you get married late, you will have kids late.

(Sherif)

The words of the interviewees shed light on the contradictory effects of migration on their marriage trajectories: if, on the one hand, it implies an improvement in their positioning in the local marriage market, on the other hand, the prolonged administrative irregularity during the first years in Europe risks to undermine this event.

3.7 “Seeing the world” and becoming men

Migration represents a passage towards adulthood. The geographical transition from Bangladesh to *bidesh* coincides with the symbolic and biographical transition from youth to adulthood, with establishing a new socio-existential condition.

The difficulties connected to the process of obtaining a valid visa for Europe, the enormous required resources, and most importantly the risks associated with the irregularity of a migratory path, but also the real economic, social and symbolic opportunities contribute to the creation of a mythical and idealised representation of *bidesh*. This contrasts with the sense of immobility and confinement within the narrow perimeter of the native country. Indeed, migration offers an unusual

experience of the geographical mobility through which the world can be observed and life can be lived.

My dad was a geography teacher, he was good at making maps, at drawing a world map. When I was a child, I was studying geography and history with him and he used to tell me: “Look: in the middle of the world there is a country called Sicily, there is a sea, the Mediterranean sea, this sea is in the middle of the Earth. In the middle of the world. When you will grow up, you have to travel around the world, there are so many islands in that sea.” This remained inside my head. Then, I was thinking one day: “Let's see, I will go out a bit, I want to see that world”, but I didn't know that I would be able to come here, up till here, in Italy. For me it was just a dream.

(Rinku)

On the one hand, by virtue of hierarchical relations established between centres and peripheries of the global economy, *bidesh* symbolises the economic and political power and, consequently, the possibility to transform one's social status. On the other hand, it represents an opening towards the outside world and the experience of a world “outside” of Bangladesh.

Such representations fuel what a stakeholder called “migratory fever”. The interviewees frequently use the expression “to see the world”, thus transposing migration to the dimension of a journey.

When I was a little boy I saw a lot of people leaving from Bangladesh. I tell you the truth: I left from Bangladesh because I wanted to see the world, have experience. [...] I thought: “I want to see how it is outside” and so I went out.

(Shantu)

In my country I was fine, I had a good work, everything just fine. But I wanted to travel a bit, see new countries, see how life is in Europe.

(Sharif)

Europe is a dream for generations of young educated people also due to the image of modernity, culture and cosmopolitanism with which it is associated, and due to the possibilities of experiences and self-training that it offers (Ashraf, 2010). It is also the contact with the “outside” world that makes possible the creative act of social magic of transformation of oneself, transferring to the individuals the qualities of which the symbolic universe of *bidesh* is the bearer and generator.

After the migration he became more bright and adult than before. I think that now my brother Rinku is an “international” person, he is able to have a

conversation with anyone, once he was very shy but now he meets people, he is an “international” person. This is a real change.

(Khan)

The *probashi* embody characteristics of modernity and cosmopolitanism in the eyes of those who have no access to diaspora. Sometimes it is the sense of danger, the ability to take a risk and the awareness of the high possibility of failure which feed the personal challenge young Bangladeshi take on in order to prove *to be and want to be* men. They recognise the obligation towards themselves to start their life: “I was not obliged but it was as if I was obliged... because I had to start to live my life!” stresses Hassan.

Migration represents a form of evolution with respect to those who remain in Bangladesh, which allows them to make the acts of social imagination real in Italy and to become aware, as a subject advocate of one's own destiny, of the self-construction and self-perception. Access to *bidesh* constitutes both an opportunity for emancipation from control and family protection as well as an opportunity for freedom from unemployment or an indefinite wait for a job matching one's expectations. The experience of diaspora and economic resources that it has allowed them to accumulate promotes the migrants and makes them move upward in the family hierarchy, attributing to them, thus, a new authority of European income providers.

Considered from this perspective, the first temporary migrants' return to the homeland takes on a special meaning: it marks the end of one phase of life in which migrants are not yet mature men and at the same time opens an existential cycle characterised by their entry into the adult world.

4 Conclusions

To elaborate further the multiplicity of facets of international migration and to fully understand the plurality of underlying forces, it is necessary to strain the structural and individual factors, to observe the interplay between objective causes and subjective incentives, to adopt a historical perspective and to rebuild the political, economic and social evolution among people, nations and continents.

Various authors (Gardner, 2010; Samaddar, 1999) agree that in order to study the phenomenon of migration with Bangladesh as its main protagonist, it is indispensable to go back to the administrative division of the Indian subcontinent (Ahmad, 1975; Van Schendel, 2005).

Indeed, the consequences of British colonialism were so deep that the effects are still felt in the present time (Collotti Pischel, 1973; Panikkar, 1958; Torri, 2000). It has created deep levels of economic and development inequality between the peripheries and centres of the global market (Wallerstein, 1979).

The methods of colonial control and management of the British administration has also led, on the one hand, to the creation of a small privileged elite in the face of a dispossessed majority group in a highly complex system of institutionalized social ranking and, on the other hand, to the exacerbation of social contrasts that have presumably imitated “ethno-sectarian” lines.

These objective elements allow understanding and explaining of the conditions of impoverishment faced by Bangladesh and the origin of the liberation war the country fought against Pakistan to achieve its independence. Such a troubled past could not but develop into an equally unstable present. As mentioned before, the country has gone through a series of coups and a long period of instability, aggravated by a strong economic dependence imposed by international financial institutions.

Consequently, dynamics and structural relations are taking shape which, according to *macro* approaches, represent the basis of migration phenomena: inequalities between nations and continents, desire of economic and social freedom of “ex” colonised nations and labour exporters, the “thirst” of the “ex”-colonisers for a low-cost workforce vulnerable to blackmail.

Within this framework, supported by a very solid structural basis, however, subjective reasons and individual agencies of different actors (as described by the *micro* theories), individuals or families, who put themselves “on the way”, take shape or are shaped, often taking advantage of their own social capital, undertaking and once again producing transnational migration networks – as emphasised by the *meso-level* theories (Abrar, Seeley, 2009; Kibria, 2011; Siddiqui, 2003).

Thus, *in the context of unequal division of work on a global scale*, migration can be configured as a family mandate and a strategy for confronting critical issues that threaten the standards of living of one's domestic aggregate. It can be an opportunity to reactivate upward social mobility or to gain new experiences in a reality offering possibilities of self-training. It can also represent an escape from political violence or a better ranking within the local marriage market, or even a test that one undergoes in order to enter adult life.

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Francesco Della Puppa

Bidesh sredi Sredozemskega morja: biografske poti in migracijski vzorci bangladeške diaspore v Italiji

Ključne besede: bangladeška diaspora, priseljenci v Italiji, migracije, transnacionalizem, družbena stratifikacija, razlogi za migracije

Članek izhaja iz širšega raziskovalnega konteksta, osredotočenega na bangladeško skupnost v lokalnem, visokoindustrializiranem okolju na severovzhodu Italije. Raziskovalno delo vključuje daljša obdobja opazovanja z udeležbo in etnografske raziskovalne prakse tako v Italiji kot v Bangladešu, pri čemer je bilo izvedenih štiriinšestdeset poglobljenih intervjujev z Bangladeškimi imigranti v Italiji in z njihovimi družinami v Bangladešu. Nekateri intervjuji so bili izvedeni tudi z izbranimi relevantnimi pričami in drugimi deležniki.

Fokus raziskave se tako nagiba k dejavnikom (objektivnim in subjektivnim ter strukturnim in individualnim), ki oblikujejo segment bangladeške diaspore, usmerjen k sredozemski Evropi, natančneje, Italiji. Po drugi strani pa je fokus usmerjen k izkušnjam migrantov – večinoma neporočenih moških – in učinkom, ki jih ima migracija na njihove družbene in biografske trajektorije.

Prispevek najprej oriše zgodovinski razvoj izvora respondentov in izpostavi strukturne determinante, nato pa pokaže, kako je lahko migracija izkušena in percipirana kot: družinska strategija soočanja s kriznimi situacijami; ključ do dosega individualne in kolektivne družbene mobilnosti (navzgor); zagotavljanje boljših življenjskih pogojev; pobeg pred politično represijo; način izboljšanja položaja na trgu poroke; pot v moško odraslost.

John A. Schembri, Maria Attard

The Foreigner Counts: a spatio-temporal analysis of occupiers, immigrants and expatriate residents in Malta

Keywords: immigration, Mediterranean Region, Malta, illegal immigration, North Africa

1 Introduction

The effects of immigration on the resident population and the overall resources of the receiving countries has always been a contentious affair with the ongoing debate centering on whether the new entrants (illegal or otherwise) are having a negative financial and environmental effect on their hosts. This situation has been highlighted through the contrasting situations put forward by Portes (2013) in his article entitled “An Exercise in Scapegoating.” Here Portes (2013) reviews a book by Goodhart (2013), who argues that the assertions concerning the plight of the young, white working class whose jobs are being taken up by low-skilled immigrants and that, on the opposite educational spectrum, the highly skilled immigrants who occupy positions that would otherwise be taken by the local graduate workforce, are stunting social mobility. The second issue centers on the decline in the shared sense of community at all geographic levels, where immigrants form separate enclaves within urban agglomerations, with language differentiation, which ultimately raises the question as to the extent to which immigrants identify with their host country. Successive generations of this create a palimpsest of superimposed cultures (Portes, 2013).

In the case of particular regions, such as the Mediterranean, intensive population movements between countries have been known for centuries. As a consequence Mediterranean societies have fundamentally influenced one another since ancient times.

The islands of Malta lie 96 km south of Sicily and 290 km from North Africa in the Mediterranean Sea. They have been the southernmost tip of the European Union since accession in 2004. The islands have a total area of 318 km², of which 27% is built up mostly in a continuous urban agglomeration and consists of the main island of Malta, with a population of just over 384,912, and Gozo and Comino, with

a population of 31,143 (NSO, 2012). The population density is one of the highest in the world and the space is limited, creating pressures on the use of land and economic development. In addition to the resident population, Malta also experiences over one million tourists a year, particularly during the summer (NSO, 2008).

This paper provides an overview of the history and geographies of the main occupants of Malta and then explores the changing nature of foreign residents in the islands. The study uses literature to outline the historical occupation of the islands and the national Censuses of Population and Housing to provide a spatio-temporal analysis of immigrants and expatriate residents in the islands. The paper aims to shed some light on the history and geographies of immigration in Malta and contribute to the current discussions on security, boundaries and immigration in the Mediterranean Region.

2 Literature Review

Population migration has been one of the most researched themes in human geography ever since Ravenstein (1885; 1889) provided the academic world with his Laws through his observations of internal migration movements in Britain and Irish emigration to North America. Subsequent studies tackled the intervening obstacles faced by migrants (Stouffer, 1940; Lee, 1966); intercity movements (Zipf, 1946); and chain migration (Hugo, 1994). Economic scenarios were studied in the Roy (1951) and the Harris and Todaro (1971) models, whilst Massey et al. (1993) provided a comprehensive review of the late 20th century literature, providing a particular emphasis on international migration – a key element being that of family units controlling their offsprings who emigrate to provide the necessary capital for those who remain back home and therefore affecting the redistribution of income and land. Massey et al. (1993) emphasise the fact that “migration begets migration” and provide a cumulative process that results in Castles and Miller's (2003) “assistance of new migrants by those already in the receiving society”. Castles and Miller (2003) called the last years of the twentieth century the “age of migration”. Zolberg (1989) went further in writing that the late twentieth century has seen migration propelled to the forefront of humanistic and political concerns.

The global migratory flows of people across landmasses and seas has been the result of population pressures, the effects of short or long term changes to the immediate environment, the need to find alternative sources of food, energy and climates, and humankind's thirst for adventure and discovery. These flows of people across a range of geographies brought about cross-fertilization of cultural norms, exchange of traditional artefacts, genes, ideas, and the absorption of one culture into another.

Some of the overall geographies of these movements included: people travelling towards and later around temperate climates with the main pathways traced along coastal margins; people travelling across seas only after land territory was secured; and finally people travelling to islands as the last outposts to be populated (Watson, 2012). The Mediterranean was colonised, via the fertile lands of the Middle East and the South-western Asian continent, about 20,000 years ago. Grove and Rackham (2003) identify a range of possible dates at which the earliest known evidence of human presence on the larger Mediterranean islands could have existed. The range shows a spread of about 15,000 years from ca. 21,000 BC for Sardinia to about 6,000 BC for Malta. Grima (2011) details the environmental situation in Malta when the first settlers travelled from Sicily.

Over the last eight millennia population movements into the region have patterned the landscape. Debussche et al. (1999) provided a pictorial interpretation of this landscape, whereas King et al. (1996) showed flows from the Mediterranean towards northwest Europe in contemporary times. Braudel (1949) acknowledged that although flows of people characterised the Mediterranean, the “genuine intermingling of populations was to be found only inside each region [east or west], and within these limits it defied all barriers of race, culture or religion”.

3 The Mediterranean Population

The Mediterranean Sea has an area of 2.5m km² with a watershed area of about 400,000 km², a 36,000 km coastline, is characterised by five major peninsulas, many islands, all of which are (except two) identified with any one of the 20 littoral countries, and has a population of 150 million living along its coastal areas (Bluemassed Project, 2013). It occupies a central position in the absorption and diffusion of cultural norms between the historical East and West and the contemporary North and South. This fusion of the main population flows can be clearly experienced in Malta, which is at the centre of the Mediterranean, with its proximity to both Sicily and North Africa, and is influenced by a succession of occupiers from all directions, including non-Mediterranean people such as the British in the 19th and 20th centuries and sub-Saharan immigrants mainly in the 21st century. Whereas in the past sheltered harbours and strategic value influenced colonisers, today it is economic and political stability and European Union membership (and proximity to Europe) that attracts immigrants.

The nature and character of Mediterranean migration changed dramatically in the last century, mainly due to changes in the broader political and economic context of the region (de Haas, 2011). Southern Europe, in particular has played a pivotal role in reshaping migration flows, as it joined the European Union and changed from

a region of mass emigration (to the North) to one of mass immigration – especially since the 90s, with illegal immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa and Asia (Fonseca, 2001).

Table 1 shows the population of the Mediterranean countries, with the region divided into three sectors identified by the countries in the northern rim, those on the eastern seaboard and the south, and the smaller states and islands in the third group. The five-fold increase in the countries of the second group since 1950 is clearly evident.

Table 1: Population trends (in millions and % change) in the Mediterranean sub-regions 1950-2025, Grenon and Batisse (1989).

	A	% change	B	% change	C	% change	Total	% change
1950	140	-	67	-	5	-	212	-
1980	180	28.6	142	119.4	10	200.0	333	57.0
2000	194	7.8	226	59.2	14	40.0	433	30.0
2025	199	2.6	329	45.6	19	35.7	547	26.3

Sub-group A: Spain, France, Italy, Greece, [ex-] Yugoslavia

Sub-group B: Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco

Sub-group C: Malta, Cyprus, Albania, Israel, Lebanon

De Haas (2011) identifies four main phases of post-war Mediterranean migration patterns. The first phase (1948-1963) surrounded the post-war reconstruction era with rapid economic growth and increased labour demand in the north-west of Europe, which reflected in a northbound migration to northern Mediterranean countries. The second phase (1963-1973) is associated with the 'guest worker' boom with migration from Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey into Europe which peaked in the early 1970s (de Haas, 2007a). The third phase (1973-2008) is marked by milestones which changed the patterns of migration, starting from the Oil Crisis in the early 1970s, when Southern Mediterranean countries experienced an increase in immigration; the subsequent economic recession in Europe slowed down northbound immigration, and eventually the political upheavals of the early 1990s changed once again the migration trends in the Mediterranean. Southern European states such as Spain and Italy emerged as main destinations for labour migrants from the southern Mediterranean (Gallina, 2006). During this phase the number of sub-Saharan migrants into North Africa grew and led to the increasing numbers of illegal attempts to reach Europe by boat (de Haas, 2007b). The fourth phase (2008 - to date) sees the rise of strict border controls and the impact of the financial crisis on the number of movements.

The concerns over security of European borders have been particularly high on the agenda for the Mediterranean (and Europe) in the last decade or so primarily due to the numbers of illegal immigrants crossing from the South to the North of the Mediterranean. These immigrants are also called 'boat people' and the term refers to seaborne migrants, including refugees and asylum seekers who in many cases are smuggled into Europe (Pugh, 2000); many perish at sea during the dangerous journey on small boats. Recent events, such as the Arab spring, have pushed further the security concerns in the Mediterranean. Fargues and Fandrich (2000) estimate a total of 1.1 million persons fled Libya during the Spring/Summer of 2011, with over 27,000 migrants and refugees fleeing to Italy and Malta.

Mediterranean islands have a chequered history when it comes to their political occupation and utilisation of their location, space and resources. All islands in the Mediterranean fall under the political jurisdiction of a continental country, with the exception of Cyprus and Malta, both of which are former British colonies. Most of the Mediterranean islands are located along the northern littoral with large numbers in the Aegean and the Adriatic. Islands to the south (Sicily) and west (Sardinia and Corsica) of Italy are classified among the largest in area whilst Malta, although considered as one of the smallest, has a very high population density. The central Mediterranean islands are considered to be relatively isolated, with the Pelagic Islands (considered as part of Italy) and Malta having an interesting history. The sovereign powers who occupied them over the last five centuries have given them different socio-economic and political pathways, such as the number of languages spoken in these islands throughout history (Brincat, 2011). Table 2 details the various occupiers of Malta and provides the context and influence of migration to and from the islands over time.

4 Migrant influence on the demographic situation in Malta

Although strict periodicity of the decennial census was respected during the British period between 1851 and 1931, the carrying-out of the last four demographic exercises (1985-2011) was thorough enough to provide reliable information on the local and foreign population. Another reason to focus the study on the last four censuses was the departure of the British military garrison which might have offset any foreign enumeration during the British presence.

Table 2: Chronological sequence of Malta's occupiers, Blouet (1994); Azzopardi (1995).

Period/Occupiers	Years
Neolithic	5000–2000 BC
Megalithic	3750–1800 BC
Phoenician	800–480 BC
Carthaginian	480–218 BC
Roman	218–395 AD
Byzantine	395–870 AD
Arabic	870–1090 AD
Norman	1090–1194 AD
Sicilian and other Europeans*	1184–1530 AD
Knights of St. John	1530–1798 AD
French	1798–1800 AD
British	1800–1964 AD
Independence	1964–to date

*Swabians, Angevins, Aragonese, Castillians

Overall, Malta experienced a rapid increase in population over the last century (more specifically 75% increase in the last 80 years), coupled with economic growth and a steady increase in GDP. Table 3 shows the relevant data with the age structure used as a demographic variable. The drastic decline in the percentage of the young age group is reflected in an increase in the 65+ group. Taking the argument a step further and using the same parameters but differentiating between the local and the immigrant population, the percentage of the immigrant working age group, as represented by the 15-64 cohorts, increased from two-thirds of the population in 1985 to three-quarters of the population in 2011.

The overall foreign population in the islands has increased from 2% to 5% in the 26-year span between 1985 and 2011, when compared to the national population enumeration (Table 3). The actual immigrant population increased four-fold during the same period, increasing faster following Malta's EU accession.

Table 3: Percentage distribution of Maltese and immigrant population by age-groups 1985-2011, CSO (1987); NSO (1997; 2007; 2012).

	1985		1995		2005		2011	
	Maltese	Foreign	Maltese	Foreign	Maltese	Foreign	Maltese	Foreign
0-14	24.1%	17.7%	21.9%	11.7%	17.2%	10.9%	14.8%	10.4%
15-64	66.0%	61.9%	66.7%	75.2%	69.1%	76.7%	68.9%	76.1%
65+	9.9%	18.4%	11.4%	13.1%	13.7%	12.4%	16.3%	13.2%
Total	345,418	4,798	378,132	7,213	404,962	12,112	416,055	20,084

4.1 Regional distribution

Although by international standards Malta ranks as a small country, the National Statistics Office divides the islands into six demographic divisions (Figure 1). To ease the analysis the districts have been grouped into three: the southern group, the northern group, and Gozo (Table 4).

Figure 1 and Table 4 present the number of non-Maltese in each of the districts. Whilst the figures for Gozo only show a marked increase in the last six years, the percentage share over the study period declined by over a half. This was due to the influx of foreigners in the other districts. In addition, although the public impression is of a South replete with foreigners (mostly illegal immigrants housed in refugee centres), it is the North that always registered two-thirds of the immigrant population in the islands. Further remarks about Table 4 are listed below.

- The major change occurred in the South-eastern district, with an almost nine-fold increase in immigrants living there, and with a quintuple increase over the last six years.
- The increase was more gradual for the Western district and for Gozo than for the other four districts.
- The Northern district houses the highest number of foreigners, with one-quarter of the total mostly for Gozo.
- The Northern districts have about four times as many foreigners as the South, with three-quarters of the foreigners housed within.
- Whilst the share of the foreigners in the North increased by only 2% that of the south increased by 8.4%
- Although the figures for the Southern Harbour district increased almost fourfold there was an overall decrease of 2.1% with respect to the whole of Malta.

Figure 1: Growth in non-Maltese population by District between census years 1985-2011. Drawn by author. Drawn by author, COS (1987); NSO (1997; 2007; 2012).

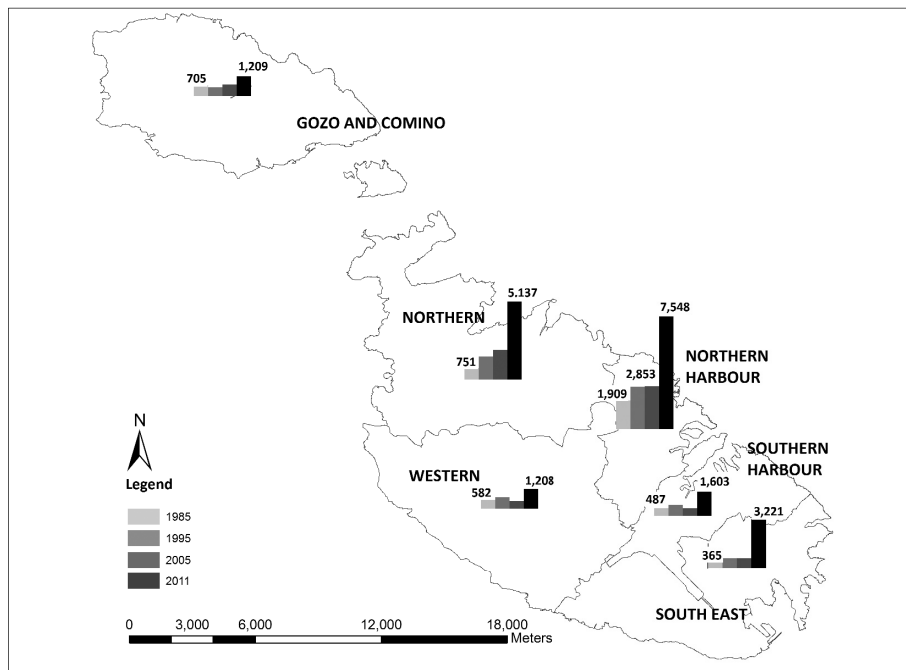


Table 4: Enumerated non-Maltese population by District 1985-2011, CSO (1987); NSO (1997; 2007; 2012).

District	1985		1995		2005		2011	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Southern Harbour	487	10.1	735	10.5	498	6.9	1,603	8.0
South Eastern	365	7.6	654	9.3	669	9.3	3,221	16.0
Total - South	852	17.7	1,389	19.8	1,167	16.2	4,824	24.0
Northern Harbour	1,909	39.8	2,799	39.8	2,853	39.5	7,548	37.6
Western	582	12.1	742	10.6	479	6.6	1,287	6.4
Northern	751	15.7	1,524	21.6	1,967	27.8	5,137	25.6
Total - North	3,242	67.6	5,065	72.0	5,299	73.4	13,972	69.6
North+South	4,094	85.3	6,454	91.8	6,466	89.6	18,796	93.6
Gozo/Comino	705	14.7	579	8.2	754	10.4	1,290	6.4
MALTA	4,799	100	7,033	100	7,220	100	20,084	100

However, with Malta having one of the highest population densities in the world, discussing density becomes useful when evaluating the impact of humans on the environment. The scope of Table 5 is to provide the population densities per district. The figures, besides demonstrating the high population densities also indicate a high density of foreigners. Whilst the percentage of foreigners make up 4.8% of the whole population, the highest number and percentage is found in the Northern Harbour district and accounts for 8.1% of the people residing there. The lowest percentage is found on Gozo, at 1,290 foreigners from a population of just over 30,000. Despite the fact that the number of foreigners in the North is almost three times that of the South, the density of foreigners is 2.8 times higher in the South. The ranges are similar to (whole) population densities across other countries in Europe such as the UK (259 p/km²), Germany (235 p/km²) and Norway (16 p/km²). In North Africa very low densities are evident in Egypt (80 p/km²), Algeria (16 p/km²) and Libya (3 p/km²) (The World Bank, 2013).

Table 5: Distribution of population and density by District 2011, NSO (2012).

Demographic District	Area (km ²)	Total Population	Total Population density p/km ²	Foreign Population	Foreign population density p/km ²
Southern Harbour	26.13	79,203	3,026	1,603	61.3
South Eastern	49.71	64,121	1,278	3,221	64.8
Total - South	75.84	143,324	1,890	4,824	63.6
Northern Harbour	24.07	120,063	4,997	7,548	313.6
Western	72.88	57,928	799	1,287	17.7
Northern	73.65	63,597	254	5,137	69.7
Total - North	170.60	241,588	1,416	13,972	27.3
North+South	246.44	384,912	1,561	18,796	76.3
Gozo/Comino	68.78	31,143	454	1,290	18.8
MALTA	315.22	416,055	1,320	20,086	63.7

The source of immigrants into Malta has also changed over the last three decades (Table 6). The European countries' share has remained consistent and increased threefold, with extra-EC immigrants providing around one-fifth of the total. The share of foreigners from African states and other third countries has declined, with the introduction of "stateless" residents appearing in 2005 and making up 1.6% of the foreign residents in Malta. These refer to regularized illegal immigrants who were granted refugee status and settled in Malta.

Table 6: Nationality of foreigners residing in Malta 1985-2005, CSO (1987); NSO (1997; 2007).

Nationality	1985		1995		2005	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
British	2,400	50.0	3,555	48.5	4,713	38.9
Italian	154	3.2	410	5.6	585	4.8
French	31	0.7	51	0.7	127	1.0
German	102	2.1	196	2.7	518	4.3
Other EU	241	5.0	289	4.0	1,079	8.9
Other Europeans	-	-	574	7.8	2,033	16.8
Total	2,928	61.0	5,075	69.4	9,055	74.7
Libyan	216	4.5	285	3.9	493	4.1
Egyptian	13	0.3	-	-	-	-
Total	229	4.8	285	3.9	493	4.1
American	488	10.2	297	4.1	255	2.1
Canadian	311	6.5	259	3.5	170	1.4
Australian	-	-	556	7.6	372	3.1
Others	842	17.5	853	11.5	1,569	13.0
Stateless	-	-	-	-	198	1.6
Total	1,641	34.2	1,965	26.7	2,564	21.2
TOTAL	4,798	100	7,325	100	12,112	100

4.2 Expatriate residence

The influx of foreign residents into Malta has been a relatively steady flow of mainly British and European nationals, with retirees being predominant. A number of returning migrants also add to the inflow. Regulations and programmes pertaining to residency permits issued by the Malta Government have been in place for decades and also modified over the years. The latest study (Deloitte Malta, 2012) identified three main categories – namely, the Malta Retirement Programme (MRP), the High Net Worth Individual Scheme (HNWIR) and the Ordinary Residence (OR). Applicants are expected to follow regulations pertaining to income tax, annual remittances, the minimum immovable property requirement, and the health insurance requirement.

Over the last few years Malta was able to attract many foreigners to invest in property. Almost 5% of the residential base is foreign owned, mostly by the British, whose expat population nears 15,000. According to Henderson (2013) this is due to the changes in residency regulations and the availability of top-end, high-quality property and prestigious locations, together with a limited but steady stream of older, traditional houses on the market. A flat rate tax of 15%, with a minimum of tax payable at €20,000 and €2,000 for each dependent, and a minimum of 90 days residence per year have turned Malta into a retirement haven (Henderson, 2011; 2013).

Table 6 indicates a doubling of British settlers in Malta over a 20-year period,¹ with other nationalities showing significant increases, mainly from Eastern European and non-EU nationals. The year 2005 shows a broadening of the sources of immigration to include significant arrivals from a spread of other states, this includes the 'Others' category that shows the global spread of origins from countries never before listed.

4.3 Boat people

Various terminologies identify the mainly sub-Saharan immigrants that undertake hazardous journeys across Africa and the Mediterranean Sea to reach European shores, and the term 'boat people' was coined in 1975 at the end of the Indochina war when "Vietnamese left clandestinely in ramshackle boats" to nearby lands (Butterfield, 1979). Today the term is used to identify the broad range of people arriving by boats on the last leg of their journeys from, in the case of the Mediterranean, sub-Saharan Africa (Spiteri, 2013). This illegal activity has been highlighted by the media in recent years and has been discussed in various fora, including human rights fora. The situation in the Mediterranean is practically the reversal of the European expatriate movement, with flows of Africans into the Southern European countries. A marked socio-economic and cultural contrast is identified with respect to boat people when compared to that of the Maltese returned migrants or the expatriates. Figure 2 reports the number of boats arriving in Malta between 2002-2012 and carrying illegal immigrants to Malta.

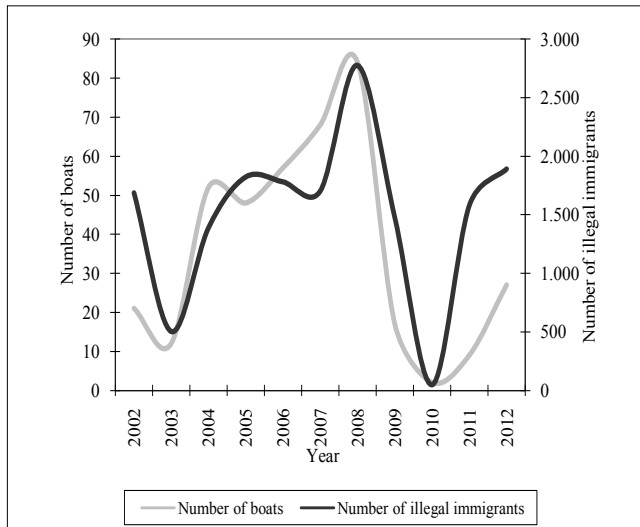
The substantial decline in the number of landings in 2010 is mainly attributed to the economic crisis in Europe but also to the initiatives set in place by Frontex, particularly in the central Mediterranean, with collaboration and joint patrols between Italy and Libya in 2009 (Anon, 2010; Frontex, 2010).

The procedures to protect the irregular immigrants in Malta, although heavily criticized by the European Union's watchdog administrators, are in place and generally

¹ At the time of writing, the full 2011 Census had not been published; therefore details about the nationality of foreigners in 2011 are not yet known.

follow established lines. Following rescue, boat people are taken into custody at the police headquarters for administrative, medical and other matters. They are then placed in either closed or open centres, mostly located in the south of the island, depending on their statuses of refugees or otherwise.

Figure 2: Number of boats and illegal immigrants arriving in Malta 2002-2012, NSO (2013).



5 Conclusions

The scenario of the Maltese immigrant population has changed appreciably over the last two decades. From the main sources being expatriates originating from the UK and returning migrants from Australia and North America, the situation today involves mainly immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa. This situation sparked off moral debates involving Governments, NGOs and the European Union, to practical measures involving the surveillance of the Mediterranean area and the housing and safe keeping of immigrants. Debates about repatriation, relocation and permanent residency are on-going.

In addition to these one needs to add the question of local carrying capacity. The discussion of densities and how the local immigrant population density is equivalent to that of the whole population inhabiting some European countries raises an important dimension with respect to the impact of immigrants on the geographies of the local resource base.

Future scenarios envisage: tri-partite discussions among the governments of Italy, Malta and Greece to establish the best possible ways to handle sub-Saharan immigrant influx; ways of attracting second and third generation offspring of Maltese migrants as a way of enhancing the tourist product; and the efficient utilisation of skills pertaining to the continuous flow of EU nationals from Eastern European countries.

Further research on this theme is necessary to understand the diffusion of sub-Saharan immigrants into the various localities of the islands; the growth in expatriate immigration; the spatio-temporal analysis of the impact of all types of immigration based on the country of origin, employment, property and the impact on social benefits and health services. Finally, the distribution of the foreign influx in the islands needs to be addressed especially in view of Malta's ageing demographic profile and its aspirations for economic growth.

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John A. Schembri, Maria Attard

Tujec šteje: prostorsko-časovna analiza okupatorjev, priseljencev in izseljencev na Malti

Ključne besede: priseljevanje, sredozemska regija, Malta, nezakonito priseljevanje, severna Afrika

Priseljevanje v Sredozemlje ima večtisočletno zgodovino, ki se na malteškem otočju odraža skozi zaporedje okupatorjev, ki so ga kolonizirali. Vendar pa so trendi v zadnjih desetletjih pokazali izrazite spremembe v starih vzorcih, tako da namesto povratnih migrantov in naseljevanja britanskih izseljencev sedaj prevladujejo selitveni tokovi iz Evrope in podsaharske Afrike, zlasti po vključitvi Malte v Evropsko unijo leta 2004. Članek preučuje količine vključenih v te tokove, spreminjajočo se prostorsko razmestitev izhodiščnih držav ter spreminjajočo se starostne strukture priseljencev v zadnjih dveh desetletjih. Da bi zagotovili zanesljivost podatkov, so bili uporabljeni podatki zaporednih popisov prebivalstva in stanovanj, ki jih je zbral Državni statistični urad Malte. Glavni ugotovitvi prispevka sta spreminjajoča se starostna struktura priseljencev ter njihove regionalne porazdelitve na Malti. Ker je Malta najmanjša država v EU in ima eno najvišjih gostot prebivalstva na svetu, je bila obravnavana tudi problematika gostote priseljencev. Pokaže se, da je gostota priseljenega prebivalstva na Malti tako visoka kot gostote vsega prebivalstva v nekaterih evropskih državah.

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Poskusno o Benečiji s konceptom odročnosti: migracije in konstrukcija kraja

Ključne besede: odročnost, emigracija, imigracija, Benečija, dogodek, kraj

Raziskave migracij se običajno posvečajo migrantom. Tu pa bom bolj kot o njih razpravljaj o strukturnih značilnostih specifičnih krajev, ki migrante generirajo (in katere generirajo migranti). Govorim o krajih, kjer so migranti številčni kot odsotni subjekti, kot izseljenci. V takšnih krajih lahko posebej izstopajo tudi priseljenci, imigranti. To so kraji, od koder se ljudje izseljujejo, le malo pa se jih tja priseli. Ta demografska konstelacija na poseben način deluje na konstrukcijo krajev in lokalnih subjektov.

Moj namen je uvodno skicirane teze analizirati na primeru Benečije, hribovitem območju na vzhodu Furlanije Julijske krajine v Italiji. Za analizo bom uporabil koncept »odročnosti«, kot ga je predlagal britanski socialni antropolog Edwin Ardener (2007). Na podlagi terenskih izkušenj v Kamerunu in na zahodu Škotske je opozoril na dojemanje nekaterih krajev kot odročnih. Problem je zastavil v okviru raziskovanja lokalnih identitet v nacionalnih okvirjih, in sicer kot politični problem neenakosti krajev. Svoj fenomenološki model je zgradil na nizu značilnosti, ki konstituirajo odročnost krajev, v članku pa bom preverjal, ali te veljajo tudi za Benečijo.

»Upam, da bo tale naslov prijetno zavajajoč«, je Ardener zapisal na začetku svojega članka, ki je strašil s politično nekorektnostjo. Toda odročnost je tehnični termin za opisovanje pogledov na nekatere kraje in posledično njihovo funkcioniranje. Odročnost je pojav moderne države in modernizacijskih diskurzov, ki krajem pripisujejo različne vrednosti na osnovi »razvitosti«. V Italiji se območja, kot je Benečija, pojavljajo v diskurzu *i problemi della montagna*. Hribi so torej definirani kot problematični sami po sebi; predstavljajo svet, ki je nasprotje urbanih središč z običajno večjo koncentracijo moči. Tovrstne geografske podmene »Drugosti« imajo na prebivalce »Drugih krajev« določene identitetne učinke; nastaja pogled nase kot na »Drugega«, s tem pa tudi ločnica med »notranjimi« (lokalnimi) in »zunanji« akterji. V Benečiji je ta strukturni pojav nastal v specifičnih zgodovinskih, geografskih in družbenih kontekstih, ki jih bom upošteval. V članku se bom posvetil identitetnim (samo)prisom lokalnih prebivalcev, migracijskim procesom in umetniškemu

dogodku Postaja Topolove.¹ Preden pa se lotim primerov, velja na kratko predstaviti, kako je odročnost koncizno zasnoval Ardener.

Koncept prežema strukturalistično modeliranje, osrednji fokus analize pa je identiteta. Odročnost se odraža na dveh identitetnih ravneh, tj., poenostavljeno rečeno, na kolektivni in individualni. Kolektivne identitete odročnosti oblikujejo dominantni diskurzi o določenih krajih in lokalnih subjektih, ki jih ti prepoznavajo in posledično oblikujejo samopodobo »Drugosti«. Odročna območja so v tem pogledu resnični kraji, »resnico« o njih pa v pomembni meri določa imaginacija. Tako je sicer res, da je določena topografija, kot so na primer hribi (ali pa otoki, ravnice, doline, gozdovi, obale, kotline, polotoki – in kot vidimo, bi lahko našeli številne geomorfološke oblike), pogosto »odročna«, a k temu najbolj odločilno prispeva »topologika«, to so družbeno-kulturne predstave o krajih. Izraža se v diskurzih, ki poudarjajo geografsko »odmaknjenost« določenih krajev in specifičnost ljudi neke pokrajine. Poimenovanja, ki poudarjajo topografsko definiranost lokalnih subjektov (»hribovci«), krajevnost ali etničnost (»Beneški Slovenci«), so lahko izvor »Drugosti«. Ker samorazumevanje domačinov bistveno oblikujejo močnejši »zunanji« diskurzi (govor o krajih od drugod), se lokalni subjekti na »zunanost« odzivajo obrambno oziroma je »zunanost« doživljana kot okolje, ki od »notranjosti« vselej nekaj hoče.

Poleg neenakosti odnosa med »notranjim« in »zunanjim« svetom je strukturni predpogoj odročnosti majhna številčnost lokalnega prebivalstva. To vpliva na osebne identitete domačinov. Paradokso so prav zato odročni kraji dogodkovno bogati. Dogodek je tisti pripetljaj, ki ne gre mimo brez pripisovanja pomenov. V odročnih krajih z malo ljudmi pa se le malo stvari zgodi neopaženih, zato je zgoščenost dogodkov velika. V takšnih razmerah lahko delovanje, ki ne sledi predvidenim okvirjem, hitro postane dogodek, zato akterji lastno delovanje neprestano reflektirajo in podrejujejo družbenim pričakovanjem ter na ta način preprečujejo razloge, da bi nastopilo kot dogodek. Tako je v odročnih krajih tudi osebnost neprestano na preizkušnji.

Obe identitetni strukturi imata svojo vlogo pri migracijah. Čeprav obstajajo v primeru Benečije za izseljevanje številni razlogi, je prav mogoče, da je to izseljevanje, skupaj z drugimi pojavi, ki jih bom predstavil, ustvarilo strukturo odročnosti, ki je začela tudi sama generirati izseljevanje. Iz modela namreč sledi, da zaradi močnih identitetnih sil nekateri ljudje (predvsem mladi) raje odidejo drugam, kjer (se) ni več treba spraševati, kdo sem/smo, in kjer ni vsako dejanje potencialni dogodek. S tega vidika je zanimiv komentar o emigrantih iz Benečije, ki jih je etnograf namesto kot »žrtve«, ki so bile prisiljene oditi, videl kot »srečkote«, »ki so bili potisnjeni na ovinkasto in luknjasto cesto, kjer obstaja odcep »življenje

1 Terensko delo sem opravljal med letoma 2007 in 2012.

bogati« (Mlekuž, 2004, 127). Nemara ta izjava razkriva tudi dominantni pogled študijev migracij na migrante kot marginalizirane nesrečnike in obenem spregled »preostalih« v »kraju izvora«. Ti ne morejo biti ravno »srečkoti«, ko iz leta v leto opazujejo zaraščanje, odmiranje in propadanje »svojega kraja«. Ob takšni izkušnji migracij pa je marsikomu nemara res lažje oditi na pot za drugimi, zaživeti kot »srečko«, kot pa vztrajati do »konca«.

Kljub temu, da strukture odročnosti delujejo v smeri dokaj pesimističnih rezultatov, Ardener pozove k optimistični politiki. Kot sklene, bi bilo bolje, če bi se namesto z identitetami ukvarjali s tem, kako nekatere kraje integrirati kot običajne enote državnih sistemov. S tem vprašanjem se v članku sicer ne bom ukvarjal, bom pa skozi pesimistične prizore, povezane z migracijami, na koncu kljub temu pokazal na optimistični potencial, ki ga v Benečiji ustvarja dogodek Postaje.

Hribi, meja in etničnost

Benečija, katere meje so v literaturi definirane različno, me najprej zanima kot hribovit svet, ki se na severovzhodu Republike Italije v smeri sever–jug razteza ob delu meje z Republiko Slovenijo. Orografske predstavlja jasen kontrapunkt Furlanski nižini na zahodu, medtem ko je na vzhodu manj izrazit prehod v prav tako hribovito pokrajino Posočja. Hribi so (bili) pomemben element v konstrukciji Benečije, obenem pa tudi njene odročnosti. Po eni strani imajo hribi potencial odročnosti kot »hribi na sebi«, torej kot morfološka oblika, ali kot realnost »absolutnega prostora« (Harvey, 2006, 121), torej kot svet v naklonu, ki predstavlja določene realne težave – na primer pri gradnji ceste. Toda bolj kot to je pomembno fenomenološko gledanje na/iz kraje/v, pri katerem ne gre toliko za hribe kakor za vpliv kulturno pripisanih kvalitiet hribom na imaginacijo ljudi (prim. Harvey, 2006, 119–148). Tovrstni pripisi se lahko porajajo iz kontrastov med hribi in ravnino – v predstavah o Benečiji in njenih zahodnih mejah bi lahko pomembno vlogo igral prav ta kontrast.

Po drugi strani je bila za nastanek predstave o njenih vzhodnih mejah pomembna geopolitična meja, ki je bila že iz časov Beneške republike bolj ali manj kontinuirano prisotna vse do danes. Ljudem z območja je tako že Beneška republika priznavala posebne pravice oziroma status »ljudi z meje«, ki branijo geopolitično mejo na vzhodu (Grafenauer, 1975).² »Ko bi vlada kaj storila za tiste pridne gorjane, ki s svoje naravne utrdbe pazljivo in krepko branijo tako važno mejno cesto« (1996, 48), pa je še konec 19. stoletja pripomnil geograf Musoni.

2 Spomin na takratno lokalno avtonomijo ohranjajo še danes – na primer Beneško gledališče s predstavo *Galanda iz Ažle – veliki župan Benečije*.

Nadalje je imela pri definiranju Benečije določeno vlogo etničnost. Različna (zgodovinska) poimenovanja območja, Sclavonis, Schiavonia, Slavia Friulana, Slavia Italiana in Slavia Veneta, so namreč izpeljanke etnonima, ki referira na govorce slovanskega jezika. Ljudi z območja naj bi tako že v času Beneške republike (ali celo prej) prepoznavali kot etnično »Druge« (Grafenauer, 1975, 105; Rutar, 1998, 3). V tem topološkem kontekstu je vprašanje, »kakšni« so ljudje teh hribov, »slove(a)nski« ali »italijanski«,³ posebej izrazito stopilo v ospredje ob vzponu nacionalnega vprašanja v 19. stoletju. Z vidika zahodnih središč moči je postalo pomembno, da bi bili ti ljudje »Italijani«, z vzhoda pa so prihajale spodbude, naj se prepoznavajo kot »Slovenci«. Politike nacionalizma in etničnosti so bile prisotne – včasih so bile tudi brutalne – skozi celotno 20. stoletje.

Če sklenemo z Ardenerjevo topiko, so dominantna središča na zahodu v preteklosti območju priznavala posebne statuse in tako sooblikovala lokalno identiteto, na ta način pa tudi vzpostavljala topološke relacije med območjem in različnimi prostori njegove »zunanosti« – upravnimi središči, Furlansko nižino in tujino na vzhodu. V »zahodnem pogledu« so ti hribi predstavljali kulturno definiran »mejni svet«, ki je funkcioniral kot nasprotje bolj plodne, urbanizirane in v času modernizacije bolj zgodaj industrializirane Furlanske nižine. Pri tem je bilo mogoče »hribovce« etnično kategorizirati (glej Blanchini, 1898; Musoni, 1902 po Kalc, 1997, 195–196; Musoni, 1996).⁴ V času nastajanja modernih držav je območje pridobilo na pomenu tudi v »vzhodnem pogledu«, v katerem je začelo predstavljati »domovino za mejo«, kjer ločeni od »matičnih« in zato ranljivi živijo »zamejski«, Beneški Slovenci (glej Rutar, 1998; Bevk, 1938). Ob tem razkoraku diskurzov dodajmo, da so bili prvi dominantnejši, saj so nastajali znotraj matične države, medtem ko so drugi nastajali v sosednji državi, pogosto definirani kot sovražni. Dominantni »zunanji« pogledi, ki bistveno informirajo »notranje« samorazumevanje v odročnih krajih, so tako spletali podobo kulturnega/etničnega hribovca. Proizvod tega identitetnega določanja lahko oriše naslednja izjava sogovornice, sodelavke Postaje:

»Ko sem imela štirinajst let,⁵ sem se vpisala v eno šolo v Vidmu ... In Videm ni bil Čedad. Je bil bolj odprt in moja šola je bila za umetnost. Tudi tisti, ki so učili, so bili odprti. Prvič, ko sem slišala dobro besedo, vezano na moj svet, je bil en profesor, ki je dejal: »A ti prihajaš iz Benečije? Super ta kultura, zelo

3 Na območju je (bila) v rabi tudi furlanščina, ki pa so jo pogosto spregledali (Josipovič, 2012, 35).

4 »Mesto [Trst] ima [...] izjemno bogato zgodovino orientaliziranja podeželja oziroma hribov nad mestom, kar je treba seveda upoštevati tudi v kontekstu etničnega rivalstva in konflikta« (Baskar, 2012, 89). Čeprav Benečije ne zadeva neposredno, je primer Trsta eksemplaričen. Naj dodam, da naracija o hribovski Benečiji ni bila sama po sebi etnično izključevalna (glej Musoni, 1996), je pa ustvarjala diskurzivno osnovo za takšna izključevanja.

5 Okoli leta 1977.

bogati ste!« Prvikrat! Meni se je odprl en svet. To je bila kot ena luč. Ko je ta profesor to rekel, je bilo prvič, ko sem čutila, da ena reč more biti bogata.«

Ker je »zunanji svet« referenčna točka samorazumevanja lokalnih subjektov, ker »tam zunaj« nastajajo diskurzi, na osnovi katerih se ljudje prepoznavajo kot »Drugi«, je tam tudi referenčna točka izgradnje samozavesti. Ardener je zapisal, da so odročni kraji obsedeni s komunikacijo. To lahko razumemo tudi tako, da so informacije »od zunaj« bistvene za oblikovanje samopodobe, zato ljudje hrepenijo po njih. Kasneje bom obravnaval primer Postaje, ki deluje kot »globalni« komunikator kraja in je s tem slikovit primer »obsedenosti« s komunikacijo. Po mnenju organizatorjev naj bi namreč »globalna postaja« (Bukovaz, 2007) s pretočnostjo informacij, ljudi, idej itd. redefinirala kraj in ga napravila manj odročnega. K temu se še vrnem.

Migracije

V kakšnem odnosu so torej odročni kraji z »zunanjim« svetom? To vprašanje je bistveno za razumevanje z odročnostjo povezanih migracij. Čeprav so odročni kraji na videz odrezani od preostalega sveta, temu ni tako. Odročne kraje resda definira meja med »zunanjim« in »notranjim«, vendar pa je to meja posebne vrste, ki deluje kot »enostranska ovira«. To pomeni, da odročni kraji in njihovi prebivalci »od zunaj« delujejo oddaljeni, nedostopni, težko pristopni, zelo posebni, skoraj nedosegljivi itd., medtem ko »od znotraj« ljudje odročnih krajev občutijo kulturni prepih, nezavarovanost pred zunanjimi vplivi, enostavno dosegljivost s strani »tujcev«, lahkotnost odhajanja domačinov »v svet« itd. Ta enostranska ovira pomembno deluje na identiteto prebivalcev, saj jih z ene strani dela za »Druge«, z druge pa jim vliva občutek, da so močno ranljivi (tudi v identitetnem smislu, torej kot »Drugi«).

Prebivalci torej nimajo občutka, da so odrezani od sveta, ampak, nasprotno, intenzivno komunicirajo in se prepletajo z »zunanostjo«. Občutek imajo, da jih »zunanost« v resnici preplavlja, obenem pa jih tudi usodno privlači. Ali drugače rečeno, medtem ko negativno občutijo »vdiranje« tega sveta in posledično razpadanje »notranjega sveta«, jih ta isti svet »tam zunaj« pozitivno privlači. Svet »onkraj« je torej lahko udobno zatočišče, kjer, kot rečeno, ni treba neprestano vrednotiti »notranjosti«, zato »edini cesti«, ki »pelje prav od tvojih vrat kamorkoli« (Ardener, 2007, 219), sledijo številni mladi. Po tej »cesti« so Benečijo zapustili že številni mladi.

Ta strukturni model me zanima predvsem z vidika sodobnosti, obenem pa ne želim spregledati njegove vpetosti v procese, ki so zgodovinsko narekovali izseljevanje iz Benečije. Zgodovina hribovitih območij današnjega severovzhoda Italije govori o sezonskih in začasnih migracijah kot dopolnilu gorske agrarno-pašne ekonomije že

vsaj od 16. stoletja dalje (Kalc, 1997, 194). Tudi na obravnavanem območju so poznali sezonske migrante kot dopolnilo lokalne ekonomije; znano je, da so že od sredine 18. stoletja nekateri domačini kot trgovci založniške hiše Remondini potovali v vzhodne države (Zanini idr., 2009). V 19. stoletju je zaradi gradnje javne infrastrukture in s širjenjem urbanizacije nastal nacionalni trg dela, ki je pospešil izseljevanje gradbenih delavcev in podaljšal čas njihove odsotnosti od doma (Kalc, 1997, 194). Toda na območju Benečije se je to zgodilo razmeroma pozno, na prelomu iz 19. v 20. stoletje, za kar poznavalci še nimajo ustrezne razlage (Kalc v Zanini idr., 2009, 32–33). Ko pa so ljudje tega območja v začetku 20. stoletja emigrirali kot stalni migranti, so to storili v velikem številu in bistveno spremenili lokalno demografijo; ocenjujejo, da se je delež emigrantov v lokalnem prebivalstvu povzpел iz 2,6 na 12 % (v nekaterih vaseh pa tudi do 30 %) (Kalc, 1997, 195).

Sledila je prva svetovna vojna, obdobje fašizma in druga svetovna vojna ter nato demografski kolaps »po dramatičnem odtoku prebivalstva v drugi polovici 20. stoletja« (Kalc v Zanini idr., 2009, 30). Vprašanje emigracij je bilo tudi politično vprašanje. Ker je bilo številne emigrante mogoče etnično opredeliti kot Slovence, so nekateri avtorji množične migracije problematizirali kot politično spodbujen pojav s ciljem oslabitve slovenske etničnosti v Benečiji (Clavora, Ruttar, 1990). Slovenska etničnost se je kot politično vprašanje sicer pojavila že ob priključitvi območja Kraljevini Italiji leta 1867, ko so začeli uradniki odrekati možnost uporabe slovenskega jezika v uradnih postopkih (Rutar, 1998, 171–173). V času vladavine fašizma med obema svetovnima vojnama je odnos države do slovenskega jezika postal posebej sovražen (Kacin Wohinz, 2003). Po drugi svetovni vojni je z nastankom Republike Italije sledilo obdobje hladne vojne, ko je bila Benečija obmejno območje svetovnega geopolitičnega sistema. Tudi v tem obdobju so bili slovensko govoreči ali opredeljeni prebivalci deležni nezaupanja, ki je dobilo obliko nadzora in ustrahovanja ljudi s strani polvojaških organizacij (Petricig, 1997; Zuanella, 1998). Zaradi političnih interesov Italije po popolni lojalnosti državljanov ob železni zavesi je namreč država vzbujala strah pred javnim izrekanjem etnične pripadnosti, priznane onkraj železne zavesе (Cozzi, 2009; Stranj, 1999, 124–125), oziroma je nadaljevala predvojno doktrino »obmejnega fašizma« (Kacin Wohinz, 2003). Politizacija etničnosti je med ljudmi ustvarila konflikte, saj je bila slovenska etničnost demonizirana z oznakami, ki so referirale na povezovanje Slovencev s »komunističnim režimom« v SFR Jugoslaviji (*filoslavi*, *filotitini*). Zaradi politizacije jezika kot osnovnega diakritika (Barth, 1969) slovenske etničnosti so se številni govorniki slovenščine izrekli za etnično različne od Slovencev in zanikali povezavo med lokalnim dialektom in slovenščino (glej Jaculin, 2007).

Zato so nekateri avtorji emigracijo v povojnem obdobju povezali z omejevanjem svobode izrekanja identitete (Kalc, 2002, 145–151). Poleg tega so po drugi svetovni

vojni zgradili številne vojaške objekte, naselili številčno vojsko (Stranj, 1999, 22) in zaradi meje uvajali različne prepovedi (Cozzi, 2009), s čimer je Benečija dobila poteze militariziranega in nevarnega območja. Spregledati ne gre tudi učinkov potresa leta 1976 (Petricig, 2009). Tako je Benečija tudi onkraj etničnega vprašanja predstavljala težaven kraj prebivanja. Zaradi praznjenja vasi, velike vloge identitetnih (samo)prispevov in medsebojne kontrole redkih prebivalcev, ki jo je aktivno spodbujal kapilarni sistem ovaduhov hladne vojne (Zuanella, 1998), je postala prežeta s strukturo odročnosti, ki je marsikoga pognala »na cesto v svet«.

Odhajanje mladih pa ostaja značilnost Benečije tudi danes. Od tod tudi roteče upanje v možni zasuk: »Jasno je, da je oddaljenost od mesta problem, a vsebuje tudi prednosti: na primer, nimate prometa, pozna se vsakogar, živi se v naravnem okolju, skoraj neomadeževanem. Se pravi, da je treba spremeniti našo mentaliteto in si prizadevati ugotoviti motive, ki nas lahko spodbudijo k ostajanju v dolinah in, zakaj ne, vračanju« (Forum, 2002, 10). Toda onkraj tovrstne naracije je realnost precej bolj bridka (glej Petricig, 2009). V vasi Topolove, o kateri bom spregovoril v nadaljevanju, je na primer leta 1891 živel 490 prebivalcev (Gariup, Gariup, Rucli, 1994, 29–30), leta 1951 še 276 (Čermelj, 1975, 139), danes pa manj kot 30. Ob tej izkušnji vse manj številčne vasi sem od vaščanov lahko slišal pripovedi, ki so ilustrirale kontrast med некоč desetkrat številčnejšo ter zato močno in živahno ter današnjo, skoraj izpraznjeno vasjo. Včasih sem dobil občutek, da živijo v strahu pred koncem vasi.

Postaja za domišljijo in priseljevanje

Pomembno zgodovinsko prelomnico predstavljajo devetdeseta leta 20. stoletja, ko se je s koncem SFRJ prekinila tesnoba, utelešena v meji, in ko so se sprožili procesi evropskega povezovanja. Te spremembe so, skupaj s čezmejnimi projekti sodelovanja (glej Klodič, 2007) in drugačno politizacijo etničnega vprašanja v duhu evropske integracije (Vidali, 2011), prinesle potencial za novo prostorjenje Benečije. Za to gre tudi v primeru Postaje, katere namen je preseči odročnost. Ponovno se bom analize lotil skozi Ardenerjevo prizmo.

Odročna območja so polna »inovacij«, to je idej in projektov, ki naj bi prinašali »razvoj«, spremembo na bolje, izhod iz odročnosti. Takšna inovacija je Postaja, umetniški dogodek mednarodnega ranga. Dogodek je skušal odročnost odpravljati kot generator novih prišlekov v Benečijo, tako začasnih kot stalnih,⁶ in novih imaginacij Benečije, ki bi njeno geografsko obrobnost spreminjale v središčnost (glej Shields, 1991). »Zunanost« se v politikah dogodka kaže kot ključna točka intervencije v odročnost. Vendar pa lahko, kot že rečeno, gledano iz fenomenološke perspektive

6 S Postajo je prišlo veliko začasnih obiskovalcev, le peščica pa se je tja preselila.

»notranjih« subjektov, od tam prihaja tudi grožnja. Ta dvojnost je bila prisotna tudi pri nastanku Postaje. Pobudnik projekta namreč ni bil nekdo z območja, ampak nekdo, ki se je tja priselil. Po Ardenerjevi teoriji so inovatorji pogosto prav »tujci«, saj zaradi identitetne neobremenjenosti lažje predlagajo stvari, ki si jih številni domačini ne upajo. Drugače rečeno, medtem ko si domačin prizadeva, da njegovo delovanje ne bi postalo dogodek, tujec že sam po sebi predstavlja dogodek. Ardener je namreč o odročnih krajih zapisal, da so »polni tujcev«. To ne pomeni, da se ljudje od drugod množično priseljujejo, ampak ravno obratno, da je priselitev malo, prav zato pa je vsaka doživeta kot dogodek. Obenem gre za poseben dogodek, povezan z enostransko oviro, saj med domačine vnaša občutek, da je odročni kraj preveč na prepihu, identiteta pa ogrožena. Kot takšen dogodek je sebe doživel tudi priseljeni pobudnik Postaje:

»Kjer smo prebivali v občini Pulfero, je bilo par oseb, ki so prihajale pod okno moje hiše vohunit za radiem, ki sem ga poslušal, da bi slišali, ali poslušam slovenski radio ali kaj, ne?! In potem se je začelo vse govorjenje v vasi, da bi se vedelo, zakaj je prišla ta oseba sem z dvema otrokoma in ženo na neko mesto, kot je tole.«

Akter je svoj sprejem v okolje povezal z nezaupanjem, spodbujenim z nadzorovanjem ljudi v času hladne vojne. Toda v vsakem primeru, ne glede na izčrpnost te interpretacije, je njegov prihod predstavljal dogodek. Dodajmo, da po Ardenerju »tujci« in inovatorji niso kakršnikoli ljudje, saj odročni kraji privlačijo »posebneže«, pogosto ljudi s področja umetnosti. Tudi obravnavani актер je bil povezan s sodobno umetnostjo. Ob spoznavanju njemu zelo tujega okolja, kjer je »družba ostala precej podobna tisti izpred 1968«, si je zamislil dogodek, prek katerega bi sodobna umetnost delovala tako, da bi v okolje, preobremenjeno z identitetami, vnašala kozmopolitstvo, tj. »imaginacijo, ki je artikulirana v kulturnih modelih odprtosti sveta, ki omogočajo nova razumevanja in razlage lokalno-globalne verige« (Nowicka, Rovisco, 2009).

Sodobna umetnost je vstopila v prostor, napolnjen z »dediščinami«, zato je bila intervencija doživeta kot vdiranje »zunanosti«, kot znak propustnosti enostranske ovire. Ker se je Postaja posvečala politični zgodovini območja, so jo nekateri domačini interpretirali kot politizacijo slovenske etničnosti, zato je doživela grožnje in napade. Eden od kritikov je tudi razglašal, da gre za ponovno italijanizacijo območja, tokrat z »rdečim« predznakom. Predstavniki nekega društva pa je projektu videodokumentiranja prebivalcev nasprotoval, ker naj bi s tem tujci lokalno stvarnost odnesli stran. V kontekstu enostranske ovire je torej projekt naletel na številne reakcije odročnosti, torej na občutek usodne ranljivosti »notranje« stvarnosti.

Obenem so se nekateri domačini projektu priključili, saj so v kozmopolitstvu videli možnost »ozdravitve kraja«, izžetega od železne zavese in medetničnega trenja. Sodobna umetnost naj bi v okolje vnesla nov jezik, ki bi namesto poenostavljenih obrazcev, temelječih na etničnem predznaku kulture, vpeljal večplastne interpretacije kraja, s čimer bi nastalo mnoštvo izhodišč za zamišljanje lokalne prihodnosti (glej Massey, 2005, 141). Na območju, kjer je bila »kultura kot kultura vedno ali kultura od Slovencev ali kultura od Italijanov«, je bila torej sodobna umetnost razumljena kot intervencija, potencial in delovanje (Gell, 2006) v produkciji kozmopolitstva.

Pri oblikovanju kraja je dobila svojo ideološko vlogo tudi emigracija, in sicer kot spodbuda za imigracijo. Akterji so v zgodovinskih emigracijah, ki so jih še do nedavnega prepoznali izključno kot problematične, odkrili kozmopolitstvo. Nastala je naracija, da je bil prek emigrantov ta odročni kraj že od časov založniške hiše Remondini kozmopolitski svet, ki je znal izkušnjo gostoljubja iz sveta prenašati domov, hladna vojna pa je bila vir dekozmozpolitizacije območja, saj je vnesla nezaupljivost, značilno za odročnost. Kozmopolitstvo, ki po Kantu pomeni pravico do začasnega bivanja zunaj doma, naj bi ponovno obudila prav Postaja.

»Tisti, ki so izseljenci od vedno, poznajo, kaj je gostoljubje. Tisti vedo, kaj pomeni biti sprejet v hiši ali pa ne. [...] In tako, ta naša kultura se je [s hladno vojno] tako močno spremenila, da so bili vsi zelo zaprti. Tako zaprti, da je bila ideja [projekta] prav ... Je absolutno obrnila vse. [...] Ker mi smo v vasi vprašali že od začetka: 'Poglejte, ideja je ta, da odprete vaše hiše, da boste, če pridejo umetniki, boste ..., nič se ne bati, ker oni pridejo zaradi tega dela.'«

Odročnost, pripisano učinkovanju hladne vojne, naj bi presegli s soočanjem domačinov z lastno kozmopolitsko zgodovino in usmerjanjem v kozmopolitsko prihodnost. Sodobna umetnost, predvsem instalacija, je imela pri tem etnografsko in konverzijsko funkcijo (Calzadilla, Marcus, 2006; Lippard, 2010), pri čemer naj bi umetniško delo sprožalo javni diskurz o preteklosti in prihodnosti. Tvorci projekta so prek umetnosti javno spregovorili o problematičnih platih lokalne stvarnosti; številna umetniška dela so z namenom »zdravljenja kraja« komentirala življenje ob meji, položaj etničnosti in izseljevanje ljudi. Učinkovanje dogodka je bilo torej zamišljeno kot dogodkovno modeliranje družbe (Handelman, 1998, xxi–xxv), tako da ta pridobi na imaginativnem potencialu in postane zmožna sprožati nove dogodke in kraj spreminjati v drugačno bivališče.

Dogodkovna zgostitev

Ardener je sicer trdil, da v odročnih krajih uspe le redkim inovacijam, zato so polni njihovih »ruševin«. Vendar bi bilo o (ne)učinkovitosti Postaje pri preseganju odročnosti prezgodaj govoriti. Trdim lahko le, da je delovanje projekta razvejano. Zgoraj sem omenil diskurz, ki ga umetniško delo prepušča domačinom, tu pa se bom osredinil na delovanje medijev in obiskovalcev dogodka. Zaradi medijske odmevnosti Postaje je vas Topolove in z njo Benečija postala znana v nacionalnih in širših okvirjih.

»Ko je Postaja postala znana, so prišli kakšni, magari izseljenci, na primer iz Milana in so pravili: »Veš, kaj se mi je zgodilo? Sem bil en dan v Torinu in sem jau [rekel]: "Od kod si ti?" An san jau: "San doma iz Čedadom." In niso vedeli, kje je: "Ma, kje je Čedad?" "Je v Furlaniji, ma prouzaprou moja vaščica se imenuje Topoluove." "A ma ja, Topoluove, to poznamo!"« In tako se je začelo. Kot mit, da je Topolove bolj poznan kot Čedad ali pa Videm [smeh]. In tako je začela ta nova energija, tista, ki smo si je mi želeli.«

S Postajo je torej kraj postal središče, a ne več le središče razseljenih in na območju živečih domačinov, ampak v kontekstu umetnosti središče širšega pomena. Postaja je torej na prvi pogled ustvarila kraj, enakovreden bolj razvpitim središčem umetnosti. Toda obenem se zdi, da tudi v tem kontekstu v veliki meri funkcionira prav kot »Drugi«, torej kot kraj, kjer v neobičajnem okolju in zunaj običajnih središč ustvarjajo sodobno umetnost (Ramsden, Shaw, 2003).

Po drugi strani boj z odročnostjo dogodku vendarle uspeva. Tako je starejša vaščanka vračanje obiskovalcev dogodka primerjala z vračanjem domačih emigrantov: »Se sreča [veliko] ljudi [...] in tisti, ki so že prva leta hodili, meni se zdi, da pridejo kot ta naši domači, da jih vidim nazaj.« Za nekatere domačine dogodek tako predstavlja »metodo upanja« (Miyazaki, 2004), ki vsako leto demonstrira, da je vračanje mogoče. Na tem mestu pa se kljub temu odpira problematično vprašanje, ali dogodek modelira le začasno upanje, onkraj katerega ni zares perspektivne politike kraja, ali pa se lahko skrb vzbujajoči trendi, kot je izseljevanje mladih, resnično obrnejo.

Toda raje kot s hipotetično prihodnostjo bom sklenil s še enim Ardenerjevim paradoksom, ki prav tako velja predvsem hipotetično. Zamislimo si, kako tovrstni dogodki na odročnost delujejo *ad hoc*, torej med samo izvedbo. Ardener je kot enega ključnih paradoksov odročnih krajev izpostavil, da so »dogodkovno gosti«. Menil je, da v »običajnih« krajih največ stvari mine »avtomatsko«, ne kot dogodki, medtem ko v odročnih zbudijo družbeno pozornost. Ljudje se v teh krajih odzovejo na vsakršen

vstop »zunanjosti«, zato je količina informacij neprestano velika. Toda kaj se zgodi, ko nastopi dogodek, kot je Postaja? Takrat se objektivno močno poveča število »tujcev«, ki jih je naenkrat več kot domačinov, s tem pa se zaradi gibanja ljudi, prikazovanja umetniških del, medijskega poročanja itd. objektivno poveča tudi količina informacij. Vendar pa paradokсно prav zato postane s subjektivnega gledišča domačina število »tujcev« in informacij majhno, saj ni treba neprestano preverjati, ali je vse in vsakdo na pravem mestu, zato se lahko subjekt prepusti toku dogajanja, brez teže reflektiranja lastne vloge. S tega vidika dogodek prinese olajšanje, saj se v njem ljudje pomirijo s sabo in svetom.

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Miha Kozorog

Tentatively on the Slavia Friulana with the Concept of Remoteness: Migrations and Construction of Place

Keywords: remoteness, emigration, immigration, Slavia Friulana, event, place

The article discusses the mountainous area of Slavia Friulana in northeast Italy and its construction through the experience of migrations. Emigration, immigration and other aspects of the area are analysed by using Edwin Ardener's theory of "remoteness". Ardener in his definition emphasised that remote places are defined not so much in terms of topographical as topological space, i.e. their phenomenological perception in relation to other places. Remoteness as the experience of a geographical and social position therefore emerges from interactions with the "outside world", with those who talk about "remote places" from privileged centres where dominant discourses about "Other" people and places are created. Thus, the "outside world" is the locus of self-determination, but also offers numerous havens for "seekers of meaning" from remote areas, which therefore empty. Beyond such theoretical modelling the article offers also historical and ethnographic data on identification and ethnicity, which prompted emigration from the area. It also discusses the Stazione di Topolò arts event which invites artists to live among the locals, whereby the project's creators wish to encourage the opening up of the place to outsiders. The event is discussed as an event designed to model lived reality to stimulate the production of a more cosmopolitan place, although it evidently breaks with remoteness only provisionally.

Jani Kozina

Selitve prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem v Sloveniji

Ključne besede: selitve, ustvarjalni poklici, regionalizacija, urbanizacija, Slovenija

1 Uvod

Selitve so kompleksen globalen pojav, s katerim se srečujejo praktično vse države sveta. Ljudje so se zaradi različnih dejavnikov odbijanja in privlačjenja (*push-pull* teorija) vedno selili. V osnovi selitve delimo na priselitve in odselitve. Oba procesa za seboj navadno potegneta številne posledice tako na individualni osebni kot na kolektivni družbeni ravni. Za območje odseljavanja to ponavadi pomeni siromašenje in izgubljanje človeškega in socialnega kapitala, lahko pa tudi vrsto rešitve zaradi prenaseljenosti in pomanjkanja življenjskih virov. Na drugi strani priselitve za ciljna območja največkrat pomenijo novo delovno silo, kar pa lahko zaradi kulturnih, verskih, rasnih in drugih razlik vodi v konfliktno situacije. Kljub temu so selitve po mnenju Jakoša (2008, 74) praviloma označene kot pozitiven proces in odraz vedno večje mobilnosti sodobne družbe.

V zadnjem času se veliko govori o selitvah in mobilnosti ustvarjalne, visokokvalificirane delovne sile (Florida, 2005; Hansen, Niedomysl, 2009; Martin-Brelot s sodelavci, 2010). Temeljna hipoteza v tem primeru je, da se v sodobnih gospodarskih razmerah ustvarjalna delovna sila ne seli zgolj z namenom, da dobi zaposlitev (angleško *people follow jobs*), temveč se seli tja, kjer je zadovoljna z življenjskim okoljem nasploh. Posledično prebivalcem z ustvarjalnim poklicem sledijo tudi delovna mesta (angleško *jobs follow people*) (Ravbar, 2008, 103). Medtem ko je bila omenjena hipoteza v večji meri potrjena na severnoameriških tleh, je v Evropi večinoma doživela zavrnitev. Ugotovljeno je bilo, da je ustvarjalna delovna sila na stari celini zaradi različnih kulturnih (jezikovne razlike, manjša odprtost do tujcev, potreba po poznavanju lokalnih navad in podobno) ter institucionalnih ovir (razlike med državami v zdravstvenem in izobraževalnem sistemu, zakonodaji, pokojninski shemi in podobno) precej manj mobilna od tiste na novi celini. V Evropi celo ni mogoče zaznati večjih razlik v selitvenosti med ustvarjalno delovno silo in ostalim delovno aktivnim prebivalstvom (Martin-Brelot s sodelavci, 2010).

V prispevku želimo prikazati osnovne časovne in prostorske značilnosti selitev prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem v Sloveniji. Medtem ko je bilo že ugotovljeno, da se v zadnjem času izobražena in tudi bolj ustvarjalna delovna sila seli na tuje (Lapuh, 2011), k nam pa še vedno prihajajo večinoma manj usposobljeni delavci iz bivših republik nekdanje Jugoslavije (Kozina, 2013), se vsebina tega prispevka nanaša v glavnem na notranje selitve.

2 Metodologija

Opredelitev ustvarjalnih poklicev na tem mestu vsebinsko povzemamo po Floridi (2002), ki meni, da je za njihovo opravljanje potrebna večja sposobnost prepoznavanja problemov, iskanja rešitev in povezovanja obstoječih znanj. V tehničnem smislu smo si po zgledu številnih tujih (na primer Fritsch, Stützer, 2006; Hansen, 2007; Lorenzen, Vaarst Andersen, 2007; Boschma, Fritsch, 2009) in domačih (Ravbar, Bole, 2007; Ravbar, 2009; Ravbar, Kozina, 2012) raziskovalcev pomagali s Standardno klasifikacijo poklicev (SKP-V2) (2012), ki temelji na Mednarodni standardni klasifikaciji poklicev (ISCO-88). Natančneje so poklicne skupine predstavljene v preglednici 1.

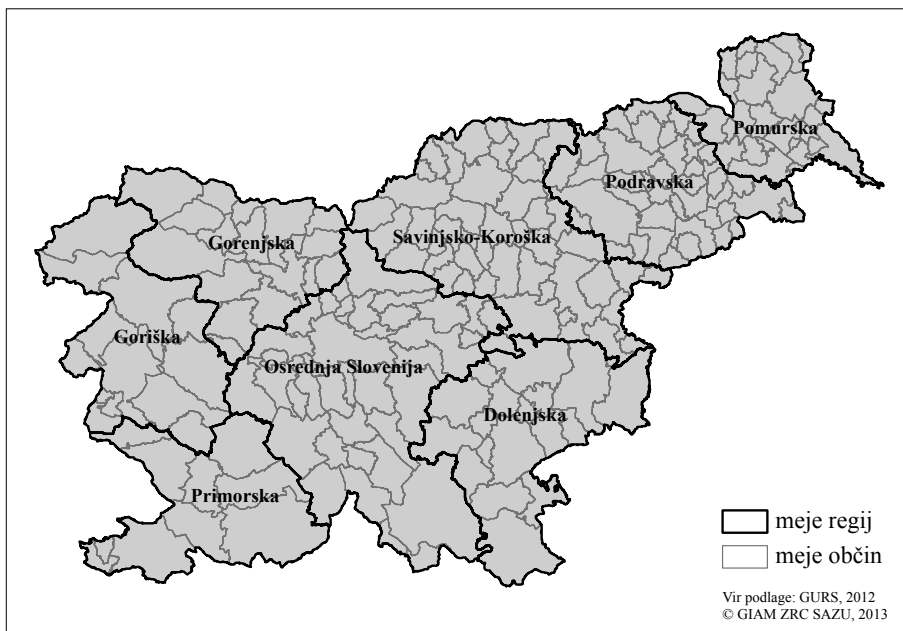
Preglednica 1: Ustvarjalni poklici po Standardni klasifikaciji poklicev (SKP-V2) (2012).

skupine poklicev (koda)
- fiziki/fizičarke, kemiki/kemičarke in podobno (211)
- matematiki/matematičarke, statistiki/statističarke (212)
- informatiki/informatičarke in računalnikarji/računalničarke (213)
- strokovnjaki/strokovnjakinje tehnično-tehnoloških ved (214)
- biologi/biologinje, farmakologi/farmakologinje, agronomi/agronomke in podobno (221)
- zdravniki/zdravnice, zobozdravniki/zobozdravnice, veterinarji/veterinarke, farmacevti/farmaceutke in podobno (222)
- strokovnjaki/strokovnjakinje za univerzitetno, visokošolsko in višješolsko izobraževanje (231)
- strokovnjaki/strokovnjakinje za srednješolsko izobraževanje (232)
- strokovnjaki/strokovnjakinje za predšolsko in osnovnošolsko vzgojo in izobraževanje (233)
- strokovnjaki/strokovnjakinje za vzgojo in izobraževanje oseb s posebnimi potrebami (234)
- drugi strokovnjaki/druge strokovnjakinje za vzgojo in izobraževanje (235)
- arhivarji/arhivarke, knjižničarji/knjižničarke in podobno (243)

- strokovnjaki/strokovnjakinje družbenih ved (244)
- drugi strokovnjaki/druge strokovnjakinje v javni upravi (247)
- cariniki/carinice, davkarji/davkarice, referenti/referentke za socialno varnost in podobno (344)
- zakonodajalci/zakonodajalke, visoki uradniki/visoke uradnice, menedžerji/menedžerke (1)
- strokovnjaki/strokovnjakinje za zdravstveno nego (223)
- strokovnjaki/strokovnjakinje za poslovanje (241)
- pravni strokovnjaki/pravne strokovnjakinje (242)
- tehniki/tehnice tehničnih strok (31)
- tehniki/tehnice in asistenti/asistentke v zdravstvu, biomedicini, biologiji, biotehnik in podobno (32)
- komercialni ter finančni posredniki in zastopniki/komercialne ter finančne posrednice in zastopnice in podobno (341)
- posredniki/posrednice za poslovne storitve in podobno (342)
- poslovnoupravni, pravni in finančni strokovni sodelavci, knjigovodje/poslovnoupravne, pravne in finančne strokovne sodelavke, knjigovodkinje in podobno (343)
- policijski preiskovalci/polijske preiskovalke in podobno (345)
- strokovni sodelavci/strokovne sodelavke za socialno delo (346)
- umetniški ustvarjalci, poustvarjalci/umetniške ustvarjalke, poustvarjalke in podobno (245)
- poklici za kulturno, razvedrilno in športno dejavnost (347)
- modeli in podobno (521)

Po tej opredelitvi v Sloveniji živi približno 310.000 prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem, kar predstavlja 37,9 % celotne delovne sile. Podatke o časovnem in prostorskem obsegu njihovih selitev smo pridobili s pomočjo anketiranja po pošti, ki je bilo izvedeno 7. in 8. maja 2012 v širšem kontekstu raziskovanja življenjskega okolja prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem v Sloveniji (Kozina, 2013). Velikost osnovnega vzorca smo omejili na 20.000 anketirancev, kar predstavlja 6,5 % celotne populacije. Vzorec je bil stratificiran glede na izbrano regionalizacijo Slovenije na osem funkcionalnih regij (slika 1) in nam ga je s pomočjo Statističnega registra delovno aktivnega prebivalstva (SRDAP) (2012) po pravilih sistematičnega slučajnostnega vzorčenja pripravil Statistični urad Republike Slovenije. Vrnjenih vprašalnikov je bilo 5981, kar predstavlja 29,8 % osnovnega vzorca. Od tega jih je bilo 28 neustrezno izpolnjenih (pomanjkljivo ali narobe izpolnjene ankete, neizpolnjene oziroma prazne ankete in podobno). Realiziran vzorec je torej znašal 5952 anketirancev, kar predstavlja

1,9 % celotne populacije. Število vrnjenih in pravilno izpolnjenih anket ocenjujemo kot ugodno, saj Blejec (1976, 341) trdi, da je za velike populacije dovolj, če velikost vzorca dosega od nekaj promilov do nekaj odstotkov celotne populacije.



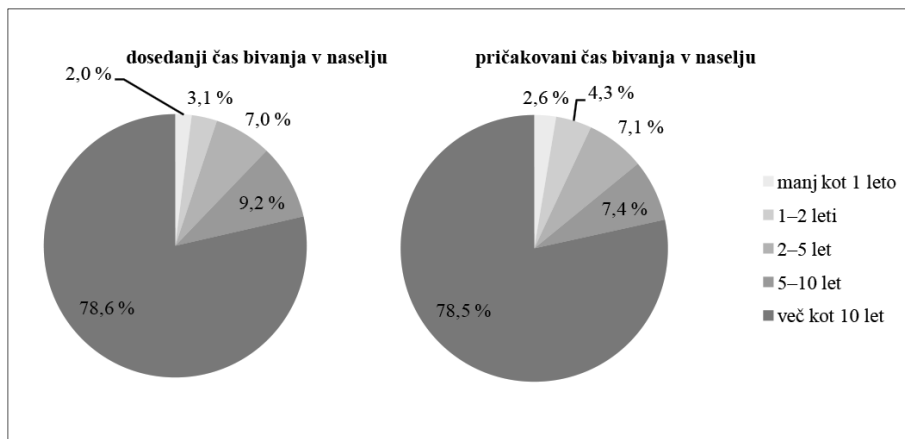
Slika 1: Izbrana regionalizacija Slovenije na osem funkcionalnih regij.

Selitve prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem v Sloveniji smo raziskali z dveh vidikov. V prvem smo se osredotočili na časovni obseg selitev oziroma dosedanji in pričakovani čas bivanja anketirancev v naselju. Zanimalo nas je, koliko časa anketiranci že prebivajo v sedanjem naselju in koliko časa nameravajo v njem tudi ostati. Podrobno smo razlike s tega vidika prikazali glede na izbrano regionalizacijo Slovenije na osem funkcionalnih regij (slika 1) in stopnjo urbaniziranosti naselij. Podatke o tem smo pridobili tako, da so morali anketiranci med danimi možnostmi sami izbrati, v kakšnem tipu naselja živijo (veliko mesto, predmestje ali obrobje velikega mesta, manjše mesto, vas, zaselek ali hiša na deželi in drugo). V drugem delu smo se osredotočili na prostorski obseg selitev, v okviru katerega smo primerjali sedanjo regijo bivanja anketirancev z regijo njihovega rojstva in regijo zaključka najvišje stopnje izobrazbe.

3 Časovni obseg selitev

Glede na dosedanji in pričakovani čas bivanja v naselju je mogoče zaznati zelo nizko selitveno dinamiko prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem. Skoraj štiri petine

vprašanih namreč v sedanjem naselju živi že več kot desetletje in praktično enak delež namerava v njem dolgoročno tudi ostati (slika 2).



Slika 2: Doseđanji (N = 5917) in pričakovani (N = 5681) čas bivanja prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem v sedanjem naselju leta 2012 v Sloveniji (Kozina, 2013).

Če na bivanje v preteklem obdobju nekoliko podrobneje pogledamo s prostorskega vidika, lahko ugotovimo, da je Osrednja Slovenija edina regija, kjer je delež ustvarjalcev z več kot desetletnim bivanjem v sedanjem naselju podpovprečen (74,9 %). Za njo se pod mejo štirih petin uvrščata še Gorenjska (79,5 %) in Savinjsko-Koroška (79,8 %), medtem ko ostale regije to vrednost presegajo. V tem pogledu najbolj izstopata Pomurje (83,5 %) in Goriška (83,5 %). Prebivalci z ustvarjalnim poklicem so se torej v zadnjem desetletju najintenzivneje priseljevali v Osrednjo Slovenijo, z oddaljevanjem od nje pa je moč tega procesa pojenjala, kar poleg drugih vidikov centralizacije v tej regiji kaže tudi na zgoščanje tako imenovanega ustvarjalnega kapitala.

Z vidika stopnje urbaniziranosti naselij najmanjši delež prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem že več kot desetletje prebiva v zaselku ali hiši na deželi (73,9 %). Podpovprečen delež se v približno enakem obsegu nanaša tudi na veliko mesto (75,8 %) in njegovo predmestje ali obrobje (75,2 %), medtem ko v manjšem mestu (79,7 %) in na vasi (81,4 %) več kot deset let živi nadpovprečno velik delež ustvarjalcev. V zadnjem desetletju so se prebivalci z ustvarjalnim poklicem torej najintenzivneje priseljevali v zaselek ali hišo na deželi, kar z vidika omejevanja razpršene poselitve oziroma razpršene gradnje gotovo ni ugoden proces. Na račun ustvarjalcev so se v preteklem obdobju nadpovprečno povečala tudi velika mesta s svojo okolico, kar je z vidika krepitev regionalnih središč načeloma sicer ugodno, vendar obstaja bojazen, da je od tega prekomerno pridobila samo Ljubljana oziroma Osrednja Slovenija.

Glede na pričakovani čas bivanja v sedanjem naselju s podpovprečnim deležem ustvarjalcev, ki nameravajo v njem prebivati več kot deset let, ponovno najbolj izstopa Osrednja Slovenija (74,5 %), za njo pa še Goriška (75,8 %) in Gorenjska (78,2 %). Zelo blizu povprečja je tudi Primorska (78,6 %). Tako lahko trdimo, da so prebivalci z ustvarjalnim poklicem v kratkoročnem oziroma srednjeročnem obdobju v zahodni Sloveniji v večji meri pripravljeni na selitev v drugo naselje bivanja kot pa v bolj »tradicionalni«¹ vzhodni Sloveniji, kjer po tem kriteriju v nasprotni smeri najbolj izstopa Pomurje (88,7 %), po vrsti pa mu sledijo še Dolenjska (83,3 %), Podravska (81,2 %) in Savinjsko-Koroška regija (80,9 %).

Z vidika stopnje urbaniziranosti naselij je mogoče opaziti, da nameravajo v podpovprečni meri še več kot desetletje v zdajšnjem naselju prebivati ustvarjalci, ki živijo v velikem mestu (73,2 %), njegovem predmestju ali obrobju (72,1 %) in manjšem mestu (75,8 %). Po drugi strani so prebivalci z ustvarjalnim poklicem, ki živijo na vasi (84,8 %) oziroma v zaselku ali hiši na deželi (87,3 %), dolgoročno v precej manjši meri pripravljeni na selitev. Z zmanjševanjem stopnje urbanizacije se torej pripravljenost na selitev v Sloveniji zmanjšuje.

4 Prostorski obseg selitev

Primerjava sedanje regije bivanja anketirancev z regijo njihovega rojstva kaže, da v Sloveniji skoraj tri četrtine (73,8 %) prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem živi v regiji rojstva, dobra petina (21,2 %) se jih je rodila v drugih delih Slovenije, rojenih v tujini pa je le za vzorec (5,0 %) (preglednica 2). Ob tem je treba omeniti, da je velika večina (78,6 %) tistih, ki so se rodili v drugih delih Slovenije, to storila v eni od sosednjih regij. Glede na neujemanje meja izbrane regionalizacije Slovenije in prometne dostopnosti do regionalnih središč (Kozina, 2010, 74), kjer so med drugim tudi porodnišnice, pa je vsaj za določen delež ustvarjalcev zelo verjetno, da so se zaradi krajšega potovalnega časa do porodnišnice v sosednji regiji samo rodili, dejansko pa so živeli in odraščali v regiji sedanjega prebivališča. Na ta način lahko poleg tistih, ki so se rodili v tujini, le še za dodatnih 4,8 % ustvarjalcev, ki so se rodili v nesosednji regiji, z veliko mero gotovosti trdimo, da danes ne živijo v regiji rojstva oziroma odraščanja.

Med posameznimi regijami ima najnižji odstotek v njih rojenih ustvarjalcev Goriška (56,7 %). Na to je imela verjetno največji vpliv povojna izgradnja Nove Gorice, kjer so se naselili in našli delo številni prebivalci iz drugih območij Slovenije. K temu je najbrž imela v zadnjih letih pomemben prispevek tudi leta 2006 ustanovljena Univerza v Novi Gorici. Ob tem je treba opozoriti, da v primeru Goriške po drugi strani najverjetneje ne gre za tako močno priselitveno dinamiko, kot je iz podatkov razvidno

na prvi pogled, ampak so razlogi za takšno stanje tudi drugod. Prvi je verjetno povezan s tem, da je Gorica kot regionalno središče Goriške po 2. svetovni vojni pripadla Italiji, z njo pa so v sosednji državi ostale tudi najpomembnejše zdravstvene ustanove. Zdravstvena ureditev se je zato morala prilagoditi novonastalim razmeram. Po nekajletni razpršeni zdravstveni dejavnosti je bila leta 1956 v Šempetru pri Novi Gorici ustanovljena splošna bolnišnica, v okviru katere so šele leta 1979 dokončali in sodobno opremili porodnišnico (Splošna bolnišnica ... 2012). Do tega obdobja se je verjetno določen delež prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem, ki je v dobi otroštva in odrasčanja sicer živel na Goriškem, rodil v eni od sosednjih regij. Anketni podatki potrjujejo, da je večina ustvarjalcev, ki sedaj živijo na Goriškem in so se rodili v enem od drugih delov Slovenije, luč sveta uzrla na Primorskem (41,7 %), v Osrednji Sloveniji (35,2 %) in na Gorenjskem (14,8 %). V ostalih regijah, ki ne mejijo na Goriško, se je torej rodila le manjšina (8,3 %) vprašanih, ki danes živijo na Goriškem. Drugi pomemben razlog za večji delež drugod rojenih in na Goriškem živečih ustvarjalcev je verjetno povezan s prometno dostopnostjo porodnišnic. Glede na izsledke analitične študije prometne dostopnosti do regionalnih središč, kjer so vse naše porodnišnice, je namreč Idrijsko kot pomemben del Goriške bolje povezano s Postojno, Ljubljano in Kranjem kot z Novo Gorico. Podobno velja tudi za Cerkljansko, od koder je porodnišnica v Kranju dostopnejša od tiste v Šempetru pri Novi Gorici (Kozina, 2008, 59; Kozina, 2010, 72). Zatorej je verjetno precejšen delež prebivalcev Idrijskega in Cerkljanskega za rojstvo svojega otroka izbralo eno od sosednjih regionalnih središč, pa čeprav ni del regije, v kateri danes prebivajo.

Goriški po deležu v regiji rojenih in živečih ustvarjalcev sledi Osrednja Slovenija (68,5 %). V tem primeru razlike med številom prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem, ki so se rodili v sosednjih in nesosednjih regijah, niso tako velike oziroma jih skoraj ni. Priseljenci ustvarjalci v Osrednji Sloveniji dokaj enakomerno prihajajo iz vseh delov Slovenije. Osrednjeslovenski regiji po omenjenem kriteriju sledita Primorska (73,5 %) in Pomurje (73,5 %). Ti dve regiji imata sicer največji delež v tujini rojenih ustvarjalcev, ki v vseh regijah povečini prihajajo iz držav Zahodnega Balkana. Skupni delež teh anketirancev znaša 76,6 %, kar je sicer nekaj več, kot kažejo dejanski podatki SRDAP-a (59,2 %), vendar je treba pri tem upoštevati, da je bil vprašalnik poslan samo v slovenskem jeziku, ki je pripadnikom drugih izvornih držav precej manj razumljiv. Regije z največjim deležem v njih rojenih in živečih ustvarjalcev so Dolenjska (77,1 %), Gorenjska (77,5 %), Podravska (81,6 %) in Savinjsko-Koroška (83,0 %). Iz predstavitve teh podatkov torej lahko zaznamo, da je selitvena dinamika z obravnavanega vidika v vzhodni Sloveniji nekoliko nižja kot v zahodni.

Zanimiva je primerjava anketnih rezultatov z izsledki študije Martin-Brelotove s sodelavci (2010), v kateri so po isti metodologiji raziskovali selitveno dinamiko

zelo podobne skupine ustvarjalnega prebivalstva v evropskih mestnih oziroma metropolitanskih regijah (Amsterdam, Barcelona, Budimpešta, Helsinki, Leipzig, Milano, München, Poznan, Riga in Toulouse). Skupni delež v teh regijah rojenih in živčih ustvarjalcev predstavlja dobro polovico vseh anketirancev (55,0 %), kar je precej manj kot v Sloveniji (73,8 %). Po drugi strani je skupni delež v tujini rojenih ustvarjalcev v evropskih regijah (8,8 %) skoraj še enkrat večji kot pri nas (5,0 %). Kljub temu avtorji mednarodne raziskave, ki so prvenstveno želeli primerjati selitveno dinamiko ustvarjalnih poklicnih skupin v Severni Ameriki in Evropi, trdijo, da so prebivalci z ustvarjalnim poklicem na stari celini precej manj mobilni od tistih na drugi strani Atlantika. Če slovenske regije natančneje primerjamo z omenjenimi evropskimi, lahko ugotovimo, da so po tovrstni selitvenosti ustvarjalcev najbolj podobne južno- in vzhodnoevropskim (Barcelona, Budimpešta, Milano in Poznan), kjer delež tamkaj rojenega in živčega prebivalstva z ustvarjalnim poklicem večinoma presega 70,0 %. V severno- in zahodnoevropskih regijah (Amsterdam, Helsinki, Leipzig, München, Riga in Toulouse) je namreč ta delež v večini primerov pod 50,0 %.

Medtem ko zaradi omejitve podatkov o znotrajregionalnih selitvah ne moremo natančneje govoriti (glej Kozina, 2013), lahko sklenemo, da so medregionalne selitve prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem v Sloveniji glede na regijo rojstva in regijo sedanjega prebivališča razmeroma šibke.

Preglednica 2: Primerjava regionalne razporeditve prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem leta 2012 v Sloveniji glede na regijo rojstva (N = 5668) (Kozina, 2013).

regija	rojeni v regiji (%)	rojeni v drugih regijah (%)	rojeni v tujini (%)	skupaj (%)
Primorska	73,5	19,7	6,8	100,0
Goriška	56,7	41,0	2,3	100,0
Gorenjska	77,5	19,1	3,4	100,0
Osrednja Slovenija	68,5	25,9	5,6	100,0
Dolenjska	77,1	17,2	5,7	100,0
Savinjsko-Koroška	83,0	14,1	2,9	100,0
Podravska	81,6	12,9	5,5	100,0
Pomurska	73,5	18,8	7,7	100,0
Slovenija	73,8	21,2	5,0	100,0

Za naseljem rojstva oziroma odraščanja je naselje zaključka najvišje stopnje izobrazbe drugo pomembno naselje, ki verjetno pomembno vpliva na izbiro sedanjega prebivališča ustvarjalcev. Če torej sedanjo regijo bivanja ustvarjalcev primerjamo z regijo, kjer so dosegli najvišjo stopnjo izobrazbe, lahko ugotovimo, da v Sloveniji 57,6 % anketirancev živi v regiji zaključka najvišje stopnje izobrazbe, 39,5 % se jih je izobrazilo v drugih delih Slovenije, izobraženih v tujini pa je le peščica (2,9 %) (preglednica 3). Iz tega lahko razberemo, da je skupni delež v posameznih regijah izobraženih in živečih anketirancev precej nižji od skupnega deleža v posameznih regijah rojenih in živečih vprašanih. Na to verjetno vpliva zlasti mreža izobraževalnih ustanov, ki je v primeru primarnega in sekundarnega šolstva pri nas sicer gosto in enakomerno razmeščena, vendar pa to ne velja za terciarno izobraževanje. To se zelo nazorno odraža v podatkih, saj imata Osrednja Slovenija (87,4 %) in Podravska regija (71,7 %) v primerjavi z drugimi regijami na račun svojih dveh univerz precej višji delež v njih izobraženih in živečih ustvarjalcev. V ostalih regijah se ta delež giblje krepko pod polovico oziroma med eno petino in eno tretjino. Podrobnejša analiza je pokazala, da se prebivalci z ustvarjalnim poklicem po končanem izobraževanju v obeh največjih univerzitetnih središčih v veliki meri vračajo domov oziroma v regijo rojstva ali pa se iz nje sploh nikoli niso izselili, ampak so se dnevno vozili na študij.

Primerjava rezultatov pričujoče raziskave z rezultati študije Martin-Brelotove s sodelavci (2010) v tem primeru kaže, da so slovenske regije po deležu v njih izobraženih in živečih prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem v povprečju podobne evropskim. Obe naši regiji, ki imata že dalj časa univerzitetno središče, Osrednja Slovenija in Podravska regija, sta močno podobni južno- in vzhodnoevropskim regijam, kjer ta delež presega 70 %, ostale slovenske regije pa so po tem kriteriju podobne zahodno- in severnoevropskim, kjer je selitvenost ustvarjalcev s tega vidika večja. To je nekoliko v neskladju s predhodnimi ugotovitvami. Do tega verjetno prihaja zaradi določenih vsebinskih razlik med našimi in evropskimi regijami. Medtem ko so se ustvarjalci naših regij, z izjemo Osrednjeslovenske in Podravske, drugod povečini samo izobrazili in se kasneje vrnili v matično regijo, so se ustvarjalci omenjenih evropskih regij vanje verjetno priselili od drugod oziroma iz regije, kjer so pred tem dokončali izobraževanje. To lahko pojasnimo z dejstvom, da so naše regije v regionalnem sistemu Slovenije glede na Osrednjo Slovenijo in deloma tudi Podravske regije precej periferne. Na to kaže že podatek, da marsikateri ne premorejo niti osnovnih institucij terciarnega izobraževanja ali pa so te slabo razvite oziroma šele v povojih. Po drugi strani vse omenjene zahodno- in severnoevropske metropolitanske regije vsebujejo glavna regionalna središča z visoko razvitimi sistemi terciarnega izobraževanja ne le svojih držav, ampak tudi širših delov Evrope. Kljub temu tudi na tem mestu avtorji

mednarodne raziskave zaključujejo, da so evropski ustvarjalci zelo nemobilni. Večina jih preprosto ostane v naselju oziroma regiji, kjer so se rodili oziroma odraščali ali se izobrazili.

Preglednica 3: Primerjava regionalne razporeditve prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem leta 2012 v Sloveniji glede na regijo zaključka najvišje stopnje izobrazbe (N = 5584) (Kozina, 2013).

regija	izobraženi v regiji (%)	izobraženi v drugih regijah (%)	izobraženi v tujini (%)	skupaj (%)
Primorska	34,3	62,9	2,8	100,0
Goriška	24,3	73,4	2,3	100,0
Gorenjska	29,4	69,2	1,4	100,0
Osrednja Slovenija	87,4	9,7	2,9	100,0
Dolenjska	30,2	64,4	5,4	100,0
Savinjsko-Koroška	28,5	51,5	2,0	100,0
Podravska	71,7	25,0	3,3	100,0
Pomurska	20,8	75,3	3,9	100,0
Slovenija	57,6	39,5	2,9	100,0

Če za zaključek tega vsebinskega sklopa naredimo še en skupen pregled, v katerem poskušamo izločiti tiste prebivalce z ustvarjalnim poklicem, katerih bivanje v določeni regiji lahko povežemo z drugačnimi razlogi, kot so rojstvo oziroma odraščanje ali izobraževanje, dobimo skupino ustvarjalcev, ki jih lahko označimo z imenom ustvarjalni migranti (angleško *creative migrants*). Po tem kriteriju med vsemi regijami izrazito izstopata samo Osrednja Slovenija (5,6 %) in Podravska regija (19,7 %), ki sta tudi na tem mestu primerljivi s skupino metropolitanskih regij v južni in vzhodni Evropi, za katere je značilna nižja stopnja selitvenosti prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem.

5 Sklep

Po opravljenem analitičnem delu lahko povzamemo, da so prebivalci z ustvarjalnim poklicem v Sloveniji prostorsko zelo nemobilni in po tem kriteriju precej podobni drugim poklicnim skupinam. Če jih po istem kriteriju primerjamo še z ustvarjalci iz tujine, lahko ugotovimo, da so najbolj podobni tistim, ki živijo v južni in vzhodni Evropi in za katere velja, da so med najmanj mobilnimi na stari celini. Podrobnejše

analize so pokazale, da se ustvarjalci bolj razvitih regij načeloma intenzivneje selijo in so tudi v večji meri pripravljeni na selitev. Oboje enako velja za bolj urbanizirana naselja.

Pričujoča raziskava je dokazala zelo nizko stopnjo selitvene dinamike prebivalcev z ustvarjalnim poklicem v Sloveniji, ki je najverjetneje predvsem odraz močne navezanosti anketirancev na lokalno okolje ter izredno nemobilnega trga nepremičnin in delovne sile. Če ima močna identiteta tudi svoje pozitivne vplive, pa tega ne moremo trditi za nemobilni trg nepremičnin in trg delovne sile, ki sta v marsikaterem pogledu zaviralca razvoja. Menim, da bi morali v Sloveniji čim prej sprejeti učinkovitejše ukrepe za spodbujanje njunega delovanja. Poleg tega bi si morali intenzivneje prizadevati za preprečevanje izseljevanja mlajših ustvarjalcev v tujino, ki smo mu priča v zadnjih letih, in hkratno pritegnitev ustvarjalne delovne sile od drugod. V tem kontekstu bi morali poskrbeti za večjo mero odprtosti, strpnosti in socialnega dialoga. Prebivalci z ustvarjalnim poklicem so namreč eden ključnih dejavnikov sodobnega družbeno-gospodarskega napredka in konkurenčnosti. Ob tem je pomembno vedeti, kaj posamezne ustvarjalne ljudi v določeno okolje privlači in kaj jih od tam odvrča.

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Jani Kozina

Migration of inhabitants in creative occupations in Slovenia

Keywords: migration, creative occupations, regionalization, urbanization, Slovenia

The article presents the basic temporal and spatial characteristics of the migration of inhabitants in creative occupations in Slovenia. While it has been already stated that an educated and more creative workforce has been moving out of the country recently and that incoming migrants are mostly low-skilled workers from the former Yugoslavian republics, the content of this article refers mainly to internal migration. The completed analytical work can be summarized as indicating that inhabitants in creative occupations in Slovenia are very immobile and by this criterion quite similar to other occupational groups. If we use the same criterion to compare them with inhabitants in creative occupations from abroad, we can conclude that they are most similar to those living in southern and eastern Europe – groups considered to be among the least mobile on the old continent. Further analysis showed that the inhabitants in creative occupations that live in more developed regions generally intensely migrate and are also more willing to relocate. Both characteristics are equally valid for the more urbanized settlements.

Mojca Pajnik, Veronika Bajt

Migrant Women's Work: Intermeshing Structure and Agency

Keywords: migrant women's agency, gender, work related policies, domestic and care work, Slovenia

Introduction

In this article we address the question of migrant women's experiences in accessing the labour market in Slovenia and examine how welfare policies, or the lack thereof, affect migrant workers' lives. By focusing the study on migrant women and their position in the labour market, we problematise these women's perpetual de-skilling and socio-economic exclusion. Drawing on migrant women's narratives we also point to their activity in counteracting experiences of discrimination and downward social mobility.

Demographic trends show that the European population will continue to age and that a smaller portion of citizens will be available for care of the elderly, both financially and in terms of actual care (Lisiankova, Wright, 2005). In recent decades, European states have increasingly relegated various forms of care and domestic work to migrant women, which has been the case also historically. Migration theorists tend to use economic paradigms to explain these trends, referring to a push-pull model and the demand and supply dichotomy. Gender sensitive analysis (Anthias, Lazaridis, 2000; Lutz, 2008, 2011) has proven that such explanations are gender-blind in their arguing that domestic and care work is "just another type of work". In fact, however, this work is deeply embedded in "gender regimes", in social constructions that deem this type of work to be women's work, characterised by a high degree of dependency of the female worker on the employer and by highly personalised and emotional work relationships (Lutz, 2008, 1).

It seems that theorising care and domestic work, service and sales work, as well as sex work, all of which are increasingly performed by migrant women, can avoid generalisations of rationalised economic theory only after the interrelationships of gender, class, ethnicity, and other social divisions are taken into consideration. Here we draw on the concept of intersectionality (Yuval-Davis, 2006), which helps

us understand how the marginalised positions of migrant women are intermeshed in social divisions functioning around gender, nationality, class, as well as migrant status and labour market segmentation (McDowell, 2008). By acknowledging the interrelations of various forms of subordination, intersectionality as a concept reminds us that inequalities emerge at the crossings of positions related to gender, ethnicity, age, class etc. The narrations of migrant women presented in this article reveal the empirical disempowerment strategies that the intersectional approach has tried to capture theoretically.

Social divisions are manifested in various forms,¹ and our analytical focus here is twofold: we analyse divisions that are expressed in specific institutions and organisations such as laws and state agencies, and we are also interested in how migrant women – subjectively and exerting their own agency – experience and counteract social divisions in their everyday lives. We acknowledge the need for contextual analysis that does not separate the institutionally reproduced differentiations from the actual experiences with oppression and inequalities (cf. Anthias, Yuval-Davis, 1983).

We also draw on the concept of “positionality” (Anthias, 2002), for it relates to the space at the intersection of structure as position in the system, and agency as individual positioning, meaning, and practice. It is a space between social constructionism and the agency approach, the interrelations of which are even better explained by “translocations” or “translocational positionality”, which more explicitly captures the various belongings of migrating subjects (Anthias, 2002, 502). Such an approach enables us to challenge the hegemonic analysis that reifies institutions and their laws and to avoid the essentialisation of specific identities.

Data for several European states shows that in the current global financial and economic crisis, the migrant workers are the first to face layoffs (e.g. Pajnik, Campani, 2011), yet the trend in hiring migrants for the most precarious jobs remains unabated. Statistics show that, even though the labour market increasingly rejects workers with low levels of education and skills, the overwhelming majority of jobs accessible to migrants in Slovenia are classified as unskilled. The demand has long been the highest for “unskilled work in construction” – a typically male profession, and “cleaner” – a paradigmatically female migrant’s job.² Migrants have traditionally found work in sectors that are socially considered “dirty” or underpaid. This persists and is in Slovenia connected to the perceived “female migrant profession” of cleaning. It might

1 I.e. organisational, intersubjective, experiential, and representational forms (Yuval Davis, 2006, 198).

2 Most jobs available to migrant workers based on quota permits were for low or semi-skilled and low paid positions, mainly found in construction and heavy industrial sector. Prior to the recession, the number of foreign workers in Slovenia was continuously on the rise (it tripled in the last decade) and in 2008 about 90,000 held valid work permits. Comparatively, only 31,000 migrants hold valid work permits in 2013.

appear that the current “native” work force, particularly the rising number of long-term unemployed women, could meet such a demand (Hrženjak, 2007). Nevertheless, it is often the case that the work in question is physically-demanding, underpaid and garners low levels of social respect. In addition, it is also unregulated and mostly part of the grey economy, with known breaches of worker’s rights. Not all unemployed women are prepared to or even capable of performing such work.³ As a result, migrant women are bridging this gap, meeting the demand for services, particularly in the form of undocumented household work, childcare, and care of the elderly. Similar to other developed countries, Slovenia has seen a steady rise in the tertiary sector, and this is reflected in the labour market’s demand for services. It remains unclear how many migrant women find work in industrial cleaning, hotels, and restaurants, let alone in informal domestic work, though their shares point to the feminisation of these sectors of migrant work.⁴

Overlooked in policies, denied of agency and equal labour market access

The majority of the foreign-born population in Slovenia comes from the former Yugoslavia; almost half is from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The construction of the European Union’s external borders classifies former co-nationals into “third country nationals”, a category inherent in migration and integration policies and to the detriment of their full inclusion. Women migrants are also predominantly citizens of Yugoslavia’s successor states, especially of Bosnia-Herzegovina. In recent years, more women than men have come to Slovenia from Ukraine and the Russian Federation; and migrant populations from Thailand, Romania, the Czech Republic, Moldova, the Dominican Republic, the Philippines, and Colombia are also largely female. Only a fragment of the “third country nationals” in Slovenia come from Asia, the Americas, or Africa.

Our data is drawn from 26 biographical interviews with migrant women between 22 and 48 years of age who have migrated to Slovenia from different countries in the last 15 years, most quite recently.⁵ In this perspective, they can be seen as part of “new” migrants who face even greater difficulties compared to migrants who have lived in

3 Most of the long-term unemployed women in Slovenia are above the age of 50, while it is also significant that some are unemployed because of disabilities.

4 Data for 2008, when seasonal permits were still issued for work in “hotel, catering and tourism industry”, show that 55 per cent were held by women.

5 Biographical narrative interviews were conducted in Slovenia between 2006 and 2007 as part of the 6FP project “FeMiPol” – Integration of Female Immigrants in Labour Market and Society: Policy Assessment and Policy Recommendations. For more, see <http://www.femipol.uni-frankfurt.de/>.

Slovenia for longer time. The women have diverse socio-economic and educational backgrounds, come from different geopolitical contexts, and live and work in various social situations. The diversity of the sample, which at the same time reflects the official statistical trends, enables us to infer from the data that the same structural problems permeate the lives of migrant women, regardless of their education or professional qualifications and their sector of work.

In order to reside and work legally in Slovenia, migrants, particularly “non-EU nationals” need both work and residence permits. Regarding employment of “foreigners”, state policies expect employers to be the ones who arrange all the necessary documents. On the one hand, it is helpful for migrants that, officially, they do not need to arrange all the necessary documentation themselves, especially if they are migrating for the first time and are unfamiliar with the new environment, language, laws, and procedures. Yet at the same time this can also be discouraging for those migrants whose qualifications may not be in great demand or whose potential employers are not familiar with the official procedure of lodging an application for work permits. As a teacher from Croatia explains, she managed to find an employer, but upon enquiring about the procedure to employ a “foreigner”, decided it was “too much hassle”. Melanija⁶ was thus told that she would not get the promised job because it was easier to hire a Slovene worker. Marija, meanwhile, a university graduate from Moldova, speaks of having to pay high sums of money for her work permit, suggesting that her employer circumvented legal regulations which stipulate the employer’s responsibility to cover these costs.

Migrant women in our sample offer various accounts of how a complete reliance on their employers often made them feel they had no choice but to endure discrimination and harsh working conditions for low pay or sometimes no pay at all. The narratives illuminate that being employed on a contract for a fixed-term period of time is disadvantageous compared to regularly employed workers because contract work puts employees at greater risk with respect to job security and prevents them from being entitled to the same social security or other benefits, such as paid vacation.⁷ Migrant workers were dependent on their employers because of their temporary residence permits and employment regulations, which up until 2011 tied work permits to specific employers, rather than allowing free movement of migrants between positions and employers. A particular sub-pattern connected to work migrants could be recognised where women adopted roles that followed the established patterns of work migration. This led them from their countries of

6 All names are pseudonyms.

7 Eurostat data for 2012 shows that Slovenia exhibits above the EU average shares of fixed-term employment.

birth, through an apparently smooth transition, to a pre-arranged work setting and accommodation that was tied to fixed-term work contracts. Yet, at least initially, they remained tied to the same employer because the work permit they possessed precluded free choice of employment. In addition to the fact that migrant women are limited in accessing the labour market and often face discrimination, precarious work conditions and limited social security, they had also been reliant on their employer in order to keep their residence permit.

The narratives show that even migrants with personal work permits who were formally equal to Slovene citizens in competing for jobs noted several obstacles in their attempts to find work, as well as problems accessing social welfare. The migrant life stories illustrate that they experienced numerous obstacles in accessing the labour market on a footing equal to that of the “native” workers; the narratives also reveal, however, that they faced additional hindrances due to language barriers, lack of educational recognition, lack of informal networks, as well as overt discrimination because of their presumed otherness. For instance, even though the Employment Service is supposed to provide administrative help, state institutions in general are slow in fulfilling their obligations towards foreign nationals, leaving several of the migrant women in our sample disappointed at being prevented from participating in the so-called Active Employment Policy programme. The narratives illustrate the need to facilitate better access to labour market in a manner which would be helpful for all migrants regardless of their status or work permit type.

Experiences of precarious jobs and de-skilling

Even though the sample was purposefully designed to examine the practice of migrant de-skilling and low-skill sectors of work, a major finding is the notable de-skilling of migrant women regardless of their status, mode of entry, educational level, or prior work experience. Even in cases where migrants manage to arrange formal recognition of education, their abilities and qualifications remain devalued (Bajt, Pajnik, 2013). Many women speak of being unable to find work suitable to their qualifications – like Melanija, a teacher who works as a cleaner because her Slovene is not fluent enough to allow her to teach. Despite valuable work experience and possession of skills that are advertised as greatly needed in Slovenia, Sandra, a medical nurse, works as an undocumented kitchen aide. Ada, a lawyer from Bosnia-Herzegovina, has been unable to find a job suitable to her qualifications, despite trying for several years; her attempts at finding employment in her field included trying to get a foot in the door by volunteering at a courthouse. Though her education is recognised in Slovenia, her lack of work experience prevented her from passing the

obligatory bar exam, which further limits her chances of ever finding work suitable to her expertise.

Migrant women are significantly hindered in their attempts to access the labour market, and it is not uncommon for university educated women to work as waitresses or shop assistants. Working in low-skill sector jobs, some report poor working conditions and exploitation by employers. Our sample revealed cases of migrant women discovering that employers never registered their employment or that they registered them for a significantly shorter period than the length of their actual employment. Such violations, even though also an issue with numerous Slovene citizens, affect migrants even more because they result in a lack of social insurance for migrants, no paid vacation or right to sick leave, and, above all, problems in accessing healthcare and pension schemes. Forced “inactivity” in the formal labour market is a significant problem for migrant women, who experience long periods of time in which accessing the labour market is difficult. This has negative consequences on their self-esteem and can contribute to a precarious existence and the need to seek undocumented work. After a certain period of unemployment, the fact that they cannot find employment aligned with their expertise and education often becomes “accepted” as an unavoidable predicament. As a result, many migrant women resolve to accept any kind of employment, either because they need financial means, or because they wish to avoid seclusion and inactivity. This means that some migrant women resort to undocumented low-skill and low-paid positions, whereas others manage to find jobs at lower levels within their sector. This is a problem that stems from labour policies, which systematically favour the employment of the “native” workers and restrict the number of work permits issued to “foreigners”.

The “third country” status profoundly affects the labour market access of the women categorised as such, because all “third country nationals” need to secure work permits in order to legally work and reside in Slovenia. Therefore, their stories describe undocumented work experiences. Some are engaged in “illicit” work in order to supplement their regular earnings, and all their narratives show that their decision to accept work in the black market was the consequence of inability to find regular employment.

With high education [...] I was ready to mop the floor only to get that job [...] I was aware that I'm going to foreign country, that it'll be tough and that people are foreign and that it'll be hard to get among people. But I said to myself I'll get used to it [...] Why are foreign people not appreciated? Why? [...] Your Slovenia will go on because of that [...] Give me normal salary, respect me, and I'll do what you need. Is it so or not? And also Slovenia will in the end prosper [...] And you [a migrant] don't have the right to say anything

to anyone! Don't have the right! Can't. Hard. Really hard. I can see that some don't do anything and they have three times bigger salary than me. And you go and toil away like a horse, and you have lower pay. (Marija, 30, Moldova)⁸

Undocumented domestic work: An arrangement to sustain the gender divide

As is the case for women in general, for migrant women who work, employment and family obligations also result in a double burden that constrains what kind of job they can perform and what career opportunities they are able to take on – if they are able to find work at all. Lilia, a qualified seamstress, for instance, supplements her earnings by working as a baby-sitter. She cares for a young boy whose parents need additional assistance because they work at night. This arrangement of childcare is illustrative in two ways. On the one hand, it shows how undocumented domestic work is used as a way to earn money, which Lilia notes, makes her feel more independent, or, as she states, “A woman needs to have her own money”. On the other hand, the night work performed by the boy's parents shows the need for extra childcare that is not being met by regular state-organised kindergarten facilities. There is an obvious demand for childcare, and this demand provides migrant women with paid but undocumented work. Unless young parents have the support of grandparents or other family members or friends, they resort to employing help for childcare. Illustrating the double burden of female migrants, Marija's case is particularly telling:

Everybody wonder how I manage. Because at my home it is so clean [...] I live like robot. From Monday to Friday, work from 7 to 3, or from 8 to 4, I make 8 hours. I go straight to school, take my daughter home – she has that additional at school – come home and I take vacuum cleaner straight away, clean, make the beds, iron, cook, dinner. Then my daughter in bed, must go to sleep by 9 because must get up in the morning [...] And on Saturday I clean up everything, on Sunday I cook. I don't have time never. (Marija, 30, Moldova)

I like to work, it's not hard for me and not a problem. I'm tired from time to time, especially now when we moved. When I have to be at 6 o'clock [at work], I get up 20 past 4 [...] And I have to deal with kid all day, I mean, all day, have to work, and come back, and collect kid from kindergarten, and deal with kid from 4 till 9 in the evening, and at 9, I don't know, clean house a little, do a little this, a little that, and it's 12, 1, and then at 4 I have to get up, and it's really sometimes a problem. But ok. You get used to it. (laughs)
(Sandra, late 20s, Kosovo)

8 All the quotes have been translated into English without language editing, thus purposefully retaining the language proficiency varieties as these appeared in the interviews with migrant women.

Moreover, Melanija, a Croatian with a degree in pedagogy, who is employed as a cleaner in a school and is in charge of domestic work at home, also performs domestic work outside of working hours in her “free time” in order to earn extra money. Her undocumented additional job, therefore, results in Melanija performing domestic work in three different places: in the school that is her workplace, at home, and in a household where she cleans for cash as additional undocumented job.

These examples reveal the double burden placed on migrant women who perform domestic work in their homes for their own families as well as in somebody else’s household. Outsourcing domestic household and care work to migrant women has become an accepted habit that actually supports the “institutionalized genderisms” (Lutz, 2008, 48) – allocating household work to migrant women does not question the traditional gender divide; rather, it sustains it. By calling on the migrant woman to act as a nanny or a nurse, the image of a caring mother is maintained at the crossings of gender and migration regimes that reactivate traditional gender roles.

Performing domestic work in other people’s homes represents an additional or sometimes the sole financial resource for migrant women. Since domestic work is performed in the private sphere and in most cases as an undocumented “arrangement” between the migrant woman and her employer, she is exposed to the usual dangers of illicit employment. Even though in our sample one migrant woman performing such work notes that she is content with cash payments, such arrangements present potential dangers. Most obviously, a migrant may not be paid after performing her job, and since her employment relationship is based on an oral agreement alone, she has no possibilities to demand money that is owed to her through formal official channels. This precarious situation, involving a lack of social security, job security, healthcare, and other benefits, is particularly relevant in the case of undocumented domestic work. In addition, this type of work is profoundly characterised as low status, even if paid or acknowledged as a profession. Furthermore, personalised and emotional work relationships that accompany care work add additional pressure to the already precarious migrant situations (Lutz, 2008; Šadl, 2007).

Migrant women’s agency through self-employment and re-skilling

Contrary to the rhetoric of victimisation of migrants (cf. Agustín, 2003), the participants in our sample confirm their active agency. This was particularly the case for migrant women working in the area classified as “dance”, a sector that is habitually associated with dubious nightclub “exotic dancing” related to sex work and trafficking. Most of the narratives show how migrants continuously try to

improve their situation. For example, the Czech migrant Nika found a way out of working in nightclubs by working as a cleaner. Similarly, migrants who arrived on work visas as dancers expressed unhappiness with their initial job and had hence put their efforts into changing their line of work. Three migrant women in our sample who began working in Slovenia as nightclub dancers have since become waitresses. Though being a waitress is a low-paid position that may also expose them to unwanted male advances and a precarious socio-economic existence, in their eyes it represents a step up, an improvement. Moreover, night work prevents the women from having a “normal life”. While they note the pay is good, working at night is physically tiring and prevents migrant women from establishing contacts with local people, forging friendships, or finding a partner. In contrast, being a waitress is presented as a good opportunity to establish new contacts and to practice speaking the local language:

What I tell you before about that nightclub where I was [...] Now I work in ordinary bar. No problem getting that work because I have a friend and he did for me [...] I only knew that I don't want dance, I return to Czech Republic. And my friend called [and] said his friend is looking for waitress [...] And I said that I don't know. He said that I try one month, two, and I will see, right. Actually I come back [smiles]. I called that boss, very kind she was, everything. (Natalija, 24, Czech Republic)

No, I don't work no more in a bar, I am now in waitress job in a day bar, right in that carwash [smile]. Yes, like that. I don't work no more as dancer [...] It's better for me here, day work, because night work is hard. Even if you work two hours, your free time for sleep no good, eh. You cannot only dance all your life, you must change life. That's it. (Irina, 27, Ukraine)

I tell you, when I was dancer – for some time I was dancer, then went home, then come back here – no problem then. That changed now – no dance as such, as before. Before were shows, professional ballet dancers, but no more now [...] And when you work like that for so long time you don't enjoy any more [...] And cannot find other sort of job straight away. Cannot find. Simple. So you must look, make effort, find somebody to help you, help you as foreigner, find job. Long-term job also difficult. Well, I got it, I was lucky, eh. And how I was lucky? To change job. To go from that bar to normal company, to work as cleaner. I worked for 6 years. Said YES straight away. I didn't mind, cleaning or whatever, only to go away from that [...] I cleaned offices in bank, I was employed, it was quite good. For me it was, for that time, I was very satisfied then because I got normal job, day job, to live normally, like normal people, new environment and all new. (Nika, 35, Ukraine)

Self-employment is another strategy for coping with limited access to the labour market, as well as a way of earning money in a migrant woman's preferred field of expertise. In our sample, self-employment as a coping mechanism is featured in two narratives. Mariana is a hairdresser who saw a market niche in offering her services outside of established hair salons, which she believes are not offering sufficient cutting edge skills; so she decided to give it a go on her own. Even though Mariana encountered problems having her education recognised (she was overqualified) and also struggled to understand Slovenia's regulations, procedures, and tax system when trying to set up her own hair salon, she succeeded. Another example of a self-employed migrant is Xan, a woman who, after working alongside her husband in a Chinese restaurant, eventually decided to leave him and open a shop together with her sister as a business partner.

Then I decided to make a hair-, to work for myself [...] But then, when I started making my firm, it was so many, so many problems. And you have to have it, up, down, various documents, permits, different things. I don't know, that was really, really hard [...] Mhm, because I'm not used to it, right. In Peru we don't have it that hard. If you want to have hairdressing, you have. You don't need permission, paper for [...] electricity, for how it looks inside, nothing. There you do it very easy. You have one place, buy [...] Here such permissions that you can't, right. Hard, if you don't have money, right. (Mariana, 32, Peru)

In the beginning I worked in restaurant, every day I get up at 10 in morning and at 11 in evening I finish with work [...] Such life I lived for 10 months and then I start thinking about me open little shop and start working alone, then I searched [a Slovene acquaintance] to help me rent a flat [...] We don't have this shop with husband, we with my younger sister joined and we have it together, he still works in restaurant [...] I couldn't do it myself, there's many things in these [administrative] offices that need to be arranged and they [Slovene acquaintances] help me to arrange all this. (Xan, 33, China)

The two self-employed migrant women in our sample, Xan and Mariana, both spoke of highly complex bureaucratic procedures. Mariana did not fully understand the lease contract, nor did she know whether its provisions were in accordance with the law. Similarly, Xan did not understand the proper formal procedure for opening a store. While they managed to overcome the administrative obstacles with the help of the social network of their Slovene friends, these examples speak of a wider problem – namely, that migrants are excluded from all institutional schemes and left reliant entirely on their own social capital. The fact that Slovenia does not

stimulate self-employment of migrants is of particular relevance, especially as both interviewees complained about not fully understanding the administrative procedures required for self-employment, the leasing of premises, and so on.⁹ Given the total lack of policy measures, which could promote migrant employment, migrant workers are in a disadvantaged position.

Conclusion

In examining migrant women's experiences with accessing the labour market in Slovenia it is evident that the existing labour laws and welfare policies result in the exclusion of migrants. They experience de-skilling, lack equal options, and are limited in realising their full potential. The socio-economic exclusion is particularly apparent with "third country" migrant women, whose status renders their positions highly dependent. Reliant either on family reunification policies or the existence of labour market demands in order to secure work permits and thus legal residence, the migrants also experience prejudice and discrimination based on gender, age, ethnicity, religion, etc. The narratives in our sample describe how migrant women's access to the labour market is systematically shaped by the intersection of social divisions pertaining to gender, ethnicity, and class, but particularly by their migrant status. Revealing these intersecting influences, the migrant women's stories illustrate the impact state policies have in terms of labour market access and social benefits, particularly since migrants are frequently exempt from state assistance.

We conclude by listing a few policy recommendations, considering the fact that the demand for migrant work, particularly the need for women's labour in terms of personal services and domestic work, not only remains unabated even in the current economic recession, but is expected to increase as the demographic trends of population aging already show. This strongly suggests the need to assist migrant workers in accessing the labour market even if their professions are not in high demand, which at present seems to provide the (only) incentive for employers to put the required extra effort into acquiring the needed migrant workers. Moreover, correct, fast, simple, and inexpensive procedures for issuing work permits are crucial for ensuring that migrant women can access the labour market, as well as for enticing employers to hire migrants. Also, policies need to seriously consider abandoning the mechanism of work permits that frequently represents the source of migrants' precariousness, address the lack of opportunities for migrant women to find jobs that are not confined to domestic and

9 The *Employment and Work of Aliens Act* even stipulates that the government may adopt special measures to restrict the number of self-employed "foreigners" – as indeed any migrant workers – if "justified" by, among other reasons, "the general economic interest or the situation and foreseen shifts in the labour market", which is especially relevant in the current economic crisis.

care work, and thus endeavour to recognise the persistence of a gender divide created with the double burden of domestic work. “Engendering” of migration regimes seems an appropriate response. In addition, policies should recognise that informal work performed in the care sector is only accessible to those who can afford it. Class divisions are noted here, where migrant women are directed to performing low paid domestic and care work, without having their needs recognised.

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Mojca Pajnik, Veronika Bajt

Delo migrantk: prepletenost strukture in delovanja

Ključne besede: delovanje migrantk, spol, delavske politike, gospodinjsko in skrbstveno delo, Slovenija

Migranti se tradicionalno zaposlujejo v sektorjih, ki jih ima večinska populacija za umazane in premalo plačane ter se jim zato izogiba. Zaposlovanje migrantk za gospodinjsko delo in osebno nego je tako v zahodnoevropskih državah že postalo običajna praksa. Medtem ko smo priča rastočemu trendu prelaganja izvajanja storitev skrbstvenega in gospodinjskega dela na migrantke, katerih delo postaja pomemben odziv na vrzeli v zagotavljanju teh posebnih storitev, je dejanski položaj migrantk na trgu dela v migracijskih in integracijskih politikah še vedno slabo reflektiran. Članek obravnava izkušnje, ki jih imajo migrantke z dostopom do trga dela v Sloveniji, in ugotavlja, kako socialne politike oziroma njihov manko vplivajo na življenje migrantk. Skozi intervjuje analiziramo ponavljajoče se izključenosti migrantk in obenem osvetljujemo njihove aktivne prakse. Članek izhaja iz koncepta interseksionalnosti, skozi katerega razpravlja o različnem odnosu med strukturnimi omejitvami in individualnimi izkušnjami migrantk z namenom opozoriti na potrebe po izboljšanju marginaliziranega položaja migrantov.

Anil Al-Rebholz

Negotiations on Tradition and Modernity in the German Migration Context: a Comparison of the Life Histories of a Young Kurdish Woman and a Moroccan Woman

Keywords: gender knowledge, biographical migration research, mother-daughter relationship, intergenerational transmission, young Muslim migrant women

1 Gender, Migration, and Tradition

Considering migration to be a gendered experience, in this article, I focus on the gender-specific processes of cultural production and tradition-building in the context of migration and pose the following questions: What happens to gendered biographies in a migration context? What role does gender play with respect to the rupture, renewal, or building of traditions in migration processes? Drawing on the basic assumption that “gender fundamentally organizes the social relations and structures,” which in turn shapes the processes of migration (cf. Curran, 2006, 199), I make use of the concept of gender defined as an accomplishment, as a performance in daily interaction practices:

When we view gender as an accomplishment, an achieved property of situated conduct, our attention shifts from matters internal to the individual, and focuses on interactional and, ultimately, institutional arenas. (West et al., 1987, 126)

Such a notion of gender relates the study of migration and gender to an analysis of gendered institutional arrangements and to the social structures and power relations which are dominant in different social settings. My broader concern is to determine what kinds of social conditions and biographical processes facilitate, hinder, or prevent the development of skills/resources relevant to gaining autonomy and to the emancipative project of a biographical self in a migration context.

How should one view the relationship between gender, tradition, and migration? Drawing on Habermas’s critical revision of the concepts of *lifeworld* and *everyday knowledge* used by Alfred Schütz, Ursula Apitzsch states that in modern societies,

tradition can only be contemplated in terms of renewal, building new traditions, or as cultural reflexivity, which would necessarily consider the interference between the lifeworlds of those born in the culture and of the migrants (Apitzsch, 1999, 10). Furthermore, she points out that reflexive reference, as a critical re-appropriation of traditions in modern societies, would also necessitate biographical work on the side of migrants. In this framework, tradition should be understood as a stock of everyday/practical knowledge and practices through which a symbolic space of lifeworld can be (re)constructed, which is in turn based on the interpretations of experiences by the preceding generations (cf. Apitzsch, 1999; Inowlocki, 2001a; Inowlocki, 2001b).

Similar to Ursula Apitzsch, in her study on the processes of reflexivity on tradition in three generations of displaced families of Jewish descent, Lena Inowlocki stresses the importance of biographical and generational work and how the transmission of traditional practices requires considerable practical knowledge. Developed by Alfred Schütz, the concept of *practical knowledge* is understood as:

‘ways of life, methods of coming to terms with the environment, efficient recipes for the use of typical means for bringing about typical ends in typical situations’, in accordance with what is accepted as relevant within a group. (Schütz, 1962; [cited in: Inowlocki, 2001a, 89])

Combining Schütz’s concept of practical knowledge with the concept of gender as an accomplished performance in daily interaction processes raises the question of what the practical knowledge of being a gendered person in a society looks like. In other words, how can the knowledge of being a gendered person in a society be understood? The concept of *gender knowledge* deals with exactly this problem:

[Gender knowledge is] knowledge ... about the differences between the sexes, the reasoning of the self-evidence and evidence [of these differences], [and] the prevailing normative ideas about the ‘correct’ gender relations and divisions of labor between women and men. (Andresen/Dölling 2005, 175; [cited in: Cavaghan, 2010])

Feminist authors also underline the importance of biographical processes in the acquisition of interpretative frameworks which constitute gender knowledge (Dölling 2005, 49; [cited in Cavaghan, 2010, 20]).

The analytical framework that I employ looks at the contestation, production, and reproduction of gender knowledge in migration processes and deals with the question of how gender knowledge is transmitted between generations (i.e., between mothers and daughters) and how the younger generation reworks this knowledge in interaction with the social and cultural institutions of the majority society. For

a proper understanding of the negotiations on gender knowledge – its continuity, contestation, and transformation – one should look at the intergenerational relations and the transmission processes of cultural and social resources. In this sense, there is still a gap in the research regarding the study of familial transmission processes and the intergenerational transmission of social and cultural resources in the German-speaking academic environment (Gerner, 2007, 228).

2 Biographical Migration Research: Different Approaches

The following section discusses under which biographical processes and social conditions migration becomes either a resource for achieving gender autonomy or an obstacle.

Theoretical approaches to migration assume a gap of modernization between the country of origin and the destination country, which constructs the destination country as “modern” and the country of origin as “backward” (Apitzsch, 2006, 256; cf. Morokvasic, 2007, 72). In these approaches, the picture of the traditional patriarchal structure of a migrant family is contrasted with the picture of the urban modern family (cf. Baros, 2009, 138), particularly with a focus on the Islamic migrant family. These analyses draw on the assumption of a gap between modern life and Islamic tradition (cf. Apitzsch, 2006, 250). The difference between the social environment (norms, values, and cultural codes) of the majority society and the (supposedly patriarchal) values of the migrant family is also conceptualized as two conflicting forms of socialization (cf. Riegel, 2007, 247). Such simplistic, binary perceptions are radically questioned, for instance, by Ursula Apitzsch, who poses the question: “What is modern about the destination country?” (Apitzsch, 2006, 256).

The biographical analytical approaches on migration stress not only the processes of social suffering and discrimination which might be faced in the destination country, but also the processes of creative transformation on the side of migrant subjects. In the migration context, the migrants may build on their already existing biographical resources and emotional skills, or they might develop new ones through interacting with the opportunities and structures which are available to them in the majority society. Thus, migratory processes mostly involve an act of balancing between individual autonomy and social constraints, between processes of acting as a social agent and processes of suffering due to the constraints put on individuals by social structures (cf. Kontos, 1999, 232; Gerner, 2007, 228; Lutz, 1999). Scholars looking at the reversal and transformation of gender order in migration contexts put emphasis on the importance of investigating “identities, practices, and positions” (Lutz, 2010,

1658), insisting on the necessity of seeing migrants as “actors rather than as objects or targets of the change” (Morokvasic, 2007, 71).

The analysis of gender-specific cultural production and tradition-building focuses on daily practices (cf. Kaya 2007, 207) and the related praxis of constructing norms, gender, identity, roles, values, and the processes of symbolic production. Along these lines, tradition entails practical knowledge which is transmitted between the generations. Thus, studies which examine the production and transformation of gender knowledge in the migration context must take intergenerational processes in general into account (cf. Mahler, et al. 2006, 33), particularly the mother-daughter relations (Kaya, 2007; Inowlocki, 2001a; Inowlocki, 2001b).

Mothers are not only seen as the main carriers of culture, knowledge, and emotion, but also as the mediators of norms and values within the family (Kaya, 2007, 209). As I will show below, the *migration project*, which includes the motivations, goals, and conditions which lead mothers to migrate, together with their experiences in the migration context, plays an important role in the formation of daughters’ gender knowledge and in the construction of their life projects, as well as their way of life.

3 Biographical Case Studies

Comparison of two different life projects by the daughters of Muslim migrant families

In the following, I will present a comparative study of the two life histories¹ of a young Moroccan woman and a Kurdish woman,² with a particular focus on their own interpretations of their migration experiences with regard to how they think of tradition and modernity and with regard to how they draw on these in the constitution and employment of different biographical action schemes.³

1 To differentiate between the terms *life story* and *life history*: the former refers to the autobiographical narrative told by the person and the latter refers to the interpretative reconstruction of the life story by the researcher. This differentiation is also related to the differentiation made between the *narrated life story* and the *experienced life history* (see Rosenthal, 2004).

2 The two interviews cited in this article were conducted within the framework of the research project “Family Orientations and Gender Differences in Intergenerational Transnational Migration Processes” in 2011 at the Goethe-University Frankfurt in Germany. The project was directed by Prof. Dr. Ursula Apatzsch (Goethe-University, Frankfurt am Main) and financed by the Ministry of Science and Arts of Hessen (HMWK). Within the framework of the project, I have conducted 18 biographical interviews with migrant women of Turkish, Kurdish, and Moroccan origins who belong to the first, second, and third generations.

3 For the concept of biographical action scheme employed in the analysis of biographical narrations, see Schütze 2007.

Alena:

Alena is the daughter of a Kurdish-Alevite migrant family and belongs to the second generation. At the time of the interview, she is 25 years old and lives with her family and two brothers together in a house.

Alena's early childhood and school life is characterized through painful ruptures and separations from the family, which is also typical for children of migrant families in her generation. At a very early age, she migrates illegally to Germany with her family and stays at an immigration detention center. After the denial of the family's asylum application, they are deported back to Turkey, where the mother leaves the children with their grandparents in a village in Eastern Anatolia. Through a sham marriage with a German man, the mother succeeds in migrating to Germany successfully on her second attempt. After some time, the family is reunited in Germany.

Since her mother works long hours and stays away from home, Alena undertakes the role of the mother, doing the housework, cooking, and cleaning, and looks after her younger brother. The way she talks about her role of supporting her mother suggests that she finds a sense of pride, competence, and power in this duty.

Alena's school life in Germany is characterized by frequent changes from one school to another. She does not learn German properly and, in her words, after a while, she gives up the hope that she would ever be competent in the German language. After visiting different secondary schools, she changes to a vocational school and learns home economics. Today she works as a home economist in the food service kitchen of a youth hostel, where she has difficult working conditions and has a constant feeling of insecurity because of her short-term job contract, and she wishes to find a job with a long-term contract.

During the interview, Alena states that her life from childhood until now was sort of a permanent struggle: she wants to "be finally free and achieve something for herself" (P. 32, L. [1026-1029]). That means different things in different contexts. Sometimes it means being free from the obligations of a job at a workplace and creating her own job. At other times it means being free from the gender-specific obligations and norms of behavior imposed on her during the visits to her grandparents' village in Turkey. During the holidays, accompanied by her mother, it means the freedom to party, drink alcohol without limits, and flirt with the young men. Back in Germany, it means also being independent from the social pressure exercised by circles of relatives, by her parents, and by her fiancé's parents, and also by her neighbors. During the interview, she shares the information that she therefore plans to move away from the city to a village in Germany, taking another surname for her and for her future husband (P. 42, L. [1366-1375]).

During the interview, through appealing to the well-known story of Heidi⁴ – who was living with her grandfather in a village in the mountains of Switzerland very happily until she was displaced and had to come to Frankfurt am Main, where she faces considerable difficulties adjusting to the city life and gets ill in the end – Alena shares with me an interpretational frame as to how she sees and understands her migration experience. She uses the *metaphor of Heidi* to make her migration story intelligible to the reader. The interesting part is how she reinterprets the story: Her interpretation of Heidi's story fulfills different functions in different narrative contexts. At times she uses the *Heidi metaphor* to excuse her poor achievement (in terms of grades) at schools, her feeling of not really fitting into the social settings in Germany, which relates to her not coming to terms with different aspects, rules, norms, intuitions, and rhythms of “modern life”: After an incidence of violence in the secondary school yard, she justifies her behavior: “I come from a village, what I should do? I was born like this; I must continue living in that way” (P. 18, L. [572-573]).

At other times, in the context of comparing village people and their life prospects, world views, and expectations with her experiences, with the stock of knowledge and vision which she had acquired in Germany, the Heidi metaphor was used to enact a sense of supremacy and being experienced vis-à-vis village inhabitants. In her narrative, Alena reproduces the tension between modern and traditional life through her contrast between the city life in Germany and village life in Turkey. At the same time, this interpretation scheme is most ambivalent, since city life, despite all the advantages mentioned by her, might mean (as explained in her own words) a life full of insecurities for an adult, as in the case of her short-term job contract, disputes with colleagues, or the really difficult working conditions at her work place – as depicted in detail in her narrative. In contrast, the village life in her childhood meant an absence of surveillance, rules, regulations, and responsibilities, as well as an unlimited sphere of action and freedom, which was described in her narrative in the style of a pastoral idyll with a feeling of longing for the past beauty of village life and the happy-go-lucky times of childhood. But despite this idealistic and romantic depiction of the village life of her childhood years, Alena, in her narrative, sounds proud, considering herself more knowledgeable than the inhabitants back in her parents' village.

Me: You said that you moved, like Heidi, from village to the city.

Alena: Yes, like Heidi moved from the village to city. Had I not done that, I would not know that much.

4 The world famous novel of Heidi, a classic book in children's literature by the Swiss author Johanna Sypri, tells the story of a little orphan girl who grows up in the care of her grandfather, having a happy childhood in the Swiss Alps until she is brought to the city of Frankfurt am Main as a companion to an older handicapped girl. After the happy times she spent in the Swiss Alps, Heidi cannot adapt to the city life and misses the mountains and her life there, along with her grandfather, and she gets seriously ill. Only after she returns to the mountains does Heidi's health recover.

Me: Know about what?

Alena: Like Heidi came from the village to the city. If I had not done that, I would have been like the others in the village, not very informed about things. I would have been like my grandmother and grandfather; I would have had old-fashioned thoughts even today. But when you come to the city, you learn so much. There are good things and there are bad things. I should decide on my own what I want. If I [make] well-thought-out decisions, then things will work out well. But things can get worse at any time. There is no guarantee. If I hung out with bad friends, then it would of course get worse for me. If I had not learnt a vocation, if I had another job, or were unemployed like my friend... no idea, so many [bad] things can happen.⁵ (P. 49, L. [1608-1618])

Samira:

Samira is a young woman of Berber origin and belongs to the second generation. She joined her family in Germany at the age of six. When the interview took place, she was 26 years old and attending a university of applied sciences. Samira's mother wears a headscarf (hijab); she is a housewife and she only speaks elementary German.

Narration on her educational and school life is a central aspect of Samira's biographical narrative. In contrast to Alena's, her biography represents a rather successful story of social mobility through education – albeit with some periodic crises, ruptures, and new orientations. Due to her excellent academic achievement in secondary school (*Realschule*), she can attend a high school (*Gymnasium*). The changeover from the social world of secondary school, dominated by the children of migrants and their ethnic-religious positioning, to the high school, dominated by German youth and their diverse subcultures, thus marks the beginning of a biographical self-transformation process for Samira, which will be interpreted as “the change in worldview” by her (P. 3, L. [89-93]). The discovery that the prejudices and ready-made opinions of her own ethnic community and peer group towards the German youth in particular and the culture of the majority society in general do not hold true at all triggers a process of biographical reorientation and reinterpretation for Samira in which all the prejudices and established patterns of thinking and gendered norms will be put into question by her.

The process of empowering, which means becoming autonomous and able to claim herself as an independent young female subject with her own schedule and sphere of activities in daily life, goes hand in hand with her critical attitude on the migrants' “ethnic” way of life. Accordingly, she criticizes not only the traditional practices

5 The interviews were conducted in German and the passages quoted here have been translated by the author into English.

and ways of life, which she sees as specific to the Moroccan ethnic community and other ethnic minorities, but, moreover, she defends herself against the established traditional gender norms as to how a young Moroccan woman should live: “That’s doing a vocational study after school, getting married around the mid 20s, and giving birth to children” (P. 3, L. [104-110]).

Despite her considerable success in educational and social life, Samira’s empowerment process is not smooth and not without difficulties. She is accused of being “too Germanized” by her Moroccan friends (P. 3, L. [94-100] & P. 30, L. [1199]). Male relatives criticize her way of life because she does not conform to the traditional gender norms and roles attributed to men and women. She also struggles with the stereotypes and prejudices towards Muslim migrant women, which are dominant in the majority culture in Germany. Standing at the intersection of different discourses and inclusion/exclusion axes, Samira develops multiple positions and belongings. But she feels obliged to legitimize and defend her multiple belongings as she faces the different prejudices exercised on her by varying social groups. This necessitates considerable argumentation and discursive work, which is also reflected in her biographical narrative. In this process, she gets the support of her mother and her family as Alena does. Like Alena, she has solidarity with her mother, a solidarity based on a sort of exchange of services, like helping the mother in the migration context and enjoying in return the support of her mother back in the village in Morocco should her “unconventional” behaviors annoy the village inhabitants. But, unlike Alena, she has resources and discursive tools available to her due to her upward mobility in German educational life.

4 Two Different Modes of Negotiation on Modern and Traditional Life Practices

Samira and Alena:

Samira and Alena both want to break away from the traditional circles: they both want to get rid of restrictive gender norms, cultural codes, and established ways of thinking as to what constitutes a proper life for a migrant woman. They both struggle against the constraints put on them by neighbors, family, members of their ethnic community, peer-group, and relatives, and also by the hegemonic norms of the majority society. Still, the tools and means they implement to attain and expand their autonomous sphere of action differ greatly. To attain her autonomy and to allow herself more room for maneuvering, Samira makes use of the opportunities and structures available to her in the German educational system while relying on financial, emotional,

and social support from her family and mother at the same time. In contrast, Alena wants to establish a family of her own in the hope of having an independent life under another surname far from the social pressure exercised by family, relatives, neighbors, and by the members of the Kurdish community.

Samira's and Alena's biographical narratives represent two different modes of negotiation on modern and traditional gender norms and ways of life. Samira, in her self-representation as a modern-looking, young German artist who is involved in the graffiti and arts scene and, at the same time, as a young Muslim woman with a Moroccan family, manages to combine different components of what are seen as modern and traditional cultural practices. Through a reflexive reference to different social worlds, she seems to be able to combine identification and discursive practices in her narrative, which are usually considered to be conflicting identities and practices: modern and Muslim, daughter of a Moroccan migrant family and educated, and German and Moroccan. Whereas Alena moves back and forth between places, between what she conceives as traditional and modern forms of life: back in the village, she feels superior to her grandparents' traditional ways of the life. Regarding the chances and opportunities of young women her age living in the village, she feels that she has more options. In Germany, however, she turns her position around and excuses herself for simply coming from a village, which in her eyes constitutes a valid justification for her not fitting well into the social settings and conditions in the German context. Her solution to the tensions and conflicting situations which she has to face in different social environments is assuming a new surname, which she sees a chance to start with a new life.

The modernity/tradition paradigm employed in migration studies draws on the assumption that moving from the traditional environment to the modern one, migrant women have the opportunity to become liberated even if they work in precarious and poorly paid jobs in the receiving country (Morokvasic, 2007, 73). Intergenerational biographical migration research draws a more complex picture than a move away from the traditional structures to the emancipative ones in the migration context. Alena's and Samira's cases show that not only tradition and modernity acquire new meanings in the migration context, but also that the migrants might employ different strategies simultaneously, which may be perceived as contradicting one another (cf. Morokvasic, 2007, 82). As in the case of Alena, the wish to get married, have a child, and stay at home, which might be considered as a traditional gendered strategy, could be perceived in the migration context as a chance by young (unskilled) women to extricate themselves from burdensome working conditions and precarious job situations and become free to do something for themselves. In contrast, Samira chooses a strategy that is considered to be a modern one: upward social mobility through education and work.

Nevertheless, she still defines her religious identity with reference to Islam, although Islamic gender norms are considered to be highly patriarchal and traditional and not compatible with the values of majority society. In this sense, I think the biographical reconstructions of Alena's and Samira's cases clearly demonstrate the necessity for contextualized research focusing on microlevel actors and the biographical processes of meaning production. Moreover, their cases suggest that caution should be exercised towards approaches which build their analyses on the simplistic binary understanding of modern versus traditional ways.

Furthermore, negotiations on traditional and modern gender norms by the children of migrants should be investigated in the framework of intergenerational relations,⁶ especially in the continuum of the mother-daughter interpretation of the migration experience. Both Samira and Alena enjoy the support of their mothers, but in very different forms. Compared to Alena's mother, who works and earns her money by doing cleaning jobs and who fought for considerable autonomy and decision-making power in the family against her husband, Samira's mother fits the image of the powerless traditional migrant woman rather well (wearing a headscarf, being a housewife, and having very limited knowledge of German). But exactly for this reason, Samira can afford to pursue an educational career, being free from care and reproductive duties within the private sphere. Alena, meanwhile, despite the powerful position of the mother within the family and despite the extensive support she gets from her, had to replace her mother since childhood as the only daughter among three children, assuming the responsibility for her younger brother, cooking, washing, and cleaning for the family. Even her paid job today as a home economist at a food service kitchen can be seen as an extension of her duties from the family sphere to the public sphere.

In the broadest sense, compared to their mothers, daughters are found to produce a different "gender knowledge," and accompanying visions of what kind of life is worth living. They have the possibility of combining the knowledge of being a woman that is transmitted by their mothers with the alternative identification models and life projects which are available to them in the transnational migration context. Nevertheless, the young women, in their struggle for autonomy and empowerment in a migration context, face many tensions and conflicts in different social settings such as work life, educational life, family life, as well as in the public sphere as demonstrated in the cases reconstructed above. Thus, to understand the mechanisms of reshaping and redefining the gender order in the migration context, we need to look beyond the macrolevel conditions to the individual life contexts and microprocesses, such as biographical

6 Researchers like Sarah Mahler and Patricia Pessar, for example, insist on the necessity of considering gendered and generational hierarchies in the analysis of migration processes. See Mahler et al., 2006, 33.

and gendered negotiations on modernity and tradition, intergenerational processes of knowledge, and the tradition-building and empowerment strategies of mothers and daughters specific to each biography. Still, these young women might not only become cultural innovators through the combination of different gender knowledge and the knowledge of different social worlds acquired in multicultural contexts in transnational social space, but may also contest and modify the established notions of tradition, modernity, religion, national culture, and identity.

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Anil Al-Rebholz

Odnosi med tradicijo in modernostjo v nemškem migracijskem kontekstu: primerjava biografij mlade Kurdinje in Maročanke

Ključne besede: vednost o spolu, biografske migracijske študije, odnos mati : hči, integracijska transmisija, mlade muslimanske priseljenke

Migracijske študije pogosto domnevajo, da so ciljne države »moderne«, države izvora pa »tradicionalne«. To pride do izraza predvsem v primeru islamskih priseljenških družin, kjer se tako teoretsko izhodišče postavlja zaradi patriarhalnosti in tradicionalnih odnosov v družini. Taka dihotomija v pojmovanju modernega in tradicionalnega še dodatno spodbuja tako stereotipe kot esencialistične in homogenizirajoče diskurze o muslimanskih ženskah, ki so predstavljene kot pasivne žrtve svoje religije, zatirane zaradi patriarhalnih odnosov v svojih Skupnostih. Pričujoča razprava na temelju biografskih pripovedi mlade Maročanke in Kurdinje stereotipe in prevladujoče diskurze postavlja pod vprašaj; namesto njih predlaga preučevanje mikroprocesov in biografskih interpretacij spolno zaznamovanih priseljenških izkušenj. Prav tako poudarja pomen preiskovanja integracijskih transmisij ter razmerij med materami in hčerami, skupaj z raznolikimi strategijami opolnomočenja. Tako bi lažje razumeli spolno zaznamovana razmerja med tradicionalnimi in modernimi kulturnimi praksami in načini življenja v transnacionalnem migracijskem kontekstu.

Svenka Savić

Migrations in the Yugoslav region: Theater artists from Slovenia in the Serbian National Theater in Novi Sad (1947-2013)

Keywords: migrations, theater, opera, opera directing, ballet, costume design, life stories

1 Introduction

Theaters can be considered kinds of migration centers with their particular histories, if the history of a theater is observed from the viewpoint of the migratory processes, i.e. artists moving from one setting to another. In the history of the Serbian National Theater, the oldest theater in Serbia and in the Balkans (it was founded in 1861), the activities of artists from Slovenia are very important, as they spent a shorter or longer time in Serbia, moved back to Slovenia or stayed in Novi Sad. There are a lot of data about that scattered in different sources: in theaters, in artists' legacies, and mostly in the memories of artists themselves, which are unfortunately not documented enough or reviewed in critical texts either in Serbia or in Slovenia.

2 Aim of the paper

The aim of this pilot research is to open the topic of migrations among theaters (with three artistic ensembles) in the region of the former Yugoslavia in order to use the data collected for a future comprehensive analysis regarding the mingling and joint accomplishments of theater artists during the migratory processes.¹

1 I.e. artists who worked in the opera (singers, conductors, opera directors and members of the orchestra), ballet (dancers and choreographers); there were less of those who were guests in dramas, and hence the data about them have been omitted. Also there are no data about artists from Novi Sad who went to Slovenia for a shorter or longer time (such as director Voja Soldatović, who worked in Maribor for many decades), or who stayed there (e.g. Olivera Ilić, a soloist of the Maribor ballet, who graduated from the Ballet School in Novi Sad, class of Svenka Savić). There are also no data about the groups of Slovenian artist who were born in Yugoslavia (Serbia) and who made part of their career in theaters and then went to other parts of the world. One such example is the conductor Janez Govednik (Subotica, 26 April 1951), who was born in Serbia, where he graduated from music school, Academy and Faculty of Music Arts (music pedagogue) in Belgrade in 1977, who then worked as a conductor in the SNT Opera in Novi Sad (1988-1992), at the time when the opera had forty successful seasons behind it and entered a period of innovations, both in the opera (*Viva la mama*)

3 Historical perspective: some data

3.1 Opera

In 1945 all parts of life in Yugoslavia started being restored, which included the music and theater life in Novi Sad in the theater first called the Vojvodinian National Theater (VNT), and was later renamed the Serbian National Theater (SNT). Writing about the first thirteen years of the Opera in Novi Sad, Mirko Hadnađev (1961, 422) indicated that in the season that preceded the official opening of the Opera (1946/47) the Opera of the Slovenian National Theater from Ljubljana performed in Novi Sad: “This visit of the Ljubljana Opera,² aimed at *deepening and strengthening the cultural and artistic ties between Slovenian and Vojvodinian theater workers*, seems like a fresh inspiration to the music branch of the VNT” (italics S. S.). This deepening of the cultural and artistic ties will remain a constant during the seven decades of cooperation.

In June 1947 the Ministry of Education of Serbia made a decision regarding the establishment of the Opera in the SNT in Novi Sad. This was celebrated with the premiere of *La traviata* on 12 November 1947, with Erna Krže³ singing the lead role of Violetta (Mirko Hadnađev, 1961, 423). Svetozar Rapajić (2011, 191) wrote that the first directing of the opera was entrusted to drama directors because there were no opera directors, but for this paper it is important that on the Novi Sad stage there were “two Slovene directors, a veteran, Ciril Debevc, as a guest and a beginner, Mario Marinc, who was permanently engaged. (Attention should be paid to the share of Slovenian employees in the formation of the Opera of the SNT)”. Inspired by the sentence in the parenthesis, I took interest in the complex issue of the interchange of Slovenian artists with the theater in Novi Sad during the formation of the Opera and the Ballet of the SNT.

and in the ballet (e.g. *The Humpbacked Horse* by Rodion Shchedrin, 1989). After his engagement with the SNT ended, he went to the USA.

Another example is the artist of Slovenian origin (second generation immigrant) who spent his entire career in the SNT. This is the conductor Imre Toplak (Bajmok, 4 November 1933) whose father is Slovenian. As a conductor, he spent his entire life in the SNT opera and ballet. After he graduated from the Music Academy in Belgrade, he started his career as a conductor first in the SNT ballet with *Giselle* in March 1962 and even then demonstrated exceptional conducting skills when cooperating with dancers on the stage. Later he took over the opera repertoire in the theater and started teaching at the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad.

- 2 During their visit in Novi Sad 10-15 July 1946 the Ljubljana Opera performed *Rusalka*, *La traviata*, *The Tales of Hoffman*, *Ero the Joker* and *Madame Butterfly*.
- 3 I got more data about Erna Krže from the Theater Museum in Ljubljana, but in this institution they did not know that this opera singer had the honor of singing the role of Violetta at the opening of the Opera in Novi Sad in 1947. In Novi Sad it was noted that this was her only guest performance and that she did not come back, as is the case with some artists.

Unfortunately, the opening of the Opera and its growth during the first few decades were not accompanied by the establishment of opera criticism, so after various premieres there were no actual reviews in the newspapers, merely sketches and information. Mirko Hadnađev (1961, 429) reflected on that part of the artistic production: “The problem of the reviews of opera and ballet performances has represented a weak point of the cultural life in our town since the very establishment of the Opera in Novi Sad... There were no reviews of the first opera performances in the true sense of the word.” For that reason there is no data regarding the artistic performance of Violetta by Erna Krže, which is also true of the performances of many other artists in the decades to come, so this does not allow us to assess the share and role of Slovenian artists in the development of the Opera of the SNT.

What is especially worrying is that neither of these pieces of information regarding the presence of the Slovenian artists in the first decades of the Opera and Ballet of the SNT are found in the book published on the occasion of the 50 years of the Opera (Krčmar et al. 1997), which is partly caused by the very concept of the book. The fact is that over time the data which serve as evidence for mutual influences of artistic contributions (in this case, of opera troupes in the Yugoslav time) had been gradually lost, so any reminder of this kind is useful.

3.1.1 Opera directors

There were not many educated opera directors in Yugoslav theaters, which is understandable since the opera for the director “is even harder than drama just because it is a subject to music and drama limitations” (Svetozar Rapajić, 2011, 183). It is important for both history and the profession that the first three opera directors in the SNT were from Slovenia: Ciril Debevc, Mario Marinc⁴ and Emil Frelih, who stayed the longest.

Emil Frelih (Ljubljana, 19 December 1912 – Maribor, 19 May 2007) was educated in Ljubljana. After he graduated, he developed professionally in various music centers all around Europe. He arrived at the SNT from Skopje, where he was permanently employed as an opera director. First he was a guest in Novi Sad and then he was permanently engaged for full seven seasons. He noted a memory of the beginning of his career in the SNT: “After the opening night of Puccini’s opera *Turandot* which I

4 Svetozar Rapajić (2011, 191) has given an artistic assessment of the two opera directors from Slovenia by saying: “The directing of Debevc and Marinc was generally good, without any greater creative outbursts. Debevc is apparently a master of visual composition of stage images, especially in group scenes, so these images are often static frames, without enough expressive drama events. Marinc on the other hand is more prone to reduction and a certain degree of stylization, but when directing he has faced the problems that cannot always be resolved.”

directed in the spring of 1958 for the first time in the Serbian National Theater in Novi Sad, the theater management invited me to stay as an opera director. Considering the upcoming repertoire of *interesting opera pieces*, a young and high quality *ensemble*, which I could see develop artistically, and a very important promise of the kind manager Radomir Radujkov that *the construction of the most modern theater* in the country would begin soon, after careful thought a few days later I signed the contract of permanent engagement” (Emil Frelih, 1999, 171-172, italics S.S.). The artist himself provided us with the information that he decided to transfer to the SNT because of the further development of his career, which would be the key reason of migrations of all Slovenian artists.

As of the 1958/59 season, Frelih directed a large number of operas and influenced the choice of the repertoire. In the 1961/62 season, when the SNT celebrated the centennial with a big event, the opera *Turandot* was performed in Belgrade and was directed by Frelih. We can thus see that this artist from Slovenia was part of a significant celebration of the Novi Sad theater tradition – of one century of the existence of the theater in Novi Sad. Furthermore, the performance in the capital allowed a wider artistic audience to see the work of this director.

Emil Frelih built the opera repertoire: “After seven years (and twenty one directed plays) of my regular work in the opera of the SNT, I accepted the engagement in the Maribor opera *convinced that a theater artist should change his ensemble and theater setting from time to time in order to benefit both himself and the theater* (Emil Frelih, 1999, 172, italics S. S.). The director repeated that the basic motive for the change of setting was the fear of artistic saturation of both sides – the artist and the audience, as well as the wish to preserve his own quality by changing the theater.

After the 1980s the theater did not have any more permanently employed opera directors, so it can be said that during the 1960s and 1970s Slovene opera directors significantly contributed to the establishment of the basic directing code of opera directing, which was the foundation of the further professional development. Unfortunately, to date there have been no comprehensive evaluations in this respect, starting from the repertoire to the stage and directing decision. There is also no comparative data concerning the extent to which such migrations benefited the ensembles and creatively enriched them.

3.1.2 Conductors

In the first two decades of the Opera of the SNT the “fluctuation of conductors” was very intensive.

Davorin Županič (Graz, 1 July 1912 – Novi Sad, 20 November 1983) graduated from the Ljubljana Conservatorium in 1936, gained further experience in Frankfurt and Vienna, and after the war, in Belgrade, led the Army orchestra and conducted in the Belgrade Opera. From there he came to Novi Sad “as a necessary help after the old conductor (Vojislav Ilić) left on 1 November 1950. The need was even greater because the ballet ensemble was formed in the same year, so the production of plays necessarily increased” (Eugen Gvozdanović, 1997/98, 42). Županič did not stay permanently employed for a longer time in the SNT (1 November 1950 – 31 August 1954) but he was present during the most important period of the establishment of the opera and the orchestra as two professional groups. In 1950 he was an Opera manager, which allowed him to make personnel and artistic plans and develop them in the following year, which he dutifully did. After 1954 he was no longer employed permanently, but he stayed on as a part time conductor (1963/64) while conducting operas in different countries in the region. After he retired, he lived in Novi Sad until he died.

Marjan Fajdiga (Ljubljana, 1 October 1930) graduated in Ljubljana (Academy of Music, 1958) and was further educated in Prague for one year. He came to the Novi Sad Opera in 1965 and stayed there for 10 whole years until 1974, when he moved to the Sarajevo Opera and then back to Ljubljana to the Slovenian National Theater. His migratory path confirms the rule that Slovenian artists “moved”, in this case making a full circle in the region and returning to their place of origin. Fajdiga directed many pieces in the Novi Sad Opera and Ballet and he prepared the opera *Krutnjava* by the contemporary Slovak composer Eugen Suhol, for which he was awarded the October Award of the Town of Novi Sad in 1969: “As a conductor with a wide cultural range of interest, he was very active as the head of the Novi Sad Chamber Orchestra, which he led until he moved to Sarajevo.” During 1965/66 he was the director of the Opera of the SNT.

What remains to be found and analyzed are the data on all Slovenian conductors in the SNT, not just those who came from Slovenia,⁵ but also those who were born in Serbia and worked in Serbia for just one part or their entire career.

5 *Jakov Cipci* (Split, 22 October 1901 – Maribor, 1975) is another Slovenian conductor and composer who worked in the Novi Sad opera in 1965, when he was a guest conductor for the operas *La Boheme* and *The Abduction from the Seraglio*. Unfortunately, there are not enough data about his presence in the SNT.

3.1.3 Costume designer

Stanislava Jatić (née Ceraj-Cerić, Ljubljana, 1919) made a career as a costume designer in the SNT, where she made costume designs for 327 opera, ballet and drama performances. She was permanently employed until she retired (1952-1970) and then for the next three decades she worked for the same theater part time and won many awards for her work, including the October Award of the Town of Novi Sad (Svenka Savić, 2009, 70-78). She started a family in Novi Sad and made many friends. When I asked her “How did you find this job?,” Stanislava Jatić reminisced about the time just after the Second World War, during which she was helping the partisan movement: “At the time when I graduated, the Serbian National Theater in Novi Sad was looking for a costume designer as a permanent position. The Rector of the Academy of Applied Arts in Belgrade (where she studied costume design) suggested I get the job, so I became the first costume designer of the Serbian National Theater in August 1952. I stayed there until I retired in 1970”. Stanislava Jatić remembers that the first season was “very difficult, I had seventeen premieres: four operas, two ballet and eleven dramas!” (Svenka Savić, 2009, 74-75). While Stanislava was permanently employed, she worked alone and did all the jobs for all three ensembles. When she retired, the theater management immediately hired two costume designers in her place, because they realized that there was enough work for two people – though Stanislava Jatić had been doing it alone for all those years.

In migratory processes it is important to observe the character traits of immigrants, to what extent they can serve as a model for others in the setting in which they live and work. Stanislava is actually a model of a diligent, dedicated and intelligent person who has cooperated with the SNT for five decades and who has always had a good will to help. Today, 94 years old, she attends classes of Slovenian in the Kredarica Association⁶ to refresh the knowledge of her mother tongue and to learn new words and phrases in the contemporary Slovenian literary language from younger people.

Another important component of migratory processes and migrant persons is taking care of things that should not be forgotten, so that the things that were an artistic investment on the stage, for the audience, do not remain invisible and unknown. Stanislava Jatić knows from experience that the atmosphere in theaters is such that

6 The Association of Slovenians *Kredarica* from Novi Sad is the first association of this kind in Serbia. It was founded in 1997 with the aim of stimulating the maintenance and spreading of the national identity and tradition of Slovenians beyond the borders of Slovenia and to represent Slovenian culture to the wider community in which it works. During the 15 years of its existence the Association organized over 200 cultural events in both countries. It publishes the bulletin *Kredarica* four times a year. The Association has contributed significantly to the foundation of the National Council of Slovenians in Serbia.

the present is important, that the past is talked about by actors and directors, and that this story-telling is usually sublimated in anecdotes or some other short forms of narration, and thus passed from one theater generation to another. It would be a good idea to collect all those short stories about Slovene artists in the SNT regarding some events, and character traits of artists, and portray them as theater identities of a kind. Stanislava Jatić, however, has offered a model of how to preserve memories of theater in the material form: "I made five copies of the book in which I have been noting all my work in the Serbian National Theater and in other theaters since the 1970s. One copy is located in the Manuscript Department of the Matica srpska, one is found in the Theater Museum of Vojvodina in Novi Sad, which also hosts my entire collection of 3000 sketches of costumes, theater posters and newspaper reviews, as well as the material used in the preparation of shows" (Savić, 2009, 76). Unfortunately, she did not send a copy to the Theater Museum in Ljubljana, which is not adequately informed about this undertaking of hers.

In the research of migration issues in theaters, personal documentation and artists' legacies are the basis for the work of other people outside of the theater. In this respect Stanislava Jatić has made sure that we have enough data. Besides a vast artistic contribution to the three ensembles of the SNT which have increased over the years, she managed to do other things, prepare exhibitions, etc. What is amazing about the personality of Stanislava Jatić is the continuity of her limitless energy, which she consciously renews. In the book *Time and people: Slovenians in Novi Sad*, which was published by the Associations of Slovenians in Novi Sad (2012), a brief life story of Stanislava Jatić was noted. She answered the question "What would you say to the members of the Association?" In the following way: "I became a member of the Kredarica Association of Slovenians with my son in 2000. Since then I have regularly attended all their meetings and *of course* once a week I attend the classes of Slovenian because many things have changed in the language since I left Slovenia. I would advise the members of the Association to continue nurturing the Slovenian language and contacts" (2012, 179, italics S. S.).⁷

3.1.4 Opera singers

Anica Čepe (Kamnica, 1919 – Novi Sad, 2012) was one of the lead singers of the Opera of the SNT and a member since its foundation. She spent her entire career in this theater – she no longer returned to Slovenia (Savić, 2009 63-66). I noted the life story of Anica Čepe. When asked how she came to Novi Sad, she remembered:

7 In 2008 Stanislava Jatić received the national pension awarded by the Ministry of Culture of Republic Serbia. It is given to artists who have great merits in the field of culture.

“I was employed here in 1951... and I stayed here for 25 years as a lead singer in the opera. When I came, they immediately gave me all leading roles because the previous lead singer left for Belgrade. The Opera manager and the first conductor of the time was Županič, also a Slovenian... Also, I want to say that at the beginning of the 1950s, when the opera was just starting, any kind of novelty was necessary. At that time I was preparing my first solo concert with the conductor Županič, where I sang different songs from operas.” Anica Čepe also had an enormous physical and mental energy until the end of her life: for 90 years she was active in operas (in her late years she was present in the audience). When I asked her about the reviews, knowing that there were none, Anica said: “I kept nothing. When I moved to the retirement home, I brought a box of my things. Later it got lost somewhere.”

Taking care of documents, legacies and professional endowments is not just the artist’s responsibility; it should also be done by the institutions where they work as well as by the institutions that are in charge of such things (museums, documentation centers, encyclopedias). In order to analyze the processes of migration, it might be useful to have a database for different artists or at least valid information where such data can be found.

Anica Čepe and Stanislava Jatić were friends. They used to meet in an ice-cream parlor in the center of the town, where they talked in their mother tongue about people, the theater, etc. Even though they lived outside of Slovenia for so many years, they still felt united by their own mother tongue.

3.1.5 Composers

Dušan Stular (Trieste, 1901 – Novi Sad, 1992), pianist, composer, music teacher. After being forced to leave Trieste because of his progressive ideas in 1943 he first came to Subotica and then to Novi Sad, where he was the principal of the Music School Isidor Bajić (1947-1953). Then he got permanent employment in the SNT (1954-1967), where he did many different things until he died: he composed (mostly for dramas), he taught singers and dancers, and he worked closely with many people in the Academy of Arts since its foundation.

3.2 Ballet

In the Ballet ensemble, which was founded in 1947, two important artists, choreographers, dancers and teachers, Maks Kirbos and Iko Otrin, each in their own way strived to set a basis for the repertoire and personnel policies, especially for good interpersonal relations.

Maks Kirbos (Ljubljana, 12 May 1914 – Maribor, 28 October 1972) stayed in the SNT for just one season, but still left a trace as a choreographer, teacher and dancer. To a great extent he established the basic principles of professional work and choreography (*Don Juan*) as well as management as the head of the ballet ensemble. After working in the SNT Ballet, he went to Rijeka and then further to other theaters in the region, before finally returning to Slovenia.

Iko Otrin (1931-2011) was dancer, choreographer, and head of the ballet. He came to the SNT Ballet in 1963, when he was 31 years old, with an excellent education, especially in music and dance and with a tendency towards new directions in Europe concerning the development of ballet and dance art. He had energy and excellent organizational skills his whole life. This meeting between the Novi Sad ensemble, which was on the rise at the beginning of the 1960s, and Otrin, who was on the rise concerning his own artistic development, turned out to be beneficial on both sides. After the first performance (*Three modern ballets*, 1963) he was permanently employed in the SNT Ballet, where he remained until 1969. He did a total of 15 different ballets (two of which were premieres), three of which were renewed several times (and let us also mention his contribution to operas, operettas and dramas of the SNT). His ballets were performed over 400 times and were seen by over 100,000 people both home and abroad. These quantitative data can be evidence of the influence Iko Otrin had on the development of ballet in Novi Sad and Serbia, both with respect to the repertoire policy and the shaping of the theater and ballet audience. His view of the world was prominent in this activity because he emphasized several values: peace and love in the world and among people and no war, which made him an active artist in the period of his stay in Novi Sad. He worked in Serbia first for 6 continuous seasons and then in the periods which in Serbia and in Novi Sad were not favorable for the general development of arts, especially of ballet (the disintegration of Yugoslavia, open nationalism, inflation, crisis in politics and decrease of cultural values).

Otrin saw the audience as a potential of ballet lovers who should have enough information to understand what happens on the stage. This makes him one of the rare teachers of the audience, not just of dancers. Of special importance is his work on making a ballet repertoire for children, or more precisely, the development of taste for ballet in the youngest. In addition, his pedagogical work with dancers had a crucial influence on the development of the ensemble because he liked working with younger dancers who became professionals by his side.

At the time when Iko Otrin worked in the Novi Sad ballet ensemble, the media did not follow with such intensity the work of the ballet and opera ensembles, so the

evaluation of Otrin's activities in the media is not enough to assess the importance of his work for the history of the SNT Ballet, ballet in Slovenia (where his contribution to the Novi Sad ballet scene is not so well-known), and ballet in the region of former Yugoslavia. He left Novi Sad when the wars started, but never for good. He often returned for some performances and his *Pippi Longstocking* is still on the repertoire of the SNT Ballet. Otrin's example of an artist who came to Novi Sad, returned to Maribor and kept coming back to Novi Sad can be termed as having two artistic homelands rather than migrant behavior. Perhaps this is a case where the statement made by some artists "My homeland is where I create" could be applicable.

4 Results

The preliminary analysis of these data from the pilot research indicates the complexity of the migration processes in theaters. Slovenian artists in the theater in Novi Sad have significantly:

- contributed to the cultural and artistic development, since most of them were highly trained and educated;
- made progress with respect to the education of young artists;
- influenced the formation of the theater audience, primarily of ballet and opera;
- introduced innovations in artistic performances;
- reiterated the vision of the world without violence (the peace making idea about the planet in the ballets of Iko Otrin).

The theatrical aspect of exchange in the wider context of migrations in the area of former Yugoslavia has remained underresearched in domestic literature (as a *permanent* process in the theater in this region). Perhaps that is why it requires a certain theoretical development and adequate methodology that was used in this paper.

This pilot research on the contribution of Slovenian artists in the SNT raises the issue of the choice of method. I am in favor of multiple methods, a combination of the method of oral history and other, more established methods, followed by content analysis of the written media of the time, which in combination is significant for understanding the complexity of the intercultural exchange of artists, features of their identities and interconnectedness of professional and human visions. The combination of several perspectives indicates the size of the contribution of such exchanges (analysis of texts from the written media combined with personal histories and individual testimonies of the artist as part of a collective memory about artists).

The issue regarding the empirical data for migration processes remains open. In the future, in any respect, associations such as Kredarica in Novi Sad can play a

significant role in preserving data both in Serbia and by sending copies to Slovenia. Besides that, the analysis of awards and recognitions that Slovenian artists received in Novi Sad are a confirmation of the public regarding their contribution. It is necessary to systematically list all awards and recognitions that these theater workers received while they worked in the SNT in Novi Sad because there are quite a lot of them (this paper presents only some basic data for some artists). One of the criteria for assessing the presence in the public can be this very list of awards and recognitions.

5 Conclusion

We can conclude that Slovenian artists significantly contributed to the development of theater art in the SNT, especially in the first decades after the Second World War, but also continuously until today, even after the formation of two separate countries, Slovenia and Serbia.

In the future, it would be useful to cover this topic in more detail and use the entire material regarding the forty artists as a kind of contribution to understanding the processes of migration in general.

What we need is a comprehensive study on migration connections in theaters in the area of former Yugoslavia. For now, the data are scattered in legacies and individual archives and little is available in one place in the form of a comprehensive database.

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Appendix: Incomplete list of Slovene Artists in the Serbian National Theater in Novi Sad (1947-2013)

Antunić Sonja, orchestra member (flute)
 Debevc Ciril, opera director
 Godec Rudolf, orchestra member (violin)
 Ivković Matilda-Tita, ballerina
 Jatić Stana, costume designer
 Kaučič Adolf, orchestra member (oboe)
 Kesler Milan, choir member (baritone)
 Kirbos Maks, ballet manager, choreographer
 Kotnik Ljudmila, choir member (soprano)
 Košir Vladimir, opera soloist (baritone)
 Košir Juraj, ballet dancer
 Krauthaker Martin, orchestra member (trumpet)
 Krže Erna, opera soloist (soprano)
 Lešnik Rudolf, orchestra member (violin)
 Marinc Mario, opera director
 Otrin Iko, ballet manager, choreographer
 Pahernik Albin, ballet dancer
 Perdan Stanislav, orchestra member (trumpet)
 Planinšek Atilio, opera soloist (tenor)
 Puhar Franc, opera soloist (baritone)
 Sardoč Peter, ballet dancer
 Silič Ivan, opera manager
 Stular, Dušan, pianist, composer, professor
 Toplak Imre, conductor
 Fajdiga Marijan, conductor
 Frelih Emil, opera director
 Hebling Maks, orchestra member (violin)
 Cipci Jakov, conductor
 Čepe Anica, opera soloist (soprano)
 Škrbinc Karmelo, orchestra member (timpani)
 Špes Franja, orchestra member (trombone)
 Vrhovec Magda, ballerina
 Zupanc Adolf, orchestra member (violoncello)
 Županič Davorin, conductor

Svenka Savić

Migracije na območju Jugoslavije: slovenski gledališki umetniki in umetnice v Srbskem narodnem gledališču v Novem Sadu (1947–2013)

Ključne besede: migracije, gledališče, opera, operna režija, balet, kostumografija, življenjske zgodbe

Po drugi svetovni vojni je veliko slovenskih gledaliških umetnikov in umetnic prišlo v Srbijo, da bi si ustvarili kariero v gledališču. Nekateri so se tu naselili za stalno, drugi so se vrnili v Slovenijo ali se odselili v umetniška središča v regiji ali drugod po svetu. Dostopni viri tem migracijskim procesom ne posvečajo prevelike pozornosti, saj je z umetniškega, geografskega in strokovnega vidika prav mobilnost neločljiva značilnost gledaliških umetnikov.

Cilj tega pilotnega projekta je začeti diskusijo o migracijah med gledališči na območju nekdanje Jugoslavije. Zbrani podatki bodo pripomogli k spodbujanju in bogatenju ustvarjalne identitete tako posameznikov kot celotne skupine ter s tem gledališke umetnosti nasploh.

Od leta 1945 do 2013 je bilo v Srbskem narodnem gledališču v Novem Sadu za krajši ali daljši čas zaposlenih približno štirideset slovenskih umetnikov, ki so delovali v treh osnovnih ansamblih, orkestru, operi in baletu. Poleg njih so kostumografi delovali na vseh področjih hkrati in tako pripomogli k razvoju in rasti gledališča.

Članek predstavlja biografije nekaterih pomembnih umetnikov z različnih gledaliških področij in tako osvetljuje osnovni okvir migracijskih procesov med gledališči. Sklenemo lahko, da so slovenski umetniki znatno prispevali k razvoju gledališke umetnosti v Srbskem narodnem gledališču. Ta tema bi si v prihodnje zaslužila več pozornosti, saj bi s tem prispevali k razumevanju razsežnosti in pomembnosti migracijskih procesov v različne smeri, a znotraj ene institucije – gledališča.

Varia

Katja Mahnič

Vključitev del Ladislava pl. Benescha v muzejsko zbirko slik Kranjskega deželnega muzeja

Ključne besede: Ladislav pl. Benesch, Josip Mantuani, Kranjski deželni muzej, zbirka slik

Čas pred prvo svetovno vojno so na področju domače kulture v širšem smislu oziroma likovne umetnosti v ožjem smislu pomembno zaznamovala tudi prizadevanja, da bi v Ljubljani končno dobili prvo javno dostopno zbirko slik. Eden od pomembnih posameznikov, ki je deloval v tej smeri, je bil Josip Mantuani. Mesto direktorja Kranjskega deželnega muzeja mu je omogočilo, da je za vzpostavitev zbirke, katere vzgojni in zgodovinski pomen je sicer leta in leta utemeljeval v svojih objavljenih in neobjavljenih spisih,¹ lahko veliko naredil tudi v povsem praktičnem smislu. Njegova prizadevanja pa so bila v marsikaterem pogledu zamejena z institucionalnim okvirom, znotraj katerega je deloval. V članku bo na primeru vključitve zbirke slik Ladislava pl. Benescha v zbirko Kranjskega deželnega muzeja, za katero si je Mantuani aktivno prizadeval tri leta, ilustrirano njegovo krmarjenje med željami in potrebami lastnika zbirke na eni ter upravno-finančnimi omejitvami, ki mu jih je narekoval njegov »delodajalec«, kranjski deželni odbor, na drugi strani.

Vzpostavitev umetnostne zbirke v tedanjem Kranjskem deželnem muzeju in vlogo, ki jo je pri tem odigral Josip Mantuani, je pred kratkim v dveh prispevkih, ki sta objavljena kot spremni besedili kataloga zbirke slik Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, obdelala Mateja Kos (2011a; 2011b). Avtorica je v njih predstavila celotno obdobje, ko je Mantuani pridobival likovna dela za zbirko, in s tem pokazala njeno postopno rast. V svojem prispevku se bom osredotočila na Mantuanijeva prizadevanja, da bi za zbirko pridobil dela enega samega avtorja. Na ta način bom lahko izpostavila težave, s katerimi se je pri tem srečeval. Pri tem ni nepomemben podatek, da gre za dela avtorja, ki ga današnja stroka razume kot »manjšega slikarja« (prim. Mahnič, 2011). S tem sem

1 Poleg objavljenih spisov, ki bodo, vsaj najpomembnejši, obravnavani v nadaljevanju, opozarjam zlasti na dva Mantuanijeva rokopisa, ki ju hrani Arhiv Republike Slovenije. Prvi ima naslov *Naš deželni muzej* in je po vsej verjetnosti nastal med letoma 1909, ko je Mantuani nastopil službo ravnatelja Kranjskega deželnega muzeja, in 1918, ko je razpadla Avstro-Ogrska monarhija in je bila ustanovljena Kraljevina Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev. Na to kaže zlasti dejstvo, da v besedilu govori izključno o Kranjski, torej je bil muzej še vedno deželni muzej. V mlajšem besedilu z naslovom *Delovanje ljubljanskega muzeja (1922)* pa že govori o Sloveniji; Arhiv Republike Slovenije, AS 934 (Mantuani, Josip, 1889–1941), 1363, fascikel 4.

želela poudariti Mantuanijeva strokovna merila, ki so bila drugačna od meril njegovih kolegov (prim. Lavrič, Resman, 1994, 88).²

V začetku oktobra leta 1909 je Josip Mantuani nastopil službo direktorja Kranjskega deželnega muzeja Rudolfinuma (Kastelic, 1994, 79).³ V svojem programu, s katerim je želel modernizirati delovanje muzeja in ga je deželnemu odboru predložil že leto poprej (Kuret, 1994, 10), je predvidel tudi ureditev muzejske zbirke slik (Lavrič, Resman, 1994, 90). Pri tem ni imel v mislih le ureditve slik, ki so že bile v lasti muzeja, pač pa je skrbno načrtoval tudi nakupe novih del, s katerimi bi dopolnil obstoječo zbirko (Lavrič, Resman, 1994, 90). Pri tem sta ga vodili dve želji. Ureditev zbirke mu je po eni strani kot umetnostnemu zgodovinarju nudila enkratno priložnost, da oblikuje zaokroženo pripoved o razvoju likovne umetnosti na domačih tleh. Kot je poudaril sam, raznovrstne slike različnih smeri in struj, katerih avtorji so bili različnih narodnosti, »odražajo verno sliko naših razmer na poprišču umetnosti in umetniških stremljenj« (Mantuani, 1923, 17). Po drugi strani pa je z odkupom novih del kot muzealec lahko poskrbel, da se je ohranilo marsikatero delo, ki bi sicer končalo v tujih rokah ali se celo izgubilo (Kuret, 1994, 10).

Pisma, ki ga je prejel decembra 1910, je bil Mantuani najverjetneje vesel, saj je obetalo možnost za obogatitev muzejske zbirke slik. Pisal mu je namreč podpolkovnik Ladislav pl. Benesch, ki je muzeju ponudil v odkup zbirko svojih slik, risb, akvarelov in skic.⁴ V pismu je omenil, da se je v zvezi s svojo zbirko že pogovarjal z dr. Ivanom Šušteršičem, poslancem državnega zbora,⁵ ki naj bi bil njenemu odkupu zelo naklonjen. Ker je Šušteršič v njunem pogovoru večkrat omenil Mantuanijevo ime, se je Beneschu zdelo primerno, da se obrne še nanj. Benesch je muzeju v odkup ponudil 281 del, ki jih je tematsko razdelil v tri skupine: prvo je predstavljalo 144 slik z motivi s Kranjske, drugo 31 slik z motivi s Krasa (od Postojne do Devina), tretjo pa 106 originalnih skic za ilustracije v načrtovani, a nikoli izdani publikaciji o Gorenjski. Za dela prvih dveh skupin je predlagal enotno odkupno ceno 10 kron za kos. Dela tretje skupine je nameraval muzeju podariti, če bi se muzej odločil za odkup del prvih dveh skupin.

2 Razlike v pogledih, o katerih bom sicer govorila ob koncu prispevka, so bile ob rivalstvu glede tega, kdo bo v Ljubljani v resnici vzpostavil zbirko slik, razlog za hud konflikt (Lavrič, Resman, 1994, 91).

3 Mantuani je službo nastopil jeseni, vendar pa je bil za ravnatelja imenovan z dekretom kranjskega deželnega odbora že 7. maja (Studen, 2003, 13). Podatek navajata tudi Lavričeva in Resman v svoji predstavitvi Mantuanija kot staroste umetnostnih zgodovinarjev (Lavrič, Resman, 1994, 90).

4 Pismo z dne 7. XII. 1910, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 310/1910.

5 Šušteršič je dobro leto kasneje, natančneje, januarja 1912, postal kranjski deželni glavar (prim. Kranjec). V tej vlogi je bil prvega pol leta svojega mandata zadolžen tudi za deželni muzej; prim. Razdelitev referatov od 16. januarja dalje (provizorno), Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt. št. 47/1912. Kasneje je nadzor nad muzejskimi zadevami prevzel dr. Karel Triller; prim. Razdelitev referatov od 22. junija dalje (definitivno), Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt. št. 516/1912.

Pismu je dodal tudi prilogo, v kateri je bil okvirni seznam ponujenih del.⁶ V njem je nekoliko natančneje razdelal predvsem prvo skupino del – navedel je posamezne motive, ki se pojavljajo na delih te skupine, in število upodobitev posameznih motivov. Druga in tretja skupina sta bili opisani bolj okvirno. Za vsako skupino je navedel predvideno ceno in ob koncu dodal še predlagani način izplačila.

Mantuani je Beneschu odpisal, da je v splošnem naklonjen odkupu, da pa bi si moral ponujeno zbirko pred odločitvijo za odkup ogledati. Končna odločitev za odkup ponujenih slik bo namreč odvisna od vsebine zbirke, pa tudi od finančnih sredstev, ki jih ima muzej na voljo.⁷ S tem se je začel skoraj leto trajajoč proces »pridobitve umetnin, tiščočih se Kranjske«, o čemer je Mantuani poročal tudi v svojem letnem poročilu o delu muzeja za leto 1910 (Mantuani, 1910, 7). Benesch je v svojem odgovoru zagotovil, da je njegova zbirka kadarkoli na voljo za ogled.⁸ Tudi temu pismu je priložil seznam ponujenih del, ki je vsebinsko identičen seznamu iz njegovega prvega pisma.⁹ Razlika med obema je predvsem v tem, da drugi seznam ne vsebuje cen za prvi dve skupini del in predvidenega načina izplačila odkupne cene. Poleg tega je prišlo tudi do spremembe števila del druge in tretje skupine. Namesto 31, kot je bilo navedeno v prvem seznamu, naj bi druga skupina vsebovala le 28 del, namesto v prvem seznamu navedenih 106 pa je v skladu z novim seznamom tretja skupina vsebovala 107 del.¹⁰

Mantuani je nato o Beneschevi ponudbi poročal kranjskemu deželnemu odboru, ki jo je obravnaval na svoji seji v začetku januarja 1911. Odbor je Mantuanija pooblastil, da z Beneschem nadaljuje pogovor o odkupu.¹¹ Poleg tega so mu naročili, naj si ponujeno zbirko slik in skic osebno ogleda ter o tem poroča. Odborovemu dopisu je bil priložen prepis Beneschevega seznama del, ponujenih muzeju v odkup. Prav iz tega prepisa, natančneje, iz navedenega števila del v drugi in tretji skupini – 31 oziroma 107 –, se da sklepati, da je Mantuani odboru očitno posredoval že popravljeni seznam, priložen drugemu Beneschevemu pismu. Je pa odborov seznam, ki je natipkan,

6 Priloga pisma z dne 7. XII. 1910, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 310/1910.

7 Osnutek pisma z dne 22. XII. 1910, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 310/1910.

8 Pismo z dne 27. XII. 1910, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 310/1910.

9 Priloga pisma z dne 27. XII. 1910, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 310/1910.

10 Prvo in drugo Beneschevo pismo sta skupaj s prilogama vložena v isti akt. Pri pregledovanju arhivskega gradiva je v preteklosti očitno prišlo do napačnega razporeda dokumentov. Obe prilogi sta namreč vstavljeni na koncu akta, kot da bi obe pripadali Beneschevemu drugemu pismu. Moja rekonstrukcija, katera priloga pripada kateremu pismu, temelji zlasti na dejstvu, da je Benesch v prvi prilogi navedel tudi predlagane cene in način izplačila, o čemer je bilo govora v prvem pismu. Poleg tega sem kot pomemben podatek razumela tudi popravljen število del druge skupine v drugi prilogi. Ni se mi namreč zdelo logično, da bi v pismu govoril o 31 delih, v prilogi pa bi to število popravljaj. Bolj logično se mi zdi, da je druga priloga nastala kot dvojniki prve, v katerega je Benesch vnesel popravek.

11 Dopis z dne 9. I. 1911, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 25/1911.

nekdo, najverjetneje Mantuani, kasneje popravljaj. Tako sta s črnilom popravljani obe končni vsoti del druge in tretje skupine (nazaj na 31 in 106). Poleg tega je na dnu lista napisan dostavek o treh dodatnih delih v prvi skupini.¹² Te spremembe je Mantuani najverjetneje dopisal na podlagi nekaterih novih podatkov iz Beneschevega naslednjega pisma z začetka februarja 1911.

Iz tega pisma je razvidno, da je odbor o svoji odločitvi očitno neposredno obvestil tudi Benescha.¹³ V pismu Mantuanija prosi, naj mu sporoči, kdaj približno načrtuje svoj obisk na Dunaju. Tudi temu pismu je Benesch priložil seznam ponujenih del, ki je, kar se števila del tiče, identičen popravljenemu seznamu, ki ga je priložil svojemu drugemu pismu. V njem je ohranil prvotno število druge skupine del, 31, ki ga je sam prečrtal in dodal novo vsoto, 28. V odgovoru je Mantuani napovedal, da se bo oglasil predvidoma v drugi polovici marca.¹⁴ S sabo na Dunaj je Mantuani nesel tudi seznam, priložen zadnjemu Beneshevemu pismu, ki ga je ob pregledu zbirke s svinčnikom popravljaj – zelo natančno je preštel dela v posamezni skupini oziroma po posameznih motivih v prvi skupini - in dopolnjeval – dodal je podatke o tehnikah, v katerih so bila izdelana posamezna dela. Končno število del, ponujenih v odkup muzeju, je po Mantuanijevem ogledu zbirke znašalo 285 (150 v prvi skupini, 28 v drugi skupini in 107 v tretji skupini).

Kot je razvidno iz njegovega poročila deželnemu odboru, si je zbirko dejansko ogledal nekoliko kasneje, kot je napovedal, šele 11. aprila.¹⁵ V poročilu je po uvodnih opombah glede obsega in vsebine zbirke podal svojo oceno o umetniški vrednosti pregledanih slik. Glede nje je ugotovil, da gre večinoma za izvrstno zasnovane in izvedene upodobitve pokrajine. Čeprav so zasnovane širokopotezno, pa naj bi jih odlikoval tudi avtorjev smisel za podrobnosti. Skratka, slike naj ne bi bile zanimive le zaradi upodobljenih motivov, pač pa tudi zaradi svoje umetniške vrednosti. Cena se mu je zdela sprejemljiva, še zlasti v luči dejstva, da so bila dela različnih dimenzij, vendar jih je avtor muzeju ponudil po enotni ceni za kos. Zato – predvsem pa, ker bi bilo slabo, da se zbirka razprši in pride v tuje roke –, je deželnemu odboru toplo priporočil, da podpre odkup ponujenih del. Ker je šlo za »moderne slike« in ker je bil muzejski proračun omejen, je Mantuani predlagal odkup le v primeru, da bi se dalo stroške pokriti iz proračuna za podporo umetnosti in umetnikov. Konkretno je deželnemu odboru predlagal, da bi se za odkup porabilo del sredstev,

12 To povečanje je Benesch sicer navedel v svojem preračunu cene za odkup ponujene zbirke že v prilogi svojega prvega pisma; priloga pisma z dne 7. XII. 1910, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 310/1910.

13 Pismo z dne 9. II. 1911, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 25/1911.

14 Osnutek pisma z dne 11. II. 1911, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 25/1911.

15 Osnutek dopisa z dne 19. IV. 1911, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 25/1911.

dodeljenih slikarju Ivanu Groharju, ki je – žal – preminil, zaradi česar so ostala sredstva neporabljena.

Kljub Mantuanijevi pozitivni oceni Benescheve zbirke pa podpora za njen odkup še ni bila zagotovljena. Kot lahko razberemo iz osnutka Mantuanijevega naslednjega pisma Beneschu, je namreč predlog za odkup njegovih del na svoji seji 17. maja 1911 obravnaval tudi deželni svet za umetnost (*Landeskunstrat*) pod vodstvom kranjskega deželnega glavarja, sicer pa zgodovinarja, Frana Šukljeta.¹⁶ Ker njegovi člani niso bili seznanjeni z Beneshevimi delom, je bilo Mantuaniju naročeno, naj Benescha prosi, naj celotno zbirko pošlje v Ljubljano. Tu bi si odborniki njegova dela lahko ogledali sami. Odločitev o njihovem odkupu naj bi bila nato v krogu ožjega odbora sprejeta do konca meseca. Razvoj dogodkov, kot ga razberemo iz Mantuanijevega pisma, je v luči njegovega letnega poročila o delu muzeja za leto 1911 nekoliko presenetljiv. V njem je namreč poročal, da je deželni odbor 18. maja 1911 pristal na njegov predlog, da se odkupi Beneschevo zbirko, s čimer je muzej pridobil 285 akvarelov, tušev in drugih risb (Mantuani, 1913, 4). Mantuani se je očitno odločil, da bo o zapletu z deželnim svetom za umetnost in posledičnem podaljšanju postopka odkupa v svojem letnem poročilu molčal. Kaj je bil vzrok za to odločitev, lahko le ugibamo. Možno je, da je v odločitvi videl nezaupnico svojemu delu. Nenazadnje so člani sveta za umetnost na neki način razvrednotili njegovo strokovno oceno Benescheve zbirke. Še enkrat naj bi si jo ogledali in o njej dokončno presodili politiki.

Kakorkoli, Benesch je takoj odgovoril, da bo zbirko nemudoma poslal v Ljubljano, če je le muzej pripravljen prevzeti stroške pakiranja, zavarovanja in prevoza z Dunaja ter, v primeru negativne odločitve pristojnega organa, tudi nazaj.¹⁷ Poleg tega je Mantuanija obvestil, da ga je obiskal dr. Anton Ritter von Schöppl in si podrobno ogledal njegovo zbirko. Anton Schöppl-Sonnwalden, po poklicu pravnik, je bil od leta 1908 ravnatelj Kranjske hranilnice, sicer pa tudi sam strasten zbiralec. Med drugim je zbiral stare knjige, časopise, zemljevide in grafične liste. Pomembna je bila tudi njegova geološka in mineraloška zbirka, ki je danes last ljubljanske univerze (prim. Rudolf). Poleg tega je kot ravnatelj Kranjske hranilnice skrbel za to, da je banka finančno podprla pomembne projekte, vezane na odkrivanje, raziskovanje in varovanje kulturne dediščine. Tako je leta 1905 banka financirala arheološka izkopavanja zgodnjerednjeveškega grobišča v Kranju (prim. Šmid, 1907, 55).¹⁸ Da si je Schöppl-Sonnwalden prišel ogledat Beneschevo zbirko, torej ni bilo nepomembno dejstvo. Na predlog iz Ljubljane, da bi njegovo zbirko ocenjevali politiki, je Benesch torej

16 Osutek pisma z dne 18. V. 1911, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 252/1911.

17 Pismo z dne 20. V. 1911, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 252/1911.

18 Pri tem ni šlo le za finančno podporo izkopavanjem. Kot je v svojem poročilu poudaril Mantuanijev predhodnik, dr. Walter Šmid, je namreč Schöppl-Sonnwalden z zanimanjem sledil izkopavanjem.

dostojanstveno odgovoril s podatkom, ki naj bi nedvomno kazal na pomen njegove zbirke, kot so ga razumeli poznavalci.

Mantuani se je z Beneschevim predlogom o prevzemu stroškov, vezanih na prevoz zbirke v Ljubljano, strinjal.¹⁹ Benesch je zato v svojem naslednjem pismu sporočil, da je dal zbirko zapakirati v leseno škatlo in jo prek dvornega špediterja poslal v Ljubljano.²⁰ Pismu je priložil tudi račun za izdelavo lesene škatle in pakiranje. Potem pa se je zgodba zopet zapletla. Čeprav o tem v arhivu Narodnega muzeja Slovenije ni bilo mogoče najti ustreznih dokumentov, je deželni odbor (oziroma zanj deželni svet za umetnost) očitno odobril odkup zbirke, tako da so Benescheva dela ostala v Ljubljani. Vendar pa mu, kot je razvidno, zanj niso plačali, kot je bilo dogovorjeno. Benesch je sicer že v svojem prvem pismu predlagal, da bi mu dogovorjeno ceno izplačali v dveh enakih obrokih.²¹ Datume izplačil sta z Mantuanijem natančneje dorekla ob njegovem obisku na Dunaju, o čemer je ta poročal tudi deželnemu odboru. Prvi del kupnine naj bi bil izplačan ob prevzemu zbirke – najkasneje v začetku junija, ko naj bi bil odkup odobren –, drugi pa januarja 1912.²² Vendar je oktobra 1911 Mantuani pisal deželnemu odboru in ga opozoril, da prvi del kupnine še vedno ni bil izplačan.²³ Še enkrat je poudaril, da bi bilo iz umetniškega, krajepisnega in materialnega vidika škoda, da zbirka ne bi prišla v muzej. Zato je odboru predlagal, naj se prvi del kupnine izplača iz do tedaj še neizrabljene postavke muzejskega proračuna za nepredvidene stroške, drugi del pa iz deželnega proračuna. O svojem posredovanju pri deželnem odboru je v zasebnem pismu očitno poročal tudi Beneschu, saj se mu je ta v svojem pismu z začetka novembra zanj zahvalil.²⁴ Hkrati ga je obvestil, da kljub njegovemu zagotovitvi, da je zadeva urejena, o tem še vedno ni dobil nobenega uradnega obvestila. Zato ga je še enkrat prosil za posredovanje. Mantuani mu je takoj odpisal, da bo prvi obrok izplačan naslednjega dne.²⁵ Tokrat je očitno šlo vse tako, kot je bilo dogovorjeno, in denar je bil končno izplačan.

Najverjetneje se je prav zaradi omenjenih zapletov pri izplačilu prvega obroka kupnine Mantuani takoj v začetku januarja 1912 sam obrnil na deželni odbor in njegove člane spomnil na izplačilo drugega obroka.²⁶ Hkrati je odbornike spomnil na njihov sklep, da se drugi del kupnine izplača iz deželnega proračuna, saj je šlo

19 Osnutek pisma z dne 22. V. 1911, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 252/1911.

20 Pismo z dne 23. V. 1911, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 252/1911.

21 Pismo z dne 7. XII. 1910, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 310/1910.

22 Osnutek dopisa z dne 19. IV. 1911, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 25/1911.

23 Osnutek dopisa z dne 3. X. 1911, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 513/1911.

24 Pismo z dne 1. XI. 1911, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 569/1911.

25 Osnutek pisma z dne 3. XI. 1911, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 569/1911.

26 Osnutek dopisa z dne 9. I. 1912, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 19/1912.

za »moderne slike«, poleg tega pa je bil muzejski proračun že obremenjen s stroški nakupa krajin Lovra Janše. Deželni odbor je deset dni kasneje res odobril izplačilo drugega obroka,²⁷ vendar brez zapletov tudi tokrat ni šlo. Benesch je sicer dobil izplačilo, vendar pa je bil denar izplačan iz proračuna muzeja in ne iz deželnega proračuna, kot je predlagal Mantuani. O tem je namreč pisal deželnemu odboru konec februarja.²⁸ V dopisu je odbornike še enkrat spomnil na celoten potek dogodkov in na sklepe, ki so jih v zvezi z odkupom Benescheve zbirke sprejeli v preteklosti. Še posebej je poudaril, da je bil izhodiščni predlog, sprejet tudi na odboru in potrjen s sklepom, da se oba dela kupnine plačata iz deželnega proračuna, natančneje, iz postavke za nakup modernih umetniških del. Toda ker je bila leta 1911, ko se je izplačeval prvi obrok, ta postavka že izčrpana, se je denar zagotovil iz neporabljenih sredstev muzejskega proračuna. Drugi del kupnine bi moral biti kljub temu izplačan iz deželnega proračuna. Kako uspešen je bil Mantuani pri odbornikih, zaenkrat ni bilo mogoče ugotoviti.

Dopisovanje med Mantuanijem in Beneschem, vezano na odkup Beneschevih del, se je zaključilo tri leta kasneje. Leta 1914 je namreč Mantuani po petih letih prizadevanj končno postavil prvo razstavo muzejskih slik. Priprava razstave je bila namreč poleg ureditve muzejske zbirke slik že od vsega začetka ena od njegovih prednostnih nalog (Lavrič, Resman, 1994, 90). Slike je razstavil v dveh razstavnih prostorih, pri čemer pa – na svoje veliko nezadovoljstvo – ni mogel slediti sodobnim zahtevam predstavitve slik. Slike je kljub temu razstavil, saj si pred tem v Ljubljani v javnih zbirkah ni bilo mogoče ogledati nobene razstave slik.²⁹ Ob tej priložnosti je želel pripraviti tudi katalog, v katerem bi predstavil umetnike, katerih dela hrani muzej. Vsak avtor naj bi bil predstavljen z naborom osnovnih biografskih podatkov, ki naj bi bili kar najbolj »zanesljivi in avtentični«.³⁰ Zato je Mantuani pisal tudi Beneschu in ga prosil, naj mu posreduje podatke o svojem rojstvu, študiju in slikarskem opusu. Benesch mu je v svojem odgovoru štirinajst dni kasneje res poslal kratek življenjepis in vsebinski opis svojega opusa, urejen v desetih točkah.³¹

Kakorkoli, Benescheva zbirka je s poplačilom drugega dela kupnine v začetku leta 1912 tudi formalno postala last Kranjskega deželnega muzeja. Pridobitev Beneschevih del za muzejsko zbirko likovnih del je bila v Mantuanijevih očeh brez dvoma pomembna zmaga. Podatke o tem, katera likovna dela mu je uspelo pridobiti za muzejsko zbirko, je

27 Dopis z dne 20. I. 1912, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 19/1912.

28 Osnutek dopisa z dne 27. II. 1912, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 172/1912.

29 Svoja prizadevanja za vzpostavitev muzejske galerije in prvi poskus uresničitve ideje leta 1914 je na kratko opisal v uvodu k seznamu muzejskih slik (Mantuani, 1923, 16).

30 Koncept pisma z dne 25. IX. 1914, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 659/1914.

31 Pismo z dne 10. X. 1914, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 659/1914.

vključeval v svoja letna poročila o delovanju muzeja. Poleg tega je o novih pridobitvah redno poročal tudi v muzejskih glasilih. V prvih desetih letih svojega službovanja se je osredotočal zlasti na odkupe grafik in risb (med njimi dela Lovra Janše, Franca S. Kurz pl. Goldensteina ter bratov Jurija in Janeza Šubica). Med odkupljenimi deli je bilo tudi nekaj oljnih slik (med drugim nekaj del Matevža Langusa in Antona Karingerja), za muzej pa mu je uspelo pridobiti tudi nekaj kipov (med njimi je najbolj znan portret Franceta Prešerna Alojza Gangla) (Lavrič, Resman, 1994, 90). Med avtorji, katerih dela naj bi mu z odkupom uspelo rešiti pred izginotjem, je izrecno omenil tudi Beneschevo zbirko risb, skic in akvarelov kranjskih krajev.

To nas ne bi smelo presenetiti. Če je bil Mantuani v svojem prvem pismu Beneschu še nekoliko zadržan in je izrazil le svojo splošno naklonjenost odkupu zbirke,³² pa je iz njegovih nadaljnjih poročil in dopisov deželnemu odboru jasno razvidno, da je Benescheva dela razumel kot kvalitetna. Pri tem ni mislil le na tehnično izvedbo ali krajepisno vrednost upodobljenih motivov, pač pa tudi na umetniško kvaliteto del.³³ Omenjene kvalitete in pa dejstvo, da so bila dela ponujena muzeju po ugodni ceni, je Mantuani izpostavljal vsakič, ko se je pri deželnem odboru zavzemal za njihov odkup.³⁴ Kljub temu, da je v svojih dopisih vedno znova izpostavljal tudi ugodno ceno, pa bi bilo napačno sklepati, da je Mantuani podpiral nakup zbirke predvsem zaradi te plati nakupa. Vzrok, da je toliko poudarjal ugodnost cene, je treba iskati zlasti v dejstvu, da se je v teh dopisih obračal neposredno na svojega financerja. Za člane deželnega odbora je bila cena v odkup ponujenih del verjetno precej bolj odločilnega pomena kot za Mantuanija, ki je vrednost zbirke ocenjeval s strokovnega stališča. Zato ne preseneča, da je že v svojem prvem dopisu izrecno poudaril, da bi bilo napačno dopustiti, da bi se zbirka prodala na tuje.³⁵

Tudi v svojem dopisu s konca februarja leta 1912, v katerem je še enkrat povzel celotno zgodovino odkupa zbirke, je navedel, da je bil njen odkup nujen. Poleg tega je v njem pri deželnem odboru protestiral v zvezi z dejstvom, da je bil drugi del kupnine izplačan iz proračunske postavke, namenjene narodopisni zbirki, ki je podhranjena in neurejena, in ne iz postavke za nakup umetnin.³⁶ Da je Mantuanijeva strokovna presoja Beneschevih del konec koncev ugoden odziv našla tudi med člani deželnega odbora, priča reverz s konca maja istega leta, s katerim je deželni odbor v

32 Osnutek pisma z dne 22. XII. 1910, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 310/1910.

33 Prim. osnutek dopisa z dne 19. IV. 1911, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 25/1911.

34 Poleg omenjenega osnutka gl. tudi osnutek dopisa z dne 3. X. 1911, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 513/1911 in osnutek dopisa z dne 27. II. 1912, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 172/1912.

35 Osnutek pisma z dne 22. XII. 1910, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 310/1910.

36 Osnutek dopisa z dne 27. II. 1912, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 172/1912.

muzeju do nadaljnega prevzel osem slik, da bi z njimi opremil svoje reprezentančne prostore.³⁷ Prvotno so odborniki izbrali enajst del, med njimi dva akvarela in eno risbo s tušem Lovra Janše, pet Beneschevih akvarelov, oljno sliko Vlaha Bukovca ter dve oljni sliki Marije Auersperg. Kot je razvidno iz na reverzu dopisanih podatkov, pa so zadnja tri dela, torej vse tri oljne slike, muzeju vrnili že konec naslednjega leta.³⁸

Zgodbo o vrednotenju Beneschevih del v obdobju njihovega odkupovanja lahko zaokrožimo z zanimivim dogodkom iz približno istega časa. Spomladi leta 1912 se je namreč zgodilo še nekaj, kar kaže, da je deželni odbor v resnici cenil Beneschevo delo. Kot je razvidno iz Mantuanijevega odgovora na Beneschevo pismo z dne 4. aprila tega leta, ga je ob osebnem srečanju na Dunaju zaprosil za izdelavo šestih akvarelov.³⁹ Šlo je za akvarele za »kaseto«, ki jo je dežela Kranjska podarila udeležencem avtomobilske dirke. Mantuani se je na Benescha nedvomno obrnil v imenu deželnega odbora. Benesch je sprva z veseljem privolil v naročilo, saj bi tako dobil še eno priložnost, da bi skozi svoje slike izrazil »svojo ljubezen do Kranjske«. ⁴⁰ Kasneje pa je pisal Mantuaniju in ga s precejšnjim obžalovanjem obvestil, da akvarelov vendarle ne bo mogel izgotoviti. V vmesnem času mu je namreč hudo zbolela žena in zaradi skrbi zanjo ni imel dovolj časa, da bi se posvetil izdelavi akvarelov.

A vrnimo se k Beneschevim delom. Mantuani jih je za muzej odkupil prvenstveno zaradi njihovega umetniškega pomena, povedano drugače, v resnici jih je odkupil zato, da bi z njimi dopolnil muzejsko zbirko slik. Dobro desetletje po odkupu Benescheve zbirke projekt muzejske galerije, ki mu je bil tako ljub, še vedno ni bil izveden.⁴¹ Zato je v dveh številkah *Glasnika Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo* objavil *Seznam muzejskih slik* (Mantuani, 1923; Mantuani, 1925). V njem je obiskovalcem Kranjskega deželnega muzeja ponudil najpotrebnejše podatke o slikah, ki so si jih lahko ogledali v razstavnih prostorih muzeja, poleg tega pa je vanj vključil tudi slike, ki zaradi prostorske stiske sicer niso bile na ogled. Na ta način jih je vsaj posredno predstavil javnosti. Prav v ta, drugi del seznama je Mantuani vključil tudi Beneschevo oljno sliko *Triglava* (Mantuani, 1925, 21).

37 Osnutek reverza in reverz z dne 15. V. 1912, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 305/1912.

38 Tako na osnutku reverza kot tudi na reverzu so prečrtane zaporedne številke omenjenih oljnih slik, poleg tega pa sta pri zadnji sliki na osnutku navedena tudi datum vračila slik, 10. XI. 1913, in številka ustreznega akta. Ta, namreč št. 952/1913, je navedena tudi ob navedkih slik Marije Auersperg na reverzu.

39 Pismo z dne 19. IV. 1912, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 327/1912.

40 Pismo z dne 19. IV. 1912, Arhiv Narodnega muzeja Slovenije, akt št. 327/1912.

41 Kljub temu si je obiskovalec muzeja nekatere slike iz zbirke lahko ogledal, saj so bile razstavljene v dveh dvoranah. Vendar pa je bila to zgolj začasna rešitev, saj je želel Mantuani muzejsko zbirko slik razstaviti v skladu z »modernimi merili« muzejske stroke (prim. Mantuani, 1923, 16).

Mantuani je zgodovino likovne tvornosti na domačih tleh, ki jo je želel prikazati s pomočjo muzejske razstave slik, razumel kot zgodbo o raznovrstni dejavnosti. Vanjo so bila vključena dela najrazličnejših smeri in kvalitete, katerih avtorji so bili različnih narodnosti (Mantuani, 1923, 17). Še več, kot je zapisal v svoji oceni zgodovinske razstave slovenskega slikarstva, ki jo je leta 1922 organiziralo novoustanovljeno društvo Narodna galerija, so pri nas delovali tako tuji kot tudi domači slikarji. Slednji so se sicer res učili v tujini, vendar pa v svojih delih niso zgolj mehanično posnemali svojih učiteljev, pač pa so pridobljeno znanje uporabljali samostojno in inovativno (Mantuani, 1922a, 2). Gre torej za celostni pristop k obravnavi domače likovne tvornosti, ki ni podvržen selekciji, temelječi bodisi na etničnem bodisi kvalitativnem kriteriju. Povsem naravno je torej, da je vanjo kot enakovreden sestavni del vključil tudi Benescheva dela.⁴²

Prav selektivnost, zlasti v kvalitativnem smislu, je bila ena pomembnejših kritik Mantuanijeve ocene omenjene razstave in spremljajočega kataloga, ki sta ga skupaj napisala Izidor Cankar in France Stele.⁴³ Po Mantuanijevem mnenju so bile namreč na razstavi količinsko ustrezno, mogoče celo preobsežno predstavljena dela naših največjih in najbolj prepoznavnih slikarjev, medtem ko so bili ostali avtorji zastopani z manjšim številom del (Mantuani, 1922b, 3). Še bolj pa ga je zmotil »molk« o številnih avtorjih, katerih imena in dela so sicer znana, a jih avtorji razstave niso umestili vanjo (Mantuani, 1922c, 2). Zato je podal seznam po njegovem mnenju najvažnejših slikarjev, katerih dela bi bilo treba strokovno obdelati in jih umestiti v zgodovino domače likovne tvornosti. Med avtorji kot zadnjega – seznam je uredil po kronološkem redu – navaja tudi Benescha, ki je umrl leto prej.⁴⁴

42 Te še vedno hrani Narodni muzej Slovenije v okviru zbirke svojega grafičnega kabineta.

43 Katalog je sicer izšel brez navedenega avtorja, vendar pa je Izidor Cankar slabih štirinajst dni po izidu zadnjega dela Mantuanijeve ocene v repliki nanjo kot avtorja poleg sebe navedel še Franceta Steleta (Cankar, 1922, 2). Prim. tudi prispevek Lavričeve in Resmana (1994, 91), ki pa kot avtorja kataloga navajata le Cankarja.

44 Poleg tega na seznamu prezrtih slikarjev najdemo tudi Lovra Janšo in brata Šubic (Mantuani, 1922c, 2). Med tistimi avtorji, ki so bili po njegovem mnenju preskopo obravnavani, pa Mantuani izrecno omenja Franca S. pl. Goldensteina, ki so ga na razstavi predstavili z eno samo sliko (Mantuani, 1922b, 3). Nekaj del omenjenih avtorjev mu je uspelo pridobiti za muzejsko zbirko (prim. Lavrič, Resman, 1994, 90). Gre za avtorje, ki jih je v svojih poročilih izpostavil kot tiste, katerih dela mu je uspelo pridobiti za muzejsko zbirko. Dela vseh, razen Lovra Janše, je umestil tudi v svoj Seznam muzejskih slik (Mantuani, 1923; Mantuani, 1925). Mantuanijeva zbiralna politika je bila torej odsev njegovega razumevanja zgodovine likovne tvornosti.

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Katja Mahnič

Inclusion of the works of Ladislav Benesch into the museum collection of Provincial Museum of Carniola

Keywords: Ladislav Benesch, Josip Mantuani, Provincial Museum of Carniola, Painting collection

Before the First World War considerable efforts were made in Ljubljana to compile the first publicly accessible collection of paintings. Josip Manutani was among the most important persons working on the project. As the director of the Provincial Museum of Carniola he was in a position to significantly contribute to the establishment of a collection, the importance of which he defended for years in his published and unpublished writings. In many respects, his endeavours were bound by the institutional framework within which he worked. In this article, a collection of drawings by Ladislav Benesch, which Mantuani strived for three years to include into the collection of the Provincial Museum of Carniola, is used as an example of Mantuani's efforts to reconcile the needs and desires of the collection owner with the administrative and financial restrictions imposed by his 'employer', the Provincial Committee of Carniola..

Recenzije

Jernej Zupančič

Jernej Mlekuž: *Abc migracij*

Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 2011, 72 strani

V obilici del na temo mednarodnih selitev izstopa razmeroma drobna knjižica »ABC migracij« avtorja Jerneja Mlekuža, raziskovalca na Inštitutu za slovensko izseljenstvo ZRC SAZU. Leta 2011 jo je izdala Založba ZRC SAZU. Knjiga po naslovu obeta kratek in jedrnat kompendij, naslovnica pa prej kot to različne poglede na pojem (mednarodnih) migracij. Da je naslovnica pravzaprav bolj povedna od naslova, se bralec hitro prepriča ob listanju od A do Ž. Avtor izhaja iz osebne oziroma družinske izkušnje, pri kateri izpostavi pridobljena znanja (tuji jeziki) in izkušnje, zaradi katerih je posameznik lahko bogatejši. Avtor se v uvodnem »A je to« odreja enciklopedičnemu in leksikografskemu pristopu; noče zares učiti. Emi- oziroma imigrante naj uči življenje, opazovalec (bralec) pa naj si ob njihovih življenjskih zgodbah sam ustvari predstavo in sodbo. Avtor se torej implicitno nagiba k alternativnemu razmisleku o pojavu migracij, saj, kakor napove v začetnem poglavju, hoče bolj problematizirati kakor informirati. Ta zavestni odmik od (skoraj) utečene predstave o migracijah in migrantih postavlja v ospredje zaznavanja migranta samega, medtem ko se avtor očitno distancira od (utečene) vloge raziskovalca, ki pojasnjuje, išče, razlaga, interpretira, dvomi in konstruira. Vendar bo pozoren bralec v tem pristopu brez težav prepoznal zelo razširjen koncept pretežno antropološkega pristopa k raziskovanju migracij, in sicer z življenjskimi zgodbami. Ta koncept številke preprosto ne potrebuje, saj je pripovedniški v prvem in interpretativen v drugem delu. Zato nima smisla niti začeti razmišljati o tem, kakšno kakovost ponujajo številke (o migracijah in migrantih).

Mlekuževo delo obsega 72 strani, na katerih se poleg uvodnega »A je to« zvrsti še dvanajst kratkih (dvostranskih) poglavij – od B do Ž, od »Biti migrant« do »Ženske migracije«. Nabor je torej sledil besednemu redu in ne tematski sistematičnosti, zato že na prvi pogled – skladno z uvodno napovedanim alternativnim pristopom – deluje kot kolaž različnih opredelitev (na primer Ekonomske migracije, Ilegalne migracije, Moderne migracije ...), ki ga sem in tja prekinjajo drugače opredeljeni naslovi (na primer Od nekdaj migracije). Sam koncept poglavij je preprost: avtorjevemu kratkemu pojasnjevalnemu besedilu sledi izpoved ter sem in tja slika ali še pogosteje karikatura. Jezik je sočen in berljiv, izrazno bogat in dinamičen – kolikor je pri kratkih besedilih to sploh umestno. Citati so samo ob izpovedih, vendar na koncu ne sledi – kakor je

običajno za monografije – poglavje s citirano literaturo. Toda ali je to glede na koncept dela sploh potrebno?

Kdo je migrant, je stvar (zelo različnih) definicij. Te postavljajo zunanji opazovalci in ne migranti. O svoji usodi (in seveda ustreznih definicijah) pogosto ne odločajo sami, pač pa okoliščine: vojne, stiske, neustrezna družbena klima ter osebna stališča in nagnjenja. Migracija je seveda predvsem izbira, tudi če (in ne tako redko, zaradi okoliščin) prisiljena. Avtor nadaljuje z »Ekonomsko migracijo«, ki naj bi po številu migrantov prevladovala. Ljudje se selijo zaradi boljših življenjskih priložnosti. Avtor jih imenuje »roke« in »trebuhi«. To migracijo sestavlja pisana družina ljudi, pri katerih je mogoče ekonomske razloge selitve identificirati le kot enega izmed sprožilcev, ki so jih pognali drugam. S tem nam avtor dopoveduje, da je raznovrstno selitveno dogajanje težko zajeti v standardizirane kalupe. Ob vsej množičnosti je torej poudarjena individualnost. »Ilegalna migracija« – naslednje poglavje – se posveča »ilegalcem«, osebam, ki so na skrivaj in protizakonito prestopile politične meje. Oba ilustrativna primera zadevata Slovenijo; v prvem se iz Nove Gorice v Gorico preseli Slovenka, iščoč nekaj sto metrov stran v drugi državi boljše življenje, v drugem pa po dolgih peripetijah v naši državi pristane Iranka. Tujost ilegalnih migrantov je dvojna: kulturna in politična (pravna in formalna). Povsem samosvojo dimenzijo odkriva poglavje »Jezik in migracija«, v katerem avtor izpostavlja jezik kot orodje, medij, kulturo in posledico. Jezikovne spremembe so v veliki meri posledica selitvenih tokov, v katerih so selivci kljub naučenemu jeziku novega okolja ta jezik uporabljali po svoje in ga postopoma spreminjali. Jezikovno-kulturna adaptacija je implicitno dvosmerni tok, pa če puristi še tako bdijo nad jezikovno intaktnostjo. Tak primer so ZDA, kjer so zaradi angleškega vdora (in seveda sledečih selitev drugih) skoraj utihnili domači indijanski jeziki in na drugi strani Atlantika tudi irščina (gaelic), in to kljub temu, da so priseljeni Angleži v večdesetletni bilanci zanesljivo predstavljali manjšino. Toda ta ameriška angleščina je vse bolj ameriška in v določenih okoljih špangleščina: jasen dokaz, da je jezik posledica, ki sledi, in nikakor ne samo avantgarda narodove kulturne podobe. Za domače slovenske razmere avtor citira odstavek iz Vojnovičevih »Čefurji raus«, torej čefurščino oziroma fužinščino.

»Moderne migracije« najprej izpostavljajo trajnost selitev kot konstanto človeške vrste od homidacije do danes; tu se avtor tesno navezuje na poglavje »Od nekdanje migracije«, kjer je *homo sapiens* pravzaprav *homo migrans* – seleči se človek. Mejniki modernosti je za avtorja Kolumbov korak na Hispaniolo: dogodek, ki ga v evropski zgodovini praviloma razumemo kot ločnico med starim in novim. Toda morda je to bolj rezultat evropocentrične percepcije svetovne zgodovine kot realnost, saj so se načela življenja na drugih celinah še dolgo v veliki meri nadaljevala po tradicionalnih vzorcih in s samosvojo, prav tako nenehno se izpopolnjujočo modernizacijo. Toda Kolumbov

korak je sprožil selitve: iskanje svobode na eni in nasilne selitve sužnjev na drugi strani. Toda kolonializem je močno pospešil oblikovanje »zahodnih« kapitalističnih družb in poevropil modernizacijo modernosti. Sedaj smo priča drugačnim tokovom, ko se v demografsko vse bolj očitni evropski vakuum, zaenkrat še ekonomsko in varnostno varen, zgrinjajo trume iskalcev dela in priložnosti, in to po različnih poteh. Sem so nekoč prihajale tudi surovine, v nasprotno smer pa specialisti, vojaki, avanturisti, kapital in izdelki. A to se obrača: Evropa se srečuje z neizprosno konkurenco poceni in ne dosti manj kakovostnih izdelkov iz Azije ter vse bolj tudi iz Latinske Amerike in Afrike. Migracije niso le tok ljudi, temveč tudi kapitala, blaga, idej, znanja in inovacij. Človek je kot selivec tudi posledica tega enormnega izmenjevalnega toka.

Poglavje »Novo okolje« razblinja mit o enostranski prilagodljivosti migrantov. Ti se sicer morajo znajti, privaditi, a zaradi logike življenja privajajo tudi okolje. Dvosmernost prilagoditvenih procesov je nuja, ki pa jo lahko državni sistemi bistveno zasučejo v selivcem bolj ali manj prijazne politike. Te politike do določene mere usmerjajo človeški (in posledično tudi snovni) pretok. Poti migrantov determinirajo tri glavne postavke: selitvene politike, okoliščine v ožjem in širšem časovno-prostorskem kontekstu ter (potencialni in realni) migrant sam. Zato so migracije kljub masovnosti vedno tudi individualen, tako rekoč intimen dogodek, ki človeka spremeni in kljub enkratnosti dejanja (selitve) trajno spremlja. Selitvena dejanja pa se rada ponavljajo, saj je iskanje boljšega, ne glede na to, ali to narekujejo pravno-politične okoliščine (na primer begunci, azilanti in ilegalci), ekonomske okoliščine (percipirana potreba selivca po prostorskem premiku) ali avanturizem iskanja drugačnega, trajen imperativ človeške vrste ali vsaj številnih njenih predstavnikov. Knjigo zaključuje poglavje »Ženske migracije«. Logično, ker je večina obravnavanih ilustrativnih primerov pač žensk in se povrh vsega z Ž numerično primerno izide ter smiselno, ker je bil ta segment v raziskovanju selitev pogosto nekoliko zanemarjen (danes temu sploh ni tako).

Mlekuževo delo ni sistematičen traktat o pojavu, bistvu in smislu selitev. Ni ne učbenik ne leksikon ali drug eruditski zapis, ki bi želel sistematično širiti vedenje o predmetu obravnave. Vendar lahko ta pisan, a vendar po svoje sistematično sestavljen kolaž migracijske pojavnosti marsikomu odpre številne, doslej manj poznane dimenzije selitev in selivcev ali, bolje, pogleda nanje. Seveda, tudi tako se da videti svet. Knjiga torej odpira vprašanja, terja nove (re)definicije in odkriva povezave med pojmi. Zato sploh ni lahkotno branje, in to kljub sočnim vložkom individualnih zgodb in karikatur, ki utegnejo biti bolj prepričevalne kakor dolge razprave.

Mateja Prinčič

**Ernst Spaan, Felicitas Hillmann, Ton van Naerssen (ur.):
Asian Migrants and European Labour Markets.
Patterns and processes of immigrant labour market
insertion in Europe**

London, New York: Routledge, 2005, 2012, 337 strani

Maja 2001 je v nizozemskem mestu Nijmegen potekala konferenca na temo *Azijski podjetniki in priseljenci v Evropski skupnosti*, v okviru katere se je odvil prvi delovni seminar, ki je osredinil vlogo azijskih priseljencev in njihovih podjetniških strategij znotraj evropskega delovnega trga. Rezultati konference so bili leta 2005 združeni v monografiji *European Labour Markets* ter konec leta 2012 v ponatisu izdani pri založbi Routledge.

Delo sestavlja petnajst prispevkov petindvajsetih avtorjev, v veliki meri geografov in drugih strokovnjakov s področja priseljenke problematike in zaposlovanja. Predstavljeni so rezultati raziskav, izvedenih v devetih evropskih državah, in v nekaterih primerih tudi rezultati terenskega dela v izvornih državah priseljencev. Prostorsko so prispevki osredotočeni na priseljence iz Južne, Jugovzhodne in Vzhodne Azije, časovno pa na devetdeseta leta 20. stoletja, ko so se zgodile pomembne strukturne spremembe v vzorcih in modelih zaposlovanja tako znotraj Evrope kot tudi širše v razvitem svetu.

Če se najprej ustavimo znotraj historičnega konteksta kolonialnih struktur Velike Britanije, Francije in Nizozemske, so kasnejše preference azijskih migracijskih tokov v smeri teh evropskih držav dokaj samoumevne. Vendar pa so to zgolj opaznejši, tradicionalni migracijski prostori. Da bi se izognili posplošitvam, so v prispevkih predstavljeni tudi bolj neobičajni primeri, kot so na primer sikhovski molzci krav na lombardskem podeželju. Avtorji v svojih člankih tako ne upoštevajo zgolj globalnih, marveč tudi lokalne in regionalne razvojne komponente ter njihove medsebojne povezave, ki so v diskurzu globalizacije še toliko lažje spregledane. Globalizacija je korenito posegla v strukturo evropskega delovnega trga in privedla do povečanih potreb po fleksibilni delovni sili ter porastu neuradnih oblik zaposlovanja. Od osemdesetih let 20. stoletja dalje so se začeli odvijati procesi privatizacije, deregulacije in zmanjševanja državnih intervencij v gospodarstvu. Uspešne preureditve trga

zaposlovanja v neoliberalnem duhu znotraj Evropske unije bi bile tako težko izvedljive, če ne bi povečanih potreb po nizkokvalificirani in prilagodljivejši delovni sili zapolnili priseljenci. Hkrati so devetdeseta leta prinesla spremembe tudi na področju migracijske politike znotraj Evropske unije. Po eni strani so se omejitve priseljevanja za sočlane znotraj Evropske unije zmanjšale, po drugi pa so se za nečlane izven unije poostrele. S tovrstno realnostjo so se soočili posamezniki in skupine azijskih priseljencev, predstavljeni v knjigi. V primerjavi z azijskimi priseljenci, ki so v Evropo prišli v sedemdesetih in osemdesetih letih 20. stoletja, so bili priseljenci v devetdesetih letih postavljeni v še bolj zapleten socialno-ekonomski položaj.

V delu velja izpostaviti tri pomembnejše in najpogostejše vidike preučevanja azijskih priseljencev v odnosu do podjetniških in zaposlovalnih praks. Prvi vidik je vezan na t. i. koncept transnacionalizma, katerega sestavni del so transnacionalna družinska omrežja in transnacionalne prakse evropsko-azijskih socialnih, ekonomskih in kulturnih omrežij. V tovrstnih družbenih omrežjih je zgoščen velik delež človeškega in socialnega kapitala, ki se ga poslužujejo tako azijski priseljenci kot tudi evropski delodajalci. Tovrsten pristop med drugim tudi problematizira tradicionalne vidike integracije priseljencev. Drugi vidik je vezan na t. i. koncept mešane vpetosti, ki so ga leta 1999 v članku *Mixed Embeddedness: (In)formal Economic Activities and Immigrant Businesses in the Netherlands* časopisa *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* po Polanyijevem prvotnem konceptu vpetosti reinterpreterali Robert Kloosterman, Joanne van der Leun in Jan Rath. Po mnenju teh treh avtorjev je bistvo t. i. mešane vpetosti v tem, »da je vzpon imigrantskega podjetništva primarno lociran na presečišču socialno-kulturnih okvirov na eni strani ter sprememb znotraj (urbanih) ekonomij in institucionalnih okvirov na drugi strani«. Tretji vidik pa je vezan na področje sociologije spolov in ženskega zaposlovanja znotraj priseljenskih skupin, zlasti na študijah primerov filipinskih žensk kot hišnih pomočnic in medicinskih sester.

Metodološko gledano so se avtorji pri svojih raziskavah oprli delno na kvantitativne, zlasti pa zaradi narave dela na kvalitativne raziskave, v veliki meri izvedene s pomočjo terenskega dela in polstrukturiranih intervjujev. V vsebino dela so vključeni posamični izseki nekaterih intervjujev, statistične razpredelnice z relevantnimi statističnimi spremenljivkami, z geografskega gledišča pa pade v oči zlasti odsotnost kartografskih prikazov prostorske razpršenosti pojavov in procesov. Omejena zanesljivost in dostopnost kvantitativnih podatkov zaradi nezabeleženih nezakonitih priseljencev v uradnih statistikah ter nacionalne razlike pri definicijah etničnega sestava priseljencev so botrovale dejstvu, da primerjave med posameznimi državami večinoma niso bile predstavljene.

Petnajst različnih prispevkov je razdeljenih na tri obsežnejša poglavja. V prvem poglavju, poimenovanem *Znotraj sistema*, so članki, povezani z azijskimi priseljenci, ki so že utečeni »znotraj sistema«. Raziskave so usmerjene v obseg in stopnjo socialno-ekonomske vključenosti znotraj držav prihoda. Drugo poglavje, *Vstopanje*, obravnava strategije, ki se jih poslužujejo priseljenci za vstop na evropski trg dela, in težave, s katerimi se soočajo ob vstopu. Tretje in zadnje poglavje ima več kot zgovoren naslov – *Samozaposlitev in podjetništvo med azijskimi priseljenci v Evropi*. Ključne, najzanimivejše sinteze ugotovitev večine avtorjev so podane v nadaljevanju.

V prvem poglavju Giles A. Barrett in David McEvoy problematizirata položaj azijskih priseljencev na britanskem zaposlitvenem tržišču. Kot ugotavljata, večja fleksibilnost zaposlitvenega trga v Veliki Britaniji ni prinesla boljše plačanih zaposlitvenih možnosti za azijske priseljenke. Ti se bolje izkazujejo v samozaposlitveni vlogi, ki pa je v veliki meri odraz pomanjkanja alternativnih ekonomskih priložnosti. Christiane Hintermann in Ursula Reeger prikažeta samoiniciativne ter uspešne poteze indijskih in filipinskih medicinskih sester kot hiter odziv na potrebe po kvalificiranem kadru v dunajskih bolnišnicah v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja. Poleg te institucionalizirane oblike zaposlitvene integracije pa po drugi strani pokažeta na neuspešnost integracije indijskih pouličnih prodajalcev časopisov na Dunaju. Felicitas Hillmann primerjalno predstavi dva migracijska sistema, segajoča v čas blokovske delitve, na primeru Vietnamcev v Berlinu. V Zahodnem Berlinu je bila skupnost Vietnamcev, povečini političnih priseljencev, uspešno integrirana s pomočjo in konsenzom zahodnonemške družbe. Na drugi strani zavese v Vzhodnem Berlinu pa je bila usoda Vietnamcev povsem drugačna. Njihov prihod v Nemško demokratično republiko je bil vezan na sklop bilateralnih pogodb med tema dvema socialističnima republikama, s katerimi je NDR ekonomsko pomagala Vietnamu. Prihod Vietnamcev je bil vezan na delo v večjih industrijskih obratih NDR, kjer kakršnakoli integracija sploh ni bila zaželena. Po padcu Berlinskega zidu so se številni Vietnamci iz vzhodnega dela Berlina znašli v kočljivem položaju zaradi nespretnosti lastne integracije. Socialnih vezi med skupnostjo v Zahodnem in Vzhodnem Berlinu pa zlasti zaradi političnih razhajanj skorajda ni bilo. Krystina Iglicka prav tako poudari pomen družbene tolerantnosti za dobro počutje in integracijo Vietnamcev na Poljskem od sedemdesetih let dalje.

V drugem poglavju Maria Josè Compiani in Fabio Quassoli na podlagi treh osnovnih modelov zaposlitvene integracije priseljencev v Italiji, povzetih po Mauriziu Ambrosiniju, predstavljata stanje v devetdesetih letih v Italiji. Poleg metropolitanskega, industrijskega ter sezonskega oziroma podeželskega modela predstavitava povsem specifičen primer sikhovskih molzcev krav v Lombardiji. *Bergamini*, kot jih imenujejo lokalni prebivalci, so primer ambicioznega migracijskega projekta indijskih Sikhov, ki imajo znotraj svoje dejavnosti povsem monopolen položaj. Velika prednost tovrstnega

delo je v dejstvu, da zaposlovalci Sikhom priskrbijo brezplačno nastanitev s plačanimi računi ter nadpovprečne plače, Sikhi pa zaposlovalcem veliko mero fleksibilnosti in zavzetosti. Natalia Ribas – Mateos in Laura Oso predstavita študijo primera filipinskih hišnih pomočnic v Španiji kot primer netipične in nepodjetniške azijske strategije. Prav tako so filipinske pomočnice v ospredju naslednjega prispevka. Liane Mozère hišne pomočnice v Parizu v primerjavi s prejšnjima avtoricama vidi kot »podjetnice samih sebe« na transnacionalnem zaposlitvenem tržišču. So izobražene, angleško govoreče, mediatorke med dvema svetovoma, opremljene s t. i. migracijskimi kompetencami in poznane pod hudomušnim imenom »Mercedes-Benz med hišnimi pomočnicami«. Kot pravijo zadnje tri avtorice, so v izvorni državi cenjene in dojete kot subjekti, ki v skupnost vnašajo modernizacijo, so glavne akterke skupnega družinskega migracijskega projekta. Njihova transnacionalna kariera se skozi intervjuje na primer kaže v ambicioznih željah po izgradnji manjše klinike ali hotela na Filipinih.

Monder Ram in Trevor Jones v tretjem poglavju na podlagi pridobljenih polstrukturiranih intervjujev poudarjata, da v podjetništvu že uveljavljeni azijski priseljenci v Veliki Britaniji pri pridobivanju novega kadra ne iščejo prednostno pripadnikov iste etnične skupnosti. S tem opozorita na potrebo po presejanju zgolj kulturalističnih vidikov poslovnih dinamik. Ernst Spaan, Ton van Naerssen in Harry van den Tillaart na podlagi študije primera, vezane na prebivalce nekdanjih Molukov, ovržejo vsestranski sloves azijskih priseljencev kot zelo aktivnih članov na evropskem zaposlitvenem trgu. Kljub nizozemskim državnim podporam za integracijo na delovnem tržišču so v podjetništvu zelo slabo zastopani, saj naj bi bile solidarnost, recipročnost in pomoč znotraj skupnosti pomembnejše vrednote kot poslovni duh. Daniele Cologna v članku o kitajskih podjetnikih v Milanu v nasprotju z uveljavljenim mnenjem o močnih solidarnostnih vezeh znotraj kitajske skupnosti poudarja še vedno močno prisotnost družinskih vezi, ne pa več tudi etničnih. Maggi Leung podobno kot že nekateri predhodni avtorji na podlagi študij primerov geografskih značilnosti omrežij na lokalni, regionalni in transnacionalni ravni preseže vidike kulturnega determinizma, ki določajo poslovne strategije.

Obravnavani zbornik izpostavlja in zmanjšuje raziskovalno vrzel na področju večplastne azijsko-evropske migracijske problematike devetdesetih let 20. stoletja in kliče po novih raziskavah v trenutnih, spreminjajočih se globalnih ekonomskih razmerah.

Urška Strle

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco: Fašistična taborišča. Internacije civilistov v fašistični Italiji (1940–1943)

Ljubljana: Publicistično društvo ZAK, prev. Nevenka Troha, 2011, 331 strani

Ob izteku leta 2011 smo v slovenščino dobili prevod monografije izpod peresa italijanskega raziskovalca Carla Spartaca Capogreca – naslov izvirnika *I campi del Duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* –, ki je leta 2004 izšla pri ugledni italijanski založbi Einaudi; po izidu je bila šest mesecev na lestvici najbolj prodajanih knjig in je čez dve leti doživela ponatis. Zgodovinarke dr. Nevenki Troha, tudi sicer odlični poznavalki italijanskega fašizma, ki je avtorju s svojimi komentarji pomagala pri nastanku monografije, se velja zahvaliti za konsistenten prevod te visokoinformativne, analitične in za slovenski prostor nedvomno referenčne knjige. Pred izidom omenjene monografije so italijanščine nevešči bralci lahko v roke vzeli Capogrecovo delo v hrvaškem prevodu, ki je izšel že dve leti po izidu izvirnika; Capogrecu je takratni hrvaški predsednik Stjepan Mesić zaradi razkrivanja dejstev o fašističnih vojnih zločinih podelil državno odlikovanje. Promocija slovenskega prevoda leta 2013 je sovpadla s 70-letnico kapitulacije Italije in posledičnega razpusta fašističnih taborišč, kar utegne oploditi razpravo o tematiki, ki – prekrita z drugimi poglavji iz vojnega časa – v širši javnosti ni bila primerno prepoznavna.

Monografija je razdeljena na štiri poglavja. V prvem avtor pojasnjuje potrebo po redefiniciji tipografije fašističnih taborišč, ki navadno sledi uveljavljeni tipografiji nacističnih taborišč. Italijanska fašistična taborišča izkazujejo odvisnost od italijanskih družbeno-političnih specifik. Tudi razlikovanje med tipi taborišč, ki so Capogrecov avtorski prispevek k primernejšemu poimenovanju, temelji na prepričanju, da izraz koncentracijsko taborišče, ki je zlagoma prerasel v zamegljeno nadpomenko za vse oblike množičnega zapiranja civilistov, vsebuje preveč protislovij, da bi omogočil konsistentno historiografsko analizo raznovrstnega in dinamičnega internacijskega mehanizma. V tem poglavju avtor med drugim uvaja skovanko vzporedne internacije civilistov, ki je zadevala pravno neosnovano internacijo (zlasti) slovanskega prebivalstva. Delitev internacijskega mehanizma na pravno osnovane in pravno neosnovane internacije je po Capogrecovem mnenju ključna in spremlja celotno strukturo knjige.

V drugem poglavju predstavi ustroj administrativnega korpusa, na katerem je navadno temeljila internacija civilistov. Pravno utemeljena internacija civilistov je bila v pristojnosti notranjega ministrstva; zajemala je predvsem policijsko sumljive osebe z italijanskim državljanstvom, zlasti politične nasprotnike, ter v Italiji začasno bivajoče državljane držav, ki so bili v vojni z Italijo. Množična pravno neosnovana oziroma vzporedna internacija civilistov pa je potekala v neposredni režiji vojaških oblasti v času vojne okupacije. To poglavje v določeni meri pojasnjuje nepotrebno težke bivanjske razmere v t. i. taboriščih za Slované, v katerih je prišlo do zapletov in neusklajenosti tudi zaradi medinstitucionalnih konfliktov glede pristojnosti.

Tretje poglavje obravnava skupine ljudi, ki so bile najbolj izpostavljene internaciji, hkrati pa na podlagi dostopnih dokumentov kontekstualizira direktive za internacijo, ki so se nanašale na različne podskupine italijanskih in tujih državljanov. Med njimi s konkretnimi primeri predstavi predvsem potencialne in realne politične nasprotnike iz vrst protifašistov (predvsem anarhistov in komunistov), državljane tistih držav, s katerimi je bila Italija v vojni, tuje in domače pripadnike judovske in romske skupnosti, ljudi brez državljanstva ter *alogene* oziroma pripadnike narodnih manjšin, med katerimi je bila tudi slovenska. Po sicer nelegalni priključitvi Ljubljanske pokrajine k Italiji maja 1941 bi med alogene pogojno lahko šteli tudi tamkajšnje neitalijanske prebivalce – ti so bili na koncu deležni vzporedne internacije, čeprav bi jim morali po zakonu priznati vsaj status »sovražnih tujcev«.

Četrto poglavje skozi prizmo razpoložljive dokumentacije in izbranih pričevanj rekonstruira in kontekstualizira življenje v taboriščih, konceptualno pa je zopet razdeljeno na pravno osnovane in vzporedne internacije; v t. i. taboriščih za Slované so bili življenjski pogoji bistveno slabši od tistih za internirance na podlagi pravno osnovanih internacij. Posebna pozornost je posvečena poskusom pomoči internirancem, ki je prikazana skozi delovanje Rdečega križa in RKC. Oblikam samopomoči med interniranci samimi, solidarnostnemu odrekanju poslanih paketov v skupen fond, Capogreco ni posvečal pozornosti.

Sledi stostranski seznam taborišč s krajšimi opisi delovanja in namembnosti, opremljen s podatki o uradnih zabeležkah o številu internirancev in relevantnimi arhivskimi viri. Iz tega dela knjige je razvidno, kako je internacijski sistem pogosto deloval improvizirano in posledično neučinkovito, predvsem na škodo internirancev. Posebnost tega dela knjige je v prikazovanju detajlov, spričo katerih je razvidno, da so se zaradi raznolikih internih pogojev (vodstvo, lokacija, število internirancev ipd.) taborišča med seboj precej razlikovala; posebno kritične so bile razmere v sicer največjem taborišču Kampor na otoku Rabu, ki je bilo neposredno podrejeno II. armadi italijanske vojske. Izjemno visoka umrljivost rabskih internirancev – ki se je nadaljevala

po premestitvi internirancev v druga taborišča in tudi po vrnitvi domov – je rabsko taborišče umestila kot »najhujše med vsemi italijanskimi taborišči med drugo svetovno vojno«. Po številu internirancev – ocene se gibljejo okoli 15.000 ljudi vseh starosti in obeh spolov, med njimi pa so prevladovali Slovenci – je bilo rabsko taborišče hkrati eno od največjih taborišč po številu Slovencev v času druge svetovne vojne.

Capogreco se je raziskave o Ducejevih taboriščih skušal lotiti celostno, s pomočjo bogatih in raznovrstnih arhivskih dokumentov, obsežne strokovne literature, materialnih dokazov in ilustrativne moči pričevanj. Gradivo, s pomočjo katerega je avtor črpal snov za pojasnitev ne le stanja v taboriščih, ampak predvsem konteksta organizacije in delovanja taborišč v vojnem času, je po obsegu neenakomerno, različno dostopno in precej razdrobljeno. Prav mapiranje, kategorizacija in analiza več kot 60 taborišč različnih tipov in namembnosti lahko štejemo kot izjemen dosežek knjige. Monografija ima namreč ambicijo celostnega orisa fašističnega taboriščniškega sistema med drugo svetovno vojno, ki je bil doslej predstavljen predvsem v parcialnih raziskavah in osvetlitvah zgolj določenih internacijskih lokacij. To delo je bilo zahtevno in v več primerih filigransko, saj za določene taboriščniške lokacije avtor ni našel nobenega arhivskega gradiva; nekaj pozabljenih lokacij je razkril s pomočjo pričevanj preživelih internirancev.

Na ta način je Capogreco skušal zapolniti spominske luknje o tovrstni genocidni plati fašističnega obdobja med drugo svetovno vojno, na katere so v zadnjih desetletjih opozarjali, kot je razvidno iz navedene bibliografije, presenetljivo številčni – čeravno za laično italijansko publiko očitno ne dovolj prodorni – italijanski zgodovinarji. Siva lisa zgodovinske obravnave taborišč je bila, kot v Uvodu svoje knjige ugotavlja avtor, pogojena s tem, da je bila večina pozornosti usmerjena »na politično in vojaško zgodovino odpornišva«, kar je manj prijetnejšim temam puščalo razmeroma malo prostora. Tudi izpostavljanje bolj notoričnih vidikov nacističnih zločinov v italijanski javnosti je po mnenju avtorja služilo kot »alibi za to, da so se pozabili lastni«. Od leta 1973, ko je bil zaradi objave svoje raziskave z naslovom *I genocidio cirenaico e la storiografia coloniale* izpostavljen žalitvam in obtožen »protiitalijanskega sektaškega predsodka« Giorgio Rochat, pa do škandala iz februarja 2012, ko so predavanje videmske zgodovinarke Alessandre Kersevan na univerzi v Veroni skušali onemogočiti tudi z rektorske instance, precej velika stopnja nelagodja določenih italijanskih krogov v zvezi s to temo ni upadla. To velja tudi za nekatere prezentacije v množičnih medijih, ki zločine italijanskih fašističnih oblasti pripisujejo kar nacistom oziroma »slovanskim Titoistom«. Capogrecova knjiga, ki je zaradi nizke cene in berljivega sloga postala dostopna širšemu krogu italijanskih bralcev, je gotovo korak k preseganju takšnih zavajanj.

V spominu italijanskega in širšega mednarodnega prostora se je italijanski fašistični režim vsidral kot razmeroma blaga različica totalitarnih režimov; zlasti pri asociacijah na totalitarni internacijski sistem, kamor se denimo med prvimi uvrstijo Hitlerjeva koncentracijska taborišča ali Stalinovi gulagi, so Mussolinijeva taborišča navadno izostala. V strokovni javnosti velik del odgovornosti za to po Capogrecovem mnenju nosita avtorja visokoreferenčnih del Hannah Arendt (*Izvori totalitarizma*) in Andrzej J. Kamiński (*Konzentrationslager 1896 bis heute. Eine Analyse*), ki sta v svojih obravnavah fašistični sistem taborišč predstavila le obrobno oziroma sploh ne. Splošna prepoznavnost nacističnih taborišč in gulagov se je širila z bogato filmsko in knjižno produkcijo, medtem ko o fašističnih taboriščih ne pomnim niti enega mednarodno prepoznavnega filma s kritično ostjo proti fašizmu – z izjemo odmevnega, a hkrati tudi bizarnega, težko gledljivega in širši javnosti tudi težje razumljivega Passolinijevega filma *120 dni Sodome*, postavljenega v obdobje t. i. Salojske republike. Poleg tega v kontekstu diplomatskih smernic in iskanja svetovnega političnega ravnotežja fašistični režim ni bil izpostavljen nobenim mednarodnim obtožnicam, čeprav je bila OZN predložena obsežna dokumentacija o vojnih zločinih fašističnih oblasti – tudi o deportacijah in internacijah civilnega prebivalstva.

Kljub angažmaju slovenskih zgodovinarjev tragična epizoda medvojnih fašističnih internacij danes predstavlja razmeroma majhno v(r)ednost v kolektivnem spominu Slovencev, četudi je bilo samo iz Ljubljanske pokrajine v internacijo odpeljanih skoraj 30.000 civilistov, ki so na Rabu, v Gonarsu, Monigu, Padovi, Reniciju, Viscu in drugih, manj znanih taboriščih životarili v nečloveških razmerah. Še manj so ovrednotene internacije primorskih Slovencev, ki so bili izpostavljeni ostrini fašističnega režima v celotnem obdobju med obema vojnama in tudi med vojno. Bogata pričevajska in literarna zapuščina, ki je začela nastajati neposredno po taboriščniški izkušnji in nastaja še danes, zaenkrat še ni bila deležna sistematičnega historiografskega ovrednotenja, čeprav razkriva številne perspektive, ki jih arhivski viri ne zmorejo. Iz pogleda od spodaj je možno ne nazadnje razbrati tudi to, da so bile internacije tesno povezane z NOB in da so na kapilarni ravni interniranci aktivno načenjali moči fašistične alianse. Prav zaradi neizčrpanosti teme v slovenskem zgodovinopisju pomeni Capogrecova knjiga, ki postavlja slovensko taboriščniško izkušnjo v celosten okvir fašističnih internacij, pomembno dopolnilo za razumevanje okoliščin slovenskega prebivalstva v fašističnem internacijskem mehanizmu in pod okupacijo nasploh.

Tanja Oblak Črnič

**Tjaša Žakelj: Sodobna partnerstva.
Spoznavanje po spletu**

Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede, 2012, 256 strani

Monografija doktorice sociologije Tjaše Žakelj z naslovom *Sodobna partnerstva: spoznavanje po spletu* obravnava družbeni fenomen, ki se na področju intimnega življenja v današnji digitalni kulturi ne kaže več kot čudaška izjema, temveč postaja z vse večjo razširjenostjo digitalnih omrežij in njihovo popularnostjo tako rekoč kulturni mainstream. Če je partnerstvo, ki se začne s klikom na spletne portale za spoznavanje sorodnih duš in morebitnih življenjskih partnerjev, še pred desetletjem delovalo kot izbira, primerna in namenjena peščici predvsem ali izključno računalniško veščih in socialno manj spretnih posameznikov, so dandanes tovrstne oblike iskanja partnerjev množično razširjene in populacijsko gledano bistveno manj omejene: po njih posegajo starostno, izobrazbeno in statusno zelo raznovrstne skupine posameznikov in posameznic.

Cilj omenjene študije je razgrniti sociološke vidike tega pojava v kontekstu sodobnih partnerstev, ki jih avtorica v prvem poglavju monografije teoretsko umesti v širše področje proučevanja intimnosti, kjer konceptualno natančneje razloži poznomoderne spremembe in ključne značilnosti sodobnih partnerstev, v katere posledično smiselno vpelje tudi konceptualne specifične partnerstev na spletu. Razširjenost spletnega spoznavanja je pogojena z naglo širitvijo portalov, namenjenih iskanju partnerjev na spletu, ki si v iskanju množične odzivnosti med seboj konkurirajo in na ta način skupaj z njihovimi člani in članicami sovzpostavljajo nov prostor »zmenkarij«, oziroma, kot ugotavlja avtorica, ustvarjajo nov »sodoben maritalni trg«. Vse večja privlačnost in delna neizogibnost spletnega spoznavanja je pogojena tudi s številnimi strukturnimi značilnostmi sodobnih družb, kar avtorica nazorno povzame kot »družbene spremembe, ki vplivajo na manjše možnosti za klasične načine spoznavanja v živo« (2012, 228): vse bolj mobilni življenjski slog zmanjšuje sorodstvena in prijateljska omrežja; sekularizacija zmanjšuje stik s klasičnimi institucijami, ki so označevale varen prostor za srečevanje podobno mislečih; družbo zaznamujejo poznejši prehodi v partnersko ali družinsko življenje; zahtevno urbano življenje z normo po učinkoviti izrabi časa zahteva nove prakse tudi na področju intime; in končno, značilnost sodobnih življenjskih potekov in razširjenih razvez, kjer pa prihaja

do vnovičnih vzpostavljanj partnerskih zvez. Vse te transformacije pomembno spodbujajo dopolnjevanje klasičnih načinov iskanja partnerjev z novodobnimi, tehnološko vodenimi praksami, kar spletno spoznavanje tudi je.

Po prvem, teoretsko zgoščenem poglavju se avtorica v krajšem razdelku posveti dosedanjemu raziskovanju spoznavanja na spletu, in sicer tako v primerljivih študijah iz tujine kot tudi znotraj slovenskega prostora. Za slednje ugotavlja, da so sicer raznovrstne in že dalj časa prisotne, a v večini ne temeljijo na sistematično zbranih empiričnih podatkih (2012: 62). S tem primanjkljajem avtorica tudi upravičeno utemeljuje lastni raziskovalni fokus, katerega izsledke nazorno in sistematično prikaže v najboljšežnejšem, tretjem poglavju monografije. V tem kontekstu avtorica splet razume kot »novo etiko spoznavanja partnerjev«, ki ponuja mnogotero možnosti bodisi za naključno ali pa namerno spoznavanje partnerjev po spletu in je v primerjavi s klasičnimi oblikami iskanja partnerjev zaznamovana s svojimi specifičnimi lastnostmi: graditev odnosa temelji na večji anonimnosti vpletenih, hitreje razkriti intimnosti, pogostejši prisotnosti neresnic, spodbujeni imaginaciji o drugem, zmanjšanem pomenu fizičnega videza, a večjem pomenu osebnih lastnosti, krajevni bližini partnerja in spretnosti v pisnem izražanju, večji racionalnosti izbire in časovni fleksibilnosti, zmanjšani emotivnosti izbire in manjši ranljivosti ob zavrnitvi, spodbujeni samorefleksiji ter še vedno prisotni določeni stopnji stigmatiziranosti spletnega spoznavanja. Naštete značilnosti predstavljajo sintetiziran rezultat obširne kvalitativne študije, ki temelji na poglobljenih intervjujih, zbranih od julija 2008 do januarja 2009 na priložnostnem vzorcu 66 moških in žensk z neposrednimi izkušnjami s spoznavanjem na spletu. Razdelek je zaradi nazorne izbire bogatega empiričnega materiala v obliki konkretnih odgovorov in izjav sodelujočih slikovit tako za strokovno kot tudi laično, a zainteresirano bralno publiko. Zadnji deli monografije so namenjeni predvsem poglobljeni refleksiji značilnosti spoznavanja na spletu in sintezi pridobljenih ugotovitev. Med njimi je raziskovalno gledano zagotovo zelo pomenljiva paleta »paradoksov in kontradikcij internet datinga«, ki kažejo na heterogenost obravnavanega fenomena na ravni praks, na raznovrstnost na ravni pomenov in vrednot ter na kompleksnost na ravni normativne strukture obravnavanega fenomena.

Monografija v celoti predstavlja sistematično obdelano študijo izbranega pojava tako vsebinsko kot tudi metodološko, saj so vsaj v slovenskem prostoru kvalitativni vidiki raziskovanja digitalne kulture, kamor spletna spoznavanja nedvomno sodijo, v primerjavi s pogostejšimi kvantitativno zbranimi podatki izrazito manj prisotni. Poglobljene interpretacije kažejo na avtoričino spretno kombiniranje teoretskega sociološkega diskurza s pretežno socialnopsihološkimi izhodišči za razumevanje spletnega komuniciranja in spletnih interakcij. Kljub uvodnim terminološkim pojasnilom pri sočasni uporabi določenih angleških sopomenk in ponujenih

slovenskih različic, kot so recimo internet dating, online komunikacija in face-to-face komunikacija, se določena terminološka nedoslednost vendarle kaže pri netočnem razumevanju razmerja med tehnologijo interneta in spleta (2012: 10–11), ki se posledično odraža tudi na vsebinski ravni, denimo v govoru o »spletnih straneh za spoznavanje« namesto o spletnih portalih ali spletnih mestih za spoznavanje, in se nadaljuje povsod tam, kjer se tehnološko posredovani fenomeni postavljajo v primerjalni kontekst s »tradicionalnimi« oblikami njihovih različic: online komunikacija vs. face-to-face komunikacija; internet dating vs. spoznavanje v živo itd. Ta rahli terminološki zdrs bi bil preprosto rešljiv z vpogledom v obširno slovensko literaturo s področja novih medijev in internetnih študij, četudi sega izven sociologije na področje družboslovne informatike in/ali komunikologije oziroma medijskih študij.

Odlika študije je po drugi strani v tem, da ne temelji na tehodeterministični osnovi, kjer bi bil fenomen spletnih spoznavanj neizogibna posledica tehnološkega razvoja, kar se ne nazadnje kaže tudi v samih poudarkih empirične študije. Ta namreč bolj kot o tehničnih veščinah, pogostosti rabe interneta in načinu dostopa do tehnologij ter njihovih kvantitativnih praksah pozornost smiselno usmeri v same družbeno-kulturne okoliščine razumevanja intimnega življenja, posameznikovih želja in potreb ter pričakovanj v odnosu do partnerstva ter tudi poglobljenega poznavanja preteklih izkušenj v vzorec zbranih sogovorcev. Kljub temu pa je študiji mogoče očitati delno pomanjkljivo poznavanje arhitekture tehnoloških fenomenov, ki na ravni strukture, natančneje, sistema registracije, opisa in konkretnih komunikacijskih praks, temeljito ožijo posameznikove izbire in konkretna komunikacijska delovanja. To se zdi še najbolj očitno pri razumevanju profilov oseb, ki se odločijo za vstop na spletne portale za spoznavanje in iskanje partnerjev, ter pri razlagi njihovih posledic. Avtorica namreč izhaja iz teze, da forma in vsebina profilov odražata družbeno normativnost (2012: 208), kar deloma zagotovo drži, a se obenem ne vpraša, ali pri tem morda bolj nastopajo kot samostojni gradniki nove normativnosti, ne pa le kot »znanilci« obstoječih želja in meril. Samopredstavitve, pravi, »izražajo družbene norme in ideologije o številnih vidikih vsakdanjega življenja« (2012: 220), kar je v luči teorij o individualiziranem sebstvu lahko razumljivo, ni pa zadostno pojasnjeno tudi s širšega družbenega oziroma kulturnega vidika. Vprašanje starosti, izobrazbe, kraja bivanja, barve las in oči, izbira hobijev in prostočasnih aktivnosti niso nujno norme, ki bi jih zasledovala sodobna poznomoderna kultura, temveč predstavljajo prej vrnitev pomena starih, klasično ukoreninjenih sociodemografskih lastnosti, ki o posamezniku bolj malo ali skoraj ničesar ne povedo. Spletni portali na ta način spodbujajo lažno samorefleksivnost in, nasprotno, v ospredje postavljajo merila, za katera bi lahko trdili, da so že presežena in v iskanju partnerjev manj pomembna ali celo nepomembna. Posledično nastopajo

profili ne toliko kot »odraz« družbenih norm, pač pa kot postavljalci oziroma nosilci starih norm, kar je bistvena razlika. Ujetost v standardizirano oblikovanje profila o sebi ne nazadnje lepo izrazijo tudi intervjuvanci sami (2012: 112–113), kar pa avtorica pojasnjuje kot odraz stereotipnih podob današnjih življenjskih stilov moških in žensk, ne pa tudi kot sodobne poligone za konstrukcijo novih stereotipov v stari preobleki, če si izposodimo avtoričino metaforo.

V tem kontekstu postanejo spletni fenomeni še posebej relevantni za družboslovno raziskovanje, ki lahko edino razgrne njihove družbene izvore in jih z umeščanjem v kulturne kontekste izloči iz običajno populistične razlage o tehnološki nuji in ideologiji, »tako pač je«. Načini, kako se dandanes oblikujejo in izbirajo intimni sopotniki, so delno sorodni načinom, ki jih družba pozna že iz preteklosti, a vendar so številne specifikke, prikazane v pričujoči študiji, tudi takšne, da kažejo na njihovo novost in unikatnost. Naloga in odgovornost družboslovcev pa je, da jih, podobno kot je naredila Tjaša Žakelj, celovito spoznajo, poglobljeno analizirajo in sistematično razložijo.

Mojca Puncer

Tomaž Krpič: *Telo, umetnost in družba*

Ljubljana: Založba FDV, 2011, 160 strani

Knjiga sociologa Tomaža Krpiča obravnava vlogo telesa na štirih različnih umetniških področjih: v slikarstvu, body artu, postdramskem gledališču in filmu. V prvem delu, ki ga tvorijo štiri poglavja, se avtorjev analitični interes osredotoča na vlogo telesa v umetnosti, medtem ko v drugem delu s tremi poglavji v ospredje postavlja analizo razmerja med umetnostjo in družbo. Uvodna razprava osvetljuje pomen, ki ga ima človeška roka v opusu slikarja Iveta Šubica, in sicer s pomočjo vpeljave tipologije ter razmisleka o tesni zvezi roke s slikarskim mišljenjem. Drugo poglavje razgrinja položaj umetnikovega lastnega telesa na področju body arta ob podpori konceptov fenomenološke sociologije, še zlasti tipologije estetskega razmerja med primarnim in sekundarnim kulturnim predmetom, tj. med človeškim telesom in materialnim estetskim predmetom – na primeru »body art performansov« avtor demonstrira vdor slednjega v prvega (performansi Iveta Tabarja in Rona Atheyja); nadalje v tem kontekstu obravnava primer performansa imitacije modne revije (festival Break 21, *Dead or Alive*, Galerija Kapelica, 2002). V tretjem poglavju je osrednji predmet analize bolečina na primerih medicinskega body arta (Tabar), s poudarkom na odnosu med performerjem in gledalcem, pri čemer avtor izhaja iz modificiranega koncepta telesnih tehnik Marcela Maussa. Krpičev lastni prispevek je aplikacija koncepta avtorefleksivnih telesnih tehnik na področje umetnosti body arta, ki ga razume kot »družbeni, kulturni, politični in umetniški fenomen, kjer body art performer ustvari dogodek na površini svojega lastnega telesa z uporabo različnih avtorefleksivnih marginalnih telesnih tehnik, in sicer z namenom povzročitve neprijetnih čustev in občutij v telesih gledalca« (2011, 11). Prvi del knjige Tomaž Krpič sklene z razpravo o razmerju med performerjem in gledalcem na primeru 7-letne postdramske gledališke raziskave na temo sedmih smrtnih grehov, ki jo je pod vodstvom režiserja Bojana Jablanovca izvedla skupina Via Negativa (2002–2008). S pomočjo koncepta lastnega telesa »telo–dom« poudari pomen gledalčevega – ne le igralčevega – performativnega telesa kot konstitutivnega elementa njegove emancipacije v postdramskem gledališču. Misel o emancipaciji gledalca avtor prevzema iz konteksta estetsko-politične misli francoskega filozofa Jacquesa Rancièreja, vendar je ne razdela podrobneje, tako da ostaja njen potencial le implicitno razviden. Podobno velja za koncepte estetskega in političnega, ki so na tako strateških mestih razprave, kot so naslovi posameznih poglavij oziroma podpoglavij, predpostavljeni kot ključni.

V drugem delu knjige, ki zajema tri poglavja, Tomaž Krpič pogloblja uvide v fenomen medicinskega body arta na primeru del slovenskega bodiartističnega performerja Iveta Tabarja (*Evropa I-IV*). Pri konceptualizaciji telesa–doma in njegove politike je avtorjev fokus nekoliko pomanjkljiv v točki prepoznavanja ključnega premika, ki se pri Tabarju zgodi v odnosu do bolečine kot ontološkim pogojem bodiartistične prakse, namreč, da se bolečini odreka in da v zameno ponudi telo kot sredstvo političnega sporočila (Lukan).

Zadnji poglavji knjige prinašata poglede na družbenokritični slovenski film (*Predmestje* Vinka Möderndorferja, *Radio.doc* Mirana Zupaniča, *Delo osvobaja* Damjana Kozoleta). Medtem ko se predzadnje poglavje osredotoča na kritiko kultur strahu v luči kognitivne sociologije (kritika t. i. toge strategije kognitivnega mišljenja na primerih homofobije, ksenofobije ipd.), zadnje vnovič pretresa Habermasov koncept javne sfere, pri čemer razgrne novejšo opredelitve kulturne javne sfere. Čeprav je glavni motiv umestitev slovenskega filma v koncept javne sfere, je to poglavje lahko spodbuda za nadaljnje razprave o umetnosti v razmerju do kulturne javne sfere na Slovenskem (v tesni zvezi s tem so teme javnega prostora, nove javne umetnosti, umetnosti v socialnem prostoru, politike prostora itn.).

Knjiga prinaša tehten poseg v razpravo o vlogi telesa v umetnosti, pri čemer so ves čas v ospredju sociološki vidiki. Avtor naslavlja nekatere interdisciplinarne potenciale, pri čemer se sklicuje na posamezne reference z ožjega področja umetnostne teorije, zlasti teatologije – (H. T. Lehnmann, E. Fischer-Lichte, B. Lukan), umetnostne zgodovine (A. Jones) in filozofije oziroma filozofske estetike (M. Merleau-Ponty, J. Ranciére), vendar izbranih konceptov ne eksplicira do te mere, da bi prispevali k razpravi kot aktivni teoretski operaterji, primerljivi z uporabljenimi koncepti iz (zlasti kognitivne in fenomenološke) sociologije. Tako lahko avtorjevo sklicevanje na slabo pokritost teoretskih obravnav telesa v slovenskem prostoru velja za ožje področje sociologije, ne pa tudi za druga omenjena področja (npr. M. Gržinić, B. Kunst, B. Lukan idr.). V mednarodnem kontekstu pa smo vsaj od devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja priča pravcati poplavi razprav o telesu na področjih humanistike in družboslovja ter vse glasnejšim spodbudam k interdisciplinarnim raziskovalnim pristopom.

Nemara bi bila produktivna večja terminološka preciznost pri analizi posameznih umetniških pojavov (npr. ločevanje med body artom in performansom, kot ga obravnavajo nekateri umetnostni teoretiki),¹ vendar ta ni bistvena za demonstracijo osrednje teze o vlogi človeškega telesa v umetnosti in družbi. Nadalje bi veljalo osvetliti uporabo pojma performativnosti – še zlasti na področju tiste umetnosti telesa, ki

1 Npr. pri Ameliji Jones (*Body art: uprizarjanje subjekta*, Maska/Koda, Ljubljana 2002) ter Mišku Šuvakoviću (*Postmoderna: 73 pojmov*, Nova knjiga/Alfa, Beograd 1995).

nastaja na presečiščih med vizualnimi in scenskimi umetnostmi, kamor se praviloma uvrščajo tudi obravnavane v telo usmerjene umetniške prakse.

Odlika knjige je jedrnat in razumljiv slog, ki v teoretsko razpravo spretno vpleta narative, okoli katerih so zasnovani obravnavani umetniški projekti, s čimer lahko učinkovito približa problematiko tudi tistim bralcem, ki z deli samimi niso posebej seznanjeni.

Priporočljivo branje za vse, ki se poglobljeno ukvarjajo s tistimi pojavi sodobne umetnosti in kulture, ki v središče postavljajo človeško telo, saj ponuja nekatere lucidne uvide ter spodbuja nadaljnji razmislek in interdisciplinarno raziskovanje.

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Damir Josipovič je socialni geograf in demograf. Diplomiral, magistriral in doktoriral je na Filozofski fakulteti, Oddelek za geografijo, Univerza v Ljubljani. Njegovi glavni raziskovalni interesi segajo od socialne in humane geografije do demografskih študij. Bolj specifično gre za interdisciplinarne in meddisciplinarne teme migracij, demografskega obnašanja, dejavnikov migracij, etničnosti, meja, trga dela, metodologije, podatkovnih analiz itd. Je avtor ali soavtor več kot tridesetih originalnih znanstvenih del in petih znanstvenih monografij. Zaposlen je kot višji znanstveni sodelavec na Inštitutu za narodnostna vprašanja.

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Dr. Maja Korać-Sanderson

Maja Korać-Sanderson je sociologinja, profesorica na School of Law and Social Sciences na Univerzi East London v Veliki Britaniji. Področja njenega raziskovanja so konfliktna območja, spol, migracija in integracija. Je avtorica več monografij: *Remaking Home: Reconstructing Life, Place and Identity in Rome and Amsterdam* (Berghahn Books, Oxford 2009), *Linking Arms: Women and war in post-Yugoslav States* (Life & Peace Institute, Uppsala 1998) in *Zatočenice pola: socialni identitet mladih seoskih žena između tradicionalne kulture i savremenih vrednosti* (Institut za sociološka istraživanja, Beograd 1991), ter sourednica monografij *Feminist under Fire: Exchanges across War Zones, Between the Lines* (Toronto 2003) in *Women in Conflict Zones, Special Issue* (Canadian Women's Studies, 2000, 19 (4), York University Publications).

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Dr. Jani Kozina

Jani Kozina je leta 2008 diplomiral na Oddelku za geografijo Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani, kjer je še istega leta nadaljeval s podiplomskim študijem. Leta 2013 je doktoriral z disertacijo *Življenjsko okolje prebivalcev v ustvarjalnih poklicih v Sloveniji*. Leta 2006 se je raziskovalno usposabljal na Inštitutu za antropološke in prostorske študije ZRC SAZU, med letoma 2007 in 2009 pa na Urbanističnem inštitutu Republike Slovenije. Od leta 2009 je zaposlen na Geografskem inštitutu Antona Melika ZRC SAZU. Njegove raziskovalne usmeritve so ustvarjalnost, geografija človeških virov, prometna geografija, prostorsko in regionalno načrtovanje ter geografski informacijski sistemi.

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Doc. dr. Miha Kozorog

Miha Kozorog je raziskovalec na Oddelku za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani. Področja njegovega raziskovanja so turizem, festivali, lokalna identiteta, antropologija kraja in prostora, geografska marginalnost, mladinske kulture, popularna kultura in glasba ter folkloristika. Je avtor monografije *Antropologija turistične destinacije v nastajanju: prostor, festivali in lokalna identiteta na Tolminskem* (2009).

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Doc. dr. Marko Krevs

Marko Krevs je visokošolski učitelj na Oddelku za geografijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani. Po izobrazbi je geograf in sociolog kulture. Pedagoško in raziskovalno deluje na področjih družbene, socialne in kulturne geografije, geografske metodologije, geoinformatike, geografskega modeliranja in scenarijev, prostorskega načrtovanja in e-izobraževanja.

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Doc. dr. Katja Mahnič

Katja Mahnič je docentka na Oddelku za umetnostno zgodovino Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani. Njena predavanja pokrivajo področja teorije in metodologije umetnostne zgodovine ter muzeologije. Raziskovalno se ukvarja s podobo kot zgodovinskim virom, materialno kulturo in problemi, vezanimi na preučevanje kulturne dediščine. Od leta 2008 je vključena v raziskovalni program *Predmet kot reprezentanca: okus, ugled, moč (raziskave materialne kulture na Slovenskem)*, ki poteka v sodelovanju Narodnega muzeja Slovenije in Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani.

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Prof. dr. Mirjana Morokvasic

Mirjana Morokvasic je sociologinja, zaslužna profesorica na Nacionalnem centru za znanstveno raziskovanje in na Univerzi Paris Ouest. Predavala je na številnih univerzah v Franciji in drugod. Njeno raziskovanje se osredotoča na migracije, identitetne procese, transnacionalizem in spol, kjer v ospredje postavlja primerjalni pristop. Zadnjo knjigo – *Paradoksi integracije, Migrantke v Evropi* (2013) – je uredila v sodelovanju s F. Anthias in M. Kontos.

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Dr. Zoë O'Reilly

Zoë O'Reilly je doktorirala leta 2012 na Oddelku za geografijo in medije na Univerzi v Maynoothu. Njeno raziskovalno delo, ki ga opravlja s pomočjo fotografije in participativnih vizualnih metodologij, se osredotoča na izkušnje prosilcev za azil na Irskem.

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Doc. dr. Mojca Pajnik

Mojca Pajnik je predavateljica na Fakulteti za družbene vede Univerze v Ljubljani in višja znanstvena sodelavka na Mirovnem inštitutu v Ljubljani. Med njenimi novjšimi deli sta knjigi *Prostitucija in trgovanje z ljudmi: perspektive spola, dela in migracij* (2008) ter *Precarious Migrant Labour across Europe* (ur. Pajnik, M., Campani, G., 2011). Trenutno vodi projekt *Digitalno državljanstvo* (ARRS, 2013–2016) in je partnerka pri evropskih projektih RAGE, *Hate Speech and Populist Othering in Europe through the Racism, Age, Gender Looking Glass*, EK, 2013–2015 in *E-eav, E-engagement against Violence*, EK, 2013–2015.

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Red. prof. dr. Svenka Savić

Svenka Savić je profesorica psiholingvistike na Filozofski fakulteti Univerze v Novem Sadu. Od leta 2010 je zaslužna profesorica. Objavila je 20 knjig, večinoma s področja jezika in študij spola. Njene raziskave se osredotočajo na jezik in marginalizirane skupine (otroke, migrante, ženske, starejše idr.) v smislu njihove družbene moči. Je ena od ustanoviteljic in koordinatorica Ženskih študij v Novem Sadu.

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Dr. John A. Schembri

John A. Schembri je diplomiral iz mediteranskih študij in zgodovine na Univerzi na Malti ter nato na Univerzi Durham (Velika Britanija) magistriral in doktoriral iz geografije na Bližnjem vzhodu in v Sredozemlju. Je vodja Oddelka za geografijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze na Malti in predava predvsem družbeno geografijo. Raziskuje gibanje prebivalstva, demografijo obzidanih mest in geografijo obalnih območij in obrežij ter zgodovinsko dediščino.

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Zora Žbontar

Zora Žbontar je diplomirala iz umetnostne zgodovine in sociologije kulture na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani, kjer na interdisciplinarnem doktorskem študijskem programu Humanistika in družboslovje nadaljuje študij umetnostne zgodovine. Piše prispevke s področja umetnosti in kulture, od leta 2013 je zaposlena v Narodnem muzeju Slovenije.

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Navodila za avtorje prispevkov

1. Splošna navodila za avtorje prispevkov

- članek naj praviloma ne obsega več kot eno avtorsko polo (30.000 znakov s presledki), o objavi daljših prispevkov odloča uredniški odbor; članek mora biti napisan v knjižnem jeziku in v skladu s pravili strokovnega pisanja
besedilo naj uvede **seznam ključnih besed**
citirani viri oz. literatura ob citatu v besedilu naj bodo navedeni v oklepaju (glej navodila spodaj)
opombe naj bodo sprotne, na dnu strani
- prispevki naj bodo oddani v elektronski in tiskani obliki, uporabljeni font naj bo *Times New Roman*, velikost 12, medvrstični razmik 1,5
- besedilo naj bo obojestransko poravnano; med posameznimi odstavki naj ne bo dodatnih praznih vrstic; prav tako naj v besedilu ne bo dvojnih presledkov in presledkov pred ločili (./;/)
- posameznih besed ali delov stavka ne podčrtujte, prav tako za poudarjanje ne uporabljajte velikih tiskanih črk
- v besedilo vključeni krajši citati naj bodo v običajni pisavi in v navednicah (obvezna je uporaba variante » oz. «; v primeru citata v citatu se uporabi oblika »' '«); daljši citati naj bodo v obliki posebnega, zamaknjenege odstavka; pri nobeni od oblik ne uporabljajte manjšega ali drugačnega tipa pisave
- v besedilu ne uporabljajte aktivnih hiperpovezav
- opombe pišite s pomočjo ustrezne funkcije v programu za urejanje besedila
- na koncu članka naj bosta **popolna seznama citiranih virov in literature**
- članku naj bo dodan **povzetek**, ki naj obsega približno 1500 znakov s presledki; povzetek naj bo praviloma v angleškem jeziku, dodana naj bosta tudi prevoda naslova in ključnih besed
- če članek vsebuje **slikovno gradivo**, naj bo to priloženo (fotokopije in CD) in opremljeno z ustreznimi podnapisi in morebitnimi sklici v besedilu; če avtor želi, da so slike v besedilu vstavljene na točno določeno mesto, naj besedilo odda z vstavljenimi slikami (kljub temu morajo biti članku priložene tudi posamezne slike v ustrezni resoluciji); vsaka slika mora biti obvezno opremljena tudi s podatkom o njenem viru; avtor prispevka mora za objavo vsake slike – razen če ni avtor slike sam – pridobiti tudi soglasje njenega avtorja oz. izdajatelja publikacije/medija, v katerem je bila slika prvotno objavljena, da se jo ponovno objavi
- članku naj bo priložena kratka **biografska informacija** o avtorju (največ 100 besed), ki naj vsebuje osnovne podatke o izobrazbi, poklicu, delovnem mestu ter področjih raziskovanja/delovanja avtorja; poleg tega mora biografska informacija nujno vsebovati tudi poštni in elektronski naslov

2. Navodila za citiranje

- **citirani viri oz. literatura** ob citatu v besedilu naj bodo navedeni v oklepaju:
Navedba citiranega dela v besedilu (prva in vse naslednje) naj bo omejena na najnujnejše podatke in je zapisana v tekstu znotraj polkrožnega oklepaja.
primera: (Simoniti, 1994, 49) oz. Simoniti (1994, 49)
(Iliada, X, 140–150) oz. Iliada (X, 140–150)
- **seznam citiranih virov** naj bo oblikovan v skladu z naslednjimi pravili:
 - neobjavljen vir** (neobjavljeno predavanje ipd.)
Priimek avtorja, začetnica imena, naslov dela, letnica, oznaka »neobj.«, stran.
primer: Krpač, B., *Zgodovina za mlade*, 2005, neobj., str. 23.
 - neobjavljeni starejši vir** (rokopis, kodeks)
Avtor (kadar je znan), ime vira, nahajališče, originalna oznaka vira, oznaka strani ali folia (pri foliu nujno označena stran recto oz. verso).
primer: *Psalterium*, NUK, Ljubljana, Ms 35, fol. 34v.
 - objavljen, vendar redek ali težko dostopen vir**
Avtor s polnim imenom (kadar je znan), naslov, urednik oz. izdajatelj v oklepaju, kraj in letnica izdaje, oznaka folia ali strani.
primer: Caius Iulius Solinus, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (izd. Mommsen, Th.), Berlin 1895, str. 17.
 - objavljen vir v splošno znani zbirki, ki nima enega samega urednika**
Avtor, naslov, naslov zbirke, ustreznna oznaka strani, vrstice ali stolpca (kot jo uporablja zbirka).
primer: Tertullianus, *De idololatria*, III, *Patrologia Latina* 1, stolpec 664D–665A.
 - večkrat objavljen, široko dostopen in znan vir**
Avtor (samo ime ali priimek), naslov dela, standardna navedba po originalni (uveljavljeni) razdelitvi.
primer: Homer, *Iliada*, X, 140–150.
- **seznam citirane literature** naj bo oblikovan v skladu z naslednjimi pravili:
 - samostojna monografska publikacija**
Priimek avtorja, začetnica imena, naslov dela v kurzivi, kraj in letnica izdaje, navedba strani.
primer: Nietzsche, F., *Onstran dobrega in zlega*, Ljubljana 1988, str. 33.
Kadar je avtorjev več, navedemo vodilnega (ali prvega) avtorja in dodamo zaznamek »in drugi«.
primer: Châtelet, A. in drugi, *Le monde gothique. Automne et Renouveau*, Pariz 1988, str. 50.

zbornik

Priimek avtorja, začetnica imena, naslov dela, predlog »v« in dvopičje, naslov zbornika v kurzivi navedba urednika v oklepaju, kraj in letnica izdaje, navedba strani.

primer: Simoniti, P., *Apes academiae*, v: *Academia operosorum. Zbornik prispevkov s kolokvija ob 300-letnici ustanovitve* (ur. Gantar, K.), Ljubljana 1994, str. 49.

razstavni katalog

Priimek avtorja, začetnica imena, naslov dela, predlog »v« in dvopičje, naslov razstavnega kataloga v kurzivi, navedba urednika v oklepaju, čas in kraj odprtja razstave, kraj in letnica izdaje, navedba strani.

primer: Lazar, I., *Srednjeveško steklo*, v: *Groffe Celjski* (ur. Fugger Germadnik, R.), Celje 1999, str. 81–85.

znanstvena periodika

Priimek avtorja, začetnica imena, naslov dela, naslov revije v kurzivi, številka in letnica izdaje, navedba strani.

primer: Cogliati Arano, L., *Fonti figurative del »Bestiario« di Leonardo*, *Arte Lombarda* 62, 1982, str. 151–160.¹

revije in časopisi (dnevnik, tednik, mesečnik)

Priimek avtorja, začetnica imena, naslov dela, naslov revije v kurzivi, številka, datum izida.

primer: Krivic, M., *Kako resneje do predsednika*, *Mladina*, 16. september 2002.

leksikografski članek ali geslo v enciklopediji

Priimek avtorja, začetnica imena, oznaka »pod geslom« in dvopičje, naslov gesla, naslov leksikona oz. enciklopedije v kurzivi, rimska številka zvezka, kraj in leto izdaje, navedba strani.

primer: Šumi, N., *pod geslom: ...*, *Enciklopedija Slovenije...*

- **elektronski viri** naj bodo navedeni skladno s tipom zapisa (elektronska knjiga, revija, primarni vir...) z dodanim polnim nazivom spletne strani in datumom
- **slikovno gradivo** naj bo opremljeno z naslednjimi podatki:

Ime in priimek avtorja umetniškega dela (kadar je znan), naslov dela, letnica, nahajališče.

primer: Slika 1: Albrecht Dürer, *Kristomorfni avtoportret*, 1500, Alte Pinakothek, München.

Poleg tega mora biti ob vsaki sliki naveden tudi njen vir oz. navedba avtorskih pravic.

¹ Način zapisovanja številke revije in letnice naj se prilagodi originalnemu zapisu v reviji (rimske ali arabske številke, uporaba /, oznake vol. ipd).

