Master thesis

A Study of the "New National Minorities" in Slovenia: Focusing on the Municipality of Koper

Directed by Professor Jeong, Moon-Soo

July 2016

Department of International Area & Cultural Studies,

The Graduate School of Korea Maritime and Ocean University

Gojkošek, Matjaž

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Approval Page

This thesis, which is an original work undertaken by Gojkošek Matjaž in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of International Area Studies, is in accordance with the regulations governing the preparation and presentation of dissertations at the Graduate School in the Korea Maritime and Ocean University, Republic of Korea.

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July 2016

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Used abbreviations

ACFC: Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities

CERD: Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination

ECRML: European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages

EU: European Union

ExYumco: Ex-Yugoslav Minorities Coordination

FCNM: Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities

ICERD: International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

MIPEX: The Migrant integration policy index

PSIP: research project "Perception of Slovene Integration Policy"

RS: Republic of Slovenia

SFRY: Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-1992)

Third-Country Nationals: Foreign national citizens that are not from other member states of EU

Union of Unions: Union of Unions of cultural associations of former Yugoslavia's constitutive nations and nationalities in Slovenia

Yugoslavia: Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-1992)

"New national minorities": Persons belonging to the Albanian, Bosniac, Croatian, Macedonian, Montenegrin and Serbian nations of the former Yugoslavia, living in Slovenia.

초록

슬로베니아에서의 새로운 민족 소수자 연구
- 코파를 중심으로 -

Gojkošek, Matjaž

한국해양대학교 대학원 국제지역문화학과
(지도교수 : 정문수)

근대 국민국가의 형성은 이른바 국민화 과정을 수반하였으며, 냉전의 붕괴와 더불어 진행된 국경의 조정과 변화는 이와 관련된 다양한 '국민국가론'의 담론을 낳았다. 국민국가를 역사적 산물로 보는 이런 시각에 의하면, 국민국가는 형성되기도 하지만 해체되기도 한다. 유고슬라비아는 아마도 이런 역사를 보여주는 대표적인 사례들 중 하나다.

유고슬라비아는 국민국가(세르브, 크로아티아, 슬로베니아 왕국, 유고슬라비아왕국, 유고슬라비아 연방, 1918-1991)의 형성 과정에서 출현한 전통적 소수민족(이탈리아인, 헝가리인, 집시)의 형성과 슬로베니아의 독립에 따른 슬로베니아 내 새로운 소수 민족(알바니아인, 보스니아인, 크로아티아인, 마케도니아인, 몬테니그로인, 세르비아인)의 형성을 보여주는 독특한 사회현상을 경험하고 있다.

그 중에서도 코파(Koper)는 신·구 소수 민족을 동시에 비교할 수 있는 연구필드다. 코파는 이스트리아 해안의 해항도시(seaport city, 사람, 물자, 사상, 정보의 교류 등을 해항도시의 시회적 특성 참조)인데, 인접국가들간의 국경선

변경이 잦았고 현재도 해양경계를 포함한 국경선 분쟁이 진행되고 있는 곳이다. 코파는 슬로베니아의 도시들(11개) 중에서 가장 많은 구 민족적 소수자가 거주하며, 동시에 신 민족적 소수자는 두 번째로 많은 도시이다. 공식어는 슬로베니아어 이외에 이탈리아어가 지정되어 있고, 다문화 가정의 비율은 30%를 넘는다. 말하자면 코파는 정치적 민족적 경계가 언어적 문화적 경계와 불일치한 곳으로, 문화의 접촉과 충돌, 갈등, 뒤섞임을 상징하는 문화 잡종성 연구의 주요 대상이다.

코파는 역사적 (구)소수 민족과 신 소수 민족의 대비가 극명한 곳으로 소수민족 보호정책과 권리운동의 간격을 보여준다. 전자는 국제적, 유럽적 차원의 소수민족 보호정책과 국가적 차원의 괴리가 없는 반면 후자는 그 괴리가 존재하기 때문이다(소수 민족의 서열화). 이 논문에서는 국제적, 유럽연합 차원에서의 소수 민족 보호정책과 관련된 규약과 슬로베니아 차원의 소수민족 보호정책과 관련된 규약과 제 문헌을 검토 비교하여 코파의 신 소수민족과 관련된 현안들을 도출하였다.

현안들은 ① 일상에서의 차별 여부 ② 종교 ③ 직장 및 취업 ④ 소수 언어사용 ⑤ 소수언어 교육 ⑥ 전통문화 보전 ⑦ 미디어 ⑧ 정치적 대변 등 여덟 가지이다. 이 현안에 대해 알바니아, 크로아티아, 세르비아, 몬테니그로, 세르비아, 보스니아 출신 민족 소수자와 슬로베니아인 등 7인에 대한 심층면담을 실시하고 결론을 도출하였다. ①-④항에 대해 신 민족소수자들은 차별이 거의 없다고 응답한 반면 ⑤-⑧항에 대해서는 차별이 부분적으로 존재한다고 응답하였다. 이 논문은 신 소수민족의 권리보호를 위해서는 정치적 대변이 가장 중요하며 그 근거를 제시하였다.

Ⅰ. Introduction

The last modification of Slovenian national borders, which occurred on June 25 1991, after Slovenia declared its independence from Yugoslavia, part of which was for more than 70 years (from 1918 to 1991), has left Slovenia with a "rich" collection of non-Slovene ethnic groups. Slovenian regulatory system for minority protection distinguish between traditional minorities (autochthonous, historical, classical, old) and new (contemporary) minority communities, with both of them having a multitude of subcategories. The main difference between the two categories is that, the traditional minorities remained on the Slovenian territory because of the historical developments, regardless if they were willing or not. Thus as a compensation for not having the opportunity to realize the right of self-determination, they are entitled to a set of special minority rights for the preservation of their identities. While

the members of new minority communities migrated on their own and by their own choice (Komac, 2014b: 187–188). Slovenian constitution recognizes three national communities. The highest protection of minority rights is reserved for the autochthonous Italian and Hungarian national minority communities (Article 64), with their rights being tied to the geographic areas where they traditionally reside. The Roma community also enjoys specific status and special rights (Article 65), however their level of minority protection is considerably lower than the one of Italian and Hungarian national minorities.

Among new minority communities, the "new national minorities" are by far most noticeable. With the term "new national minorities", we refer to persons belonging to the Albanian, Bosniac, Croatian, Macedonian, Montenegrin and Serbian nations of the former Yugoslavia. Which have immigrated to Slovenia during the whole period of Yugoslavia's existence, particularly intense since the mid–sixties of the previous century, mainly due to economic reasons (Komac, 2007a: 1). Before Slovenian independence, all of Slovenian inhabitants had the same rights, regardless of whether they are nationals of Slovenia or any other Yugoslav Republic, therefore, the migrants from other parts of Yugoslavia regarded themselves as people, who settled in another part of their homeland rather than immigrants. However, with Slovenia's

independence this was changed “overnight”, their status of constitutional nations has been replaced with the “status” of non-constitutionally recognized national communities and all of the sudden they found themselves living in a foreign country (Žitnik-Serafin, 2008: 86-87). Even though that “new national minorities” considerably outnumber the autochthonous minorities, they do not possess any special collective rights and are therefore put in underprivileged position, especially in comparison with the two autochthonous minorities.

The thesis focuses on the local environment of municipality of Koper. The decision to research about “new national minorities” in a local context of municipality of Koper, was predominantly driven by the two following reasons: the municipality of Koper have among all of the urban municipalities (Table 1(1)) the largest share of traditional autochthonous minorities (especially of Italian community), and second largest share of new minority groups (especially of “new national minorities”). The only urban municipality with largest share of “new national minorities” is municipality of Velenje, however there is practically no members of the two autochthonous communities living in Velenje. In addition, Koper is also bilingual with both Slovene and Italian as official languages, as well as it has the highest rate of ethnically heterogeneous families (30,8%). Therefore, among all urban

municipalities, it is in municipality of Koper where the dynamic of coexistence of the two – very differently treated – groups of national communities comes most to the fore. Furthermore, the municipality of Koper is also a crossroad of multiple cultures and the most heterogeneous among urban municipalities. This stems from several facts. Historically this area represented division between the territory of Romanic and Slavic dominance. Today however, the heterogeneity and openness of municipality of Koper is further increasing, to which greatly contributes further development of the Port of Koper (movement of goods, people, information etc.), tourism, and the predominant position at the top of Adriatic, all of which are interconnected. Especially during the summer, the city of Koper attracts great deal of tourism, partial role in that also plays the passenger terminal of Port of Koper. The arrival of larger cruise ships in the small port city of Koper may for the time double the number of population of the old city centre and thus has a dramatic impact on the city and its people. Local people of such cities are usually more adopted to the cultural characteristics of tourists and also more tolerant to diversity in general.

Irrespective of the fact that there is only slightly more than two million and five hundred thousand people living in Slovenia, it is divided into 212 municipalities, of which 11 have an urban status and are called urban

municipalities. The following tables 1(1), 1(2) and 2 are showing comparison of population by ethnic affiliation in all urban municipalities in Slovenia. For better transparency, the table 1(1) combines all of the nations of “new national minorities” and is divided into two parts. While the table 2 shows the ethnic affiliation of the individual ethnicities of “new national minorities”. The letter "z" in the following tables 1(1), 1(2) and 3, stands for data with three or fewer units, which is to ensure statistical confidentiality. In addition, in order to prevent the easy calculation of the statistically confidential data, it is sometimes also necessary to use the method of secondary masking of data.

Table 1(1): population by ethnic affiliation in Slovenia and urban municipalities (part 1). Census 2002. Distributed by Number and percent.

Number		Ethnically declared					
	TOTAL	Slovenes	Italians	Hungarians	Roma	"New national minorities"	Declared as others
SLOVENIA	**1964036**	**1631363**	**2258**	**6243**	**3246**	**119440**	**4432**
Ljubljana	265881	196152	107	227	218	32432	1251
Maribor	110668	89650	15	70	613	6486	350
Kranj	51225	40257	9	29	12	5920	131
Celje	48081	38221	z	29	z	3996	118
Koper	**47539**	**33826**	**712**	**31**	**4**	**5886**	**207**
Novo mesto	40925	33016	7	17	562	2286	80
Nova Gorica	35640	29657	56	11	z	1925	z
Velenje	33331	23517	z	z	34	5951	63
Ptuj	23242	20408	z	8	z	570	60
Murska Sobota	20080	17637	z	138	439	389	60
Slovenj Gradec	16779	15164	z	z	z	359	22
Percent		**Ethnically declared**					
	TOTAL	Slovenes	Italians	Hungarians	Roma	"New national minorities"	Declared as others
SLOVENIA	**100%**	**83,06%**	**0,11%**	**0,32%**	**0,17%**	**6,08%**	**0,23%**
Ljubljana	100%	73,77%	0,04%	0,09%	0,08%	12,20%	0,47%
Maribor	100%	81,01%	0,01%	0,06%	0,55%	5,86%	0,32%
Kranj	100%	78,59%	0,02%	0,06%	0,02%	11,56%	0,26%
Celje	100%	79,49%	z	0,06%	z	8,31%	0,25%
Koper	**100%**	**71,15%**	**1,50%**	**0,07%**	**0,01%**	**12,38%**	**0,44%**
Novo mesto	100%	80,67%	0,02%	0,04%	1,37%	5,59%	0,20%
Nova Gorica	100%	83,21%	0,16%	0,03%	z	5,40%	z
Velenje	100%	70,56%	z	z	0,10%	17,85%	0,19%
Ptuj	100%	87,81%	z	0,03%	z	2,45%	0,26%
Murska Sobota	100%	87,83%	z	0,69%	2,19%	1,94%	0,30%
Slovenj Gradec	100%	90,37%	z	z	z	2,14%	0,13%

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

Table 1(2): population by ethnic affiliation in Slovenia and urban municipalities (part 2). Census 2002. Distributed by Number and percent.

	TOTAL	Undeclared		Did not want to reply		Unknown	
SLOVENIA	1964036	22141	1,13%	48588	2,47%	126325	6,43%
Ljubljana	265881	6081	2,29%	8956	3,37%	20457	7,69%
Maribor	110668	1068	0,97%	3492	3,16%	8924	8,06%
Kranj	51225	624	1,22%	1554	3,03%	2689	5,25%
Celje	48081	664	1,38%	1362	2,83%	3686	7,67%
Koper	**47539**	**1680**	**3,53%**	**1499**	**3,15%**	**3694**	**7,77%**
Novo mesto	40925	458	1,12%	1189	2,91%	3310	8,09%
Nova Gorica	35640	407	1,14%	826	2,32%	2711	7,61%
Velenje	33331	709	2,13%	1125	3,38%	1915	5,75%
Ptuj	23242	96	0,41%	518	2,23%	1577	6,79%
Murska Sobota	20080	100	0,50%	332	1,65%	980	4,88%
Slovenj Gradec	16779	106	0,63%	267	1,59%	852	5,08%

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

The category, Undeclared: includes persons who declared as Yugoslavs, declared as regionally declared and/or undeclared others (Including those persons who have declared/marked to be ethnically undeclared).

Table 2: "new national minorities" by ethnic affiliation in Slovenia and urban municipalities. Census 2002. Distributed by Number and percent.

	Albanians	Bosniacs_ Muslims	Croats	Montenegrins	Macedonians	Serbs
SLOVENIA	0,31%	1,63%	1,81%	0,14%	0,20%	1,98%
Ljubljana	0,43%	3,42%	2,72%	0,34%	0,37%	4,93%
Maribor	0,50%	0,82%	2,29%	0,17%	0,23%	1,85%
Kranj	0,69%	2,38%	1,69%	0,61%	0,86%	5,34%
Celje	0,62%	1,31%	2,39%	0,15%	0,23%	3,60%
Koper	**0,47%**	**3,21%**	**4,61%**	**0,17%**	**0,36%**	**3,56%**
Novo mesto	0,25%	0,91%	2,20%	0,12%	0,14%	1,97%
Nova Gorica	0,54%	0,96%	0,88%	0,14%	0,34%	2,55%
Velenje	0,53%	7,08%	5,48%	0,09%	0,15%	4,52%
Ptuj	0,52%	0,16%	1,20%	0,03%	0,09%	0,44%
Murska Sobota	0,20%	z _ 0.20%	1,08%	0,06%	0,03%	0,37%
Slovenj Gradec	0,06%	0,61%	0,99%	z	0,05%	0,44%

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

After Slovenia gained its independence, members of other nationalities of the former Yugoslavia countries living in Slovenia started to socially self-organize through the establishment of cultural associations. Their primary goals were to preserve their traditions, mother tongue and cultural identity in a newly formed country, which consequently led to the establishment of

numerous cultural associations of Albanians, Bosniaks, Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins and Serbs living in Slovenia. After years of unsuccessful attempts of individual ethnic and cultural associations to achieve constitutional recognition as minorities, the associations of all nationalities of former Yugoslavia connected and in 2003 established a joint informal Coordinating Body (Ex-Yugoslav Minorities Coordination (ExYumco)), with objective of constitutional recognition. In order to achieve better communication with Slovene national and political authorities, the Presidency of the ExYumco in 2006 registered the Coordinating Body according to the Slovene law as an association named the Union of Unions of cultural associations of former Yugoslavia's constitutive nations and nationalities in Slovenia (Union of Unions). The biggest success of the Union of Unions in their hitherto endeavors is the adoption of the National Assembly Declaration on the Situation of Persons Belonging to Nations of the Former SFRY in the Republic of Slovenia, adopted on 1 February 2011. In the declaration, the ethnic communities of Albanians, Bosnians, Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins and Serbs are for the first time officially named and politically recognized as national communities (Dimitrievski, 2014: 15-18).

Even thought that the conditions are slowly improving, the fact that the Declaration on the Situation of Persons Belonging to Nations of the Former

SFRY did not initiated any concrete policy measures, attest that there is still not enough political will in Slovenia, and that – at least in the foreseeable future – it is not realistic to expect the inclusion of "new national minorities" in Slovenian constitution. Because of the absence of legislative support, the "new national minorities" are facing issues in many important spheres of social life, which hinders their integration into Slovene society. The key issues are mostly connected with: discrimination in everyday life, employment, use of language, education and preservation of mother tongue, media, activities for preservation of cultural peculiarities, and with the political representation and activities. Consequently, Slovenia is confronted with criticism about discrimination of "new national minorities", which occurs both on interpersonal and institutional level and affects all of the abovementioned spheres of social life. In the "fight" for recognition, the "new national minorities" are not alone. The warning about discrimination and support for the constitutional recognition is also coming from Slovenian academic circles and relevant institutes, such as Institute for Ethnic Studies and Peace Institute, as well as from relevant international and European instruments and human rights bodies (ICERD, FCNM, ECRML, ECRI etc.), which in their reports constantly urge Slovenia to improve the conditions for "new national minorities". There is also an obvious gap between the actual needs of immigrants and the Slovenian integration policy, which have led to strong

movement and establishment of regional NGOs that are trying to bridge this gap.

Due to the complexity of the research topic and because the thesis focus on the very specific and unique local environment, it was quickly clear that there is an obvious lack of existing data, with which it would be possible to get more realistic insight in the actual situation of ethnic dynamics of municipality of Koper. The abovementioned key issues are therefore furthermore studied and analyzed with the help of in-depth semi-structured interviews. Through the views, perceptions, experiences and individual stories of their respected members, we get more realistic insights in the live and conditions of "new national minorities" living in municipality of Koper. All of the participants are actively embedded into community networks of their national communities and are therefore familiar with the broader and more realistic picture. Acquired insights were interweaved with the findings of other researchers and scholars, majority of which has been done on the national level. Therefore the analyze of the conditions can be also seen in the light of comparison between municipality of Koper, which is probably the most culturally diverse among all of eleven urban municipalities in Slovenia, and the rest of Slovenia, which is in average considerably more ethnically homogeneous. The research is designed as a qualitative study, the findings

cannot be generalized and do not apply for all of the members of “new national minorities” living in Koper. Nevertheless, all of the participants are actively involved in their respected communities, strongly embedded in community network and are therefore familiar with the broader picture of their community.

Based on obtained findings with the analysis of existing literature and the field research, I present an assessment of the findings and personal opinion about the situation of “new national minorities” in municipality of Koper.

Ⅱ. Making of national minorities

1. Historical background

1.1 Making of old national minorities

On October 29, 1918, during a huge demonstration in Ljubljana attended by all of the Slovene leadership, Slovenes proclaimed national liberation from "a thousand years of slavery" to foreigners and the incorporation of the Slovenes into the new State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs (Prunk, 1994: 47). The formation of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs represented a millstone in Slovenian history. Slovenes for the first time governed themselves,

but only until the 1 December 1918 when the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was united with the Kingdom of Serbia, to form the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (In 1929 renamed to Kingdom of Yugoslavia) (Štih et al., 2008: 349). However, not all of the Slovenes were united within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, since the whole west Istrian area passed under the dominion of the Kingdom of Italy (Mihelič, 2007: 73). According to then secret Treaty of London in 1915, in the case of victory, Italy was to obtain territories of Trieste, Istria and much of the Dalmatian coast in return for entering the war on the Allied side. The border between Italy and Kingdom of Slovenes, Serbs and Croats was finally set in 1920 with Treaty of Rapallo, with which Italy gained Trieste along with all of Istria, whereas the majority of Dalmatian was allocated to Kingdom of Slovenes, Serbs and Croats (Blake et al., 1996: 20). The treaty left about half a million Slovenes and Croats under domain of Italy, while only a few hundred Italians were left within the territory of Kingdom of Slovenes, Serbs and Croats (Hehn, 2002: 45).

In order to understand the historical background that have led to the current specific minority situation in municipality of Koper, we have to address the historical development of the area from a wider perspective, especially from regional perspective of Istria (roughly marked with green on the following map: figure 1). City of Koper is the main urban centre of the

Slovenian Istria. The Istrian peninsula is situated in the northeastern part of the Adriatic Sea, and along with entire Slovenian coastal region, roughly covers the Croatian peninsula in the North Adriatic Sea and the Italian city of Trieste with its surroundings (Mihelj 2006: 364). The historic fate of Upper Adriatic has essentially been determined by the relationship between the ethnic and political boundary, which do not coincide and had been parallel or perpendicular to one another throughout history (Bufon, 2009: 458). The foundations for "modern" vertical boundary in this region were "officially" set in the 16th century with the international treaty in Worms between the Republic of Venice and the Hapsburg Empire. Since then and up until the First World War, the boundary had undergone only minor changes and still represents the basis for the contemporary border between Slovenia and Italy. While the upper part or Alpine segment of the boundary can be set among the oldest and most stable boundaries in Europe, its southern part or the Adriatic segment of the boundary can be characterized by instability (Bufon and Minghi, 2000: 119).

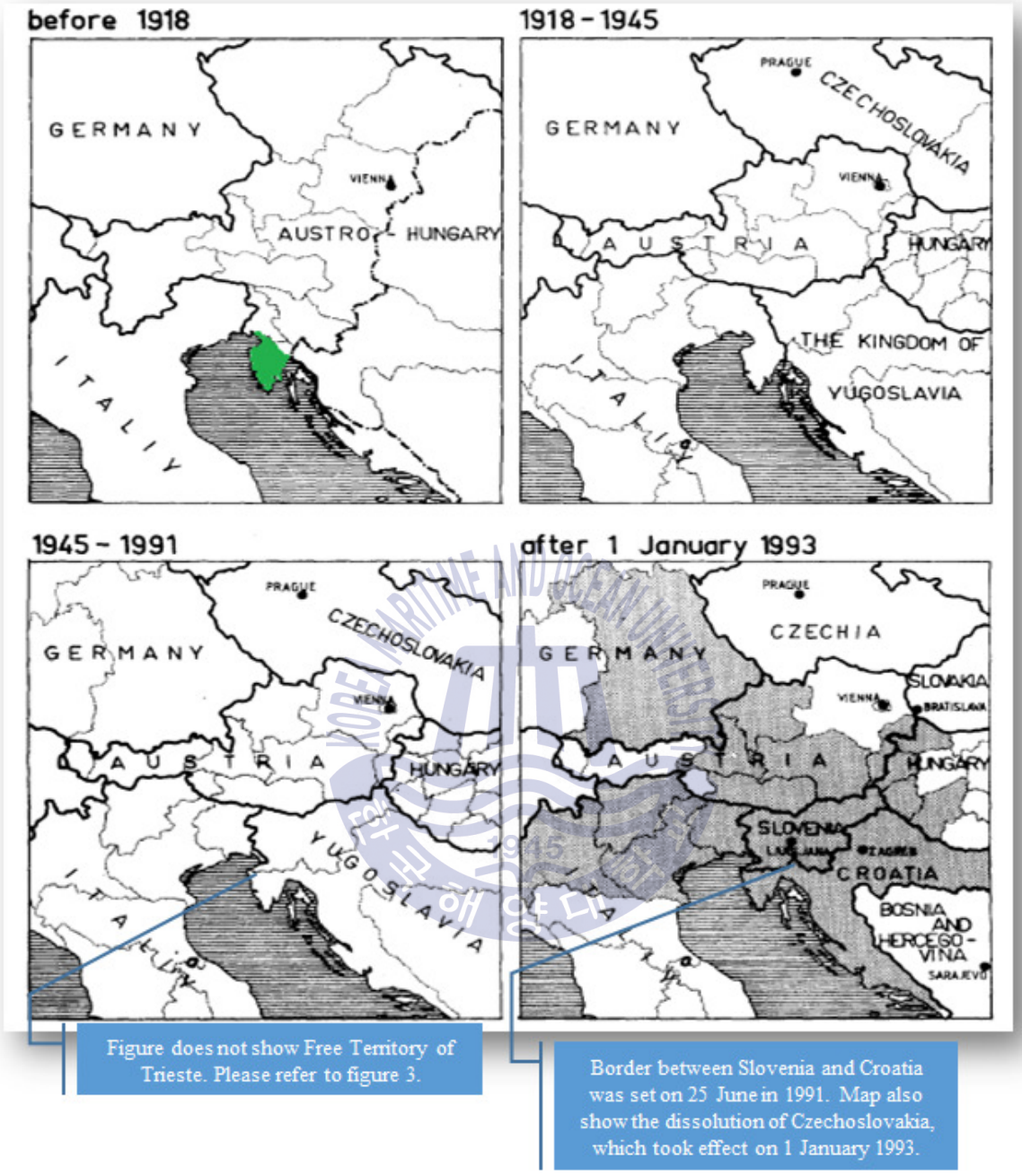

Figure 1: Changes in the state borders

Source: Klemenčič (1993: 208)

Approximate region of Istria, roughly marked by M. G. with green color on the map representing the period before 1918.

The historical vertical political division in Istria took shape between the 13th and the 15th centuries, when the Republic of Venice increased its power in the territory of Istria. However, this vertical, historical political division of Istria is not in a straight line, its shape is that of an inverted 'S ', whereas the historical ethnic border on the Romance population is much straighter. "Generally speaking the traditionally Italian ethnic area in Istria comprises a greater part of western Istria, and the ethnic border between the Romance and Slavic ethnic groups in this zone runs along a nearly straight line between Koper and Pula" (Bufon and Minghi, 2000: 120).

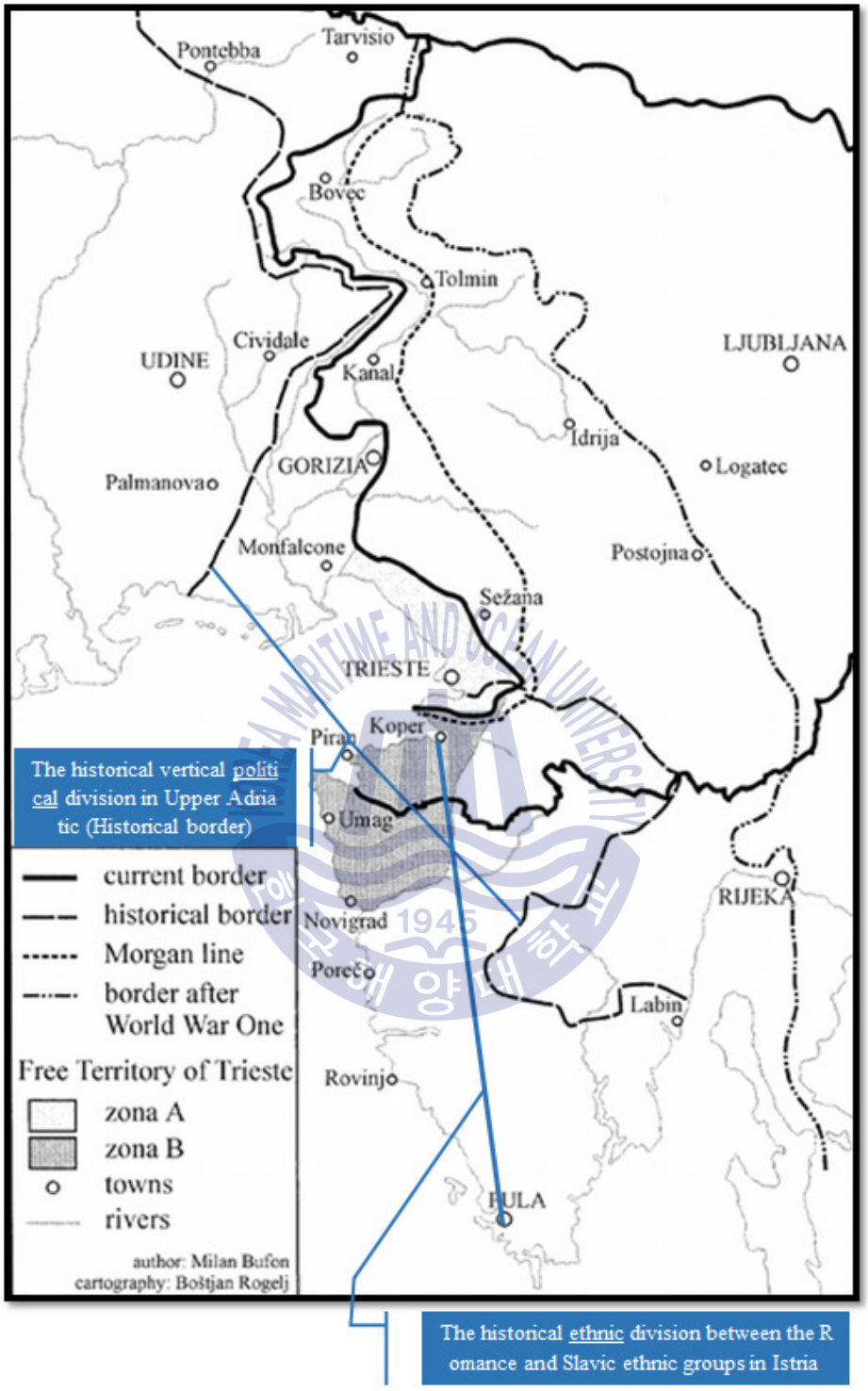

Figure 2: Political and ethnic border in Upper AdriaticSource: Bufon and Minghi (2000: 121)

The historical horizontal ethnic division between the Slovenian and the Croatian population in Istria took shape during the same period between the 12th and 15th centuries, however this division had not had until recently any political function. “The dense Slovenian population in the area at that time stopped at the Dragonja river and along the line north to Buzet and Rupa and it has essentially not changed since.” This is uncommon since, this ethnic boundary has never been politically sustained. However it should be stressed, that the characteristic of Istria is that neither Romanic–Slavic nor Slovenian–Croatian border have never represented a real “linear” linguistic and cultural boundary between the Istrian population, since both ethnic identity and the languages in Istria transited into one another and united into a common multicultural identity of Istria (Bufon and Minghi, 2000: 120–122).

Slovenian Istria entered Second World War as a part of Italy, which have with attack on Kingdom of Yugoslavia and appropriation of its territory denied hitherto border demarcation agreed upon in Rapallo (Mihelič, 2007: 83). In 1945, the Yugoslav Nation Army, led by Josip Broz Tito, liberated the Istria Peninsula and surrounding area. In order to avoid potential tensions with the Allied army, a demarcation line have been drawn between the two, or so called Morgan Line (Cseke, 2013: 2). The allied council of Foreign Ministers in 1946 approved establishment of Free Territory of Trieste that was following

year put under the administration of the UN Security Council Resolution regardless of disapproval of both Italy and Yugoslavia. The Free Territory of Trieste was later that year declared demilitarized and natural independent state and was divided by Morgan Line into two zones. Zone A was controlled by the Allied Forces, and Zone B by the Yugoslav National Army. On October 5, 1954 after subsequent negotiations that have led to the London Memorandum signed by Italia, Yugoslavia, USA and United Kingdom, divided the Free Territory of Trieste between Italy (Zone A) and Yugoslavia (Zone B). The territorial demarcation was similar to the provisional boundary, with Zone B being slightly enlarged (Blake et al., 1996: 21). The slight enlargement in Yugoslav favor occurred in order to better coincide with the ethnic boundary and to leave a slightly larger aquatorium to Slovenia and enable it to build a new port in Koper (Bufon, 2009: 459-460).

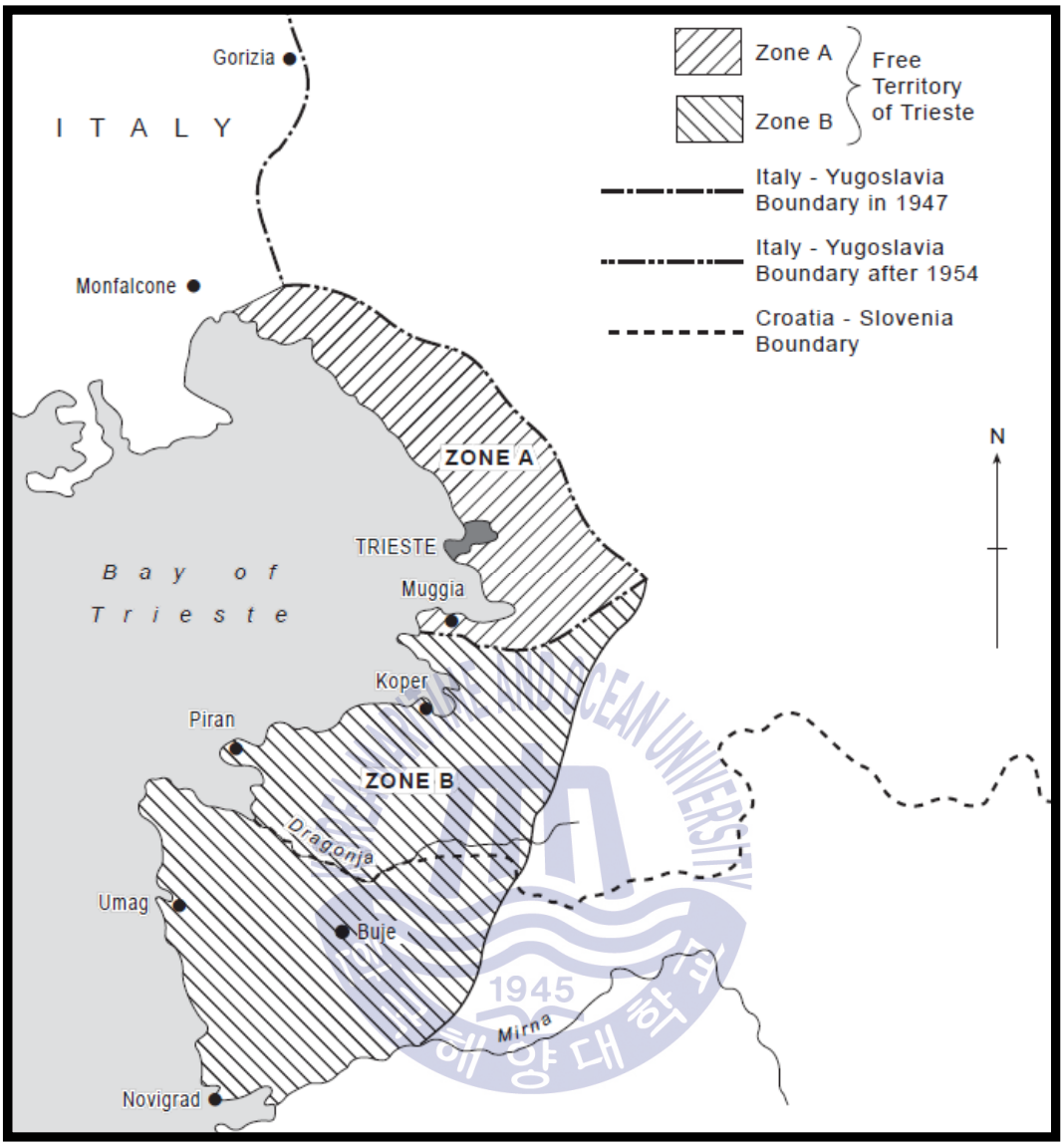

Figure 3: The Free territory of Trieste

Source: Blake et al. (1996: 22)

Demarcation eliminated the last remainder of the traditional vertical political division of the Istrian peninsula, and with that the division between the territory of Romanic and Slavic dominance. In the territory of present-day

Slovenia during the interwar period lived only about 25 thousand Italians, while between 80 and 100 thousand Slovenes lived and remained in the territory of present-day Italy (Bufon 2009: 459). Mihelič on the other hand, claims that the number was even higher and that 125 thousand of Slovenes remained in the territory of present-day Italy (Mihelič, 2011: 128). Some analysts point out that in return for the sacrifice of Slovenia, Slovenia gained access to the sea with Koper Littoral, however according to some scholars this was in fact an exchange. Traditional Slovenian coast was situated between Trieste and Monfalcone, as Slovenian fishermen and sailors acted only there, while it was the current Slovenian coastal area entirely in the hands of Italian fishermen and sailors (Bufon 2009: 459).

Since the Yugoslav and Italians that remained outside of the borders of their nation were deprived of the opportunity to realize the right of self-determination, they are entitled to a set of special rights for the preservation of their identities (Klopčič, 2003: 147). London Memorandum contained provisions for the benefit of the Italian minority in zone B and Yugoslav minority in the zone A. The special statute was designed reciprocally, outlining in detail the rights of both communities (Bufon, 2009: 460). Nevertheless, the Memorandum also set a deadline to the beginning of 1956, allowing the Italian inhabitants that have remained outside of the borders of

their nations to emigrated back to Italy, if they so desire (Sedmak, 2005: 92). Thus, triggering an extraordinary demographic movement, with thousands of Italian emigrating back to Italy, while at the same time thousands of Yugoslav inhabitants of Trieste and its surroundings emigrated to Australia, Argentina or to Yugoslavia. Studies reveal that from the area of Istria alone (Slovenian and Croatian Istria), emigrated around 100 thousand people, 65 thousand of them was placed in the province of Trieste, where Italian authorities build completely new villages, particularly in the eastern part of Trieste, which was previously dominated by the Slovenian population. In this manner, a good part of Italian or Italian-oriented population of Istria was relocated and concentrated in Trieste (Bufon, 2009: 460). Gosar (1993: 36) notes that between the 1953 and 1961 the number of Italian population in the Slovenian Istria dropped by 87.9%. Mass exodus of the indigenous Italian population in Slovenian coastal area, has been replaced first by immigrants from other areas of Slovenia and later also from other Yugoslav republics (Dolenc, 2007: 74). Gosar (1993: 42) explains that Slovenes did not only replaced the Italian population, but they, along with Croats, Bosniacs and Albanians tripled their own presence in Slovenian littoral area. This was in a big part stimulated by the Slovenian government, which with its policies supported the construction of industry in the area, and especially with the investment in development of Port of Koper and tourism in Portorož transformed the area into Slovenia's

window to the world. Sedmak (2011) observes that Slovenian Istria includes all of the three areas that are in line with the theory of spatial ethnic concentration/dispersion, characterized by a higher level of ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity. Since, Slovenian coastal region is a cultural contact area, narrowly clamped between Italy and Croatia. Parallel with the development of Port of Koper, the region became highly industrialized. As well as it is the second most developed area in Slovenia, with one of the highest employability rates in the country.

From the wider perspective, the Second World War has temporarily ended a period of great emigration of Slovenes from the present Slovenian territory, which was initially oriented to overseas countries and later in the countries of Western Europe. However, part of emigration has had a temporary character, since in the last decade before the Second World War considerable number of people that have left Slovenia for economic reasons, returned back. During the Second World War, Slovenia's territory have been confronted with direct and indirect forced migration from occupied areas. While the period of the end of the war and immediately after, have been in the context of migration so chaotic that probably we will never have accurate and scientifically verified data. Study of migration is also more difficult because the 1948 and 1953 Censuses of Yugoslavia took place only on a part of Slovenian territory,

excluding Zone B of Free Territory of Trieste (Dolenc, 2007: 73–74). This should be considered when interpreting the following table 3. Only because the Zone B was not considered in the 1953 Census, the table 3 shows that the number of Italians between 1953 and 1961 increased for more than three times, when in reality their numbers drastically decreased, as explained before. In addition, the number of temporarily absent residents is not deducted from the total population in the next table. The category, Muslims: includes persons who said they were Muslims in the sense of ethnic and not religious affiliation. In 2002 Census, Muslims were divided into two groups: Muslims and Bosniacs, while declared as Bosnians were in previous Censuses included among Undeclared in the item regionally declared (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia).

Table 3: population by ethnic affiliation in Slovenia, Census 1953, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2002. Distributed by Number and percent.

Slovenia	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002
Ethnic affiliation – TOTAL	1466425	1591523	1679051	1838381	1913355	1964036
Declared	1466214	1587585	1664093	1800680	1845022	1766982
Slovenes	1415448	1522248	1578963	1668623	1689657	1631363
Italians	854	3072	2987	2138	2959	2258
Albanians	169	282	1266	1933	3534	6186
Bosniacs	...	...	...	...	...	21542
Muslims	1617	465	3197	13339	26577	10467
Montenegrins	1356	1384	1950	3175	4339	2667
Croats	17978	31429	41556	53882	52876	35642
Macedonians	640	1009	1572	3227	4371	3972
Serbs	11225	13609	20209	41695	47401	38964
Undeclared	–	2784	12280	32400	25978	22141
Declared as Yugoslavs	–	2784	6616	25615	12075	527
Declared as Bosnians	...	...	...	...	...	8062
Regionally declared	–	–	2652	3932	5187	1467
Unknown	211	1154	2678	5301	42355	126325
Slovenia	1953	**1961**	**1971**	**1981**	**1991**	**2002**
Ethnic affiliation (%)	100	100	100	100	100	100
Declared	99,99	99,75	99,11	97,95	96,43	89,97
Slovenes	96,52	95,65	94,04	90,77	88,31	83,06
Italians	0,06	0,19	0,18	0,12	0,15	0,11
Albanians	0,01	0,02	0,08	0,11	0,18	0,31
Bosniacs	...	...	...	...	...	1,1
Muslims	0,11	0,03	0,19	0,73	1,39	0,53
Montenegrins	0,09	0,09	0,12	0,17	0,23	0,14
Croats	1,23	1,97	2,47	2,93	2,76	1,81
Macedonians	0,04	0,06	0,09	0,18	0,23	0,2
Serbs	0,77	0,86	1,2	2,27	2,48	1,98
Undeclared	–	0,17	0,73	1,76	1,36	1,13
Declared as Yugoslavs	–	0,18	0,39	1,39	0,63	0,03
Declared as Bosnians	...	...	...	...	...	0,41
Regionally declared	–	–	0,16	0,21	0,27	0,07
Unknown	0,01	0,07	0,16	0,29	2,21	6,43

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

1.2. Movement from the territories of former Yugoslavia to the Slovenian territory

Migration between Slovenia and the rest of Yugoslavia, have come to life during the two world wars, however it came up to full expression only in the period following the Second World War. Since then and up to Slovenia's independence, the immigration from other Yugoslav republics to Slovenia and emigration from Slovenia to other Yugoslav Republic was substantial (Komac, 2003: 15-16). Statistic data shows that between the year 1954 and 2000, 360 thousand people immigrated from other republics of the former Yugoslavia, and 200 thousand emigrated back (Dolenc, 2007: 96). This confirms that every migration stream have a counter flow. However, the reason for counter flow in this case is not that Slovenian population largely immigrated to other parts of Yugoslavia, but a counter flow was formed mainly by those immigrants who were unable to adapt to the live in Slovenia (Dolenc, 2005: 61). These data also include multiple relocations of individual migrants, so the actual number of inter-republic migration flows is a little smaller, however this does not affect the calculation of net migration between Slovenia and other former Yugoslav republics, which amounts to 160 thousand people. This is 12 thousand more than the number of first immigrants from the former

Yugoslavia in the same period, according to data from the 2002 census. When comparing migratory flows, we also have to take into account the return migrants, mortality rate of immigrants and the fact that migration statistics are showing the number of migration, which is for about 10 percent over the number of migrants. With this in mind, the balance sheet of the number of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia in Slovenia is surprisingly exact, since over time the difference between the actual and registered immigration equalizes (Dolenc, 2007: 96).

The most intense immigration from other republics of the former Yugoslavia took place in the seventies and eighties. These migrations had a character of internal migrations and took place without any migration policy and control of migratory flows. According to Dolenc (2007: 97), we can characterize the period before the independence of Slovenia with the following migration processes:

- ❖ Typical economic immigration of younger unemployed rural population. Thus the process of creating a family usually occurred in the new environment,
- ❖ immigration has most frequently took place through the concept of migration chains, meaning that immigrants of certain nationalities from the same place of origin, densely inhabited certain areas in Slovenia,

- ❖ search for the organized labor, which was implemented by some of the biggest Slovenian
  industrial and construction companies, this approach was most typical for the seventies and the first half of the eighties,
- ❖ Allocation of work force (Yugoslav People's Army, Customs, etc.),
- ❖ Secondary immigration (family reunion, marriage migration),
- ❖ Immigration of Slovenes by origin, typical of the period before World War II and its immediate aftermath, representing almost 20 percent of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia.

Even after Slovenia gained independence, Slovenia's migration remained closely linked with immigrants from the areas of the former Yugoslavia. However, the new migratory flows (with the exception of the refugee wave in the years 1992-93) were numerically significantly smaller than before independence. Latest development trends of immigration once again show an increase of economic immigrants from the former Yugoslavia (85 percent in 2006). Given the relative proximity, similarity of language, economic development, EU membership, relatives and acquaintances in Slovenia, etc. it is normal and even expected that Slovenia is and will remain an attractive country for migrants from countries of former Yugoslavia (Dolenc, 2007: 98).

1.3. Making of "new national minorities"

Members of "new national minorities" living in Slovenia are therefore result of processes of immigration from the areas of the former Yugoslavia and since we do not have any reports of forced migration, we can conclude that their migration was on voluntarily basis (Komac, 2007a: 56). Before Slovenia declared its independence from Yugoslavia on June 25, 1991, migrants from other parts of Yugoslavia perceived themselves more as people who settled in another part of their homeland rather than immigrants. Their languages were in most respects equal with Slovenian, or even predominant in some cases, since the official language in Yugoslav National Army was Serbo-Croatian. Educational system gave their children a chance to attend Serbo-Croatian classes, students of University of Ljubljana were entitled to answer at their exams and to write their theses in any of the Yugoslavian national languages, etc. However, when Slovenia gained its independence, they found themselves "overnight" living in a "foreign" country (Žitnik-Serafin, 2008: 86-87).

This sudden shift had different effects on individual members of "new national community" living in Slovenia, and is best displayed through the

personal stories of individuals who have experienced those changes firsthand. Upon Slovenia gained its independence, the life of the interviewed member of Albanian community turned upside down: *"when I arrived this was one country, my country, Yugoslavia, I was a soldier in Slovenia, in Vipava. Why should I feel less worthy than someone else? After Slovenia became independent in 1991 I automatically became a foreigner. When Slovenia gained its independence I was young and didn't follow the political happening. I should have just gone back to Kosovo where I was permanently registered, unregister there and register here in Slovenia. If I had done that, I would automatically have become a citizen of Slovenia, but since I did not it cost me a lot. I had to wait for 10 years to get permanent residence here and apply for citizenship. The procedures were not meant to abuse us, they were just set like that"* (Albanian community, 2015). While on the other hand, member of Montenegrin community who applied for Slovenian citizenship did not experienced any negative changes: *"after the desolation of Yugoslavia my live did not change for the worse. I identified with the Slovenian citizenship"* (Montenegrin community, 2015). The member of Serbian community notes that after the Slovenian independence, "new national minorities" went from the status of constitutional nations to the status of immigrants, without any collective rights: *"we are all here and I have not seen any conflict between the ethnic communities and the majority population*

in recent times. In fact, we all live in symbiosis, harmony and I do not see a reason why we should not guard our originality. It is a fact that Slovenians like going to Serbia, Bosnia, and Croatia, and vice versa. It is true that we do not live in the same country anymore but why would not we allow Slovenians to know these languages to be able to communicate well when they visit these countries. We can allow that only if we correct a mistake from the past, since independence the huge mistake was made. Before the plebiscite, it was said that the rights of any national community would not deteriorate, however this has changed in a way that the rights of ethnic communities which were in effect until then, were erased. The difference with Hungarian and Italian minority is that they were minorities before, but other nations were constitutional nations" (Serbian community, 2015).

2. Ethnic image of municipality of Koper

Special minority rights of Italian community residing in municipality of Koper are result of described historic circumstances. The same rights belong to the Italian community residing in ethnically mixed settlements along the entire Slovenian coastal area (Slovenia have only about 46 km of coastline). Slovenian littoral area alongside municipality of Koper also include municipality

of Piran, Izola and Ankaran. Ankaran was part of the municipality of Koper until 2011 and represented its largest settlement. The entire Slovenian coastal area is officially bilingual, with both Slovene and Italian as official languages, with bilingual schools compulsory for all children, etc. This makes this area uniquely different from other regions of Slovenia, and could be characterized as Slovenian with Italian flair.

Table 4: population by ethnic affiliation in municipality of Koper, Census 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2002. Distributed by Number and percent.

Koper/Capodistria	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002
Ethnic affiliation	29228	35445	41843	45805	47539
Declared	29111	34658	39442	41531	40666
Slovenes	25900	28584	31549	33692	33826
Italians	872	877	727	1015	712
Hungarians	36	29	42	41	31
Albanians	11	32	48	83	225
Bosniacs	...	...	...	...	1196
Muslims	12	200	550	1003	328
Montenegrins	45	72	91	147	82
Croats	1774	3751	4450	3396	2193
Macedonians	11	35	91	111	169
Serbs	405	1006	1788	1940	1693
Undeclared	49	641	2211	2002	1680
Unknown	68	146	190	2272	3694
Koper/Capodistria	**1961**	**1971**	**1981**	**1991**	**2002**
Ethnic affiliation (%)	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Declared	99,60%	97,78%	94,26%	90,67%	85,54%
Slovenes	88,61%	80,64%	75,40%	73,56%	71,15%
Italians	2,98%	2,47%	1,74%	2,22%	1,50%
Hungarians	0,12%	0,08%	0,10%	0,09%	0,07%
Albanians	0,04%	0,09%	0,11%	0,18%	0,47%
Bosniacs	...	...	...	...	2,52%
Muslims	0,04%	0,56%	1,31%	2,19%	0,69%
Montenegrins	0,15%	0,20%	0,22%	0,32%	0,17%
Croats	6,07%	10,58%	10,63%	7,41%	4,61%
Macedonians	0,04%	0,10%	0,22%	0,24%	0,36%
Serbs	1,39%	2,84%	4,27%	4,24%	3,56%
Undeclared	0,17%	1,81%	5,28%	4,37%	3,53%
Unknown	0,23%	0,41%	0,45%	4,96%	7,77%

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

The category, Muslims: includes persons who said they were Muslims in the

sense of ethnic and not religious affiliation (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia).

For better transparency, table 5 shows the changes in the population of Slovenes, Italians and all individual nations of "new national minorities" calculated and grouped together, in the municipality of Koper.

Table 5: The changing ethnic image in population of municipality of Koper

Koper/Capodistria	Slovenians		Italians		"New national minorities"	
1910 (source: Bufon, 2009)	/	18,50%	/	78,20%	/	1,30%
1956 (source: Sedmak, 2005)	22401	89,97%	1171	4,70%	/	/
1961 (source: Statistical Office of RS)	25900	88,61%	872	2,98%	2258	7,73%
1971 (source: Statistical Office of RS)	28584	80,64%	877	2,47%	5096	14,38%
1981 (source: Statistical Office of RS)	31549	75,40%	727	1,74%	7018	16,77%
1991 (source: Statistical Office of RS)	33692	73,56%	1015	2,22%	6680	14,58%
2002 (source: Statistical Office of RS)	33826	71,15%	712	1,50%	5886	12,38%

Sources: Bufon (2009: 460), Sedmak (2005: 93), and Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Census 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2002.

The most intense immigration from other republics of the former Yugoslavia to Slovenia took place in the seventies and eighties. However, in the case of municipality of Koper, the most intense immigration of “new national minorities” took place in sixties and seventies, while the numbers of

population who declared their ethnicity as one of the ethnic groups of “new national minorities” in eighties along with the number of Slovenes slightly dropped. This does not necessarily reflect reality; one of the reasons may be found in increment in the proportion of population who did not declare their ethnicity (undeclared) and the increment in share of unknown, as well as that 1991 census took place in troubled times.

The following table 6 shows that the strong immigration flown persisted also in eighties, however we do not have exact data for “new national minorities”, but table 7 reveals that among all immigrants, members of “new national minorities” in Koper represented about 91.2%.

Table 6: immigration in the municipality of Koper by year of first immigration, Census 2002

		Sex - TOTAL
Koper/Capodistria	Year of first immigration - TOTAL	9346
	1952 and before	641
	1953-1960	1287
	1961-1970	2166
	1971-1980	2359
	1981-1991	1731
	1992-1996	582
	1997-2001	580

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

Table 7: immigration in the municipality of Koper by country of first residence, Census 2002

		Sex - TOTAL
Koper/Capodistria	Total	9346
	Bosnia and Herzegovina	3250
	Croatia	3827
	Macedonia	293
	Yugoslavia	1156
	EU Member States	647
	other countries	173

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

The data in table six and seven are showing immigration from abroad to municipality of Koper by the year of first immigration (table 6) and country of first residence (table 7). Data goes all the way back to 1952 and before (there is no precise data of how far back), up until 2001 (2001 included). During that period in municipality of Koper immigrated 9346 people, with majority of them coming from countries of former Yugoslavia, about 91.2%. According to the same census there was 47539 inhabitants living in Koper in 2002, which means that about 19.6% (17.9% from former Yugoslavia) of population living in Koper immigrated from abroad during different periods. The most people migrated from Croatia, about 41%, followed by about 35% from Bosnia and Herzegovina, about 12% from former Yugoslavia (now Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo), about 7% from European Union member states, about 3% from Macedonia and about 2% from other countries.

Table 8: Migration change of population in municipality of Koper. By different measures and year

	Koper/Capodistria												
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Immigrants from abroad - Total	376	388	372	703	822	1149	1435	1341	773	648	706	625	597
Emigrants to abroad - Total	240	168	305	370	596	464	380	718	672	488	488	495	681
Net migration from abroad - Total	136	220	67	333	226	685	1055	623	101	160	218	130	-84
Immigrants from other municipalities - Total	377	397	424	447	580	614	1958	2107	2327	2298	2036	2833	2158
Emigrants to other municipalities - Total	317	225	314	331	384	420	1763	1699	2052	2213	2119	1925	2492
Net migration between municipalities - Total	60	172	110	116	196	194	195	408	275	85	-83	908	-334
Total net migration - Total	196	392	177	449	422	879	1250	1031	376	245	135	1038	-418

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia.

Up to 2007, in data of net migration between municipalities, only migration of citizens of the RS is considered. While the data from 2008 considers migration of the whole population (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia).

Table 8 present migration changes from 2002 to 2014 in municipality of Koper. With the exception of 2014 in all other years immigration from abroad outnumbered emigration to abroad. In municipality of Koper in that period immigrated 9935 people and with consideration of emigration (6065 people), we can conclude that migration changes from/to abroad in 13 years have increased the Koper population by 3870 residents, at the same time migration

from/to other municipalities increased the population in Koper by 2302 inhabitants. With consideration that as of first June 2014, there were 54421 residents living in municipality of Koper, we can conclude that that the end result of migration changes from abroad in 13 years, from 2002 to 2014, increased the population in municipality of Koper for about 7.1% and migration changes between municipalities increased population in municipality of Koper for about 4.2%. (all of the data still includes the settlement of Ankaran as a part of municipality of Koper).

Table 9: last migration in municipality of Koper, Census 2002

		Sex - TOTAL
Koper/Capodistria	Total population	47539
	Lived in same settlement since births	15028
	Immigrants-total	32511
	Immigrants from another settlement of the same municipality	14241
	Immigrants from another municipality of the same statistical region	5105
	Immigrants from another statistical region	6389
	Immigrants from abroad	6776

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

Table 9 present the last migration before settling down in Koper, as well as migration between different settlements within the municipality. About 31.6%

of Koper population lived in the same settlement since their birth, about 30% immigrated from another settlements of the same municipality, around 10.74% immigrated from another municipality of the same statistical region, about 13.4% immigrated from another statistical region and about 14.3% immigrated to Koper from abroad.

Table 10: The ethnic homogeneity of families with children in the municipality of Koper, Census 2002

	Families together		Ethnically homogeneous		Ethnically heterogeneous	
Slovenia	428.303	100%	341758	79,8%	86545	20,2%
Koper/Capodistria	10.435	100%	7226	69,2%	3209	30,8%

Source: Sedmak (2006: 190)

In the table 10, are as ethnically homogeneous considered all the families in which all of the family members (parents and children) identify with the same ethnicity, while the ethnically heterogeneous are the families in which the family members do not identify with the same ethnicity, irrespective of whether it is a two-parent or single parent family. Author has highlighted eight Slovenian municipalities in which the degree of ethnic heterogeneity is over 30%, among them only municipality of Koper has a status of urban

municipality. In the midst of those eight municipalities, six municipalities are in ethnically mixed areas with autochthonous Italian or Hungarian national minorities (Sedamak, 2006).

3. Defining national minorities

Vague definition of the notion of minorities is by no means new and remains a topical theme worldwide. With the creation of norms in the field of minority protection, came the need to establish some guidelines, if not the criteria, by which it would be possible to identify the so-called object of minority protection, i.e. minority rights holders. Precisely this reason is also the source of most problems that occur in connection with the process of defining minorities and in finding the appropriate definition for the term national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minority. Because of this fact, countries fear that the definition of minorities could actually also led to some expected conduct regarding communities that fit the definition, therefore the countries have never been willing to agree on the definition of minorities. Despite numerous attempts to define the notion of minorities by the international community, there is still no legally binding definition of minorities. However, since the countries have managed to agree on a politically and

legally binding minority rights, the question of defining minorities is still very topical. First and foremost it is necessary to determine which communities or individuals are entitled to minority rights, both in abstract terms and in concrete cases. This is relevant for countries which have adopted international obligations of minority protection as a part of their own obligations, as well as for countries that are trying to avoid them, since they could be warned and encouraged through various international monitoring mechanisms about the existence of those communities that are internationally recognized as minorities. The definition of minorities is also relevant because migration have triggered the changing of ethnic and national structure of the population of individual countries, which for the most part are becoming increasingly more heterogeneous. Such changes may eventually lead to formation of new communities whose individuals can express the desire to preserve their unique characteristics. However, vast majority of countries do not hear these desires, do not want to hear them, or see them as a threat to stability or even to sovereignty of their country (Roter, 2014a: 63–64).

The concept of minority as used in the United Nations human rights system in general refers to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, pursuant to the 1992 Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities. However, it does not

define the minorities to which it relates (OHCHR, 2010: 2). Roter argues that this fact clearly shows that countries with their attempts to create a definition of minorities tried only to protect their own interests. Countries wanted to retain the power to be able to decide for themselves, which non-dominant communities are minorities and as such eligible to special minority rights. Based on several decades of discussions within the United Nations, Roter observe, that the debate on the definition of minorities or on the creation of criteria for the identification of minorities, has never been a central issue. Debates were always held within the context of searching for an answer to the question, to whom the minority rights belong (Roter, 2014a: 69).

Over the last decades of the process of creation of new European standards of minority protection, the question of the definition of minorities was decisively set only in the first phase of acceptance of documents, in the following stages however, prevailed a flexible approach outlined within the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM). In the process of drafting the FCNM, the Council of Europe has not been able to reach consensus on the definition of national minority, since the differences in the approaches of individual Member States of the Council were too great. This has required a pragmatic approach to

allow the adoption of common principles of the protection of minorities, recognized by all Member States of the Council of Europe. The fact that the FCNM does not specifically define the notion of national minority is in some professional circles and non-governmental organizations seen even as an advantage. Its advocates claim that such an approach is open to all groups of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities (Klopčič, 2014: 58).

Žagar writes that in the discussions on the definition of minorities, is necessary to take into account the fact that minorities are in complex interdependent relations with other social phenomena, as well as that they are by their very nature a dynamic processes and have their own social, temporal and spatial dimensions. Therefore, the definition of minorities must be dynamic and take into the account the historical situation, happenings and development. In addition, it is also necessary to take into account their political and ideological conditionality, the nature and contents, and the fact that they are not ideologically neutral. Definitions of ethnic minorities, their position and rights are conditioned by the attitude of countries and the majority societies, especially with ethnic identification, contents and dimensions of the nation state. We can say that ethnic and national minorities are a byproduct of the formation and development of nation-states as a specific

ethnically conditioned historical type of countries (Žagar, 2014: 43-44).

3.1. Defining national minorities in Slovenia

Komac observes that the Slovenian regulation model of minority protection is akin to the European regulation model of minority protection. The model is not written in a single act, the characteristics of the model had to be extract from a plurality of documents and policies that address different ethnic communities. Furthermore, it is necessary to classify these characteristics. Slovenian regulatory system for minority protection distinguish between traditional minorities (autochthonous, historical, classical, old) and new (contemporary) minorities, with both of them having a multitude of subcategories. The main difference between the two categories is that, the traditional minorities remained on the Slovenian territory because of the historical developments, regardless if they were willing or not. Thus as a compensation for not having the opportunity to realize the right of self-determination, they are entitled to a set of special minority rights for the preservation of their identities. Members of new minorities, however, migrated on their own and by their own choice. Nevertheless, just because of different origin of the members of new minorities, they cannot be deny the right to

exist, the right to the recognition and the right to a set of special minority rights, however, the realization of special minority rights has to be adapted to the settlement specifics, based on the origin of new ethnic communities (Komac, 2014b: 186–188).

Slovenian experts have very different opinions on whether the definition of "national minorities" is actually required or whether it is even possible, some even consider that the definition of national minorities could be more an obstacle rather than advantage. Kržišnik–Bukić believes that the definition of national minorities in Slovenia is possible, necessary and would be very useful. Useful and necessary because it enables that the country, in agreement with the representatives of minorities and with the help of experts, adopts the most appropriate decisions, while it is necessary because only the definition of national minorities can satisfy the constitutional and general civilizational principle of equity (Kržišnik–Bukić, 2014a: 168). Kržišnik–Bukić (2014b: 159) also argues that when binding international instrument like the Protocol No. 12 to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, which in 2010 became an internal political obligation of Slovenia, among “General prohibition of discrimination” also list affiliation to “national minority”, it is the responsibility of the countries to define the concept of "national minorities". It is not enough to define the general

concept of national minority, but it is necessary for the state to provide a specific definition of national minorities in Slovenian context. On the other hand, Komac argues that search for the right definition of national minority takes too much time and energy but does not get any results and that we could say that we do not need definition of national minority, especially since the national minorities that are subject of protection are individually named. The commitments for the protection of the Hungarian, Italian and Roma ethnic minorities are enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia. The German community is mentioned in the Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Slovenia and the Government of the Republic of Austria on cooperation in culture, education and science, etc. Nevertheless, author believes that perhaps it might be necessary to define the notion of classic, historic national minority. For the reason of identifying the hidden ethnic minorities and identification of deviance in the system of minority protection (Komac, 2014b: 193–195).

3.1.1. Autochthonous national minorities

The term autochthonous (without any definition) was first introduced in the Slovenian legal order in the process of gaining independence with the

amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia in 1989. The terminology refers to the traditional communities that are indigenous in certain geographic areas in Slovenia. This label in the Slovenian Constitution belongs to the Italian and Hungarian national communities. Komac explains that many who have actively participated in the formation of those constitutional amendments, are confident that the notion autochthonous have been introduced in order to delimit the number of populations, which should be included among the ethnic minority communities (Komac, 2014a: 111–113). Kralj (2009: 236) notes that because of its arbitrary and manipulative nature, the terminology is no longer used in EU's documents concerning national minorities, and thus Slovenia remains noticeable exception.

3.1.2. "New national minorities"

After the independence of Slovenia in 1991, the term "new" minorities/communities began to emerge, to describe all non-constitutionally recognized ethnic communities living in Slovenia, thus placing ethnic groups of the former Yugoslavia into category of non-constitutionally recognized. The term derives from Slovenian regulatory system for minority protection, as a contrast to traditional (autochthonous) minorities/communities and Roma

minority/community or with other words, as a contrast to constitutionally recognized minorities.

Scholars in Slovenia are still unable to reach a consensus on what the persons belonging to the Albanian, Bosniac, Croatian, Macedonian, Montenegrin and Serbian nations of the former Yugoslavia, are and how to refer to them. Among the most controversial question are: Should they be considered as immigrants or minorities? Are they minority or community? Is the attachment of "contemporary" or "new" communities appropriate or inappropriate? Etc.

In Slovenia, the term "new" national communities became gradually established as a term with which we refer to members of ethnic groups from the former Yugoslavia. The first to use the term in the scientific literature was Miran Komac (2003) in his work entitled: "Protection of the "new" national communities in Slovenia". The main purpose of the use of the term was to "liberate" the members of "new national minorities" of the stigma of "immigrant". The term was later also used by other Slovenian scholars (Roter, 2007 and Kralj, 2009). In 2011, with the adoption of the National Assembly Declaration on the Situation of Persons Belonging to Nations of the Former SFRY in the Republic of Slovenia, the "new national minorities" were for the first time officially named and politically recognized as national

communities (Dimitrievski, 2014: 17–18). In declaration, the ethnic groups from territories of former Yugoslavia are regarded as national communities and/or new national communities (without connotations) (Official Gazette of the RS, 2011). Furthermore, the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the protection of national minorities, in its third opinion on Slovenia adopted in March 2011, also started using the term "new national communities" when referring to the persons belonging to nations of the Former Yugoslavia. Explaining that this terminology is in accordance with the previously mentioned Declaration (FCNM, 2011: 6). Therefore, we can say that the terminology "new national communities" have been, at least partially accepted on the Slovenian as well as at European level. While the "new" and "national" became widely accepted, the biggest question remains are they "communities" or "minorities". Miran Komac himself in one of his latest works replaced terminology "new" national communities with "new" national minorities, explaining that while it is undoubtedly true that the persons belonging to nations of the Former Yugoslavia living in Slovenia are national minorities, it is still unclear if they are also national communities (Komac, 2014a: 119).

It seems that at least in some part of Slovenian legislation the term "national community" is used as synonym for "national minority". This

probably originates from Slovenian constitution, which refers to Italians and Hungarians living in Slovenia as "national communities or autochthonous national communities, and never as minorities, nevertheless the context of their rights clearly shows that both so called "national communities" are actually regarded as minorities, therefore we can say that in Slovenian constitution "national community" is a synonym for "national minority". However, this may not be true for the National Assembly Declaration on the Situation of Persons Belonging to Nations of the Former SFRY in the Republic of Slovenia, which refers to persons of "new national minorities" as national communities. However, before international instruments recognize only Italian and Hungarian national communities as national minorities, and to some extent also Roma community, to which however, referees only as "community", while does not even mention "new national minorities".

Throughout the thesis, the terminology "new national minorities" is used to refer to persons belonging to the Albanian, Bosniac, Croatian, Macedonian, Montenegrin and Serbian nations of the former Yugoslavia, in Slovenia. The terminology "new national minorities" is not used to reflect the adequacy of the term, but it is used solely because in my opinion it best captures the reality, while the quotation marks represent the controversy behind this denomination.

Ⅲ. The activities for the protection of minority rights on International, European and National level

1. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)

On 21 December 1965, the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) unanimously, with 106 votes to none and one abstention, adopted the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD). The convention entered into force on 4 January 1969 (Kelsey, 1975: 56).

The ICERD is an instrument that contains binding commitments for state

parties to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination (MZZ, retrieved February 2016). Kelsey (1975: 56) notes that the ICERD was a practical expression of the principles of the UN charter and the Universal Declaration of Human rights (UDHR) as well as a reflection of the desire of the state parties expressed in the last paragraph of the preamble to the ICERD "to implement the principles embodied in the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and to secure the earliest adoption of practical measures to that end" (ICERD, 1965).

The implementation of the ICERD is monitored by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), through a process of state reporting and a constructive dialogue between the government and the CERD. The Committee was the first control mechanism established by the UN in 1970 under the terms of article 8 of the ICERD in order to examine the activities and measures for meeting the obligations defined in human rights treaties by state parties. The CERD consists of eighteen experts, elected by state parties whose task is to monitor the implementation of the ICERD, through a process of periodic state reporting and deal with complaints from individuals, citizens of those states, which in accordance with Article 14 of the Convention recognized that power to the CERD. Another important task of the CERD is that in the form of general recommendations prepare and

publish interpretations of particular rights arising from the ICERD (MZZ, retrieved February 2016; ICERD, 1965). Klopčič (2003: 147) explains that the CERD designed a universal approach, which is based on the principle of non-discriminatory treatment of all persons belonging to minority communities in specific country. However, the legal regulation of the minority protection of some European countries are based on historical circumstances and are implemented only in a limited geographical area, which excludes certain minority communities and/or migrants from such minority protection concept. As for example, European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) that is territorially bound concept of minority protection and does not apply to migrants. The CERD experts are representatives from all continents, races and nations of the world, who strive to improve the worldwide situation of members of all minority groups, including migrants and refugees. In such approach of the minority protection, the autochthonous of certain communities in a specified territory is not justifiable criteria and sufficient reason for an exclusive, different treatment and a higher level of legal protection of certain minority communities. This is the reason for the partial inconsistency between concept of minority protection within the framework of the ICERD and the regulatory system of minority protection of the Republic of Slovenia, which ensures special geographically based protection measures for the protection of both autochthonous minorities

(Italian and Hungarian national minorities) and in some segment for the Roma community. Author clarify, that such territorial based principle is historically conditioned by the formation of countries in the previous century and by the border delamination on the principles of self-determination of nations, which is common in this part of Europe. However, since national minorities did not have the opportunity to realize the right of self-determination and remained outside of the borders of their nation, they are entitled to a set of special rights for the preservation of their identities. This is the theoretical basis and the legal foundation of the Slovenian regulatory system of minority protection, with special measures being allocated for the two autochthonous minorities and implemented only in ethnically mixed areas. In some segments this also apply for the Roma community. Nevertheless, the message of the CERD from the very outset clearly states that implementation of the territorial principle of minority protection does not preclude the obligations of state parties to improve the level of minority protection for all communities and to ensure them the enjoyment of all minority rights without discrimination (Klopčič, 2003: 147-148).

Up to date, there are 177 states parties to the ICERD with an additional six states that have signed but not yet ratified it. The former Yugoslavia had signed the ICERD on 15 April 1966 and ratified it on 2 October 1967 (ICERD,

Chart of signatures, ratifications, declarations and reservations, status as of 17/02/2016). Slovenia has adopted the ICERD with the Act on Succession on 1 July 1992, on the basis of which it entered into force in Slovenia on the day of the declaration of its independence (MZZ, retrieved February 2016). On 21 August 2001, Slovenia made a declaration pursuant to Article 14 of the ICERD, stating:

> *"The Republic of Slovenia recognizes to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination competence to receive and consider communications from individuals or groups of individuals within its jurisdiction claiming to be victims of a violation by the Republic of Slovenia of any of the rights set forth in the Convention, with the reservation that the Committee shall not consider any communications unless it has ascertained that the same matter has not been, and is not being, examined under another procedure of international investigation or settlement" (Official Gazette of the RS, 2001).*

1.1. Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD): concluding observations and recommendations on application of the ICERD in Slovenia, focusing on the persons belonging to the "new national minorities"

In its concluding observations on the combined sixth and seventh periodic reports of Slovenia, the CERD (2010: 2) expressed concern about the insufficient data on persons from certain minority groups, in particularly persons belonging to the "new national minorities". Accordingly, the CERD recommended for Slovenia to "provide information on the use of mother tongues as indicative of ethnic differences, together with information derived from targeted social surveys performed on the voluntary basis". In its eight to eleventh periodic report of Slovenia, Slovenia inter alia explained that, "Slovenia has no statutory basis concerning the collection of data on the use of mother tongues, and, therefore, the Slovenian ministries, institutes and public institutions do not collect such data as indicative of ethnic differences." However, "in accordance with the statutory limits, Slovenia seeks to adopt measures concerning the integration of members of the minority communities from the territory of the former Yugoslavia and immigrants on the basis of prior consultations with members of these communities, who know best the situation and can identify the linguistic and cultural needs of their

communities (CERD, 2014: 5). Nevertheless, in its concluding observations on the combined eight to eleventh periodic reports of Slovenia, the CERD (2015: 2) expressed regret that there is still no current information on the ethnic composition of the population of Slovenia available and that the most recent information dates back to 2002. The CERD noted that the "lack of data disaggregated by ethnicity may limit the effective identification of population groups suffering direct and indirect discrimination and thus hinder efforts to define adequate policy making to protect such groups at the national, regional and local levels". Therefore, the CERD recommends to Slovenia to diversify its data collection activities, using various indicators of ethnic diversity, in order to provide sufficient empirical basis for policies to improve the equal enjoyment by all of the right enshrined in the ICERD. The CERD again repeat that Slovenia should provide the collection of current information "on the use of mother tongues as indicative of ethnic differences" and adapt its legislative measures to be able to do so (CERD, 2015: 2).

The CERD (2015: 3) noted the amendments made to the Criminal Code in 2011, however it still concern about, "(a) The limited extent to which the criminal provisions relating to racially motivated offences, particularly offences committed over the Internet, have been effectively implemented; (b) The fact that racial motives are specified in the law as an aggravating circumstance in

connection with the crime of murder only, and not other offences; (c) Reports of lack of action in response to the use of racist and xenophobic rhetoric by political figures and the existence of organizations promoting racial hatred and violence; (d) The absence of an independent body to investigate allegations of police misconduct, including racial profiling (arts. 2 and 4)." Accordingly, the CERD recommended to Slovenia to fallow its general recommendations No. 35 (2013) on combating racist hate speech.

1.1.1. Contribution of the Peace Institute ahead of the CERD's 88th session

In advance of the Eighty-eight session of the CERD, the Peace Institute (Slovenian independent Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies), submitted a briefing, which inter alia pertains to the situation of "new national minorities". Explaining that "minority protection in Slovenia is provided in a way to establish hierarchy between minority communities with the highest protection of minority rights being provided to Italian and Hungarian minority, with Roma having lower level of protection (in terms of range of rights, but also in terms of institutional framework and financial resources allocated for that purpose by the state), and with minorities from nations of former Yugoslavia - Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats, Macedonians,

Montenegrins and Albanians (from Kosovo) - having almost no special minority protection. Such set-up follows the provisions in the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia (1991) in which no reference is made to the communities of nations from former Yugoslavia, and such legal framework is also reflected in number of laws. Several initiatives of the self-organised coordination body of minority communities from former Yugoslavia to regulate their status, including possible change of the Constitution, failed. The disparity in the range of minority protection is especially apparent when size of these communities are compared with communities of nations of former Yugoslavia (Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins and Albanians) including altogether around 200,000 members, while Italian, Hungarian and Roma communities are much smaller, with total number of all three communities being around 20,000" (Peace Institute, 2015).

Peace Institute (2015) in its briefing argues that the Declaration on the Situation of National Communities of Members of Nations of Former Yugoslavia in Slovenia adopted in 2011 and the establishment of the Consultative Council in order to coordinate possible actions for improvement of the situation of the "new national minorities", did not initiated any concrete policy measures. Peace Institute observes that discrimination of "new national minorities" is present in various areas of public policy in

Slovene society, and especially emphasize on the discrimination occurring in the context of media.

2. European regulatory system for minority protection and obligations of the Republic of Slovenia

The European Union began to devote greater attention to the minority protection in the context of post-Cold War state-formation and nation-building in Europe in the early 1990s. This interest generated new multi-layered European regime for national minority protection, with purpose to maintain peace and stability by enabling minority members to preserve their distinct ethnic, linguistic, and religious identity. The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) systematically specified a set of guiding principles and politically binding norms on minority protection, which were subsequently transformed by the Council of Europe (CoE) into legally binding norms in the form of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (Roter, 2014b: 6). Roter observes that EU managed to become an important figure in the process of implementing minority protection as a European collective choice for conflict prevention, without having any minority rights of its own. To this effect, EU listed minority

protection as a criterion for recognition of new states and EU membership. The candidate states for state recognition and later for EU membership had to work hard under the supervision of the European Commission (EC) to harmonize their laws and policies on minority protection with ones of the EU, even though there is no unified view about the actual impact of those mechanisms in practice. Nevertheless, after the countries became full members of the EU, the supervisory power of EC ceased to exist, yet minority issues are still as relevant as they were during the accession negotiations (Roter, 2014b: 6-7).

Legal Regulation on an international level has gradually surpassed merely tolerating the expression of identity of members of different national or ethnic, religious and linguistic groups, and have more recently reached a consensus about the positive discrimination measures, which among other include a positive obligation from states to create conditions and opportunities for conservation and expression of elements of identity (Klopčič, 2003: 141). Nevertheless, even before the 2004, 2007 and 2013 EU enlargement process, the experience of the 15 EU member states showed a gross lack of consistency in policies directed at minorities. While all of the states have chosen a liberal-democratic approach to governance that firmly support protection of human rights, little uniformity can be drawn with respect to the

region's distinct minority groups (Johnson Carter, 2006: 29), or as G. Schwellnus (as cited in Johnson Carter, 2006: 29) has stated "a shared understanding of the norm of minority protection does not exist among the member states."

The supervision procedures of implementation of international obligations of Slovenia have generally assessed Slovenia as positive in the field of human rights and minorities. However, the regulation of "new national minorities" remains open for further editing. Overall findings of international organizations and institutions is that Slovenia needs to seek appropriate options to rectify the situation, to define legal status and to prevent discrimination of "new national minorities" (Klopčič, 2003: 143).

Johnson Carter (2006: 29–30) explains that the two of the most significant treaties related to the protection of minorities are Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) and European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML), both of which have been drawn by the Council of Europe. Author argues that while both documents are important in many aspects, both amount to very little substantively.

2.1. Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM)

FCNM (1995) is the first legally binding multilateral instrument fully devoted to the protection of national minorities. The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe adopted it in 1994 and it entered into force on 1 February 1998. "Its aim is to protect the existence of national minorities within the respective territories of the Parties. The Convention seeks to promote the full and effective equality of national minorities by creating appropriate conditions enabling them to preserve and develop their culture and to retain their identity." To achieve its aim, article 15 of the Council of Europe's FCNM (1995) dictate that, "the Parties shall create the conditions necessary for the effective participation of persons belonging to national minorities in cultural, social and economic life and in public affairs, in particular those affecting them". Hillion (2014: 2) observes that the FCNM had significant part in the EU pre-accession strategy and gradually become a crucial reference point in the EU's monitoring of candidate states' respect for and protection of minorities. According to the author, the effectiveness of FCNM in pre-accession strategy steams from the awareness that EU can suspend the accession talks of that candidate state in the case of unsatisfactory progress in meeting the FCNM criteria. After the acquisition of the status of Member

State however, the EU loses the powerful leverage of "no-accession threat" and the impact of the FCNM is reduced accordingly. Author argues that this happens because the EU lacks explicit competence to promote minority protection internally and to monitor Member States', in a way that would emulate the one it has in the pre-accession context. The resulting risk of a setback is aggravated by the inherent tension between the Member States measures of minority protection and some of the fundamental freedoms underpinning the EU legal order (Hillion, 2014: 2).

Johnson Carter (2006: 31-32) argues that more detailed look into the articles of the Council of Europe's FCNM, "reveals that the actual wording is in fact so vague that it renders the document almost meaningless in juridical sense." Whereas many experts attribute the acceptance of the FCNM by so many European countries to its "vagueness" and consequently to open interpretations, some suggest that exactly this high degree of vagueness leaves room for interoperation in a more positive direction. As a good example of vagueness serves article 14 of the FCNM (1995) which states "in areas inhabited by persons belonging to national minorities traditionally or in substantial numbers, if there is sufficient demand, the Parties shall endeavour to ensure, as far as possible and within the framework of their education systems, that persons belonging to those minorities have adequate

opportunities for being taught the minority language or for receiving instruction in this language." Johnson Carter (2006: 33) writes that in analyzing this paragraph, one can find a plethora of controversial phrases that allow countries to restrict minority education provision. Hajós (2002: 110) however, stress the importance of the FCNM, which despite certain deficiencies and incompletion is a remarkable achievement in the domain of international law. "It constitutes a solid basis for further development and implementation of solutions acceptable for both the States concerned and the national minorities, thus contributing to the assurance of internal stability and peace, and to the improvement of relations between the majority and minority nations in the States in which such minorities live, as well as to the stability and security in Europe at large".

The FCMN was open for signature in 1995, up to date only France among all member countries of EU had not yet signed the treaty, whereas Belgium (31/07/2001), Greece (22/09/1997), and Luxembourg (20/07/1995) have signed the treaty, but not yet ratified it. In total 39 countries have ratified the treaty, among which 24 out of 28 EU member countries (FCNM, Chart of signatures and ratifications, status as of 17/02/2016).

Slovenia has signed FCNM on 1 February 1995, ratified on 23 March 1998 and it entered into force on 1 July 1998. Since there is no general definition

of "national minority" agreed upon by all Council of Europe member states, FCNM does not contain definition and is left upon each party to assess which groups are covered by the Convention within their territory. Therefore, Slovenia as many other States have submitted the declaration upon ratification, in which it defined for which communities the FCNM will be implemented:

> *"Considering that the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities does not contain a definition of the notion of national minorities and it is therefore up to the individual Contracting Party to determine the groups which it shall consider as national minorities, the Government of the Republic of Slovenia, in accordance with the Constitution and internal legislation of the Republic of Slovenia, declares that these are the autochthonous Italian and Hungarian National Minorities. In accordance with the Constitution and internal legislation of the Republic of Slovenia, the provisions of the Framework Convention shall apply also to the members of the Roma community, who live in the Republic of Slovenia"* (FCNM, 1998).

Kržišnik-Bukić argues that there are two reasons behind that decision of Slovenian authorities. First, because these communities are included in the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia and the ethnic communities of Albanians, Bosniaks, Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins and Serbs are not, and

not only that they are not included in the Constitution, they are not even mentioned by name in the laws and other legal acts (this was partly changed in 2011). Second, because the relevant political structure of the Republic of Slovenia did not want to know that other minorities do exist. It is hard to avoid numerical comparison between ethnic communities in Slovenia. Moreover, the criterion of substantial numbers is beside the criterion of the traditional presence, one of the two alternative basic criteria in identifying of ethnic groups as national minorities, which Slovenia as a Member State is obliged to recognize (Kržišnik-Bukić, 2008: 126-127). Klopčič explains that the normative part of the Framework Convention is written in a vague diction in order to achieve a compromise as a "minimum consensus of all countries". That is why the position of the "new" minorities is even more important mechanism and procedure for monitoring the implementation of the Framework Convention. In the instructions for the preparation of national reports adopted by the Committee of Ministers it is requested from countries that beside the agreement on the implementation of Article 3 of the Council of Europe's FCNM also answer the question whether there any linguistic or ethnic minorities that do not have the status of national minorities (Klopčič, 2003: 150). Afterwards, it is up to the Advisory Committee (ACFC) to assess whether state parties are not arbitrarily excluding particular groups that wish to be shielded under the Convention. The Advisory Committee is composed of

eighteen independent experts appointed by the Committee of Ministers. The Advisory Committee has a crucial role in monitoring the implementation of the Convention and to ensure that the standards of the Convection are applied by all the concerned states. The Committee of Minsters, assisted by the Advisory Committee evaluate the implementation of the Framework Convention by the member states and based on the opinion of the Advisory Committee, adopts a Resolution with conclusion and recommendations in respect of the concerned country (FCNM, Last updated: May 2012).

2.1.1. The FCNM opinions, conclusions and recommendations on application of the convention in Slovenia, regarding "new national minorities"

In third Advisory Committee Opinion on Slovenia adopted in March 2011, the Advisory committee observes that "significant developments have occurred in Slovenia since the second cycle of monitoring with regard to the protection of minority rights as well as community relations and the spirit of tolerance in general" (FCNM, 2011: 1). The second cycle started in July 2004 with state report submitted by Slovenia and was concluded with the Resolution adopted by the Committee of Ministers in June 2006 (FCNM, List of country-specific monitoring, status as of 17/02/2016).

The ACFC writes that the adaptation on 8 March 2010 of the Act amending the Act Regulating the Legal Status of Citizens of Former Yugoslavia living in the Republic of Slovenia (ZUSDDD-B) abolish long-standing violations of the rights of many of the peoples who were "erased" from registers in 1992. The ACFC sees this act, coupled with a number of other initiatives as a significant signal for Slovenian society that is not only legitimate but also valuable for social cohesion to improve the integration of members of "new national minorities". Furthermore, the ACFC urges Slovenian authorities to avoid discriminatory exclusion in the implementation of the new act, especially of those living abroad for more than ten years as a result of them being "erased"[1] in 1992. The Committee express concern that negative stereotypes regarding members of "new national minorities" continue to be disseminated through some media and in the Slovene political arena, regardless of the actions that Slovene authorities have taken to promote integration of these persons in Slovene society. As actions, ACFC chiefly refers to the Declaration on the Situation of

1) With the term "erased" we refer to at least 18,305 individuals who were on 26 February 1992, removed from the Slovenian registry of permanent residents. "The "erased" were mainly people from other former Yugoslav republics, who had been living in Slovenia and had not applied for or had been refused Slovenian citizenship in 1991 and 1992, after Slovenia became independent. As a result of the "erasure", they became de facto foreigners or stateless persons illegally residing in Slovenia" (Amnesty International, 2005).

National Communities of Persons Belonging to Nations of the Former SFRY in the Republic of Slovenia adopted in 2011 and welcomes the inclusive approach adopted in the new Act on the Radio and Television Corporation of Slovenia in 2010, despite the fact that was rejected by referendum. The ACFC reminds that hate speech is a criminal offence and observes that regardless of that fact, continues to be expressed by particular politicians and disseminated through the media. Among ethnic communities in Slovene society, the Roma and members of "new national minorities" tend to be frequent targets of hate speech (FCNM, 2011: 16-17).

The ACFC welcomes the program launched in 2009 by the Ministry of Culture to promote local integration of members of "new national minorities" and the 11% increase of founding in 2010 dedicated for activities to promote their culture and languages. Nevertheless, the ACFC estimates that support allocated to the cultural activities of "new national minorities" is still insufficient and it does not match their requirements. In addition, articulate that the "support provided from "kin-States" through international co-operation agreements cannot substitute assistance provided by the Slovenian authorities." Accordingly, ACFC urges Slovene authorities to pursue and develop further initiatives aiming at affirming and promoting the culture of members belonging to the "new national minorities" (FCNM, 2011: 19).

Members of the "new national minorities" insist to be recognized as national minorities under the Slovenian Constitution and to be shielded under the FCNM. They want to enjoy the same legal protection as recognized national minorities, which would allow them to benefit from adequate support to maintain and develop their respective language and culture. In this context, the ACFC is pleased with the dialogue between representatives of the "new national minorities" and the Slovene authorities that was initiated in 2007. Nevertheless, the ACFC urges Slovene authorities to pursue the dialogue with representatives of the "new national minorities" and to ensure that, in practice, no discrimination arises from the absence of their official recognition and to allocate them adequate resources for the preservation of their languages and culture. It also invites Slovene authorities to assess the needs of members of the "new national minorities" on the regular basis and in close co-operation with their representatives, so as to provide them with adequate support (FCNM, 2011: 9-10).

Johnson Carter (2006: 32) observes that "in the case of Slovenia, as with many other countries that have signed or ratified the convention, the Advisory Committee has provided assistance in clarifying certain measures of the Convention, but has repeatedly failed to effect major changes in the groups included for protection by governments."

2.2. European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML)

The other important instrument for protection of national minorities at the level of the Council of Europe is European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML), the charter was adopted as a convention by the Committee of Ministers in 1992 and it enter into force in 1998. "This treaty aims to protect and promote the historical regional or minority languages of Europe. It was adopted, on the one hand, in order to maintain and to develop the Europe's cultural traditions and heritage, and on the other, to respect an inalienable and commonly recognized right to use a regional or minority language in private and public life" (ECRML, 1992). The ECRML promotes bilingualism or multilingualism, which is never a steady state. Nevertheless, the ECRML strive to avoid any confrontation between a regional or minority language and the official language, and try to achieve a delicate balance of getting the two to coexist peacefully (Woehrling, 2005: 273).

Johnson Fern (2013: 297) assert that the ECRML Preamble contains a paradoxical statement, referring to following paragraph: "Stressing the value of interculturalism and multilingualism and considering that the protection and encouragement of regional or minority languages should not be to the

detriment of the official languages and the need to learn them" (ECRML, 1992). Johnson Fern (2013: 297) see this as a contradiction, since on the one hand ECRML value multilingualism, however, not to the extent that it is a detriment to official languages. Johnson Carter (2006: 30-31) warns that document is extremely vague in wording and subjected to widely differing understandings. While the ECRML explains that with "regional or minority languages" means languages "traditionally used with a given territory of a state", fails to define "traditionally used". Similarly fails to offer any specifics at to what language can be or cannot be included, except to exclude "language of migrants", a phrase which is again not defined. Another major problem is that the ECRML only protects the languages themselves, whereas fails to protect the individual users of the language. Deets (as cited in Johnson Carter, 2006: 31) notes that the ECRML "does not explicitly guarantee the right of any individual to use any language in any specific situation".

The ECRML was open for signature in 1992, however up to date eight EU member countries (Belgium, Bulgaria, Estonia, Greece, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Portugal) had not yet signed the treaty, whereas France (07/05/1999), Italy (27/06/2000), and Malta (05/11/1992) have signed the treaty, but not yet ratified it. In total 25 countries have ratified the treaty, among

which only 17 out of 28 EU member countries (ECRML, Chart of signatures and ratifications, status as of 17/02/2016).

Slovenia has signed ECRML on 3 July 1997, ratified on 4 October 2000 and it entered into force on 1 January 2001. Article 15 of the Council of Europe's ECRML (1992) dictates that the parties after the first report present periodical reports at three-yearly intervals. To date, Slovenia completed four full periodical cycles, the last one in the year 2013/2014 and is due to present next periodical report until 1 January 2017 (ECRML, Reports and recommendations, status as of 17/02/2016).

Similar as in the case of the FCNM, Slovenia have submitted the declaration upon ratification, in which it defined for which communities the ECRML will be implemented. Within the meaning of the first declaration, Slovenia on 26 June 2007 replaced the declaration, with the following declaration:

> *"The Republic of Slovenia declares that the Italian and Hungarian languages are considered as regional or minority languages in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia within the meaning of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. In accordance with Article 2, paragraph 2, of the Charter, the Republic of Slovenia will apply to these two languages the following provisions of the Part*

III of the Charter" (ECRML, Reservation and Declarations, status as of 17/02/2016).

Following with the precise specifying of Articles and its paragraphs accordingly determining which paragraphs of the specific Articles apply for the Italian and which for the Hungarian language (ECRML, Reservation and Declarations, status as of 17/02/2016).

2.2.1. The ECRML reports and recommendations on application of the Charter in Slovenia, regarding languages belonging to specific nations of the "new national minorities"

In the second and third monitoring cycle of the ECRML the Committee of Ministers inter alia recommended to the Slovenian authorities to as a matter of priority define the areas where German and Croatian have been traditionally spoken in Slovenia and to apply the provisions of Part II of the ECRML (specified objectives and principles on which Parties should base their polices, legislation and practice) to German, Croatian and Serbian, in co-operation with the speakers (ECRML, 2010: 5,7). However, in fourth monitoring cycle of the ECRML, Committee of Experts concludes that authorities have not yet defined the areas where the addressed languages

have been traditionally spoken in Slovenia, since the study commissioned in 2008 has not yet been completed. And critically asses that "there are no indications of a structured application of Part 2 of the Charter to Croatian, German and Serbian, which remain largely absent from public life in Slovenia", that no educational models, which would regard those languages as regional or minority languages have been developed, as well as that addressed languages are not presented in the media, and the financial support from the authorities is insufficient (ECRML,2014: 7).

Second recommendation regarding languages belonging to specific nations of the "new national minorities" in third monitoring cycle of the ECRML the Committee of Ministers recommended to the Slovenian authorities to as a matter of priority "clarify, in co-operation with the speakers, the issue of the traditional presence of the Bosnian language in Slovenia" (ECRML, 2010: 7). However, based on the information received in fourth monitoring cycle, the Committee of Experts "considers that the Bosnian language is not traditionally used" in Slovenia in conformity with the definition of a "regional or minority language" contained in Article 1 of the Charter" (ECRML, 2014: 7). Johnson Fern (2013: 298) clarify that speakers of languages without a history in the EU are excluded from the ECRML on the basis of mention provision defined in Article 1, which defines their status as

speakers of “languages of migrants”. Therefore, “minority” in the ECRML has a restricted meaning.

3. Slovene legislative model and regulatory system for minority protection

Upon independence, the Republic of Slovenia has committed itself to ensure the protection of human rights without discrimination to all persons on its territory in accordance with the Constitution and with accepted international obligations. The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia has repeatedly emphasized that the purpose of the Constitution is not just a formal and theoretical recognition of human rights, but to actually guarantee the possibility for their efficient enforcement. The provisions on human rights, equality before the law and non-discrimination are part of the acquits that is binding both in the legislative process as well as in the implementation of the law (Klopčič, 2003: 158). Constitution of Republic of Slovenia does not specifically mention "new national minorities", this means that insists on asymmetrical treatment of the different national minorities, and the status of the members of “new national minorities” is regulated on the basis of individual rights and not collective minority rights (Ribičič, 2014: 184). The

provisions on the individual rights relating to the equality of human rights belong to everyone, regardless of nationality, and are defined in, Article 63 of Constitution of Republic of Slovenia, which explicitly prohibits and marks as unconstitutional any "incitement to national, racial, religious, or other discrimination, and the inflaming of national, racial, religious, or other hatred and intolerance". Article 14 ensures that everyone living in Slovenia have equal human right, fundamental freedoms and it is equal before the law, "irrespective of national origin, race, sex, language, religion, political, or other conviction, material standing, birth, education, social status, disability, or any other personal circumstance". Article 61 of constitution gives the right to everyone to freely express affiliation with their nation or national community, to use their language and script and to foster and give expression to his culture. In addition, Article 62 ensures that in the procedures before state and other authorities everyone has the right to use their own language and script (Constitution of RS, 1991).

In the Slovenia's process of gaining independence, at the same time when Assembly of Republic of Slovenia called for plebiscite, to decide the will of the Slovenian people as to whether the Republic of Slovenia should become a sovereign and independent state, it also voiced so called "Statement of Good Intents", in which they inter alia stated that the "Slovene state shall

guarantee its Italian and Hungarian minorities that within an independent Republic of Slovenia they shall enjoy all the rights that are laid down by its Constitution and laws, as well as international agreements signed and recognised by the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Likewise, it shall guarantee members of all other nations and nationalities the right to overall cultural and linguistic development, and to all those who have their permanent residence in Slovenia that they can obtain Slovene citizenship, if they so desire." The statement envisaged special rights of minority protection only for Italian and Hungarian ethnic minorities, which was later also reflected in the Constitution of Republic of Slovenia that granted special collective minority rights only to Italian and Hungarian ethnic minorities, and to some extend to Roma community (Statement of Good Intents, 1990). Kržišnik-Bukić (2014a: 166) explains that despite the fact that the Roma community was not mentioned in any of the documents of independence its inclusion in the Constitution was not surprise, since until then it was already mainly established as traditional ethnic community in Slovenia, furthermore Slovenian experts also frequently addressed the Roma issues. Roma community is specifically mentioned only in Article 65, which states that "the status and special rights of the Romany community living in Slovenia shall be regulated by law" (Constitution of RS, 1991). Kržišnik-Bukić (2014a: 166) notes that contextualization of the Roma community in the Constitution is a complete

novelty. Whereas the Italian and Hungarian national communities had guaranteed status and special minority rights already under the Constitution of former Yugoslavia (Ribičič, 2014: 184–185). Komac (2014b: 193) concludes that when comparing the regulation of minority protection in the newly created Republic of Slovenia with the regulation of minority protection in former Yugoslavia, only the Roma community have gained more rights, all other ethnic communities however, did not gained nor lose any rights.

Specific minority rights of Italian and Hungarian communities are defined in Article 5, 11, 64, and 80. The second sentence of Article 5, assures that it will "protect and guarantee the rights of the autochthonous Italian and Hungarian national communities" (Constitution of RS, 1991). Article 11 states that the "official language in Slovenia is Slovene. In those municipalities where Italian or Hungarian national communities reside, Italian or Hungarian shall also be official languages" (Constitution of RS, 1991). Article 64 defines special rights of the Italian and Hungarian national communities, stating:

> *"The autochthonous Italian and Hungarian national communities and their members shall be guaranteed the right to use their national symbols freely and, in order to preserve their national identity, the right to establish organisations and develop economic, cultural, scientific, and research activities, as well as activities in the field of public media*

and publishing. In accordance with laws, these two national communities and their members have the right to education and schooling in their own languages, as well as the right to establish and develop such education and schooling. The geographic areas in which bilingual schools are compulsory shall be established by law. These national communities and their members shall be guaranteed the right to foster relations with their nations of origin and their respective countries. The state shall provide material and moral support for the exercise of these rights.

In order to exercise their rights, the members of these communities shall establish their own self-governing communities in the geographic areas where they live. On the proposal of these self-governing national communities, the state may authorize them to perform certain functions under national jurisdiction, and shall provide funds for the performing of such functions.

The two national communities shall be directly represented in representative bodies of local self-government and in the National Assembly.

The position of the Italian and Hungarian national communities and the

manner in which their rights are exercised in the geographic areas where they live, the obligations of the self-governing local communities for the exercise of these rights, and those rights which the members of these national communities exercise also outside these areas, shall all be regulated by law. The rights of both national communities and their members shall be guaranteed irrespective of the number of members of these communities.

Laws, regulations, and other general legal acts that concern the exercise of the constitutionally provided rights and the position of the national communities exclusively, may not be adopted without the consent of representatives of these national communities" (Constitution of RS, 1991: Article 64).

The representation in the National Assembly of the two national communities is furthermore defined in Article 80, which states that one deputy of the Italian and one deputy of the Hungarian national communities shall always be elected to the National Assembly, which is composed of ninety elected deputies (Constitution of RS, 1991). On the local level of municipality of Koper are the authorities of a municipality composed of a mayor, a municipal council and a supervisory committee, with the municipal council being the highest decision-making body. The members of Italian national

community always elect three members of their community that represents them in the municipal council, which is composed of 32 elected members (The Statute of the municipality of Koper, 2008).

More about Slovenian regulation model of minority protection is written in the subchapter “Defining minorities in Slovenia”.

Ⅳ. Integration policies and practices for immigration in Slovenia

1. The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX)

The MIPEX is part of the project: "Integration Policies: Who Benefits? The development and use of indicators in integration debates", which is co-financed by the European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals. The project identifies and measures integration outcomes, policies and other aspects that can affect policy effectiveness, and afterwards informs and engages main policy actors on how to use these indicators in order to improve integration governance and effectiveness of their integration policies (MIPEX, 2015).

Ranking 2014		Score	Change Since 2010*
1	Sweden	78	– 0
2	Portugal	75	↑ 1
3	New Zealand	70	– 0
4	Finland	69	↑ 2
4	Norway	69	↓ 1
6	Canada	68	↓ 1
7	Belgium	67	↑ 2
8	Australia	66	– 0
9	USA	63	↑ 1
10	Germany	61	↑ 3
11	Netherlands	60	↓ 8
11	Spain	60	– 0
13	Italy	59	↑ 1
13	Denmark	59	↑ 10
15	Luxembourg	57	↑ 2
15	United Kingdom	57	↓ 6
17	France	54	↑ 1
18	South Korea	53	↓ 1
19	Ireland	52	↑ 1
20	Austria	50	↑ 3
21	Switzerland	49	↑ 1
22	Estonia	46	↑ 1
23	Hungary	45	↑ 1
23	Iceland	45	
23	Czech Republic	45	↑ 3
23	Romania	45	↑ 1
27	Slovenia	44	– 0
27	Greece	44	↓ 2
27	Japan	44	↑ 1
30	Croatia	43	
31	Bulgaria	42	↑ 3
32	Poland	41	↑ 5
33	Malta	40	↑ 2
34	Slovakia	37	– 0
34	Lithuania	37	↑ 1
36	Cyprus	35	– 0
37	Latvia	31	↑ 2
38	Turkey	25	↑ 1

Figure 4: The Migrant Integration Policy Index by country in 2014

Source: MIPEX (2015)

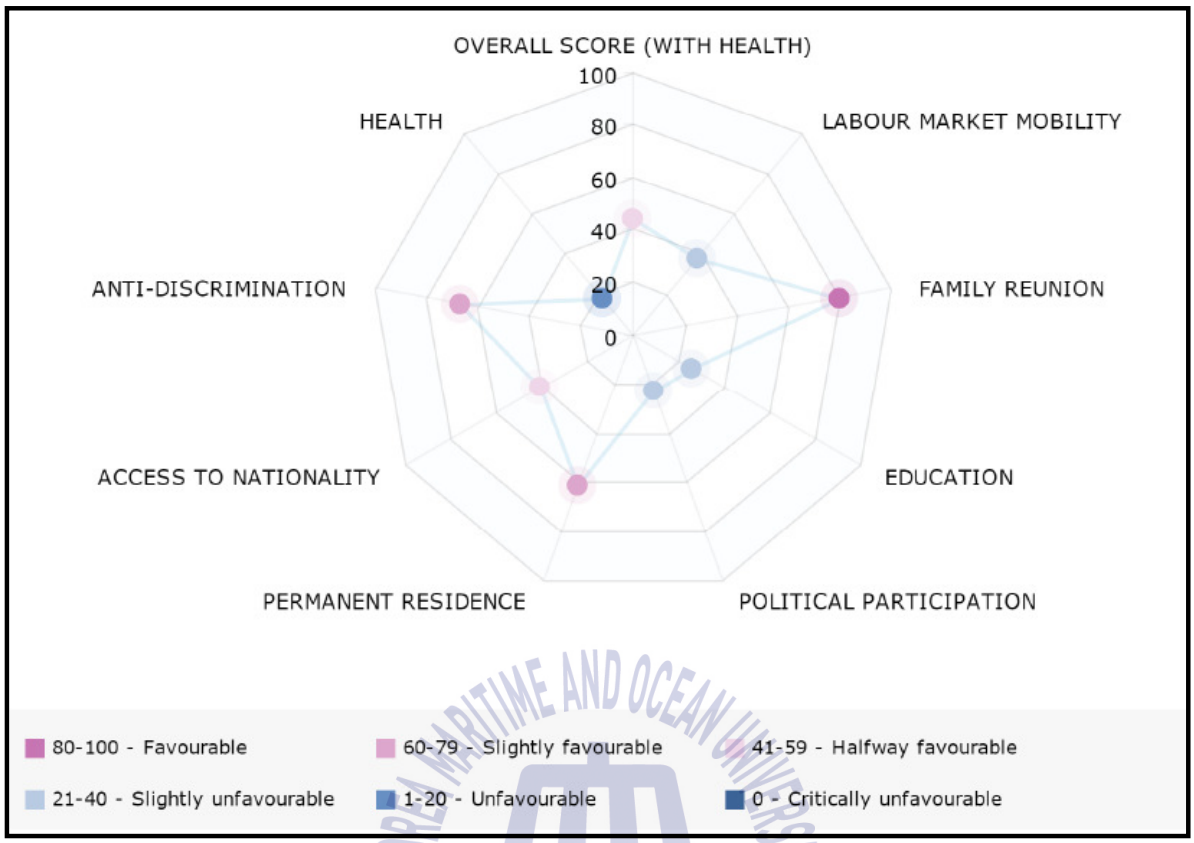

Figure 5: MIPEX overall score, 2014: Slovenia

Source: MIPEX (2015)

Overall Slovenia's integration policies scored 44/100, while the average score of all 38 included countries is 52/100, which places Slovenia to a modest 28 place. MIPEX observes that Slovenia creates slightly more obstacles than opportunities for immigrants to fully participate in Slovenian society. Slovenia crates favorable opportunities when it comes to reunion of families (80/100), it has slightly favorable policies regarding the Anti-discrimination (67/100) and in

securing permanent residence (61/100) for immigrants. Immigrants have halfway favorable opportunities to become Slovenian citizens (41/100) and slightly unfavorable opportunities in the area of employment (38/100), education (26/100) and political participation (23/100). The most critical area in Slovenian immigrant integration policy is its health system (18/100), which is considered as unfavorable in attending the migrants' health needs (MIPEX, 2015).

On the basis of above listed scores, the project experts provided five key recommendation for improvement of Slovenian integration policies, these are as follows: to decrease over qualification among immigrant workers and broaden access to labor market for family immigrants, to improve its education system for all immigrants in all stages of education, to increase support measures for immigrant patients and to guarantee universal healthcare, to enable dual citizenship and speed up naturalization, and to provide suitable support system for victims of discrimination (MIPEX, 2015).

2. European Union's Integration policies and practices

The Council of the European Union defined integration as "a long-term and multi-faceted process that takes place at a national, regional and local

level and in which reception measures play an important role" (Justice and Home Affairs, 2014). Bešter (2009) with the integration denotes a process of integration and acceptance of immigrants into new social environment and adaptation of social structures to new situations that are result of immigration. Integration is therefore a multi-directional process that requires adaptation of both immigrants and the receiving society. In the process of successful integration, immigrants should become equal and active participants in all spheres of social life in the receiving country, while at the same time they should be granted the opportunity to express and preserve their own culture, religion and ethnicity. It is important for immigrants to achieve similar positions as the one of the majority population, and that any deviations are not result of structural barriers or discrimination against them (Bešter, 2009: 116). The process of integration begins immediately after immigrating to a new environment and it may take several years, decades or even generations. The integration process as well as its final outcome is influenced by a number of factors, from the personal characteristics of individuals to the characteristics of individual immigrant groups. Important role can be also attributed to different approaches of immigrant policy and the national and international context from which they arise and in which they are implemented. Different national or local contexts develop different ways or forms of integration. Furthermore, the comparative studies have shown that

even in the same national or local context, different immigrant groups may chose different approaches of incorporation and integration (Bešter, 2007a: 112-113).

The motivation for the creation of immigration policies in modern democracies usually stems from the interweaving between the sovereignty of the State in terms of border control, and securing the internal continuity of the political and national integration. While the question of integration is essential for the ongoing process of State formation and Nation-building, and could also be very disturbing, especially since the process of national integration and of national State serves both to politics of identity and to politics of interest (Medved, 2010: 23). Immigration policy can be defined as a method by which the state governs the relations between the immigrants and the majority population. Immigration policy provides a framework for integration of immigrants in the settled environment and at the same time directs the adaptation of the majority society (Bešter, 2007b: 117). However, it is not a single policy. The integration is a multidimensional process and requires efforts in numerous areas and have to consider a wide range of polices at different levels and involve many actors (European Commission, 2011). For the successful implementation of the integration policy, the policy must be supported with the appropriate legal framework that ensures the

formal opportunities for equal inclusion and participation of immigrants in the receiving society. The framework should comprise in particular of the access to long-term residence, health and social care, housing, education, employment, political participation, family reunification, acquisition of citizenship and protection against discrimination (Bešter, 2009: 161). Throughout the period of coping with migration, countries worldwide developed different policies for integration of immigrants into their societies. Western Europe has begun to face increasing immigration after the Second World War. The nature of immigration during these times was mainly economic, which was reflected in the integration policies that were initially focused primarily on the integration of immigrants into the labor market and welfare system. The receiving countries needed extra manpower and were accepting immigrants with open arms. They were also concluding special agreements with other countries and developed a specific system of guest workers. However, these policies were under the assumption that these immigrants are only temporary workforce and that they will return to their countries of origin, as soon as they finish their work commitments. Only later has become clear that the immigrations are not merely a temporary phenomenon and that the majority of immigrants will stay in the country of immigration. Consequently, the individual countries started to address the integration polices on more comprehensive level and upgraded their integration policies with adding measures for cultural, educational and

other spheres of social live. Some countries encouraged full (also) cultural assimilation of immigrants, while other countries made an effort to preserve and promote cultural pluralism and implemented more pluralistic immigrant policies. Migrant policies are therefore the umbrella concept, which includes both assimilation policies as well as policies of segregation and different policies of cultural pluralism. Given the differences between migrant policies, we can talk about the different models of immigrant policies (eg. a model of assimilation, segregation, integration, multiculturalism, model of ethnic minorities) (Bešter, 2007b: 117–118).

Komac and Medvešek (2005: 39) after reviewing of the existing integration policies and strategies in individual countries, concluded that there is no universal and unique model of integration policy. Each country has its own history of the formation of nation, its way of addressing the immigrants and migration flows, and in accordance with this, specifically designed and customized integration policy. More detailed study of integration approaches and their effects in the individual countries revealed that we could not talk about a more or less successful integration model, since each model has positive and negative effects at certain economic, social, cultural and political levels.

3. The role of the European Union in integration policymaking

Although the primary responsibility to determine integration policies and strategies for its implementation lies with the Member State themselves, EU provides a certain support and framework for coordination, monitoring, bench marketing, and information exchange in their efforts. This support is also enhanced by the European financial instruments (Desiderio and Weinar, 2014: 14).

In 2004, Justice and Home Affairs adopted the following eleven common basic principles for immigrant integration policy in the EU, which forms the foundation of EU initiatives of immigrant integration policies:

- *"Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States,*
- *integration implies respect for the basic values of the European Union,*
- *employment is a key part of the integration process and is central to the participation of immigrants, to the contributions immigrants make to the host society, and to making such contributions visible,*
- *basic knowledge of the host society's language, history, and institutions is indispensable to integration; enabling immigrants to acquire this basic knowledge is essential to successful integration,*

❖ *efforts in education are critical to preparing immigrants, and particularly their descendants, to be more successful and more active participants in society,*

❖ *access for immigrants to institutions, as well as to public and private goods and services, on a basis equal to national citizens and in a non-discriminatory way is a critical foundation for better integration,*

❖ *frequent interaction between immigrants and Member State citizens is a fundamental mechanism for integration. Shared forums, intercultural dialogue, education about immigrants and immigrant cultures, and stimulating living conditions in urban environments enhance the interactions between immigrants and Member State citizens,*

❖ *the practice of diverse cultures and religions is guaranteed under the Charter of Fundamental Rights and must be safeguarded, unless practices conflict with other inviolable European rights or with national law,*

❖ *the participation of immigrants in the democratic process and in the formulation of integration policies and measures, especially at the local level, supports their integration,*

❖ *mainstreaming integration policies and measures in all relevant policy portfolios and levels of government and public services is an important consideration in public policy formation and implementation,*

❖ *developing clear goals, indicators and evaluation mechanisms are necessary to adjust policy, evaluate progress on integration and to make the exchange of information more effective"* (Justice and

Home Affairs, 2004).

Furthermore, the European Commission in 2005 created A Common Agenda for Integration Framework for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals in the European Union, which provides a framework for strengthening the implementation of the Common Basic Principles and foster a more coherent approach to immigrant integration among EU Member States (European Commission, 2005). The European Commission (2005) observe the certain amount of convergence in integration policies and their objectives between Member States across the EU, especially since the adoption of the Tampere conclusion in 1999, which has shown that there is a value in the exchange of information and good practices between Members States. While Jacobs and Rea (2007: 280-281) also observe that there is a certain amount of convergences in current integration policies throughout Western Europe, they however, argue that the recent convergence of integration policies is not the result of EU policies and that the European institutions, with the exception of anti-discrimination policy, had practically no effect on integration policies. Authors see this convergence as a result of organic diffusion of views and policies between European countries, which reflect the increasing salience of the political topic of immigrant integration and their efforts to reposition themselves on this issue.

The explicit legal basis for EU integration initiatives and support to Member States' in immigrant integration policymaking, was provided with Lisbon Treaty, which entered into force in 2009 (Desiderio and Weinar, 2014: 14). The Lisbon Treaty amended the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU), Article 79.4 of the TFEU states that:

> *"The European Parliament and the Council, acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure, may establish measures to provide incentives and support for the action of Member States with a view to promoting the integration of third-country nationals residing legally in their territories, excluding any harmonisation of the laws and regulations of the Member States"* (TFEU, 2015).

The importance of integration in the EU policy context have been further framed by Stockholm Program, which was approved by the European Council in 2009 (European Commission, 2011). In 2011, the European Commission adopted the European Agenda for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals, which has considerably reinforced the area of knowledge exchange by introducing the European Integration Modules. The Integration Modules are based on the evidences of what already works well among the Member States and offers a flexible reference framework for improvement of integration policies (Desiderio and Weinar, 2014: 15).

In 2014, the council of the EU and the representatives of the governments of the Member States reaffirmed their commitment to the Common Basic Principles adopted in 2004. At the Council meeting, Justice and Home Affairs (2014) decided to amend definition of integration from "a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States" to "a long-term and multi-faceted process that takes place at a national, regional and local level and in which reception measures play an important role." As well as added following aspects, to the Common Basic Principles, in order to strengthen the integration of immigrants in the EU:

- *"Further efforts should be made to find a more balanced approach to safeguard basic values underpinning European societies, to counter prejudices and to respect diversity with a view to enhancing tolerance and non-discrimination in the European societies,*

- *voluntary cooperation between receiving countries and countries of origin in a pre-departure phase could facilitate reception and integration at national, regional and local level. Member States could work together with countries of origin to inform the citizens of the countries of origin on the risks of irregular migration and the opportunities of legal migration and to facilitate language learning, vocational training and skills matching,*

- *an overall, holistic approach to integration presupposes inter alia effective reception policies and measures responding to the specific needs of both individuals and different groups of migrants, which*

are more likely to be exposed to social exclusion, including beneficiaries of international protection,

- *EU Member States are encouraged to involve the private sector in the efforts to respect diversity, enhance non-discrimination at the work place and closely cooperate with social partners and civil society"* (Justice and Home Affairs, 2014).

4. Slovenian Integration policy and practices

Medved (2010: 36) divides Slovenian integration policy into three phases that relate both to individual categories of immigrants as well as to the different approaches to integration policy. The first phase was specific because Slovenia became an independent country and because of the institutionalization of autonomous citizenship. The majority of migrants represented persons from the former Yugoslavia who already had permanent residence in Slovenia and were optionally allowed to acquire Slovenian citizenship. The second phase mainly consisted of temporary refugees and exiles of Yugoslavian succession wars as well as of temporary migrant workers. Few integration measures were intended mainly for temporary refugees and to people with international protection. Whereas the third phase mostly regard third-country nationals, and present a period after Slovenia became a final member of the EU. Following the accession, Slovenia started accessing the EU funds and transposing EU directives into Slovenian legislation, as well as to respond to international trends in integration policies.

The legal foundation of Slovenian integration policy were laid in 1999, when the National Assembly adopted a Resolution on Immigration Policy of the

Republic of Slovenia. The resolution took into account the cultural plurality of Slovenian society, and defined goals of Slovenian integration policy on the principles of freedom, equality and mutual cooperation. This pluralistic model of integration policy allows immigrants equal integration into Slovenian society while preserving their cultural identity. Such a model was also later confirmed by the Resolution on Migration Policy of the Republic of Slovenia, adopted by the Parliament in 2002, which almost literally summarizes all the provisions of the old resolution that relate to the integration policy, but also adds the active prevention of discrimination, xenophobia and racism to the already existing measures of integration policy (Bešter, 2007a: 118–119). The formation of migration policy and Slovenia is next the aforementioned resolutions from 1999 and 2002, also influenced by the Strategy of Economic Migration for the period 2010-2020 adopted by the Government of RS in 2010. Purpose of the Strategy of Economic Migration is to find the adequate response to the demographic challenge. Slovenia is among countries that will soon start to face labor shortages as a result of aging of the active part of the population. The fact is that due to the aging population, there is a high risk of long–term sustainability of public finances and declining economic growth. Therefore, the Strategy of Economic Migration constructively responds with different sets of policies and measures, which relate to the employment activity, promotion of demographic renewal, dynamism and productivity, with

emphasis on the improvement of regulation, development of the internal market, and encouraging investments in human resources. It is important to ensure adequate social security, equity between the generations and sustainability of public finances. Another important measure is also an active immigration policy. In accordance with this, the Strategy primarily focuses on third-country nationals who are coming to Slovenia in the pursuit of employment, and for the purpose of attracting potential highly skilled workforce, devotes the special attention to the foreigners who are coming to Slovenia for study, training and research. This document therefore refers to the integration process, in the part that relates to equal treatment and social-economic rights for workers from third-countries in the areas of labor and employment (MDDSZ. 2010).

In Slovenia the third-country nationals represent the vast majority of immigrant populations without Slovenian citizenship, and their number increases from year to year. However, there is a significant difference between the legal positions of the immigrants who are citizens of the EU Member States and immigrants who are third-country citizens. Slovenian legal framework envisages a rather wide range of different legal statuses with various groups of rights for immigrants (Bešter and Medvešek, 2010: 7). Bešter (2009) illustrate the Slovenian legal framework for integration with the

pyramid. In which, the widest part portrays quantity of the rights of citizens of the Republic of Slovenia, slightly narrower part represent the amount of the rights of immigrants who are nationals of other EU Member States, followed by the amount of the rights of immigrants who are "Slovenian descent", furthermore followed by the third-country nationals who have a permanent residence permit in Slovenia, and with the narrowest part of the pyramid representing immigrants who are third-country citizens with temporary residence permit. Practically in all spheres of social life in Slovenia, are the immigrants who are EU citizens compared to immigrants who are citizens of third-country privileged and provided with a wider range of rights or they are at least subject to more lenient conditions for the acquisition of certain rights. The only area where third-country citizens are in better position than EU citizens is in the case of the Slovenian language courses and learning about Slovenian history, culture and constitutional system (Bešter, 2009: 185-187). These courses are free of charge only for citizens of third-countries and are implemented in the form of 60, 120 and the 180-hour programs. The program to which the citizens of third countries are entitled depends on how long they have been residing in Slovenia, and which type of residence permit they have. Programs are financed by the Ministry of the Interior with the help of the European Fund for the Integration of third-country nationals. In 2009, the Ministry of the Interior of the Republic

of Slovenia issued brochure for foreigners in Slovenia, which contains wide range of information on the integration of foreigners into Slovenian society. The brochure is available in ten languages, alongside Slovenian also in Albanian, Bosnian, Chinese, Croatian, English, French, Macedonian, Russian and Serbian. In 2010, the Ministry of the Interior set up a website (http://www.infotujci.si/), which is available in seven languages Slovenian, Albanian, Bosnian, English, French, Russian and Spanish. Website offers a various information about, entry and residence, schooling, social security and healthcare, everyday life in Slovenia, etc. (MNZ, retrieved March 2016).

After analyzing the Slovenian legislation and other legal instruments, Bešter (2009: 187–188) concluded that it is not possible to give a straightforward answer to the question, what are the rights of immigrants in Slovenia. Especially because the set of right belonging to immigrant in Slovenia, depends on so many different factors, such as the reason for immigration, citizenship of the immigrant, length of residence, a form of work permit etc. Most of the distinctions derives from the adoption of EU directives after Slovenian membership in the EU and from the Slovenian "national" interest. Author finds distinguishing between different groups of immigrants in this way, as being contentious both morally and in the terms of respect for the principle of equality.

5. Slovene integration policy towards immigration from countries of the former Yugoslavia

It has to be noted that Croatia joint EU in 2013 and since then, the immigrants from Croatia have the same rights as another immigrants from EU member states, which are as – a explained above – very different from the rights of immigrants from other countries of former Yugoslavia.

Most of the immigrants from the former Yugoslavia has moved to Slovenia before the independence of Slovenia. Which means that their integration into Slovenian society started before Slovenia had developed any particular integration policy. Among the objectives of the Resolution on Immigration Policy of the Republic of Slovenia is achieving equality of immigrants, however, equality is defined only as ensuring equal rights, rather than achieving an actual equal position of immigrants. Nearly eighty percent of all immigrants from the former Yugoslavia in Slovenia have Slovenian citizenship and are in their rights and duties equated with the majority of Slovenian population. Among the rest of the immigrants from the former Yugoslavia without Slovenian citizenship, is a good part of those that have a permanent residence permit and are also to a great extend equated with Slovenian

citizens. From a legal point of view, integration of the immigrant population from the former Yugoslavia is generally assessed as very good, which however, cannot be ascribed to the general Slovenian integration policy, but more so to the specific circumstances, such as easier procedures for obtaining Slovenian citizenship in the time after Slovenia gained independent. Current Slovenian integration policy (author refers to integration policy up to 2007) is not oriented to promote the rapid legal integration of immigrants and it is has among the most highest or the most demanding conditions for the acquisition of the right to a permanent residence permit, right to a work permit and the right to apply for Slovenian citizenship etc. (Bešter, 2007a: 125-126).

Throughout the entire period of the Yugoslavia, the resolving of the Slovenian national question has been linked with the exercising of the Slovene identity in all segments of public life, and was not concerned with the problems of the exercise of linguistic, cultural and educational rights of members of other Yugoslav nations who came to Slovenia. Members of other Yugoslav nations in Slovenia were treated as newcomers, who should adapt to the life in Slovenia as soon as possible, learn the language and use it in public. It was often believed that immigrants even threaten the Slovenian nation. The results of empirical research that were carried out in the 70s, 80s and 90s years of the last century, clearly show the negative attitude of

Slovenians towards immigration of workers from other Yugoslav republics, as well as reserved attitude toward immigrants from other republic who were already leaving in Slovenia. Sense of being threatened was present during the entire period of intense immigration and it reached its peak at the height of the Yugoslav crisis and the preparation for Slovenia's independence. Consequently the rise of intolerance against members of ethnic groups from the former Yugoslavia culminated, the reason for that can be attributed to the fact that alongside a positive nationalism (self-awareness) also developed a negative nationalism. Positive nationalism is characterized as the right of peoples to self-determination and their struggle for national sovereignty, whereas negative nationalism is when an individual or a nation identified as different from one another. During this period, the negative rate of identification was present among many individuals, including politicians. Frequently has been heard that Slovenian are different from other ethnic groups from former Yugoslavia, which has also revived many stereotypes. This negative identification was often a cause of statements that Slovenes and "Southerners" have nothing in common, some even went further and rejected any connection between Slovenian and the Balkans. It could be said that the independence of Slovenia strengthened "cultural racism", which presupposes differences in culture and emphasizes the incompatibility of lifestyles and traditions. More recent studies of Slovenian Public Opinion

Survey (SPOS) shows that the general position of the majority population towards immigrants is no longer as tense as it was during the period of the Yugoslav crisis and the independence of Slovenia. Public opinion survey in 2002/2003 showed that the opinion of the majority of the population was again closer to the position expressed by the early eighties, before the economic and social crisis began to gnaw Yugoslav society in the middle of the eighties. At that time, the attitude towards immigrants and their offspring could be best described as reserved. Slovenian Public Opinion Polls (SPOS), address this topics for more or less continuously since the beginning of the seventies, and therefore enables longitudinal analysis of the views of a representative sample of the Slovenian population (Komac and Medvešek, 2005: 11, 14–16).

6. Perception of Slovene integration policy by the members of the "new national minorities"

Probably the largest research project that has been conducted on this topic was project "Perception of Slovene Integration Policy (PSIP)" implemented in the context of the targeted research program "Competitiveness of Slovenia 2001–2006" by the Institute for Ethnic Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences and

Slovenian Migration Institute ZRC SAZU (PSIP, 2005). Results of research PSIP, which was conducted among members of the "new" minorities, has shown that according to their perception, intolerance among Slovenian population is more present today than it was before independence. More intolerance is felt mainly by ethnic communities of Serbs, Bosniaks and Muslims. Individuals try to avoid ethnic intolerance in various ways, some of them try to ensure positive treatment of the majority of the population with masking their ethnic characteristics, such as changing of their name in a way to sound more Slovenian. More precisely, about 5.5 percent of respondents has changed their name and about 15 percent of participants is thinking about doing so, and about 38 percent of respondents know other individuals who have changed their names. The author explains that this gap between the participants that have changed their name and the participants that know someone else who changed it, suggests that the actual number of respondents who have already changed the name to a more Slovenian sounding is higher than they were willing to say in the survey. 36.3 percent of respondents have sometimes found themselves in situations where they concealed their ethnicity as a "survival strategy", 5 percent of respondents have often found themselves in such a situation, whereas 57.8 percent of participants have never concealed their ethnicity as a "survival strategy". The respondents more than hatred and "obvious intolerance" perceive indirect and covert ethnic intolerance. All

forms of ethnic intolerance are more increasingly perceived by Bosnians, Muslims and Serbs, the younger generation and higher educated respondents. Classification of individual areas of life according to the extent in which the respondents face unequal treatment, showed that the most problematic areas are all related to employment, as the most problematic respondents perceived relationships in the workplace, followed by unequal treatment in seeking employment, and fear of losing their job. The least inequality, the respondents felt in the field of political participation, followed by unequal treatment by the police. Social distance between ethnic communities within the studied population, have shown that the respondents have the greatest distance toward the Roma, Albanian and Muslims and the smallest social distance toward Slovenes and Croats (Komac and Medvešek, 2005: 16-17).

The results of the PSIP research showed a need for operationalization of integration policies in specific areas (education, use of language, status, culture, representation, etc.) and to determine the institutional holders of sectorial integration policies. Ignoring such a substantial part of the Slovenian population can encourage processes on the ethnic/national basis. As history teaches us, the division of the nation by ethnicity and "closing" individuals in their own initial framework, often leads to ethnic tensions and conflicts (Komac and Medvešek, 2005: 44).

7. Regulatory system for minority protection and integration policy of the municipality of Koper

Slovenian Constitution is the highest legal act adopted and amended by the National Assembly following a special procedure (requiring a two-thirds majority). Other legal acts are fallowed in hierarchical order: laws adopted by the National Assembly, ordinances of the Government for implementing the law, regulations, directives and orders of the ministries for the implementation of laws and government ordinances; regulations of local self-governing bodies, which they adopt to regulate matters within their jurisdiction. (Government of the RS, retrieved April 2016).

In 2002, the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia adopted the Act Amending the Local Elections Act, which introduced the right of foreign nationals with permanent residence in Slovenia to vote in municipal elections (Medved, 2002: 36). Foreigners can obtain a permanent residence status after five years of continuous legal stay in Slovenia. While the acquisition of Slovene citizenship, is possible after living in Slovenia for 10 years, and during this period for 5 years permanently (Information for foreigners, retrieved April 2016).

At the local level, the members of "new national minorities" are entitled to all of the individual rights laid down by the Slovene law and to Slovene integration policy. The Statute of the municipality of Koper lays down the manner of exercising the special rights of the autochthonous Italian national community and defines ethnically mixed areas, composed of those settlements in municipality of Koper where members of the Italian minority live autochthonous (The Statute of the municipality of Koper, 2008). The Statute of Municipality of Koper follows the same pattern of minority protection, functioning and organization as other Slovenian Municipalities in which Italian or Hungarian national communities traditionally reside. There is no special provisions regarding collective rights of the "new national minorities" in the legislation of Municipality of Koper.

The main jurisdictions (and obligations) in the field of integration and integration policies are concentrated in institutions at the national level. Only in rare cases, it is formally intended for the local authorities to participate in decision-making on matters concerning integration and integration programs. Insufficient role of local authorities in the legal bases of Slovenian integration policy is definitely a disadvantage of Slovenian integration. Especially, since from the perspective of the immigrants themselves, the local level is probably the most important in their integration process. Migrants are usually looking

for an employment in the local area, in the local environment they most frequently interact with 'indigenous' peoples, their children are educated in local environment, the positive or negative attitude of 'indigenous' population is the most felt in the local environment etc. Specifically, the role of municipalities in the integration of immigrants is mentioned in the Act on Enforcing Public Interest in the Field of Culture, which in its Article 66 defines the jurisdiction of municipalities, including the support of amateur cultural activities aimed at cultural integration of minority communities and immigrants. The role of municipalities is also important in the field of preventing discrimination (Bešter, 2007a: 124–125). Act Implementing the Principle of Equal Treatment, in its Article 7 states:

> *"(1) Within the framework of their competencies, the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, the Government of the Republic of Slovenia (hereinafter: the Government), ministries and other state bodies and bodies of self-governing local communities shall establish conditions for equal treatment of persons, regardless of any kind of personal circumstance, through raising awareness and monitoring the situation in this field, as well as through measures of a normative and political nature.*
>
> *(2) Offices and governmental services, operating in the field of equal*

treatment of persons regardless of personal circumstances, shall especially strive for implementation of the aim of this Act within the framework of their field of work" (Official Gazette of the RS No. 93/2007).

The municipalities also play a role in the integration plan for refugees. Regulations on rights and obligations of refugees in the Republic of Slovenia envisages that representatives of the local communities cooperate with the representatives of competent ministries in the preparation of personal integration plan for refugees who are accommodated in their local community. In addition, the representatives of local communities participate in the commission that give an opinion about appropriate accommodation of particularly vulnerable groups of refugees, which is organized by the Ministry of the Interior (Bešter, 2007a: 125).

7.1. The Cultural and Educational Association PINA

The gap that is present in Slovenian integration policy at both national and consequently local level can be successfully filled by regional NGOs. In municipality of Koper the Cultural and Educational Association PINA is successfully filling this gap. I would especially like to highlighted the project

"Equality of national communities of the nations of the former Yugoslavia and their members in the Slovenian Istria (ENA.KOST (without considering the dot ENAKOST means "equality", while with the consideration of dot it means "one bone"))", which was carried out within the PINA, and was aimed at advocating, promoting and protecting the human rights of "new national minorities" in the Slovenian Istria. Two-year project was completed at the end of February 2016. The activities of this project focused on the empowerment of "new national minorities" and offered to their members the following activities (PINA, 2016; ENA.KOST, 2016):

❖ ***Providing free legal assistance***

Legal assistance was aimed at solving various legal issues and was conducted on a personal level in the Centre for the Legal Protection of Human Rights, Koper. During the period between 1.3.2014 and 29.2.2016, 212 members of "new national minorities" benefited from free personal legal advice. The cases were from many different areas of law, the highest percentage of cases was concerned with family law, mostly related to the regulation or modification of the relationship after the termination of marriage or consensual union. There have also been noticed the increase in cases from employment law, where users had problems with employers regarding unpaid wages and contributions for the employee.

Eleven of advised cases represented persons who have decided to initiate the procedure for the personal bankruptcy proceedings, etc. Members of "new national minorities" who have benefited from legal aid and advice were mainly low-skilled employed persons whose workplace was due to the low level of education compromised, long-term unemployed, the elderly, immigrants, low-skilled workers, who are at risk of exclusion, and individuals who lacked basic skills often with modest self-image and low confidence.

There is hard to connect any of abovementioned cases with ethnic discrimination. However, according to reports of individual members of "new national minorities", there were some cases of discriminatory behavior on ethnic basis.

- In the first case, Serbian citizen was denied permanent residence registration by the administrative unit, despite fulfilment of the conditions. According to his testimony, public servant at the administrative unit behaved in intolerant manner, which has in the member of minority led to a perception of mistrust in the institution of the rule of law and the fear that request for better service would have negative consequences and lead to new exclusions.

- In the second case, the person of Bosnian nationality reported a discriminatory behavior of public servant in administrative unit, which has occurred in the process of obtaining a new driver's

license because of the loss of the existing one. According to the testimony of Bosnian citizens, public servant in administrative unit during an argument sentenced the words "then go back to Bosnia, where you came from". The member of minority has not decided to report this insulting behavior, but she did tell it to the legal adviser of the Centre for the Legal Protection of Human Rights, Koper, since this happened at the time of solving another unrelated case for recovery of unpaid amounts of alimony, in the Centre.

- There was also a case of Slovenian citizen, who is originally from Serbia and does not want to speak Slovenian. She says that in the area of Koper everyone can understand her and it is not necessary for her to speak Slovenian. She is unemployed and recipient of social support for several years and has also applied for a non-profit housing five years ago. In relation with the acquisition of non-profit housing, she often visited the Housing Fund of the Republic of Slovenia and premises of the municipality, where according to her testimony she experienced several discriminatory comments on the basis of her ethnicity by the staff members.

❖ ***Issuing free newspaper "ŽAR" ("Grill")***

Newspaper in its eight issues dealt with minority problems and reported performance of "new national minorities" in the local environment.

❖ ***Conducting workshops and cycles of performances of Theatre of the Oppressed***

Theatre of the Oppressed or theatre of social changes is an interactive theatre from Brazil, which have led some countries (Brazil, Canada and Great Britain) to change or to adopt certain laws. After the training for coaches and workshop for the users, a group of twelve trained individuals performed nine theatre shows ENA.KOST, which included real life depictions of discrimination, oppression and other issues faced by members of minorities in their everyday lives, while the audience proposed innovative solutions to the above-mentioned issues.

❖ ***The creation of NGO hub of the members of "new national minorities"***

The junction of the NGO of the members of "new national minorities" performed over 50 counseling and tutoring sessions in the field of call for tenders, promotion, organizational support, etc.

❖ ***Establishment of working group for the advocacy of "new national minorities"***

The establishment of working group for the advocacy of "new national minorities" is sustainably oriented activity that was formed by representatives of minority NGOs and directly responds to the specific issues of the "new national minorities". The working group continue with its activities within the framework of a new "NGO hub of Istria and

Karst - ISKRA", operated by the PINA. Advocacy represents an important tool in ensuring the protection of rights of target groups and representation of their interests, desires, and voice. With the establishment of a dialogue with the representatives of local authorities, the advocacy body continue to strive for strengthening of social position of "new national minorities" and thereby contributing to transformation of government policy and consequently in the long term help to co-created regulations.

❖ ***Etc.***

Suggestions to improve the treatment of "new national minorities" on the local level of Slovenian Istria, based on the two-year project ENA.KOST, were split into three categories: field of culture and media, social and other (legal) fields, and field of education (ENA.KOST, 2016).

Suggestions to improve the treatment of "new national minorities" in the field of culture and media:

❖ The introduction of earmarked funds for organizations of ethnic minority communities as a priority area within the existing calls (events, culture, youth, tourism, media, etc.), or a special tender, which encompassed the broader activities (leisure, cultural, media, sports, etc.),

❖ The use of clear criteria for the allocation of funds for the organization of national communities and preferential support of projects that promote interculturalism (Cooperation projects between the majority and the minority population, community involvement with educational institutions, etc.),

❖ The introduction of tender for co-financing of activities of individuals (eg. the self-employed in culture) at the local level,

❖ The introduction of tender for funds for organizational development or start-up funds for the organizations of "new national minorities",

❖ The introduction of clear criteria for the allocation of space for NGOs,

❖ Adoption of the Act on the treatment of national minorities, which would provide specific powers, duties and functions of local authorities in the field of culture, media, education, social welfare, etc.

❖ Greater involvement of minority cultural associations in the tourist offer of places of Slovenian Istria, both at the strategic level and in practice,

❖ Establishment of a municipal commission on minority issues and the prevention of discrimination.

Given initiatives:

❖ *Member of the commission for the selection of projects, which is the members of "new national minorities".* Throughout the years of applying

on municipal tenders, the lack of knowledge of activities and cultural characteristics of individual community by the evaluators appeared to be a fundamental problem of minority organizations. A result of non-elaborated evaluation criteria has led to a lower scoring, the allocation of lower funds, etc. Therefore, the initiative proposes a regular inclusion of a member of "new national minorities" or an expert in this field in the commission for the selection of projects.

❖ *The introduction of the clerk of "new national minorities".* The initiative proposes the introduction of a clerk of "new national minorities" to monitor the functioning of minority organizations, keeping them informed and advise them on relevant information related to tenders and their operation (in the field of culture, social affairs, education, infrastructure, etc.). With acting interdepartmental clerk could also bring together various municipal offices for the purpose of development of structural support and the treatment of "new national minorities".

Suggestions to improve the treatment of "new national minorities" in the social and other (legal) fields:

❖ Inclusion of provision in the Civil Servants Act, which would require from public officials in all occupations to respect the essential elements of the identity of all persons belonging to minority nations with whom they come into contact in the course of their work,

❖ Through the (internal) acts encourage greater involvement of officials and clerks both at the social work centers and administrative units

(including the Employment Service of Slovenia), to adapt providing of information for the target group, which does not recognize itself as vulnerable and to personally note which individuals have obvious lack of knowledge of the Slovenian language, ignorance of the law, or lack of understanding of given explanations,

❖ The introduction of better supervision over the work of the inspector, who work under the supervision of the inspection of labor relations, to improve the transparency of procedures,

❖ Decentralization of the inspection services, which would no longer be subject its ministerial portfolio (principal inspector is the subject to the Minister, who has the power to replace him), thereby to prevent the possible establishment of clientelistic practices rotating through various government offices, and to furthermore increase the transparency of labor inspection,

❖ The introduction of mandatory presence of cultural mediators and interpreters in public institutions such as the Employment Service of Slovenia, Health insurance institute of Slovenia, Centre for Social Work, etc.

Suggestions to improve the treatment of "new national minorities" in the field of education:

❖ Financial support from the local communities for the implementation of language lessons of languages of "new national minorities" in associations or schools,

- ❖ Lessons of mother tongue and culture of "new national minorities" should be equivalent to other elective subjects in the second and third cycle of primary school, while in high school this lessons should be considered as one of the subjects in the context of compulsory–elective subjects,

- ❖ Financial support from the local communities for additional Slovenian language courses and additional teaching support for migrant children in associations or schools,

- ❖ Financial support for additional education of teachers about intercultural education, integration of children, communication, etc.,

- ❖ The introduction of mandatory professional support for children and parents of immigrants and cultural mediators in schools (ENA.KOST, 2016).

At the completion of the project, the project leader Mirna Buić concluded: "The added value of this project is the shift of the open issues from a political–theoretical level into a level of everyday life through a mutual tackling of real life issues related to nationality. This allows us to initiate political awareness among the majority and minority population that leads toward a consensus, necessary to solve open questions regarding the position of minorities which are not included in the constitution" (PINA, 2016).

The interviewed member of Bosnian community who have integrated in

Koper from Bosnia about two years and a half prior the interview, explain her experience and the importance of local associations like the Cultural and Educational Association PINA in the process of her integration: "In order to learn Slovenian, I started attending free workshops and other forms of non-formal education. Many workshops are funded by the EU as a project for social integration of third country nationals. I also started attending a course carried out at People's University which is intended for immigrants with free lectures, however you have to pay for exam, which costs 100€. We also have plenty of other free workshops at PINA. They offer every day courses like: journalism, theater of the oppress, where participants can also obtain a trainer certificate. One can also earn a cultural management certificate. All these certificates are free. These kind of workshops are also very helpful in learning and getting a more general feel for the language" (Bosnian community, 2015).

7.2. Assessment of the Slovenian Integration Policy and Practices in regard to "new national minorities" and in the context of municipality of Koper

The perception of Slovenian integration policy by the members of "new national minorities" was critical and they have pointed out many problematic areas, which hinder successful integration into Slovenian environment. The results of the PSIP research have shown the need for operationalization of integration policies in specific areas (education, use of language, status, culture, representation, etc.) and to determine the institutional holders of sectorial integration policies. Since then, more than 10 years have passed, and despite some small improvements not much have changed. Slovenian integration policy greatly differs between the legal positions of the immigrants who are citizens of the EU Member States and immigrants who are third-country citizens. With the exception of immigrants from Croatia (part of EU since 2013), all other immigrants from the former Yugoslavia are regarded as third-country citizens. In reality, there is still an obvious gap between the actual needs of immigrants and the Slovenian integration policy. This have led to strong movement and establishment of regional NGOs, which are trying to bridge this gap. In Koper the above presented Cultural and Educational Association PINA is successfully bridging this gap. A certain role in the

integration process can be also attributed to the individual cultural and ethnic associations of “new national minorities”, which can play an important role in the integration process of “newcomers”, despite the fact that they are in general fixed on the preservation on their ethnic peculiarities.

Due to the huge discrepancy between the integration policies and the actual situation and because the thesis focus on the very specific and unique local environment, the need to explore the research topic in a more comprehensive manner arose. From the academic interest to explore the topic in the realistic manner, I decided to continuous the research with the implementation of interviews with local members of “new national minorities” who are also actively embedded in community network and are therefore familiar with the broader and more realistic picture of their community.

Ⅴ. The impending issues of "new national minorities" in municipality of Koper

1. In-depth interview Paradigm:

The research is designed as a qualitative case study. Among the different available qualitative research methods, I assessed that I can collect the most realistic insight into the reality of "new national minorities" living in municipality of Koper, with the implementation of interviews with their respected local members.

Data was collected using in-depth semi-structured interview techniques. The study is based on a nonrandom dedicated sample. As active participants in

research, I invited seven individuals belonging to Albanian, Bosnian, Croatia, Macedonian, Montenegrin and Serbian ethnicity, as well as one member of majority population (Slovene). With the exception of Montenegrin participant, all of participants are actively involved in the social life of municipality of Koper. Since at the time of the implementation of interviews there was no active Montenegrin associations in Koper or in its immediate vicinity, I invited and implemented the interview with the President of the union of Montenegrin associations of Slovenia, who is very well familiar with the broader situation of the Montenegrin community in Slovenia. In all other cases, I have chosen individuals who are directly in one way or another embedded into their community networks, are active in various associations connected with preserving of their ethnic identity, and can therefore tell me the most about the situation of their ethnic community in municipality of Koper.

1.1. Foresight limitations and assumptions in addressing the problem

Limitations:

- Ankaran, the biggest settlement in municipality of Koper was in 2011 separated from municipality of Koper and formed its own municipality, municipality of Ankaran. According to 2002 census, which is our main source of statistical information, settlement of

Ankaran with 2984 residents represented about 6.3 percent of Koper population. In all of the statistical data throughout, the thesis Ankaran is considered as a part of municipality of Koper.

- Interviews were conducted mainly in Slovenian language and sometimes a little intertwined with languages of "new national minorities". If we also consider the fact that the expressed opinions of participants were in spoken language, it is near to impossible to make direct quotes in English, and at the same time preserve readability and consistency of the text. Therefore, the major part of the English transcripts of the text is properly adjusted. Nevertheless, it was put a great effort not to lose the real meaning of interviews views and opinions.

- The biggest limitation is that the last Census of Population, Households and Housing dates back to 2002, which means that all of the statistical data is rather outdated.

Assumptions:

- The problem with Slovenian census about ethnic affiliation is that some people living in Slovenia could feel as they belong to more than just one ethnicity, however in census they can only chose one. We can speculate that this may be one of the main reasons why there is such a big share of undeclared, unknown and/or did not want to reply. And explain why 1059 (2,23%) of residents of Koper answered that their mother tongue is Italian, but only 712 (1,50%) of them declared their nationality as Italian. 8,04% of residents of Koper identified Croatian language as their mother

tongue, while only 4,61% identified themselves as Croats. Etc.

1.2. The impending issues

Throughout the analysis of relevant existing professional literature, international and European instruments for minority protection, Slovenian regulatory system for minority protection, EU's and Slovenian integration policies and practices etc. it became clear that there is quite a large gap between regulatory system, policies and practices and the reality of "new national minorities". Among all issues, eight issues particularly stand out, each in their own way. In addition, the research focus on local environment of Koper and since most of the previous research have been conducted on national level there is an obvious lack of existing data, with which it would be possible to get more realistic insight in the peculiar and unique situation of ethnic dynamics of municipality of Koper. The main issues faced by "new national minorities" in Slovenia are mostly connected with discrimination in everyday life, employment, use of language, education and preservation of mother tongue, media, preservation of cultural peculiarities and political representation and activities. In addition, also the need to explore religion in a more comprehensive manner arose, since among all of the spheres of social life analyzed within the context of "new national minorities" there is by far

the less reports about the realistic situation about the opportunity to express one's religion. The abovementioned main issues are furthermore studied and analyzed with the help of in-depth semi-structured interviews, with which we get more realistic insights in the live and conditions of "new national minorities" living in municipality of Koper. Acquired insights were interweaved with the findings of other researchers and scholars, majority of which has been done on the national level.

2. Participant information

Basic personal information of all seven participants:

- **Interlocutor (interviewee) from Albanian community:** Active president of cultural association Illyria (ILIRIA) - Albanian association of Slovenian Istria Illyria that is based in Koper. 54 years old male, has been living in Slovenia for 32 years, 26 of those in Koper. Born in Kosovo, Albanian nationality, belonging to Albanian ethnic group, mother tongue is Albanian. Post-secondary education, director of company in construction business

- **Interlocutor (interviewee) from Bosnian community:** Employed in Bosnian Cultural Association of Slovenia as a teacher of Bosnian language and is an active member of the Bosnian cultural, artistic and sport association of Slovenian Istria, based in Koper, where she

heads a drama group for children. A 28 years old female of Bosnian ethnicity, who speaks Bosnian as her mother tongue. Has been living in Koper and Slovenia for 2 and a half years. Master from history.

- **Interlocutor (interviewee) from Croatian community:** A manger of a cultural incubator for members of ethnic communities from former Yugoslavia living in the Slovenian Coastal and Karst region (within Cultural and Educational association PINA Koper) and an active member of the Croatian cultural – artistic, educational and sports association Istria Piran, based in Piran. 31 years old female, born in Slovenia, of Croatian nationality who feels a strong belonging to Croatian nationality, but identify her mother tongue as Slovenian. University education, currently working toward PhD.

- **Interlocutor (interviewee) from Macedonian community:** President of the Macedonian Orthodox Church of the municipality of Koper and Vice president of Macedonian cultural association Koco Racin of Slovenian Istria, based in Koper. 41 years old male, comes from Macedonia, Macedonian ethnicity, Macedonian mother tongue, has been living in Koper from 1994 (for 21 years). High school education, self-employed employment agent/consultant.

- **Interlocutor (interviewee) from Montenegrin minority:** President of the union of Montenegrin associations of Slovenia. 65 years old male, lives in Slovenia since 1977 for 38 years. Born in Montenegro, mother tongue is Montenegrin, married with a Serbian. University education, retired.

- **Interlocutor (interviewee) from Serbian community:** Vice president of the union of Serbian associations of Slovenia and chairmen of the supervisory committee of academic cultural-artistic association of Slovenian Istria, based in Koper. 35 years old male, born in Koper and lives in Slovenia since birth, Serbian ethnicity, Serbian mother tongue. University education. Work in a company of which he is also a part-owner.

- **Interlocutor (interviewee) from majority population:** Founder and director of Intercultural institute in Koper. Winner of a prestigious award for top Slovenian PhD in humanities, entitled: "Intercultural Dialogue and the Inclusion of First-Generation Immigrant Children in Slovenian Primary Schools". 39 years old female, of Slovenian nationality, Slovenian mother tongue, born in Slovenia, has been living in Koper for 12 years. PhD education. Self-employed.

3. Analysis of the conditions of "new national minorities"

3.1. Discrimination in everyday life

The term discrimination come from the Latin word "discriminare" (to separate, distinguish, divide), which in its original sense means separation between different options, to have a preferences for certain choice, whether it is about person or about object. Today, however, discrimination is generally understood as "inappropriate segregation" and in legal terms as

"inadmissible distinction" (Kuhar, 2009: 13). Discrimination can be defined as the unequal treatment of an individual or individuals based on their group membership. Even though such unequal treatment is often stimulated by prejudice, it may also occur from ethnocentric feelings that are devoid of animus (Bodenhausen and Richeson, 2010: 343). Kogovšek and Petković (2007: 25) assert that the most common reasons for discrimination are stereotypes and prejudices, fear of the unknown, tendency to overcome our own sense of inferiority and lack of information about social groups that are exposed to discrimination. Karlsen and Nazroo (2002: 624) write that, "discrimination can vary in form, depending on how it is expressed, by whom, and against whom, and can occur in all aspects of life" and could be divided into two main, but not mutually exclusive categories: interpersonal and institutional discrimination. Interpersonal discrimination generally refers to directly perceived discriminatory interaction between individuals, whereas institutional discrimination usually refers to discriminatory policies or practices embedded in organizational structures and tends to be more hidden. The European Union have created a broad notion of what discrimination is. EU directives have criminalized both direct and indirect forms of discrimination, as well as declared various forms of distressing or obstruction that would put person in unequal position compared with others as an act of discrimination. The directives regulate the widest range of situations that are in any way

connected with the issues of discrimination and they protect everyone who works and resides in the EU territory, including legal entities and citizens of non-European countries (Devetak, 2006: 9).

Victims of discrimination are pushed to the edge of society. Marginalization and social exclusion of certain groups as a result of discrimination negatively affects not only the discriminated person or group, but also society as a whole, because it creates inequalities within the society and consequently fully weakens it. Certain forms of discrimination that society tolerate and that may appear to be harmless, often open the door for other, more serious forms of discrimination. If, for example, certain ethnic groups is discriminated against in the field of education, this usually means that they will not be able to obtain the same level of knowledge and skills than other groups, which sets them up for further discrimination in employment, access of goods and services, access to health care and so on. Therefore, society have to take those forms of discrimination seriously and eliminate them at the sprout (Kogovšek and Petković, 2007: 28). It can be said that almost every, if not every migrant ethnic minority did at some stage experienced discrimination in the country of their settlement. Many minorities experienced antagonism, different forms of discrimination, and have become the objects of violent hatred by majority of population. Marginalization of ethnic minorities is

somehow universal phenomenon, with exception of aspiring or real settler colonies, which were able to establish their own dominion in religion, language, law, property rights and political institutions (Cohen 2005: 99).

Žitnik-Serafin (2010: 71) observes that among the integration principles of the Republic of Slovenia and the actual immigrant experience, there is still almost unbridgeable gap. The problem is not only in the lack of minority rights of immigrants and protective legislation, which would ensure them this right, but also in an inconsistent exercise of their hitherto been formally recognized rights. A large part of the interviewed immigrants still feels socially and culturally marginalized. Especially their answers point to a generally recognized fact that the linguistic and cultural situation of immigrants rather stem not only from their political, but also from their socio-economic situation. "According to various authors (e.g. Klopčič et al. 2003; Pajnik 2007; Razpotnik 2004), the majority of people in Slovenia still regard their society as monocultural as if either the autochthonous or the immigrant minorities had never existed in the country, had never contributed to its culture, and had never been part of the nation that has constituted this sovereign state" (Žitnik-Serafin, 2008: 88). The interviewed member of majority population explain: "Slovenia is a young country. After independence, the nationality was drastically enhanced. However, we are past that and a lot

should be done about general public opinion to accept the fact that Slovenia is already a multicultural society" (Slovenian expert, 2015). This however can depend on the area in Slovenia, as explained by the member of Macedonian community: *"I believe that different treatment of other ethnicities mostly depends on the location in Slovenia. Here in Koper people are more accustomed to life in multicultural environment. Then for example in Idrija (small inland city in Slovenia, note by M. G.) there are very few foreigners. In Koper there is no problem to rent an apartment, however when I tried to find housing for workers in Idrija, they did not want it to lend it to Macedonians, because there they are not so accustomed to living with foreigners. Some people still think that if someone comes from Macedonia, he or she comes from the mountains. It is different now. Before there were mostly uneducated people, however now there are a lot of highly educated immigrants coming from Macedonia and when people get to know them better, they soon realize that they are normal people. In Koper is not the same as in Maribor (Slovenia's second largest city, note by M. G.) or Idrija. Koper is a multicultural city and people look at things differently, but in some places that are not so multicultural, people have fear of foreigners"* (Macedonian community, 2015).

Situation in the country of origin may also have a significant impact on the

well-being and self-perception: *"more recently, the mentality and perception of our minority started changing. In former Yugoslavia, we were perceived and treated as a second class ethnicity. One reason is probably because our language was very different, in comparison to Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Montenegrin and Macedonian, who have quite a lot of similarities. We were also the only nation of all six nations in Yugoslavia that did not have our own republic, because Albania was not in Yugoslavia and Kosovo was not recognized as a republic. Now that Kosovo gained its independence, I feel very well. Knowing where you came from and that everything is ok there, means truly a lot"* (Albanian community, 2015). The shift in perception of people has undergone a dramatic change from the times of breakup of Yugoslavia, until today. The member of Macedonian community describes: *"significant problems were present in the time right after the designation of Yugoslavia. At that time if you were not Slovenian it did not matter which nationality from former Yugoslavia you were, however later when things calmed down, people started to distinguish. In war time there were also problems with associations. At that time, everyone was afraid of someone. But now there are no such problems. The general opinion in Slovenia towards Macedonians is positive so there is no problem - maybe even the most positive from all the nations of former Yugoslavia"* (Macedonian community, 2015). Nevertheless, discrimination is still present in the Slovenian society, yet

in more hidden forms, as explained by the member of Croatian community: *"discrimination here is not open, no one will say anything to your face, but there is silent discrimination present. Sometimes there is a feel of silent xenophobia. Slovenia is a nationalist country. An enshrined nationalist state, which is clearly seen in the constitution which divides communities, laws are in Slovenian language, etc. Only recently has a cross-cultural note been introduced. However, discrimination is mutual. There are stereotypes about Slovenians and discrimination among communities themselves. There was one case when a father had a heart attack because his daughter fell in love with a Serbian and wanted to marry him. Even some Slovenians from Istria look down on Slovenians living in other parts of the country. There is a superiority note here in Istria"* (Croatian community, 2015). Events and developments between the countries of origin of individual nations of "new national minorities" can also have an indirect effect on the atmosphere and attitude between individual communities in Slovenia. The member of Bosnian community points out: "*some Bosnians are still reserved towards Serbians. This can cause problems for some people especially when our associations are working together on a project. All members of association are not always open to others"* (Bosnian community, 2015). There is also some tension between Albanians and Macedonians living in Slovenia: *"there are some problems with Albanians, when the problem appears between our countries it*

is also felt here" (Macedonian community, 2015).

Žitnik-Serafin (2008: 90-91) summarized the perception of children of Bosnian ethnicity and obstacles they encounter in everyday life, she wrote; "I have got here on my desk a tape of a surprisingly spontaneous and discretely moderated roundtable titled 'All Different, All Equal' that my colleague Jernej Mlekuž co-organised at the Oskar Kovačič primary school in Ljubljana in 2003. The tape is full of fear and defensive perceptions. The most frequent sentence on the tape is, 'I felt humiliated'. Two of the voices admit: 'When you come back from summer holidays and they ask you where you were, you lie. The fact that you were in Bosnia is unspeakable'. Or: 'How did your school-mates receive you?' 'They said: "Gee, what a Bosnian skirt you're wearing" '. Or: 'Are your teachers tolerant?' 'Yes, they are'. 'How do they react when they hear you speak Bosnian in the corridor?' 'They tell us to speak Slovenian'. Or: 'We live in a Serbian settlement just outside Ljubljana, and there is a Muslim settlement a bit further'. 'How did the old Slovenian residents react when you came?' 'They built a wall around their place'. Or: a girl describes how annoyed she feels when people are using the word 'Bosnian' as a word of abuse. This is her example: 'A lady was leaning out from a window across the street, shouting at a man who was trying to park his car: "My husband

parks here, you freakin' Bosnian! Don't park here!'' The girl was shocked: 'Why did she have to say ''freakin' Bosnian''? What if the man wasn't Bosnian at all?' So the girl is not at all concerned with the abusive meaning of the word Bosnian itself, she just disapproves of its misplaced use. And this is how far a Slovenian teenager's intercultural understanding has been developed with the help of parents, tutors and the media." Very worrying is also that some of the younger generations accept and even identify itself with degrading expressions, as pointed out by the member of Serbian community: "*once upon a time we were all Bosnians, which was not meant to be from a specific region of Bosnia or Bosnian ethnicity, but it was meant as something demeaning. Today for example there is the expression "Čefur" (demeaning expression designed for ethnicities from former Yugoslavia, note by M. G.) perceived as something normal. Young people are alone identifying themselves with this expression, but they don't realize that this is not at all as they think it is and they are laughing to themselves as well as others laugh at them*" (Serbian community, 2015). The member of Albanian community explains his perception of the difference between generations: "*it is much easier for second and third generation children. For example, my children had it much easier than me. Even though I am integrated, they have been here since kindergarten and have mastered writing and speaking and their accent is Slovenian as well. For me, on the*

other hand, it was quite difficult; first, I was taught Albanian, then Turkish, Macedonian, Serbian and Slovenian" (Albanian community, 2015). Even though that the Second and third generations usually do not have difficulties with mastering a language, they face other difficulties. Vesna Miletić (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 246) observe: "then we have the second generation, which is hurt, which does not receive enough of our attention and is torn apart between different worlds, without the possibility to draw knowledge and strength from the cultural identity of their ancestors. On the other hand, they are stigmatized and they cannot fit inside the wider younger generation. The young have to struggle to be accepted for who they are but without any scorn." Naum Taštanoski (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 246) notes: "the younger generation is in some severe distress. They live in this conflict. Let us say that they speak Slovenian at home and then a question arises 'Who am I?' and it is easiest just to say 'I guess I am Slovenian.' On the other hand, the environment does not perceive these kids as Slovenians, but rather as a sort of a foreign body in the national corpus. They will always remain immigrants. Sadly, it is the surname that defines the attitude of the environment towards an individual." The member of Croatian community explain that: *"it is specific for Croatian community to quickly assimilate, especially when it comes to immigrants from the border area. The Second and third generation children have usually no problems, since most of them is*

assimilated" (Croatian community, 2015). The assimilation is also noted by the member of Montenegrin community: *"second and Third generations have founded association Duklja, an association of intellectuals, who speak Slovenian at the meetings. Second and third generations love to talk about belonging and their parents, they take part in field trips to Montenegro and some other activities, but they do not want politics, they just want to preserve memories. Even their children rarely sign as Montenegrins, but as Slovenians"* (Montenegrin community, 2015).

The member of Serbian community tells a story from his childhood and the impact it had on his live: *"you cannot be forced to accept some other values, you can only force yourself into it. If the surrounding sees you as being of lesser worth and you accept that, you were not forced into it, but you accepted that on your own. When I was in 4th grade of elementary school, I felt ashamed of my parents publicly communicating in Serbian, which was a consequence of the desire and pressure to fit in. This pressure is not only present with children, but with parents as well, who in many cases do not know how to confront this pressure and from some sort of self-evident inferiority, they somehow engrave that you should not be anything else as majority population. After that, they themselves accept this as good. In 4th grade, I was put in situation that during the break, the classmates were*

singing "give us weapons to kill Serbs", so that kind of moments are critical if type of things depresses or elevates you. I said enough to myself and after that, my national consciousness have dramatically risen, but it could also have a counter effect" (Serbian community, 2015). Individuals can respond very differently when faced with intolerance or unequal treatment. While the interviewed member of Serbian community responded with raising his national consciousness, the other can try to ensure positive treatment with masking of his ethnic characters, such as change of a name. In the study PSIP, the researchers found out that only a small share of the respondents consider changing their name in more Slovenian sounding, while even less of them have already changed their name. However, the proportion of those who know someone who have changed their name was large (Medvešek, 2007a: 212–213). Branko Matijević (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 247) observe: "in my experience, the alteration of surnames, I think, is rather common in the second or the third generation. Then this voluntary assimilation takes place, when a person wants to have an easier life and says to oneself, 'Why did my parents give me this first name or this surname?' And of course if there is an opportunity, these kids write č instead of ć and thereby participate in a sort of soft assimilation. The second and the third generation can have this aversion towards the members of the nations they originate from ... I think this is a consequence of this soft assimilation, of the desire to

be closer to the majority population and then this represents a burden. A child with such a surname gets a feeling of inferiority, is labelled for life with this mark. In the first generation we are aware of this from the first moment – we know, where we came from, but the third generation... they are in a very difficult situation, it is hard for them to identify themselves as they have lived here since they were born. They could be Slovenian, but are not and so they ask themselves: 'Why am I not Slovenian?' This represents an enormous emotional pressure for young generations."

None of the interviewed members of "new national community" has ever felt pressure to accept Slovene values or to hide his/her ethnicity. The member of Bosnian and Serbian, as well as the member of majority population, do not know anyone who have changed their name in more Slovenian sounding in order to hide his/her ethnic origins or to avoid discrimination. The member of Albanian community observes that the young are using Slovenian nicknames: *"younger generations change their names; for example into nicknames like, Driton becomes Toni (fairly usual name in Slovenian and Croatia, note by M. G.)"* (Albanian community, 2015). The cases of other interviewed members of "new national minorities" who know someone who have changed their name, are also not necessarily connected with the assimilation or masking one's ethnic origin. The member of

Croatian community notes: *"my neighbor changed her name from Snježana (a Croat from Bosnia) to Snežana. She deleted the "j" from here name. Her name is still not Slovenian, but maybe she changed because Snježana is an obviously Serbian name and she wanted to change that"* (Croatian community, 2015). The member of Macedonian community note: *"my cousin who lives here changed her name from Zorica to Zori, (which is more like abbreviation of a name than changing of one – Zori is not a Slovenian name, note by M. G.) There is also one well know stuntman that changed his name from Risko to Rok (Slovenian name, note by M. G.) and works as a Slovenian stuntman in Hollywood, he probably assessed that this will help his career"* (Macedonian community, 2015). Hasan Bačić (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 247) observes: "this pressure is huge. The son of my friend is 25 and he could not get a job anywhere. Therefore, he gave up his father's surname and took the one from his mother. There are some examples ... for instance, Rasim becomes Rastko (not a Slovenian name, note by M.G.)." For the member of Montenegrin community the name present a part of person's identity and an act of changing it would be unthinkable: *"there were no cases of name changing among Montenegrins. However, there are some cases in other communities when a men took his wife's surname. For a Montenegrin, the act of taking wife's surname would be regarded as a shameful act. We are quite sensitive with this soft č, and because of this, the Slovenes label us as*

southerners" (Montenegrin community, 2015).

Among the interviewed members of "new national minorities" only the member of Serbian community have in some certain situations felt like he does not belong to Slovenian society, while all the other interviewees said they have never felt like that. He explain: *"in some everyday life affairs, I do not get a feeling like I do not belong in Slovenian society, however in others I do, which is also logical to me. I especially felt that I do not belong here in some unjust and neglecting situations toward my national community, and these are mostly political matters. One other example is when we shared some facilities that are in hold of Italian minority, they have always shorten our timetables, not allowing us to have some additional events and you soon see you are not welcome there. You can try to deal with the situation by talking but if you see that you cannot achieve anything with a nice word, then there is no point. Otherwise you will be a typical "southerner". There is no solidarity from Italian minority, they care about themselves, and they have their own rights and do not want anyone to mess with that"* (Serbian community, 2015). The topic touched by the member of Serbian community, was also one of the main reasons for choosing and focusing on municipality of Koper. Thus, one of the purposes of the conducted interviews was to find out how the coexistence with – in comparison privileged – Italian national

community, influence the self-perception of individual members of "new national minorities" and how do they perceive a vast discrepancy in rights between "new national minorities" and Italian minority. The sense of injustice due to the discrepancy in rights can be noticeable from the words of the member of Bosnian community: *"I understand that the Italian minority is native here and they also have many rights, but they are not really noticeable. I believe they do not work so much on organizing events; or maybe I just do not see them, even though I live across the street from the premises of the Italian minority. We are present here in larger numbers, yet we do not have any rights"* (Bosnian community, 2015). The member of Croatian community observe: *"the Italian minority is very closed, however, with the change of generations and more people coming from mixed marriages this has slowly starting to change. Some of their members have also experienced discrimination due to their names; for example the president of the self-governing community in Izola has a Slovenian first name and surname, so he had to prove extensively that he is Italian, because they still build on an identity of autochthonism"* (Croatian community, 2015). While all of the interviewed members of "new national community" agree that Italian minority deserve the special rights they have, their opinions differ when it comes to the degree of their rights. The member of Serbian community among the lines stated: *"I also think our community should have at least the*

same rights as the Italian minority" (for the whole context please refer to the section of political participation). The member of Albanian community expressed: *"I support that all nations former Yugoslav nations be recognized in a package, so no nation will feel or be discriminated. I do not want us to have special treatment. However, our history taught us that Albanians are descendants of Illyrians, and Illyrians have lived here along the border for many years. That means we should get more rights than Italians, since we are more autochthonous. But this is not our goal, the only important thing is that all people living here feel good and are not at any risk"* (Albanian community, 2015). The notion of superiority/inferiority between Italian minority and "new national minorities" in perception of the member of Macedonian community calls for changes: *"The only recognized minority here are the Italians, who have more rights. However, they do not perceive themselves as minority, instead they regard themselves as locals. It is different for us that have come from south, we are perceived differently. We do not even expect their level of rights, nevertheless we should be recognized as minority as well, since we present 1% of population, so that we would get more rights and funds, which would give us a chance to preserve our Macedonian roots"* (Macedonian community, 2015).

Despite some difficulties, all of the interviewees who have immigrated in

Slovenia feel good living in Slovenia (Koper) and none of them have any regret for coming to Slovenia. The member of Albanian community articulate: *"I am aware that I am not Slovenian, however, I never feel less worth because of that and I never felt like I do not belong in Slovenian society. For my perception Slovenia is the safest country in Europe; I have never had any problems. I have never been forced to accept any values or other beliefs. That is why I have never regret moving to Slovenia"* (Albanian community, 2015). For the member of Macedonian Slovenia became his country: *"When I was younger I played football with Slovenians and I never felt that I was different from them. Simply put, I feel Slovenia as my country, I know it better now that Macedonia, since I am here almost my whole adult life"* (Macedonian community, 2015).

3.2. Religion

Religious integration represent an important part of the cultural dimension of the integration process, and can play a positive role, as it allows the possibility of a dialogue between the majority religious community and the "immigrant" religious communities. The establishment of a dialogue between the native church with the "immigrant" churches enables inter-religious

dialogue (Medvešek, 2007b: 360).

In Slovenia, the right to religious freedom is regulated by the Slovene Constitution and Religious Freedom Act. Slovenia's Constitution stipulate the separation of church and state in Article 7: "The state and religious communities shall be separate. Religious communities shall enjoy equal rights; they shall pursue their activities freely" (Constitution of RS, 1991). Moreover, lays the freedom of religion in Article 41: "Religious and other beliefs may be freely professed in private and public life. No one shall be obliged to declare his religious or other beliefs. Parents have the right to provide their children with a religious and moral upbringing in accordance with their beliefs. The religious and moral guidance given to children must be appropriate to their age and maturity, and be consistent with their free conscience and religious and other beliefs or convictions (Constitution of RS, 1991). Furthermore, the Article 14 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion or other beliefs, as well as incitement to religious discrimination and incitement of religious hatred and intolerance in Article 63. With article 46, the Constitution recognizes the right to conscientious objection, and with Article 123 allows that "citizens who due to their religious, philosophical, or humanitarian convictions are not willing to perform military duties, must be given the opportunity to participate in the national defense in

some other manner" (Constitution of RS, 1991). Religious communities are legal persons of private law if their functioning is in accordance with the Law on Religious Freedom Act (Official Bulletin no. 14/07) (Medvešek, 2007b: 361). Črnič et al. (2013: 218) observe that following the country's secession from Yugoslavia, Slovenia maintains a degree of separation of church and state, however its laws, include some elements of bias in favor of the Roman Catholic Church.

The research PSIP has suggest that belonging to religious community is not perceived as very important among "new national minorities", since it was classified by importance after belonging to the family, career, local affiliation, nationality, language and ethnicity. The only thing perceived as less important as belonging to religion was affiliation to political party (Medvešek, 2007b: 370).

Table 11: population by religion c and municipality of Koper

	Slovenia		Koper	
Total	1964036	100%	47539	100%
Declared by religion – total	1248988	63,59%	26422	55,58%
Catholic	1135626	57,82%	22017	46,31%
Evangelical and other Protestant	16135	0,82%	113	0,24%
Orthodox	45908	2,34%	2144	4,51%
Islam	47488	2,42%	2036	4,28%
other religion	3831	0,2%	112	0,24%
Believer but belongs to no religion	68714	3,5%	1949	4,1%
Unbeliever, atheist	199264	10,15%	8842	18,6%
Did no want to reply	307973	15,68%	6342	13,34%
Unknown	139097	7,08%	3984	8,38%

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

Among population of municipality of Koper, only 55.58% of residents declared by religion which is about 8% less than the Slovene average. Among religions in Koper is by far most predominate Catholic religion, with 46.31% of believers, however it is about 11.5% less Catholics in Koper than in Slovenia. Catholic are followed by 4.51% of orthodox believers, which present almost twice as much as Slovene average. Followed by 4.28% Islam believers, proportion of which is also considerably higher than in Slovenia. In comparison, also stands out the share of residents declared as unbelievers or atheist, they present 18.6% of Koper population, this is 8.45% more than in Slovenia.

Generally speaking, in the context of pursuing religious activities, among all of the individual nations of "new national community", Croats are in easiest position: *"I am Catholic in theory, but I do not define myself a believer. Conditions for religious life in Slovenia are good, because most of us are Catholic. Mass is also occasionally held in Croatian language"* (Croatian community, 2015). Nevertheless, the example described by the member of Macedonian community shows that when it comes to religion in Slovenia, if there is enough will there is also a way, and shows the there is also a degree of solidarity between the various Christian churches in Slovenia: *"I am of Orthodox faith. We have our own church since last year, before that we were nowhere. It is well know that Orthodox Church is not the same as the Catholic Church. There is also a difference between Orthodox Churches. Our Macedonian Orthodox Church is not recognized by Serbian Orthodox church, and before that we had to do our ceremonies in Serbian Orthodox Church, but that was in Serbian language, however we are not Serbs. Hence came the need and idea to have our own Macedonian church, and our own Macedonian church municipality. I was an initiator for establishing Macedonian Church association, we got free fasciitis that we can use during weekends for worship as well as we have our own priest that moves between three cities in Slovenia. We are very grateful to the Catholic Church that we can use their facilities as a Macedonian Orthodox church rent free and also satisfied*

with the religious life in Slovenia. There is solidarity between Christian churches and since Slovenia is a Christian country there are no signs of religious intolerance. The rights are the same. In Ljubljana they are using church under a contract for twenty to thirty years, as well as in Kranj, and now also in Koper, where they gave us an offer to buy the church, but we do not have the money, since Macedonia does not help us. Religion is regarded in such a manner that if you live outside Macedonia you have to find your own way alone" (Macedonian community, 2015). The member of Serbian community explain, that in Koper, Serbs Orthodox have all the necessary conditions to pursue their religious activities: *"here in Koper we have our own priest as well as our own Serbian Orthodox church, which was once the Catholic Church"* (Serbian community, 2015).

Even though, that followers of Islamic religion cannot rely on the similar solidarity of Catholic Church as explained by the member of Macedonian community, we can nevertheless assess the conditions to peruse Islamic religion in Koper are satisfactory. As confirmed by the member of Bosnian and the member of Albanian community: *"I am Muslim, but I do not always obey all the rules. The conditions to be able to practice our religion are fulfilled in Slovenia. In Koper we have oratory. Older people who live here say that there have been some improvements. People frequently ask me*

about my religion, but I do not like being asked such questions. I rather tell them about ethnicity, however, there are no signs of religious intolerance" (Bosnian community, 2015). *"Albanians are Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim. However, for us nationality comes first and faith second. I was born in a Muslim family, but I am not a strong believer. My son on the other hand, is an atheist. There is an oratory here in Koper as well as an Islamic community. I also help finance it, although I am not a man who works for the religion"* (Albanian community, 2015).

All of the interviewed members of "new national community" agree that there is no sign of religious intolerance in Slovenia. This is further confirmed by the member of majority population, who notes: *"I think that there is no religion intolerance in Slovenia, because religion is a private matter in Slovenia, which goes back to Yugoslavia where the church was completely separated from the state. Maybe in the future this will become an important issue with escalation of intolerance toward Islamic religion, which in my senses is still not felt in Slovenia. The consequence of Yugoslavia is that stereotypes and prejudices are rooted in Slovenia people as well as unburdened with religion. In Koper, Muslims have their oratory. I know cases in different faculties where two professors take their students to oratory every year so that they can get to know more about Muslim religion and*

overcome some stereotypes" (Slovenian expert, 2015).

3.3. Employment

Bešter (2005: 559–560) regards economic integration as the basis for dignified life and therefore one of the most important dimensions of integration. Unsuccessful integration of individuals in the economic field has a number of negative consequences, from financial, to psychological, medical and even criminal, since financial distress can also leads individuals to resort to crime. Hence, it should be one the main goals of the states to provide structural options for the fastest and best possible economic integration of all its inhabitants. Immigrants are in this context often particularly vulnerable and have to face more obstacles then majority population. Numerous studies have proved that the economic position of immigrants is often worse than the national average.

Employment is among the most important factors of integration, not only in the context of socio–economic dimensions of integration, but integration in general. The research: "Perception of Slovene Integration Policy (PSIP)", has shown that respondents regardless of their ethnic origins rated employment as the second most important factor for integration into Slovenian society, after

knowledge of the Slovenian language. Employment is the foundation of independence and economic security, as well as encourages networking between immigrants and majority population, which is very important for social integration. Employment it is especially important in the beginning of the integration process, while other factors of economic integration (promotion, better wages, etc.) tend to become more and more important later, when immigrants already settled in the new environment. One of the main obstacle to compete for jobs, especially better jobs is inadequate knowledge of the language. In addition, due to various structural barriers and different forms of discrimination, immigrants and their descendants often represent above-average proportion of unemployed. Commonly, they find themselves and remain trapped in situations where their employment is not appropriate for their level of education or capacities, however, they have no chance for promotion. This situation can lead to many frustrations of individuals, as well as could be harmful for society as a whole, since it is a waste of human potential and can thus lead to economic and social problems (Bešter, 2005: 563-564).

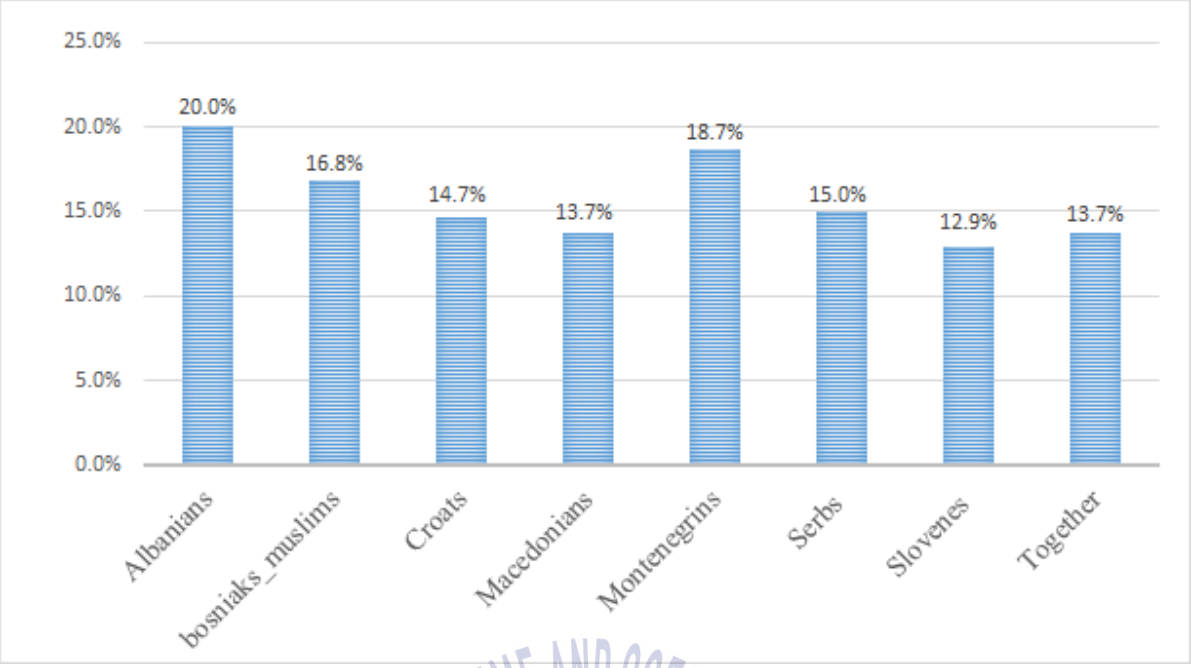

Figure 6: The share of unemployed among the active population of Slovenia (ages of 18 years and over), by nationality, Census of Population, Households and Housing, 2002

Source: Bešter (2007c: 223)

According to the Census, the share of unemployed in Slovenia, among the nationalities from the former Yugoslavia is bigger than among Slovenian nationality and also greater than the Slovenian average. The difference between individual ethnicities is also big, and can imply on discrimination between different ethnic groups in Slovenian labor market.

The 2002 Census shows that the proportion of the unemployed is

considerably higher among the descendants of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia than among the actual immigrants. One of the reasons for that lies in the fact that immigrants have mostly immigrated from areas of former Yugoslavia to Slovenia because of the increased workforce needs on Slovenian labor market. However, their descendants are now faced with completely different situation. Today, young people in general, especially the ones who are searching for their first employment tend to experience a lot of difficulties. In addition, the completion for jobs with their "native" peers may also expose them more to ethnic discrimination (Bešter, 2007c: 224).

Slovenian legislation in Article 6 of Employment Relationship Act strictly prohibits all forms of discrimination, inter alia stating, that:

> *"(1) Employers must ensure for job seekers (hereinafter: candidates) in gaining employment or workers during their employment relationship and in connection with the termination of employment contracts equal treatment irrespective of ethnicity, race or ethnic origin, national or social background, gender, skin colour, state of health, disability, faith or conviction, age, sexual orientation, family status, membership of unions, financial standing or other personal circumstance in accordance with this Act, the regulations governing fulfilment of the principle of equal treatment and the regulations governing equal opportunities for*

women and men. (2) Employers must ensure equal treatment in respect of personal circumstances referred to in the preceding paragraph for candidates and workers especially in gaining employment, promotion, training, education, retraining, pay and other receipts from the employment relationship, working hours and cancellation of employment contracts. (3) Direct and indirect discrimination based on any personal circumstance referred to in the first paragraph of this article are prohibited. Direct discrimination exists where owing to a certain personal circumstance a person has been, is or could be treated less favourably than another person in identical or similar situations. Indirect discrimination owing to a personal circumstance exists where owing to an apparently neutral regulation, criterion or practice a person with a certain personal circumstance has been, is or could be placed in a less favourable position than another person in identical or similar situations and conditions, unless such regulation, criterion or practice are justified by a legitimate objective and if the means for achieving that objective are appropriate and necessary. Any instructions for discrimination against a person on the basis of any personal circumstance at all are also direct or indirect discrimination. … (7) Discriminated persons and persons who help the victims of discrimination may not be exposed to unfavourable consequences owing

to actions aimed at fulfilling the prohibition of discrimination" (Employment Relationships act, 2013).

Nevertheless, Ana Kralj (2009: 240) observes that most of the participants in her research believe that discrimination based on ethnicity occurs when they are searching for work as well as during their employment. However, it usually occurs in forms of covert discrimination. Naum Taštanoski (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 240), stress that "it is all hidden well. Access to work is limited, candidates, belonging to the domicile nation are quietly favoured, regardless of their qualifications. It is normal for the member of the majority nation to get the job. Tell me a single name of a parliament member, who belongs to any of these nations." Branko Matijević (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 241), explains his perception of the issues: "look, work represents at least 70 or 80 percent of our lives; if it is so important and if we cannot be promoted with respect to our qualities, knowledge and experience, this is surely a major obstacle. If two candidates for a single job are equal, the Slovenian will be chosen, because he is Slovenian..." On the other hand, all of the interviews conducted in Koper with members of individual "new national minorities" in 2015, unexpectedly seem to have quite different views about discussed issues. Member of Bosnian community living in Koper observes: *"these days you can see nepotism and corruption everywhere. I do not think there are any*

disadvantages because of ethnicity as long as we can speak the language" (Bosnian community, 2015). Later on in the interview also explains that she have benefited from positive discrimination in the case of her current job: *"because I speak Bosnian I work in the Bosnian Cultural Association. You have to, however, meet certain criteria like understanding the Slovenian and Italian language"* (Bosnian community, 2015). The member of Croatian community experienced similar situation: *"I think that we have equal employment chances as the majority population. I even experienced positive discrimination, because one of the conditions for my current job was that the applicant needs to be a member of one ethnic community. I find it very interesting that so many people from ex-Yugoslavia avoid talking about their family originating from a former country, however, as soon as they see an opportunity, they will explore their whole family tree"* (Croatian community, 2015). Member of Serbian community explains: *"I never had any additional problems that any other job seeker would not have. It is a public "secret" that in certain places in Slovenian one can get a job only by having same kind of aid and connections. Maybe I am lucky that I am not working in a big collective and that I do not have an abnormal boss over me. Previous director was also a knowledgeable man and did not make any differences"* (Serbian community, 2015). While member of Albanian community observes *"same employment opportunity mostly depends on where you are trying to obtain a*

job. In state institutions employment conditions are the same for everyone, however, in the private sector the criteria is different" (Albanian community, 2015). Which is contrary to a popular opinion from "Slovenian streets", where we can usually hear, that to obtain a job in state institutions depends on certain connections (regardless of ethnicity). Member of Macedonian community, who has helped many immigrants to find work, explain that he also had one negative experience: *"there is not much difference if you live here and speak Slovenian. I have one bad experience, since I run an employment agency, in which we employ all European citizens. Now there is a habit that Macedonians who live at the border with Bulgaria, get Bulgarian as second citizenship, which is why most of Macedonians who had come recently, came with Bulgarian passports. Usually when I bring workers for the interview they are assessed on their knowledge of basic Slovenian language. However, when I brought one worker who was applying to work on a machine where his job would be to push a certain button, his oral fluency was not enough. The worker in human resources was pressing him to read some technical terms. This is a person that has lived in Slovenian for about 5 years and can normally speak Slovenian"* (Macedonian community, 2015). Especially interesting is the following statement of member of Montenegrin community: *"to be honest, when I employ workers, if I have to make a choice between a Slovenian and a Montenegrin, I will take the Slovenian,*

since he is more likely to have problems in order. If the job requires an emphasis on expertise, the situation is different. But if a worker for simple jobs is needed and there is more candidates, then I would more likely choose the Slovene. It is hard to say that this is discrimination." (Montenegrin community, 2015). Member of majority population notes: *"when I talked with people that moved to Slovenia, I have to say I had more positive stories than negative ones. While one Madam said that she got a help from her coworker … the other explained that they said, that she is just here taking Slovenian bread and that she should go back home" (Slovenian expert, 2015).*

The major issue of work related discrimination is also the phenomena of the "glass ceiling" and the "sticky floor". Velimir Bijelić (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 241) observes: "I think that people, whose last names end with -ić, have to deal with some sort of a glass ceiling, a restriction of their ascent". Member of Bosnian community believes that the obstacles concerning promotion on workplace lie elsewhere: *"I know a case of someone being refused a promotion because he did not have citizenship. As long as you are not a Slovenian citizen you may have some problems. However, this is a problem of citizenship not ethnicity"* (Bosnian community, 2015). However, member of Macedonian community never experienced restriction in promotion because of his ethnicity or ethnicity of his workers: *"there is no problem*

with promotions; my workers who came here about 6 years ago (citizenship is only possible after living in Slovenia for 10 years, note by M. G.) are now foremen, meaning that if one is good at what he does he will be promoted" (Macedonian community). Member of Montenegrin community explains: *"I worked on positions from project engineer to director, but I never had any problems, maybe because I worked in the technique field"* (Montenegrin community, 2015).

3.4. Use of language

Language and society are so closely connected and intertwined that in certain moments it is almost impossible to distinguish the linguistic processes from social processes. Language is part of an individual's personality, and linguistic habits are the most important components of social habits. As a social phenomenon, language is closely linked to the social structure and social value system, since it is with linguistic behavior that individuals reflect social norms required by a certain position, while at the same time determines our attitude towards other people and the position in society (Novak-Lukanovič, 2004: 67).

"It is through his mother tongue that every human being first learn to

formulate and express his ideas about himself and about the world in which he lives" (UNESCO 1953, as cited in Yadav, 1992: 177). Thus, the mother tongue could be considered as the most important determinant of individual's nationality.

Table 12: population by mother tongue in Slovenia and municipality of Koper, Census 1991 and 2002. Distributed by Number and percent.

Mother tongue	1991		2002	
Number	Slovenia	Koper	Slovenia	Koper
Mother tongue - TOTAL	1965986	45391	1964036	47539
Slovene	1727360	33000	1723434	35246
Italian	4009	1265	3762	1059
Hungarian	9240	50	7713	51
Romany	2847	1	3834	4
Albanian	4022	98	7177	240
Bosnian	/	/	31499	1311
Croatian	52110	4047	54079	3824
Macedonian	4603	123	4760	227
German	1543	30	1628	42
Serbian	18407	766	31329	1268
Serbo-Croatian	84496	3339	36265	1911
Other	4797	357	6240	567
Unknown	52552	2315	52316	1789
Mother tongue	**1991**		**2002**	
Percent	Slovenia	Koper	Slovenia	Koper
Mother tongue - TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
Slovene	87,86%	72,70%	87,75%	74,14%
Italian	0,20%	2,79%	0,19%	2,23%
Hungarian	0,47%	0,11%	0,39%	0,11%
Romany	0,14%	0,00%	0,20%	0,01%
Albanian	0,20%	0,22%	0,37%	0,50%
Bosnian	/	/	1,60%	2,76%
Croatian	2,65%	8,92%	2,75%	8,04%
Macedonian	0,23%	0,27%	0,24%	0,48%
German	0,08%	0,07%	0,08%	0,09%
Serbian	0,94%	1,69%	1,60%	2,67%
Serbo-Croatian	4,30%	7,36%	1,85%	4,02%
Other	0,24%	0,79%	0,32%	1,19%
Unknown	2,67%	5,10%	2,66%	3,76%

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

Serbo-Croatian was alongside Slovenian and Macedonian official language of the former Yugoslavia, and was spoken in the federal republics of Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro. Today, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro are independent states with their individual official languages: Serbian in Serbia, Croatian in Croatia, Bosnian in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegrin in Montenegro. In the 1991 Census, both Bosnian and Montenegrin languages were still considered as Serbo-Croatian, in addition it is highly likely that certain individuals that in 2002 census identify their mother tongue as Serbian or Croatian, at that time identified with Serbo-Croatian, especially since 1991 Census was conducted in the times of disintegration of Yugoslavia, and the confusion was at its peak. In 2002 Census, only Montenegrin language was not yet considered as independent language, however while only 0,14% of Slovenian and 0,17% of Koper population ethnically identified as Montenegrins, at the same time 1,85% of population in Slovenia and 4,02% of population in Koper identify with Serbo-Croatian as their mother tongue. Therefore, it is safe to assume that many individuals who have ethnically identified themselves as Serbs, Croats or Bosniacs, also identified with Serbo-Croatian as their mother tongue.

Table 12 shows the population by mother tongue in municipality of Koper in

comparison with Slovenia in years 1991 and 2002. Data also reveals the change that happened between 1991 and 2002 in the population by mother tongue in Slovenia and municipality of Koper. The share of persons who consider Slovene as their mother tongue in Koper has increased by 1,44%, the share of persons who consider their mother tongue as Italian have dropped by 0,56%, while share of "new national minorities" stayed almost the same (0,02% incensement).

2002 Census shows that mother tongue of 74.14% Koper residents is Slovenian, followed by 8.04% whose mother tongue is Croatian, 4.02% identifies their mother tongue as Serbo-Croatian, 3.76% consider their mother tongue as unknown, 2.76% as Bosnian, 2.67% as Serbian, 2.23% identifies their mother tongue as Italian, 0.5% as Albanian and 0.48% as Macedonian. The share of population with Slovenian mother tongue in municipality of Koper is far beyond Slovenian average and it is also the lowest among all 11 of Slovenian city municipalities. However, if we consider only the share of persons with mother tongues from countries of former Yugoslavia, in Slovenian city municipalities, the biggest share of residents with mother tongues of "new national minorities" lives in municipality of Velenje (21.94%), followed by Koper (18.47%) and Ljubljana (15.27%).

Another interesting indicator of linguistic image in Slovenia and Koper is the

languages spoken between families in their households, presented in the following table.

Table 13: the population according to spoken language in the household (family) in Slovenia and municipality of Koper, Census 2002

One spoken language	Slovenia		Koper	
TOTAL	1964036	100%	47539	100%
Slovene	1789460	91,11%	38449	80,88%
Italian	1488	0,08%	396	0,83%
Albanian	2296	0,12%	89	0,19%
Bosnian	7091	0,36%	205	0,43%
Croatian	3697	0,19%	253	0,53%
Macedonian	780	0,04%	63	0,13%
Serbian	4286	0,22%	148	0,31%
Serbo-Croatian	4403	0,22%	252	0,53%
Other	3595	0,18%	332	0,70%
Two spoken languages				
Slovene and Italian	4484	0,23%	1619	3,41%
Slovene and Hungarian	3910	0,20%	15	0,03%
Slovene and Bosnian	17341	0,88%	735	1,55%
Slovene and Croatian	15817	0,81%	1137	2,39%
Slovene and Serbian	15704	0,80%	631	1,33%
Slovene and Serbo-Croatian	16600	0,85%	789	1,66%
Slovene and other	14131	0,72%	578	1,22%
Other languages	243	0,01%	52	0,11%
Unknown	53309	2,71%	1796	3,78%

Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia

Table 13 shows that Slovene language predominates in Slovenian households, 95.6% of population in Slovenia speak in their homes Slovene (91.11%) or Slovene in combination with other languages (4.48%). In Koper 92.57% of residents, speak Slovene (80.88%) or Slovene in combination with other languages (11.58%) in their households. However, despite the fact that the difference in this regard is only about 3%, the date shows that the municipality of Koper is considerably more linguistically diverse then Slovenian average. The mere fact that in comparison, the Slovene language is spoken in more than 10% less households in Koper is telling enough, however there is also more than twice as many households in Koper that speak two languages in their households.

In Slovenia, only 1.15% of population speak languages of "new national minorities" in their households, while 3,33% of Slovene population speak languages of "new national minorities" in combination with Slovene (the actual number is a little higher, since the Albanian and Macedonian languages are included into category of "Slovene and other", and are not considered in this calculation). In Koper, however, this number is considerable higher, with 2.12% of population speaking languages of "new national minorities", and 6.92% of Slovene population speaking languages of "new national minorities" in combination with Slovene among their family members

("Slovene and other" is not included in calculation). The share of households with Italian as a spoken languages is 0,83%, while 3,41% households communicate in both Slovene and Italian. Even though that the municipality of Koper is bilingual with both Slovene and Italian as official languages, there is considerably more households in Koper where languages of "new national minorities" are spoken, then there is Italian-speaking households.

To make the exact comparison between the population by mother tongue and spoken language in households, we would need more specific information about the mother tongue of individuals and the language they speak in their households, nevertheless we can make some speculations based on the comparison. Table 12 and table 13, reveals that the share of population in Koper who identified their mother tongue as one of the languages of "new national minorities", is almost twice as much as the share of people who use languages of "new national minorities" as the spoken language in their households. However, there are also considerable differences between the specific languages of "new national minorities". The most prominent difference is visible with Croatian language, as 8.04% of Koper population identified their mother tongue as Croatian, but only 2,92% of Koper population speak Croatian and/or Croatian in combination with Slovene in their

households. Which confirms the observation of the member of Croatian community that it is specific for Croatian community – especially for the ones that immigrated from the border areas – to quickly assimilate. On the other hand, the difference between Bosnian and Serbian is much less prominent. For example, 2.76% of Koper population identified their mother tongue as Bosnian, while 1.98% speak Bosnian and/or Bosnian in combination with Slovene in their households. However, when it comes to Italian language it is the other way around, while only 2.23% of Koper population identify with Italian as their mother tongue, 4.24% of Koper population speak Italian and/or Italian in combination with Slovene in their households. Does this duplicity eloquently speaks about the hierarchy of languages?

Kržišnik-Bukić (2008: 139) observes that members of "new national minorities" who are citizens of the Republic of Slovenia generally have a good command of the Slovene language. They use their mother tongue mainly between family, friends, neighbors, in some working environments, at various public events, etc. Vižintin writes, that the variety of languages that we can hear on the streets and in public places in Koper, testify about diverse interweaving of languages and that we are living in a highly diverse society. In Koper, some people in a relaxed way and without embarrassment speak in their mother tongue, which is not Slovene. And explain that when she as a

customer, acquaintance, friend or as a passers-by interact with them all speak in Slovene, however she can sometimes listen to them speaking in their native language with their colleagues, friends or family members (Vižintin, 2011: 45-46).

In Slovenia, Article 61 of constitution gives the right to everyone to freely express affiliation with their nation or national community, to use their language and script and to foster and give expression to his culture. As addition article 62 ensures that in the procedures before state and other authorities everyone has the right to use their own language and script. These are the only provisions that are directly related to the collective rights of individuals of all nationalities. Article 11 states that the official language in Slovenia is Slovene, with the exception of municipalities that are traditionally inhabited by Italian and Hungarian national communities, where there are two official languages, Italian or Hungarian and Slovenian (Constitution of the RS, 1991). Since the municipality of Koper is traditionally inhabited by Italian national community, the official languages of Koper are both Slovene and Italian. Some scholars however, have found through their research that there is a big difference between what is written in Constitution and what is happening in reality. Hasan Bačić (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 246) explains that "there are remarks in the sense 'How dare you [speak in your mother

tongue; author's note], this is Slovenia!' Most of us use our mother tongue when we speak on the telephone. ... However, a certain discomfort is always present. If you speak in English, then everything is fine. This is the problem of small nations, which are very homogenous." Kralj (2009: 246) observes that there are subtle pressures exerted upon the members "of new national minorities" because of the use of their mother tongue. As articulated by Živko Banjac (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 246) "for instance, when I am at work and my phone rings and I know that a Serb is calling me, I will always carefully observe who is around to hear me speak. There is nothing spontaneous about answering the call. At one occasion it happened that I left the office and spoke on the phone in Serbian in the corridor, when a co-worker approached me and told me to be careful, when I speak, as someone could hear me." Vesna Miletić (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 246) also explain about the subtle pressures: "when we call someone on the telephone, the first thing we ask is 'Možeš da pričaš?', 'Can you speak?' and this does not mean 'Do you have time to talk?', but 'Can you speak Serbian?'"

Interviews conducted in Koper with members of individual "new national minorities" in 2015, has shown that none of the interviewees had similar or any other problems with using their mother tongue in public. Member of

Macedonian community said: *"I speak in my mother tongue in public, however I have never had any problems at least no one said anything"* (Macedonian community, 2015). While member of Bosnian community explains that *"it would feel strange speaking in Slovenian, if I met some of Bosnian friends in informal situations. It would not be natural, however, if we meet in formal situation we of course converse in Slovenian. Some people are ashamed to speak in Bosnian, but some words cannot be translated and it is easier to express yourself in Bosnian"* (Bosnian community, 2015). The member of Croatian community raises a different question: *"I have no experience of being treated differently because of my ethnicity. I have no problem speaking Croatian in public, but I speak Croatian very rarely because there seldom is the need for it. Some people have been living here for 30 or 40 years, yet still do not speak Slovenian, because they do not need to use it their social circle. These are mostly low-skilled workers. There are also some cases when people do not want to speak Slovenian"* (Croatian community, 2015). Vižintin (2011: 50) observes that even immigrants themselves who speak both mother tongue and Slovene language are often critical toward immigrants from former Yugoslavia, if they do not learn Slovene. However, the criteria for members of "new national minorities" can be very different than for other immigrants: *"the criteria for people coming from former Yugoslavia is much stricter, because people expect them to speak the language immediately.*

On the other hand someone who has lived here for 15 years and comes from any other part of the world will easily garner a compliment" (Croatian community, 2015). The member of Serbian community on the other hand, expressed critical view toward people who do not want to preserve their mother tongue, stating: *"another big problem is, that some people do not want to speak their language even though they know how to speak it. When I asked a friend of mine, who never speaks Serbian, why she does not do this, she replied that she was born here and considered it normal to speak Slovenian. However, I find it pointless to speak in Slovenian when in company of only Serbian people. Some are afraid that it will be later noticeable when they switch back to speak Slovenian. I know that it is noticeable with me and it should be noticeable. My stance is that we should understand each other when we talk. Even in Slovenia there are many different dialects, so I do not see any problem adding some more, since we all speak in same language the only difference is dialect. We ourselves are making a problem with thinking that the others will see us differently"* (Serbian community, 2015).

3.5. Education and preservation of mother tongue

Table 14: Comparison of the educational structure among different ethnic groups (aged 18 years and over), Census 2002

	Elementary school or lower		Secondary school		Higher school		University and higher	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Albanians	2045	45,6%	2261	50,4%	91	2,0%	90	2,0%
Bosniacs and Muslims	11638	47,3%	12415	50,5%	259	1,1%	296	1,2%
Montenegrins	564	25,0%	1241	55,0%	162	7,2%	289	12,8%
Croats	11266	35,4%	16752	52,6%	1472	4,6%	2336	7,3%
Macedonians	1359	38,8%	1731	49,4%	132	3,8%	283	8,1%
Serbs	11760	36,2%	17763	54,6%	1126	3,5%	1867	5,7%
Slovenes	382890	29,2%	745927	56,8%	73740	5,6%	110943	8,5%
"New national minorities"	38632	38,9%	52163	52,6%	3242	3,3%	5161	5,2%

Source: Bešter (2007c: 226)

Table 14 shows, that if we compare the educational structure of Slovenes with the members of "new national minorities", the level of education between populations ethnically declared as Slovenes is higher than the level of education between members of "new national minorities". However, the difference between the two is not so significant, whereas the gap between the certain nations of "new national minorities" is very big. The educational

structure of Montenegrin community is better than the one of Slovenes, the structure of Croats, Macedonians and Serbs is lower but comparable with the level of education of Slovenes, while the educational structure of Albanians and Bosniacs and Muslims is considerably lower than the average of other nations.

Bešter and Medvešek notes that today, immigrant lessons of their respective mother tongue and cultures, take three different forms in Slovenia: First, learning their mother tongue within cultural associations organized by immigrant communities. Second, children can learn their mother tongue as an extracurricular activity in school. For example, in the school year 2012/13, extracurricular language lessons of Albanian, Bosnian, Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian, Dutch, German and Russian took place at eleven elementary schools in Slovenia and were attended by 275 children. Both of two forms are on voluntary basis and takes place in pupils' free time, while with the third form, initiate in recent years, offer to children an immigrant mother tongue lessons, in the form of compulsory elective subject within regular classes in grades 7–9 of elementary schools. These classes are aimed at all pupils, not just children of immigrants. Many elementary school in Slovenia, do not even consider lessons in immigrant mother tongues and claim that they did not received any suggestions from parents of children, or if they did they lacked

suitable teaching personnel. Teachers also expressed that pupils show a lot more interest in learning "world" languages, such as English, French, etc., then in languages of "new national minorities" (Bešter and Medvešek, 2015: 123–124). The member of majority population articulate: *"I am getting to know schools and teachers that work hard to help those children, but this is a process. My doctoral dissertation demonstrated that schools that are continuously getting newcomers for 10 years have learned to deal with this challenge and are now the best, but it took 10 years"* (Slovenian expert, 2015).

The Constitution of RS (1991) guarantee freedom of education and dictate that the state have to provide the opportunities for all citizens to obtain proper education, as well as that the primary education is compulsory and financed from public funds (Article 57). In addition, the members of Italian and Hungarian are guaranteed "the right to education and schooling in their own languages, as well as the right to establish and develop such education and schooling" in the geographical areas where they traditionally reside (Article 64). For example, in Koper and other traditional geographical area of Italian community, education is provided in separate schools, with either Italian or Slovenian as a language of instructions (Petričušić, 2004: 8). On the other hand as stated by Kralj (2009: 238), members of new national minorities "can

only rely on eventual bilateral agreements and international conventions and above all, on the self-organization and self-funding of such additional classes". Tahir Maliqaj (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 238) emphasized the following problems: "additional classes of Albanian language for instance. The government approves, of course, providing that the assembled group of children is large enough... However, we cannot pay the teacher! We do have a teacher, but look, she also has a family to support. The Ministry of Education, they paid 150 euros to our teacher... That does not even cover travelling expenses. So teachers feel uninspired, they are not motivated and find no satisfaction in teaching." About 6 years later, president of Albanian Cultural association Illyria explain how the cultural association Illyria organizes Albanian language classes for children born in Slovenia: *"classes are held in the Association headquarters in Koper and are taught by three teachers, two to three hours per week. Until now classes were financed within the framework of the Association, however, this year the Association is planning to use subsidy from the Ministry of Education, which covers basic supplies and is worth between 35 and 40 Euros per pupil"* (Albanian community, 2015). Kržišnik-Bukić (2008: 141) explains, that some years ago, the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport have prepared the condition for lessons of Albanian language, however it was not realized due to the inadequate awareness of their parents and their unwillingness. Kralj (2009: 239) argues

that national communities, whose countries have no bilateral agreements with Slovenia, usually find themselves being dismissed, as there is no legal basis to support the organization of additional classes in their language. Hasan Bačić (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 239) illustrates their situation: "five or six years ago we demanded the organization of additional classes of our mother tongue in primary schools and when we visited the Basic Education Directorate ... well, there the conversation ran on and on and this was the result: there is no legal basis... We would agree, for instance, to a Serbian or a Croatian teacher being appointed in Koper or in Jesenice. And lessons should be open to all, finally, why shouldn't other children join the classes if they wanted to?" Today however the education situation for members of Bosnian community have changed for the better, as articulated by the interlocutor from Bosnian community: *"I am employed at the Bosnian Cultural Association of Slovenia, which is an umbrella organization for all the Bosnian Associations, through public works. My job there is to work as a teacher of Bosnian language. Currently we carry out our courses in Ljubljana and Koper, however, starting September 2015 we will also be starting with Bosnian language classes in the municipality of Hrpelje-Kozina. The government, through the state funding public works, now funds these classes. However, this is not an ideal solution. Ideally, Bosnia and Herzegovina should take care of their own minority, as is the case for the Croatian and Macedonian community. The Slovenian*

government also finances their own teachers in Bosnia, so Bosnia should also take care of their own migrants here" (Bosnian community, 2015). The Croatian and Macedonian interlocutors, confirmed above-mentioned case for the Croatian and Macedonian community: *"For some time language classes were organized by our association, however, it did not work out, because of financial reasons and because there were not enough children. However, up until last year there was a Croatian language class organized in Elementary school Lucia Portorož. There is one teacher sent from Croatia every 3 years, whose job it is to travel around Slovenia and teach the Croatian language, not only to Croatian children, but also to mixed marriage children, as well as to Slovenians that want to learn. This is organized by the Croatian Ministry of Education in cooperation with the Office for Croats outside the homeland. They also provide the textbooks"* (Croatian community, 2015). Macedonian interlocutor explains: *"our children have an opportunity to attend classes and learn Macedonian, the credit for which goes to the Macedonian government, which finances and send us teachers from Macedonia. This is an additional/optional class that lasts about 2 hours a week. However, Slovenian government organizes classes for people that have moved in Slovenia and wants to learn Slovenian language, which helps foreigners to socialize faster. Some people need more time to socialize and some socialize fester, nevertheless education is the most important factor in socialization"*

(Macedonian community, 2015).

Kržišnik-Bukić (2008: 140-141) explains when it comes to teaching the mother tongue in Slovene education, the problems are partly on the side of the state as well as in part of the parents themselves. Practice in Slovenia shows, on the stigmatizing of pupils due to the still alive relatively principled underestimation of the subject, when it comes to the children of "new national community", because of the events in recent history. Therefore, it was and still is happening that the children themselves, prefer not to opt for elective subjects offered. Since education is a fundamental element in the process of primary socialization, appropriate attention should be also devoted to many other aspects of the teaching personnel, which can affect both the psyche of the pupils of "new national minorities" and the versatile sympathetic thinking and behavior of their Slovenian peers. The member of Serbian community explains that the *"opportunity to learn about Serbian culture and language is on the level of associations and also up to the interest of the families. Some associations are very active and they offer their members workshops that are related to teaching language, history, traditions and other general and basic matters that every member of the national community should know. Our association organizes annual workshops. We also have a teacher who, depending on the interest of the parents and*

their children, devotes one to two hours per week to teach the Serbian language.. Now, for about three years this has functioned well. It would be good if the interest among children would be a little higher" (Serbian community, 2015). For example, the date from 2008/09 school year shows that the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport have offered as a possible elective language: Croatian, Macedonian and Serbian. Among the 448 elementary schools in Slovenia, five schools implemented the Croatian language classes, as an elective subject, with total of 70 students. However, despite the possibilities offered, the study groups for learning Serbian and Macedonian were not formed at any of the elementary school in 2008/09. (Kržišnik-Bukić, 2008: 141). The member of Serbian community compare current situation with the one from his childhood and propose a different approach: *"when I was a child (in Koper, former Yugoslavia) we had Serbo-Croatian class, where we were thought Cyrillic alphabet, traditional songs, etc. Languages of nations that were once constitutive should be taught on institutional level as were in past. Slovenia as one of the successors of the former Yugoslavia, transferred major part of the Constitution from Yugoslavia, it should also transfer that part. Elementary school should be as it was before the disintegration of Yugoslavia. There should be a subject even if optional of Serbian language, Macedonian language and so on. However, this should be mandatory for all with an option to decide which language they want to learn.*

Because the thing is, that children and young people do not want to be excluded, they do not want to be something special. If we want to do something good for the members of national communities and for majority population, I think this is the only option to correct this situation, and as we know more you know more you are worth" (Serbian community, 2015). President of union of Montenegrin associations also agrees that the changes are most necessary in elementary school, *"our opinion is that children have to learn and speak Slovenian, however there should also be a supplementary language class, where they could learn Montenegrin"* (Montenegrin community, 2015). The children that migrate in Koper, have usually even more difficulties in elementary school, because of the specific education system typical for ethnically mixed areas in Slovenia: *"the coastal area presents an even bigger problem for children because they have to learn the Italian language also as well. Those who came from Bosnia have great difficulties learning the Italian language, because Slovenian is not their first language and they must first translate from Italian to Slovenian and then Bosnian. The biggest problem in school is not being able to speak the language"* (Bosnian community, 20015).

The member of majority population whose field of expertise is in the field of integration of immigrant children in Slovenian primary schools, more extensively explained the current situation and its background: *"under the*

law, all the children of the immigrants, regardless of their origin, have the opportunity to learn their mother tongue and culture in primary school. This is written in Article 8 and 10 in the law of Elementary School; one speaks about teaching Slovenian and the other about teaching the mother tongue and culture. However, this is in theory. Gradually, the number of schools that implement additional classes are increasing, and this means around 10 to 15 schools in Slovenia. If the school has a minimum of five children who speak a particular native language, it can apply to the Ministry of Education and get 45 euros of support per child for a whole school year. These 45 euros per child is intended to compensate for the use of space, heating and for some copies of materials. However, this does not cover the payment for the teacher or for their travel costs, because Slovenia expects on the basis of reciprocal bilateral agreements that are signed with all the countries of the former Yugoslavia, to pay for their teachers. In practice, this means that Slovenia pays for all expenses (working hours, travel expenses and accommodations) of three teachers in Bosnia and Herzegovina, five teachers in Serbia and four in Croatia, and Slovenia expects the same from other countries. Permanently employed in Slovenia are teachers of Macedonian and Croatian languages. This works with Croatia and Macedonia, but it does not work with Bosnia and Serbia, although I received some unofficial information that Serbia also launched a tender to recruit a teacher in Slovenia. As far as

legal options, I asked some schools why they do not organize language classes, and they said that even the parents themselves do not give incentives, so this is a very complex problem. On one hand, parents alone are not aware of the importance of their mother tongue, and they consider it important for their children to learn the language of the environment. Another problem is that the country of origin does not recognize the importance of the mother tongue and they do not send or employ teachers in Slovenia. For example, Amir Baltić from a union of Bosnian associations, believes it would be better that the teacher of their mother tongue is someone who lives in Slovenia, speaks both languages and knows both cultures, than someone from the country of origin who himself has to adapt to a new environment. Slovenians are very proud that we employ teachers of Slovenian language in 13 countries (now 14, note by M. G.) across Europe. And in Germany alone, there are 6 permanently employed teachers. For example, many Slovenians that were born abroad and whose parents did not educate them in their mother language now that they became parents themselves feel the need to improve their Slovenian. The Slovenian government, under the conditions that they do not have to employ a new teacher, provides a free language classes also for adults" (Slovenian expert, 2015).

It seem that discrimination in school is one of the spheres of social life

were members of "new national minorities" are the most vulnerable, in addition we are discussing about children, which are inherently very vulnerable social group. The member of majority population explain: *"discrimination in schools comes from teachers and other pupils, and this really hurts and hinders the integration process; it can also lead to a full resistance toward Slovenia, Slovenian language and integration"* (Slovenian expert, 2015). The separation of children according to ethnicity as described by the member of Macedonian community, can also hiders the integration process: *"there is no serious discrimination in schools, but once we had a case where the school put together 99 percent of foreigners in one class (School of Mechanical Engineering), which of course is not good for their socialization, (in my opinion they had to be mixed together with the Slovene students), however some time later this problem was fixed. Another example was in football, where children from two football clubs (Koper and Izola), participated in the tournament in Spain. They were spread in two teams: one team was of local foreigners and the other of natives. Even though foreigners have won, this was not good for the children"* (Macedonian community, 2015). The member of Bosnian community explains that discrimination in schools comes mainly from the teachers: *"I know of a Bosnian girl born in Slovenia who is now in the 9th grade of primary school and is the best student in the class. She is also in our drama group. Last year, the school was preparing*

some sort of celebration and chose some students to be official announcers. When this girl came to the rehearsals a teacher told her she could sense her "I" and that it would be best if she resigned. The girl was very hurt and the teacher afterwards apologized for what had happened. Nevertheless, she suggested her part be in English; she also shortened it and carefully chose her vocabulary. There is also a case when a teacher asked her pupils what language they spoke at home. One girl said they speak Bosnian and teacher, who is right before retirement, said that no such language exists, but is only some subversion of Serbo-Croatian. Discrimination in school does not come from peers and classmates, but more often than not from teachers" (Bosnian community, 2015). Some additional cases of discrimination in schools have inter alia, been presented in the section: "discrimination in everyday life".

3.6. Media

The media are increasingly becoming the central institution in every society, their role in everyday life of each individual is becoming increasingly important. Nowadays there is practically no media, which would be only a means of one-way public information. We could say that the media is increasingly becoming a means of public communication, as well as form of

wider social communication (Medica, 2004: 94). The influence of the mass media on the formation of public opinion and individual perceptions about various social phenomena has been a known fact for decades. Whereas the influence on the formation of ideas about the phenomena of (inter) ethnic, (inter) national and/or (inter) religious relations is especially strong. The attitude of the media towards ethnic minority groups can be categorized in a wide range between the promotion of intolerant and even hostile attitude towards non-dominant ethnic and/or religious groups on one hand, and the efforts of the conservation and enhancement of cultural and linguistic diversity on the other. If this bipolarity is recognized in all European societies, it would be very unusual if that the Slovenian society would be immune to such divisions (Komac, 2007b: 376). From the perspective of ethnic minority groups, the question arises on how to achieve non-discriminatory inclusion of ethnic groups into the social and life sphere of environment, which is to a large extend depends also on the media. In the Slovenian media space, "new national minorities" were until recently almost systematically ignored (Medica, 2004: 95). Makarovič and Rončevič (2006: 62) note, that in Slovenia we cannot talk about the existence of the typical media image of ethnic minorities. Minorities in the media is not presented as a minority in general, but act in the context of different topics related to the current political happenings, and their application to a specific topic cannot be separated from certain minority

or minorities. Consequently, the media image of individual minorities in Slovenia is significantly differs from one to another. In addition, the usefulness of such media attention is questionable, because usually refers to problems, tensions and conflicts.

Italian and Hungarian minorities are granted the publication of newspapers and magazines in their own languages and are co-financed by the state budget. They are issuing six print editions in Italian and three in Hungarian language. They also appoint representatives to the council of national public broadcaster, RTV Slovenia that offers programs in both languages and are broadcasted by its regional centers Koper/Capodistria (Italian) and Maribor (Hungarian). A special right to participate in the public media is also granted to the Roma community, however to much lesser extent. Roma community publishes one magazine and broadcast on two local radio stations (Petričušić, 2004: 7). On the other hand, the "new national minorities" are not even mentioned in the Media Act (Medica, 2004: 101). Presence in media clearly demonstrate the hierarchy between minority communities in Slovenia. For example, within the structure of public service broadcaster RTV Slovenia, Italian and Hungarian national minorities have a special daily radio and television minority program, Roma community has a weekly radio (since 2007) and television show (since 2008), and "new national minorities" have only

15-minute broadcast every two weeks (since 2014), which is dedicated to all six communities. Furthermore, the daily programs for Italian and Hungarian minorities, and weakly programs for Roma community are fully financed by the Office for National Minorities of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia in the amount of 1.58 million euro, whereas 15-minute weekly broadcast for "new national minorities" is not financed by the Government at all. In total, the Government of Slovenia through different means provides financial support for the access to media (including public media and media established by the minority communities) for the Italian, Hungarian and Roma communities in the amount of about 2.4 million euro on annual basis. In comparison, in 2014 Italian, Hungarian and Roma communities received 2.4 million euro, while at the same time the "new national minorities" altogether received only 24.000 euro, most of which through small grants within the Public Fund for Cultural Activities aimed at non-professional, amateur culture (Peace Institute, 2015).

Regarding the presence in the media of the "new national minorities", Komac (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 244) observed: "the exclusion from the media is causing a sense of exclusion from society and the sentiment of their social marginalization, perhaps even getoization." Ivo Garić (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 244) also confirmed those observations: "the worst thing concerning the

situation of these national communities is the absence from the media. This is totally blocked, it is virtually impossible to reach the media. We have tried in different ways to write articles and so on, but if we wrote, say, twenty, two were published ... These were very professional articles, but still they were not published. I think that the Slovenian public is simply not prepared to discuss these topics ... the majority nation is not educated in this way, the awareness needs to be raised about this being necessary, that there are certain rights and that this topic is not a taboo, but rather a legitimate and legal demand and until this happens within the majority nationality, I believe, there will be more of this obstruction." Živko Banjac (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 244) points out the problem of taking advantage of topic of minorities in political purposes: "the presence in the media is a very far reaching problem. If we look at our recent history, this is a consequence of the political events around the year 1990, which produced and had to produce this hatred. The hatred was stimulated, of this I am certain. It was intensified back then, but it still exists. This was also a part of that hot political stew - I am talking about the 'erased'. The 'erased' were always present on the political agenda when the politicians tried to achieve something else. Now another discussion about the 'erased' is on its way. Why? The elections are coming soon and this topic will be instrumentalized once more. The problem of the 'erased' will be used once again".

Based on the information acquired with interviews conducted in 2015, it is possible to assess that presence and access to the media content, as well as the image of the individual nationalities of "new national minorities" is improving for better. Especially when we compare with the findings of other research, that were conducted in the previous decade (2000-2009), some of which are summarized above. However, as explained on the example of public service broadcaster RTV Slovenia, the discrepancy in the allocations of founds is enormous (100 to 1). The relatively positive perception of interviewed members about their presence and access to the media is therefore most likely the result of comparison of their situation with past situation, rather than comparison with constitutionally recognized minorities, it is also very likely that most of them are not even aware of that vast discrepancy in the allocation of funds. The member of Bosnian community summarize her perception of the current media situation: *"I am positively surprised about presence of our community in the Slovenian media. The new broadcast show on national TV "Na Glas"* (meaning "Out loud", note by M. G.) *is excellent. It is a show about various ethnic groups living in Slovenia. The reporters are members of various ethnic groups, therefore, the show is hosted in several languages. On a local level there is not as much coverage, however, when we hold an event, the papers always report about it, and the radio also informs its listeners. Sometimes we are also invited to participate in*

some of their program and they also gladly attend any event to which we invite them. The way Bosnians are presented is generally correct, although there are some exceptions" (Bosnian community, 2015). Which shows a step forward in comparison with the statement made by Hasan Bačič (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 245), few years before: "we make up 12 percent of the population, but do not have a single minute of our own program in the media." The member of Macedonian community is also satisfy with the situation in media: "*our presence in the media is good, we are also satisfied with overall media image, since media is looking positively on our community. For example, when a doctor from Macedonia fell ill with cancer and she needed operation in China, we activated the church, radio ... All supported this campaign. Slovenian media is reachable for our minority, when we organize some traditional events, the journalists from both television and radio come, so it is all covered"* (Macedonian community, 2015). The member of Croatian community compare the actual situation with Italian community and points out that the Regional media are more accessible: *"the media is not very interested in these kinds of topics, which has nothing to do with status. The Italian community has its own newspaper and TV program, yet it is mostly followed by the community itself and does not reach the majority population. The Slovenian media actually more or less ignore these topics and there is no interest in the Italian minority and the coverage of any other*

ethnic group issue is minimal. There is now a new show called "Na Glas" (meaning "Out loud", note by M. G.), *and some radio broadcasts, but these are more or less just individuals who are involved in various associations. There is very little initiative from the national media. Regional media, however, are quite accessible. They visit our project, and have in the past published wonderful articles about them. It is very hard to get through to the popular media, however. My overall impression of our image in media is that political quarrels are in the foreground, however, nothing bad has been written or said about our community as such"* (Croatian community, 2015). Even if these "political quarrels" are not directly related to the ethnic communities, they can have indirect negative effect on minority ethnic groups. Furthermore, we can see that the positive image can absolutely outweighs the modest presence in the media as expressed by the member of Montenegrin community: *"one of our requirements is to make our own show in our language and that it works closely together with our community. We are very pleased, even though it is true that we appear very little in media, but when we do it is a positive image. Our cultural events are usually published, also when there are some guests arriving from Montenegro. A new film was also commercialized in the media. However, there is no particular emphasis on us, the members of the national community"* (Montenegrin community, 2015). While, the member of Serbian community observes: *"the presence of our*

community in the Slovenian media is poor. However, overall media image of our community is good and realistic. Also media are accessible, but it is all connected with money: if you want to publish some events or shows, you have to pay. Being aired on the radio is also not for free, as it is not for any other commercial matter" (Serbian community, 2015).

The member of majority population also believes that to become more noticed in media the members of "new national minorities" should become more self-initiative and present concrete ideas: *"I traced in the media more positive stories. The new TV show, "Na Glas"* (meaning "Out loud", note by M. G.), *is a tv show dedicated to ethnic communities from former Yugoslavia. This TV show is one of the rights that was fought for and probably also have to do something with declaration from 2011. I also noticed that it is not all so white and black anymore in the local media and that it seems to me that recently positive stories have begun to emerge more often, even though sometimes is easier for the media to grab negative stories. Maybe ethnic communities could also be more self-initiative and come up with concrete ideas. As mentioned, the show also did not begin in one day. They were working on that for few years. Few days ago, I was at the opening of the exhibition of Albanian painters in Piran and newspaper of Koper Theatre devoted two pages to this exhibition. I think it is good that this is happening*

and we are moving forward, but we cannot wait for someone to notice us. We have to take initiative, with concrete proposals and draw attention with that. In a society, there are stereotypes and prejudices on which we need to work. There are many projects where we try to demonstrate the positive things and get rid of the negative stereotypes" (Slovenian expert, 2015).

Nowadays it is very easy for members of "new national minorities" to access national media contents, as stated by member of Serbian community: *"in Slovenia there is no problem following Serbian media, you can also buy Serbian newspapers etc."* (Serbian community, 2015). The member of Macedonian community explains: "*personally, I follow mostly Slovenian media, Macedonian just a little. Otherwise, we are covered with all Macedonian TV programs. We have to pay about 6 or 7 euros more, but we get all"* (Macedonian community, 2015). All of the participants fallow the media from country of origin without any problems, and in various forms (newspaper, internet, radio and television).

3.7. Preservation of cultural peculiarities

For the preservation and restoration of cultural and ethnic identities, the role of symbols, rituals, meetings, etc. is of significant importance. Therefore,

the various cultural, sport, religious societies, local governments, etc. play a key role in achieving that. In Slovenia, the expression of cultural affiliation is constitutionally guaranteed right, the Ministry of Culture established a special department for cultural activities of the constitutionally recognized national communities, as well as other ethnic communities and immigrants. Through the special department, the ministry helps to create – in the modest scale – condition for cultural activities of "new national minorities", which are mostly carried out in their own cultural associations. For the operation of associations two laws are also very important, the Act on Implementation of Public Interest in Culture (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 96/02) and the Associations Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS No. 60/95, 89/99 and 61/06), which enable associations in different fields of cultural activities, to acquire the status of the associations in the public interest in the area of culture, when their work exceeds the exercise of the interests of their members and becomes generally beneficial (Medvešek, 2007b: 339–340).

Most of the cultural associations of "new national minorities" has been formed in a fragile social context, in the first years after the independence of Slovenia, when the members of "new national minorities" experienced their status as radically different. To improve their social status some of them assimilated, part of them has maintained their ethnic identity in their private

life (in the circle of family, friends), and part of them has felt the need to preserve their ethnic identity in a more organized manner, which have led to the creation of various associations. Such associations offer space, and provide opportunities for social networking, cultivating solidarity, preservation of specific cultural elements, traditions, languages, etc. as well as cultivate ties between the country of settlement and the country of origin (Medvešek, 2007b: 339). In Slovenia operates close to a hundred Cultural Associations whose programs actively supports the preservation of cultural heritage of "new national minorities" (Dimitrievski, 2014: 19).

The cultural associations founded by the "new national minorities", are partly financed by their own founds (donations), and partial co-financed by the Ministry of Culture, by the Public Fund for amateur cultural activities of the Republic of Slovenia and by local communities. The representatives of the associations often point out the insufficient allocation of funds for cultural activities of ethnic communities and stress that the current funding program of cultural projects for minority communities is not sufficient for the preservation of ethnic cultures in Slovenia and as such does not sufficiently contribute to the development and consolidation of interculturalism in Slovene society (Medvešek, 2007b: 341).

Žitnik-Serafin (2008: 88) compared allocation of state subsidies for cultural

activities of autochthonous minorities and "new national minorities".

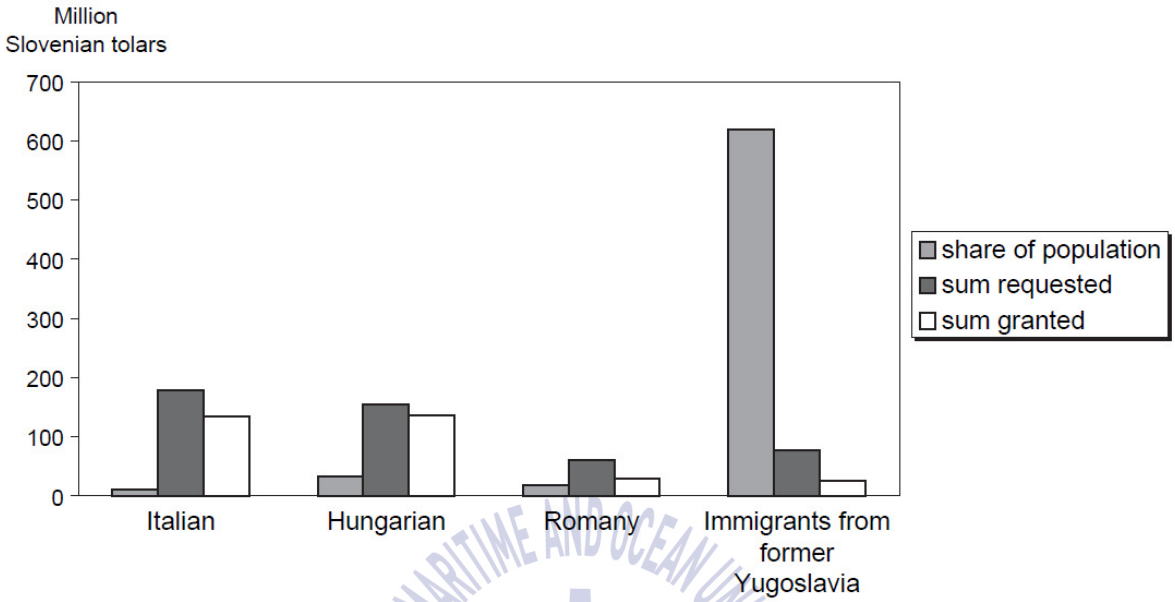

Figure 7: state subsidies for cultural activities of ethnic communities, 1998–2000:

Source: Žitnik–Serafin (2008: 88)

Picture show the actual situation of Slovenian Ministry of Culture allocation of founds for cultural activities of ethnic communities in Slovenia. Ministry of Culture has allocated 0.54 % of the annual Slovenian cultural budget for cultural activities of all above mention communities. From which most of budget was assigned to the autochthonous minorities, leaving "new national

minorities" with only 0.03 percent of Slovenian cultural budget. For example, the amount of money per capita received by the Italians in Slovenia for their cultural activities was in 1998–2000 more than 300 times as large as the amount of money per capita granted to "new national minorities". As a result, a high proportion of their applications for the implementation of cultural programs and infrastructure has been rejected (Žitnik–Serafin, 2008: 88–89). Within the context of tendered funds for "other ethnic groups and immigrants residing in the Republic of Slovenia" was in 2007, approved only 68 out of 160 registered cultural projects, or just 42.5%. The majority of the rejected projects was from the area of demonstration of cultural particularities of ethnic communities to a broader audience (Žitnik–Serafin, 2009: 105). This problem persist, as can be seen in the case of Montenegrin community, which got only about 1.2% of cultural budget dedicated for cultural activities of ethnic groups in Slovenia: *"the problem now is that if we were to apply for funds, we would be rejected on the premise that we do not have legal basis for the acquisition. There are some changes yet there are no changes in the legislation. Slovenia allocated 165.000 euros for all ethnic groups this year, from that Montenegrin society got 2000"* (Montenegrin community, 2015). Ivo Garić (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 241) from the Union of Croatian Societies in Slovenia explained their situation: "as our status is not regulated, we do not have the resources, available to the national communities, acknowledged as

national minorities. So we are obliged to take part in public competitions and projects, to receive funding from the Ministry of Culture ... altogether, we gather between 15,000 and 20,000 euros a year, which represent 10 % of our budget. This means that 90 % is collected within the community, through sponsors, our entrepreneurs. In this respect, the Croatian community is closely linked and integrated."

In certain spheres of social life (as described in other sections), things are clearly – albeit slowly - improving for the members of "new national minorities", however, it seems that in the contexts of ethnic–cultural activities not much have changed. In 2015, as articulated by members some of the members of "new national minorities", the founding from the Ministry of Culture remains the same as it was 6 years before (situation described by Ivo Garić). The member of Croatian community explains: *"it is very difficult for us to finance certain matters. The public fund for cultural activities launches a call for ethnic communities to apply cultural project, but the funding is very low; 200 maybe 300 to a maximum of 1000€. A concert costs a minimum of about 5000€; you get about 500€ from the municipality, and similar amount from the office in Croatia. However, since sponsor no longer exist, all residual costs need to be covered by our association"* (Croatian community, 20015). The member of Macedonian community see the biggest

problem in bureaucracy: *"if I were to assess conditions for cultural and artistic activities in Slovenia I would give 6 to 7 in the scale from 1 to 10, it is hard due to bureaucracy. We are invited to the folklore in many European countries, then we apply this project to the ministry of culture and we get some money, but the problem is that they do not recognize all projects. We have applied six to seven projects and they recognized only one, which is way too little and far too much bureaucracy. Last four projects had cost us about 4800 euros. We only got money for one project, which is about 480€, which is only 10%. If we look at all, we should need at least 50%. We also don't get anything from Macedonian government, whereas here is also too much bureaucracy"* (Macedonian community, 2015). While the member of Serbian community explain that there biggest problem are inadequate premises: *"conditions are generally good but we have big problem with appropriate facilities, if we had facilities for which we would not have to pay, we would be much stronger and could easily attract new youth, since we have to offer them something more, for example, minimum of one free cultural trip experience per year. Slovenian government finance maximum of 10%, for example if we have around 20.000 euros of expenses we will get from the state about 2000 euros. Close to that we also get from Serbian government, however all other falls on the members, since today it is extremely hard to get sponsors"* (Serbian community, 2015).

The economic crises may also be a part of the reason for current situation, as also noted by the member of the Albanian community: *"conditions for cultural and artistic activities in Slovenia are, unfortunately, poor. Likely resulting from a poor economic situation of the country. If you want some subventions, it is very important to know how to properly file the forms. Just a few days ago we got refused due to poorly filled out forms, so we never got any real support. Last year we got about 300 euros and that was it. However, the Municipality of Koper gave us premises in an old house, which we have renovated on our own, and now we have a cultural center"* (Albanian community, 2015). On the other hand the member of Bosnian community expressed different opinion and also explain that in Koper they have available support to avoid similar technical mistakes as described above: *"the conditions for cultural activates in Slovenian are good, especially because of public funds for cultural activates. The workers in Koper are very helpful and will inform you, voluntarily, about various offers. They are also prepared to help if you, for example, do not know how to sign up and fill some forms. They also always attend our events. Arranging a project is the most important step. You have to stay well within your means and not go over your limits. If the project is set well, you do not even need sponsors. The biggest expense is usually the venue"* (Bosnian community, 2015). The expert from majority population observes: *"officially, new national minorities*

have all conditions for cultural engagements, since they can apply for any tender. The Public Fund also has specific calls aimed at ethnic group. As well, they can also apply for tenders in their country of origin. However, there are also some tenders for which you have to be a Slovenian citizen, and in the end, it is not easier for Slovenes; the point is one have to fight and be active. Slovenia has an Office for Slovenes abroad and Slovenian communities around the world apply both to these calls and to local calls" (Slovenian expert, 2015).

Despite the difficulties, all participants share the passion to maintain their ethnic peculiarities and offer a wide range of cultural and artistic activities for their members, as well they inform and introduce their ethnic peculiarities to a broader audience. In Koper, the Academic cultural–artistic society KOLO as explained by the member of Serbian community offers, *"many different cultural activities, such as theatrical performances, singing, dancing, dramatic recitation evenings, presentations of books and writers, so we are fairly active. It is necessary to strengthen one's ethnic identity throughout cultural activities, but the problem is that the youth is not interested in anything"* (Serbian community, 2015). The member of Croatian community articulate: *"our association organizes all kinds of events and festivals. The most prominent is folklore, but we also have a literary group section, a drama*

group etc. We also have a football and tennis section. It is very important to maintain and strengthen our ethnic identity through the means of cultural activities. The basis for that is the younger generation. The problem of the Croatian community is there is no youth section. In general our association is dominated by older people. There were more members from the younger generation in the past, but their academic group has broken up" (Croatian community, 20015). While the Serbian and Croatian associations, as majority of others, have problems with attracting the youth, the interest in cultural and artistic activities among young generations of the Albanian community is very large: *"each person has their own identity and everyone has something that they are proud of in their ethnic identity. This and last year, we had organized a theater performance here in Koper with a student drama group from Zagreb. Our biggest interests are music, dance and literary evenings. The most recognized is our dance group, which is frequently invited to perform at various events. We also organized several different humanitarian campaigns. There are exclusively young people aged from 16 to 23 years in our dance group. Compared to other ethic associations here in Koper, we stand out because we also attract young people, whereas, other association are not as appealing to the younger generation"* (Albanian community, 2015).

In general, the members of "new national community" are artistically very

active in Slovenian, as described by the expert of majority population: *"last year, a very interesting book called "Iz jezika v jezik" was published and it was edited by Lidija Dimkovska. It includes works of 34 authors, members of ethnic communities who are creating in Slovenia. In Slovenia we have more than 120 authors who are members of ethnic communities"* (Slovenian expert, 2015).

On the other hand, the analysis of the general perception of members of "new national minorities" about the institutional infrastructure in the field of culture and their attendance of various events and activities organized by the association of individual ethnic communities, has shown that the general attitude is slightly negative or distanced, even though they have desire to maintain their ethnic peculiarities. Based on the responses of respondents, author notes, that among members of "new national minorities" there is certain degree of lack of information regarding the rights (especially the collective rights) they have, that they are critical about the excessive political engagement and use of associations for political enforcement of individuals, while there is not enough cultural content, that the members of "new national minorities" are badly informed about the existence and functioning of associations, that many members of "new national minorities" satisfy their cultural needs elsewhere, by other means or within the mainstream

cultural offer, or even directly in the country of origin, which is possible because of the geographical proximity (Medvešek, 2007b: 369).

3.8. Political representation and activities

Italian and Hungarian national communities are directly represented in representative bodies of local self-government and in the National Assembly (Article 64 of Slovenian constitution), where they are both allocated to elect one deputy each (Article 2 of National assembly elections act). Double voting rights of the Italian and Hungarian national communities, is very often harshly criticized in Slovenia, irrespective of the fact that the proportion of members of both ethnic communities is so small, that their votes almost do not have any real impact on the result of general elections (Ribičič, 2004: 33-34). Article 64 of Slovenian constitution and the law on local government guarantee the right to Hungarian and Italian minorities to establish self-governing ethnic communities in their traditional areas, that represents a special form of minority autonomy and are established with propose to represent minorities in public matters and for the promotion of needs and interests of their ethnic community. Self-governing ethnic communities are financed by the state budget, and "cooperate with bodies of self-governing

local communities and state bodies and are entitled to submit proposals, initiatives and opinions on matters regarding the status of ethnic communities to state bodies and to the National Council" (Petričušić, 2004: 6). It goes without saying that members of new minorities want to have similar rights, since they are currently in situation without any real possibility of influencing their own situation and status. That kind of representative self-governing bodies could finally allow them to pursue their own interests and goal in all relevant spheres of their social live. A resounding example of such an attempt was public initiatives of coordinating body of unions and cultural associations of nations of former Yugoslavia in Slovenia (ExYumco). This was the case of a cultural association, which have extended to the political sphere, with initiative, which demanded that they are nominally included in the Slovenian Constitution and recognized as a national minority (Medved, 2007: 398).

3.8.1. The history and achievements of Ex-Yugoslav Minorities Coordination (ExYumco)

After Slovenia gained its independence in 1991, members of other nationalities of the former Yugoslavia countries living in Slovenia started to

socially self-organize through the establishment of cultural associations. Their primary goals were to preserve their traditions, mother tongue and cultural identity in a newly formed country, which consequently led to the establishment of numerous cultural associations of Albanians, Bosniaks, Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins and Serbs living in Slovenia. Subsequently, some of the cultural associations of the same ethnic linage started to connect between themselves and formed Unions of cultural associations. In September 2003, even before all of the six ethnic communities formed their Unions, they established a joint informal Coordinating Body (ExYumco) of already existing Unions and cultural associations that have not yet been connected to Unions (Dimitrievski, 2014: 15-16). The ExYumco was formed by the Union of Bosnian Cultural Association of Slovenia, the Union of Croatian Cultural Association of Slovenia, the Union of Macedonian Cultural Association of Slovenia, the Union of Serbian Cultural Association of Slovenia, the Albanian Cultural Association "Migjeni" and by two Montenegrin Cultural Associations “Morača” and “Izvor” (Kržišnik-Bukić, 2008: 131-132). The ExYumco made it first public appearance at the international round-table conference of European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) held on 14 October 2003 in Ljubljana with a public initiative for the constitutional recognition of minority communities. The initiative, however, fell on deaf ears of Slovenian public and the media, with the exception of Mladina (Slovenian weekly informative

magazine), which has briefly summarized the ExYumco initiative with the one year delay. Similarly, the first attempts at establishing contacts with the prominent political representatives and state administration (with the exception of the Ministry of Culture) also remained ignored (Dimitrievski, 2014: 16–17). Representative of Union of Croatian Societies in Slovenia, Ivo Garić (as cited in Kralj, 2009: 242) stressed the fallowing in regard with above mention appeal: "regarding the acknowledgement of the former Yugoslav nations as minorities... I have to say that we have worked for three or four years when that meeting of ECRI occurred in Ljubljana and we made our appeal, but nothing happened at all. I think that in the policy of Slovenia it is not even clear who has the right to be recognized as a national minority; during discussions we would always hear 'not autochthonous'. It is very easy to say 'not autochthonous' and consider the matter settled. The European documents and resolutions no longer use the term autochthonous. Three things are crucial: whether you are organized, whether you want the status of a special community, and whether you are sufficiently representative in number, which is not defined though. ... We are organized, rather numerous and, of course, the will is there. But there are also other elements such as cultural diversity, lingual diversity, a desire to preserve original identity etc. In addition, if you look at these things, surely, there is ground for acknowledging these national minorities and that is why the Association of Unions was

established. The only thing, written down in our statute, the only project we are engaged in, is the acknowledgement of national minorities; everything else is done within individual Unions - the preservation of national identity, language, culture..."

In order to achieve better communicate with Slovene national and political authorities, the Presidency of the ExYumco in 2006 registered the Coordinating Body according to the Slovene law as an association named the Union of Unions of cultural associations of former Yugoslavia's constitutive nations and nationalities in Slovenia (ExYumco/Union of Unions) (Dimitrievski, 2014: 17). Union of Unions was formulated on the principle of ethnic affiliation and not on state territorial affiliation. Concretely this means that for example, the Union of the Bosnian Cultural Association of Slovenia is composed of the Cultural Associations whose members are ethnic Bosniaks arising from Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as of the Cultural Associations whose members are mainly Bosniaks arising from Montenegro, Serbia, etc. (Kržišnik-Bukić, 2008: 131). Dimitrievski (2014: 15-16) regard the active participation of the Cultural Associations of "new national minorities" in the research project of the Institute for Ethnic Studies in 2002 and 2003 as one of the key developments in the formation of the Union of Unions. Together they have exposed general key problems, which they face in functioning of

the Cultural Associations and their ethnic communities. And the cooperation that have started with the project of the Institute for Ethnic Studies have uninterruptedly persisted ever since, along with the problems they have exposed all those years back. Those were/are:

- The absence of legislative support, related to the status of respected ethnic communities,
- insufficient financial support for the normal functioning of respected Cultural Associations and for the realization of their programs,
- disordered education of children and adults, regarding the preservation of their mother tongue,
- the spatial problem of Cultural Associations,
- understaffing for normal function of Cultural Associations and exclusive dependence on financial support of their member (Dimitrievski (2014: 16).

At the 10th anniversary of ExYumak the president of the Union of Unions dr. Ilija Dimitrievski said that the Union of Unions consider as their biggest success in their hitherto endeavors the adoption of the National Assembly Declaration on the Situation of Persons Belonging to Nations of the Former SFRY in the Republic of Slovenia, adopted on 1 February 2011. In the declaration, the ethnic communities of Albanians, Bosnians, Croats,

Macedonians, Montenegrins and Serbs are for the first time officially named and politically recognized as national communities (Dimitrievski, 2014: 17–18). The 5 item of the declaration states that the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia expects from the Slovenian authorities to on the basis of the views expressed by this Declaration and in the framework of their competences provide constant care for the creation of opportunities to preserve and develop their respected identities. As a major step in achieving this goal the declaration foresees the creation of a Consultative Council of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia, which would address the issues, demands and suggestions of members of the "new national minorities" and accept positions on draft decisions of the government and ministries relating to the topics of the "new national minorities" (Official Gazette of the RS, 2011). The Consultative Council was only after two sessions terminated in 2012 by the new government under the excuse of austerity measures in the public administration. However, it was re–established a good year later after the re–replacement of the government. The constitutive session that took place in October 2013, have confirmed the mandates from the ranks of representatives of Albanians, Bosniaks, Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins and Serbs, as a Vice–President of the Council was, as current President of Union of Unions elected Dr. Ilija Dimitrovski (Dimitrievski, 2014: 19). The member of Croatian community also touches this topic: *"the biggest problem is that*

there is no political will, so politicians do not even deal with us. In 2011, the government established a panel for national communities of former Yugoslavia, and after a year and a half the next government abolished it, then the next government established it again. This is a body that should work as a consulting body in dealing with unresolved minority issues. The problem is that this does not work, because representatives of different minorities are not homogeneous enough" (Croatian community, 2015).

The main objective of the Union of Unions is (remains) that all Slovenian citizens who are members of the nations of the former Yugoslavia and live in Slovenia are recognized as national minorities under the Slovenian Constitution. Since they estimate that the constitutional recognition is a key starting point for the preparation of other legislative and regulatory provisions and for the enforcement of specific collective rights that are necessary for preservation of language, culture, access to the public media, political participation and dignity of "new national minorities" (Dimitrievski, 2014: 19).

However, that kind of representation of "new national minorities" also raises some concerns, as articulated by the member of Croatian community: *"the main advocacy body for ethnic communities are Unions of Cultural Associations, which is a bit controversial. These organizations are organized based on membership and in legal terms can only represent their members.*

Yet now these Unions are assuming the role of advocacy for the entire community. I find this objectionable because these are cultural associations, but on the other hand, there are no other bodies or institutions that could work in the interest of communities. The council of government, however, is not exactly doing its job. They are torn between associations, since some individuals have very strong personal interests and there is inter-generational schism as well. How can someone represent the interests of a whole community if he left out a whole younger generation, full of ideas, that has been living here, or was even born here and has wholly different needs?" (Croatian community, 2015).

The interviewed members of "new national minorities" all expressed strong will to preserve their peculiarities of ethnic identity, and believe that the most important step in their endeavors would be constitutional recognition as national minorities, with constitutionally granted minority rights. The common goal of constitutional recognition is what have united the individual nations of "new national minorities" in the first place. However, as explained by the member of Croatian community, trying to achieve this goal in "package" might not be the easiest way for all of the individual communities: *"I support the idea that all communities from former Yugoslavia try and achieve a common minority status. But the problem is that it might*

be easier to achieve minority status for larger individual communities than for the whole ex-Yugoslavia minority (as for example Croatian and Serbian community)" (Croatian community, 2015). The aspirations differ among member of different nations of "new national minorities", and are in many cases connected with numerical presence of specific nation of "new national minorities" in Slovenia. The president of the union of Montenegrin associations of Slovenia community explained why he believes they should become constitutionally recognized as national minority and what are the most important goals of their community: *"I think we should get minority status, since according to the sign Treaty on the dissolution of Yugoslavia, all nations of former Yugoslavia must retain their rights. We are not looking for membership in Parliament, we are more focused on the local levels. Politically we have representatives as citizens of Slovenia, some of them are not elected as members of national minorities, but as a part of political parties. We have also support from both Italian and Hungarian representatives in parliament. We do not want bilingualism like in case of Hungarian and Italian minority, since they have inherited those rights from Yugoslavia. What we need is education, culture, media and help with infrastructure (offices)"* (Montenegrin community, 2015). Montenegrin community is numerically the smallest among all of the "new national minorities" in Slovenia as well as in Koper. On the other hand, the member of Serbian community has higher aspirations:

"according to the last Census we are the most numerous ethnic group in Slovenia (second in Koper, note by M. G.). When it comes to rights, we are at a similar level with the rest of the communities from former Yugoslavia, but certainly there is a difference in comparison with Italian minority. I think it is right that they have special rights here, since they have lived in this area for a long time and have those rights from before. I also think our community should have at least the same rights as the Italian minority. I am not saying we should have multilingual signs with Cyrillic in every place, however the percent of our ethnic community should be noted, and these matters should be further discussed" (Serbian community, 2015). The member of Bosnian community express a different view, regarding the above-mentioned problem: *"the problem in Slovenia is the concept of authenticity. I wish we could be recognized and this could all be over with. The communities should work as a subculture and not be hidden somewhere in a corner where nobody see them. In the last few years there have been changes for better. Now, we need to gain support from political parties and their representatives in Parliament. There are some individuals that support us and there are also members of our communities that were born here are now involved in politics"* (Bosnian community, 2015). The expert from majority population notes and suggests: *"in general, I do not think that politicians are dealing with this issue. I think we are too little aware that these people are*

culturally and economically important for us, and that they bring their knowledge and experiences. I think that the Yugoslavian community should also have representatives in parliament. I doubt they will have six, but they could have two and they could rotate" (Slovenian expert, 2015).

The members of "new national minorities" do not possess any collective rights, however they can be involved into politics as individuals. As explained by majority population expert, individual members of "new national minorities" have *"opportunities to participate in any political parties, and as long as they have Slovenian citizenship, they can become a candidate for the parliament through any political party, and I think this option is currently the best and the most realistic"* (Slovenian expert, 2015). Nevertheless, since they represent a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of Slovenia and with that a significant amount of potential votes for political parties, their involvement is inevitable. The significance of members of "new national minorities" as a potential voters is even greater on the local level, especially in municipalities such as Koper, where they represent more than twice as many of potential votes than they do on national level (In Koper about 18,5% identified their mother tongue with the language of "new national minorities"). Both the political parties and ethnic communities themselves are naturally aware of that fact, and in different ways try to make the most of

the situation. Some of the views and opinions of interviewees help as to get a better idea of the actual political involvement of "new national minorities". The member of Macedonian community explains: *"we only exist in the time of elections, in the meantime is like we do not. However, we are very pleased with the mayor of Koper. For a long time we have been trying to get appropriate headquarters for Macedonian Cultural Association, so now the municipality gave us facility that will be only for communities, beside ours also for the Serbian community and I think there is also a smaller place for the Albanian community. We have about 200 square meters which is great for all of our activities. However, it has to be renovated and therefore we are waiting for European founds. Our only concern is when this will be actually renovated. If there are some things you want to acquire you have to be involved in local politics, yet we are not directly involved and we even cannot be, however we go there to explore the possibilities of what we could get, otherwise we stay unnoticed. This is the case with all associations"* (Macedonian community, 2015). The president of the union of Montenegrin associations of Slovenia community point out: *"about 10% of Slovenian population is from former Yugoslavia and in the time of elections we get visits from all representatives, so we also politicize a little"* (Montenegrin community, 2015). The member of Serbian community notes: *"I have a feeling that political attitude toward our community is great, as long as we*

are not looking or requesting something. Slovenia accession to European Union did not brought any substantial changes. In the last few years things are looking better, but this is a little too long of a process. There is a feeling that there is some work being done, but nothing is actually being done. In Slovenia the only way to achieve something is through politics. Maybe the problem is that there is too much of us and this is a syndrome of small nations: they fear that someone will occupy them or take their place" (Serbian community, 2015). On the other hand, the member of Albanian community said that *"the political attitude toward our minority is OK. This year we have had a number of visits from various political parties"* (Albanian community, 2015).

Even though that minority status may bring some improvement and stability in everyday life of national communities, it is not as important as the general attitude and acceptance of majority of population. Situation also explained by the member of Serbian community: *"Despite Serbs having a status of national minority in Croatia, it is much harder to be a Serb there then in Slovenia, even though that associations have better conditions it is still much harder in general." Interviewee tells a stories about present hostilities, such as braking of bilingual signs, hateful inscriptions, religious conversions of Serbian population, etc.* (Serbian community, 2015).

Ⅵ. Conclusion

We can conclude that by the number alone, the members of “new national minorities” represent an important part of Slovene society. The times of trouble (Yugoslav wars), are behind us and it seems that the fear that “new national minorities” can threaten the Slovene national identity was overcome by the most, yet there is still not enough awareness that the members of “new national minorities” complete Slovenian society.

The forefront of the conducted research represents the interpersonal relationships and the comparison of institutional social position between the members of “new national minorities” and the majority population (Slovenes). A large part of the research was conducted in municipality of Koper, which is one of the four Slovenian municipalities where autochthonous Italian national community traditionally reside and the only municipality with the status of

urban municipality (one of the main reasons for focusing on Koper in the first place). Therefore, the important part of the research also represents the comparison of institutional social position of Italian community with the one of "new national minorities", as well as their interpersonal attitudes. Throughout the research, we also get some insights about the interpersonal relationships between individual nationalities within the "new national minorities". Their relationships are in some cases also very tense and may be traced back to Yugoslav wars or even further in the past, this old resentments tend to resurface quickly as the current developments between their respective homelands exacerbate. As presented in the section of "Political representation and activities for constitutional recognition of "new national minorities"", the individual nations of "new national minorities" united in order to increase their chances in achieving the common goal of constitutional recognition. However, their union is not as homogeneous as some would like to display, they are torn between associations as well as the tension between some of the individual communities is still too substantial to be ignored. This hinders their efforts, maybe even more so that the lack of political will. Nevertheless, the common goal that has brought them closer together is a big achievement in their interrelations and if they will manage to persist in their united representation, they may eventually smooth their differences, become truly unified (instead of just artificially united for the

sake of common goal) and with that much harder to ignore. The complexity of those relationships is very sensitive, and not many of their members are prepared to talk about it, as they are now in the same “boat”. Their interpersonal relationships are not something to be neglected and would made an interesting topic for further research, especially since the interrelationships between individual nations of “new national minorities” living in Slovenia have not yet been more closely examined until now (at least to my knowledge).

With the help of conducted interviews, through the views, perceptions, experiences and individual stories of their respected members, we can get more realistic insights in the live and conditions of “new national minorities” living in municipality of Koper. Acquired insights were interweaved with the findings of other researchers and scholars, majority of which has been done on the national level. Therefore the analyze of the conditions can be also seen in the light of comparison between municipality of Koper, which is probably the most culturally diverse among all of eleven urban municipalities in Slovenia, and the rest of Slovenia, that is considerably more ethnically homogeneous. The purpose of research was not in making broad generalizations, but rather to get a more rare and detailed glance into the daily realities of individual members of “new national minorities” and of

challenges they are facing in the municipality of Koper. Nevertheless, the selected participants are all actively involved in their respected communities, strongly embedded in community network and are therefore familiar with the broader picture of their community.

The criticism about ethnic discrimination of "new national minorities" is not coming only from communities' itself, but also from international instruments, human rights bodies, academic circles etc., while the Slovenian government remains unwavering in their stance. It seems that the most scholars in Slovenia, whose research focus on the "new national minorities" cannot avoid mentioning or implying on discrimination, however most of the academic work with a strongest rhetoric about discrimination, date back to previous decade (2000-2009). Therefore, my academic curiosity was, inter alia, to assess what have changed since then, and in which direction. In assessing, the current situation, I pointed out the changes or lack of changes in all of the areas where their respective members felt most vulnerable and exposed to different forms of discrimination in the past. However, the main goal of the thesis was to find out how do members of "new national minorities" feel and perceive there position on local level in municipality of Koper, which is especially interesting because of its paradoxical nature. On one hand, in municipality of Koper "new national minorities" are living alongside in

comparison privileged Italian national community and can experience the vast discrepancy in the rights on “every step” of their life. While on the other hand, because of the geographical position at the top of Adriatic and the historical junction of the Romanic and Slavic peoples, Koper have always been a crossroad of multiple cultures and it is multicultural by its very nature. Hence, the question arises, how does this paradoxical nature influence the perception of discrimination of the members of “new national minorities”, if it is already so clearly felt on the national level, where there is no direct contact with Italian and Hungarian national communities. I believe that this can be best explained through series of indirect question and afterwards with the analyzes of the individual interviews as a whole, as opposed to direct question. Therefore, the ethnic discrimination remains the common denominator throughout the analyzes of the most pressing areas and key issues of “new national minorities”.

Ethnic discrimination in everyday life mostly depends on the individual perceptions. Many of the interviewed members of “new national minorities” have felt the presence of xenophobia and discrimination especially in the times of Yugoslav war, however this has slowly diapered as the mentality and the perceptions of majority population started changing. Currently none of interweaves feel that they are being treated differently because of their

ethnic origins in everyday life affairs as well as they do not report about any recent experiences of discrimination in everyday life. There is common believe among interviewed members of "new national minorities" that the people in Slovene Istria are more open and tolerant toward all foreigners, and this facilitate daily lives of the members of "new national minorities". The member of Macedonian community best captured this comparison, when answering to the question: "do you think you will be treated differently if you tell your ethnic origins?", part of the answer is worth repeating: *"I believe that different treatment of other ethnicities mostly depends on the location in Slovenia. Here in Koper people are more accustomed to life in multicultural environment. . . . In Koper is not the same as in Maribor or Idrija. Koper is a multicultural city and people look at things differently, but in some places that are not so multicultural, people have fear of foreigners"* (Macedonian community, 2015). As can be seen throughout the thesis municipality of Koper is quite unique example, this uniqueness is shared by the whole Slovenian littoral area, which is because of its smallness very closely linked area. When it comes to living alongside Italian national community there is clearly felt some discontent among the interviewed members of "new national minorities". While all of the interviewed members agree that Italian community deserve minority status and their special set of rights, this also elicit the sense of injustice in them (which is

even more noticeable in their tone of voice and body language than in words themselves). Even though this injustice is not directly connected with the rights held by Italian minority, but more so by the lack of their own, the discrepancy in rights is just too apparent not to elicit some negative emotions. The interviewed members of "new national minorities" report that there is no mutual cooperation on the level of their cultural and ethnic associations, they describe Italian community as closed, and that little connect that they did have, was more on the negative side of the spectrum. While their personal relations in daily life are more of a neutral in character. The feeling of discontent and injustice among the interviewed members of "new national minorities" when comparing with Italian community may be a little stronger then in general, however, the feeling of discontent and injustice is always present when talking and compering the rights of minority communities in Slovenia, regardless if they are living alongside any of autochthonous community or not. Because of that, I expected that the coexistence with Italian community would bring even more negative feelings from the interviewed members of "new national minorities" in municipality of Koper that it actually did. On the other hand, interviews have shown that the heterogeneous environment in the municipality of Koper has very positive effects on the life of interviewed members of "new national minorities". Even though this is not only because of Italian community (but also because

of other factors, such as port of Koper, tourism etc.), the municipality of Koper is in its core bilingual because of the historical coexistence with Italian community. On the basis of conducted research I observe that this so called "paradoxical nature" of municipality of Koper have significantly more positive effects on the life of "new national minorities" than negative ones.

Among all of the spheres of social life analyzed within the context of "new national minorities", there is by far the less written about the opportunity to express one's religion. In the analysis of relevant academic literature, there was no reports about religious intolerance in Slovenia, in addition all of the interviewed members of "new national community" also agree that there is no sign of religious intolerance. This is most likely the result of separation between church and the state. However, since Christianity predominates among religions in Slovenia, Christians have the best and the easiest conditions for pursuing their religious activities.

Employment is among the most important factors of integration, and was in the extensive research project "Perception of Slovene Integration Policy (PSIP)", rated as a second most important factor for integration into Slovenian society, after knowledge of the Slovenian language. The Statistic data from 2002 Census shows that the share of unemployed in Slovenia, among the individual nationalities of "new national minorities" is bigger than

among majority population, however even bigger differences are between individual nationalities within “new national minorities” themselves. In addition, some individual scholars based on their research also observed that many members of “new national minorities” believe that ethnic discrimination occurs when the members of “new national minorities” are searching for work as well as during their employment. With that in mind, the answers of interviewed participants came as a surprise. None of the interviewed members of new national minorities has experienced ethnic discrimination in relation with work, while two of the participant even benefited from positive discrimination in the case of their current employments. One of the interviewees runs an employment agency, and among abundance of experiences could tell me only one bad experience, in addition he explain that there is no problems with promotions as long as one is good as one does. The nepotism is a common practice in employment in Slovenia, the jobs are scarce and the competition is fierce, however it is hard for everyone regardless of their ethnic origin. Even though those experiences of interviewed members are good, we cannot conclude that there is no ethnic discrimination in the area of employment in municipality of Koper. As well as we cannot conclude based on previous research and statistical data of unemployment (both at the national level) that the members of “new national minorities” face ethnic discrimination when searching for work

and/or during their employment. This is a sensitive area, which can often be subject individuals' perceptions and it is very difficult to prove before the court. To be able to draw any kind of conclusions, the further much more detailed research would be necessary.

Most members of "new national community" consider their mother tongue as one of the most if not the most important aspects of their ethnic identity. None of the interviewed members has any problems using their mother tongue in public, as opposed to some findings of other scholars, which were mostly conducted on national level. Maybe the reason for this lies in the fact that the municipality of Koper is (according to statistics) linguistically the most divers among all of the urban municipality in Slovenia. From both personal as well as from experiences of participants I believe it is save to conclude that in general there is no problem with using one's mother tongue in public places in municipality of Koper. However, the statistical data reveals a clear hierarchy of languages. This is apparent when we compare the share of population by mother tongue and the language spoken in their household. The share of population in Koper who identified their mother tongue as one of the languages of "new national minorities" is almost twice as much as the share of people who use languages of "new national minorities" as the spoken language in their households. Whereas in the case of Italian language

it is the other way around, the share of people who use Italian language in their households is almost twice as much as the share of people who identify their mother tongue as Italian. Since Italian language is alongside with Slovenia official language of municipality, it is not realistically to expect any changes in this regard in the foreseeable as well as more distant future.

Since, the mother tongue is considered as one of the most important part of ethnic identity for "new national minorities", the conversation about education usually leads directly to the preservation of mother tongue. Based on academic literature and conducted interviews, I can conclude that the problem of learning the mother tongue in Slovene education is extremely complex and is partly on the side of both states (Slovenia and country of origin), individual schools (lack of qualified teachers), parents (lack of awareness, unwillingness etc.), and in many cases by the children themselves, which do not take advantage of the opportunities offered. Some believe that the language courses of immigrant mother tongues belong to schools, however in the case of "new national minorities" (especially in the case of smaller individual nationalities) it has proven to be very hard to meet the minimum requirement for implementation of the course, which is five children who want to learn particular native language in the same school. On the other hand, the ethnic and cultural associations are working on a regional level and

can at the same time organize classes for children from different schools. This is already functioning well in some individual associations in Koper, and even that it did not work out in all (for several reasons), I believe this option to be currently the best and the most realistic. My opinion is that the system itself is fairly well designed. However, even if we do not take into the account the teacher's salary (which in my opinion should be covered by the countries of origin, with which Slovenia have bilateral agreements), the financial support of 45 Euros per pupil for the whole school year is insufficient and it does not match requirements for the normal execution of language courses. Therefore, the most important step for improving the situation would be substantial increment of founds per pupil, which will enable the normal execution of language courses, regardless of whether they are implemented in the school or in the premises of associations. Much more pressing and worrisome matter in the area of education is the problem of discrimination. What makes it even more worrisome is that in present-days, ethnic discrimination of children of "new national minorities" according to reports of interviewed members, more often comes from teachers then from other pupils, whose job should be to protect them from discrimination and set a good example, yet it seems that some individual teacher may be the primary cause. Especially when discrimination comes from teachers, schools can be particularly protective. Therefore, I believe that the best solution

would be establishment of independent body that would allow children to report the cases of ethnic or other discrimination coming from teachers and other school personnel, to investigate them, and took measures against such behavior. In my opinion, just the mere knowledge of the existence of that kind of independent body, would put more pressure on teacher and drastically reduce the cases of discrimination in schools.

The issues of media in the context of “new national minorities”, can be divided into three major areas: general media image of individual nationalities of “new national minorities”, presence in the media and access to media content. All of the interviewed members are satisfied with the general image of their ethnic communities, however this was not always the case. Since the breakup of Yugoslavia the shift in perception of people has undergone a dramatic change and in parallel with that, the general image of “new national minorities” in media has also changed dramatically. Nevertheless, some contemporary disputes between countries, as for example border dispute between Slovenia and Croatia can have indirect negative effect on community image. Despite some previous reports inter alia stating that “it is virtually impossible to reach the media”, interviewed participants report that the media is accessible for their communities. This is especially the case in regional and local media, while the national media does not seem to be very

interesting in these kinds of topics, irrespective of minority status. All of the participants can also fallow the media from country of origin without any problems, and in various forms (newspaper, internet, radio and television), which makes it easy for them to stay in touch with the current happenings in their native homeland. If we can assess that in the abovementioned areas of media, the "new national minorities" are in a relatively good position, this cannot be said for the presence in media, which clearly demonstrate the hierarchy between minority communities in Slovenia. In comparison, in 2014 Italian, Hungarian and Roma communities received 100 times more financial support then all sixth ethnic groups of "new national minorities", while even most of this founds they managed to gather through small grants within the Public Fund for Cultural Activities aimed at non-professional, amateur culture. Within the structure of public service broadcaster RTV Slovenia, Italian and Hungarian national minorities have a special daily radio and television minority program and Roma community has its weekly radio show at Radio Slovenia and at TV Slovenia, all of which are fully financed by the Office for National Minorities of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia. Whereas "new national minorities" have only 15-minute broadcast every two weeks, which is not financed by the government. This inequity should be corrected, with more equitable distribution of funds. The other problem is the public service broadcaster RTV Slovenia itself. The contributions for RTV

Slovenia have to be paid by every households in Slovenia that owns radio and/or television, irrespective for what they are using their devices. If we considered the share of population of "new national minorities", it is clear that they contribute a large proportion to the budget of RTV Slovenia, and would therefore deserve a lot more of broadcast time, than 15 min every two weeks. The interviewed members of "new national minorities" have relatively positive perception about their presence in media, however, this seems to be mostly the result of positive image and not of the actual time in the media. Some part in that also play the observation that things have turned for the better in recent years, and that none of the interviewees compared their presence in media with the one of constitutionally recognized minorities, it is likely that most of them are not even aware of that vast discrepancy in the allocation of funds.

Culture and Activities for preservation of cultural peculiarities within the context of cultural associations, are especially important to all of the interviewed members of "new national minorities", since all of them are actively involved in their individual cultural associations (presidents, vice-presidents, head of the drama group etc.). However, I must point out that previous studies have shown that not all of the members of "new national minorities" try to preserve their cultural peculiarities with

involvement into ethnic and cultural associations; some satisfy their cultural needs elsewhere, by other means or within the mainstream cultural offer, or even directly in the country of origin, which is possible because of the geographical proximity. Certain members are also critical and believe that cultural associations use associations for political enforcement of individuals, while there is not enough cultural content. Nevertheless, I generally focus on the members of "new national minorities" who wants to preserve their cultural peculiarities on more organized manner within various ethnic and cultural associations. The amount of funds earmarked by the Slovenian government for cultural integration of "new national minorities" is divided among communities in inequitable manner, with most of founds being allocated to the two autochthonous minorities, while the amount of funds allocated for "new national minorities" is insufficient and it does not match their requirements. Big problems for most associations are also suitable facilities for the normal exercise of activities. In the case of Koper, however, as explained by interviewed members of "new national minorities", municipality provided facilities for some of the ethnic and cultural association, which were/are not in the best condition and were/are in need of renovation. In some cases, associations will renovate this facilities with the drawing of EU funds, or they as in the case of Albanian community, which renovated by themselves. The help of municipality of Koper in combination of drawing of EU founds, can be

a slow process, but certainly a welcomed one. The Union of Union considered the spatial problem of cultural associations as one of the five key problems of "new national minorities" since 2002, and was reconfirmed again in 2014 as one of the five biggest among all problems of their problems. Considering that, the municipality of Koper seem to be exemplary municipality in this regard and therefore in some aspect fills the void created by the lack of interests on the national level. For the majority of cultural associations in Koper, the biggest problem remains in insufficient financial support for the exestuation of their cultural activities. I believe that when it comes to preservation of cultural peculiarities as well as for the presence in media, the numbers of national communities should count at least as much as historical circumstances. Therefore, the most equitable allocation of founds for cultural activities and presence in media should be at least 50% for constitutional recognized communities (Italian, Hungarian and Roma) and 50% for all new minority communities ("new national minorities", German community, etc.), which should be further allocated among individual communities within both groups. For now however, this is unrealistically to expect, achieving real changes and improvements in the area of ethnic-cultural activities and presence in national media, will be possible only when the "new national minorities" will have the legislative basis to lean on.

From the awareness that they will be unable to achieve some substantial

changes without legal basis, cultural associations, have extended their activities to the political sphere, with initiative, which demanded that they are nominally included in the Slovenian Constitution and recognized as a national minority. Their activities and achievements are summarized in the chapter "Political participation and activities for constitutional recognition of "new national minorities". At this point, I would like to emphasize on the controversy behind their representation of entire community and repeat part of the concern raised by the member of Croatian community: *"The main advocacy body for ethnic communities are Unions of Cultural Associations, which is a bit controversial. These organizations are organized based on membership and in legal terms can only represent their members. Yet now these Unions are assuming the role of advocacy for the entire community. I find this objectionable because these are cultural associations, but on the other hand, there are no other bodies or institutions that could work in the interest of communities"* (Croatian community, 2015). In addition, as already mentioned above some of the members of "new national minorities" have a critical view on political involvement of cultural association and is therefore not very likely that they support the advocacy role that Unions of cultural associations are assuming, some of them may be even strongly against it. Even though that the efforts of the Union of Unions are noticeable and the conditions for "new national minorities" are slowly improving (but not solely

because of their efforts), it does not seem they are any closer to their primary goal of constitutional recognition, which is the reason why they established the Union of Unions in the first place. The Union of Unions consider as their biggest success in their hitherto endeavors the adoption of the National Assembly Declaration on the Situation of Persons Belonging to Nations of the Former SFRY in the Republic of Slovenia, adopted on 1 February 2011. However, more than five years have passed since then, and the fact is that the Declaration did not initiate any concrete policy measures. It is becoming clear that this approach is not getting the results that "new national minorities" want and believe to deserve, and therefore it might be time to try something new. I believe that best solution would be for the "new national minorities" to directly enter the Slovenian political arena with forming their own political party, which will represent their interest. This can be done anew or with reformation of already existing structure within Union of Unions. The reality is that with the current approach it is highly unlikely that the members of new national minorities will ever get the right to vote their own representatives into Slovenian parliament as in the case of Italian and Hungarian communities. Even if they manage to achieve constitutional recognition, their level of rights will not get equalized with the level of rights allocated to Italian and Hungarian communities. Some of their members are as citizens of Slovenia already involved into political parties, however they have

to work in the context of their party's program and cannot directly represent the interest of their communities, while with establishment of their own political party they could focus specifically on the needs of the members of "new national minorities". The biggest challenge in achieving this would be in bridging their own differences and moving past their old resentments, since this can work only if they work together as one.

The common believe in Slovenia is that the members of "new national minorities" is that they represent about 200.000 or about 10% of Slovenian population, the vast majority of which have migrated at least 10 years ago and qualifies for Slovene citizenship.

- ❖ According to the last 2002 census of population by ethnic affiliation (Table 1(1) and 1(2)), this number is much smaller. Only 119440 or 6,08% of Slovenian population have ethnically declared to belong to one of the ethnic groups of "new national minorities", among which however, 10,03% was undeclared, unknown and/or did not want to reply, therefore this data does not show the real picture.

- ❖ In the same census, 165109 or 8,41% of Slovenian population identified their mother tongue as one of the languages of "new national minorities", with in comparison only 2,66% of unknown, which makes mother tongue far more reliable indicator of ethnic differences.

- ❖ In addition, the number of net immigration from former Yugoslav

republic between the years 1954 and 2000 amounts to 160000. With consideration of their descendants, the assessment that the members of "new national minorities" represent about 200.000 or 10% of Slovenian population does not seem to be exaggerated.

On the last parliamentary elections for the ninety deputies to the National Assembly of Slovenia in 2014, the turnout was only around 51% of all eligible voters. The political party with the least votes that managed to win four seats in the parliament got only 38,293 votes, while the two political parties with six seats in the parliament, managed to convince 52,189 and 52,249 voters (Official date for the Parliament elections, 2014). Following this logic, and if we assume that there is about 160.000 of members of "new national minorities" that are also citizens of Slovenia (the number is probably higher), and that the potential political party of "new national minorities" would manage to convinced only about 35% of voters belonging to ethnic groups of "new national minorities", without any additional votes from the members of majority population. All six ethnic groups of "new national minorities" would have their own representative in parliament, and with that the real possibility of influencing their own situation and status.

In Koper, however, their influence would be even much more substantial. The municipal council, which is the highest decision-making body on the local level, in Koper consists from thirty-two members, among these are three

representatives assured for Italian minority.

- ❖ In 2002 census (Table 1(1) and 1(2)), 5886 or 12,38% of Koper inhabitants have ethnically declared to belong to one of the ethnic groups of "new national minorities". The number of "new national minorities" by ethnic affiliation in Koper, is even less reliable then on national level, since the number of undeclared, unknown and/or did not want to reply, present 14,45%.

- ❖ In the same census, 8781 or 18,47% of Koper inhabitants identified their mother tongue as one of the languages of "new national minorities", with 3,76% of unknown, which again makes mother tongue far more reliable indicator of ethnic differences.

- ❖ The immigration in the municipality of Koper by country of first residence in 2002 census (Table 7) showed that 8526 of people immigrated in Koper with first residence, with consideration of their descendants, the number would be considerable higher. This comparison once again proves that the statistical data of population by mother tongue is far more reliable indicator of ethnic differences, than the data of population by ethnic affiliation.

In municipality of Koper, in 2014 elections for the thirty-two members of municipal council, the turnout was only around 48% of all eligible voters. The political party with the least votes that managed to win one seat in the council convinced 516 voters, while the party with seven seats managed to convince 3832 of Koper inhabitants. If we consider the number of Koper

residents by their mother tongue (8781), with just about 35 to 40% of votes from members of "new national minorities", they would get six representatives in the municipal council. However, the council have only thirty-two members as opposed to ninety deputies in National Assembly, therefore their six representatives would have much bigger "political power" on local level.

The members of "new national minorities" always emphasize on their high numbers, and this is the way to use their numbers in their advantage and take their fate into their own hands, the only question that remains is, if they are mature enough to work together as one?

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