

The aspect of culture in the social inclusion of ethnic minorities: evaluation of the impact of inclusion policies under the open method of co-ordination in the European Union ; assessing the cultural policies of six member states ; final report Slovenia

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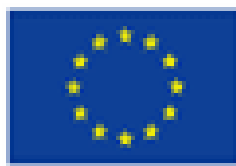
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The Aspect of Culture in the Social Inclusion of Ethnic Minorities

Evaluation of the Impact of Inclusion Policies under the
Open Method of Co-ordination in the European Union:
Assessing the Cultural Policies of Six Member States

Final Report

Slovenia



An Evaluation Project under the EU's Social Protection and Social Integration Policy

**By Mitja Žagar, Ph. D., Miran Komac, Ph. D., Mojca Medvešek,
Ph. D. Romana Bešter, Ph. D.**

The Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana, Slovenia

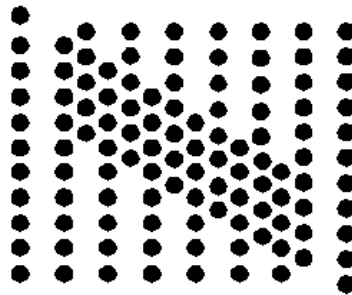
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Foreword and Acknowledgements

This Working Paper is one in a series of country reports submitted under the ECMI project “The Aspect of Culture in the Social Inclusion of Ethnic Minorities: Assessing the Cultural Policies of six Member States of the European Union” (hereafter OMC Project). The OMC Project was conceived by the European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI) and established with the generous support of the European Commission’s Directorate of Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities and under the European Union’s Social Protection and Social Integration Policy (Grant Agreement VS/2005/0686). The present Working Paper was researched and authored by colleagues at the Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana, Slovenia.

The OMC Project evaluates the National Action Plans (NAPs) of the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Sweden under the European Union’s Open Method of Co-ordination (OMC) on Social Inclusion in terms of cultural policies and their impact on the social inclusion of ethnic minorities. The OMC Project is a twelve-month effort which began in December 2005. It focuses on three domains of social exclusion:

- Education,
- The media, and
- Public participation.

The aim of the OMC Project is to enhance cultural policies and NAPs with the overall goal to promote greater inclusion of members of ethnic minorities and Roma/Sinti groups in the socio-economic life of the European Union. The specific purpose of the OMC Project is to evaluate the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of these policies in the six member states through the piloting of an index of Common Inter-Cultural Indicators (CICIs).

The problem of indicators has been a central part of the social policies adopted under the Lisbon Strategy (2000) including the OMC on Social Inclusion and ongoing efforts to develop and refine social indicators continue under the auspices of the European Commission. One of the main objectives of the OMC Project is to contribute constructively to this effort in the area of cultural indicators.

The parties most deserving of recognition for the contents of these Working Papers are the members of the six country research teams who are listed on the front page of each report. ECMI would like to thank every member of these teams for their hard work and continued interest and support for the OMC Project. The research teams have benefited from consultation with several external experts during the research. First and foremost, the OMC Project and the research for the country reports could never have been conceived without the unique modelling of effectiveness and cost-effectiveness as well as the personal and energetic dedication of Prof. Francois Grin, Director of the “Economics-Language-Education” Observatory at the University of Geneva, formerly Acting and Deputy Director of ECMI. At the same time, the application of Prof. Grin’s model could not have been possible without the assistance and ever so patient didactic help of Mr. Michele Gazzola, of the “Economics-Language-Education” Observatory at the University of Geneva. ECMI owes much to these two experts on the economics of language policies. Credit also goes to Dr. Andreas Hieronymus of the Institute for Migration and Racism Research, Hamburg and Dr. Deborah Mabbett of the School of Politics and Sociology, Birkbeck College, University of London both of whom showed keen interest in seeing the OMC Project getting off the ground.

Within ECMI a number of dedicated persons who have worked with the OMC Project from the beginning deserve special thanks: Ms. Denika Blacklock, the first Project Manager and Ms. Ulrike Schmidt, the second Project Manager have both been indispensable as have the continued support of Project Co-ordinator Ms. Maj-Britt Risberg-Hansen and IT Manager Matthias Voigt. ECMI's Deputy Director Ewa Chylinski has been instrumental in both the initial phase of the project design and the implementation phases as well as in the relations to the European Commission, and Senior Research Associate and eminent expert on Roma issues, Dr. Eben Friedman has lend us extensive support in every aspect of the Project. Special thanks go to ECMI's Librarian Wes McKinney without whose professional dedication these reports would not reach the public. Finally, a warm thanks to those individuals who seldom get recognized: the interns who have worked every bit as hard as anyone else attached to this project: Ms. Jaimee Braun, Ms. Annika Salmi, Ms. Alina Tudose and Ms. Kate Corenthal.

ECMI hopes that these Working Papers will prove useful to researchers interested in or participating in the ongoing research on the social exclusion of ethnic minorities and the development of cultural policies within the European Union. Any inquires related to these reports should be address directly to the main authors of each Working Paper who are also individually responsible for the content of the Papers. A list of contact details as well as further information about the OMC Project can be found by visiting the homepages of the OMC Project at www.ecmi-eu.org.

Dr. Tove H. Malloy
Scientific Director of the OMC Project

ABBREVIATIONS

AEP – Active Employment Policy
CEPS – Centre for Educational Policy Studies
CSCE – Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe
CPOMC – Public Opinion and Mass Communication Research Centre
CSW – Centre for Social Work
DP – Development Partnership
DZMP – Society of Soft Landing Advocates
EES – European Employment Strategy
ERM – Exchange Rate Mechanism
ERRC – European Roma Rights Centre
ESF – European Social Fund
ESS – Employment Services of Slovenia
EU – European Union
GATT – General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP – Gross Domestic Product
ICT – Information Communication Technology
ISS – Institute of Social Sciences
IES – Institute for Ethnic Studies
IMF – International Monetary Fund
MC – Ministry of Culture
MES – Ministry of Education and Sport
MLFSA – Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs
NAP – National Action Plan
NGO – Non-governmental Organization
NPC – National Program for Culture
PCER – Pomurje Center for Education and Research
PSIP – Perceptions of the Slovene Integration Policy (a research project)
RA – Roma association
RIC – Development and Educational Centre
RDA Mura - Regional Development Agency Mura
ROMIC – Roma Information Centre
RS – Republic of Slovenia
RSPFCA – Republic of Slovenia Public Fund for Cultural Activities
RTV – Radio-Television
SPO – Slovene Public Opinion
SFRY – Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
UN – United Nations
UMAR – Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development
WB – World Bank
WTO – World Trade Organization

I: EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The main purpose of this report is to evaluate the cultural policies introduced in the Slovenian National Action Plan (NAP) on Social Inclusion (2004-2006) in terms of their impact on promoting social inclusion of ethnic minorities. Cultural policies are here understood in a broad sense of the word – encompassing all policies that pay regard to any aspect of culture, be it culture in the sense of creative artistic activities (theatres, music, etc.) or in the sense of specific cultural/ethnic identity of the target groups.

In the report we focused on policies which are aimed at promoting the social inclusion of the Roma and the “new ethnic minorities”. These are the only ethnic minorities that the Slovenian NAP/inclusion 2004-2006 pays attention to - Roma are considered as one of the groups most at risk of social exclusion in Slovenia. On the other hand the NAP 2004-2006 does not deal with the new ethnic minorities as with vulnerable groups (groups with highest risk of poverty and social exclusion); they are, however, included in the part of NAP 2004-2006, which deals with access to culture.

We chose to evaluate three policies:

education policy for the Roma,

employment policy for the Roma, and

the policy to promote access to culture for minority ethnic groups (among them we focused on the Roma and the “new ethnic minorities”).

The first chapters of the report bring some general information on the ethnic structure of the Republic of Slovenia, on the legal protection of ethnic minorities in Slovenia, and on socio-economic development of the country. Some aspects of the social exclusion of the Roma and the new ethnic minorities in Slovenia are presented in the fourth Chapter, focusing especially on the attitudes of the majority population towards these ethnic groups. In the fifth Chapter we briefly presented how the key challenges to social inclusion are defined in the Slovenian NAP/inclusion (2004-2006), what are the NAP’s main objectives and which are the groups targeted by its policies. Following the description of the NAP some demographic data on the Roma and the new ethnic minorities are presented as well as relevant information on their legal status in Slovenia. All this should provide the reader with background information to better understand the policies that are evaluated in Chapter VII.

Education policy for the Roma

Despite considerable efforts – financial means and organization of training and lectures – that Slovenia has already dedicated to the inclusion of the Roma in educational system, the achieved results are not satisfying. The share of the Roma children, who successfully progress in the education vertical, is essentially lower in comparison with the rest of Slovenia's population. The dropout of Roma children is much higher than amongst other primary school pupils. A large number of the Roma children do not complete the primary school education. Actually, a high portion of children, who attend primary school, end their education with the 5th or 6th class. The number of Roma children attending primary school is slowly increasing, but it is still only a part of the Roma population who successfully complete their primary education.

In NAP/inclusion 2004-2006 the educational situation of the Roma is considered one of the main obstacles for their social inclusion: »Members of the Roma community are characterized by a low level of education and inadequate functional literacy. Owing to their deficient knowledge of Slovenian, Roma children have difficulties as soon as they enrol in kindergarten or primary school. All of this creates problems with inclusion in society. Slovenia will try to invest greater effort in including Roma children in full-time education« (NAP/inclusion 2004-2006, p. 20).

Objectives of the education policy for Roma, declared in NAP:

ensuring the conditions for attaining standards of knowledge that are needed for further education (a reduction of or variance from the standard for Roma is not acceptable)
exercising the right to maintain respect for the Roma language and culture
inclusion in the majority society whereby education in the curriculum ensures the principles and values of equality in connection with social justice (fighting prejudices, approaching universal values)
promoting education for adult Roma.

Measures and priority tasks to achieve the declared objectives:

early inclusion of the Roma in the education system (inclusion in kindergartens at least two years before the start of primary school),
inclusion of the Roma culture, history and identity in the implementation of curriculum,
development of methods for teaching Slovenian to Roma pupils,
introduction of the Roma language (optional subject),
introduction of a Roma assistant,
special help and incentives for the education of adult Roma.

The analysis of the implementation and outputs of the above listed measures showed that all of the measures are determined as long-term measures and therefore their realisation has basically been postponed in the period 2005-2010. At the present different activities and pilot projects necessary for the implementation of the adopted measures are going on. It is clear that at the national level, Roma's education issues are changing very slowly. More has been done at the local level, where individual schools, kindergartens, teachers and headmasters are often quite successful in surpassing different obstacles of Roma children school inclusion.

Employment policy for the Roma

It is estimated that only about 10 to 15 per cent of Roma in Slovenia are employed and approximately 85 to 90 per cent are unemployed and receiving social assistance from the state. Regular jobs among the Roma population are extremely rare with occasional jobs prevailing (there are no exact data, only estimates). One of the biggest obstacles standing in the way of better employment possibilities for the Roma is their low education structure. For this reason they are less likely to find employment in competition with other unemployed persons. And even if they do find it, it is usually a less-paid job, corresponding their low education and qualifications. This is also one of the reasons for the lack of motivation of the Roma to even seek regular employment. The Roma are also subject to different forms of discrimination from the part of employers.

In 2004, special measures to help the Roma with employment were included into the NAP/inclusion 2004-2006. The governmental decision to introduce these special measures

stem from the presumption that the high risks of poverty and social exclusion, which Roma are facing in Slovenia, are a consequence of their unemployment and low education (NAP, p. 19).

Objectives of the employment policy for Roma, declared in NAP:

raising the employment prospects of the Roma,
reducing the number of unemployed Roma.

Measures and priority tasks to achieve the declared objectives:

inclusion of young unemployed Roma in primary and vocational schools (gaining an education opens up greater employment prospects),
inclusion of adult Roma in programs of subsidised jobs (in cooperation with Roma societies and local communities),
creation of public works,
employment of the Roma advisers at Employment Service offices.

Our analysis showed that the measures introduced in the NAP/inclusion 2004-2006 to help improve the employment opportunities of the Roma are being implemented. All the introduced measures have had some positive effects – more Roma are included in educational programs for adults; more Roma are included in the public works programs; the employment of the first Roma coordinators at the Employment Service's offices has given positive results and the program has now been expanded; the successful introduction of the first Roma assistants in schools and kindergartens (at the present through public works) will eventually result in the establishment of a professional standard of a Roma assistant, meaning that the Roma will be able to perform the work of a Roma assistant as their regular job. There have been some deficiencies identified in some of the measures (e. g. the non-stimulative payment for the public works; too short maximum duration of the program of public works (one year); incompatibility of different programs of the active employment policy; unsuitable system of providing financial means for the organization of educational programs for adult Roma), but this does not mean that the measures are bad or completely ineffective – it only means that some modifications in their implementation could help improve their effectiveness. An important shortcoming of the whole policy is that the NAP does not envisage special mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the proposed measures and the assessment of their effects on the improvement of social inclusion of the Roma.

Policy to promote access to culture for minority ethnic groups

This part of the report focuses on the cultural policies towards the Roma and the new ethnic minorities in Slovenia. The present situation in general could be described as non-integration of new ethnic communities and the Roma in the cultural space. There is no doubt that (most of) the Roma as well as members of the new ethnic minorities in Slovenia wish to preserve their native cultures. On the other hand there is a very reserved, often even negative attitude of the majority population towards expressions of ethnic diversity in public.

So Roma as the new ethnic minorities have founded a number of cultural associations in Slovenia. These are mostly financed by their own means (donations); modest contributions are made by the Ministry of Culture, the Republic of Slovenia Public Fund for Cultural Activities (RSPFCA) and local communities.

Access to and participation in cultural activities is considered an important factor in promoting inclusion and in preventing and reducing poverty and exclusion. The Slovenian NAP/inclusion (2004-2006) pays attention to the role of culture and cultural activities, but it does not indicate a direct link between participation in cultural activities and increased social inclusion. Instead it emphasizes a cultural rights approach: "Ensuring access to cultural assets and the conditions for creativity derives from the cultural dimension of human rights, and the state is therefore implementing activities to enable all kinds of access to cultural assets and creativity in all the areas of culture that it covers." (NAP, p. 14)

Objectives of the policy to promote access to culture for minority ethnic groups, declared in NAP:

a) Long-term objective:

1. Promoting cultural diversity in public programs and raising the share of programs for ethnic minorities supported by the Ministry of Culture; developing amateur culture and increasing the number of cultural associations and the average number of those attending by 10% until 2007; increasing organisational efficiency of amateur culture (help from expert mentors, adequate premises)

b) Priority objectives for the period 2004 – 2006:

1. Ensuring the conditions for adequate treatment of the cultural rights of ethnic minorities,
2. Promoting the development of minority cultures and improving information;
3. Promoting cooperation between the Ministry of Culture and local communities,
4. Supplementing and developing the regional network of cultural links,
5. Improving social cohesion and awareness of diversity, improving access to cultural goods and conditions for creativeness irrespective of the location.

c) Measures and priority tasks to achieve the declared objectives:

1. Fulfilling the conditions for financing of what are called new minorities (for the most part comprising people who settled in Slovenia from the former Yugoslav republics),
2. Fulfilling the concept of cultural diversity in the function of improving the quality of life for all.

In the field of promoting access to culture for the most vulnerable ethnic groups in the Slovene society, the NAP/inclusion 2004-2006 envisaged very general measures, the implementation of which cannot be easily evaluated. Nevertheless according to the indicators that we used we could say that the policies to promote cultural pluralism and the development of minority cultures in Slovenia are being implemented and that progress can be noticed in a number of areas:

- The amount of money allocated for these policies has risen in the last few years;
- More and more minority cultural associations have been able to gain money for their cultural projects from the Ministry of Culture;
- The number of projects that signify the presentation of minority cultures across Slovenia and abroad contribute to greater accessibility of information on the minority communities' cultural activities has also been rising.

Nevertheless, the question remains to what extent the existing cultural policy contributes to the actual preservation of minority cultures in Slovenia, to what extent it reflects and considers the minority communities' needs, and above all, to what extent it improves their social inclusion.

Conclusion

Some general comments relating to all the three analysed policies from the NAP/inclusion 2004-2006 could be summarised as follows:

There is a discord among the stated aims and measures of the NAP, adopted legislation and their practical implementation.

Some of the NAP's aims were not sufficiently transformed into operative measures, which leaves room for different interpretations of what needs or needs not to be done.

Members of the ethnic minorities are still not sufficiently participating in the formation of specific policies. Measures are often formed from the standpoint of majority population, which can differ from aspirations and needs of ethnic minorities.

The absence of mechanisms and methods for monitoring and evaluation of the measures to promote social inclusion of ethnic minorities is evident. Individual Ministries or other institutions nevertheless do monitor the implementation of some of the measures, but there is no coherent system for evaluation of effectiveness of the existing policies.

In NAP/inclusion 2004-2006, new ethnic minorities are only considered within the cultural policies. With regard to ethnic structure in Slovenia and future demographic trends, more attention should be dedicated to new ethnic minorities and immigrants. Empiric research studies showed (Komac and Medvešek, eds. 2005, Kržišnik-Bukić 2003, Dekleva and Razpotnik 2002) that also members of new ethnic minorities do not have equal opportunities in employment, education and access to culture.

The link between national and local levels must be strengthened. The present shortcomings are: inadequate mutual informing, insufficient consideration of local needs at national level, unclear distribution of competence in certain spheres, due to which competence is being shifted from one level to another.

There are still gaps in data availability, especially with respect to the Roma and new ethnic minorities. The Protection of Personal Data Act limits gathering of data on ethnic adherence, which prevents quality evaluation of individual measures.

Despite the shortcomings, the general estimation of measures and policies defined in NAP on social inclusion 2004-2006, is positive. Gradual progress can be seen, making a long-term contribution to the improvement of social cohesion and integration of all citizens.

II: INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this report is to evaluate the cultural policies introduced in the Slovenian National Action Plan (NAP) on social inclusion (2004-2006) in terms of their impact on promoting social inclusion of ethnic minorities. Cultural policies are here understood in a broad sense of the word – encompassing all policies regarding to any aspect of culture, be it culture in the sense of creative artistic activities (theatres, music, etc.) or in the sense of specific cultural/ethnic identity of the target groups.

The Slovenian NAP on social inclusion (2004-2006) pays special attention to promoting social inclusion of the Roma in the field of education, employment, housing and help with integration into the society. Other ethnic minorities are dealt with only in the part of NAP that relates to facilitating access to culture.

We chose three policies to be evaluated in this report: education policy for the Roma, employment policy for the Roma, and the policy to promote access to culture for minority ethnic groups (among them we will focus on the Roma and the ‘new ethnic minorities’¹).

Before starting the evaluation we will briefly present the ethnic structure and the institutional and legal regime of protection of national/ethnic minorities in the Republic of Slovenia. This will be followed by a review of the socio-economic development, which should provide a general picture of the socio-economic situation in the country and also serve as a reference point in comparing the socio-economic position of the Roma in the subsequent chapters. Some aspects of the social exclusion of the Roma and the new ethnic minorities in Slovenia will be presented in the fourth chapter, focusing especially on the attitudes of the majority population towards these ethnic groups. In the fifth chapter we will briefly present the NAP on social inclusion (2004-2006) – how it defines the key challenges to social inclusion, what are its main objectives and which are the groups targeted by the NAP’s policies. Following the description of the NAP some demographic data on the Roma and the new ethnic minorities will be presented as well as relevant information on their legal status in Slovenia. This should provide the reader with some background data to better understand the policies that will be evaluated in chapter 6.

The evaluation of each of the chosen policies will start with the presentation of the current position of the relevant ethnic group(s) in the policy area (education, employment, culture). Different governmental programs and measures that are (or were) meant to help improve the position of ethnic minorities in these areas will be presented, focusing especially on the measures envisaged by the NAP on social inclusion (2004-2006). The implementation and the effects/effectiveness of the NAP’s measures will then be evaluated through the analysis of different indicators.

The relevant data for the analysis and evaluation of the chosen policies were compiled by the use of the following methods:

- Analysis of the relevant legislation,
- Analysis of the statistics,
- Review of the existing researches, projects, studies,
- Data on recent developments in the NGO sector,
- Review of the media reports on the Roma and new ethnic minorities,

¹ Comprising mostly members of the nations of the former Yugoslavia.

- Interviews with competent officials at the ministries and other relevant institutions,
- Interviews with members of the ethnic minorities,
- Focus groups.

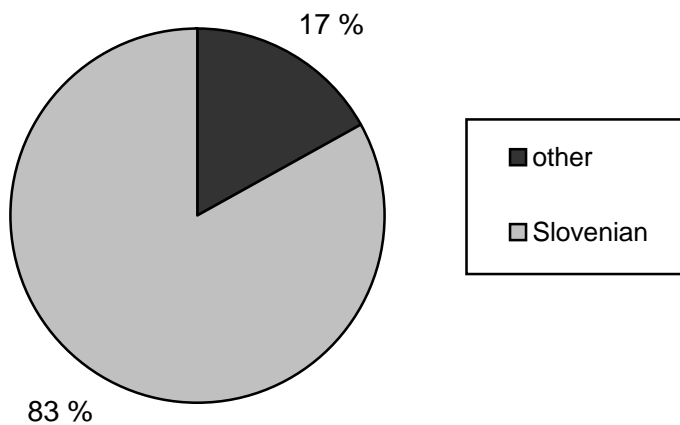
For each policy area we proposed a set of indicators to monitor and evaluate the outputs and outcomes of the policy and its specific measures. On some of the indicators (mostly relating to specific outputs of the policies) we were able to find suitable and reliable data, on others there were no data and we could only indicate what should be done in the future.

The concluding chapter brings some general conclusions on the deficiencies identified in the NAP on social inclusion (2004-2006) and in the implementation of some of its measures. Along with the critiques, proposals for improvements have been made, and the positive elements of the NAP have been commended.

III: ETHNIC STRUCTURE AND LEGAL PROTECTION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

The territory of the present-day Republic of Slovenia has never been ethnically homogenous. The number of ethnic minorities, their size and their real economic and political power, has changed in various historical periods, in accordance with changing political boundaries. The most recent change of state borders has left Slovenia a ‘colourful’ collection of members of non-Slovene ethnic groups (see Graph No. 1 and Table No. 1)².

Graph No. 1: Ethnic structure of the Republic of Slovenia (Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Population Census, 2002)



² At the 1971 census a classification was adopted in accordance with the constitutional provisions on the equality of all nations and nationalities and on the right of citizens to freely declare their ethnic affiliation, including the right to be ‘undetermined’ if they so desire. Under this classification which was also valid at the census in 1981, 1991 and 2002 the whole population is grouped into two basic categories: a) nationality determined (declared) and b) nationality undetermined (undeclared). The inhabitants which did not declare their ethnic affiliation are classified into three groups according to their answers: a) declared themselves to be ‘Yugoslavs’, b) declared themselves to be Bosnians, c) did not declare ethnic affiliation, d) declared regional adherence.

Table No. 1: Population by ethnic affiliation, Slovenia, Census 1953, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2002¹ (Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Population Census, 2002)

Ethnic affiliation	1953 ¹	1961	1971 ²	1981 ²	1991 ²	2002	
Total	1.466.425	1.591.523	1.679.051	1.838.381	1.913.355	1.964.036	
Declared						N	%
Slovenes	1.415.448	1.522.248	1.578.963	1.668.623	1.689.657	1.631.363	83,06
Italians	854	3.072	2.987	2.138	2.959	2.258	0,11
Hungarians	11.019	10.498	8.943	8.777	8.000	6.243	0,32
Roma	1.663	158	951	1.393	2.259	3.246	0,17
Albanians	169	282	1.266	1.933	3.534	6.186	0,31
Austrians	289	254	266	146	126	181	0,01
Bulgarians	49	180	138	103	168	138	0,01
Bosniak ³	...	...	...	...	...	21.542	1,1
Czechs	807	584	442	423	315	27	0,01
Montenegrins	1.356	1.384	1.950	3.175	4.339	2.667	0,14
Greeks	24	50	24	15	21	54	0,00
Croats	17.978	31.429	41.556	53.882	52.876	35.642	1,81
Jews	15	21	72	9	37	28	0,00
Macedonians	640	1.009	1.572	3.227	4.371	3.972	0,20
Muslims ⁴	1.617	465	3.197	13.339	26.577	10.467	0,53
Germans	1.617	732	400	309	298	499	0,03
Poles	275	222	191	200	196	140	0,01
Romanians	41	48	41	93	115	122	0,01
Russians	593	295	297	189	167	451	0,02
Russinians ⁵	46	384	66	54	57	40	0,00
Slovaks	60	71	75	139	139	216	0,01
Serbs	11.225	13.609	20.209	41.695	47.401	38.964	1,98
Turks	68	135	52	86	142	259	0,01
Ukrainians ⁵	...	...	138	190	210	470	0,02
Vlachs	9	6	4	16	37	13	0,00
Others	352	449	293	526	1.021	1.548	0,08
Undeclared							
Declared as Yugoslavs		2.784	6.616	25.615	12.075	527	0,03
Declared as Bosnians ⁶	...	...	...	...	...	8.062	0,41
Regionally declared	...	...	2.652	3.932	5.187	1.467	0,07
Others ⁷	...	...	3.012	2.853	8.716	12.085	0,62
Did not want to reply	...	...	...	...	...	48.588	2,47
Unknown	211	1.154	2.678	5.301	42.355	126.325	6,43

¹ Territory during the census.

² Data recalculated according to the 2002 Census methodology. So called 'migrant workers' are covered. At 1953 and 1961 censuses the category of 'migrant workers' did not exist.

³ Declaration for a Bosniak as a nation was enforced by the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1994.

⁴ Including persons who said they were Muslims in the sense of ethnic and not religious affiliation.

⁵ In 1953 and 1961 censuses the Russinians and the Ukrainians appears under one item.

⁶ In previous censuses people who said they were Bosnians were included in the item regionally declared.

⁷ Including persons who said they were national undeclared.

The intensive erosion of the original Yugoslav idea, which threatened to jeopardise the previously obtained rights of nations and nationalities to autonomous development, brought on the collapse of the Yugoslav federation in the late eighties and early nineties. The independent Republic of Slovenia was born. With the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia of 1991 a vision has been poured into legal norms, which evolved over the years of attempts to resolve a 'Slovene National Question' and achieve national sovereignty. Consequently, the preamble states among other things: 'On the basis of (...) basic human rights and freedoms, the fundamental and permanent right of the Slovenian nation to self-determination, and the historical fact that we Slovenes have, in the battle for national liberation spanning several centuries, carved our own national individuality and asserted our statehood, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia adopts the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia'. An important provision is contained in the first paragraph of Article 3. It states that Slovenia is the »state of all its citizens, based on the permanent and inalienable right of Slovenes to self-determination«.

Some further provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia should be mentioned, among them especially Article 5: »The State (...) shall attend to the welfare of the autochthonous Slovenian ethnic minorities in neighbouring countries, of Slovenian emigrants and migrant workers abroad and shall promote their contacts with their homeland (...) Slovenians not holding Slovenian citizenship shall enjoy special rights and privileges in Slovenia. The nature and extent of those rights shall be determined by statute«.

The above shows that the independent statehood was – above all – understood as 'defence' of the Slovenian nation. However, this does not mean that the protection of national minorities and the preservation and development of the national identity of non-Slovene ethnic communities has been excluded from the process of building a sovereign Slovenian state. Right to the contrary, human rights and freedoms – including and especially rights of (autochthonous) national minorities, but also the proclamation of general cultural and ethnic rights of all individuals – were proclaimed the foundation of the Constitution of 1991.

The covenant to protect both 'classical' ethnic communities as well as members of other nations living in Slovenia may be found in all documents, which deal with the attainment of Slovenian independence. It may be found in a special Agreement by the Political Parties and Deputy Groups Represented in Parliament on the joint appearance at the referendum, which was signed on 6th December 1990 by all political parties represented in parliament, as well as the club of ethnic community deputies and the club of independent deputies. In this agreement the signatories promised that »the Republic of Slovenia shall ensure the Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities, as well as to the members of other Yugoslav nations living in Slovenia, a changeless political status regardless of the referendum outcome«. The agreement specifically emphasises the duty of the Republic of Slovenia to protect the Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities and to enable members of other Yugoslav nations who have permanent residence in Slovenia to obtain Slovenian citizenship if that is their wish (Ribičič 1992: 33). Similar assurances may be found in the Statement of Good Intentions, which the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia adopted at the announcement of the referendum (6th December 1990) on the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia.³

³ The first point of the statement says this: »1. By the will expressed in the referendum of the Slovenian nation, the Italian and Hungarian ethnic minorities and all other voters in the Republic of Slovenia, may Slovenia finally and effectively become a sovereign, democratic, legal and social state«. The statement further explicitly emphasises that »the Slovenian state guarantees to the Italian and Hungarian ethnic minorities in the sovereign

In the Basic Constitutional Charter adopted on 25th June 1991, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia re-emphasised that the Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities and their members in the Republic of Slovenia were assured all rights from the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia and valid international agreements.⁴ And finally the Declaration at Independence states that the Republic of Slovenia is »a legal and social state with a market economy adapted to the capabilities of the environment, in which human rights will be respected, as well as citizens' freedoms, special rights of the autochthonous Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities in the Republic of Slovenia (...)«⁵.

The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia is designed in a similarly favourable spirit towards the national minorities. In it a great attention is paid to the Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities (Article 64);⁶ its Article 65 expresses also the concern for the position and rights of the Roma community (Komac 1999: 7-9). Additionally, basic cultural and ethnic rights are guaranteed universally to all individuals (Articles 61, 62), and the discrimination on whatever ground is prohibited (Articles 14). The Constitution prohibits also the incitement to discrimination and intolerance and the incitement to violence and war (Article 63).

With the formation of the independent Slovenian state a new category of ethnic minorities emerged. This category consists mainly of persons belonging to nations and nationalities from the former Yugoslav state. However, before they could partake of the benefits of the new Slovenian constitution, they had to become citizens of the Republic of Slovenia in accordance with the provisions of the appropriate Slovenian legislation. The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia bound itself in its Statement of Good Intentions (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 44/90) to give to all members of other nations and nationalities with permanent residence in Slovenia the opportunity to obtain Slovenian citizenship if they so desire. Almost all Yugoslav citizens who were not Slovene citizens⁷ but had a permanent residency in Slovenia in the time of the Plebiscite in 1991⁸ applied for Slovene citizenship in a special naturalization procedure

Republic of Slovenia all rights as provided by the Constitution, the legislation, as well as by the international acts which were concluded and recognised by the SFRY (Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia). It also guarantees to all members of other nations and nationalities the right to a multi-faceted development of their culture and language, and to all permanent residents of Slovenia the right to obtain Slovenian citizenship if they so wish« (The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia. 2104. Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 44/90, p. 2034).

⁴ The Basic Constitutional Charter on the Independence and Sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia, Off. Gaz. of the RS No. 1, (June 25, 1991), p. 2.

⁵ Declaration at Independence, Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 1, (June 25, 1991), p. 5.

⁶ In comparison with the Constitution of 1974, the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia introduces an important conceptual novelty. From the traditional ethnic communities (Italian and Hungarian) it removes their status of constitutive ethnic element (as provided in the Constitution of 1974) and grants them the status of classical ethnic minorities.

⁷ According to Article 39 of The Law on the Citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 1/91) everybody who had citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia and SFRY at the time of independence of Slovenia became a citizen of the Republic of Slovenia automatically.

⁸ Every citizen of the SFRY with a right to vote regardless of his/her republic citizenship who had a permanent residency in the Republic of Slovenia in the time of plebiscite had the right to vote at the plebiscite. There were 1.457.020 (100%) registered voters, and 1.359.581 (93.3%) of them participated at the plebiscite. 1.289.369 (88.5%) voters voted for the independence, 57.800 (4.0%) voters voted against the independence of Slovenia, and there were 12.412 (0.9%) invalid voting forms. (The Report of the Republic Election Commission on the Results of the Plebiscite of December 23rd, 1990, Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 2/91 of January 18th, 1991.)

determined by Article 40 of the Citizenship Act. Almost all who applied were also given Slovene citizenship.⁹

The independence of the Republic of Slovenia changed the status of immigrant groups and persons belonging to them. This was especially true for the persons belonging to the constitutive nations of the former Yugoslavia who had (in most cases) migrated to other regions of the common homeland in search of employment. Overnight, they became members of groups that actually and statistically could be considered minority ethnic communities in newly established states; their position and situation was – anthropologically – comparable to those of (international) economic immigrants and immigrant communities. Those citizens of other republics of the former Yugoslavia who did not acquire citizenship of Slovenia (or other successor states of the former Yugoslavia on which territory they resided) became aliens. The starting point for an analysis of the relationship between the Slovenian state and persons belonging to these ethnic communities can be found in the Article 61 of the Slovenian Constitution, mentioned above. The central idea of that relationship was to be the building of integration processes and the State's care for the preservation and development of ethnic identity elements for the members of non-Slovene ethnic groups.

In 1999 the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia adopted a document entitled *Resolution on the Slovenian Immigration Policy*.¹⁰ Special section in the resolution is dedicated to the problem of integration. Bearing in mind the fact that the resolution is nothing but a politically binding document, it lacks mechanisms of implementation. Therefore additional efforts must be made to implement the guidelines, proposed by the Resolution.

⁹ Article 40 of this law provided for a special procedure for the acquisition of Slovene citizenship (actually, by naturalization) for every citizen of the former Yugoslavia who had a permanent residence and actually lived in the territory of the Republic of Slovenia on 23 December 1990, the day of the Plebiscite, and who applied for the Slovene citizenship within six months after the adoption of this law. Their applications could have been refused only if their applications were incomplete or if they had participated actively in aggression against Slovenia (as members of the Yugoslav federal army in the - so called - 'Ten Days War').

¹⁰ Resolution on the Slovenian Immigration Policy of the Republic of Slovenia (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 40/99). Another document was adopted 2002: Resolution on Migration Policy of the Republic of Slovenia (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 106/02).

The Slovene regime of protection of (national/ethnic) minorities can in short be defined as a three-dimensional minority protection system:

1. Relatively complete legal protection of historic (autochthonous) national minorities – the Italian and Hungarian ones – that encompasses individual and collective minority protection; legal protection comprises, apart from the constitutional provisions,¹¹ about eighty other laws and regulations relating to various spheres of minority existence;
2. General constitutional provisions for the protection of the Roma community,¹² complemented with provisions in legislation and specific policies (e. g. regarding education, culture, local government, etc.); and
3. A (rudimentary) model of the preservation of ethnic and cultural identity based on individual principle deriving from universal ethnic and cultural rights of individuals declared by the Constitution (Articles 61, 62). This model can be employed also for persons belonging to the nations of former Yugoslavia in Slovenia that as a consequence of the recent processes of economic immigration can be considered ‘new ethnic minorities’; namely, ethnic adherence of a substantial corpus of inhabitants of Slovenia differs from that of members of the majority and dominant Slovene nation. The majority of these immigrant populations are still represented by members of the ‘first’ generation, but gradually ‘the second’ and already the ‘third’ generations are being formed. The Constitution does not include specific provisions for the (collective) protection of these new (immigrant) minority communities. However, certain policies and measures addressing specific aspects of their needs, especially

¹¹ The Constitution of Republic of Slovenia, Article 11: The official language in Slovenia is Slovene. In those municipalities where Italian or Hungarian national communities reside, Italian or Hungarian shall also be official language.

The Constitution of Republic of Slovenia, Article 64 (Special Rights of the Autochthonous Italian and Hungarian Ethnic Communities in Slovenia): 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 authorise 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 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.

¹² The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, Article 65 (the status and special rights of the Romany community in Slovenia): »The status and special rights of the Romany community in Slovenia shall be determined by statute«.

cultural needs and interests, have been developed and put in place in the 1990s and 2000s, which is also explained below.

In this context, it should be mentioned that also persons belonging to certain traditional ethnic communities in Slovenia that have for different historic reasons almost disappeared (e. g. the 'reviving' German-speaking community, Jews) do not enjoy any specific additional individual and/or collective minority protection. This fact is sometimes criticized by members of these communities, but also by other states (e. g. Austria).

IV. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA

Slovenia belongs amongst medium-developed European states. Its economic indicators are showing a favourable socio-economic development. It is necessary, however, to establish and improve such systematic conditions as will enable the development of a plural, yet cohesive society, with a low level of social exclusion. Among the transition states, there exist considerable differences regarding social cohesion, but it is in most cases lower than in the Scandinavian states or the Benelux.¹³

“In the period of transition, Slovenia followed a distinctive pattern of development characterized by balance and the gradual of change. This pattern has resulted in a fairly high level of economic development and better outcomes in social and environmental development than one might have expected given the achieved level of economic development” (Šušteršič et al. 2001: 7). In development strategies of the transition period, the main tasks laid down were macroeconomic stabilization, microeconomic restructuring and the adaptation of the institutional framework to market economy. The building up of an independent state, the institution of market rules and preparations for EU accession presented significant systemic changes (Šušteršič et al. 2001: 11).

Upon gaining of independence, Slovenia¹⁴ was economically a medium-developed state in transition into a market-oriented economy, with a democratic political system, and an economy, which in 1981-1992 had already faced a crisis. In the new socio-political circumstances, the Slovene economy found itself with a considerably smaller domestic market. It had decreased from the 22 million (Yugoslav) consumers to the merely 2 million Slovenian consumers. Many Slovenian companies, especially those from the manufacturing industry, which used to sell the majority of their products to the Yugoslav market, found themselves in crisis. In 1991, the Slovenian industrial product was lower by a quarter. During the first years of the Slovenian state, the share of the budget financial means for the spheres of science and technology was decreased. All of this severely affected numerous small production and service sector companies. Particularly heavy was the economic decline of those service sector activities, which to a large degree created their income through the international exchange of service activities (e. g. tourism, financial services) (Krašovec 2001). The development report of Slovenia (2002)¹⁵ shows that in the period between 1990 and 1998, the economic development was in the average more favourable than in other European states (EU members and the then EU candidate states). In the field of social development, there was a noticeable decrease in 1995, but afterwards the social situation began to improve. This was to a large degree due to an active social policy and to the fact that during the transition period, the degradation of social security systems was not allowed. The transition into market economy caused dramatic changes in the functioning of the Slovenian labour market. The state abandoned its protective role. Less successful companies began to close

¹³ Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.net/zmar/projekti/srs/gradiva/svr.pdf>, (June 29, 2006).

¹⁴ In 1991, the first Constitution of the independent state of Slovenia was adopted which laid foundations for the free market initiative and social state. In 1992, Slovenia became a fully authorized member of the CSCE, and gained a seat in the UN. In 1993, it became a member of the Council of Europe. Thus the conditions were created in which the young state could integrate into the international economic and monetary institutions, which was important for its economic development. It became member of the WB, IMF, GATT and the founding member of its successor, the WTO. First the cooperative, then the EU associative agreement were signed (Krašovec 2001). In 2004, Slovenia became a EU member state.

¹⁵ Development report. Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development. (eds. Murn, Ana and Kmet, Rotija), UMAR, 2002. Available on the www: <http://www.gov.si/umar/projekti/pr/2002/pr1-02.pdf>, (May 24, 2006).

down and many surplus workers lost their jobs. The labour resources became more mobile due to a more flexible legislation on employment. The price of this progress was high: numerous transfers of workers, a high level of unemployment (Vodopivec 1995: 281).¹⁶ The registered unemployment rate was nearly tripled in the first half of the 1990s, from 4,7% in 1990 to 14,5% in 1993, but began to gradually decrease during the recent years. The growing unemployment was reflected in the decrease of household income, and in the growing poverty risk rate. The average living standard was visibly lowered; social differences amongst people increased.

The improvement of environmental development: up to 1995 it was mainly the side effect of a defensive economic restructuring; after 1995, accelerated economic development can be noticed, prevailing over the environmental development. In the recent years, indicators show that environment is no longer such a distinctive developmental advantage of Slovenia in comparison to other EU member states. During this period, differences in the regional development also increased. With regard to national competition, Slovenia in this period lagged behind the EU member states and some of the then EU candidates. Its greatest weakness lay in the inefficiency of government and institutions, which ought to provide a competition-favourable business environment.

Between 1995 and 2000, the process of structural changes between individual economy sectors continued in the direction of consolidation of the service sector, and diminishing of economic significance of agriculture and industry. However, Slovenia still lags behind the developed world economies regarding its share of the service sector in the GDP.

In 2001 a new *Strategy for Economic Development of Slovenia 2001-2006* was adopted. The strategy is founded on the underlying goal of equally treating the economic, social and environmental aspects of welfare. The Strategy's main goal is to increase the welfare of people living in Slovenia in a sustainable manner. Welfare is defined as a balance between economic, social and environmental components. Welfare also incorporates non-material aspects, such as personal development and self-realisation, social integration and security, co-operation, the development of individual and cultural identity. The realisation of this development goal should result in an overall increase in welfare as measured by traditional economic measures of development (gross domestic product per capita) as well as by new measures of development (human development index, genuine savings index, sustainable development index).¹⁷ In search for equilibrium between economic, social and environmental dimension of society, the Strategy of Economic Development of Slovenia was adjusted with the directives of the Lisbon Strategy.¹⁸

Government of the Republic of Slovenia in June 2005 adopted the new Slovenia's Development Strategy,¹⁹ which does not focus solely on economic issues but also involves social, environmental, political, legal and cultural issues. The strategy includes five key development priorities, one of which is to attain a modern social state and higher

¹⁶ Numerous untimely retirements (the number of retired persons doubled), financial aid to unemployed and other social aid were a heavy burden for public finances (Krašovec 2001).

¹⁷ Strategy for Economic Development of Slovenia 2001-2006, pp. 11-12.

¹⁸ When, at the Lisbon Summit of March 2000 it was decided that the Union should adopt the strategic goal for the next decade of becoming »the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy ... with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion« that gave emphasize on the fact that economic development and social welfare are not in contradiction. On the contrary, social policy if proper designed, can contribute to employment and economic growth.

¹⁹ Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.si/zmar/projekt/asrs/ssd-new.pdf>, (July 7, 2006).

employment. This development priority includes: improvement of labour market flexibility, modernisation of the social protection system and reducing social exclusion and poverty risk.

After a few years of comparatively modest economic growth, economic activity in Slovenia started increasing again in 2004. Real growth of the GDP in 2003 was 2,5%, in the 2004 increase to 4,2% and it was based upon accelerated export growth and preservation of high growth of domestic expenditure.²⁰ In 2005 the real growth of the GDP was 3,9%.²¹

2004 saw the decrease of inflation, the process having started already in 2003, when it was most affected by measures in the field of prices regulation and fiscal policy. In 2004, however, further decrease was caused by the stabilization of the tolar rate at the entry into the ERM at the end of June 2004.²² In November 2005, Slovenia met the Maastricht criteria on price stability for the first time. Average inflation in 2005 was 2,5%.²³

Interregional differences in the development rate in Slovenia are small compared to the other EU states. Recently they remain practically unchanged. The GDP difference between the most and the least developed Slovenian regions have slightly increased, while the differences in the unemployment rate have been decreasing since 2002. The Pomurska region suffers from the most problems, so the acquired level of development as in the number of unemployed; arrears in the degree of development have increased in some other regions, particularly the Zasavje and Savinjska regions.²⁴ The problematic structural unemployment manifests differently in each region, presenting problems even in regions with below-average rate of registered unemployment. Long-term unemployment has been decreasing in all regions. It is linked to low educational structure of unemployed (South-Eastern Slovenia, Pomurska region); it can, however, be related to the lack of jobs for employment seekers with higher or university education (Central Slovenia, Gorica region, Karst and the Coastal region, Notranjska and Gorenjska).

The results of social development are favourable since the life expectancy is increasing, and the risk of poverty rate before and after social transfers, as well as income inequality are decreasing. The means, reserved by the state for the well being of the population through systems of obligatory social, health, retirement and disability insurance plus other systems of public financing, are gradually increasing, but are still lower than the EU average. At the same time individual indicators (e. g. the difference between poverty risk rate before social transfers and after them) point to the still inadequate target efficiency of transfers. Effects of the retirement reform are reflected in the increase of average retirement age and the decrease of the proportion between pension and salary.²⁵

Higher economic growth made possible repeated employment growth and decrease of the unemployment rate. The employment rate increased from 62,5% in 2003 to 65,3% in 2004

²⁰ Developments report 2005. Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development. Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.si/zmar/projekti/pr/2005/pr2005.pdf#4>, p. 24, (June 5, 2006).

²¹ Developments report 2006. Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development. Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.net/zmar/projekti/pr/2006/pr2006.pdf>, p. 14, (June 5, 2006).

²² Developments report 2005. Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development. Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.si/zmar/projekti/pr/2005/pr2005.pdf#4>, p. 26, (June 5, 2006).

²³ Developments report 2006. Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development. Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.net/zmar/projekti/pr/2006/pr2006.pdf>, p. 15, (June 5, 2006).

²⁴ Developments report 2005. Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development. Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.si/zmar/projekti/pr/2005/pr2005.pdf#4>, p. 50, (June 5, 2006).

²⁵ Ibid, p. 57.

and the estimation for 2005 is 65,9%. The statistical unemployment rate²⁶ decreased from 6,7% in 2003 to 6,3% in 2004, the official unemployment rate having decreased from 11,2% to 10,6%. In the same period, apart from more favourable economic trends, the decrease of unemployment was also affected by measures of the active employment policy, which by focusing on the less employable made a positive shift in the structure of unemployment. Thus the shares of the elderly and long-term unemployed decreased, as was the share of uneducated job seekers, due to increased inclusion of the unemployed into education processes.²⁷ After 2000 the rate of long-term unemployment is decreasing in Slovenia; in 2003 it was 2%, which is essentially lower than the average of the new member states, in which it amounts to 4%, approximately equalling that of the EU (1,9%).²⁸

One of the indices of social exclusion in Slovenia is the share of adults living in households with no active members. In Slovenia, 6,7% of adults live in such households. Till 2000 this share increased slightly but has been decreasing ever since (in the period 2000-2005 it decreased for 2,3% points) and is substantially (for more than 3% points) lower than in the EU-25 and EU-15.²⁹

In 2001, according to the human development index, for the fourth successive year Slovenia occupied 29th place in the group of 175 countries.³⁰ In 2003 the index for Slovenia grew from 0,895 to 0,904, which placed Slovenia on the 26th place among 177 countries.³¹ The sub index values, representing the index total of development has also increased: The human greatest positive change is observed with the sub index of education, slightly lower with the sub index of GDP, according to purchasing power per person. Slovenia is ranked lowest (33rd) according to life expectancy.³²

Access to health care and services is relatively high in Slovenia, with a few weak points in the non-inclusion of a part of the population, and long waiting periods. The obligatory insurance includes almost the entire Slovene population (98,9% registered in on December 31, 2004). The exception is a relatively small group of people (22.536 or 1,1% of the population), among them those who have no income, no RS citizenship and no permanent residence, which is why they cannot be included in the obligatory insurance. Most of the population is included in the voluntary supplementary insurance for the additional payment of full-price services. Two groups, belonging among the most vulnerable due to the lack of financial resources (persons who cannot be included in obligatory insurance, and those who do not have the voluntary supplementary insurance because they are unable to pay for it) are in a disadvantaged position in comparison with others, as they have low access to health care services; only the most urgent health care is guaranteed to these two groups.³³

²⁶ Those not seeking employment are not statistically unemployed (Developments report 2005, p. 164. Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.si/zmar/projekti/pr/2005/pr2005.pdf#4>, June 6, 2006).

²⁷ Ibid, pp. 25-26.

²⁸ Ibid, p. 164.

²⁹ Developments report 2006. Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development. Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.net/zmar/projekti/pr/2006/pr2006.pdf>, p. 44, (June 5, 2006).

³⁰ NAP/social inclusion 2004-2006, p. 2.

³¹ Development report 2006. Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development. Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.si/zmar/projekti/pr/2006/pr2006.pdf>, (July 3, 2006).

³² NAP/social inclusion 2004-2006, p. 18.

³³ Development report 2006. Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development. Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.si/zmar/projekti/pr/2006/pr2006.pdf>, p. 45, (July 3, 2006).

Poverty risk rate in Slovenia has been decreasing since 1997. In 2002 it amounted to 11,9% and in 2003 to 10%. However, if – apart from financial income – other kinds of income (natural sources) are taken into consideration, the poverty risk rate is even lower. According to the poverty risk and income inequality indicators, Slovenia's results are much more favourable, than in comparison with the EU's 15 older members' averages, and also as in comparison with the new member states; however, Slovenia's efficiency of social transfers fall a little lower than the EU average.³⁴ The state allocates cash social assistance to those that cannot provide the means for themselves and their families to ensure a minimum income level (means of satisfying minimum needs for subsistence).³⁵

In December 2005, 4,7% of population was entitled to social assistance,³⁶ which is 0,3% more than in December 2003. In the structure of financial social aid recipients, the share of unemployed has been steadily declining since 2002. In January 2002 it amounted to 88,6%, and according to the latest data for December 2004, it is 82,84%.³⁷ The share of uneducated recipients is also decreasing (in January 2002 their share was 11,57%, in December 2004 only 8.12%).³⁸ With regard to the gender structure of social aid recipients, women prevailed in December 2004 (54,4%). 43,35% of social aid recipients were the young (aged 18 to 26) – in December 2003 this age group represented 46%.³⁹ 65% of persons that were entitled to social aid in 2004, had no other sources of income.⁴⁰

The share of public expenses for education in the GDP in Slovenia in 2002 was 6,02%, which is considerably above average of the EU 25 states. With regard to the previous year this share was decreased by 0,11% , while provisional data for 2003 indicate a slight increase – to 6,09%. This share places Slovenia at the level attained by most European states (between 4-6% GDP), and substantially above the average of EU 25 states (5,37% in 2001).⁴¹

Educational structure of the population keeps increasing as a consequence of higher rates of completing secondary and tertiary degrees of formal education. Compared to other states, Slovenia has a relatively high share of population with completed secondary education, yet it lags behind in the share of population with completed tertiary education. The inclusion of the young into educational processes increased in 2002 to 2003, while inclusion of adults slightly decreased.⁴²

The integration of the young into the educational system is growing constantly. In 2003, 66,9% of population aged 15-24 was included in (any grade) of education, a higher share than in the EU-15 and EU-25 states. To improve educational structure, the access to tertiary education is of the highest importance. In Slovenia, it is (apart from available capacities) affected mainly by the tuition fee system, state assistance, and parents' income. Tuition fees

³⁴ Developments report 2005. Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development, p. 170. Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.si/zmar/projekti/pr/2005/pr2005.pdf#4> and Development report 2006. Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development. Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.si/zmar/projekti/pr/2006/pr2006.pdf>, (June 5, 2006).

³⁵ NAP/inclusion 2004-2006, p. 5.

³⁶ Available on the www: http://www.sigov.si/mddsz/doc/dsp_regije_za_dec05.pdf, (June 9, 2006).

³⁷ Available on the www: http://www.sigov.si/mddsz/doc/dsp_status_dec04.pdf, (May 5, 2006).

³⁸ Available on the www: http://www.sigov.si/mddsz/doc/dsp_izobr_dec04.pdf, (May 5, 2006).

³⁹ Available on the www: http://www.sigov.si/mddsz/doc/dsp_spol_dec04.pdf, (May 5, 2006).

⁴⁰ Available on the www: http://www.sigov.si/mddsz/doc/dsp_dohodek_dec04.pdf, (May 5, 2006).

⁴¹ Developments report 2005. Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development, Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.si/zmar/projekti/pr/2005/pr2005.pdf#4>, p. 106, (June 6, 2006).

⁴² Ibid, p. 110.

are paid by 'self-paying' students, not by regular ones. Scholarships (of all kinds, for all kinds of education) are slightly more frequent in low-income households. Research studies (Bevc 2001) show that more students come from well off than from poor families, proving inequality of access to tertiary education. While the number of the young integrated into formal education is high, the integration of adults is still low. It is best accessible to those with completed secondary education, as they are most often financially stimulated by their employers; the least educated to a large degree depend on their own financial resources.⁴³

Accessibility of kindergartens and other forms of pre-school care and education essentially affects the extent and manner of integration of women into the labour market and their adjusting of professional and family life. In the school year 2004/2005, about 75% of children between the age of 3 and the beginning of schooling in Slovenia were attending kindergartens, and one third of children under 3, which means that Slovenia is approaching the goals set by the European Council in 2002 in Barcelona (90% of children aged 3 to the beginning of schooling, at least 33% of children under 3).⁴⁴

In the recent years Slovenia achieved relatively good results in the establishment of contemporary telecommunication infrastructure and in the use of information-communication technology. The world-wide-web access of households is at a similar level as in the EU 15. However, Slovenia lags behind in the share of individuals using the Internet.⁴⁵ In 2004, 47% of households had access to Internet. This was above the EU 25 and EU 15 averages. Regarding the Internet usage with individuals, the 2004 data indicate that 43% of Slovene population has already used the Internet, while the share of regular users amounted to 33% (the EU 15 average being 42%, the EU 25 average 39% of the population, aged 16 to 74).⁴⁶

The subjective comprehension of living conditions and surroundings should also be mentioned, which, however, is in slight discord with the objective indicators of development. The satisfaction of people in Slovenia with their life has been stable through the years, but – in comparison with other European states – the average of this satisfaction is lower. The results of the longitudinal analysis show that in Slovenia, among all the factors of satisfaction in life, the self-estimations of one's health and marital status are the most important, while education and the self-estimation of social status are less important. A person's age is becoming an increasingly important determinant of satisfaction, and so are (increasingly) the job (work), its quality and the degree of working autonomy.⁴⁷

⁴³ Development report 2006. Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development. Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.si/zmar/projekti/pr/2006/pr2006.pdf>, p. 45, (June 5, 2006).

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 46.

⁴⁵ Developments report 2005. Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development, Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.si/zmar/projekti/pr/2005/pr2005.pdf#4>, p. 35, (June 5, 2006).

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 112.

⁴⁷ Development report 2006. Institute of macroeconomic analysis and development. Available on the www: <http://www.sigov.si/zmar/projekti/pr/2006/pr2006.pdf>, p. 46, (June 5, 2006).

V. THE ASPECTS OF SOCIAL INCLUSION/EXCLUSION

Although the Constitution and legislation of Slovenia⁴⁸ guarantee equal rights and freedoms to everyone irrespective of their nationality, race, gender, language, religion, political or other belief, financial state, birth, education, social status or any other personal circumstance,⁴⁹ the practice shows that some social groups or individuals often face unequal, i.e. worse treatment. All contemporary societies are faced with the problem of how to mitigate, if not eliminate, instances of social exclusion of certain individuals, groups or communities. The question that poses itself in this connection is what is the meaning of the concept of social inclusion or exclusion?

A review of sociological theories of exclusion concluded: In fact, observers agree on only one point: the impossibility of having a single, simple criterion with which to define exclusion. The numerous surveys and reports on exclusion all reveal the profound helplessness of the experts and responsible officials (Weinberg and Ruano-Borbalan 1993).

For the purpose of the project, we shall be content with definition of social inclusion/exclusion *as multidimensional concept* (Atkinson and de Voudi 2000): »The concept of social exclusion capture more adequately the multi-dimensional nature of the mechanisms whereby individuals and groups are excluded from taking part in the social exchanges, from the component practices and right of social integration« (European Commission 1992: 8) and *a dynamic concept*: people are not excluded just because they are currently without a job or income, but also because they have little prospects for the future or for their children's future. Such definitions accept that social inclusion/exclusion is as much about processes of inclusion or exclusion as much as experiences and outcomes.

The concept of exclusion seems to embrace the following aspects:⁵⁰

- Poverty (social exclusion is often start as material deprivation),
- Exclusion from 'social life', 'cultural life' and 'active citizenship',
- Health inequalities (access to health services),
- Exclusion from employment opportunities and the labour market,
- Homelessness,
- Geographical – covering all spatial scales,
- Housing (living condition),
- The lack of access to ICT / information society,
- Exclusion from educational opportunities.

An important indicator of social exclusion, intertwined with most of the above listed aspects, is the attitude of the majority population towards individual groups. In Slovenia, this attitude towards various social minorities – from homosexuals, drug addicts, etc. to different ethnic and religious communities – is often negative, discriminatory or intolerant in a concealed way ('not in my backyard'). To illustrate this, we shall list some of the findings of public opinion

⁴⁸ In 2004 the Implementation of the Principle of Equal Treatment Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 50/04) was adopted.

⁴⁹ Personal circumstances such as nationality, racial or ethnic origin, sex, health state, disability, language, religious or other conviction, age, sexual orientation, education, financial state, social status or other personal circumstances.

⁵⁰ Resumed and modified from: Woods, Roberta, et. al (2004). Report of a thematic study using transnational comparisons to analyse and identify cultural policies and programs that contribute to preventing and reducing poverty and social exclusion. The Universty of Northumbira, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK.

polls and media analyses of the majority population concerning individual ethnic communities in Slovenia.

The standpoints of the majority population, expressed in the Slovene Public Opinion (SPO) research studies, towards the new ethnic minorities indicate the wish for immigrants to adapt to life in Slovenia as soon as possible. The opinion that immigrants are a threat to the Slovene nation is quite frequent. Findings of empirical research studies of the SPO, performed in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, clearly show the negative attitude of Slovenes towards immigration of workers from other Yugoslav republics, and the reserved attitude of the majority nation towards the already immigrated populations from the former Yugoslavia.

The majority standpoints towards the new ethnic minorities have been changing with time. In the 1970s, despite the opinion of a considerable number of interviewees⁵¹ that immigration was bad for Slovene society, their answers did not show elements of ethnic distance or a specifically negative attitude towards immigrating members of other Yugoslav nations. The explanation for a favourable estimation of interethnic relations should perhaps be sought in the general social conditions, which were those of solid progress, welfare and an (often obligatory) non-conflict environment. The early 1980s could still be regarded as the 'idyllic' period of interethnic relations in Slovenia. The reasons for these good relations can also be found in the fact that those were the times of the first immigrant generation, the main concern of which was the solving of its own social and existential problems. The economic and social crisis, which in the mid-1980s started to gnaw at the Yugoslav society, was also reflected in the interethnic relations in Slovenia. The percentage of those who believed that these relations were good dropped substantially, the percent of those who were 'neutral', or reserved⁵² towards members of other nations was growing (Komac and Medvešek 2005: 14).

The feeling of menace to the majority nation was present throughout the entire period of intensive immigration, and especially emphasized at the peak of the Yugoslav crisis, during the preparations for the independence of Slovenia. On the one hand, the share of people who wanted to stop or limit immigration was increasing, and on the other hand the share of people who believed interethnic relations in Slovenia to be good was decreasing. In more recent research studies of the SPO (2002, 2003), the answers show that the majority population's viewpoint towards immigrants is no longer as strained as they were in the period of the Yugoslav crisis and during the time when Slovene was gaining independence.⁵³ The majority population standpoints on immigrants in years 2002 and 2003⁵⁴ are closer to those expressed in the early 1980s – their attitude towards immigrants and their descendants is reserved (Komac and Medvešek 2005: 15-16).

⁵¹ Answers differ regarding the year of questioning; on average, between 30 and 42 percent of respondents believe immigration to be bad for the Slovene environment. Among reasons for positive evaluation of immigration, economic factors prevail (Slovenia lacks an unqualified labour force, etc.). Economic reasons, however, also prevail among the negative answers (working posts occupied by non-Slovenes, etc.) (Komac 2005: 215-218).

⁵² Growing economic crisis contributed to the conviction that employment of workers from other Yugoslav republics should be limited. The percentage of those who believe that immigration should be limited or even prevented is 60% in 1986, 2 years later three quarters of respondents agreed with such restrictive policy (Komac 2005: 226).

⁵³ See more: Medvešek, Vrečer 2005.

⁵⁴ Toš Niko et. al. Slovene Public Opinion 2003/2, Mednarodna raziskava o družini in narodni identiteti in Stališča o lokalni demokraciji (International research on family and national identity, Standpoints on local democracy). Ljubljana, Univerza v Ljubljani, Fakulteta za družbene vede, Center za raziskovanje javnega mnenja in množičnih komunikacij. Arhiv družboslovnih podatkov, November 2004.

The findings of the research study are also in accordance with determining that a distance exists amongst the majority population towards the new ethnic minorities,⁵⁵ carried out among the new minority members. The results show that, in the perception of new ethnic minority members, there is currently more intolerance in Slovenia than there had been before the gaining of independence.⁵⁶ Intolerance is felt most acutely by the ethnic communities of Serbs, Bosnians and Muslims, men have a slightly higher share of experiencing it than women, and among educational categories, those with secondary education believe that there is more intolerance than before (Komac and Medvešek 2005: 16).

Individuals try to avoid ethnic distance/intolerance in different ways; some attempt to gain the positive attitude of the majority population by hiding ethnic signs, by changing the name, for example. The research study results show that the share of those thinking about changing their name into a more Slovene-sounding one (15% of the interviewees), and particularly of those who have already done it (5,5%) is not very high. The share of people knowing individuals who have changed their name, however, is quite high (38%). This discrepancy hints that the number of persons interviewed, who have already changed their name into a more Slovene-sounding one, is in fact considerably higher than they are willing to admit. The research results also proved that a substantial number of 'new' minority communities' members resort to concealing their ethnic identity as a 'survival strategy'.⁵⁷ Men do this more often than women, younger generations more often than older ones (Komac and Medvešek 2005: 16-17).

The research study results showed the existence of intolerance and distance of the majority population towards 'new' minority communities' members; also important, however, is the social distance among individual ethnic communities within the investigated population. The highest degree of ethnic distance is felt against Roma, Albanians and Muslims, the lowest against Slovenes and Croats. Data show a lower degree of ethnic distance of the interviewed towards other ethnic communities among members of younger generation and the better-educated ones (Komac and Medvešek 2005: 17).

In what way, in the opinion of the respondents, is the majority population's intolerance shown? On the basis of individual statements, pointing at different forms of intolerance, a thesis on new forms of ethnic intolerance in the post-modern period can be confirmed. More than 'obvious intolerance' and hatred, the respondents perceive indirect and concealed ethnic

⁵⁵ To analyse perceptions and standpoints of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia and their offspring, an empiric research study was carried out by the IES in 2003. Our aim was to form a sample, which would include members of all minority communities from the former Yugoslavia, and cover all Slovene regions. For the sample framework, necessary to perform probability sampling of those inhabitants of Slovenia were selected who, after the gaining of Slovenia's independence, applied for citizenship. For the sampling, the database of citizenship applications, preserved by the Ministry of the Interior, was used. We performed the simple coincidental sampling, which includes essential characteristics of more complex ways of sampling, and enables the forming of a representative sample regarding the researched minority community population from the former Yugoslavia. A sample of 4.000 units was planned. But as the sample framework was to a large degree outdated, since most of the applications were 10 or more years old, deletion of the old data from the database was necessary upon the sample's creation, i. e. comparison of database with the Central Register of Slovenia, in order to update data – addresses. After the procedure of identification and locating of units, a sample of 3.094 elements was obtained. On the basis of expense and time analysis we chose the form of self-questioning – questioning by mail. 1.163 completed and useful questionnaires were returned, which is a 37,5% realization of the sample.

⁵⁶ As many as 70% of respondents answered that intolerance existed. 40% were of the opinion that there is currently more intolerance among people than before independence, approximately 30% thought there was as much as before, and 13% that there was less of it than before.

⁵⁷ 36,3% of respondents sometimes found themselves in situations when they concealed their ethnic adherence, a good half (57,8%) have never been in such a situation, while this often happened to 5% of respondents.

intolerance. A more detailed analysis indicates that all the above stated forms of ethnic intolerance (from the obvious to the concealed ones) are more often perceived by Bosnians, Muslims and Serbs, members of younger generation and those better educated.

Classification of individual life spheres or situations with regard to the degree to which respondents in those spheres and situations face unequal treatment showed that the most problematic is the sphere of employment and relations at work. The least inequality is felt in the political sphere (Komac and Medvešek 2005: 17).

Table No. 2: Classification of individual life situations with regard to arithmetic mean of respondents' answers (1 – never, 2 – now and then, 3 – often)

	<i>arithmetic mean</i>
unequal treatment from the part of co-workers or superiors at work	1,56
unequal treatment when applying for work	1,49
fear of losing job	1,42
problems in establishing contacts with majority nation members	1,42
unequal treatment of children in kindergarten or school	1,41
difficulties in solving housing problems (purchase or renting)	1,39
problems in contacts with public administration	1,35
unequal treatment by police	1,3
unequal possibilities of political participation	1,27

And what is the attitude of the majority population towards the Roma community? It can be understood from mass media reports on Roma. The study that analysed the Slovenian media writing about the Roma in autumn 1997 revealed that the Roma are presented in media almost always in connection with problems – “[w]hen writing about the Roma, the media invariably use the expressions ‘Romani issues’ or ‘Romani problems’. The media are not interested in their difficulties unless they turn into a conflict that also threatens to affect the majority population. Out of 131 accounts in newspapers, on television and radio, only one falls short of our hypothesis that the media write about ethnic minorities only when they are involved in some conflict” (Erjavec et al. 2000: 7).

The same analysis concluded, that the media concentrate on particular ‘negative traits’ of the Roma, for example cultural differences, deviation and the apparent threat they pose to the majority population. Thematically they could be divided into the following categories:

The Roma are the protagonists of negatively evaluated acts (crime), which represent a threat to the social order. In line with this, the Roma are represented as aggressive and dangerous. The prevalent assertion in the media coverage is that the Roma are (by nature) thieves.

The Roma threaten our social and economic interests, thus representing a threat to economic order. They are idle and lazy; they live on social assistance (which, in the opinion of the majority population, is higher than their wages would be if they worked).

The Roma have a different culture, mentality and behaviour, which are not in accordance with the norms of the majority population, hence this poses a threat to the existing cultural order.

The Roma differ from the majority population by their looks (skin colour), they have a different culture, values and habits, they are inadaptable and their natality is too high” (Erjavec et al. 2000: 7-8).

Media topics and the manner of reporting on individual social groups have a great impact upon the formation of the majority population opinion on certain social groups with whom most of them often rarely or even never get into contact. The negative attitude of the majority population towards Roma can also be found in the Slovene Public Opinion poll.

Table No. 3: Which group of people would you not wish to be your neighbours?

	unwelcome neighbours	1999	2000	2001	2002
		%	%	%	%
1.	Alcoholic	69,3	76,1	68,6	70,5
2.	Drug addict	65,3	79,3	71,9	74
3.	Homosexual	44,3	55,3	46,9	50,7
4.	people who have been prosecuted	40,5	46,7	42,1	41,2
5.	Right-extremist	37,0	51,7	45,6	49,6
6.	Roma	36,6	48,0	45,9	43,0
7.	Left-extremist	36,0	48,7	45,0	43,8
8.	People with AIDS	33,2	46,6	42,0	40,8
9.	emotionally unstable people	30,4	40,5	41,3	40,2
10.	Muslims	22,6	28,5	27,5	26,4
11.	Jews	16,8	22,0	23,0	21,6
12.	Immigrants, foreign workers	16,0	28,2	20,6	22,6
13.	People of a different race	12,0	19,9	17,4	16,1
14.	People with large families	9,1	10,1	8,5	8,9
15.	Antiglobalist	-	-	-	32,5
16.	Pedophile	-	-	-	85,8

Source: Toš, Niko and co-workers (2004). Values in transition III. Slovene Public Opinion 1999-2004. (ed. Toš, Niko), Faculty of Social Science, ISS – CPOMC.

In 2002, another analysis of media reports on Roma was carried out. The results showed that authors of analysed articles have, in the period from October 2001 to January 2002, dealt with Roma topics with equal prejudice and equal means of argumentation as had been described in the first such analysis. »Journalists still use the approach of classical ‘hostile speech’. Roma are in general dealt with as members of a certain ethnic group which is a priori uncivilized. [...] The topics of articles about Roma remain - as stated already in the 2000 analysis *Us and Roma – problems and conflicts*. [...] Articles report on cultural differences, immigration and co-existence problems. Among the 16 analysed articles from daily papers, there are only a few positive exceptions where Roma are not represented as a source of evil and trouble« (Kotnik 2002: 14)

VI. NATIONAL ACTION PLAN ON SOCIAL INCLUSION (2004 – 2006)

The government of the Republic of Slovenia defined the policy of social integration as one of its priority policies in 2000. Although there is no generally accepted notion on social inclusion/exclusion (social integration), there are different phenomena related to this notion: poverty, inequality, segregation, etc. There are differences in the definition of social inclusion/exclusion with regard to the viewpoint of either ‘objective’ statistical data or ‘subjective’ perceptions. The conceptual framework of social integration, as well as the source of definition was a problem.

According to the Slovene National action plan on social inclusion 2004-2006, social inclusion in Slovenia is faced with the following key challenges (listed in order of importance):

- further development of an inclusive labour market and promoting employment as a right possibility for all,
- ensuring appropriate education,
- ensuring suitable living conditions for all,
- reducing regional differences,
- improving the provision of services,
- ensuring income and means for a decent standard of living.⁵⁸

In order to meet these challenges Slovenia set out four main objectives in the National action plan on social inclusion 2004-2006. The first objective is to facilitate participation in employment, which should be done primarily through the programs of the Active employment policy (AEP). The second main objective of the NAP is to facilitate access to resources, rights, goods and services. These include: ensuring the system of social protection, housing, access to health care, access to social protection, access to education, access to judicial protection, access to culture, access to leisure activities, and reducing regional differences. The third main objective of the NAP is to prevent the risk of exclusion by promoting e-inclusion, preventing exclusion from work, preventing discrimination, and preventing other forms of exclusion (ensuring a minimum selection of electronic services; ensuring access to school, safe transport or care; ensuring the supply of minimum quantities of electrical energy). The fourth main objective of the NAP is to ensure help for the most vulnerable in gaining employment, in education, with housing needs and with social inclusion.

Groups with the greatest risk of poverty and social exclusion, listed in the NAP/social inclusion 2004-2006, are:

- certain groups of disabled persons,
- unemployed young persons,
- children (where owing to poverty or social exclusion their physical, mental/emotional and social development are at risk, and this has negative long-term consequences),
- adolescents with development difficulties,
- homeless persons (health and housing problems),
- Roma (unemployment, low educational level, poor housing conditions; Roma are the only ethnic community recognized in NAP as one of the groups with the greatest risk of poverty and social exclusion),
- people with low incomes (unemployed, single-parent families),

⁵⁸ NAP/social inclusion 2004-2006: 6-7.

- other vulnerable groups (victims of abuse, addicts, persons with mental health problems, persons on probations, persons without work permits).

VI. 1 Social inclusion policies chosen for evaluation

This report will focus on the analysis and evaluation of special policies and measures envisaged in the NAP 2004-2006 to promote the social inclusion of the Roma and the so-called 'new minorities' (for the most part comprising people who settled in Slovenia from other regions of the former Yugoslavia).

Special policies and measures for the promotion of social inclusion of the Roma in NAP 2004-2006 relate to the following areas: employment, education, housing, and help with integration into the society. Besides, Roma being one of the groups most at risk of social exclusion can be considered a target group of other envisaged (general) measures for social inclusion as well. On the other hand, the NAP 2004-2006 does not deal with the new ethnic minorities as vulnerable groups (groups with highest risk of poverty and social exclusion); they are, however, included in the part of NAP 2004-2006, which deals with access to culture.

Table No. 4: Social inclusion policies chosen for evaluation

Social area \ Ethnic group	Education	Employment	Access to culture
Roma	X	X	X
New ethnic minorities			X

In the following chapters we will first present some demographic data and some information about the legal status of the Roma and the new ethnic minorities in Slovenia. Then we will focus on the three social problem areas mentioned above (see Table No. 4): employment, education and access to culture. Our primary aim is to present the concrete policies and measures provided by the NAP/social inclusion 2004-2006 for the social inclusion of the mentioned ethnic groups (the Roma and the new ethnic minorities) in these three areas, to see how these measures are being implemented and to evaluate their effects. But before doing that we will analyse the current situation of the ethnic groups in the related social area, we will try to establish whether there has been any change since 1991 (Slovenia's independence) and what the government has done in this period to help these groups with their social inclusion.

VI. 2 Ethnic communities to be dealt with in the project

VI. 2.1 *The Roma community*

Similarly to other European states, the Roma community in Slovenia is heterogeneous. Roma groups within the community differ according to language, religious adherence, areas of settlement and way of life (some living in separate settlements, some in urban centres and settlements together with the majority population, and some are still leading nomadic life). They are all subject to being stigmatised from the part of the majority population and other ethnic minorities, as well as to marginalization. Demographic statistics and field research projects prove that Roma community members generally have a lower life expectancy, that they more often fall ill with such diseases as tuberculosis, asthma, diabetes, anaemia,⁵⁹ that many are still illiterate, that their households are amongst the poorest in Slovenia, that their degree of unemployment is extremely high, that consequently they largely depend on social services and social financial aid, and that crime rate among them is quite high. Consequently, Roma have no social power. Moreover, individual Roma communities are neither closely linked nor organized.

Legal and political framework

The beginnings of the constitutional regulation of the Roma status reach back to 1989, when the Constitutional amendments brought the provision, demanding the legal status of Roma be defined by law. Thereby legal foundations for protective measures were set, but at the same time it was suggested that the Roma – due to their specific character, level of social and economic development, education, and lack of internal organization (e.g. no Roma associations existed at the time) cannot be given equal status to the Italian and Hungarian national communities in the Republic of Slovenia and that the same organizational and institutional solutions can not be applied.

The new Constitution of the RS (1991) states in Article 65: »Status and special rights of the Roma community settled in Slovenia are regulated by law.« This provision ensures the Roma, apart from general human rights, also special rights, i. e. special protection.⁶⁰

Later on the viewpoint prevailed that the status and special rights of the Roma community should be regulated in legislation, as in the cases of the Hungarian and Italian national minorities. Since the adoption of the new constitution in 1991 up to now, the government policy has alternately been changing its views regarding the way of regulating the Roma community status.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Minority Protection of Slovenia, Monitoring the EU Accession Process: Minority Protection, (Volume 1), An Assessment of Special Policies in Candidate States 2002 (Budapest: Open Society Institute, 2002), p. 622.

⁶⁰ Some consider and define such an approach as a 'positive concept' or the 'positive protection of minorities' (Žagar 2001: 10).

⁶¹ The Parliament of the RS adopted, at its 115th meeting on December 2, 1993, when discussing the draft of the Act on Self-managing National Communities, the decision that the Government should also prepare a law on protection of the Roma community in Slovenia. The Parliament Committee for internal policy and legislation adopted the following decision on October 12, 1995: »In order to solve problems which are of vital importance for the regulation of status of Roma in the RS, a global law is for the time being not necessary, but matters should be regulated, with full appreciation of equality, in legislation in accordance with the proposals of the Government of the RS, by other measures.« Thus in 1995, the Government's standpoint was that Roma ethnic community protection should preferably be regulated with laws.

The implementation of Article 65 of the Constitution is thus still enforced through legislation in laws that regulate specific issues and fields.

So far the Roma community protection has been incorporated into 11 acts:

- Local Self-Government Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 72/93, ..., 100/05)⁶²,
- Local Election Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 72/93, ..., 22/06),
- Electoral Register Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 52/02, 11/03, 73/03)
- Act on Implementation of Public Interest in Culture (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 96/02),
- Act on Organizing and Financing of Education (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 12/96, ..., 98/05),
- Kindergartens Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 12/96, ..., 100/05),
- Primary School Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 12/96, ..., 70/05)
- Mass Media Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 35/01, ..., 123/04),
- Librarianship Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 87/01, 96/02),
- Act on Promotion of Balanced Regional Development (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 93/05),
- Radio and Television of Slovenia Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 96/05).

The adoption of changes and supplements of the Local Self-Government Act in 2002 led to the implementation of the Constitutional Court of the RS decision from March 22, 2001,⁶³ based on which the law defines the territory where special rights of the Roma community are in force. The law states 20 municipalities in Slovenia in which the Roma are historically, i. e. autochthonously settled. Only the Roma living in these municipalities enjoy the special right of political participation at local level, i. e. the right of at least one representative in the municipal council.⁶⁴

Other rights of preserving cultural identity and certain rights in the social sphere (different social transfers: permanent financial aid, extra allowance, child and parental allowance) are assured to all the Roma on the basis of regulations, valid for all RS citizens or persons with permanent residence in Slovenia.

In 1995 the Government of the RS adopted the Program of measures to assist the Roma which remains topical. According to this program, endeavours of state bodies and municipalities are

Human rights ombudsman in his 8th, 9th and 10th reports from 2002, 2003, 2004 pointed out the need to adopt a special Roma law, which would regulate the status and special rights of this community in an all-comprising manner. The adoption of a basic protective law on Roma was also supported by the Office for National Minorities of the Government of the RS, which at the same time emphasized the need for further regulation of Roma issues within legislation.

It is necessary to mention the endeavours of the Roma ethnic community members and the Union of the Roma of Slovenia for a special overall law which would regulate the status, organization and special rights of Roma in the RS.

⁶² The Local Self-government Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 100/05 – official consolidated text) in the last paragraph of Art. 39 determines that »In the territories populated by autochthonous Roma community, Roma must have at least one representative in municipal councils«. Changes of the Local Self-government Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 51/02) in Art. 14 introduced Art. 101a of the Local self-government Act, stating: »Municipalities Beltinci, Cankova, Črenšovci, Črnomelj, Dobrovnik, Grosuplje, Kočevje, Krško, Kuzma, Lendava, Metlika, Murska Sobota, Novo mesto, Puconci, Rogoševci, Semič, Šentjernej, Tišina, Trebnje and Turnišče are obliged to ensure the right of the Roma community inhabiting their municipality to have one representative in the municipal council till 2002 regular local elections.«

⁶³ U-I-416/98, March 22, 2001, (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 28/01).

⁶⁴ In the Municipality of Murska Sobota, a Roma councillor is a member of the municipal council since 1995, when the necessary legal acts were adopted or altered. The statute established, as a special working body of the municipal council, a commission for Roma questions, headed by a town councillor.

directed towards regulation of living conditions, education and employment possibilities, promotion of culture, information service, identity preservation and promotion of political participation (local representation) of the Roma.⁶⁵

The prevention of social exclusion of the Roma is a complex problem, demanding on the one hand simultaneously dealing with different spheres of social life (living conditions, education, employment, culture, informing, political participation), together with effective communication and cooperation at the local and national level.

Relating to the above are the Government Decisions (No. 550-03/97-8 (P) from July 1, 1999):

- that coordinated action of municipalities and state bodies is required, regarding Roma issues,
- all ministries and social services are obliged to – within their competence – dedicate special care to Roma issues and include them in national programs in their respective spheres of work,
- Ministry of the Environment and Spatial Planning and Ministry of Finance were put in charge to study the possibilities of ensuring adequate means in the budget to help municipalities in settling living conditions,
- the RS Government charged the ministries disposing with the budget means for promotion of development in local communities to consider – when allocating the funds to municipalities - the need of improving the living conditions of Roma and other inhabitants, the living conditions of whom are worsened due to illegal Roma settlements. State representatives in the administrative boards of the competent funds (e. g. Public fund of the RS for regional development and preservation of Slovene countryside population density, the Housing fund of the RS) are in charge of proposing adequate measures.

The experience thus far proves that the endeavours of state bodies and municipalities to solve Roma problems cannot be successful, unless Roma themselves actively participate. No improvement can be expected without the active cooperation of Roma in the shaping of different social sphere policies.

With this in mind, the Secretary General of the Government of the RS expressed the opinion, in his recommendation (note No. 023-12/2001, March 3, 2003), regarding the participation of ethnic communities in the process of decision making, related to the status of their members (2nd paragraph of Article 15 of the National Communities Act, Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 65/94) that state bodies – within the executive branch of administration (government, ministries, state organs) in cases of decision making on executive regulations and other

⁶⁵ In 2004, after discussing the Report on the Status of Roma in the RS, prepared by the Office for National Minorities, the Government of the RS again passed ten decisions (Government of the RS Decision 018-09/2000-5 from October 10, 2005). Among them is the ascertaining that the Program of Measures to Help Roma (adopted in 1995) is in some spheres (housing, employment, economic status) implemented too slowly, problems are not completely solved, although some projects (e. g. in employment) have been realized. Therefore ministries and government services were obligated to include, within their competences, Roma issues solving in their programs, prepare action plans for their implementation, and prepare other programs and measures, also financial ones, as a help to municipalities with autochthonous Roma community.

regulations, applied to the Roma community settled in Slovenia – previously obtained opinions of its highest representative body, i. e. Union of the Roma of Slovenia.⁶⁶

In 2005 the drafting of the Act on Roma Community in the Republic of Slovenia began. Until now it was believed that the Roma problems could be solved by legislation regulating specific issues and fields. However, a number of spheres, not regulated by this legislation, were left out, such as the organizing of the Roma community and its representation at state and local levels.

Due to the growing dissatisfaction with inadequate treatment of certain spheres (housing, education, employment, environment preservation ...) the opinion prevailed (so on the part of the Roma community as on the part of the majority population) that a special law could provide for a more complex regulation of the status and organizing of Roma. Despite the passing of the general law, Roma issues continue to be regulated also by legislation.

In the international field, the RS is striving to implement international conventions and documents relating to the Roma, ratified by the RS and to follow the existing international standards of the minority protection.

The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, adopted by the Council of Europe was ratified by Slovenia in 1998.⁶⁷ In the accompanying text Slovenia stated that it would – in conformity with the Constitution of the RS and internal legislation of the RS – apply the determinations of the above Convention also for the Roma living in Slovenia.

*The European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages*⁶⁸ was ratified by Slovenia in 2000, whereby the RS agreed that the provisions from 1st to 4th paragraph of Article 7 (Aims and principles giving ground to policy, legislation and practice of contracting parties relating to regional or minority languages in the territories where these languages are in use, with special regard to the status of each language) will also be applied in reference to the Roma language.

The RS implements the protection of Roma community rights through the *International Convention on Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination*,⁶⁹ through recommendations and resolutions of the Council of Europe on the status of Roma in Europe (The Resolution of the Permanent Conference of Regional and Local Communities of the Council of Europe for Easier Inclusion of Roma into Local Communities ...), and through taking an active part in the Stability Pact for South-eastern Europe (Roma in the processes of European Integration).

⁶⁶Recommendation of the Parliament of the RS leadership (working interview on February 4, 2003) and instruction of the Secretary General of the Government (No. 023-12/2001 from March 3, 2003). On the occasion of the working interview with Roma Association of Slovenia representatives, which also posed the question of a systematic law on Roma protection in Slovenia (February 4, 2003), Parliament leadership passed the decision that, within their competences, in dealing with individual legislation spheres also relating to Roma community, a Roma Association representative, as a member of the highest organ of Roma in RS and thus a collocator of the state bodies, be invited to present his standpoints. The internal policy committee of the Parliament of the RS, in a concrete case, made the leadership of the Association acquainted with the fact that their representatives would be invited to the committee meetings when issues directly relating to the Roma community status are tackled.

⁶⁷ Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 20/98.

⁶⁸ Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 69/00.

⁶⁹ Off. Gaz. of the SFRY, No. 31/67; Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 35/92 – IC, No. 9/92.

Also relevant are the following international legal documents: *Convention on the prevention of torture and inhumane and degrading treatment or punishing* (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 24/93, IC No. 7/93), *Convention on the protection of human rights and liberties* (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 33/94), *International Pact on civil and political rights* (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 7/71; Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 35/92 – IC, No. 9/92) and *International Pact on economic, social and cultural rights* (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 35/92 – IC 9/92) (Klopčič 2005).

Demographic data

In the 2002 population census 3.246 (0,17%) inhabitants declared themselves as Roma community members,⁷⁰ and 3.834 persons stated the Roma language as their mother tongue. The estimations of researchers, experts on Roma issues and different institutions (Social care centres, Social work centres, administrative units, municipalities)⁷¹ on the number of Roma in Slovenia are considerably higher, ranging between 7.000 (0,35%) (Winkler 1999) and 10.000 (0,5%) (Horvat 1999) or 12.000 (0,6%) (Žagar 2002: 25).

Table No. 5: The number of inhabitants of Slovenia, who in population censuses from 1953 to 2002 declared themselves according to ethnic adherence as Roma (Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Population Census 2002)

year	1953		1961		1971		1981		1991		2002	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Roma	1.663	0,12	158	0,01	951	0,06	1.393	0,08	2.259	0,12	3.246	0,17
Total	1.466.425	100	1.591.523	100	1.679.051	100	1.838.381	100	1.913.355	100	1.964.036	100

Table No. 6: The number of inhabitants of Slovenia who in population censuses from 1953 to 2002 declared themselves as Roma according to their mother tongue (Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Population Census 2002)

year	1953		1961		1971		1981		1991		2002	
Mother tongue	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Romany language	996		-	-	969		1.382		2.752	0,1	3.834	0,2
Total	1.466.425	100	1.591.523	100	1.679.051	100	1.838.381	100	1.913.355	100	1.964.036	100

Due to the considerable discrepancy between estimations and the number of factually declared Roma in population censuses, statistical data should be considered with caution.

Population census data show that since 1961 the number of inhabitants declaring themselves as Roma has been increasing. This could be due to: immigration of Roma, favourable legislation, alterations of census forms and instructions to questioners, better organization of the Roma, growing interest in Roma issues at the international level, etc.

A great difference between the numbers of population declared as Roma and the estimations of these numbers still remains. Some of the more 'integrated' Roma no longer identify

⁷⁰ This number also includes those who during the population census declared themselves Gypsies or Sinti.

⁷¹ According to social work centers of the RS estimations, there are in 25 municipalities in Slovenia 6.264 Roma, and according to municipality data 6.448 (Problems of economic and social integration of Roma in Slovenia, Ljubljana, July 1, 2004, RS Parliament).

themselves with the Roma identity or community.⁷² Some inhabitants don't declare themselves as Roma to avoid possible difficulties in education, employment or discrimination on the part of majority population. They believe this is an easier way of integration. Due to this they prefer to declare themselves as members of other ethnic communities, or remain ethnically undeclared. Considerable linguistic and cultural heterogeneity between different Roma groups can aggravate identification with the Roma community in general. Some children from ethnically mixed marriages no longer declare themselves as Roma (Josipovič and Repolusk 2003)

Territory of settlement

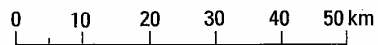
The immigration of Roma to the Slovene lands is supposed to have taken place from three directions: the Prekmurje Roma ancestors have probably arrived from Hungary, the Dolenjska region Roma from the territory of the present-day Croatia, while the smaller groups of Sinti settled in Gorenjska probably came from the North via the present-day Austria.

Consequently, Roma are more numerous in Prekmurje (Josipovič and Repolusk 2003: 127-149), in Dolenjska (Bela krajina, Lower Posavje), partly in Gorenjska and in major urban centres like Ljubljana and Maribor.

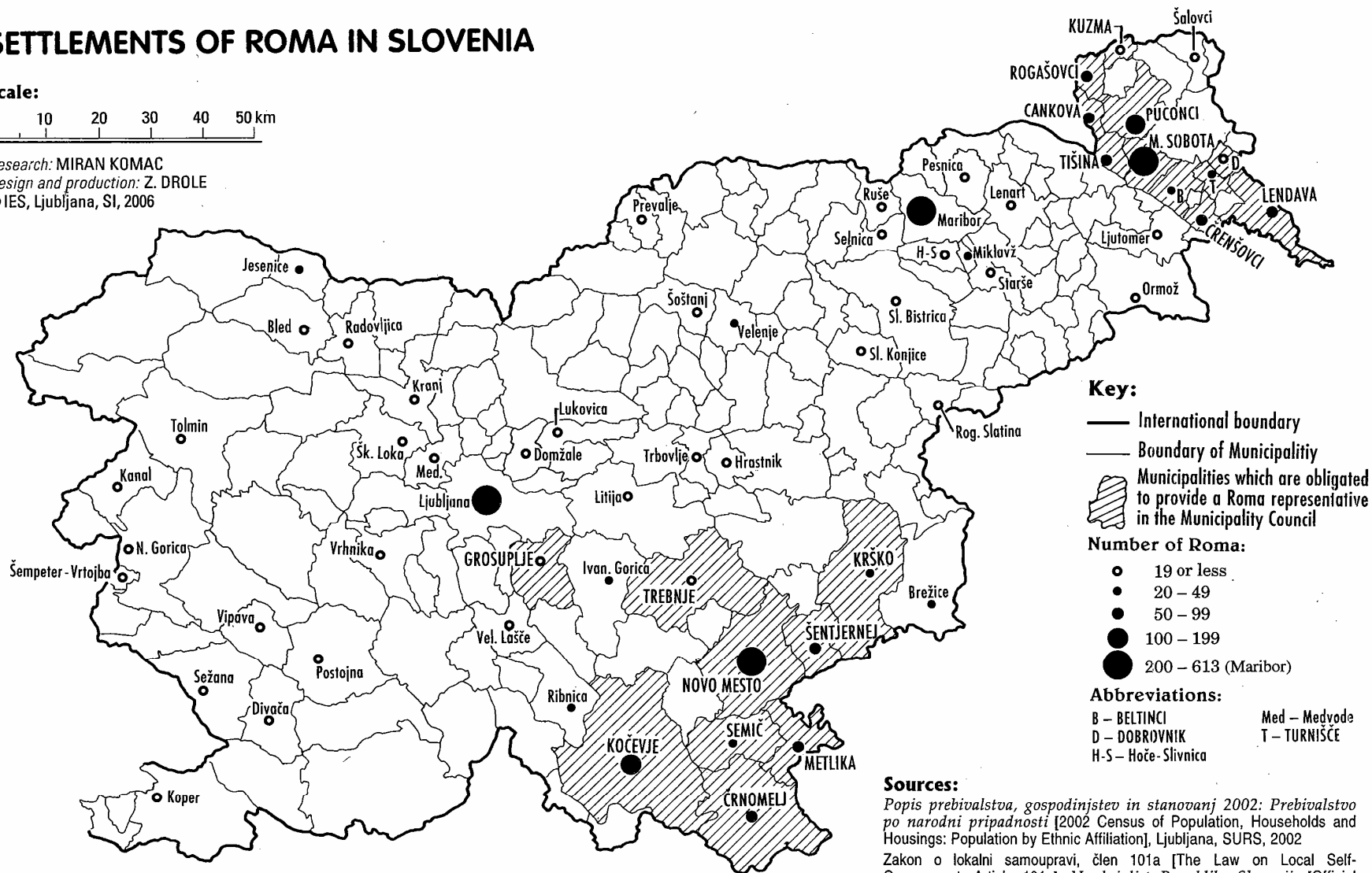
⁷² A more mobile part of the Romany live today more dispersed in the wider urbanized hinterland of cities, often in hetero-ethnic households; the transference of the Romany ethnic identity and consciousness to younger generations is rare in these circumstances (Josipovič and Repolusk 2003: 135).

SETTLEMENTS OF ROMA IN SLOVENIA

Scale:



Research: MIRAN KOMAC
 Design and production: Z. DROLE
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Key:

- International boundary
- Boundary of Municipality
- Municipalities which are obligated to provide a Roma representative in the Municipality Council

- Number of Roma:**
- 19 or less
 - 20 – 49
 - 50 – 99
 - 100 – 199
 - 200 – 613 (Maribor)

- Abbreviations:**
- B – BELTINCI
 - D – DOBROVNIK
 - H-S – Hoče-Slivnica
 - Med – Medvode
 - T – TURNIŠČE

Sources:
 Popis prebivalstva, gospodinjstev in stanovanj 2002: Prebivalstvo po narodni pripadnosti [2002 Census of Population, Households and Housings: Population by Ethnic Affiliation], Ljubljana, SURS, 2002
 Zakon o lokalni samoupravi, člen 101a [The Law on Local Self-Government, Article 101a], Uradni list Republike Slovenije [Official Gazette of Republic of Slovenia], No. 100/05, Ljubljana 2005.

a) The Prekmurje region

According to the population census data, 1.206 Roma are settled in Prekmurje.

Table No. 7: Inhabitants having declared themselves as Roma according to their ethnic adherence or mother tongue in Prekmurje, municipalities, Slovenia (Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Population Census, 2002)

Prekmurje region	Roma	Roma mother tongue
Murska Sobota	439	455
Puconci	137	104
Lendava/Lendva	86	96
Tišina	86	84
Črenšovci	63	129
Cankova	56	68
Rogašovci	51	163
Turnišče	29	34
Beltinci	23	73
Kuzma	10	z
Dobrovnik/Dobronak	z	z
<i>Total</i>	<i>cc. 980</i>	<i>cc. 1.206</i>

z - Data confidentiality is respected. Instead of confidential data letter 'z' is given. Data confidentiality is determined by the Act Regulating the Census of Population, Households and Housing in the Republic of Slovenia in 2002 (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 66/00 and 26/01), the National Statistics Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 45/95, 09/01) and the Personal Data Protection Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 59/99).

On the other hand according to the estimations – approximately 3.000 members of the Roma community are settled in the entire territory of Prekmurje. According to the data of the Union of the Roma of Slovenia in 2002, in the territory of the municipality Murska Sobota,⁷³ lived approximately 1.100 Roma, in the territory of Cankova 558, Rogašovci 445, Puconci 411, Kuzma 115, and the municipality of Lendava 307.

The largest Roma settlement is *Pušča* near Murska Sobota, numbering about 650 inhabitants or 120 families. In 2002 *Pušča* got the status of a local community.⁷⁴ The Roma of *Pušča* are mostly unemployed, only about 40 have jobs, mostly with the Mura textile factory, the Mura Waterworks and construction companies. The majority of population survives on social and family aid, determined by law. *Pušča* has partial infrastructure and regular communal waste removal. However, some families and individuals still live in bad housing conditions. Some families still live in dilapidated houses, which do not provide for decent living conditions. Roma themselves are incapable of improving their living conditions, being recipients of social aid which is hardly sufficient for bare survival (Bernjak 2004: 44).

In the *Černelavci* there are about 160 Roma (32 families), living in their own houses. Most of them are employed and self-supporting, receiving either salaries or pension. In this settlement there are 5 families needing help in the solving of their housing problem, as they are unemployed and depending on social aid. In the Roma settlement *Nemčavci* about 30 Roma live in 5 families in suitable housing conditions. Only 1 family (an elderly couple) is a social aid recipient in this settlement (Bernjak 2004: 45).

⁷³ In the municipality of Murska Sobota there are about 900 Roma in settlements *Pušča*, *Černelavci*, *Nemčavci* and Murska Sobota itself.

⁷⁴ Alterations and supplements of the municipality of Murska Sobota Statute (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 76/02).

In *Murska Sobota* there are about 150 Roma or 29 families, living in municipal apartments. Most families have one employed member, but still receive social aid due to their low social security rate. Families receiving social aid are also entitled to subsidized rents, while families without social aid are in debt, as due to their poor wages they are incapable of paying rent (Bernjak 2004: 45).

In comparison with Roma of Dolenjska, Lower Posavje and Bela krajina, the Prekmurje Roma have a slightly higher socio-economic status, although they differ considerably among themselves. Better living conditions in their settlements (communal infrastructure), especially in Pušča and Vanča vas, contribute to easier and more effective inclusion of children in the educational system. Most of the grown-ups are registered at the local Employment Service office. 90% of them have not completed their primary education, thus being less employable. Only a smaller part of younger adults participates in the adult primary school program (around 50) (Strategy for education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia 2004).

b) The Dolenjska region with Bela krajina and the Lower Posavje

In comparison to Prekmurje region, the Roma population in Dolenjska region, Bela krajina and Lower Posavje is more segregated and suffers more intense discrimination. Their living conditions are worse, their socio-economic status lower, probably as a consequence of more distinct ethnic distance between the majority population and Roma.

According to the population census data, approximately 1.214 Roma live in the Dolenjska region, Bela krajina and Lower Posavje.

Table No. 8: Inhabitants who according to ethnic adherence declared themselves as Roma and Inhabitants who state Roma as their mother tongue, municipalities, Slovenia (Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Population Census, 2002)

	Roma	Roma mother tongue
Dolenjska region		
Novo mesto	562	574
Kočevje	127	201
Šentjernej	98	z
Trebnje	16	37
Ribnica	49	z
Ivančna Gorica	27	32
Škocjan	-	-
Bela Krajina		
Metlika	90	144
Črnomelj	85	192
Semič	47	54
Lower Posavje		
Brežice	42	46
Velenje	34	27
Krško	37	54
<i>total</i>	<i>1.214</i>	<i>cc. 1.361</i>

z* - Data confidentiality is respected. Instead of confidential data letter 'z' is given. Data confidentiality is determined by the Act Regulating the Census of Population, Households and Housings in the Republic of Slovenia in 2002 (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 66/00 and 26/01), the National Statistics Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 45/95, 9/01) and the Personal Data Protection Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 59/99).

Estimations of the number of Roma population, acquired in fieldwork, are considerably higher. Approximately 3.000 Roma are estimated to live in this area.

The most numerous Roma communities are settled in the area of Novo mesto (about 770 Roma) and the municipalities Škocjan and Šentjernej (about 140 Roma). They live in 12 settlements with very different housing conditions. As a rule, not even the basic living conditions are provided. Very few settlements have communal infrastructure, for sufficient, decent living conditions. Most of the adults are illiterate, making their living by occasional jobs and social aid. Among the younger adults, however, the interest in completing primary education is increasing (about 120 of them attending adult primary school), and some are also planning to acquire vocational education. Older adults rarely ever participate in educational programs. The number of children attending primary school is increasing, but the number of those completing the 8th or 9th grade is still low. Most of them, mainly girls, quit school the moment their school obligations (6th or 7th grade) are fulfilled. In the territory of Trebnje municipality, there are four settlements on the edges of villages, populated by 250 Roma. Most children attend school but fail to complete primary education. 80 younger Roma attend primary school for adults. In the Kočevje region there are about 500 Roma. Most adults have not completed primary or vocational education. About 5% of adult Roma have jobs in different companies. Most children complete their six-year primary school obligation, but only a few complete primary school. In the territory of Grosuplje and Ribnica there are about 200 Roma. Most of the adults are illiterate, about 45 are participating in the adult primary school program (Strategy for education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia 2004).

In Bela krajina about 1.000 Roma live in 11 settlements. Many families still lead nomadic lives. Adults are mostly illiterate, but the number of children regularly attending primary schools is increasing. Despite fulfilling the primary school obligation, most of them fail to complete primary school. The adult primary school is attended by 30 younger adults, and the number of older adults, participating in different educational programs, has been increasing during the recent years (Strategy for education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia 2004).

In the Lower Posavje there live about 310 Roma, one sixth of them in the municipality of Brežice, the rest in the municipality of Krško. Most live in settlements lacking communal infrastructure. Over the last year some plots of land have been purchased so as to legalize one of the bigger Roma settlements (Kerinov grm). A small number of children are attending kindergarten. They usually quit school after the 4th or 5th grade. Most of the adults are illiterate, and even younger generations have problems with reading and writing (Strategy for education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia 2004).

In the territory of Velenje there are – according to rough estimate – about 70 Roma. Almost 40% of adults have completed primary school, and very rarely have individuals obtained a higher level of education (III, IV or V). The rest are illiterate (Strategy for education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia, 2004). Most Roma living around Velenje have moved there in the period of mass immigration from the former Yugoslav territory. The president of the Velenje association Romano Vozo says: »It is known that we came from Serbia about 25 years ago. When my parents got jobs in Velenje, I was just barely born« (Hahonina 2005).

c) Urban centres

Table No. 9: Inhabitants who according to ethnic adherence declared themselves as Roma and Inhabitants who state Roma as their mother tongue, municipalities, Slovenia (Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Population Census, 2002)

Urban centres	Roma	Roma mother tongue
Maribor	613	507
Ljubljana	218	192
<i>Total</i>	<i>831</i>	<i>699</i>

Roma living in urban centres such as Ljubljana, Maribor have mostly immigrated from the former Yugoslavia. They either moved before or after Slovenia's independence. This is also the reason why more inhabitants declared themselves ethnically to be Roma, but fewer stated Romani language as their mother tongue. A considerable number of Roma communicate in one of the former Yugoslav languages at their homes.

The majority of Roma living in Ljubljana have immigrated from other parts of the former Yugoslav territories. The 2002 population census data show that 47% of ethnically self-declared Roma were born in Slovenia, 37% were born in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and the remaining 16% were born in some other European country. Their educational structure is rather low, among 150 Roma aged over 15, 34% have no education or uncompleted primary school, 43% have completed primary school, 14,6% have completed vocational school, 4% have completed secondary school and 4,4% have university degrees. Among 118 active Roma, 43% are employed and 57% are unemployed.

In Maribor and surroundings there are - according to estimates of the social centre – about 900 Roma. They live in different settlements, interspersed with majority population. Many live in municipality-owned apartments, are employed and do not differ from other people. Children attend different Maribor schools. As for adults, especially women, their literacy level is very low, problems with understanding the Slovene language being a rule. About 40 younger adults attend adult primary school. The number of adults attending different shorter educational programs is increasing (Strategy for education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia 2004).

Estimations of the actual number of Roma, settled in Ljubljana and Maribor, are considerably higher. The president of the Roma association of Maribor believes that about 2.000 Roma live in Maribor and its surroundings.

VI. 2.2 The new ethnic minorities

With the independence of the RS a new category of ethnic minorities emerged. The situation of persons belonging to the constitutive nations of the former Yugoslavia who had (in most cases) migrated to other regions of the common homeland in search of employment, changed practically overnight; they became a statistically established minority with all the sociological and anthropological attributes of economic immigrant communities.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ That the Slovenian independence meant a radical change to the status of new ethnic communities can often be heard from their representatives (see eg. Public Initiative of Albanians, Bosnians, Montenegrins, Croats, Macedonians, Serbs living in the Republic of Slovenia. Ljubljana, October 14, 2003, IES archives). But were

Legal and political frame

The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia bound itself in its Statement of Good Intentions (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 44/90) to give to all members of other nations and nationalities with permanent residence in Slovenia the opportunity to obtain Slovenian citizenship if they so desire.⁷⁶

As already mentioned, almost all Yugoslav citizens who were not Slovene citizens but had a permanent residency in Slovenia at the time of the Plebiscite in 1991, applied for Slovene citizenship in a special naturalization procedure determined by Article 40 of the Citizenship Act. And almost all who applied were given Slovene citizenship.

As Slovene citizens these economic immigrants enjoy all constitutionally provided human rights and freedoms – among them political rights with the right to assembly and association,⁷⁷ which enables them to establish different organizations (including political parties) and cultural associations in order to prevent, foster and develop their ethnic culture. They also enjoy the right to use their language and script, express and develop their specific ethnic culture; they may freely express their ethnic identity (but should not be forced to do so), and this should not be any factor of their discrimination.⁷⁸ The fact that they acquired Slovene citizenship distinguishes them from typical immigrants in other countries who usually are not citizens in the country of their current permanent residence (resident aliens) (Žagar 2001: 12).

Although the constitution does not provide any special minority protection for new ethnic minorities the provisions of Article 61 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia (1991) guarantee cultural rights to every person belonging to these communities. These cultural rights are ensured for every legal immigrant regardless of his or her citizenship (nationality). This constitutional and legal framework and the existing multicultural policy of the Ministry of Culture should promote these rights and stimulate new ethnic minorities to preserve and develop their culture if they want to do so (Žagar 2001: 12).

The Act on implementation of public interest in culture (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 96/02) in Article 65, among cultural programs and projects, financed by the state, lists those, specifically intended for »cultural integration of minority communities and immigrants if their cultural programs or project surpass local significance ...«. Article 66 of the same law, defining competences of municipalities, obligates municipalities to support »amateur cultural activities, including those, intended for cultural integration of minority communities and immigrants«.

they really deprived? Post-war Slovene republic constitutions do not include any special regulations concerning protection of rights of members of nations and nationalities of the former Yugoslavia. No post-war constitution includes stipulations on members of nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, living in Slovenia, as constitutive (ethnic/national) elements of the Slovene state. However, these constitutions provide evidence that the Socialist Republic of Slovenia within Yugoslavia was a 'state' of Slovenes and 'others'. Among 'other' national communities only Italian and Hungarian minority members are mentioned by name (Komac 2005).

⁷⁶ The Citizenship Act, in Article 40, simply summarised the content of this statement. It limited the term for submitting applications to a six-month period without extensions, and the deadline expired on 25th December 1991. On the basis of this Act 174.228 applications were made, which represented 8,7 % of the entire population of the Republic of Slovenia at that time. 170.990 applications were granted. Thus a new 'category' of citizens of the Republic of Slovenia, who mostly hold dual citizenship, was created (Komac 1999: 9).

⁷⁷ See Article 42 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia of 1991.

⁷⁸ See Articles 14, 61 and 62 of the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia of 1991.

Immigrants or inhabitants of immigrant origin (the so called new ethnic minorities) who have gained Slovenian citizenship are entitled to full political and wider social participation. For other inhabitants of the RS, who have not acquired the Slovene citizenship, there are certain restrictions. The Constitution guarantees everyone the freedom of speech (Article 39); likewise everyone enjoys the right of assembly and association (Article 42). These rights are not bound to citizenship or any other legal status. What about membership and participation of immigrants in trade unions, associations and political parties? Foreigners are entitled to trade union membership. The Constitution stipulates the freedom of establishment of and membership in trade unions (Article 76). The Associations Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS No. 60/95, 89/99) states that strangers having permanent residence or temporary residence for over a year, are allowed to form associations (Article 6). A foreigner can become an association member if permitted by the association's founding act (Article 6). In conformity with the Political Parties Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 100/05 – official consolidated text), foreigners in Slovenia are neither entitled to found nor become members of political parties (Article 4). The only exceptions are citizens of the EU member states who by law enjoy the right to vote. However, a foreigner can become an honorary member of a party, if so defined in the party statute (Article 7) (Bešter 2006: 186).

The suffrage at national level (for the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections) is reserved for Slovene citizens, however, at the municipal level, in accordance with the Local Elections Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 100/05 – official consolidated text, 121/05), foreigners too are entitled to vote for members of municipal councils, as well as mayors. This only applies to foreigners with permanent residence in the RS (they can vote in the municipalities of their permanent residence). Citizens of other EU member states with permanent residence in Slovenia have the right to be elected as members of municipal councils and to appear on candidate lists. The right to vote and be elected for the European parliament MPs is guaranteed to Slovene citizens and citizens of other EU member states with permanent residence in Slovenia (in conformity with the conditions, determined by the Act on European Parliament MPs from the Republic of Slovenia (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 40/04 – official consolidated text)) (Bešter 2006: 186-187).

The legal framework in Slovenia guarantees foreigners access to primary school education under equal conditions as are valid for the citizens of the RS.⁷⁹ Likewise, it guarantees foreigners access to secondary⁸⁰ and higher⁸¹ education, whereby certain groups of foreigners are equal to Slovene citizens (Slovenians without the Slovene citizenship, citizens of EU member states), while for other foreigners this depends upon the principle of reciprocity between the states or other conditions⁸² (Bešter 2006: 174-175).

⁷⁹ Primary Schools Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 70/05 – official consolidated text); Regulation on Rights and Duties of Refugees in the RS (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 33/04, 129/04); Asylum Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 134/03 - official consolidated text); Act on Temporary Protection of Displaced Persons (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 65/05).

⁸⁰ Secondary Schools Act [Zakon o gimnazijah] (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 12/96); Regulation on Rights and Duties of Refugees in the RS (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 33/04, 129/04); Act on Temporary Protection of Displaced Persons (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 65/05).

⁸¹ Universities Act [Zakon o visokem šolstvu] (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 100/04 - official consolidated text); Higher Vocational Education Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 86/04); Regulation on Rights and Duties of Refugees in the RS (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 33/04, 129/04); Act on Temporary Protection of Displaced Persons (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 65/05).

⁸² Temporary Asylum Act, eg. in Art. 24 determines that persons with temporary asylum do not, from the day of acquiring permanent residence permit, pay tuition fees in secondary and university education, and are thus equal to Slovene citizens.

Children or everyone with other mother tongue than Slovene should have the possibility of learning their own language. This option is stated in the European Directive on education of migrant workers' children (77/486/EEC), in the Slovene Primary School Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 70/05 – official consolidated text), as well as in bilateral agreements and inter-departmental protocols of the RS Slovenia with immigrants' states of origin. The above-mentioned European Directive demands from the state that, in concordance with national conditions and legal system, and in cooperation with states of origin, it adopts adequate measures for the encouraging of mother tongue (and state of origin culture) study for children of migrant workers. The Primary School Act in Article 8 determines that for children of Slovene citizens, residents of the RS, whose mother tongue is not the Slovene language, study of their mother tongue and culture be organized, as stated in international agreements. Lectures of Slovene language can be organized optionally. Article 10 of the same law determines that for children – foreign citizens or persons without citizenship, residing in Slovenia – mother tongue and culture study shall be organized in accordance with international agreements. The classes of mother tongue are conducted in cooperation with states of immigrants' origin as optional supplementary learning. Thus, in the school year 1999/2000, supplementary classes of Macedonian were conducted in Ljubljana, Kranj, Jesenice and Celje; in Ljubljana there were also classes of Albanian and Arabic.⁸³ In the school year 2003/04 in Ljubljana, Kranj, Nova Gorica and Jesenice there were supplementary classes of Macedonian language and culture for children of Macedonian nationality, of Serbian language in Maribor, and of Croatian language in Novo mesto, Ljubljana, Maribor and Radovljica.⁸⁴ Apart from the learning of mother tongue in the form of supplementary classes, another possibility is gradually developing in Slovenia, i.e. mother tongue learning within optional subjects in primary school. Momentarily it is only possible to learn Croatian as an optional language, although a new curriculum offering Serbian as an optional subject is in preparation (Survey on school-based measures for immigrant children. p. 5).⁸⁵ It has been agreed that such curriculum will also be drafted for Macedonian, Albanian and Bosnian language as an optional subject⁸⁶ (Bešter 2006: 176-177).

In the field of employment, discrimination on the basis of ethnic, religious or cultural adherence is in Slovenia prohibited by two laws – the Labour Relations Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 42/02) and the Act on Implementation of the Principle of Equal Treatment (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 50/04). Both laws distinctly prohibit both direct and indirect discrimination.

⁸³ The first periodical report of the RS on implementation of the Framework Convention of the Council of Europe for the Protection of National Minorities ACFC/SR (2000) 004. [Prvo periodično poročilo Republike Slovenije o izvajanju Okvirne konvencije Sveta Evrope za zaščito narodnih manjšin. ACFC/SR (2000) 004.] Available on the www:
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⁸⁴ The second periodical report of the RS on implementation of the Framework Convention of the Council of Europe for the Protection of National Minorities ACFC/SR/II (2004) 008 [Drugo periodično poročilo Republike Slovenije o izvajanju Okvirne konvencije Sveta Evrope za zaščito narodnih manjšin. ACFC/SR/II (2004) 008.] Available on the www:
[http://www.coe.int/T/E/human_rights/minorities/2._FRAMEWORK_CONVENTION_\(MONITORING\)/2._Monitoring_mechanism/3._State_Reports_and_UNMIK_Kosovo_Report/2._Second_cycle/2nd_SR_Slovenia.asp](http://www.coe.int/T/E/human_rights/minorities/2._FRAMEWORK_CONVENTION_(MONITORING)/2._Monitoring_mechanism/3._State_Reports_and_UNMIK_Kosovo_Report/2._Second_cycle/2nd_SR_Slovenia.asp), (November 1, 2005).

⁸⁵ Available on the www:
http://www.mss.gov.si/fileadmin/mss.gov.si/pageuploads/podrocje/razvoj_solstva/projekti/enake_moznosti/urejanje_prob1_pris_eng.pdf (July 5, 2006).

⁸⁶ See the second periodical report of the RS on implementation of the Framework Convention of the Council of Europe for the Protection of National Minorities [Drugo periodično poročilo Republike Slovenije o izvajanju Okvirne konvencije Sveta Evrope za zaščito narodnih manjšin] (2004: 44).

Immigrants (foreigners) with permanent residence in Slovenia are guaranteed all social aid rights by the Social Care Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 36/04 – official consolidated text). In accordance with Article 14 of this act, everyone facing unfavourable social condition is entitled to basic information on social aid⁸⁷ and personal aid.⁸⁸ According to Employment and Unemployment Insurance Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 5/91, 12/92, 71/93, 2/94, 38/94, 80/97 – Constitutional Court Judgment and 69/98, 67/02), immigrants working in Slovenia are entitled to compulsory insurance in case of unemployment. They can only register as job seekers at the Employment Service if they are holders of a personal work permit (Article 69). Only by registering at the Employment Service can a job seeker acquire the unemployment status, enabling him to benefit from the benefits arising from this insurance, as well to get included into active employment policy programs. The EU member states citizens are equal to Slovene citizens with regard to their rights and obligations, determined by the Law on Employment and Unemployment Insurance. The employed or self-employed immigrants in Slovenia are also entitled to the obligatory pension and disability insurance⁸⁹ (Bešter 2006: 167-168).

In 1999 the Parliament of the Republic of Slovenia adopted a document entitled *Resolution on Slovenian Immigration Policy*. There is a special section in the resolution is dedicated to the problem of integration. Bearing in mind the fact that the resolution is nothing but a politically binding document, it lacks mechanisms of implementation. Therefore additional efforts must be made to implement the guidelines, proposed by the Resolution.

In the *Resolution on Slovenian Immigration Policy* (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 40/99), integration is defined as:

»Bearing in mind social multiculturalism, respecting the wealth of diversity, peaceful coexistence, social stability and cohesion, the RS will lead an integration policy based on the fundamental principles and values of equality, freedom and mutual cooperation. Thereby:

- equality is understood as a guarantee of equal social, economic and civil rights;
- freedom as the right of expressing one's cultural identity with the assurance of each individual's integrity and dignity, as well as fostering of one's culture in accordance with the laws and basic values of the RS;
- mutual cooperation as the right to activities and responsibilities of everyone in the uninterrupted process of creating a mutual society.«

To ensure the highest possible degree of social cohesion, integration policy will contain certain legal frameworks and social measures and will encourage the integration of immigrants into the Slovenian society, prevent discrimination and social marginalisation, and make it possible for immigrants to express and foster their own culture and values, based upon respect of personal integrity and dignity, all in the conformity with the laws of the RS.«

⁸⁷ First social aid includes »assistance with recognizing and defining social distress and difficulties, estimation of possible solutions and informing the person entitled of all possible forms of social care services and means, available to him/her, and on his obligations, arising from the above. The person in question is also entitled to be informed on networks and programs of services offering social care help.« (Art. 12 of the Social Care Act).

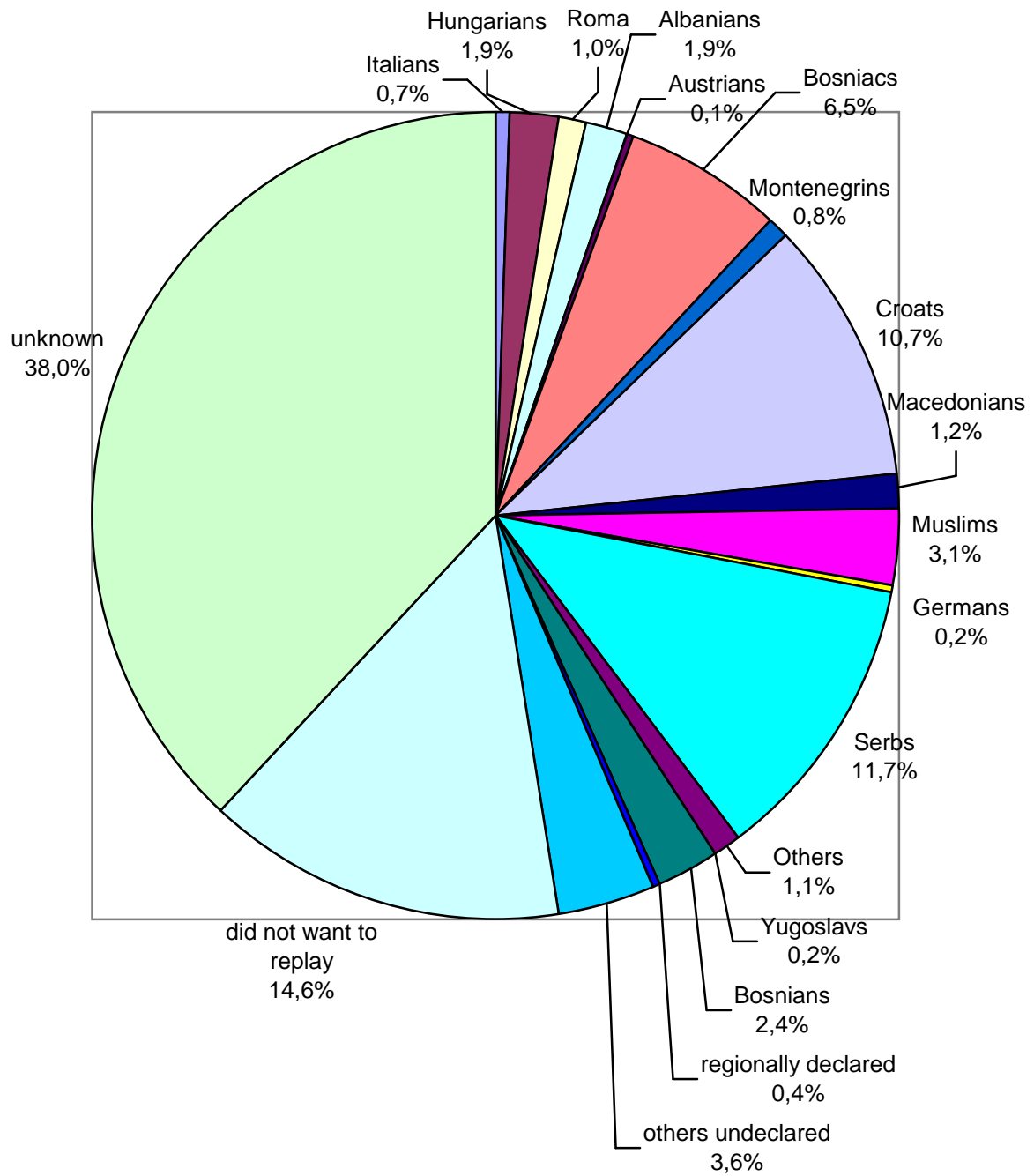
⁸⁸ Personal assistance includes counselling and guidance to enable an individual to develop, and improve social capabilities. (Art. 13 of the Social Care Act).

⁸⁹ See Articles 13 and 15 of the Pension and Disability Insurance Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 104/05 – official consolidated text).

Demographic data

During 1961 to 2002 the ethnic structure of the population of Slovenia has changed considerably. Between 1961 and 1991 the number of non-Slovenians from the former Yugoslavia has tripled. In the period between 1991 to 2002, however, due to lower immigration, due to changes in ethnic self-declaration, due to a large share of ethnically non-declared population, and due to changes in the ethnic self-determination of immigrants' offspring, etc., the number of non-Slovenian population has diminished by almost 25.000 in the last population census (Dolenc 2003: 184). Social, political and economic changes in the territory of the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s left a significant impact in the shaping of ethnic identity of immigrants and their descendents in Slovenia. On the one hand, the process of emancipation and self-awareness of belonging to a certain ethnic community can be traced amongst immigrants, but on the other hand, due to their long-term settlement in Slovenia, many of them define themselves as Slovenes. There is also a growing number of inhabitants, especially immigrants' descendants, who are torn between the ethnic adherence of their parents and the influence of their surroundings, and tend not to declare themselves ethnically. However, the factual number of non-Slovenian population from the former Yugoslavia, is in the absolute sense undoubtedly higher than shown by the 2002 population census; relatively, its number has decreased (Dolenc 2003: 110).

Graph No. 2: Population of the Republic of Slovenia of non-Slovene ethnic affiliation (Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Population Census, 2002)



Italians	Hungarians	Roma	Albanians
Austrians	Bosniacs	Montenegrins	Croats
Macedonians	Muslims	Germans	Serbs
Others	Yugoslavs	Bosnians	regionally declared
others undeclared	did not want to replay	unknown	

The territory of settlement

Immigration currents from the former Yugoslavia were mostly directed towards big cities and industrial centres, mainly in need of manual work power. Over half the immigrants into Slovenia were typical economic immigrants, and a large share of immigration from the former Yugoslavia was based on the concept of a migrational chain. The spatial immigration was influenced by historic circumstances (the filling in of empty territory as a consequence of the exodus of the Italian population from the Slovenian coastal region, expulsion of the Kočevje (Gotschee Germans), as well as by political, geostrategic and security elements of distribution of important strategic objects and Yugoslav army in the times of the 'Iron Curtain' (Gosar 1993: 39).

Immigration into Slovenia was of rural-urban character, meaning that the majority of immigrants migrated from rural environment into towns. The basic characteristic of immigration into Slovenia is spatial concentration in a relatively small part of the state.

During individual time periods, immigration into Slovenia had specific characteristics:

- until the end of 1947 this was mainly pre-war immigration, followed by immigration currents resulting from World War II.
- 1948-1960 was the period of finalization of territorial integrity of Slovenia and replacement of the Italian population in the coastal towns,
- 1961-1970 saw the first major immigration wave from the former Yugoslavia,
- 1971-1980 – climax of immigration from the former Yugoslavia,
- 1981-1991 – stabilization of immigration from the former Yugoslavia in the period of economic stagnation and political changes (Dolenc 2003: 181).

According to the settlement type, four areas can be defined, matching to a large degree the number of immigrants in municipalities:

A. Urban areas:

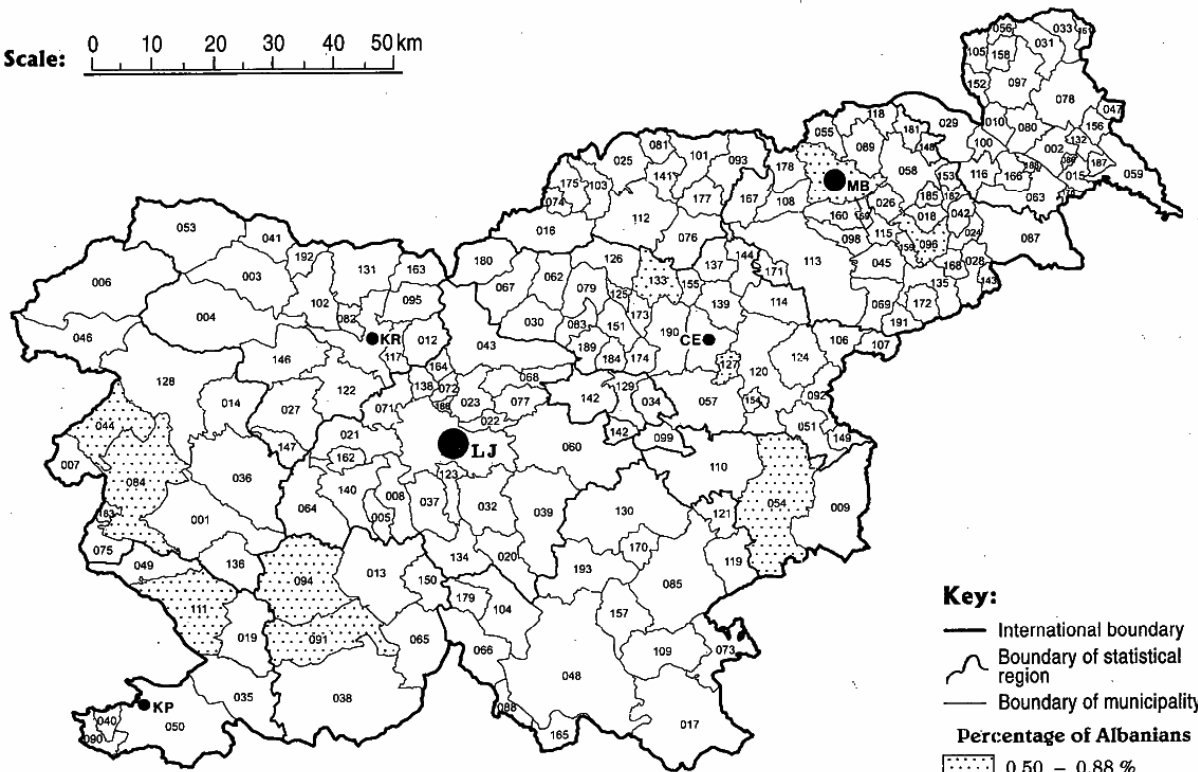
- Areas of distinct concentration; in seven urban areas (Ljubljana, Maribor, Koper, Velenje, Kranj, Celje, Jesenice), which with the exception of Jesenice represent regional centres there live about 50% of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia. The number of immigrants in each municipality exceeds 4.000.
- Areas of moderate concentration; in 23 urban settlements there live 20% of all immigrants. Among these belong typical industrial areas (towns in the Zasavje, Tržič), some towns along the Slovene-Croatian border (Brežice, Ptuj, Črnomelj, Rogaška slatina), coastal towns and larger regional centres (Novo mesto, Nova Gorica). In each of these 23 municipalities there live at least 1.000 immigrants.
- Other urban areas; in 64 urban areas there live 10% of immigrants.

B. Rural areas:

- Areas of dispersed settlement; in 3.602 settlements live the remaining 20% of immigrants (the average being 8 immigrants per settlement) (Dolenc 2003: 173-174).

THE INHABITANTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA, WHO DECLARED THEMSELVES AS ALBANIANS IN THE 2002 CENSUS OF POPULATION

Scale: 0 10 20 30 40 50 km



Key:

- International boundary
- Boundary of statistical region
- Boundary of municipality

Percentage of Albanians

- ▨ 0,50 – 0,88 %
- 0 – 0,49 %

Number of Albanians

- 1.147 (Ljubljana)
- 500 – 999
- 200 – 499

List of municipalities:

001 Ajdovščina	050 Koper/Capodistria	103 Ravne na Koroškem
002 Beltinci	165 Kostel	176 Razkrižje
148 Benedikt	051 Kozje	104 Ribnica
149 Bistrica ob Sotli	052 Kranj	177 Ribnica na Pohorju
003 Bled	053 Kranjska Gora	106 Rogaška Slatina
150 Bloke	166 Križevci	105 Rogoševci
004 Bohinj	054 Krško	107 Rogatec
005 Borovnica	055 Kungota	108 Ruše
006 Bovec	056 Kuzma	178 Selnica ob Dravi
151 Braslovče	057 Laško	109 Semič
007 Brda	058 Lenart	110 Sevnica
008 Brezovica	059 Lendava/Lendva	111 Sežana
009 Brežice	060 Litija	112 Slovenj Gradec
152 Cankova	061 Ljubljana	113 Slovenska Bistrica
011 Celje	062 Ljubno	114 Slovenske Konjice
012 Cerklje na Gorenjskem	063 Ljutomer	179 Sodražica
013 Cerkljica	064 Logatec	180 Solčava
014 Cerkno	065 Loška dolina	115 Starše
153 Cerkevjak	066 Loški potok	181 Sveta Ana
015 Črenšovci	167 Lovrenc na Pohorju	182 Sv. Andraž v Slgor.
016 Črna na Koroškem	067 Luče	116 Sveti Jurij
017 Črnomelj	068 Lukovica	033 Salovci
018 Destnik	069 Majšperk	183 Sempeter - Vrtojba
019 Divača	070 Maribor	117 Senčur
154 Dobje	168 Markovci	118 Šentilj
020 Dobropolje	071 Medvode	119 Sentjernej
155 Dobrna	072 Mengeš	120 Sentjur pri Celju
021 Dobrova - Polh. Gradec	073 Metlika	121 Skočjan
156 Dobrovnik/Dobronak	074 Mežica	122 Škofja Loka
022 Dol pri Ljubljani	169 Miklavž na Drav. polju	123 Skofljica
157 Dolenjske Toplice	075 Mirna - Kostanjevica	124 Šmarje pri Jelšah
023 Domžale	170 Mirna Peč	125 Smartno ob Paki
024 Dornava	076 Mišinja	126 Šoštanj
025 Dravograd	077 Moravče	127 Store
026 Duplje	078 Moravske Toplice	184 Tabor
027 Gorenja vas - Poljane	079 Mozirje	010 Tišina
028 Gorišnica	080 Murska Sobota	128 Tolmin
029 Gornja Radgona	081 Muta	129 Trbovlje
030 Gornji Grad	082 Naklo	130 Trebnje
031 Gornji Petrovci	083 Nazarje	185 Trnovska vas
158 Grad	084 Nova Gorica	186 Trzin
032 Grosuplje	085 Novo mesto	131 Trzin
159 Hajdina	086 Odranci	132 Turnišča
160 Hoče - Slivnica	171 Oplotnica	133 Velenje
161 Hodoš/Hodos	087 Ormož	187 Velika Polana
162 Horjul	088 Osilnica	134 Velike Lašče
034 Hrastnik	089 Pesnica	188 Veržej
035 Hrpelje - Kozina	090 Piran/Pirano	135 Videm
036 Idrija	091 Pivka	136 Vipava
037 Ig	092 Podčetrtek	137 Vitanje
038 Ilirska Bistrica	172 Podlehnik	138 Vodice
039 Ivančna Gorica	093 Podvelka	139 Vojniki
040 Izola/Isola	173 Polzela	189 Vransko
041 Jesenice	094 Postojna	140 Vrhnika
163 Jezerško	174 Prebold	141 Vuzenica
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043 Kamnik	175 Prevalje	143 Zavrč
044 Kanal	096 Ptuj	144 Zreče
045 Kidričevo	097 Puconci	190 Žalec
046 Kobarid	098 Rače - Fram	146 Zalezniki
047 Kobilje	099 Radete	191 Žetale
048 Kočevje	100 Radenci	147 Ziri
049 Komen	101 Radlje ob Dravi	192 Žirovnica
164 Komenda	102 Radovljica	193 Žužemberk

Sources:

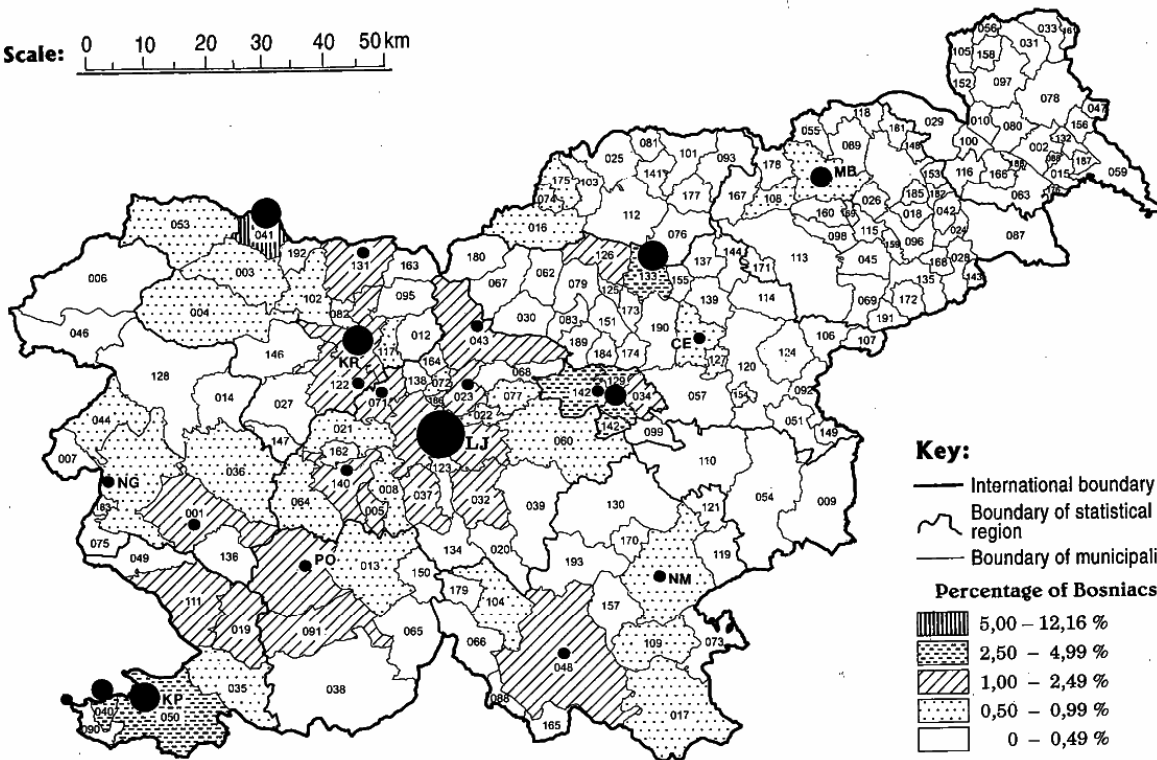
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Zemljevid "Občine in statistične regije Republike Slovenije" [Map "Municipalities and Statistical Regions of the Republic of Slovenia"], Ljubljana, Geodetska uprava RS, 2002.

Research: MIRAN KOMAC
Design and production: Z. DROLE
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THE INHABITANTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA, WHO DECLARED THEMSELVES AS BOSNIACS IN THE 2002 CENSUS OF POPULATION

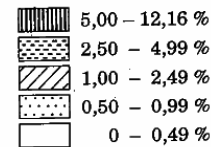
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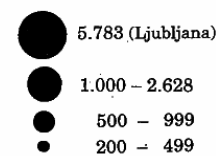
Key:

- International boundary
- Boundary of statistical region
- Boundary of municipality

Percentage of Bosniacs



Number of Bosniacs



Sources:

Popis prebivalstva, gospodinjstev in stanovanj 2002: Prebivalstvo po narodni pripadnosti [2002 Census of Population, Households and Housings: Population by Ethnic Affiliation], Ljubljana, SURS, 2002.

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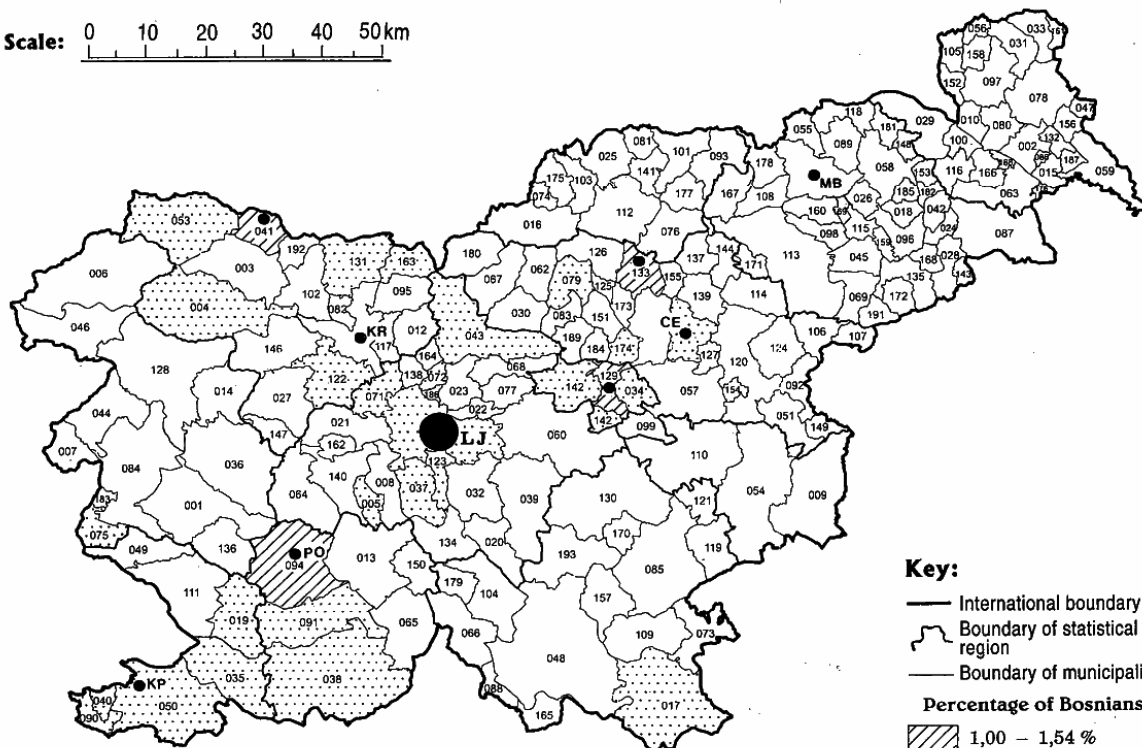
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004 Bohinj	054 Krško	107 Rogatec
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006 Bovec	056 Kuzma	178 Selnica ob Dravi
151 Braslovče	057 Laško	109 Semič
007 Brda	058 Lenart	110 Sevnica
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017 Črnomelj	068 Lukovica	033 Šalovci
018 Destrnik	069 Majšperk	183 Šempeter - Vrtojba
019 Divača	070 Maribor	117 Šentur
154 Dobje	168 Markovci	118 Šentilj
020 Dobropolje	071 Medvode	119 Šentjernej
155 Dobra	072 Mengeš	120 Šentjur pri Celju
021 Dobrova - Polh.Gradec	073 Metlika	121 Škofja Loka
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157 Dolenske Toplice	075 Miren - Kostanjevica	124 Šmarje pri Jelšah
023 Domžale	170 Mirna Peč	125 Šmartno ob Paki
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025 Dravograd	077 Moravče	127 Štore
026 Duplek	078 Moravske Toplice	184 Tabor
027 Gorenja vas - Poljane	079 Mozirje	010 Tišina
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029 Gornja Radgona	081 Muta	129 Trbovlje
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Scale: 0 10 20 30 40 50 km



Sources:

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162 Horjul	088 Osilnica	134 Velike Lašče
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- Boundary of municipality

Percentage of Bosnians

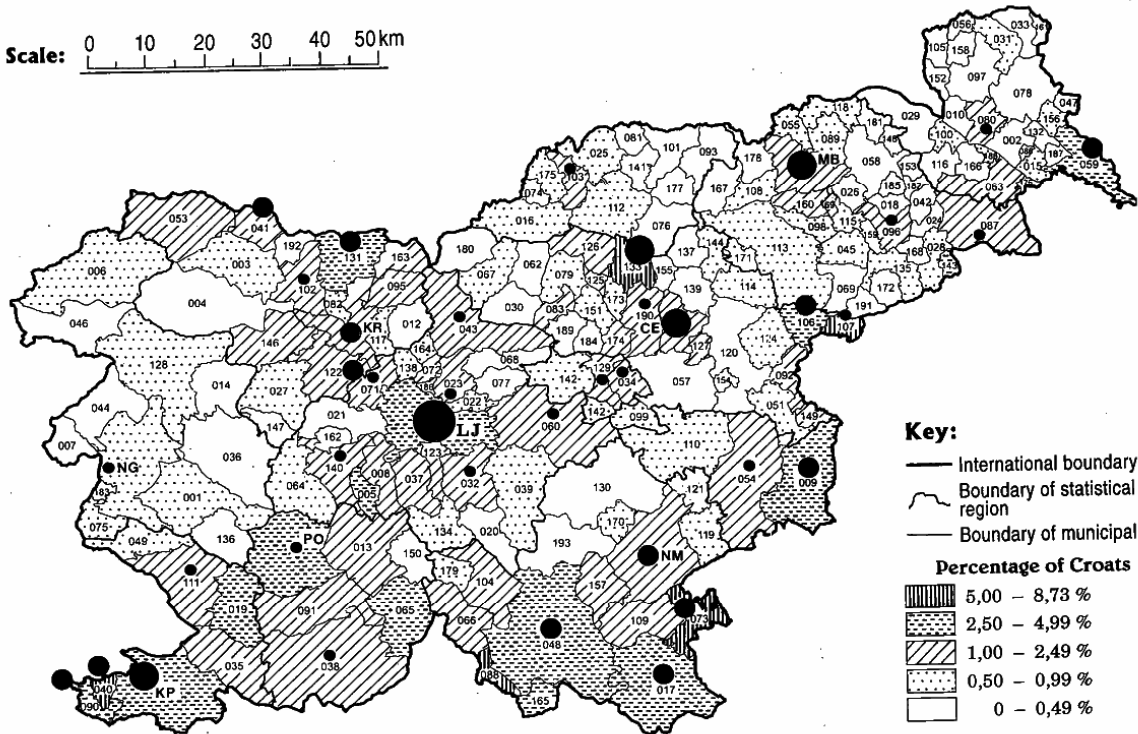
- 1,00 – 1,54 %
- 0,50 – 0,99 %
- 0 – 0,49 %

Number of Bosnians

- 2.323 (Ljubljana)
- 200 – 499

THE INHABITANTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA, WHO DECLARED THEMSELVES AS CROATS IN THE 2002 CENSUS OF POPULATION

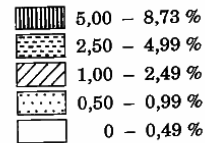
Scale: 0 10 20 30 40 50 km



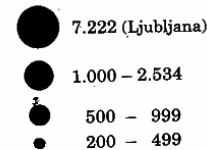
Key:

- International boundary
- Boundary of statistical region
- Boundary of municipality

Percentage of Croats



Number of Croats



List of municipalities:

001 Ajdovščina	050 Koper/Capodistria	103 Ravne na Koroškem
002 Belinci	165 Kostel	176 Razkrižje
148 Benedikt	051 Kozje	104 Ribnica
149 Bistrica ob Sotli	052 Kranj	177 Ribnica na Pohorju
003 Bled	053 Kranjska Gora	106 Rogaška Slatina
150 Bloke	166 Križevci	105 Rogašovci
004 Bohinj	054 Krško	107 Rogatec
005 Borovnica	055 Kungota	108 Ruše
006 Bovec	056 Kuzma	178 Selnica ob Dravi
151 Braslovče	057 Laško	109 Semič
007 Brda	058 Lenart	110 Sevnica
008 Brezovica	059 Lendava/Lendva	111 Sežana
009 Brežice	060 Litija	112 Slovenj Gradec
152 Cankova	061 Ljubljana	113 Slovenska Bistrica
011 Celje	062 Ljubno	114 Slovenske Konjice
012 Cerklje na Gorenjskem	063 Ljutomer	179 Sodražica
013 Cerkljica	064 Logatec	180 Solčava
014 Cerkno	065 Loška dolina	115 Starše
153 Cerkvenjak	066 Leški potok	181 Sveta Ana
015 Črenšovci	167 Lovrenc na Pohorju	182 Sv. Andraž v Sl.gor.
016 Črna na Koroškem	067 Luče	116 Sveti Jurij
017 Črnomelj	068 Lukovica	033 Salovci
018 Destnik	069 Majšperk	183 Sempeter - Vrtojba
019 Divača	070 Maribor	117 Senčur
154 Dobje	168 Markovci	118 Sentilj
020 Dobropolje	071 Medvode	119 Sentjernej
155 Dobrna	072 Mengeš	120 Sentjur pri Celju
021 Dobrovnik - Polh Gradec	073 Metlika	121 Škocjan
156 Dobrovnik/Dobronak	074 Mežica	122 Škofja Loka
022 Dol pri Ljubljani	169 Miklavž na Drav. polju	123 Škofljica
157 Dolenske Toplice	075 Miran - Kostanjevica	124 Šmarje pri Jelšah
023 Domžale	170 Mirna Peč	125 Šmartno ob Paki
024 Dornava	076 Mislinja	126 Sočanj
025 Dravograd	077 Moravče	127 Štore
026 Duplek	078 Moravske Toplice	184 Tabor
027 Gorenja vas - Poljane	079 Mozirje	010 Tišina
028 Gorišnica	080 Murska Sobota	128 Tolmin
029 Gornja Radgona	081 Muta	129 Trbovlje
030 Gornji Grad	082 Naklo	130 Trebnje
031 Gornji Petrovci	083 Nazarje	185 Trnovska vas
158 Grad	084 Nova Gorica	186 Trzin
032 Grosuplje	085 Novo mesto	131 Trzin
159 Hajdina	086 Odranci	132 Turnišče
160 Hoče - Slivnica	171 Oplotnica	133 Velenje
161 Hodoš/Hodos	087 Ormož	187 Velika Polana
162 Horjul	088 Osilnica	134 Velike Lašče
034 Hrastnik	089 Pesnica	188 Veržej
035 Hrpelje - Kozina	090 Piran/Pirano	135 Videm
036 Idrija	091 Pivka	136 Vipava
037 Ig	092 Podčetrtek	137 Vitanje
038 Ilirska Bistrica	172 Podlehnik	138 Vodice
039 Ivančna Gorica	093 Podvelka	139 Vojnik
040 Izola/Isola	173 Polzela	189 Vrankso
041 Jesenice	094 Postojna	140 Vrhnika
163 Jezersko	174 Prebold	141 Vuzenica
042 Juršinci	095 Predvor	142 Zagorje ob Savi
043 Kamnik	175 Prevalje	143 Zavrč
044 Kanal	096 Ptuj	144 Zreče
045 Kidričevo	097 Puconci	190 Zalec
046 Kobarid	098 Rače - Fram	146 Železniki
047 Kobilje	099 Radeče	191 Žetale
048 Kočevje	100 Radenci	147 Žiri
049 Komen	101 Radlje ob Dravi	192 Žirovnica
164 Komenda	102 Radovljica	193 Žužembek

Sources:

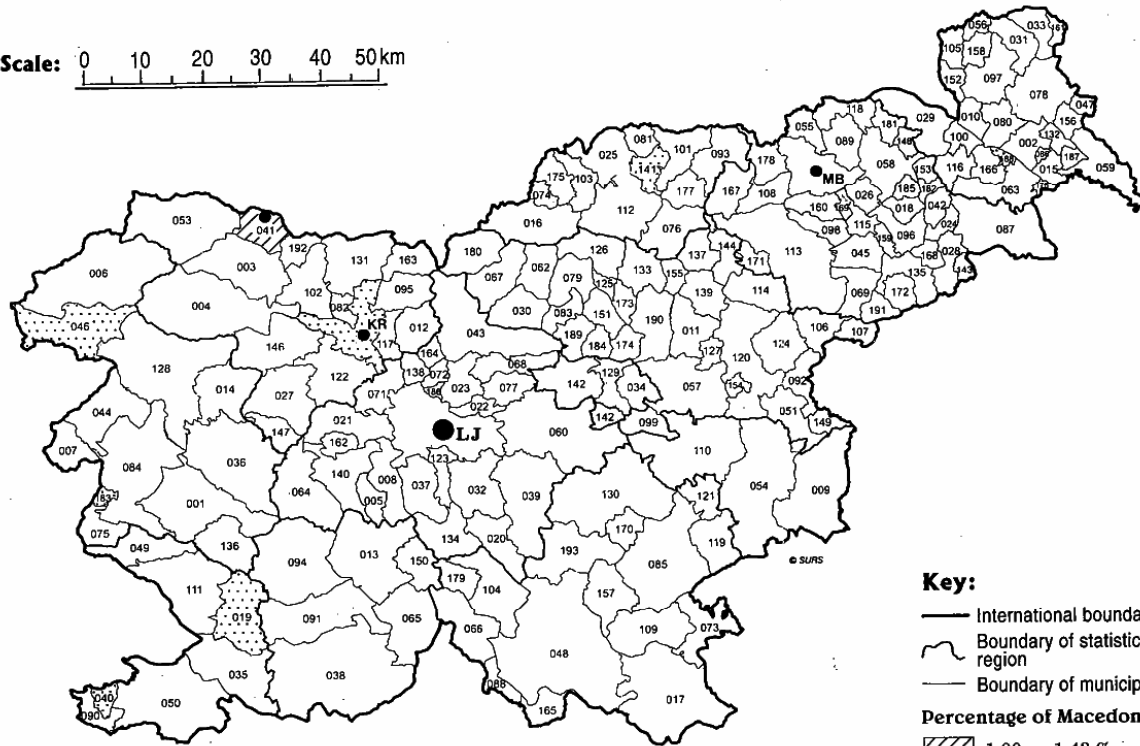
Popis prebivalstva, gospodinjstev in stanovanj 2002: Prebivalstvo po narodni pripadnosti [2002 Census of Population, Households and Housings: Population by Ethnic Affiliation], Ljubljana, SURS, 2002.

Zemljevid "Občine in statistične regije Republike Slovenije" [Map "Municipalities and Statistical Regions of the Republic of Slovenia"], Ljubljana, Geodetska uprava RS, 2002.

Research: MIRAN KOMAC
Design and production: Z. DROLE
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THE INHABITANTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA, WHO DECLARED THEMSELVES AS MACEDONIANS IN THE 2002 CENSUS OF POPULATION

Scale: 0 10 20 30 40 50 km



Sources:

Popis prebivalstva, gospodinjstev in stanovanj 2002: Prebivalstvo po narodni pripadnosti [2002 Census of Population, Households and Housing: Population by Ethnic Affiliation], Ljubljana, SURS, 2002.

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150 Bloke	166 Križevci	105 Rogošci
004 Bohinj	054 Krško	107 Rogatec
005 Borovnica	055 Kungota	108 Ruše
006 Bovec	056 Kuzma	178 Selca ob Dravi
151 Braslovče	057 Laško	109 Semič
007 Brda	058 Lenart	110 Sevnica
008 Brezovica	059 Lendava/Landva	111 Sežana
009 Brežice	060 Litija	112 Slovenj Gradec
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019 Divača	070 Maribor	117 Senčur
154 Dobje	168 Markovci	118 Sentilj
020 Dobrepolje	071 Medvode	119 Šentjernej
155 Dobrna	072 Mengeš	120 Šentjur pri Celju
021 Dobrova - Polh. Gradec	073 Metlika	121 Škocjan
156 Dobrovnik/Dobronak	074 Mežica	122 Škofja Loka
022 Dol pri Ljubljani	169 Miklavž na Drav. polju	123 Škofljica
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023 Domžale	170 Mirna Peč	125 Šmartno ob Paki
024 Dornava	076 Mislinja	126 Ščetanj
025 Dravograd	077 Moravče	127 Štore
026 Duplek	078 Moravske Toplice	184 Tabor
027 Gorenja vas - Poljane	079 Mozirje	010 Tišina
028 Gorišnica	080 Murska Sobota	128 Tolmin
029 Gornje Radgona	061 Muta	129 Trbovlje
030 Gornji Grad	062 Naklo	130 Trebnje
031 Gornji Petrovci	083 Nazarje	185 Trnovska vas
158 Grad	084 Nova Gorica	186 Trzin
032 Grosuplje	085 Novo mesto	131 Trzin
159 Hajdina	086 Odranci	132 Turnišče
160 Hoče - Slivnica	171 Oplotnica	133 Velenje
161 Hodoš/Hodos	087 Ormož	187 Velika Polana
162 Horjul	088 Osilnica	134 Velike Lašče
034 Hrastnik	089 Pesnica	188 Veržej
035 Hrpelje - Kozina	090 Piran/Pirano	135 Videm
036 Idrija	091 Pivka	136 Vipava
037 Ig	092 Podčetrtek	137 Vitanje
038 Ilirska Bistrica	172 Podlehnik	138 Vodice
039 Ivančna Gorica	093 Podvelka	139 Vojnik
040 Izola/Isola	173 Polzela	189 Vrankso
041 Jesenice	094 Postojna	140 Vrhnika
163 Jezersko	174 Prebold	141 Vuzenica
042 Juršinci	095 Preddvor	142 Zagorje ob Savi
043 Kamnik	175 Prevalje	143 Zavrč
044 Kanal	096 Ptuj	144 Zreče
045 Kidričevo	097 Puconci	190 Žalec
046 Kobarij	098 Rače - Fram	146 Železniki
047 Kobilje	099 Radče	191 Žetale
048 Kočevje	100 Radenci	147 Žiri
049 Komen	101 Radlje ob Dravi	192 Žrnovnica
164 Komenda	102 Radovljica	193 Žužemberk

Key:

- International boundary
- Boundary of statistical region
- Boundary of municipality

Percentage of Macedonians

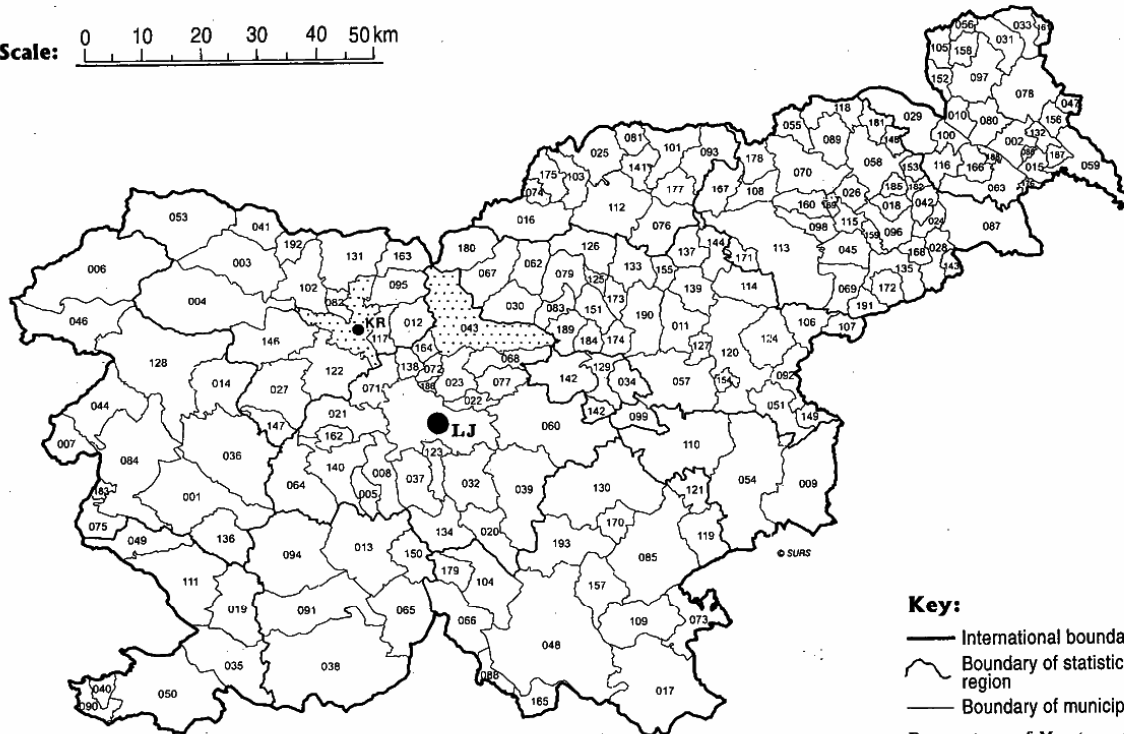
- 1,00 – 1,43 %
- 0,50 – 0,99 %
- 0 – 0,49 %

Number of Macedonians

- 974 (Ljubljana)
- 200 – 499

THE INHABITANTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA, WHO DECLARED THEMSELVES AS MONTENEGRINS IN THE 2002 CENSUS OF POPULATION

Scale: 0 10 20 30 40 50 km



Sources:

Popis prebivalstva, gospodinjstev in stanovanj 2002: Prebivalstvo po narodni pripadnosti [2002 Census of Population, Households and Housings: Population by Ethnic Affiliation], Ljubljana, SURS, 2002.

Zemljevid "Občine in statistične regije Republike Slovenije" [Map "Municipalities and Statistical Regions of the Republic of Slovenia"], Ljubljana, Geodetska uprava RS, 2002).

Research: MIRAN KOMAC
Design and production: Z. DROLE
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150 Bloke	166 Križevci	105 Rogašovci
004 Bohinj	054 Krško	107 Rogatec
005 Borovnica	055 Kungota	108 Ruše
006 Bovec	056 Kuzma	178 Selnica ob Dravi
151 Braslovče	057 Laško	109 Sernič
007 Brda	058 Lenart	110 Sevnica
008 Brezovica	059 Lendava/Lendva	111 Sežana
009 Bračice	060 Litija	112 Slovenj Gradec
152 Cankova	061 Ljubljana	113 Slovenska Bistrica
011 Celje	062 Ljubno	114 Slovenske Konjice
012 Cerklje na Gorenjskem	063 Ljutomer	179 Sodražica
013 Cerknica	064 Logatec	180 Solčava
014 Cerkno	065 Loška dolina	115 Starše
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017 Črnomelj	068 Lukovica	033 Šalovci
018 Destrnik	069 Majšperk	183 Sempeter - Vrtojba
019 Divača	070 Maribor	117 Senčur
154 Dobje	168 Markovci	118 Santilj
020 Dobrapolje	071 Medvode	119 Šentjernej
155 Dobrna	072 Mengeše	120 Šentjur pri Celju
021 Dobrova - Polh.Gradec	073 Metlika	121 Škocjan
156 Dobrovnik/Dobronak	074 Mežica	122 Škofja Loka
022 Dol pri Ljubljani	169 Miklavž na Drav.polju	123 Škofljica
157 Dolenski Toplice	075 Miren - Kostanjevica	124 Šmarje pri Jelšah
023 Domžale	170 Mirna Peč	125 Šmartno ob Paki
024 Dornava	076 Mislinja	126 Šoštanj
025 Dravograd	077 Moravče	127 Štore
026 Duplek	078 Moravske Toplice	184 Tabor
027 Gorenja vas - Poljane	079 Mozirje	010 Tišina
028 Gorišnica	080 Murska Sobota	128 Tolmin
029 Gornja Radgona	081 Muta	129 Trbovlje
030 Gornji Grad	082 Naklo	130 Trebnje
031 Gornji Petrovci	083 Nazarje	185 Trnovska vas
158 Grad	084 Nova Gorica	186 Trzin
032 Grosuplje	085 Novo mesto	131 Trzin
159 Hajdina	086 Odranci	132 Turnišče
160 Hoče - Silvnic	171 Oplotnica	133 Velenje
161 Hodoš/Hodos	087 Ormož	187 Velika Polana
162 Horjul	088 Osilnica	134 Velike Lašče
034 Hrastnik	089 Pesnica	188 Veržej
035 Hrpelje - Kozina	090 Piran/Pirano	135 Videm
036 Idrija	091 Pivka	136 Vipava
037 Ig	092 Podčetrtek	137 Vitanje
038 Ilirska Bistrica	172 Podlehnik	138 Vodice
039 Ivančna Gorica	093 Podvelka	139 Vojnik
040 Izola/Isola	173 Polzela	189 Vransko
041 Jesenice	094 Postojna	140 Vrhnika
163 Jezersko	174 Prebold	141 Vuzenica
042 Juršinci	095 Preddvor	142 Zagorje ob Savi
043 Kamnik	175 Prevalje	143 Zavrč
044 Kanal	096 Ptuj	144 Zreče
045 Kidričevo	097 Puconci	190 Žalec
046 Kobarid	098 Rača - Fram	146 Železniki
047 Kobilje	099 Radeče	191 Žetale
048 Kočevje	100 Radenci	147 Žiri
049 Komen	101 Radlje ob Dravi	192 Žirnovica
164 Komenda	102 Radovljica	193 Žužemberk

Key:

- International boundary
- Boundary of statistical region
- Boundary of municipality

Percentage of Montenegrins

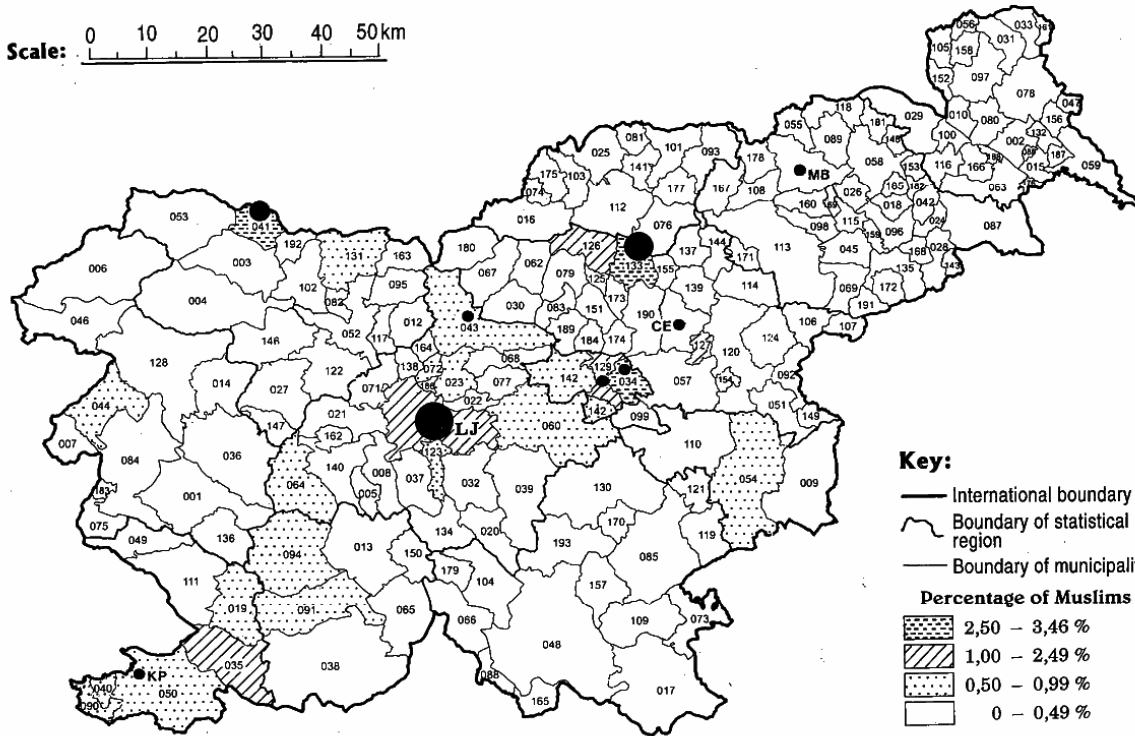
- 0,50 – 0,61 %
- 0 – 0,49 %

Number of Montenegrins

- 893 (Ljubljana)
- 200 – 499

THE INHABITANTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA, WHO DECLARED THEMSELVES AS MUSLIMS IN THE 2002 CENSUS OF POPULATION

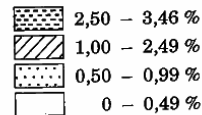
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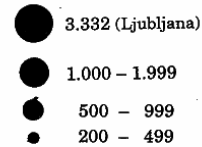
Key:

- International boundary
- Boundary of statistical region
- Boundary of municipality

Percentage of Muslims



Number of Muslims



Sources:

Popis prebivalstva, gospodinjstev in stanovanj 2002: Prebivalstvo po narodni pripadnosti [2002 Census of Population, Households and Housings: Population by Ethnic Affiliation], Ljubljana, SURS, 2002.

Zemljevid "Občine in statistične regije Republike Slovenije" [Map "Municipalities and Statistical Regions of the Republic of Slovenia"], Ljubljana, Geodetska uprava RS, 2002).

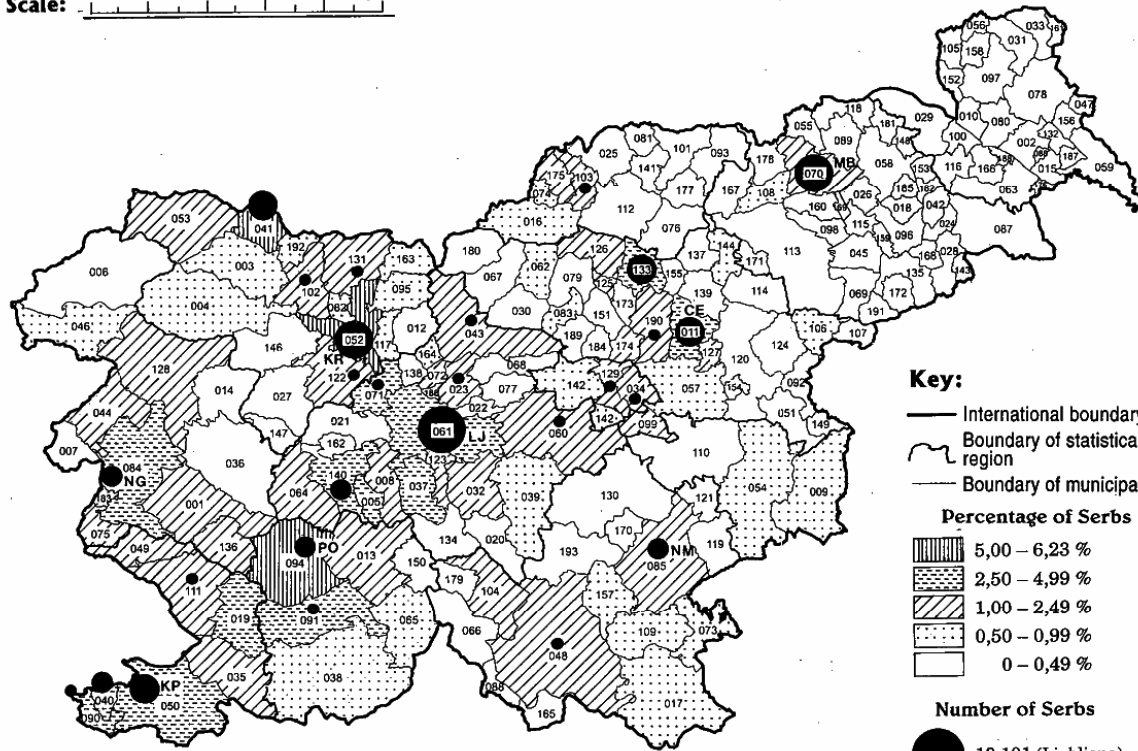
Research: MIRAN KOMAC
Design and production: Z. DROLE
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List of municipalities:

001 Ajdovščina	050 Koper/Capodistria	103 Ravne na Koroškem
002 Beltinci	165 Kostel	176 Razkrižje
148 Benedikt	051 Kozje	104 Ribnica
149 Bistrica ob Sotli	052 Kranj	177 Ribnica na Pohorju
003 Bled	053 Kranjska Gora	106 Rogaška Slatina
150 Bloke	166 Krizevci	105 Rogašovci
004 Bohinj	054 Krško	107 Rogatec
005 Borovnica	055 Kungota	108 Ruše
006 Bovec	056 Kuzma	178 Selnica ob Dravi
151 Braslovče	057 Laško	109 Semič
007 Brda	058 Lenart	110 Sevnica
008 Brezovica	059 Lendava/Landva	111 Sežana
009 Bračice	060 Litija	112 Slovenj Gradec
152 Cankova	061 Ljubljana	113 Slovenska Bistrica
011 Celje	062 Ljubno	114 Slovenske Konjice
012 Cerklje na Gorenjskem	063 Ljutomer	179 Sndražica
013 Cerknica	064 Logatec	180 Solčava
014 Cerkno	065 Loška dolina	115 Starše
153 Čarlvenjak	066 Loški potok	181 Sveta Ana
015 Črenšovci	167 Lovrenc na Pohorju	182 Sv. Andraž v SI gor.
016 Črna na Koroškem	067 Luče	116 Sveti Jurij
017 Črnomelj	068 Lukovica	033 Šalovci
018 Destrnj	069 Majšperk	183 Šempeter - Vrtojba
019 Divača	070 Maribor	117 Šenčur
154 Dobje	188 Markovci	118 Šentilj
020 Dobropolje	071 Medvode	119 Šentjernej
155 Dobrna	072 Mengeš	120 Šentjur pri Celju
021 Dobrova - Polh. Gradec	073 Metlika	121 Škocjan
156 Dobrovnik/Dobronak	074 Mežica	122 Škofja Loka
022 Dol pri Ljubljani	169 Miklavž na Drav. polju	123 Škofljica
157 Dolenjske Toplice	075 Miren - Kostanjevica	124 Šmarje pri Jetšah
023 Domžale	170 Mirna Peč	125 Šmarno ob Paki
024 Dornava	076 Mislinja	126 Šoštanj
025 Dravograd	077 Moravče	127 Štore
026 Duplek	078 Moravske Toplice	184 Tabor
027 Gorenja vas - Poljane	079 Mozirje	010 Tišina
028 Gorisnica	080 Murska Sobota	128 Tolmin
029 Gornja Radgona	081 Muta	129 Trbovlje
030 Gornji Grad	082 Naklo	130 Trebnje
031 Gornji Petrovci	083 Nazarje	185 Trnovska vas
158 Grad	084 Nova Gorica	186 Trzin
032 Grusuplje	085 Novo mesto	131 Trzin
159 Hajdina	086 Odranci	132 Turmiče
160 Hoče - Slivnica	171 Oplotnica	133 Velenje
161 Hodoš/Hodos	087 Ormož	187 Velika Polana
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037 Ig	092 Podčetrtek	137 Vitanje
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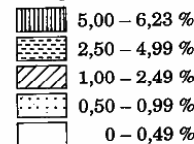
THE INHABITANTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA, WHO DECLARED THEMSELVES AS SERBS IN THE 2002 CENSUS OF POPULATION

Scale: 0 10 20 30 40 50km

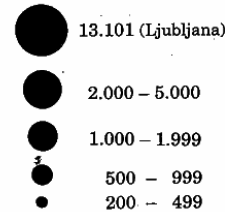


Key:
 — International boundary
 — Boundary of statistical region
 — Boundary of municipality

Percentage of Serbs



Number of Serbs



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013 Cerkljica	064 Logatec	180 Solčava
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036 Idrija	091 Pivka	136 Vipava
037 Ig	092 Podčetrtek	137 Vitanje
038 Ilirska Bistrica	172 Podlehnik	138 Vodice
039 Ivančna Gorica	093 Podvelka	139 Vojnik
040 Izola/Isola	173 Polzela	189 Vransko
041 Jesenica	094 Postojna	140 Vrhnika
163 Jezerško	174 Prebold	141 Vučenica
042 Juršinci	095 Preddvor	142 Zagorje ob Savi
043 Kamnik	175 Prevalje	143 Zavrč
044 Kanal	096 Ptuj	144 Zreče
045 Kidričevo	097 Puconci	190 Žalec
046 Kobarij	098 Rače - Fram	146 Železniki
047 Kobilje	099 Radeče	191 Žetale
048 Kočevje	100 Radenci	147 Žiri
049 Komen	101 Radlje ob Dravi	192 Žirovnica
164 Komenda	102 Radovljica	193 Žumberk

Sources:

Popis prebivalstva, gospodinjstev in stanovanj 2002: Prebivalstvo po narodni pripadnosti [2002 Census of Population, Households and Housings: Population by Ethnic Affiliation], Ljubljana, SURS, 2002.

Zemljevid "Občine in statistične regije Republike Slovenije" [Map "Municipalities and Statistical Regions of the Republic of Slovenia"], Ljubljana, Geodetska uprava RS, 2002.

Research: MIRAN KOMAC
 Design and production: Z. DROLE
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VII. EVALUATION OF CHOSEN SOCIAL POLICIES DEFINED IN THE NATIONAL ACTION PLANS ON SOCIAL INCLUSION (2004 – 2006)

VII.1 Education policy

The pedagogical, sociological, anthropological and other disciplines have for decades dedicated attention to the education of Roma children, especially exploring reasons for their low educational structure, the higher degree of school drop-out, and for manifestations of intolerance between the majority and Roma population. Only in the last decade, however, various policies and measures have been introduced with the purpose of better inclusion of Roma children into the educational system.

Tancer (2003: 68-69) distinguishes three time periods regarding the measures for better inclusion of Roma children into the educational system:

1. The first period extends from the end of World War II to 1970. In this period there were no records on inclusion of Roma children for ascertaining of their school success. Later on data were gathered for the first after-war period in Prekmurje,⁹⁰ while there were no such data for the areas of Dolenjska and Bela krajina.
2. In the period between 1971 and 1990, competent institutions paid more attention to the inclusion and success of Roma children in the educational system, and also dedicated a more substantial amount of financial means to primary schools in 10 municipalities with a large number of Roma population.
3. Only the third period from 1990 onwards is characterized by a policy, which could contribute to a better inclusion of Roma children into the educational system. The National Education Institute issued in 1991 instructions for adapted primary school programs for Roma children, and in 2000 modified them according to the demands of the nine-year primary education. In 1992 same Institute launched a research project *Education of Roma children in Primary school*. At schools it served to verify the adequacy and efficiency of some organization forms (integration/segregation) in the educational process, as well as adequacy of didactic methods, thus having obtained the basic organizational, didactic, methodological, etc. experience, necessary for work with Roma children. In 1993 new *Instructions for the Adapting of the Primary School Program for Roma Children* were approved. In 2004 the *Strategy for Education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia* was completed.

Inclusion of children in the educational system is based upon the principle of equal possibilities. With Roma children and children that are members of ethnic minorities or descendants of immigrants, the equal opportunity in education includes also special rights, with regards to their mother tongue and culture.

Schooling means a big change for every Roma child, as life and work in school follow a different pattern than the one within their family and settlement. A major part of Roma children are not successful in education, the reasons for their failure having been ascertained decades ago already. However, the administrative measures at state and local levels have not contributed to their elimination. A more effective inclusion of Roma children into the educational system was more or less left to the inventiveness of individual institutions (schools) and individuals (headmasters and teachers). The results that can be statistically

⁹⁰ More on this: Šiftar Vanek (1970). *Cigani: minulost v sedanjosti*. Murska Sobota, Pomurska založba.

measured, such as educational structure, school dropout of children, school success, etc. are in accordance with the inappropriate policy of state in the field of education.

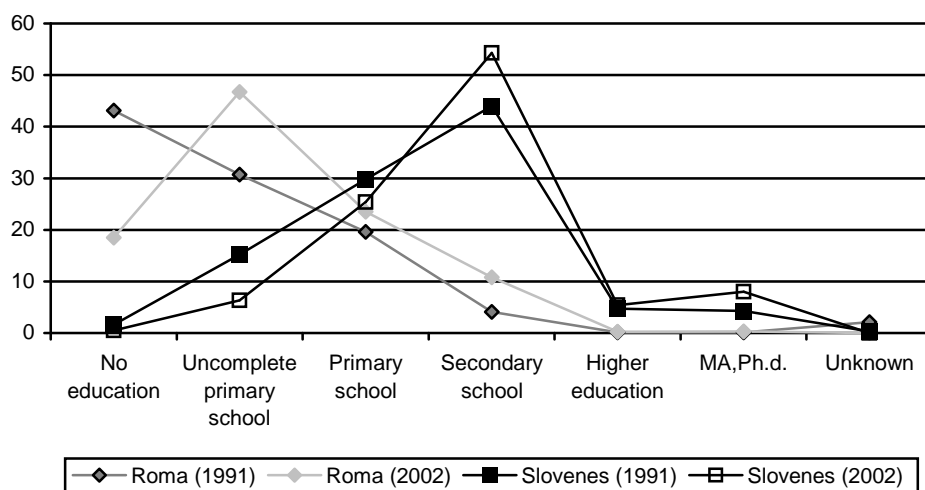
VII.1.1 Present situation of the Roma in primary school

The process of Roma integration in the wider society is complex and long lasting; an important role therein belongs to the inclusion of the Roma children in the educational system. Despite considerable efforts – financial means and lecture organization – that Slovenia has already dedicated to the inclusion of the Roma in educational system, the achieved results are not satisfying.

Proof of the fact that integration of the Roma children in the educational process is less than satisfactory may be found in the comparison of educational structure in the 1991, 2002 population censuses and in the fact that the share of the Roma children, who successfully progress through the education system, is still essentially lower in comparison with the rest of Slovenia's population.

The comparison of the educational achievement of self-declared Roma and of self-declared Slovenes shows a considerably higher degree of education of Slovenes. Educational achievements of Roma have slightly improved during the last decade (from 1991 to 2002), yet discrepancies remain. It must be noted, however, that the self-declared Roma population is only about one third of estimated Roma population in Slovenia.

Graph No. 3: Comparison of education structure among population above 15 years of age, declared as the Roma and Slovenes in the 1991 and 2002 population census; in % (Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Population Census 1991, 2002)



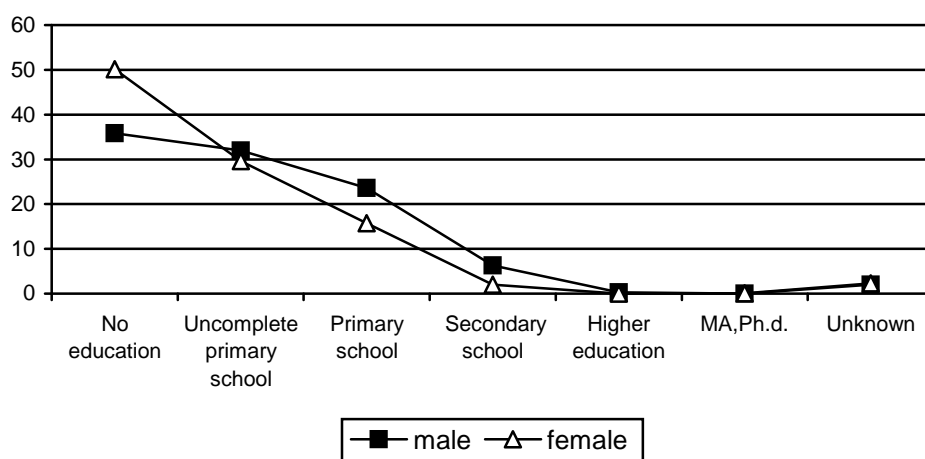
In the last two decades the dropout rate in Slovene primary school has been low,⁹¹ which, however, does not apply to the Roma population. At the national level there are no data on the percentage of Roma children who fail to complete their primary education. There are some partial research studies, though, indicating that the dropout of Roma children is much higher

⁹¹ The share of primary school pupils continuing their education at the secondary level amounted to 98% in 2001/2002. In 2000 75,4% of the generation completed secondary school (Barle Lakota and Gajgar 2003: 14).

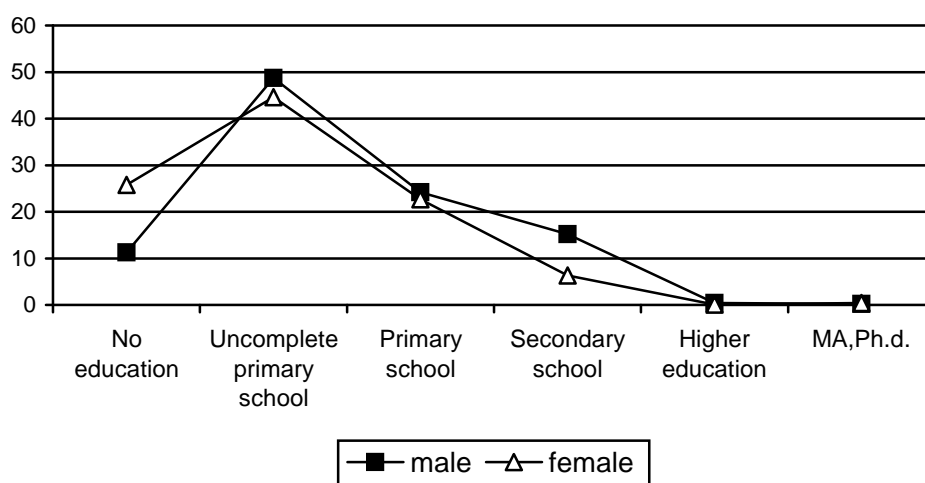
than among other primary school pupils (Tancer 2003). This can also be seen from the population census data, as the share of Roma with incomplete primary school is considerably higher than the share of Slovenes who did not complete primary school.

There is a large number of the Roma children who do not complete the primary school education. Actually, a high portion of children who attend primary school end their education with the 5th or 6th class. The number of children attending primary school is slowly increasing, but it is still only a fraction of the Roma population who successfully complete their primary education. Comparison between the genders shows that the dropout is slightly higher for girls than boys.

Graph No. 4: Education structure among population above 15 years of age, declared as the Roma regarding gender in the 1991 population census; in % (Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Population Census 1991)



Graph No. 5: Education structure among population above 15 years of age, declared as Roma regarding gender in the 2002 population census; in % (Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Population Census, 2002)



Children either enter regular primary school or primary school with an adapted program.⁹² Neither individual schools nor the Ministry of Education and Sport collect data regarding the children's ethnic adherence. The latter, however, disposes of the data on the number of Roma children in primary schools, because it assigns extra financial means for their education.

According to the available data of the Ministry of Education and Sport, primary schools in Slovenia were in 2005/2006 attended by 1.614 Roma children, 1.480 (92%) in regular primary schools, and 134 (8%) in primary schools with an adapted program.⁹³

Table No. 10: The number of children in Slovenia, attending regular primary school and primary school with an adapted program

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Primary school</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Primary school with adapted program</i>	<i>%</i>
2003/04	180.173	100	177.650	98,5	2.523	1,5
2004/05	175.018	100	172.692	98,7	2.326	1,3
2005/06	170.215	100	167.969	98,7	2.246	1,3
2006/07 (prediction)	167.145	100	165.045	98,8	2.100	1,2

(Source: Ministry of Education and Sport)

Table No. 11: The number of Roma children in Slovenia, attending regular primary school and primary school with an adapted program

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Primary school</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Primary school with adapted program</i>	<i>%</i>
2002/03	1.349	100	1.223	90,6	126	9,3
2003/04	1.469	100	1.349	91,8	120	8,2
2004/05	1.547	100	1.413	91,3	134	8,6
2005/06	1.614	100	1.480	91,7	134	8,3

(Source: Ministry of Education and Sport)

As early as the 1980s, shares of Roma children attending primary schools with adapted programs were rather high in some municipalities (Škof in: Levičnik (ed.) 1990). Differences remain, as statistical data indicate that in comparison with other children, the share of Roma children attending primary schools with adapted program is still high. Roma children as an ethnic group should not be treated as children with special needs. A pupil's school inefficiency, which may be a consequence of a lower command of Slovene language or of specificity of Roma culture, cannot be a basis for directing children to programs with lower educational standards.

In the *Strategy for Education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia* (2004) it is stated that instruments giving ground to professionals, regarding educational guidance of children with

⁹² Special problem, which will not be dealt with here, is education of children of Roma whose legal status in Slovenia is not regulated. Part of these children probably doesn't attend kindergarten or school, as their parents fear expulsion. There are also cases when primary schools make their education possible within regular school programs.

⁹³ Tables 10 and 11 show decrease in the number of all children attending primary schools. Number of Roma children attending primary school is yearly increasing. One of the reasons is probably higher birth rate of Roma community. Population census data (2002) indicate that the average number of living children per woman in Slovenia is 1.55 as compared to Roma community - 2.59.

special needs, are to be reverified. For the Roma children with special needs, who were directed to the primary school with adapted program, as for all pupils, an individualized work plan must be prepared. In the forming of this plan, expert teams should pay special attention to the specificity of Roma culture.

With regard to Roma children's inclusion in primary school, in the past as today different opinions regarding efficiency of various forms of Roma children's inclusion into the educational system were given. In Slovenia there are 3 forms of this inclusion:⁹⁴

- *homogenous* classes, formed in the beginning of schooling, attended by Roma children,
- *partly homogenous* classes, where Roma children only attend homogenous classes of Slovene language, mathematics and natural plus social science, while in other classes they are together with other pupils,
- *heterogeneous* classes with Roma and non-Roma children attending classes together.

Some schools have also so called *group work* without formal classes, where Roma children from different classes were joined into special groups for the study of mathematics, Slovene language and natural plus social science, which was supposed to contribute to better success and higher motivation.

Experts generally agree that integration of Roma children into heterogeneous classes at the very beginning of the educational system is the best choice. In the planning of schoolwork organization it is important not to segregate children on the basis of ethnic adherence. The advantage of heterogeneous classes is the possibility of spontaneous learning among children, developing respect for each other's culture and language. Such classes make interculturalism possible, which means that Slovene children come in contact with Roma culture, learning Roma language in practical communication.

At the same time it is impossible to entirely exclude special forms of organizing activities when attempts are made to help pupils reach the prescribed standards of knowledge (e. g. supplementary classes of the Slovene language), or in the case of activities helping to preserve Roma culture.⁹⁵ However activities, aimed at preserving Roma culture and language, should be accessible to all other pupils.

Forms of inclusion into the educational system, which segregate Roma pupils at the very beginning of their education, can be argued against by stating that they introduce or preserve a distance between Roma and other pupils. In so conceived segregated forms of Roma education ethnic distance, prejudice and stereotypes cannot be eliminated. A number of primary schools experimented with all the three above-mentioned systems. Experience showed that homogenous Roma classes did not have the desired effect.

⁹⁴ Similarly organized is inclusion of Roma children in kindergartens. There are three ways: some are integrated in common, heterogenous groups, less are integrated in homogenous groups and Roma kindergartens. This integration is affected by different circumstances, the status of Roma community within the local community, and education plus awareness degree of parents.

⁹⁵ In principle every form of segregated education does not necessarily give bad results. More than form, the contents is important. In certain cases it can even give better results than integration, where Roma child can be unsuccessful in inclusion into class community.

Since the school year 2003/2004 there is no legal basis for homogenous classes in Slovenia.⁹⁶ Roma children in all schools are integrated into heterogeneous classes, which is supposed to have a favourable effect in the future.

Which are the possible reasons for low educational structure of Roma population and higher school dropout of Roma children?

Apart from the ascertained differences between Roma and non-Roma children there are also great differences with regard to the success of Roma children in the educational system in different Slovene regions. Even in the seventies, eighties and nineties, various research studies indicated better inclusion and success of Roma children in the school system in Prekmurje than in the Dolenjska and Bela krajina regions. The better school success of Roma children in Prekmurje is partly attributed to better organizing and more numerous attendances of pre-school education, where they become acquainted with the Slovene language and daily kindergarten rituals, which makes work at school easier.⁹⁷

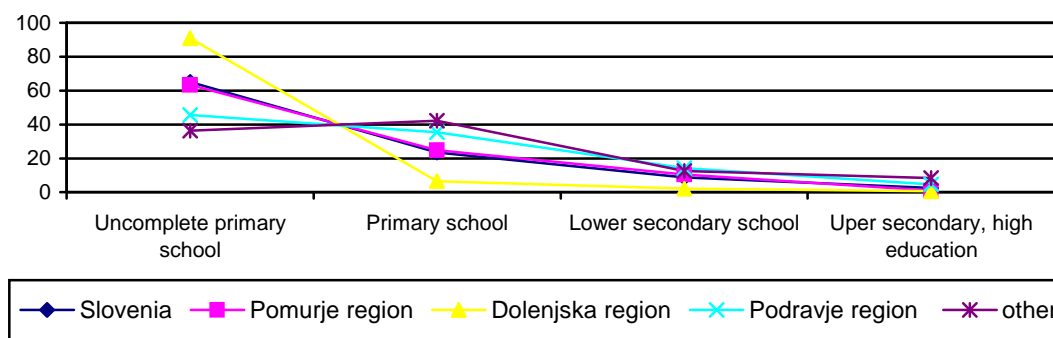
⁹⁶ Primary Schools Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 70/05, 60/06) determines in Art. 40, in which forms of differentiation are described: that from 1. to 9. grade teachers in instructions and other forms of organized work differentiate lecture with pupils according to their capabilities (inner differentiation); from grade 4 to 7 it is possible (in the extent of 25% of lessons) to organize level instruction with mathematics and with Slovene, Italian and Hungarian languages in the ethnically mixed territories, as well as with the foreign language (flexible differentiation); in grades 8 and 9 lessons of Slovene, Italian and Hungarian in the ethnically mixed territories, as well as with mathematics and foreign language, can be organized in the following ways:
by distributing pupils into groups of instruction; by simultaneous lecturing of 2 teachers

- a) as level instruction
- b) as combination of differentiation forms from the above
- c) the number of lectures, dedicated to implementation of differentiation in grades 8 and 9 must be the same, regardless of the form of differentiation, that is being implemented

Schools gained autonomy by this law, as the decision on the implementation of forms of differentiation in the second (grades 4-7) and the third (grades 8 and 9) periods, proposed by headmaster, is adopted by the school council as a rule for 1 schoolyear. Before the decision the school council obtains the opinion of teachers' and parents' councils.

⁹⁷ In Prekmurje a Roma kindergarten was organized in the Roma settlement Pušča near Murska Sobota as early as 1962. The kindergarten Romano in Pušča is one of the 8 units of the Murska Sobota kindergarten. In 2005 there were 25 children in two groups. In two primary schools with a higher share of Roma children after-school classes were organized in 1996 to 1997. Thus children had a possibility to do their homeworks, get additional help and guided activities. In Dolenjska parents were more reluctant to let their children participate in educational programs. This was due to the fact that kindergartens and schools were more remote from Roma settlements (Novak Lukanovič 1982). In the municipality Novo mesto in the Roma settlement of Brezje a kindergarten Pikapolonica was open in 1993 only, but was closed down in 2006 due to bad condition of the premises.

Graph No. 6: Educational structure of Roma aged 15 or more, Slovenia, in % (Source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Population Census, 2002)



The Roma community differs from the majority in language, culture, traditions, and the question is how much and in what way the present educational system takes this diversity into account. In many research studies the most frequent reasons for lower schools success of Roma children were as follows:⁹⁸

- inadequate forms (for example homogenous classes) of inclusion of Roma children in primary school system,
- teachers are not adequate qualified to deal with specificities of Roma children,
- low expectations regarding the school results of Roma children,⁹⁹
- stigmatising of Roma children from the part of the majority children,¹⁰⁰
- ignorance or low command of the Slovene language,
- non-attendance of classes,
- non-encouraging domestic conditions,¹⁰¹
- education does not rank high amongst the values of some Roma parents,
- distrust of Roma parents towards school, low participation of Roma parents in the schoolwork processes.

⁹⁸ More on this:

Krek, Janez and Vogrinc, Janez (2005). Znanje slovenskega jezika kot pogoj šolskega uspeha učencev iz jezikovno in kulturno različnih ter socialno depriviligiranih družin – primer začetnega opismenjevanja romskih učencev. Available on the www: <http://ceps.pef.uni-lj.si/2005-krek-vogrinc.pdf> (April 25, 2006).

Strategija vzgoje in izobraževanja Romov v Republiki Sloveniji [Strategy for education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia] (2004). working group: Andreja Barle Lakote... [et al.]. Ljubljana: Ministry of Education and Sport. Available on the www:

http://mju.gov.si/fileadmin/mss.gov.si/pageuploads/podrocje/razvoj_solstva/projekti/enake_moznosti/0721_strategija_Romi.doc (April 25, 2006).

⁹⁹ At the primary school education level in the past lower standards were set for Roma pupils. At the completion of primary school Roma children achieved 6th or 7th grade knowledge standards. This, however, made inclusion into more demanding forms of education (secondary) impossible. With the introduction of 9-year primary school, knowledge standards for Roma children are the same as for the others.

¹⁰⁰ In many Roma families, housing and hygiene conditions are bad, therefore some children come to school improperly groomed which makes them a target of ridicule and ignorance.

¹⁰¹ In 1991 an extensive longitudinal research study on Roma environment and school success of Roma children in primary schools of Prekmurje was carried out. 411 Roma pupils were included. Analyzed was: domestic environment (living conditions, housing, own room, own bed ...); working conditions for studying at home (electricity); cultural standard (TV, radio, printed media); parents' education, parents' profession, parents' employment. A wholesome insight into domestic social environment of Roma pupils in Prekmurje leads to understanding of big, and often insurmountable problems Roma pupils are facing in primary school. The climate in school often prevents them from equal participation in learning process, as they enter school with far lesser knowledge and realize at the very beginning that their chances to compete with non-Roma fellow students are very small. School practice shows and confirms that as a rule the share of Roma pupils who manage to advance from grade to grade without repetition is low (Tancer 2003).

VII.1.2 Measures of the government

Legal starting-points

Article 57 of the Constitution states that »Freedom of education shall be guaranteed. Primary education is compulsory and shall be financed from public funds. The state shall create the opportunities for citizens to obtain a proper education.«¹⁰²

In legislation, Roma education is determined by the following acts: Act on organizing and financing of education (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 98/05),¹⁰³ Kindergartens Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 100/05),¹⁰⁴ Primary Schools Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 70/05).¹⁰⁵

Legal framework offers foundations for creating such conditions in kindergartens as to guarantee Roma children principles of equality in reference to social justice. The Kindergartens Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 100/05) includes stipulations, relating to the education in multiethnic, heterogeneous society, stated in Article 3, among the principles of pre-school education: democracy, pluralism, autonomy, professionalism and responsibility of the employees, equal opportunities for children and parents, respect of diversity, right of choice and diversity, as well as preservation of balance between different aspects of a child physical and mental development. In 2002, the *Supplement to the Kindergarten Curriculum for working with Roma children*¹⁰⁶ was adopted, which should be of help to kindergarten teachers in the creation of conditions for the implementation of rights of Roma children to equal opportunities in education. The Supplement states that in the formation of practical curricula for the work with Roma children in kindergartens, the following principles and aims are of special importance:

¹⁰² In primary school, the compulsory part of the program which includes compulsory subjects, optional subjects and home-room periods, is financed in full by public funds. In accordance with standards and criteria, the government also finances part of the extended program: remedial classes, additional classes, out-of-school classes, assistance to pupils with learning difficulties and work with gifted pupils, after-school care in grades 1-4 and optional activities to the extent determinate by the timetable of primary school. For other activities within the extended program, for example out-of-school classes and additional optional activities, school may charge parent contribution. (MES co-finances out-of-school classes for all pupils and assures that additional 15% fore those pupils who cannot pay the full price because of their social status) Municipalities are responsible to cover the costs for maintenance, renovation, building and equipment (Barle Lakota and Gajgar 2003: 20).

¹⁰³ The Act on organizing and financing of education in Article 25 states, among competences of the Expert Council of the RS for general education, formation of program of supplementary education for Roma children. Article 81 states that the state budget ensures »means for preparation and subsidizing of prices of primary school textbooks and learning materials, for national communities' education and education of Slovene minority members abroad and emigration, and for Roma« and »a part of the means for primary school education for Roma«. Article 84 states that the Minister determines special norms and standards for education of Roma children.

¹⁰⁴ Article 7 states that pre-school education of Roma children be performed in accordance with this law and other regulations. The chapter on transitory and final provisions states in Article 54 that for public service in the sphere of pre-school education and primary school preparation of children, the programs for pre-school Roma children can also be included until programs for pre-school children be adopted according to this law (in the mean time in Decmeber 2002, the Expert Council of the RS already adopted the Supplement to the Curriculum for Kindergartens for the work with Roma children). The means for its implementation are drawn from the state budget.

¹⁰⁵ Article 9: »Primary school education of Roma community members in the RS is performed in accordance with this law and other regulations.«

¹⁰⁶ Available on the www:

http://mju.gov.si/fileadmin/mss.gov.si/pageuploads/podrocje/vrtci/pdf/vrtci_Dodatek_-_ROMI.pdf (June 1, 2006).

- the principle of openness of curriculum, autonomy and professional responsibility of the kindergarten staff (search for elements of Slovene and Roma culture);
- the principles of equal opportunities, respect for diversity, principle of multiculturalism;
- experiencing kindergarten as an environment, offering equal opportunities for integration into activities and daily life, regardless of gender, physical and mental constitution, national adherence, cultural origin, religion, etc. (diversity of children – wealth for kindergartens);
- the principle of cooperation with parents;
- the principle of active learning and ensuring the possibility of verbalizing and other manners of expression.

The professional council of RS for education adopted, as late as 1993, *Instructions for the adaptation of primary school program for Roma children*, but they did not include any concrete measures, which would contribute to the preservation and promotion of Roma language and culture at school.

In 1995, the Government of the RS adopted the *Program of measures to assist Roma*. This program proved that the RS is aware of the need to settle the Roma issues in education.

At the adoption of the *Instructions for the adaption of primary school programs for Roma children* (in 1993), the renewal of the entire school system was already in course, since 1996 also the curriculum reform and both were completed in 1999. Consequently in 1996 legal foundations for special conditions with regard to Roma children education were included in the new school legislation.¹⁰⁷

The RS Expert Council for General Education in 2000 adopted new *Instructions for the implementation of nine-year primary school program for Roma pupils*, which however do not add essentially to the existing concept of Roma education. The key issue of this document is the status of Roma and Slovene languages in the curriculum, but without implementing concrete solutions. The new feature of the document is emphasis on methodological and didactic components and not on lowering of standards of Roma children knowledge. However, there are no suggestions as to how to achieve this aim.

The data gathered in 2000 at the Ministry of Education and Sport (on the occasion of the delivery of the Report on Slovenia's progress in the field of education to the European Commission) showed insufficient number of Roma with completed primary education. Likewise, the number of Roma continuing their education is low. It was necessary to find out why measures for higher participation of Roma in the educational system were ineffective. Therefore an analysis was carried out on the basis of which in June 2004 all the professional councils (for general education, vocational and professional education and for adult

¹⁰⁷ In 1996 legal grounds for special conditions of Roma children education were included in school legislation in the following acts: Act on organizing and financing of education (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 12/96), Kindergartens Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 12/96) and Primary Schools Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 12/96).

education) had adopted the *Strategy for education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia*,¹⁰⁸ the strategic document on the more successful inclusion of the Roma in education.¹⁰⁹

Strategy for education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia

In the *Strategy for education of the Roma in the RS*, measures are defined with which more effective inclusion of Roma pupils into the educational system is to be obtained:

- additional financial means for individual or team work with Roma pupils are reserved,¹¹⁰
- more favourable standards for classes with Roma have been adopted,¹¹¹
- food,¹¹² textbooks,¹¹³ and excursions for Roma pupils are separately financed,
- financing of the first exercise book for the teaching of Roma language,
- within the National Education Institute a team of teachers specialized in teaching Roma pupils was formed.

The *Strategy for education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia*, also defines the key problems that have so far remained unsolved:

- Classifying Roma children in schools with adapted program. At standard tests of children at the entry into primary school, Roma children's results were worse, mostly because they failed to understand the tests or the manner of testing was in discrepancy with their culture.

¹⁰⁸ Strategija vzgoje in izobraževanja Romov v Republiki Sloveniji [Strategy for education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia] (2004). Working group: Andreja Barle Lakote... [et al.]. Ljubljana: Ministry of Education and Sport. Available on the www: http://mju.gov.si/fileadmin/mss.gov.si/pageuploads/podrocje/razvoj_solstva/projekti/enake_moznosti/0721_strategija_Romi.doc (April 25, 2006).

¹⁰⁹ The quality and possibilities of Roma children education are also affected by other social factors and living conditions, such as housing, etc., on which kindergartens and schools can have no direct impact. That is why for the improvement of inclusion of Roma children in the educational system, cooperation of different ministries is of utmost importance (Ministry of Education and Sport, Ministry of University Education, Science & Technology (scholarships), Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs (social and family aid possibilities, scholarships, public works in education programs, vocational training programs), Ministry of Health (educational programs for nurses and home nursing, survey and possible supplements of legal foundations for necessary evidence, co-financing of research projects on links between lifestyle, health and education) and institutions at national level (National Education Institute, RS Center for Vocational Training, Andragogical Center of the RS, Health Protection Institute, Health Care Center of the RS, Employment Service of the RS, Chamber of Commerce of the RS, Chamber of Trades of the RS, different local institutions and Roma Association of Slovenia (Strategy for Education of the Roma in the RS, 2004).

¹¹⁰ In schoolyear 2003/04, the Ministry granted schools 512 hours for small group lessons; this form of help is according to schools absolutely necessary for successful work with Roma pupils.

¹¹¹ Within norms and standards for primary schools, valid till the end of schoolyear 2002/2003, special norms were defined for the formation of Roma classes and classes including Roma children; since 2003/2004 norms no longer anticipate formation of Roma classes. The norm for a class containing at least 3 Roma pupils is 21.

¹¹² The MES increases the means for the subsidizing of school meals to all primary schools, including Roma pupils.

¹¹³ Primary schools are allotted by the MES 5,17 EUR per month per Roma pupil as an assistance in the covering of expenses of school materials, transports, entrance fees to cultural, biological, sports events, etc. Schools are autonomous in the finance distribution and with the cofinancing of additional material expenses of Roma pupils, particularly considering the following criteria: social financial aid distribution according to regulations on social care, the amount of income per family member, the amount of family allowance, unemployment of parents, long-term illness in family, long-term social problems, and other specific features.

- Adequate didactics and methodology for the teaching of Roma language have still not been developed (exercise notebooks, Roma language textbooks ...). Moreover, the number of teachers with the Roma language command is still too low.
- Application of adequate didactics and methodology for the teaching of Slovene as the second language with Roma pupils.
- Inclusion of Roma culture, language, history and tradition in school curricula.
- Low expectations of teachers regarding the Roma children school efficiency.
- Disrespect of socio-cultural and other circumstances and characteristics of Roma population.
- In the field of adult education, the organization of work is inadequate as it is not synchronised with Roma experience – the topics are not interesting for Roma.

Strategies, aims and measures defined in the National action plan on social inclusion (2004-2006) in the field of education

In NAP on social inclusion 2004-2006 the special emphasis is on education of the Roma: »Members of the Roma community are characterized by a low level of education and inadequate functional literacy. Owing to their deficient knowledge of Slovenian, Roma children have difficulties as soon as they enrol in kindergarten or primary school. All of this creates problems with inclusion in society. Slovenia will try to invest greater effort in including Roma children in full-time education.«¹¹⁴

The objectives are primarily:

- a) ensuring the conditions for attaining standards of knowledge that are needed for further education (a reduction of or variance from the standard for Roma is not acceptable)
- b) exercising the right to maintain respect for the Roma language and culture
- c) inclusion in the majority society whereby education in the curriculum ensures the principles and values of equality in connection with social justice (fighting prejudices, approaching universal values)
- d) promoting education for adult Roma.

In the field of education, measures and priority tasks have been adopted, directly relating to Roma population:

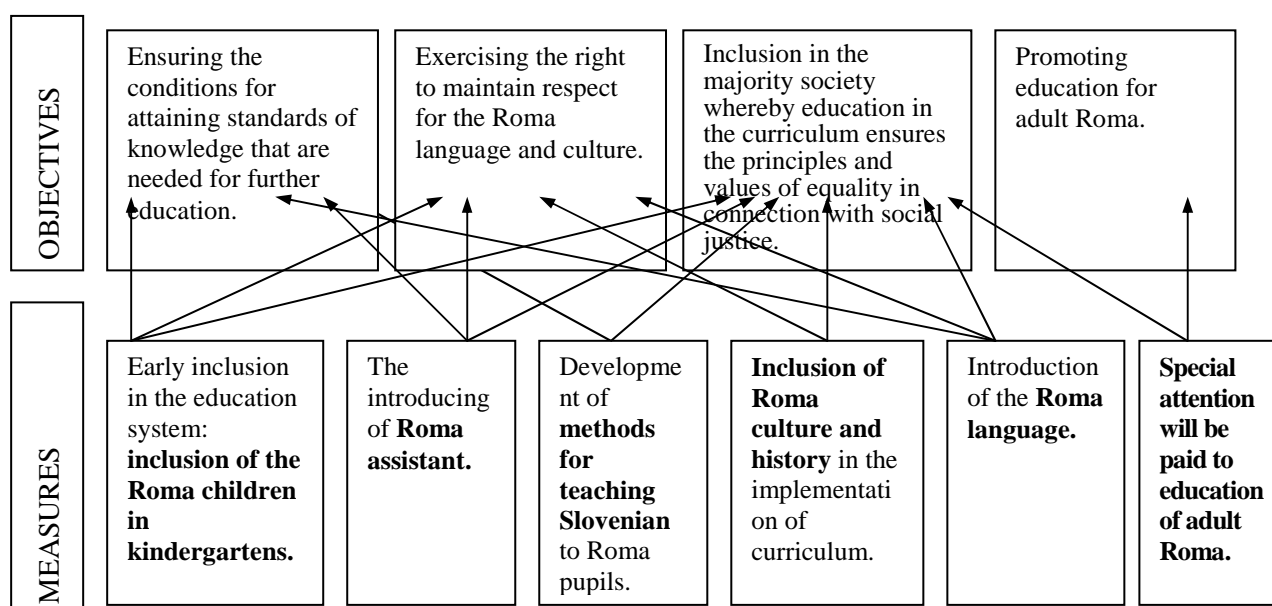
7. Early inclusion in the education system: inclusion of the Roma children in kindergartens at least two years before the start of primary school, i. e. when they are four years old at the latest; the purpose of inclusion in kindergartens is primarily language learning (both Slovenian and Roma) and socialisation, which provides experiences and patterns that help children to start primary school more easily.
8. Inclusion of Roma culture, history and identity in the implementation of curriculum.
9. Development of methods for teaching Slovenian to Roma pupils.
10. Introduction of the Roma language (optional subject).
11. The introducing of Roma assistant. Lack of knowledge of Slovenian and unsuccessful integration of children can be eliminated or mitigated through the introduction of Roma assistants, who will be able to help children to overcome the emotional and linguistic barrier and will represent some sort of bridge between kindergarten, school and the Roma community.

¹¹⁴ National action plan/social inclusion (2004-2006), p. 20.

12. Special attention will be paid to education of adult Roma to raise their educational level and develop the labour force; to development of advice centres or networks in environments where the Roma live, and to the institutions of a Roma coordinator; to financial support or assistance from the ministry and to ensuring funds for the possibility of free participation programs and free study help.¹¹⁵

All the six measures are directed towards attaining the above-mentioned objectives.

Figure No. 1: Measures to achieve declared objectives of the Roma education policy



VII.1.3 Model of the education policy for the Roma

This chapter is a presentation of the public education policy which we wish to evaluate, or better of policies in the education sphere, stated in the NAP on social inclusion (2004-2006), which should provide for higher educational structure amongst Roma, consequently leading to a lower degree of social exclusion of Roma.

The model (Figure No. 2) presents the link between political decision, policy measure (being the result of political debate, decision), effects (output) and their outcome. At this point, it is not our intention to debate on political decisions, or whether defined aims are adequate and sufficient or not. We wish to know whether adopted (political) measures give satisfying effects. Do measures stated in the NAP (2004-2006) contribute to higher educational structure of Roma, and consequently to lowering of their social exclusion?

¹¹⁵ More on this measure in the chapter 6.2.4.

As suggested by Grin and Moring (2002: 78) the model of the education policy is best understood by working 'backwards' from the end of the casual chain, represented at the bottom of the flow chart.

The desired final aim is a higher degree of social inclusion of Roma population. Education is one of the important factors leading to the achievement of this aim. In the existing educational system, Roma do not yet have guaranteed equal opportunities in comparison to majority population. The model shows that the necessary conditions should be guaranteed mainly in three spheres (domains):

- Compared to other children, Roma children have lower starting foundations:
 - a) lesser command of Slovene, as it is their second language.
 - b) additional didactic methods are necessary which would help Roma children to achieve learning success, corresponding to their abilities.
- Education to create active Roma community:
 - a) shaping of positive Roma identity, educating on Roma culture, language, etc.
 - b) recognizing education as a value by means of which an individual can realize his ambitions.
- Education of majority population regarding Roma culture, tradition and language (positive effects of multicultural society), which should contribute to elimination of prejudice and ethnic distance towards members of other ethnic communities or cultures.

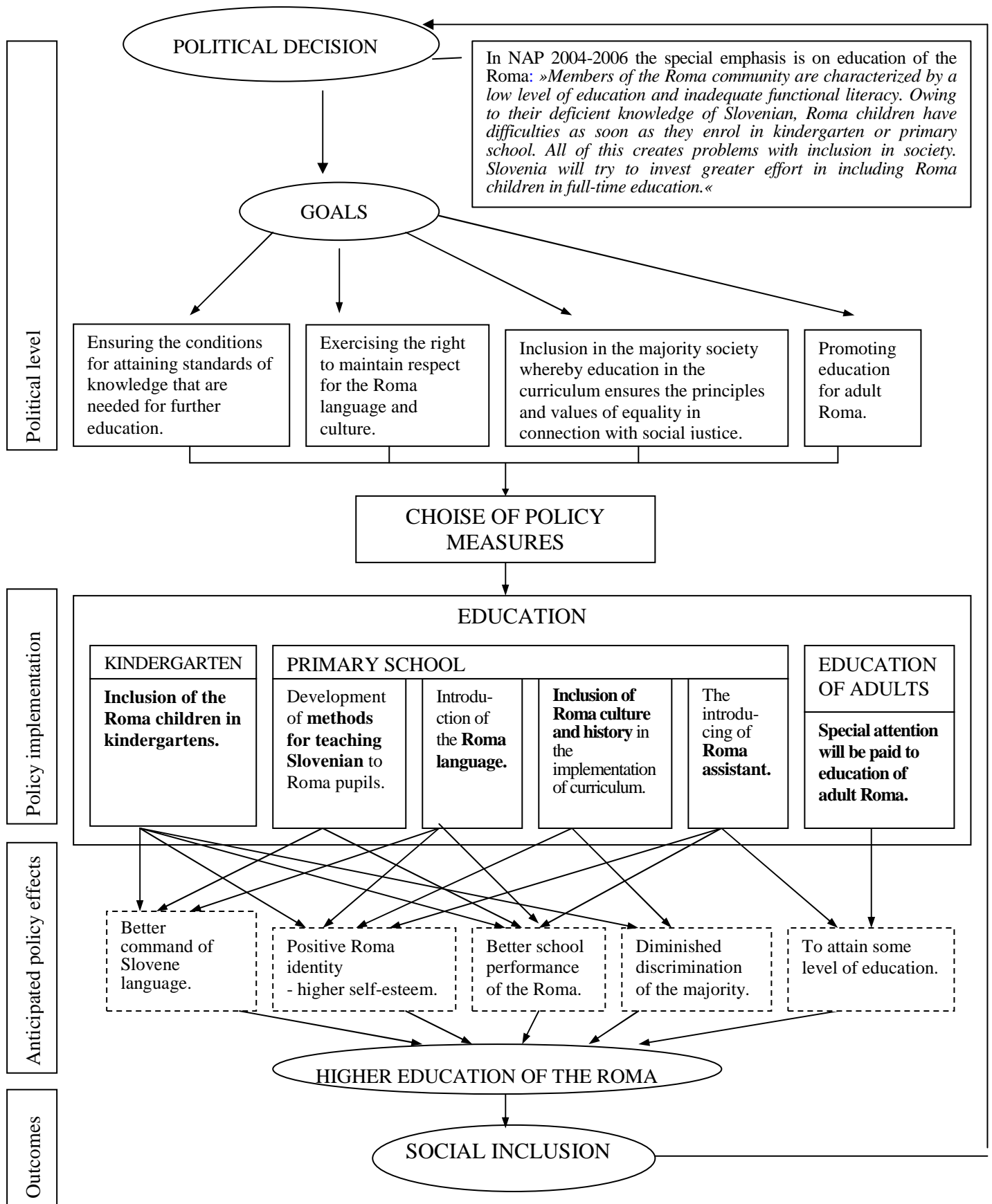
The fundamental idea (presumption) is as follows: if the foreseen conditions become realized in these three spheres in actual daily life, this will help bring educational structure of Roma community to a higher level.

If we continue upwards along the flow chart, we may ask ourselves: which are the measures that will contribute to the creation of these conditions? Measures to ensure the necessary conditions relate to three levels of education:

- kindergarten
- primary school
- education of adults.

It is necessary to consider the mutual intertwining and impact of the three levels of education. Inclusion of the Roma children into kindergartens affects their primary school success. The more Roma children complete their primary school education, the less need there is for primary school education of adults.

Figure No. 2: Model of the education policy for Roma



VII.1.4 Two examples of the integration of Roma children into school

Research studies of Roma topics in the sphere of education in Slovenia have a considerable number of limitations: there are great differences among Roma groups with regard to their social inclusion, individual Roma communities are still rather closed, so it is difficult to gather relevant data on the efficiency of singular measures; last but not least, statements of some professionals as well as some Roma in their interviews are not always in accord with their activities in practice.

Regarding the efficiency of Roma children's integration into the educational system, there are differences among various Slovene regions, in urban centres this integration has other specificities, and there are also differences among individual schools and kindergartens. It was clear in advance that this project would not be able to encompass this entire diversity of forms. We decided upon visiting two schools, one in the Lower Posavje and one in Maribor (urban centre). At both schools, focus groups were carried out, having invited the headmasters, grade teachers and teachers of individual subjects, social workers, psychologists, council of parents members, Roma assistants, Roma parents.

The purpose of both focus groups was to ascertain whether headmasters, teachers, professional staff at schools, as well as parents, were acquainted with measures stated in the NAP on social inclusion 2004-2006, whether they were implemented in practice and in what ways; we also wanted to know how inclusion of Roma children in educational system was taking place, and, last but not least, we wished to evaluate the extent of intercultural dialogue as well as the level of tolerance in schools.

Primary School in Lower Posavje

This school was chosen because, in most reports on Roma and education, it was mentioned as a school, which not only had separated (homogenous) classes for Roma children, but even had a special separate building (a kind of hut) for them. Segregation of Roma children was supposed to be going on. We wanted to know what life at this school really looked like, what were the viewpoints of teachers, experience of Roma parents, Roma assistants, but mainly what was their attitude towards the measures determined in the NAP on social inclusion 2004-2006, relating to the education of Roma children.

The primary school has a kindergarten and a filial school. In 2005/2006, the school was attended by 514 children, the kindergarten 154, the filial school 58, all together 726 children. The share of Roma children was a little over 11% in 2003, and has been constant for a few years. Roma children, attending this school mostly come from the surrounding settlements.

We invited for a meeting: the headmaster, the head of kindergarten, the social worker, the psychologist, the grade teacher and the teachers of mathematics and of Slovene, the representative of the council of parents, and of course representatives of Roma community, e. g. Roma assistant, parents, Roma municipal councillor. The meeting was attended by: the headmaster, the deputy headmaster, the teacher of Slovene, the Roma assistant, the performer of additional professional help to Roma children, the grade teacher and the social worker. Due to previous engagements, the head of the kindergarten could not attend, but we were in contact and she forwarded a number of useful pieces of information via e-mail.

We arrived at the school a little early, so that we could have a look around undisturbed. We talked to some pupils that we met in the schoolyard or in the school. We asked them if Roma children attended their school, how they got along, whether they were in common or segregated classes, whether there were any conflicts, how help for Roma pupils was organized, etc. They were not very talkative. It could be understood from their statements that they did not spend much time together with Roma pupil socially, that there existed a certain distance. A seventh grade pupil told us: »In the seventh grade, only one Roma girl still attends school, but she is not going to pass. In other seventh grade classes, they do not even attend«. During the conversation with two girls 'on duty' (at the school entrance) we were shown a man walking around the school and told that he was one of the Roma parents, in charge of 'catching' Roma children and preventing their running around or outside the school during lessons. They said that Roma children once had separate classes in the 'hut', but nowadays they only wash and dress there before school. The school also has a Roma assistant, but she only attended lower grade classes. One of the girls we were talking to used to help in the kindergarten. She said she had not seen Roma children there. We saw Roma children in the dining room, but they kept to themselves. We also exchanged a few words with a Roma girl, sitting in the schoolyard. She attended fifth grade, thought school was all right, and everyone was friendly. She had no special problems. In school she preferred music and Slovene classes. She did not yet know what she would be doing when she grew up.

In the beginning of our focus group meeting the headmaster gave us short presentation of the history of integration of the Roma in their school. The school chronicles show that Roma started to attend school in 1975. In the 1970s, relatively few children were attending and were therefore integrated into heterogeneous classes. Their number increased over the years. According to the headmaster, the life of Roma has changed considerably since the 1980s till now. Then, some had still been leading nomadic lives. In the 1990s, they began building houses; communal infrastructure (water, electricity) was gradually supplied. Roma no longer move around as they used to, which also contributes to the regular attendance at school.

The headmaster and teachers faced the necessity of finding adequate organization of lessons and methodology for the teaching of Roma children. In the school year 1981/82, 21 Roma children entered the first grade. An independent (homogenous) Roma class was formed. Children of different age were included (7-10). They attended school fairly regularly. 14 pupils successfully advanced to the second grade. Later, in the fourth grade, combined classes began to be practiced (meaning partially segregated teaching; classes are separated with some subjects). Only a few pupils managed to advance to the fifth grade. From this generation of children, one Roma is now employed, working through public works as a postman in a Roma settlement.

It was stressed that for a period of time, Roma children were really located in the building beside the school, as smaller classrooms were there. But it was not only Roma children that had classes there. For 2 or 3 years, non-Roma children also had classes there. They emphasized that such a solution was due to the lack of space, not due to some planned segregation of Roma children. In the 1980s, the school had about 380 pupils, now there are 514. The school is too small for so many pupils. Normatives determine a smaller number of children in a class if it contains Roma children. Result of this is a larger number of classes. The number of Roma children in higher grades is also increasing. Next year, there will be 14 Roma children in the sixth grade (a number never surpassed in the past), and when they advance to higher grades, due to the normative 4 departments will have to be formed out of the present 3.

For approximately 10 years, Roma children were taught in homogenous classes. Then followed the period of heterogeneous classes, for a while also combined classes. The idea on integration of Roma children came from the Educational Institute. Roma children were distributed into other, (heterogeneous) classes depending on their individual capabilities. But in the opinion of the deputy headmaster, their school progress in these classes was slow. They had problems with the Slovene language, with mathematics... There was, though, a noticeable progress in social skills, in establishing of contacts with other pupils.

The school has had experience with all the three forms of educational organization. They are now practicing heterogeneous classes again. Since 2003, with the introduction of the nine-year primary school, the legislation only allows integration of Roma children into heterogeneous classes.

The school legislation has, in various periods, offered different possibilities of educational organization. There was the possibility of organizing an independent kindergarten, independent pre-school, independent (homogenous) Roma classes were possible. Special advisory services of the Educational Institute, dealing with Roma education, recommended certain forms of organization; a school, however, could autonomously (within the framework of the valid school legislation) decide upon a certain form of educational organization. Due to a number of reasons: Roma children's poorer command of the Slovene language, irregular attendance, thefts and occasional violence, the school decided upon combined classes. Occasionally, the school is still reproached for its segregation of Roma pupils in the past. The headmaster says: »We never purposely segregated anyone. We experimented with various models, searched for effective solutions, which would make integration of Roma children easier. We have yet to see the results of the present model.«

In 2001, the Pedagogical Institute invited them to cooperate in the project *Providing of Equal Opportunities for the Education of Roma Children*. The advantage they saw in this cooperation was in gaining a professional partner who could act as advisor in the work with Roma children. It was soon obvious, however, that there were differences between the theory, cabinet researching of Roma and the everyday practice of the teachers. During this project, they learned from one another. Teachers gained high quality professional education, which provided a better insight. It encouraged them to change their thought direction, stop finding fault with others (in this case, stop thinking what ought to be changed with Roma children), but rather to think about themselves and try to find what they can do for better work, for cooperation. The school staff was educated on the topics of social justice, acceptance of diversity and significance of stereotypes. But there are differences among teachers, some have more, others less sensibility for the work with Roma children, some are more sensitive to social justice, others less. It still happens that teachers' expectations are, in certain regards, too low when Roma children are concerned, particularly in connection with obtaining academic degrees.

It was evident that teachers disagree as to which way of class organization is most efficient for successful integration of Roma children into school. Regarding inclusion of Roma children into heterogeneous classes teachers were concerned Roma children would have troubles understanding classes due to bad command of Slovene language. After a few years of work they admit that they had not sufficiently considered the fact that children learn a lot from each other, and that non-Roma children are of great help to Roma children in the learning of Slovene. Some teachers still see combined classes as the best solution. The sub-

headmaster said: »Children who were in combined classes for 3 years, meaning they were segregated for the first year and attended combined classes in the 2nd and 3rd, have less learning problems in the 4th grade. Yet this is more of a subjective feeling. There should be research study to confirm or disprove this hypothesis.« Another grade teacher said: »If we refrain from estimating if a child is good in mathematics, and treat him as an integral person, I believe an integrated environment to be more stimulating. Children progress better in heterogeneous classes with considering their individual level of development ... It is true, however, that deviations in knowledge (achieving of aims) increase with years ... Why? Due to unencouraging educational environment of their homes and poorer command of the Slovene language ... This is the greatest obstacle in child's learning. For most Roma people, questioned by my colleague, and me education is no value ... It would be urgent to educate parents so they could motivate children. It would also be necessary to cooperate with other institutions, school cannot solve all the problems by itself.«

Two Roma assistants are active at the school through public works. The employment is to last only a year. This is considered problematic, since a new Roma assistant must be introduced to the work with children every year. Integration of Roma assistants was suggested by the Pedagogical Institute. There was a Roma assistant in the kindergarten, but he only worked for a month. There were problems due to his inadequate education. At the same time the salary was too low (disadvantage of all public works), so he rather stayed home. In Dolenjska or Lower Posavje it is difficult to find educated Roma, willing to work with children. Those Roma with adequate education do not wish to work through public works due to low salaries. Teachers have to train Roma assistants themselves. They also point out that for many years school had to cope with everything, from healthcare (vaccination) to solving of social problems, etc. Only lately other institutions cooperate, unfortunately often only on the theoretical level. Roma assistant helps children in the first three grades. In the morning she gets them ready for lessons, helps them wash etc. She weekly coordinates the need for her help with teachers. A grade teacher mentioned that it might be more appropriate to speak about the family and not Roma assistant. Above all she stressed: »we ought to have definite aims as to what we wish to achieve with Roma assistants. For example, programs are prepared, but performers are not engaged. A job description should be clear ...« They are well acquainted with the education of Roma assistants in Prekmurje. The problem is that Roma in Prekmurje finish schooling in greater numbers. In Dolenjska, and Lower Posavje itself, only few Roma pupils completed primary school. They believed that if same starting status were set for the whole of Slovenia, the demand of a completed vocational school for the job of Roma assistant would prevent them to engage proper candidates in Dolenjska and Lower Posavje.

In 2001 the kindergarten within the primary school was attended by 3 or 4, respectively, Roma children. While the primary school lasted 8 years, the one-year preparation in kindergarten was compulsory and Roma parents took this into consideration. Children attended kindergarten at least a year before starting primary school. Since the introduction of the 9-year primary school (children are enrolled with 6 years), Roma children have stopped sending their children to kindergarten. Although the kindergarten teachers organize different workshops, meetings with parents, etc, all their efforts are rather unsuccessful. It was also found that Roma parents get more money (from family allowance) if they keep their children at home – another destimulating fact. They wonder if organizing a kindergarten in settlement would be a solution. The problem is that parents have to bring their children themselves. The transport of schoolchildren is financed by the municipality, while the transport of kindergarten children is not.

The kindergarten head told us: »Till 2002 pre-school Roma children were integrated in a Roma class, which was located in a 'hut' behind the school where primary school program for Roma children also took place. Since the schoolyear 2002-2003 Roma children have been included in regular classes. In this schoolyear Kindergarten was attended by 3-7 children.

In 2003 the school and the kindergarten were integrated in the 3-year national project: *Integration of Roma Children* (holder the Pedagogical Institute). Within this program kindergarten staff had a 3-year training for the work according to the methodology *Step by Step*, learning methodology and didactics for the work with Roma children, elimination of prejudice, etc. In accordance with new orientations of the kindergarten Roma children are integrated into regular groups together with other children. Kindergarten units included in 2005/06 3 children from Romani Slovene marriages. In the next schoolyear 2006/07 it is expected that the kindergarten will be attended by one Roma child and two children from ethnically mixed marriages.

According to the kindergarten head, the integration of Roma children in regular classes would be most effective and should be performed in two steps.

1. Children with no experience in kindergarten would attend a short program in Roma settlements, lasting up to 3 hours daily. Apart from the teacher a Roma assistant would be present. Confidence would slowly grow between kindergarten and parents. Parents would be informed about the importance of their child's integration.
2. After 1 or 2 years of adapting (depending on an individual), a child would be integrated into a regular class, and each of these would integrate 2 or 3 Roma children.

In the last 4 years the following activities have been dedicated to Roma children and parents:

- Every summer there were two weeks of 'Merry games' in Roma settlements (2 hours in the afternoon). In schoolyear 2005/06 these games were performed in the central kindergarten, once a month from October to February, and from February every 2 weeks in Roma settlements.
- In schoolyear 2004/05 maternity school was organized. To build confidence between parents and kindergarten, mothers with children were twice a month invited to the kindergarten. They were presented kindergarten, its activities, etc. In one of the playrooms children could play with their mothers. The time together was used for a chat with parents.
- The New Years' celebration with gifts took place every year, uniting Slovene and Roma children and parents.
- Social care worker and Roma assistant (at times also kindergarten head) paid weekly visits to settlements. They established contacts with parents, gained their confidence, helped with documentation and medical certificates for a child's admission.
- Actions of collecting clothes, shoes, toys and books for Roma children. Every year kindergartens organized such actions and distributed parcels as presents.

Professional kindergarten staff was during project duration supported and educated by the experts from Pedagogical Institute. Also in future they plan to organize similar activities and search for new possibilities of increasing Roma children attendance. They would like to obtain adequate premises in the settlement (with financial help), where to run a shortened program, financed by municipality or state.

According to the kindergarten head, Roma have no wish to live like the majority population. They are satisfied with their lifestyle and feel no need to alter it. Money (social transfers) was coming to them without any obligations and responsibilities to look after their education and employment. The state kept ignoring Roma problems at all levels. They are accumulating and will not be solved unless we listen to them, get in contact with them and present their duties to them (to their own children and to the state). The state reserves ample funds for Roma, directly or indirectly, for various institutions or projects, but effects are not verified enough. Every institution works by itself, without contacts with others (associations, medical services, social work centres, schools, kindergartens, which are not cooperating). Responsibility is mostly on kindergartens and schools.

Ethnic distance among children exists at school and locally. It was stressed that we are often unaware of problems Roma children are daily faced with. Roma still marry early and often give up school. At the moment there are more girls than boys in higher grades. This is due to the fact that boys are absent a lot, working in the mornings. Some parents send their children to work instead of school, sometimes against children's wish. Fathers sometimes say girls can go to school, but sons too good for it, and have to stay home and help. Children are faced with 'struggle' at school and at home. Schoolmates often ignore or even offend them. Some teachers still do not pay sufficient attention to the atmosphere in class and outside, to mutual relations and self-esteem of Roma children. They have no insight into children's life. Most Roma have a negative self-image and a negative image of the entire Roma community. In Roma settlements there is neither communal infrastructure nor water. The headmaster: »It is a kind of violence that we wash them before lectures, but it is necessary as they are otherwise subject to ridicule.« Teachers listed some other cases of ethnic intolerance among pupils in this school. At dancing lessons, two Slovene pupils said they and their schoolmates would not attend if Roma girls were also present. The deputy headmaster had a long talk with them and they agreed to face the problem together. It turned out that as early as lower grades intensive work should have been dedicated to intercommunication, mutual games, etc. Some pupils find it difficult to sit by a desk where Roma children sat before. Roma pupils sometimes wait for the teacher to enter the classroom together. Teachers are aware that the standpoints of non-Roma children to Roma children, their ethnic distance and intolerance are strongly affected by their parents, who in their youth have had different experience with Roma (violence, etc.). Parents should give their children opportunities to shape their own opinion on Roma classmates instead of transmitting their prejudice.

Roma individuals who would like to get education and employment, and have support at school and in civil society, have problems at home and in the community, which either pulls them back, girls get married, if they don't conform, they are ex-communicated. Once they're educated, they have problems finding employment as there still exists considerable ethnic distance towards Roma among majority population.

As to representing Roma culture in curriculum, teachers believed the term culture should be defined first. Roma culture is more a lifestyle than culture. Together with children they sought elements, typical of Roma culture. The conclusion was that Roma culture is primarily defined by the language, which has many Slovene words, and by dance, while holidays are celebrated similarly to the majority nation. As Roma settlements are rather remote, defined by lower social standard and a different way of life, their culture and attitude to culture are different from ours. Another shortcoming is that Roma associations in Dolenjska and Lower Posavje are not as active as those in Prekmurje.

We wondered if Roma children and perhaps non-Roma children were interested in learning the Roma language. They didn't know the answer to this question. They said they would have to wait till Roma language appeared as a voluntary school subject, only then would the interest be expressed.

Slovene is the second language for Roma children. Teachers are finding Slovene language incompetence with Roma children. They also add that due to low social status Roma children lack many life experiences, which is related to the development of cognitive functions and understanding of individual notions. To help them learn the Slovene language they carry out several activities in the Slovene and Roma language: a dictionary is being compiled by the pupils; objects in the classroom are labelled in Romani language etc. School is also included in the international project of children's literacy via a foreign language. The teachers expect to gain knowledge, which would help them in their work, because they feel that they are not sufficiently trained for teaching Slovene as a second language.

In learning process children are given individual and group help and can also attend supplementary classes. School can yearly apply to the MES for extra professional help for Roma pupils. In 2005-2006 they applied for 149 hours of such help, and were approved 33. For the performing of this help, a new employee can be hired. During the first 3 years most of the additional help is performed in the class, and at subject level, supplementary classes are more efficient.

The general observation of the headmaster was that since 1978 many things have changed for the better, so for Roma children as for teachers.

Primary school in Maribor

The second visited school was the Primary school in Maribor. It was chosen as an example of good practice of integration of Roma children into the educational system. Roma that live near this school are mostly immigrants from the former Yugoslavia. They immigrated about 25 years ago. Most of them were uneducated, partly illiterate. They were mostly employed in nearby factories and railway. Gradually they got other jobs, many having stands selling different goods. More enterprising opened their own trades, clothing shops, shops selling alcohol, tobacco, etc. Roma families live in apartment blocs or their own houses. As late as the 1980s Roma children at school were subject to discrimination, intolerance, stereotyping and rejective attitudes. Pupils only associated amongst them, spoke their own language, their school success was low. Due to the non-understanding of Roma culture, different conflict situations occurred at school. Teachers and other school staff were aware that changes were urgent. They strived to create a feeling of security and respect of diversity. In the schoolyear 2002/03, an operative plan for the project *Roma with us and among us* was shaped, including parents, teachers and children.

In 2005/06 the school was attended by 39 Roma children, which is 13,9% of all children. They mostly originate from average or even well-to-do families. The characteristic of this school is that it has from the very beginning been practising the model of integration of Roma children into heterogeneous classes.

Like in the Lower Posavje school, we invited to the focus group: the headmaster, social worker, psychologist, class teacher, subject teachers of mathematics and Slovene,

representative of the parents' council, and representatives of the Roma community – parents, municipal councillor.

The willingness of the headmaster and co-workers to cooperate was a pleasant surprise. Before the meeting we were shown around the school by the headmaster and the pedagogue. We could take a brief look at all classrooms. One to three Roma pupils are integrated into each class. We were surprised to see the headmaster know almost all their names, and she was also well acquainted with their family situation. The atmosphere in the classrooms is obviously stimulating, promoting interculturalism. Roma children were seated next to non-Roma ones, during the break they played together and associated. The headmaster said they were proud of the achieved results, although they are not yet satisfied. There are still certain problems, both behavioural and learning, and they are still searching for better solutions.

A number of Roma parents were invited to the focus group meeting. In a telephone conversation with the school headmaster many of them thanked for the invitation and agreed to come, but in the end failed to appear. According to the headmaster, part of Roma population is still reserved from public appearing. Participants at the meeting were: headmaster, pedagogue, president of the Roma association Romano Pralipe, who also represents Roma in the parents' council, but his children do not attend this school; a Roma mother, non-Roma parents (parents council's president and 3 members), teacher in charge of individual learning help, 2 grade teachers, a special pedagogue, history and ethics teacher and teacher of Slovene and English.

The Roma representative in the parents' council said that Roma children in Maribor are well integrated into educational system. There are still some problems, which are being solved as they come, together with teachers, social workers and headmasters. He said that some Roma community members still face social problems and unemployment. Children from such families lose will for education. He expressed satisfaction with the integration of Roma children into the school in question. They have no wish for homogenous Roma classes. »Whenever problems in school occur, the staff does their best to solve them. Not all schools are like that. My children attend another school, where they do not put such effort into problem elimination.«

As to integration of Roma language and culture into curricula, the teacher of ethics said they have not discussed Roma culture yet, but that Roma children very actively discussed different religions, as most of them are Moslems. It was the teacher's first year of teaching ethics, she will consider including Roma culture and language when she has gained more experience.

We asked them if they thought children would be interested in learning Roma language. They were doubtful that children would like to have Romany as their language of choice as they are more interested in Roma dance, lifestyle, customs ... The parents present stressed that Roma language differs from one group to another, in some cases even to such degree that they do not understand each other and prefer speaking Slovene. Roma mother said their home language was Albanian. Due to this it is doubtful which Roma language could be taught at school. According to teachers the existing Prekmurje Roma Slovene dictionary is of no use since the Roma from Maribor do not understand it. Roma children speak Romany amongst themselves, including many Slovene words. The teacher of Slovene emphasized the significance of Roma identity preservation, but at the same time thought it necessary for Roma children to acquire a good command of Slovene, as this is the language of this country. Only so, in her opinion, they can truly be successful.

Member of Roma in parents' council said that problems occur between parents and children, as many parents are still illiterate: »Uneducated parents find it difficult to communicate with their children, studying at faculties. I have a child studying at the Pedagogical Faculty, the other son at vocational school, daughter about to complete schooling ... All parents wish for their children to get educated, but being illiterate themselves this is causing them problems.« Expectations of Roma parents are rather high, but as many are uneducated, they cannot help their children with their schooling. He suggested a Roma assistant might be helpful in such cases.

Opinions differed as to the introduction of Roma assistant. Roma mother disagreed, saying teachers were sufficient. The special pedagogue added that his help would be welcome with children having literacy problems. The headmaster added that they had no Roma assistant but supplementary learning help was well-functioning. Children needing help get individual assistance. Most Roma children have a certain command of the Slovene, obtained in kindergarten. The headmaster stressed that the Roma representative in parents' council has often played the role of a Roma assistant in communication with Roma families. The headmaster deemed such mediation more useful than a Roma assistant helping with the study of Slovene. A non-Roma mother expressed the need for a Roma assistant. She thought some children had no opportunity to participate in after-school activities, theatre going, etc., although they show interest. A Roma assistant could provide extra motivation. Non-Roma parents stressed that a Roma assistant could be an important link between parents and school.

Roma children learn Slovene in the same way as other children. The class teacher said they all partly understand Slovene, having attended kindergarten. The teacher of Slovene said the same: »Non-understanding of Slovene is not a problem. Children understand texts, however, there is a language shortage in higher grade when lessons become more demanding.« She finds preservation of ethnic identity important, and often asks children: »How do you celebrate this, tell us something in Romany language ...«

We were interested if teachers had sufficient possibilities for additional education for work with Roma children. According to teachers, these possibilities are scarce. At the same time they find such education unnecessary, having no problems with their work. The special pedagogue thinks the problem is in Roma children's limited Slovene vocabulary, and the fact that even their command of their mother tongue is not very good. Teachers cannot use Romany language either, as they have no command of it. Children have very few chances for the enrichment of their vocabulary in domestic environment. »Expectations of Roma parents about their children's school success are high and comparable with other parents' expectations. Yet it could hardly be claimed their domestic situation is stimulating. Children should learn at home that education is of great value and important for their future. Some Roma children are left to themselves all day long. So how can they improve their vocabulary?« The class teacher says the knowledge standards, which she believes to be too high, are the greatest obstacle for Roma children's school success. In her opinion these standards should be adapted. It is unrealistic to expect them to achieve equal standards. The pedagogue added: »Their capabilities are high enough, though. There are talented pupils among Roma too.«

They expressed the need for additional didactic materials, especially for higher grade. In lower grade classes they often use exercise notebook, which in the past have been used for work with Roma children.

Teachers' expectations towards Roma children do not differ from those to other children. The headmaster stressed this is especially visible at school conferences, when some teachers express concern as to what could be done to help Roma children. The encouragement children get at home or at least cooperation of parents with school staff is of utmost importance. The support children get in their families varies greatly. In some underprivileged families parents strive to help their children as best as they can. In some well-to-do families, however, children get no such support. Lack of encouragement at home is reflected at school. Parents, who had themselves attended Slovene schools, find it easier to help their children than those who have recently immigrated or are even illiterate.

A teacher in charge of individual help (additional professional help for Roma children) is at the moment working with 13 children, which is one third of all Roma pupils at school. He has been working with them for a year now, and has gained a pretty clear insight into who gets support at home and who not. »Motivation and praise is necessary, however small. Some children are never praised. They are very pleased when successful.« Children welcome additional help. Important progress occurs when children start posing questions during the lessons on things requiring additional explanations. »Also important is daily communication between myself and teachers.« In lower grades, individual help is carried out during regular classes. In higher grades it is preferably given within supplementary classes. The headmaster emphasized: »It is important who carries out the individual lessons and in what way. At some schools these are teachers with insufficient working engagement, but this approach proved to be unsuccessful.«

Teachers are satisfied with Roma children's class attendance. Even Roma parents got used to the fact that all absences have to be excused. The progress can also be noticed regarding the drop-outs due to early marriage (in 5th class) or other reasons. Times are changing and Roma are adapting to majority, together with their customs. Today some girls are even more ambitious than boys. The belief is gaining ground in Roma community that girls too should be allowed to do as much schooling as they like.

Although we observed that mutual communication is no problem at this school, we asked teachers and parents if Roma and non-Roma children associate. A non-Roma mother replied: »My children have been together with Roma children since age of three and there were never any problems. Many Roma live in our district. My children associate with them in and outside school; they are friends and help each other. Mutual acceptance is something normal for children. I am very pleased.« Also other parents expressed satisfaction with relations among children. »If your attitude towards them is positive, there can be no trouble.« The pedagogue added that 15 years ago Roma children did not associate with non-Roma children, but this is no longer the case now. A certain period of time is required. She thought their work successful, due to yearlong integration of Roma children in heterogeneous classes and endeavours of all teachers.

Integration of Roma children in interest activities is high. They take part in music, drawing and sports and often win awards.

We were interested in the expectations of Roma children in higher grades. The special pedagogue believed girls did not have great expectations, as their most frequent topic was their marriage. However, some are already resisting the tradition of early marriages, wishing to continue their studies. »It is a revolt against tradition; children find it difficult to resist their parents. Yet some parents already understand that school is priority. Parents have started

considering children, there has been a shift for the better.« In school, within vocational counselling, further schooling is encouraged.

There are no particular forms of cooperation with Roma parents. In recent years their attendance of school events has increased. Parents come to see their children perform. There is a lot of individual work with parents, whenever behavioural or learning problems occur. Roma parents mostly desire individual meetings with teachers and the headmaster. Two years ago class representatives in the parents' council suggested the inclusion of a Roma representative to improve communication. According to the parents council representative Roma parents don't come to school frequently enough. »My child is in the 8th grade. Roma parents never attend meetings, so there is no opportunity to discuss and solve problems together. My suggestion is to remind Roma parents to come to school more often and show interest in their child's work. This would mean a lot to their children. Parents should praise or scold, their encouragement would be welcome.« »Parents have no chance for contacts with Roma parents. Just as our children are friends, we could establish some contacts too. Maybe these children will be able to surpass this distance,« a non-Roma mother said.

We asked the focus groups participants what were the reasons for poorer success of Roma children at school. They shared the opinion that the main reason was unencouraging domestic atmosphere, some parents cannot help, some find school unimportant.

We were also interested in whether the state provided adequate financial support for the work with Roma children. The headmaster said: »If we waited for the state to help, the situation could be uncertain. The atmosphere at our school is a result of the work of our staff. It is very important that the school relies on itself, but it is a long-term process, nothing can be done in a single year. The MES gives financial aid, about 5,01 EUR per Roma pupil. But this money is not to be spent on school lunch, which should be paid by parents from their family allowance. The MES money is gathered in a fund, its allocation depending on the School Commission for Roma issues. According to parents' suggestions and wishes the Commission determines to whom and in what amount the money should go. This fund also covers the expenses of 'Open-air school' for Roma children. Apart from financial help there is professional help for Roma children.«

The headmaster and pedagogue concluded that the school regards integration of Roma pupils to be successful; however they will not be satisfied with the achieved and will strive for more. They wish for professional encouragement, support and communication. Roma children participate in activities on equal basis, acquire positive self-image and consequently become more successful. They know the parents are aware of their efforts for their children's benefit. Roma children end primary school without major problems, this year two will graduate, and most of them continue their education. New generations of Roma parents are also interested in supra-standard programs (foreign language courses etc.). Professional workers are no longer satisfied with the achieving of minimum knowledge standard, having in mind programs for talented Roma children. Above all it is important for the confidence between school, children and parents to be established.

VII.1.5 Evaluation of the measures defined in NAP on social inclusion (2004-2006) to improve efficiency of the Roma children in educational system

The measures stated in the NAP should contribute to the more effective integration of Roma children into the educational system, and consequently to the improvement of Roma community educational structure. In the ascertaining of the effectiveness of these measures we reviewed school legislation, data from the population Censuses, the existing researches relating to Roma education and articles in daily press. We have also done interviews with officials and experts at the Ministry of Education and Sport and Office for Education, interviews with Roma pupils, students, focus groups on two primary schools in Slovenia.

Measure 1: Inclusion of the Roma children in kindergartens at least two years before the start of primary school.

Output indicators:

- a. The number/percentage of Roma children in kindergartens.*
- b. Performance of the activities, results of which would be stimulation of the Roma parents to enrol children in kindergarten.*

Outcome indicators:

- c. Better school results of Roma children who had been integrated into pre-school education.*
- d. Better command of Slovene language.*
- e. Positive Roma identity - higher self-esteem.*
- f. Diminished discrimination of the majority.*

Early inclusion of Roma children into preschool education should contribute to their better inclusion into the educational system. Many research studies (Tancer 1989, Vonta 2000) and experiences of teachers in work with Roma children have shown that children's attending kindergarten significantly contributes to their efficiency in primary school. The research results show that Roma children, integrated in preschool education, are more competent in the Slovene language, and are gradually becoming used to the way of work and life at school.

In gathering data on the number of Roma children attending kindergartens, we encountered a problem, as Kindergartens and the Ministry of Education and Sport are not supposed to gather data on children's ethnic affiliation. We do not really know how many Roma children attend kindergartens.

Table No. 12: Total number of children attending kindergartens in the RS¹¹⁶ (Source: Ministry of Education and Sport, 2006)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of children attending kindergartens</i>	<i>% of all children</i>
2002/03	58.968	53,8 (or 57,1 estimation Ministry of Education and Sport)*
2003/04	54.515	60,6
2004/05	54.815	61,4

*In the school year 2002/2003, a part of six to seven year old child population was attending kindergartens, while a part was already in the first class of the nine-year primary school. This contributed to the substantial decrease of the number of children in kindergartens in the next school year, when the nine-year primary school became compulsory for all six-year-olds. The share of children's inclusion in kindergartens (Statistical office of the Republic of Slovenia) for the school year 2002/03 is not correct, because the statistics was based on all children, aged from 1-7 (as if none of the six-year-olds were attending the nine-year primary school). Estimation of the Ministry of Education and Sport of children's inclusion in kindergartens for that year is 57,1%.

Table No. 13: The number of Roma children attending homogenous kindergarten groups or Roma kindergartens (Source: Ministry of Education and Sport, 2006)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of children</i>	<i>Number of kindergarten groups*</i>
2002	124	7
2003	116	8
2004	97	6
2005	96	7

* Only Roma groups are taken into account. There are no data on the number of Roma children, attending regular kindergarten groups.

These numbers do not really tell what share of Roma children is included into preschool education and what are the momentary trends: is the share diminishing, is it constant or is it increasing? The number of children in homogenous groups is decreasing. If this decrease means that Roma children enter heterogeneous groups in larger numbers, the trend is positive. If this decrease is an indicator of general lower number of Roma children included in the kindergartens, this is less favourable.

In the school year 2005/2006 there are 280 public kindergartens and 18 private kindergartens. Roma children attend about 40 kindergartens. Preschool Roma children attend kindergartens in three ways: the majority of them attending regular (heterogeneous) groups,¹¹⁷ a smaller number attending special Roma groups¹¹⁸ or Roma kindergartens. The best option for children would probably be inclusion in the heterogeneous groups. In heterogeneous groups it is easier for Roma children to learn Slovene language, while non-Roma children benefit from the experience of co-existence with ethnic diversity.

Considerable share of the Roma parents prefer to keep their children at home instead of including them into preschool education. Based on our observations it can be claimed that Roma parents living integrated in urban centres like Maribor and Velenje (apartments blocs, etc.), are more willing to send their children to kindergartens than parents living in separate

¹¹⁶ There were 286 public and 18 private kindergartens (6 with concession).

¹¹⁷ It is nowhere stated that for classes with Roma children lower norms are valid, as is the case with primary schools.

¹¹⁸ A Roma class can be formed in a kindergarten if it contains at least five children.

Roma settlements. Roma parents living in Roma settlements prefer sending their children to kindergartens located in the settlement or close to them. They do not wish to drive their children to distant kindergartens and they also rather not use organized transportation supervised by professional staff or children from more advanced classes. Until recently two kindergartens placed in the Roma settlements existed.

In the municipality of Murska Sobota in Prekmurje, a Roma kindergarten was founded in 1962 in the settlement of Pušča. Only Roma children attended it. In this kindergarten first experience was gained in the work with Roma children and especially with their parents, who at the beginning hindered the work by their non-cooperation. The inhabitants gradually accepted the kindergarten as a benefit (Tancer 1989: 19).

In other municipalities of the Dolenjska region, intensive work in the field of education was begun later. In 1979 two kindergarten groups were open in the primary school Bršljin (Novo mesto), which were meant also for Roma children. However, the kindergarten remained empty. That is why around 1985 preschool teachers started organizing children's workshops in the Roma settlement Brezje. Thus, in the year 1993, the kindergarten Pikapolonica was opened in a prefabricated house. Gradually the number of children started increasing. In 2006 there were 28 children in two groups. Teachers faced different problems such as: children often had no command of the Slovene language, and since the settlement had no water supply, children's hygiene had to be taken care off. In time, the kindergarten became part of the settlement and developed into a kind of cultural and educational centre. Teachers also helped adults with reading their mail, filling in of forms, helped older children with their homework. A folklore group was also organized. Unfortunately, the kindergarten was closed down in 2006 due to the bad condition of the building. The kindergarten was a prefabricated house without building permit and license, and the sanitary inspection estimated it was no longer suitable for children. Thus the settlement Brezje was left without a Roma kindergarten. Children, whose parents gave consent, are now driven to other close-by kindergartens.

Although Roma parents prefer to send their children to a kindergarten in their settlement, professional workers warn that such (segregated) form of preschool education does not lead to satisfactory results in the knowledge of Slovene, nor can it contribute to later easier inclusion of children in the educational system (Novak 2006).

The change of school system also had a negative impact on the inclusion of Roma children in kindergartens. The change of the primary school system from the eight-year primary school, which foresaw obligatory prior one-year preparation in kindergartens (the so called preschool education), to the nine-year primary school, which anticipates no such preparation, as children now begin schooling at the age of 6, caused a dropout of Roma children from preschool education. Roma parents are now even more hesitant to send their children to kindergartens. This is especially noticeable in places where kindergartens are far from Roma settlements and children need to be taken by car.

So for example in a kindergarten in the Lower Posavje, after the introduction of the nine-year primary school program, a decrease of the number of Roma children included in kindergarten is evident, despite the fact that the employees (supported by the municipality) constantly strive by various presentations of programs, by organizing children's workshops, by discussions with parents, etc., to convince Roma parents about the advantages of including children into kindergartens. According to the opinion of a primary school teacher there are two main reasons why they do not send their children into kindergartens, the first being the

conviction that five-year-olds are too small, the second being that by sending children to kindergarten they in a way 'renounce' them. The fact that children stay home with their mothers is for them a way of expressing affection. Momentary situation in the respective kindergarten cannot be applied to the entire Lower Posavje, much less to the whole of Slovenia. However, it is an indicator of new obstacles arising from the changed system, which have decreased the already small number of Roma children, included in the preschool education.

In the last years a lot of attention has been dedicated to inclusion of Roma children into kindergartens. Schools having kindergartens are especially interested in more numerous inclusions of Roma children in the latter. They are very active in the informing of parents on advantages of children's attendance of kindergartens. Meetings with parents have been organized with presentations of advantages of preschool education. Roma parents are invited to visit kindergartens; individual contacts are established, etc. In short, different ways are sought to popularise kindergartens with children and above all, their parents.

According to Milena Novak (2006: 278-279), teacher in the Novo mesto kindergarten, and on the basis of our empirical findings, increasing the number of children included in kindergarten depends on the following measures:

- Active contacts with parents. Contacts should be established before child's entry into kindergarten. Necessary are visits of teachers at a child's home and visits of parents in kindergartens. Teachers should gain parents' trust through positive communication, and by organizing different forms of social meetings.
- Teachers should be specifically attentive to the acceptance of Roma children by other children. Instead of emphasizing differences, they should direct children into understanding the benefits of diversity and the advantages of socializing with people of different ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds.
- Introduction of Roma assistant – this post has not been systematized yet. However, the experience with Roma speaking teachers has been favourable. Roma assistant originating from the Roma community could contribute to easier inclusion of Roma children into kindergarten. He/she could help establish a contact between teachers and Roma children, between Roma and non-Roma children, and between kindergarten and Roma parents.
- Permanent education and training of preschool teachers for the work with Roma children or children of minority communities, and elimination of prejudice and stereotypes, about other ethnic communities.

What has been done so far to increase the number of the Roma children in kindergartens? It may be said that, at local level, from the part of individual schools, kindergartens, teachers, much has been done. At national level, however, things are changing much too slowly. In fact, in connection with the measure of inclusion of the Roma children in kindergartens at least two years before the start of primary school, stated in the NAP (2004-2006), not much has been done at national level. The implementation of measures was shifted to the period 2005-2010.

With measures related to education of Roma, NAP refers to the *Strategy for education of the Roma in the RS*. A working group¹¹⁹ for the preparation of action program for the implementation of the *Strategy for education of the Roma in the RS* has been established. Action Program should be prepared annually and from the last year's action plan¹²⁰ the following is evident:

1. There are no concrete measures at the national level in the field of early inclusion of Roma children into the kindergartens. However early inclusion of Roma children is adopted as a priority aim for the period 2005-2010. As a measure or priority task the following is foreseen:
 - preparation of the program of Roma children inclusion into preschool education by municipalities (situation analysis, coordination, support to municipalities, etc.) and
 - in some cases, where integration of Roma children into kindergartens outside Roma settlements is impossible, implementation of preschool programs should be made possible in Roma settlements, but with the aim of transition into heterogeneous groups. From that's point of view the closing down of the Roma kindergarten in the Brezje settlement (the Dolenjska region) is contradictory to the measure, stated in the NAP.
2. As a priority aim for 2005-2010 is also defined an introduction of Roma assistant. This post has not been systematized as a vocational standard, and a program for its introduction should be elaborated. This means adjustment of the legal framework, introduction of education programs, assurance of financial means, and definition of standards.
3. There is defined a long-term aim of establishing of trust and elimination of prejudice. At the beginning of the school year, kindergartens with included Roma children should make a plan of detection and continuous elimination of prejudice and stereotypes (with inter-year evaluation of the activities). Also they should provide for communication and cooperation with Roma children's parents. This measure is very important and should include everyone in the kindergarten, Roma and non-Roma.

This means that inclusion of Roma children into preschool education at the moment depends primarily upon the efforts of individual kindergartens (institutions) or singular teachers. If our aim is higher inclusion of Roma children into preschool education, convincing of parents to register their child into kindergarten will not suffice. An atmosphere should be created for the parents to trust kindergartens and their staff, and for children to enjoy attending classes.

¹¹⁹ The important novelty is that the working group preparing the action plan for implementation of Strategy for Education of the Roma in the RS includes 13 members, 4 of them Roma, including the president. The tasks of the working group are: preparation of the action plan for the implementation of the strategy, monitoring of the program implementation, giving initiatives and proposals, related to Roma of the RS education issues, and yearly reports (Source: Ministry of Education and Sport, June 2006).

¹²⁰ National Action Program for implementation of the Strategy for the education of Roma in the Republic of Slovenia Adopted at the working group meeting in Murska Sobota on August 26, 2005.

Measure 2: Inclusion of Roma culture, history and identity in the curriculum.

Output indicator:

- a. *Inclusion of Roma culture, history and identity in the curriculum.*

Outcome indicators:

- b. *Reducing or dismissing existing ethnic distance of majority towards ethnic minorities.*
- c. *Positive self-esteem of the members of Roma community.*

It is evident from legislation that the Slovene school system promotes intercultural approach to education and foresees multicultural contents in the curricula. The multicultural and multilingual dimensions of education are defined in all documents representing the basis for the implementation of educational activities in Slovenia. In the White Paper on Education in the RS, the multicultural and multilingual dimension of education is mentioned.¹²¹ These topics are stated amongst the aims of education in the Act on Organization and Financing of Education (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 98/05).¹²² In the Primary Schools Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 70/05), Article 2 stating the aims of education, says: »education for mutual tolerance, respect of diversity, cooperation, respect of human rights and liberties, promotion of values necessary for life in a democratic society«, and »getting in touch with other cultures and studying foreign languages«. Elements of interculturalism stated in legislation referring to education fade away at a lower level, i. e. school curricula.

The formulation of the measure Inclusion of Roma culture, history and identity in the curriculum is very general, and it is difficult to foresee the intended final result (output). In our opinion, activity should be directed at the following three levels:

- a) inclusion of multicultural dimension (also including presentation of Roma culture and language) into school curriculum for all pupils;
- b) the optional subject Roma culture and language at schools with a large number of Roma pupils;
- c) education of teachers, pedagogical staff.

Add a) Democratic views, respect of other ethnic communities' members or of diversity and non-discrimination are values, which are not in-born, nor do they develop automatically. The

¹²¹ »Apart from participation in one's own culture and national tradition which should be present at all levels of the school system, getting acquainted with other cultures is necessary, promotion of mutual tolerance and respect for diversity. Getting in touch with other cultures does not mean only knowledge on nearby cultures, pertaining to a certain spaces, but also on other cultures; this is the basis of tolerance. It is necessary to point out the problem of sharply defined boundaries between 'our' and 'their' or 'foreign' civilization, between national and popular culture ...«

» ... parallel learning on home and foreign cultures has an important role in the shaping and promoting of national culture, and in understanding the processes of European integration, migration, political changes, etc.«
» ... Such intercultural comparisons assist in the expansion of broadmindedness, and in relativization and elimination of ethnocentrism (including Eurocentrism), and they also improve the understanding of one's own identity and tradition.«

» ... Plurality of cultures complements the pluralism of knowledge ...« (Krek 1996).

¹²² Article 2 states: »assurance of one's optimum personal development, irrespective of gender, social and cultural origin, religion, ethnic affiliation, and physical plus mental constitution«, »education for mutual tolerance, awareness of gender equality, respect of diversity, respect of children's and human rights and liberties, promotion of equal opportunities of both sexes, and promotion of the ability to live in a democratic society«.

transmission of these values upon the younger generation depends on the quality of the educational system. Yet it is still not sufficiently understood that consideration of multiethnic and multilingual characteristics of society within the educational system is ever more urgent for social cohesion. Above all, operationalization of a multicultural and multilingual dimension of the educational system, stated in legislation, is needed, which means that the teaching (methodology of work) and contents (curriculum) in the public education system should go hand in hand with the contemporary multiethnic and multicultural society (Medvešek 2006).

The existing curricula for the eight-year primary school subjects, such as history, geography, ethics and sociology, incorporate introductions of diverse ethnic structure of Slovenia, but they are topically insufficient and didactically imperfect. Slightly better results were shown by the analysis of curricula and selected textbooks for the subjects Slovene language, history and biology of the nine-year primary school. Curricula, which were analysed, include 'diversity', as far as instruction goals and didactic recommendations are concerned. Some textbooks (especially new and revised editions) bring good solutions and are compatible with the goals like: pluralism and tolerance among pupils at active level. Many textbooks, however, should be revised, supplemented, partly rewritten (chapters, topics, visual materials) (Devjak 2006: 37-38). In the curriculum, as well as in singular school textbooks, a considerable amount of Slovene ethnocentrism can still be traced.

The primary school curriculum is flexible in such a way that it allows teachers to introduce individual topics in different subjects. Because of that Roma culture, history and language can be included in different subjects and by different manners. However, such inclusion in the phase of curriculum implementation is only possible if teachers and other professional workers possess sufficient knowledge of Roma culture, and dispose of didactic and other materials (manuals with concrete cases and possibilities of inclusion). A manner must be found how to combine the existing definitions of multiculturalism, respect of diversity, etc. with Roma culture and history, and how to integrate them in daily activities. Concrete realization of these aims requires adequate manuals for teachers to enable them to become acquainted with concrete topics and different possibilities of inclusion of Roma culture and history, as well as adequate modernization of textbooks and learning materials for pupils.

Multicultural and multilingual dimensions of education remain at the declarative level. Initiative for the choice of intercultural topics is in practice often a matter of teachers' decisions. However, teachers lack adequate knowledge and are not suitably trained for such teaching nor for the work with pupils (and parents) of different ethnic affiliation or originating from culturally different backgrounds (Bešter 2006, Medvešek 2006).

Add b) An optional subject on Roma culture and language is mostly relevant for schools with higher numbers of Roma children. Inclusion of Roma culture and language in the school curriculum would enable Roma pupils a better knowledge of their own culture and history, which can have a positive effect on their self-confidence. For pupils to get in touch with Roma culture and history, as well as with cultures of other ethnic communities in Slovenia is an absolute necessity. On the basis of interviews with professional staff in schools (teachers, headmasters, etc.), Roma parents and pupils, it is obvious that ethnic distance between the Roma and non-Roma pupils can still be felt. Integration of Roma pupils into heterogeneous classes is not enough to eliminate intolerance. Permanent education is necessary, as respect for otherness can only develop on the basis of knowledge of other ethnic groups and cultures.)

Add c) In 2002 and 2003 education for primary school teachers was organized in the Prekmurje and Dolenjska regions, with the topic of Roma language and culture.¹²³ However, such singular education programs are not sufficient. For the actual realization of integration of Roma culture and language into educational processes, preparation of manuals for teachers is urgent, to present them concrete topics or different possibilities of integration of Roma culture and history, and of course, adequate modernization of schoolbooks and materials for pupils.

How is the inclusion of Roma culture and history in the school curriculum implemented in practice? Regarding the need of inclusion of Roma culture, history and tradition in school curricula, as stated in the *Strategy for education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia* and in the NAP on Social Inclusion (2004-2006), the following activities are currently taking place:¹²⁴

- Short-term measure regarding inclusion of Roma culture and history in curricula anticipates a survey of existing subject curricula, on the basis of which the already formed working group would suggest topics and contents to acquaint pupils with Roma culture and history.
- An optional subject on Roma culture and language is being prepared.

Regarding the measure Inclusion of Roma culture, history and identity in the curriculum it can be ascertained that preparations for its implementation are taking place. Only after the optional subject Roma culture and language is included in the curriculum, and when multicultural contents are adequately included in the same, expected effects can be estimated.

¹²³ In the years 2002 and 2003 there were beginners' courses of Roma language and of vocational training for workers, employed in education. Their purpose is to provide for basic understanding, and knowledge of Roma culture, literature and lifestyle. The performer for the Prekmurje region was the primary school Murska Sobota, and for Dolenjska primary school Škocjan. (Second periodical report of the Republic of Slovenia about implementation of the European Charter for regional or minority language. Available on the www: http://www.coe.int/t/e/legal_affairs/local_and_regional_democracy/regional_or_minority_languages/2_monitoring/2.2_States_Reports/Slovenia_report2SL.pdf, p. 14, (June 14, 2006).

¹²⁴ National Action Program for implementation of the Strategy for the education of Roma in the Republic of Slovenia (Adopted at the working group meeting in Murska Sobota on August 26, 2005)

Measure 3: Development of methods for teaching Slovene to Roma pupils.

Output indicator:

- a. *The possibility of teaching Slovene as the second language in primary school system.*

Outcome indicators:

- b. *Better school results of Roma children.*
- c. *Better command of the Slovene language makes inclusion in the society easier for Roma children (further schooling, entering labour market).*

The command of the Slovene language among Roma children at the beginning of schooling varies greatly. Roma children who had attended preschool education already have a certain degree of knowledge, although this is not their mother tongue. The situation is much more difficult for Roma children who had not attended kindergarten and only come in contact with the Slovene when entering school.

Part of Roma pupils has sufficient command of Slovene to participate in daily communication. Nevertheless research studies show there is language deficit with children for whom Slovene is not their mother tongue. In contact with more demanding topics, their communication ability in Slovene turns out to be insufficient even at the level of understanding. Often, however, this language deficit remains hidden, while troubles (even disciplinary) are ascribed to other causes, such as different cultural values, behaviour patterns, or even intellectual capabilities (compare Nečak Luk, et. al. 1994).

In any case, didactic approaches, suitable for pupils with Slovene as their mother tongue, are not equally suitable for Roma children. They should be given the possibility of studying Slovene as their second language. Momentarily there is only organized assistance with the learning of Slovene in the form of supplementary lessons of Slovene or individual help for pupils. At the same time adequate vocational training should be available, at which teachers would be trained to recognize language deficit with pupils.¹²⁵

Regarding the measure Development of didactic methods of teaching Slovene to Roma children, we can ascertain – on the basis of what is stated in the National Action Program for Implementation of the Strategy for the education of Roma in the Republic of Slovenia – that at the moment nothing concrete is going on. In practice the measure, which would facilitate teaching of Slovene to Roma children, is not yet in operation, since adequate instructions for the adjustment of didactics and methodology have not been made yet. All these activities are planned for the period 2005-2010.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ At the end of 2004 a pilot study was made on Slovene as the language of instruction for Roma pupils. The analysis made by an expert on romology on the basis of gathered materials, brought up the thesis that Slovene language teachers have wrong information on Roma language, which leads to wrong interpretations of mistakes, made by Roma pupils at classes of Slovene language. That is why their pedagogical efforts are often misdirected. (Krek and Vogrinc 2005: 20).

¹²⁶ National Action Program for implementation of the Strategy for the education of Roma in the Republic of Slovenia (Adopted at the working group meeting in Murska Sobota on August 26, 2005)

- The priority aim in the years 2005-2010 is special attention to teaching Slovene as the second language to Roma children. Additional instructions for the implementation of curriculum for Roma children (e. g. adjusted didactics and methodology of teaching, etc. especially for the first 3-year period) should be prepared, their aim being to reach the same standards of knowledge.
- Additional education should be organized for teachers, working in classes with Roma children.

Measure 4: Introduction of the Roma language (as optional subject).

Output indicator:

- Teaching of Roma language in primary school system.*

Outcome indicators:

- Preserving and development of the Roma language, which is essential element of Roma culture and ethnicity.*
- Improvement of the Roma mother tongue command contributes to better command of Slovene language.*
- Better school performance.*

In the *Strategy for education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia* and in the NAP, a proposal is stated¹²⁷ to introduce an optional subject *Roma culture and language* into primary schools. Precondition for the introduction of this subject is the standardization of Roma language and preparation of teaching materials (grammars, dictionaries, etc.). In the past (1987) a smaller bilingual dictionary was prepared in the Prekmurje (a Collection of Slovene-Roma terms – *Kenva slovenske te romaune alavenca*), comprising about 1500 terms. The dictionary was a result of work and experience of teachers (Tancer 1989: 24-25). Although teachers found it helpful, it cannot serve as a basis for the introduction of Roma language as a school subject.

In 2006 the project of standardization of Roma language will be completed. *The Project of Slovenian Roma language Standardization and Integration of Roma Culture into Education* (Centre for Educational Policy Studies – CEPS, Faculty of Education, University of Ljubljana; 2003-2006), is conceived as part of an integral project the purpose of which is the integration of Roma language and culture into the programs conducted by state educational institutions. The first step towards this aim is the creation of a glossary (or dictionary) of the Roma language in dialect spoken by the Roma groups in Slovenia, as well as the creation of accompanying textbooks (Antauer, et. al. 2003).

The introduction of the optional subject Roma language and culture will mean a realization of Roma community rights to preserve their language, culture and identity. At the same time, the learning of Roma language will significantly contribute to the improvement of their language competence in Roma as well as Slovene languages. Roma children in school still have no possibility to learn in an organized way, how to read and write in their mother tongue. They

¹²⁷ Momentarily the fundamental law on Roma community in the RS is in the preparatory phase. One of its aims will also be the addition of optional subject Roma language, culture and tradition.

can't even recognize the phonemes from their mother tongue in the written form of the Roma language, which would make vocal recognition and writing down of these phonemes easier also in Slovene and vice versa. The command of reading and writing in Roma language, which for them is familiar in the phonetic, syntactic and morphological way, will facilitate acquisition of understanding, reading and writing in the Slovene language, as the acquisition of Roma language will make it possible for them to perceive more distinctly the differences and similarities between the two languages, thereby finding it easier to eliminate mistakes, which are now constantly present in their use of Slovene. An imminent introduction of teaching Roma language is not a 'multiculturalists' whim', but a useful measure also from the viewpoint of more effective literacy in the Slovene language (Krek and Vogrinc 2005: 21). The appeals of the experts that mother tongue learning is not only the right of ethnic minorities to preserve their ethnic and cultural identity, but also a necessary condition for school success (Ermenc Skubic 2003), have not yet achieved desired results with policy makers.

The Instructions for the Adaption of Primary School Program for Roma Pupils, issued in 1993, state with regard to Roma language and culture that schools should, in accordance with conditions and possibilities, organize lectures of Roma language, as well as sensitise Roma parents to the significance of preserving of Roma culture.¹²⁸ Considering the fact that the state has not yet accepted the necessary measures, as would enable introduction of Roma language and culture in the school curriculum, the message, implied in the above Instructions is the following: The school's task is assimilation of Roma children, while preservation and promotion of culture should remain a matter of family domain, preferably in the form as not to be a disturbing factor in the prevailing culture of the society (Strategy for education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia 2004).

Regarding integration of Roma language into school curriculum, as stated in the NAP on social inclusion (2004-2006), the following activities are going on currently:¹²⁹

- Introduction of the Roma language from the 1st class on (facultative level) demands standardization of Roma language (dictionary, grammar, text selection and curriculum for Roma language classes) and a program of gradual introduction of Roma language in the curriculum. The preparation of standardization is still going on at the moment, and it is necessary to form a working group, encharged with the introduction of Roma language into primary school. At the moment the introduction of the Roma language into primary school is still quite far away.

¹²⁸ It is stated that with visual arts classes and sports activities, Roma specificities should be promoted, while with music classes, special interest and talent of Roma children for musical instruments should be considered and encouraged. The emphasis on special musical talent is welcome, provided there are no hidden implications as to Roma children being incapable of same achievements with mathematics, Slovene, etc. (Strategija vzgoje in izobraževanja Romov v Republiki Sloveniji, 2004).

¹²⁹ National Action Program for implentation of the Strategy for the education of Roma in the Republic of Slovenia (Adopted at the working group meeting in Murska Sobota on August 26, 2005)

Measure 5: Introducing of Roma assistant.

Output indicator:

- a. *The number of the Roma assistants in primary school.*

Outcome indicators:

- b. *Decrease of the school dropouts of the Roma children.*
- c. *The improvement of the school performance of the Roma children.*
- d. *Positive Roma identity – higher self-esteem.*

At the moment the vocational standard of a Roma assistant has not been formed yet. Therefore Roma performing these tasks are employed through public works. Their training is carried out through different projects' programs, and sometimes schools even educate Roma assistants themselves.

The only organized training of Roma assistants takes place in Prekmurje. Regional Development Agency Mura and Pomurje Centre in 2004 started the educating the Roma assistants within a pilot program that was developed within the project *Roma Education and Information Centre*.¹³⁰ The program took one year. Thus since mid-November 2005, in Prekmurje, 15 Roma assistants work through the program of public works. They work in primary schools, kindergartens, a student's hostel, and Education Centre of Veržej. There were also attempts to organize a similar pilot education for Roma assistants (within the Equal Community Initiative) in Dolenjska, but so far to no avail.¹³¹

Roma assistant works on the class, school and Roma community level. As the professional standard has not yet been defined, his role varies from school to school.

At the class level: In some schools, Roma assistant works in cooperation with teachers in afternoon (extended) classes, while in other schools, he/she works together with teacher during regular classes. Roma assistant is supposed to help in the work planning and analysing, and also with language obstacles, translating to children, teachers and parents. He/she is also supposed to help children in learning process, following teacher's instructions.

¹³⁰ Regional Development Agency Mura invited several institutions to participate in the project. Apart from the regional unit of the Employment Service, these are also municipalities that have a Roma councillor and educational institutions attended by Roma. Among the main aims of the project are establishing of professional standard, education of Roma assistants and consequently increase in the degree of participation of Roma in educational processes, as well as later on their equal inclusion in labour market.

¹³¹ Only in year 2006 similar program for the Roma coordinators (not Roma assistant) was carried out in the region of Dolenjska. The program lasted 32 hours and took place in Črnomelj, Novo mesto, Kočevje, Krško and Trebnje. There were 34 participants, 30 of which successfully finished the training and were given a certificate. The Roma co-ordinators are not sufficiently qualified for work with children. Finished primary school was a 'desired' condition for participation in the program, but most of the participants (23) did not meet this condition. (See the articles: 'Presentation of the PISR project – Summary', p. 102, and 'Program usposabljanja romskih koordinatorjev' [Training program for Roma co-ordinators], p. 277-291, in Žagar and Klopčič (eds.) (2006). Vocational informing and advising for Roma - PISR.)

At the school level: Roma assistant should attend school conferences, dealing with his/her class activities (parents' meetings, team meetings), thus representing a link between Roma community and parents on the one, and kindergarten or school on the other side.

At the Roma community level: he/she is supposed to participate in activities intended for the improving of relations between Roma community and kindergarten or school. He/she should also organize various activities to encourage attendance of kindergartens and schools. He/she should inform parents on daily events in kindergarten and school, especially on their children's absence.

Introduction of Roma assistants into primary school is a novelty in Slovenia. It is hard to ascertain their efficiency in this phase due to major initial problems, such as fluctuation of assistants, their low educational level, and substantial differences in methods of work in different schools. Moreover, actual efficiency of Roma assistants could only be estimated through longitudinal study of pupils' grades, absence from school, perceptions of ethnic distance and the dropout of Roma pupils.

Partial estimates, however, of the role of assistants can be given from the part of themselves and teachers, cooperating with them. The research study carried out in Dolenjska region,¹³² included four Roma assistants from two primary schools. In Dolenjska, Roma assistants were not given any organised education, but were introduced to their work by professional staff at individual schools. It is difficult to find Roma with adequate education that would be willing to work as Roma assistants. From the four mentioned assistants one had completed primary school, and three completed the sixth grade of the primary school. The research study showed that in 2003 (at the beginning of this project), 71% of teachers did not really know about the role of Roma assistant while in 2004 74% knew exactly about his/her role, in 2005 only two teachers were not quite certain about the assistants' role in the class, while two did not express their opinion. Table No. 14 shows, that Roma assistants mainly believe that in general they do help in the classroom as well as with the other activities related to Roma issues in school, such as contacts with Roma parents. However there are still some teachers who believe that Roma assistants are not adequate for some tasks, especially when it comes to the help in planning everyday activities and assessing the progress of Roma children. That can be explained by the fact that Roma assistants are not highly (or sufficiently) educated and therefore cannot be involved in those activities a lot. Roma and non-Roma parents were questioned about the role of a Roma assistant in class. From the answers of (14) Roma and (14) non-Roma parents it is evident that Roma parents are more aware of the role of Roma assistants in the classroom. Seven (7) of them believe, that due to their attendance in the classroom the work is more effective while only one (1) does not know what they are doing. Opposite, seven (7) non-Roma parents do not know anything about the work of Roma assistants in the classroom, while only three (3) believe that they positively influence the

¹³² The project "Providing Equal Opportunities for Roma Children's Education" (head of the project dr. Tatjana Vonta) from 2003-2005. The basic aim of the project was to promote, introduce, upgrade and evaluate the integration model for children into regular classes of primary school education, and thus assure equal opportunities and access to high-quality education for Roma children. The formation of model equal opportunity schools took place at three primary schools, which include kindergarten: ES of Belokranjski odred Semič; ES Fran Metelko, Škocjan; ES Leskovec by Krško (Integration of Roma children into Mainstream Education in Slovenia. Final Research and Evaluation Report. REI, Evaluation prepared by: Albina Nečak Lük, Ph. D., Mateja Brejc, MSc, Tatjana Vonta, Ph. D., Ljubljana, 2005 Available on the www: <http://www.osi.hu/esp/rei/Documents/SLOvenia%20REI%20Evaluation%20report%202005%20Final.pdf>, (May 15, 2006).

effective work in the classroom. 6 out of 28 parents believe that attendance of Roma assistants disturbs the classroom climate, while 4 of them have no opinion whatsoever (pp. 13-14).¹³³

Table No. 14: Comparison of Roma assistants' and teachers' standpoints about the role of a Roma assistant in class (2005)¹³⁴

	Roma assistants		Teachers		
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree	N.a.
Make class work easier	4	0	23	3	/
Help planning every-day activities in classrooms	4	0	14	9	3
Help establishing contact with Roma students	4	0	25	1	/
Help communicating with Roma speaking children and parents	4	0	25	1	/
Help developing Roma language	4	0	23	3	/
Help assessing the progress of Roma children	3	1	19	7	/
Help establishing contact with Roma parents	3	1	23	3	/
Help with learning about Roma history and culture	3	1	23	3	/
<i>Total</i>	4		26		

The role of a Roma assistant is all but uncomplicated. In the above-mentioned research study the evaluation from 2004 in Dolenjska showed that all Roma assistants believed that because of their role in classrooms Roma parents and Roma community appreciate them more. It is interesting that a year later (2005) assistants did not share the same opinion about being accepted by Roma parents and in Roma community. Two Roma assistants believe that their role as assistants does not make them more appreciated (p. 15). The fact that they are torn between the school where they work and the Roma community has been stated in interviews with Roma assistants at one of the Dolenjska primary schools. It often happens that Roma individuals who are 'successful' or try to integrate in the majority society, are excluded by their own community.

Regarding the introduction of Roma assistant, planned in the NAP on social inclusion (2004-2006), the following activities are currently going on:¹³⁵

- The measure of introducing a Roma assistant (as professional standard) planned in the NAP, is of a long-term concept and will not be realized at least by 2008, according to the estimations, given by the Ministry of Education and Sport. The program of introduction of Roma assistants into primary schools has to be created at national level. It is necessary to adjust the legislation, introduce the professional standard of a

¹³³ Integration of Roma children into Mainstream Education in Slovenia. Final Research and Evaluation Report. REI. Evaluation prepared by: Albina Nečak Lük, Ph. D., Mateja Brejc, MSc, Tatjana Vonta, Ph. D., Ljubljana, 2005 Available on the www: <http://www.osi.hu/esp/rei/Documents/SLovenia%20REI%20Evaluation%20report%202005%20Final.pdf>, (May 15, 2006).

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

¹³⁵ National Action Program for implementation of the Strategy for the education of Roma in the Republic of Slovenia (Adopted at the working group meeting in Murska Sobota on August 26, 2005)

Roma assistant (currently in preparation), create an educational program, as well as provide for human resources and financial means.

Although the professional standard for Roma assistants has not yet been adopted, and the measure is not being carried out as planned in the NAP on social inclusion 2004-2006, introducing of Roma assistants is under way as an experimental or pilot program.

In the sphere of education, introducing of Roma assistants is at the moment the only measure that is being performed, and the effects of which are being evaluated; it was therefore our decision that we try to ascertain the effectiveness of this measure.

VII. 1.6 Effectiveness analysis

The policy: Introducing of Roma assistant

Objective of the policy:

The role of Roma assistant at school is multi-layer. His work is supposed to contribute to the improvement of Roma pupils' self-perception, to the improvement of their school efficiency, to better communication between Roma pupils and teachers, as well as parents and teachers, but above all to lower school drop-out of Roma pupils. With help of the Roma assistant and positive influence, more Roma children ought to complete primary education and continue at secondary level. Completed primary or secondary school (progressing on the educational vertical) is a good starting-point for the elimination of social exclusion.

Outcome observed:

The effects of the work of Roma assistants can be noticed in different forms: as improvement of school success, as increased interest of Roma pupils to attend school, increased interest of the Roma parents for the school work of their children, improvement of the relations among pupils in the class, better inclusion of the Roma pupils in post-school activities etc. In 2005 the first generation of the Roma assistants was educated in a one-year pilot program.¹³⁶ The education program consisted of theoretic (lectures) and practical (working practice at schools or kindergartens) parts. 15 Roma participated in this educational program. One person dropped out and took another job (shop assistant); therefore 14 Roma assistants are at the moment, through public works employed in schools and kindergartens (Prekmurje): 9 in primary schools, 4 in kindergartens, 1 in an educational institution at Veržej (Primary school with adapted program).

In 2006 Regional Development Agency Mura ltd carried out a survey to evaluate the work of Roma assistants participating in the project. Their work was evaluated in two ways:

1. by subjective estimations of Roma assistants themselves, and of teachers and headmasters who worked with them;
2. by objective indicators, such as school reports (documentations) on the efficiency of Roma pupils. Our effectiveness analysis will be based on the data from this survey.

Add 1) Subjective estimations

Subjective estimations include perceptions of candidates for Roma assistants about satisfaction with their work, perceptions about school results Roma pupils achieve with their help, and opinions of teachers and headmasters on the work and influence of Roma assistants upon Roma pupils.

Among the candidates for Roma assistants, an opinion poll was carried out, the results of which are shown in Tables No. 15-17. Till the end of August 2006 they received answers from 8 from the total of 14 assistants.

¹³⁶ Project *Roma Education and Information Centre* is coordinated by Regional Development Agency Mura ltd and so financed by the Community Initiative Equal. Anticipated results of the project are: the establishment of the national professional standard of a Roma assistant, education and training of the first generation of the Roma assistants, introduction of the Roma assistants' work in schools and evaluation of their work, the establishment of the Roma Education and Information Centre and legal basis for its operation.

Table No. 15: How much time do Roma assistants spend with pupils?

	<1 hour		1-2 hours		2-3 hours		3-4 hours		5 hours or more		N. a .		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
How much time do you daily spend with Roma and other pupils at school?	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	100	-	-	8	100
How much time do you daily spend with Roma pupils outside school?	1	12,5	4	50	-	-	1	12,5	-	-	2	25	8	100

All Roma assistants spend 5 or more hours per day at school. Six of them offer pupils help also out of school, e. g. in their settlements.

Roma assistant Mateja Bajič at primary school III Murska Sobota (Prekmurje) thus described her work day: in the morning, she accompanies children to school by school bus; when at school, she discusses daily program with mentors; she is present at lessons in class and subject levels; she helps pupils in different ways, in the mornings they usually work in smaller groups, in the afternoons she helps with their homework in after-school classes; she daily writes diaries about the course of the school day and the help she gave children; at the end of the school day, she accompanies children home by school bus.¹³⁷

Table No. 16: How do Roma assistants estimate their work and the children's progress?

	1 Very bad / I completely disagree		2		3		4		5		6 Very good/ I quite agree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
How do you estimate Roma children's progress?	-	-	-	-	3	37,5	1	12,5	4	50	-	-	8	100
How do you estimate Roma children's ambition?	1	12,5	1	12,5	2	25	3	37,5	1	12,5	-	-	8	100
How do you estimate the relations between Roma and other children at school?	-	-	-	-	2	25	2	25	1	12,5	3	37,5	8	100
Do you agree that Roma assistants are of use to Roma children?	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	25	1	12,5	5	62,5	8	100
How do you estimate the cooperation with Roma children's parents?	1	12,5	-	-	3	37,5	-	-	4	50	-	-	8	100
To what degree are you satisfied with your work?	-	-	-	-	1	12,5	2	25	2	25	3	37,5	8	100

¹³⁷ Seminar on education of Roma, Moravske Toplice, June 16, 2006.

Roma assistant at the primary School II in Murska Sobota (Prekmurje), Martina Horvat, describes her work: »It is my task as a Roma assistant to cooperate with the teacher in eliminating learning problems. I work in the after-school care in the third grade, and in extended classes from the 5th to the 9th grade. In the morning I accompany children by school bus, and in the afternoon we return home together.« She feels that children trust her more than teachers, and both, the school staff and parents, are reacting to her favourably. Ever since she's been at school, the attendance of children in afternoon care and classes improved; attendance at school was never a problem (Gider 2005).

Table No. 17: Do Roma assistants wish to continue with this work?

	Not at all		Yes, if there is no other option, It doesn't matter otherwise no				I wish to continue very much				Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Would you like to work as a Roma assistant also in the future?	1	12,5	-	-	1	12,5	1	12,5	5	62,5	8	100

It can be seen from the answers of Roma assistants that they generally positively estimate their work, as well as Roma pupils' progress. Most of them would like to continue with this work in the future.

Teachers and headmasters were also asked about the influence of candidates for Roma assistants upon school success of Roma children.

Table No. 18: Roma assistant's presence at work with children?

	1-2 hours		2-3 hours		3-4 hours		5 hours or more		Other (none);		Roma assistant spent a lot of time on sick leave		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
How much time is Roma assistant present in classes?	3	10,34	-	-	7	24,14	12	41,38	5	17,24	2	6,9	29	100

Table No. 19: How do teachers and headmasters estimate Roma assistants' work?

	1 Improves Very little / Very bad		2		3		4		5		6 Greatly Improves / Very good		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Does assistant improve communication between Roma and other pupils?	-	-	1	3,45	5	17,24	3	10,34	13	44,83	7	24,14	29	100
Does assistant improve communication between teachers and Roma pupils?	-	-	-	-	5	17,24	5	17,24	12	41,38	7	24,14	29	100
Does assistant improve communication between teachers and Roma parents?	3	10,34	2	6,9	4	13,79	3	10,34	12	41,38	5	17,24	29	100
How do you estimate inclusion of Roma children after introduction of assistant?	-	-	3	10,34	5	17,24	2	6,9	6	20,69	13	44,83	29	100
How do you estimate Roma children motivation after introduction of assistant?	-	-	2	7,14	6	21,43	4	14,28	4	14,28	12	42,86	28	100
How do you estimate relations between Roma and other children?	-	-	1	3,45	4	13,79	4	13,79	13	44,83	7	24,14	29	100
Did relations among children change after assistant's arrival?	1	3,57	2	7,14	6	21,43	10	35,71	5	17,86	4	14,28	28	100
How do you estimate assistant's work?			1	3,45	5	17,24	4	13,79	5	17,24	14	48,27	29	100
How was the assistant accepted by other pupils in the class?			1	3,84	2	7,69	5	19,23	4	15,38	14	53,84	26	100

Table No. 20: Would your school employ a Roma assistant?

	No, never		Yes, if there is no other option, Yes, otherwise no		immediately N. a.		Total			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
If possible, would you employ a Roma assistant?	-	-	3	10,34	20	68,96	6	20,68	29	100

Teachers, too, mostly gave a positive evaluation of Roma assistants' work and their contribution to better learning results of Roma children. Most teachers expressed the conviction that the Roma assistant's work contributed to better communication between Roma pupils and other pupils, between teachers and Roma pupils, and between teachers and Roma parents. The majority also believes that Roma assistants have a great impact upon better inclusion and motivation of Roma pupils at school.

Add 2) Survey of school documentation

Until the end of the August 2006, 8 primary schools and 1 kindergarten answered the questioner, from the total of 15 dispatched questionnaires. We shall limit ourselves to analysis of data conveyed by schools, therefore kindergarten data will not be taken into account in this analysis.

Primary school in Slovenia lasts for nine years.¹³⁸ Children that reach the age of 6 in a particular calendar year enter the first class in that year. Nine-year primary school is divided into 3 three-year cycles: I. cycle (1-3 grades), II. cycle (4-6 grades), III. cycle (7-9 grades). Successful completion of basic education enables pupils to proceed to education in their choice of secondary school. Pupils who fulfil the legal compulsory education requirement and successfully complete at least seven classes in the nine-year elementary school can continue their education in a short-term vocational education program. Success at that level opens doors to other more demanding secondary school programs.

Roma assistants are incorporated into work with children in all three cycles. In the evaluation of their work, the first and third cycles have been included, because their help is most needed in the beginning and concluding school periods. In the first cycle, they help children conquer the problems faced when entering new school surroundings, in the third they attempt to motivate them for successful completion of the school and possibly further education or vocational training.

Table No. 21: Survey of school documentation on excused/unexcused absence of the Roma pupils from school, and on expressed interest of Roma parents in school work for school year 2003/04 (before Roma assistant's arrival)

Before Roma assistant's arrival (2003/04) – cycle I (1-3 grades)									
	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	School H	Arit. mean
Number of justifiable absences ^a	112,1	72	26	95	360	87	114	82	118,51
Number of unjustifiable absences ^a	0	0	45	4	0	6	30	2	10,88
Number of Roma parents' attendances at interviews with teachers ^b	3,64	4,6	0,7	1,5 (upon being summoned)	-	4,7	3,5	2	2,58
Number of Roma parents' attendances at school meetings ^b	1,82	1,2	4,3	0,87 (irregularly, upon arrangement; arithmetic middle)	-	0,5	1	-	1,62

^{a)} Data calculated for one Roma pupil (sum of all absences divided by total number of Roma pupils)

^{b)} Data calculated for one Roma pupil (number of all visits of Roma pupils' parents divided with total number of Roma pupils)

¹³⁸ Primary schools provide the compulsory and extended curriculum. The compulsory curriculum must be provided by school and studied by all pupils. It consists of compulsory subjects, electives, home-room periods and activity days (culture, science, sports, technology). The optional elementary school curriculum must be provided by school but pupils are free to decide whether they will participate in it or not. It includes educational assistance for children with special needs, remedial classes, additional classes, after-school care and other forms of care for pupils, interest activities and out-of-school classes (Ministry of Education and Sport, Available on www: <http://www.mss.gov.si/index.php?id=83&L=1>, August 23, 2006).

Table No. 22: Survey of school documentation on excused/unexcused absence of the Roma pupils from school, and on expressed interest of Roma parents in school work for school year 2005/06 (with Roma assistant presence)

With Roma assistant presence (2005/06) – cycle I (1-3 grades)									
	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	School H	Arit. mean
Number of justifiable absences ^a	73,43	57	27	98	245	45,5	90	81	89,62
Number of unjustifiable absences ^a	0	0	61	3,5	4	0	5	0	9,18
Number of Roma parents' attendances at interviews with teachers ^b	3,14	2,11	1,8	1,7 (regularly)	-	3,5	4	2	2,61
Number of Roma parents' attendances at school meetings ^b	0,57	2,09	3,5	0,9	1,5	2	1	-	1,65

^a) Data calculated for one Roma pupil (sum of all absences divided by total number of Roma pupils)

^b) Data calculated for one Roma pupil (number of all visits of Roma pupils' parents divided with total number of Roma pupils)

In the first cycle of primary school, children's success and progress is given in descriptive notes, therefore it is hard to estimate every single child's progress. We assume that for this reason the authors of the survey used as indices of inclusion of Roma children in first cycle (1-3 grades) of primary school the number of justifiable/unjustifiable absences along with inclusion (interest) of parents. It is anticipated that a smaller number of pupils' absences contributes to better school success, better general inclusion in school community, which in the long term can also signify achieving higher education and consequently better social inclusion.

In the second and third cycle, pupils' knowledge is evaluated with numeric marks from 1 to 5, (1) meaning insufficient, (2) sufficient, (3) good, (4) very good, (5) excellent.

Table No. 23: Survey of school documentation on school efficiency and on post-school activities of Roma pupils for school year 2003/04 (before Roma assistant's arrival)

Before Roma assistant's arrival (2003/04) – cycle III (7-9 grades)									
	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	School H	Arit. Mean
Acquired school success ^a	2,33	2,45	3	2,1	-	3,2	3	3,2	2,41
Number of acquired reading badges with Roma children	1	0	0	0	-	4	1	0	0,85
Inclusion and activity in post-school activities	14	5	7	5	-	4	4	-	6,5
Number of acquired praises within school	0	1	50	0	4	10	1	-	9,43

^a Average mark of Roma pupils in cycle III in the individual school.

Table No. 24: Survey of school documentation on school efficiency and on post-school activities of Roma pupils for school year 2005/06 (in the presence of Roma assistant)

In the presence of Roma assistant (2005/06) – cycle III (7-9 grades)									
	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E	School F	School G	School H	Arit. mean
Acquired school success ^a	2,46	3,25	3	2,2	2,5	4	3,3	2,6	2,91
Number of acquired reading badges with Roma children	0	4	0	0	1	2	2	0	1,13
Inclusion and activity in post-school activities	3	9	8	6	8	8	7	-	7,00
Number of acquired praises within school	0	4	55	0	4	8	2	-	10,43

^a Average mark of Roma pupils in cycle III in the individual school.

Improved school success, greater motivation of Roma children, along with more active participation in schoolwork are also reflected in more objective indicators like a survey of school documentation.

It would be difficult to state with certainty that positive changes, seen from the school documents, are exclusively the consequence of Roma assistants' work. It may be that changes were partly brought about by gradual renewal of primary school and transition from eight-year primary school to nine-year primary school, which has been taking place since 1999/2000, and will be completed in 2007/2008. The speed of renewal of primary school program at individual schools depended upon infrastructure and staff, and it was performed at different levels: autonomy of teachers and schools increased, curriculum was renewed, evaluation criteria were changed, level classes were introduced, etc.

If gathered objective evaluations of the success of Roma children are linked to subjective perceptions of assistants and teachers regarding the success of their work, we may anticipate, with a considerable degree of probability, that Roma assistants were the ones who to a large degree contributed to positive changes.

The Table No. 25 shows the number of enrolments into different secondary school programs.

Table No. 25: The number of enrolments of the Roma pupils into different secondary school programs

Schoolyear 2003/2004										Schoolyear 2005/2006									
End of schooling after PS		Continued schooling in a 3-year program (and 2.5 year)		Continued schooling in a 4 year secondary school program		Continued schooling in a gymnasium program		Total		End of schooling after PS		Continued schooling in a 3-year program (and 2.5 year)		Continued schooling in a 4 year secondary school program		Continued schooling in a gymnasium program		Total	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
3	16,6	13	72,2	2	11,1	-	-	18	100	2	7,7	20	76,9	4	15,3	-	-	26	100

Table No. 26: The number of Roma pupils in the schools, which take part in the survey

	Schoolyear 2003/04	Schoolyear 2005/06
	Roma pupils	Roma pupils
	N	N
Cycle I (1-3 grades)	99	95
Cycle III (7-9 grades)	89	104

Data regarding the number of Roma children, who after completed primary school continued their education (mostly in three-year and two-and-a-half-year secondary school programs), show that in the school year 2005/06 a few more children continued education in secondary schools in comparison with 2003/04 (Table No. 26). At the same time, they show that in 2005/06 (compared to 2003/04) there were more Roma children in the third cycle. Thus, a larger number of Roma children in secondary education can be a consequence of a slightly more numerous generation. On the basis of data at our disposal, it would be difficult to assert with certainty that the fact that more Roma children are continuing their education is a direct consequence of introducing and work of Roma assistants.

The results of the survey show progress in different aspects of inclusion of the Roma pupils into school. In the first cycle of primary school decrease in the number of justifiable absences and slight decrease in the number of unjustifiable absences of the Roma pupils from lessons is evident. Less improvement was achieved in increasing Roma parents' attendances at interviews with teachers and school meetings. The average interest of Roma parents in schoolwork of their children is still quite low. In the third cycle progress can be noticed in all four chosen indicators: acquired school success, number of acquired reading badges with Roma children, inclusion and activity in post-school activities and number of acquired praises within school. The progress noticed in the survey, nevertheless cannot be ascribed only to the work of the Roma assistants. As mentioned above the changes can as well be the consequence of the renewal of the primary school or some other circumstances.

More accurate effectiveness analysis would have to include the whole education path from kindergarten to the end of primary school. The analysis could include the comparison between schools, which have Roma assistants and those who don't or the comparison of data from different schoolyears – prior and after the introduction of Roma assistants. Appropriate data for assessing the effectiveness of the Roma assistants would be: years of schooling of the Roma children, number of the Roma children who pass a class, achieved school success, inclusion in post-school activities, attendance of school lessons (justifiable, unjustifiable absences), the number of Roma children who continue their education after primary school, etc.

Costs

The initial costs for the organization of Roma assistants' education were rather high as it was necessary to create the curriculum and provide premises with adequate equipment. We could therefore assume that with some infrastructure provided, the costs for education of the next generation of the Roma assistants will be lower.

RDA Mura provided us with the following data on costs of Roma assistants' education:¹³⁹

- preparation of curriculum	5.424,80 EUR
- education of Roma assistants	40.227,01 EUR
- approval of vocational standard, final examination	6.864,46 EUR
- purchase of equipment	8.992,66 EUR
- operation of the centre ¹⁴⁰	<u>77.405,85 EUR</u>

Total: 139.079,49 EUR

Education of Roma assistants

The educational courses were attended by 15 candidates for a Roma assistant.

139.079,49 EUR / 15 = **9.271,9 EUR** per Roma assistant candidate

Costs of the working practice

The above sum should be added the costs of the working practice. During the time of their practical work within the project (6 months), candidates for Roma assistants were receiving a monthly honorarium which amounted to 30% of minimal salary¹⁴¹ (i.e. 153,48 EUR (net) or 204,64 EUR (gross) plus transport charges.¹⁴²

Their mentors (teachers) at schools were paid by contract for their six-month mentorship and received 433,98 EUR (gross) each.

¹³⁹ These costs are rather different (smaller) from the costs of activities presented on the internet page of the RDA Mura (http://www.rra-mura.si/dokumenti/8/2/2005/283,3,Vrednost_aktivnosti) (August 30, 2006).

¹⁴⁰ As stated in the presentation of the project *Roma Education and Information Centre* (available on [www: http://www.rra-mura.si/sl/informacija.asp?id_meta_type=8&id_informacija=97](http://www.rra-mura.si/sl/informacija.asp?id_meta_type=8&id_informacija=97) or <https://equal.cec.eu.int/equal/jsp/dpComplete.jsp?cip=SI&national=4>) one of the specific objective is also establishment of the Roma Education and Information Centre. Until today such a centre does not exist, at least not in a form of actual premises. According to Romeo Varga (August 30, 2006) the centre does not refer to actual premises, it rather refers to a network of people who would plan and prepare different Roma projects and activities.

¹⁴¹ Minimal wage in August, September, October, November and December 2005 was 511,60 EUR Tax Administration of the Republic of Slovenia, Available on [www: http://www.durs.gov.si/index.php?id=6000](http://www.durs.gov.si/index.php?id=6000) (August 15, 2006).

¹⁴² Reimbursement of charges for transport to work with public transport. Transport charges for all Roma assistants were: November 2005 – 1.163,91 EUR, December 2005 - 1.256,55 EUR, January 2006 - 1.466,78 EUR, February 2006 – 1.362,71 EUR, March 2006 – 1.582,37 EUR, April 2006 - 1.542,40 EUR. Total transport charges were 8.374,73 EUR, i. e. the average of 93,05 EUR per a Roma assistant per month.

Costs per candidate for Roma assistant for six month of the working practice would therefore be:

6 x 204,64 EUR (gross) honorarium + 6 x 93,05 EUR transport charges + 433,98 EUR (104.000 SIT) mentorship =

1.227,84 EUR honorarium + 558,31 EUR transport charges + 433,98 EUR mentorship = 2.220,13 EUR

Initial all-inclusive expenses for the education and practical work of one Roma assistant in the schollyear 2005/2006 were:

9.271,9 EUR + 2.220,13 EUR = **11.492,03 EUR**

According to the data at our disposal the costs of education of the first generation of the Roma assistants were:

E1 = 11.492,03 EUR x 15 = 172.380 EUR

Since May 2006, the same Roma assistants¹⁴³ have been included in the local employment program of public works¹⁴⁴ (which is no longer a part of the project or education). Monthly expenses for their work are:

1 person is in tariff class II.,¹⁴⁵ meaning the starting gross wages 336,32 EUR + work time meals recourse 67,66 EUR per month¹⁴⁶ + transport charges 93,05 EUR¹⁴⁷ + mentorship¹⁴⁸ 72,33 EUR = 569,36 EUR

2 persons are in tariff class III., meaning the starting gross wages 376,68 EUR + work time meals recourse 67,66 EUR per month + transport charges 93,05 EUR + mentorship 72,33 EUR = 609,72 EUR

10 persons are in tariff class IV., meaning the starting gross wages 457,40 EUR + work time meals recourse 67,66 EUR per month + transport charges 93,05 EUR + mentorship 72,33 EUR = 690,44 EUR

1 person is in tariff class V., meaning the starting gross wages 565,02 EUR + work time meals recourse 67,66 EUR per month + transport charges 93,05 EUR + mentorship 72,33 EUR = 798,06 EUR

¹⁴³ From 15 candidates for Roma assistants included in the education, one person was employed in a shop.

¹⁴⁴ Data of a commencement salaries according to collective agreement for non-economy activities are available on [www](http://www.ess.gov.si/slo/Dejavnost/Programi/JavnaDela/Izhodiscne%20place%20po%20splosni%20kolektivni%20pogodbi.xls):

<http://www.ess.gov.si/slo/Dejavnost/Programi/JavnaDela/Izhodiscne%20place%20po%20splosni%20kolektivni%20pogodbi.xls>, (August 15, 2006)

¹⁴⁵ The tariff class an individual is placed into depends upon his/her acquired education.

¹⁴⁶ 22 working days per month x 3,08 EUR per day = 67,66 EUR

¹⁴⁷ We don't have exact data of transport charges of each Roma assistant; therefore in calculation the average transport charges were used.

¹⁴⁸ The estimation of mentorship expenses was calculated on the basis of the data that the six-month teachers' mentorship cost 433,98 EUR (gross); the monthly cost of mentorship is therefore about 72,33 EUR.

Costs of 4 months employment of the first generation of the Roma assistants through public works (in the schoolyear 2005/2006) were:

$$PW1 = 4 \times (1 \times 569,36 \text{ EUR} + 2 \times 609,72 \text{ EUR} + 10 \times 690,44 \text{ EUR} + 1 \times 798,06 \text{ EUR}) = 4 \times 9.491,26 \text{ EUR} = \mathbf{37.965,04 \text{ EUR}}$$

Since the professional standard of a Roma assistant has not been established yet, we assumed that the Roma assistants will continue their work through public works at least for the next schoolyear. Anticipated costs for further employment of the first generation Roma assistants in the school year 2006/2007 would therefore be:

$$PW2 = 12 \times (1 \times 569,36 \text{ EUR} + 2 \times 609,72 \text{ EUR} + 10 \times 690,44 \text{ EUR} + 1 \times 798,06 \text{ EUR}) = 12 \times 9.491,26 \text{ EUR} = \mathbf{113.895,12 \text{ EUR}}$$

When (if) the professional standard of a Roma assistant is established, the costs of the employment of one Roma assistant will be significantly higher. It would include:

S= salary of 12 months employment of the first generation of the Roma assistants (including transport charges to work and work time meals recourse) + mentorship (if foreseen) + X (infrastructural and administrative costs on school hours¹⁴⁹).

Our assumption of the costs of the employment per one Roma assistants for one year would then be:

$$S = 12 \times (1.043,23 \text{ EUR (starting gross salary)}^{150} + \text{mentorship } 72,33 \text{ EUR} + X) = 13.386,72 \text{ EUR} + x$$

Table No. 27: Anticipated costs of the education (15 Roma assistants) and employment (14 Roma assistants) of first generation of the Roma assistants

Schoolyear 2005/2006	Schoolyear 2006/2007	Schoolyear 2007/2008
E1+PW1	PW2	S
172.380 EUR + 37.965,04 EUR = 210.345 EUR	113.895,12 EUR	187.414,08 EUR + x

In future when the necessary infrastructure is set, the costs of Roma assistants' education should be lower. However, the costs of their employment will increase: Roma assistants will have higher degree of education, which means their income will increase as well (especially as compared with their present income, based on the public works program).

The calculation of the Cost-effectiveness of the introduction of the Roma assistants would include the above-mentioned costs per ascertained effects. Even though the results of the presented survey indicate certain progress (effects) that might be the consequence of the work of Roma assistants, the data were not collected in a way that would allow us to use them in the calculation of Cost/Effect ratio. For example, as the effect (E) we could use the decrease of unjustifiable absences of the Roma pupils in the first cycle of the primary school in the schoolyear (2005/2006) when the Roma assistants were present. Unfortunately, since we only have at our disposal secondary data, we can only compare the number of unjustifiable absences between the schoolyears 2005/2006 and 2003/2004, not knowing what was the

¹⁴⁹ We don't even have an estimation of these costs.

¹⁵⁰ We assume that the salary of a Roma assistant would approximately equal the salary of an assistant of a kindergarten teacher.

situation in the schoolyear 2004/2005. Another effect we could use in the cost-effectiveness analysis would be differential in marks of the Roma pupils in the third cycle of the primary school. Here again we encounter the problem of the lack of data for the schoolyear 2004/2005. Beside that, this output (effect) is not the optimal indicator of social inclusion of Roma pupils.

VII. 1.7 Conclusions

One of the aims in the sphere of education, not referring to Roma population only, is the decrease of school dropout. The aim itself is of a long-term nature, foreseeing no concrete measures momentarily. There is a special program in course, having the same purpose, in pilot schools. It is financed by the Ministry of Education and Sport and performed by the Centre for Vocational training.¹⁵¹

The fact is that permanent endeavours are necessary to create an atmosphere as will contribute to confidence into educational institutions and elimination of prejudice, appearing with majority population (teachers, parents, and children) in relation to Roma or other pupils differing in any way. The quality of mutual relations highly contributes to the achieving of set knowledge standards.

It is also a fact that causes, affecting the dropout, are complex, originating from various spheres of an individual's life, and this means they cannot be eliminated only by measures, restricted to educational sphere. The role of educational institutions is limited.¹⁵²

The research studies in the field of education have shown school success or dropout of children to be essentially affected by the socio-economic status of their family (Tancer 1989, Dekleva and Razpotnik 2002). This means that while studying integration of the Roma children into the educational system their socio-economic status must be considered, apart from their ethnic adherence and the differences between the Roma and majority culture. Some members of the Roma community live in decent houses or apartment blocs, are employed, and have a respective socio-economic status. We can suppose their children are more successful in the integration into educational system. Other the Roma community members live in unfavourable social conditions, inadequate housing, are uneducated, unemployed, etc., not recognizing education as a value, securing their children a better future.

From the point of view of majority, education seems to be an important factor in integration of the Roma population into society. If children attended school regularly, acquired education and employment, it would be easier for them to integrate, which would solve most of their problems as a stigmatised and marginalized community. Is this really the case?

Most children are quick to notice that their parents, despite completing primary, vocational or secondary school, do not get employment or get salaries, lower than the social allowance for unemployed parents. Social allowance guarantees a certain living standard, and at the same

¹⁵¹ First annual report on the performing of the NAP on social inclusion 2004-2006 Available on the www: http://www.gov.si/mddsz/doc/nap_vkljucevanje_porocilo1_04_06.pdf?PHPSESSID=da30af874348835462b11b4d1721c8d0 (June 9, 2006). At the RS Center for Vocational Education a model was created of prevention measures against dropout from vocational schools, which in the schoolyear 2004-2005 was experimentally introduced into several schools.

¹⁵² The Ministry of Education and Sports will, in order to solve issues, reaching beyond education problems but still influencing education, continue to cooperate with other relevant ministries, especially with Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, and with Ministry of Health. The cooperation with the MLFSA will take place in the following spheres: social and family financial aid, scholarships, public work programs, dedicated to education and vocational training.

Cooperation with MH in the following spheres: preventive programs preparation, educational programs for nurses and home nursing, survey and possible supplements of legal grounds for necessary evidence, co-financing of research projects on the interconnection between lifestyle, health and education. With concrete activities, the MES will also cooperate with other institutions (Health Protection Institute, Healthcare Center, Employment Center, Chamber of Commerce, Chamber of Trades, etc.)

time Roma do other legal or half-legal jobs, bringing additional financial means. Why strive, prove oneself, put up with discrimination of teachers and schoolmates, with daily duties, if minimum school effort is sufficient to follow the pattern of their parents? On the other hand economically successful Roma parents with businesses of their own very early introduce their children into family business. With them too, the story of rather 'unnecessary' education is repeated.

Thus even the most elaborate measures, aimed at the dropout in education, will not bring the desired results, unless changes in other life spheres (employment, elimination of discrimination, housing, etc.) are also undertaken.

VII. 2 Employment policy

The governmental Office for National Minorities wrote in its report on the Roma ethnic community in Slovenia that “employment is one of the basic preconditions for improving the social and economic status of Roma, ensuring their integration into society. The current situation in the labour market – a relatively high level of unemployment (both structural and regional) – is particularly unfavourable to Roma due to supply and demand imbalances.”¹⁵³

Jožek Horvat Muc, President of the Union of the Roma of Slovenia:

In the recent aggravated economic conditions, the chances for the employment of Roma are even more limited, also due to the fact that low education structure and a high degree of fluctuation are characteristic of Roma. The Roma in Prekmurje were mostly employed as cleaners, tailors, carpenters, scavengers, road workers and metal workers; in the Dolenjska region, however, Roma mostly made their living with smithery, stone-quarry working, road works and horse dealing. Another very important source of income was picking of healing herbs. In the last decade, the number of employed Roma quickly decreased due to insolvency of firms and surplus of workers, as Roma are always the first to be fired (Horvat 2003: 62).

Regular jobs among the Roma population are extremely rare with occasional jobs prevailing (there are no exact data, only estimates). It is estimated that only about 10 to 15 per cent of Roma are employed and approximately 85 to 90 per cent are unemployed and receiving social assistance from the state. The number of registered Roma job seekers is increasing.

There are various reasons for high unemployment among the Roma in Slovenia. The majority of the Roma are settled in the statistical regions of Slovenia that belong among economically less developed – employment there is not easy to find even for non-Roma. The Roma, who live close to the Slovene-Austrian border, often work in Austria on an occasional basis, earning more money than they would if they were regularly employed in Slovenia. The problem is that they work in Austria irregularly (‘on the black market’) – without insurance and other benefits. In the official statistics in Slovenia they are documented as unemployed.¹⁵⁴ The same is true for many other Roma, who work in Slovenia, but their professions are not described in the occupational classification (recycling of raw materials, selection of garbage, independent musicians/artists, school transport, making baskets etc.).¹⁵⁵

One of the biggest obstacles standing in the way of better employment possibilities for the Roma is their low education structure. There are many Roma in Slovenia who have no formal education whatsoever or who only finished a few years of primary school. For this reason they are less likely to find employment in competition with other unemployed persons. And even if they do find it, it is usually a less-paid job, corresponding their low education and qualifications. This is also one of the reasons for the lack of motivation of the Roma to even seek regular employment. Many of them are quite satisfied with different social assistance benefits that they get from the state and with occasional jobs on the black market. Some of the Roma would not accept a regular employment also for ‘cultural’ reasons, since they see it as a way of conforming or assimilating to another culture. A research study in Novo mesto, for example, showed that “in Roma settlements conflict situations arise against those Roma that

¹⁵³ <http://www.uvn.gov.si/index.php?id=670&L=1>.

¹⁵⁴ Report from the Workshop for the staff of the local employment services working with Roma jobseekers (Novo mesto, 3-5 October 2001). Published in: Klopčič, V. and Polzer, M. (eds.) *Evropa, Slovenija, Romi*. Ljubljana: Institute for Ethnic Studies, p. 335.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 335.

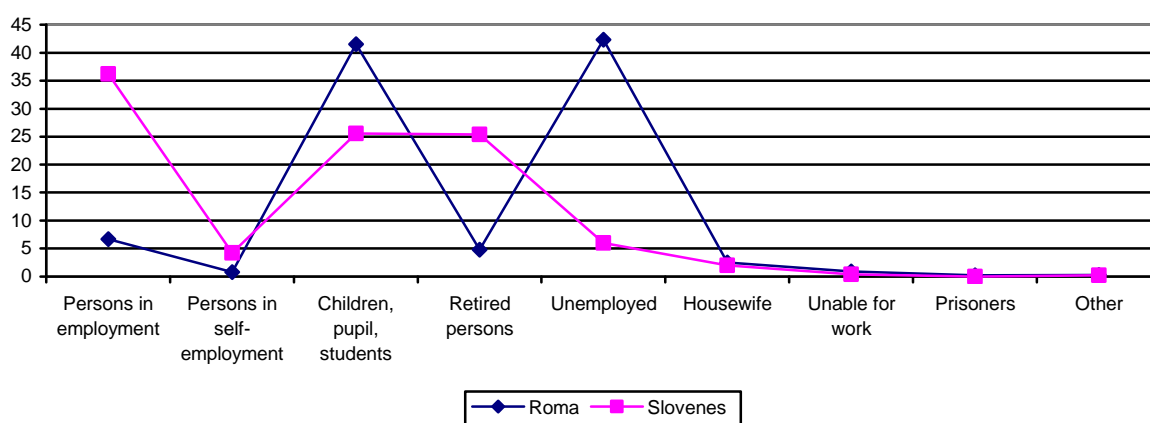
wish to adapt to the wider social community through regular employment. Within the Roma community this is considered as accepting alien values, patterns of behaviour and work.”¹⁵⁶

The Roma are also subject to different forms of discrimination from the part of employers. It has often been reported from the Employment Service regional offices that the employers prefer to hire non-Roma job seekers. Sometimes the employers directly state that the Roma need not apply. Such an attitude of the employers usually stems from different prejudice against the Roma – such as the Roma being lazy, unreliable, dependable etc. An interesting research study amongst workers in firms where Roma were employed revealed that “the majority of the interviewees were of the opinion that Roma are successful in their work, and that their attitude towards work is correct and does not differ from that of an average working team. Most of the problems occur with regard to their understanding of work tasks. In some groups there were doubts about their independence and reliability at work.”¹⁵⁷ The research study also showed that “Roma were given the most favourable estimation by their direct fellow workers who had constant insight into their attitude towards work and their working competence. Next were those directly superior to them. The lowest opinions were given by the workers responsible for selecting staff and whose opinions were mostly based on general impressions and information.”¹⁵⁸

VII. 2.1 Present situation of the Roma in labour market

Some data on the employment and activity status between Roma can be obtained from the 2002 census (see tables and graphs below), though we have to take into account that the number of those, who declared themselves as Roma in the census, represents only about a third of the estimated number of the Roma living in Slovenia.

Graph No. 7: Comparison of the activity status among inhabitants, ethnically declared as Slovenes and Roma in the 2002 population census, in % (Source: Statistical Office of the RS, Population Census, 2002)



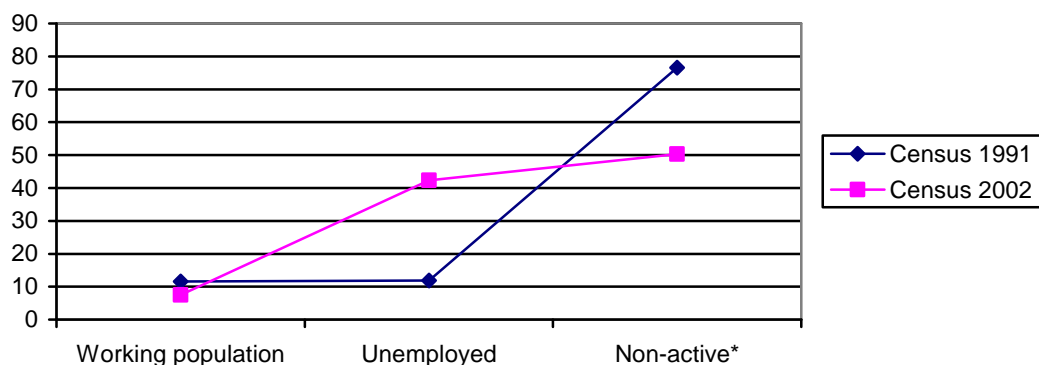
¹⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 329.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 330.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 330.

In Graph No. 7 (above) we can see a big difference between the percentage of employed Slovenes (36,2%) and the percentage of employed Roma (6,7%). The difference between the percentages of unemployed is even bigger – 42,3% of the Roma declared themselves as unemployed in the 2002 census, while there were only 6% of unemployed Slovenes.

Graph No. 8: Comparison of the activity status among inhabitants, ethnically declared as Roma, in the 1991 and in the 2002 population censuses (Source: Statistical Office of the RS, Population census 1991, Population Census 2002)



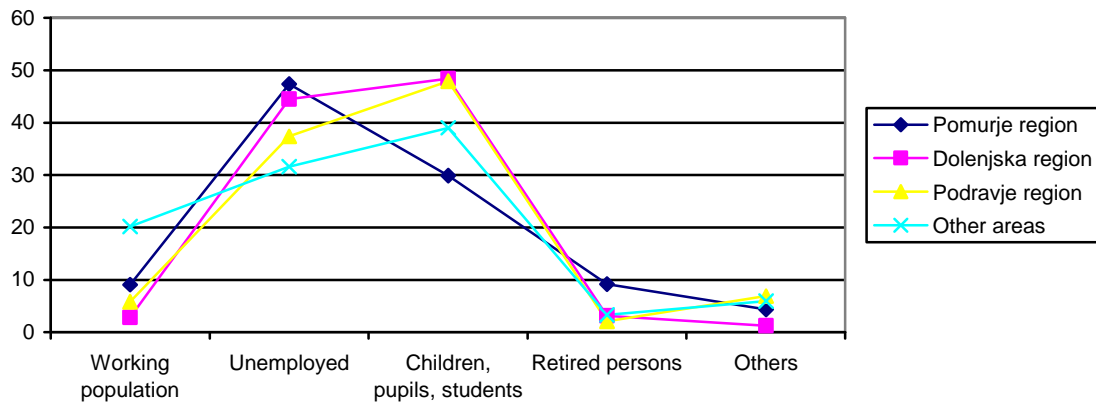
* Among the non-active population belong children, pupils, students, retired persons, housewives and others

The percentage of the work-active inhabitants, ethnically declared as Roma in the 1991 census, is slightly higher than the percentage of the work-active Roma in the 2002 census. It is difficult to access what these data really mean, since we know that the number of Roma living in Slovenia is actually much higher than the census data show. But even though we cannot be sure about the validity of percentages for the whole Roma population in Slovenia, we can assume that the number of work-active (employed or self-employed) Roma really hasn't changed much in the period between the two censuses. There has been some decrease in the number of employed Roma due to the bankruptcy of several large companies in this period. Some of the Roma were unable to get or retain employment because they did not apply for Slovenian citizenship after the Slovenian independence (1991) and were consequently erased from the register of permanent inhabitants. On the other hand, in the mid 90s the government started some programs to help the Roma in gaining employment. These programs have not resulted in massive employment of the Roma, but some of the Roma nevertheless did get employed. Therefore we can assume that a slight decrease in the total number of the work-active Roma in the period from 1991 till 2002 might be realistic.

What is interested in the comparison between 1991 and 2002 census are the much higher number and percentage of the Roma, who declared themselves as unemployed in 2002. The reason for the big difference is not so much the increase in the real number of unemployed Roma in the period of 11 years, but it has much to do with the changed legislation on social assistance,¹⁵⁹ according to which a person has to be registered as unemployed at the Employment service to be entitled to state benefits.

¹⁵⁹ Act on the Changes and Supplements of the Social Care Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 26/01, p. 2767).

Graph No. 9: Comparison of the activity status among inhabitants, ethnically declared as Roma, in %, data for individual areas in Slovenia (Source: Statistical Office of the RS, Population Census, 2002)



The situation of the Roma is different in different areas in Slovenia, as has already been mentioned. From Graph No. 9 we can see that the percentage of unemployed is the highest among those Roma who live in Pomurje and in Dolenjska region.

Graph No. 10: Comparison of the activity status among inhabitants, ethnically declared as Roma, by gender, in % (Source: Statistical Office of the RS, Population Census, 2002)



The data from the 2002 census show that in general the differences in activity status along gender lines among the Roma are not big. Nevertheless we can notice that men are more often employed than women.

VII. 2.2 Measures of the government

Program of Measures for Assisting the Roma

On 30 November 1995 the Government of the Republic of Slovenia adopted the Program of Measures for Assisting the Roma. The program envisaged the following measures to help the Roma in the area of employment:

1. The Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs will:
 - financially stimulate various forms of unemployed Roma self-employment, including the refunding of social security contribution;
 - study the possibility to stimulate employers willing to employ Roma.
2. The Ministry will advise The Employment Service of Slovenia to:
 - accept and finance all registered public works programs which include Roma employment seekers, or are dedicated to the improvement of Roma groups living conditions;
 - develop special programs of training and employment preparation for the young Roma, willing to take jobs in construction business, communal infrastructure or farming,
 - instruct regional units and employment offices to dedicate special attention to seasonal jobs for Roma,
 - additionally train advisers for the work with Roma, as they require different motivation in vocational guidance, work training, and also more attention when already employed, etc.
3. The Ministry of the Economy will, in accordance with the Resolution on measures, conditions and procedures for the funding and promotion of development and establishing of small economy units, through the Fund of the RS for the promotion of small economy, support initiatives of Roma community members to develop manufacture, trade and service activities.

Program Equal Employment Opportunities for Roma – a joint challenge

In May 2000, the Ministry for Labour, Family, and Social Affairs adopted a program entitled 'Equal Employment Opportunities for Roma – a joint challenge' (hereafter, the 'Employment Program'). The Employment Program was based on a research project, 'Roma and Unemployment in Pomurje,' carried out by the Employment Service of the Republic of Slovenia in June 1995. The Ministry initially convened a group of experts to analyse the employment situation of Roma. The analysis showed that in the period from 1994 to 1995 only 13% of 1.396 Roma families had members who had secured paid employment. One of the conclusions of the analysis was that despite occasional educational and employment campaigns, employment among Roma was increasing only slowly. One of the reasons for that was their low level of education. For many Roma, State benefits were the primary source of income. Some of them managed to find (only) irregular employment. The State tried to encourage the employment of Roma by providing subsidies for employers, but this measure was not very successful. The employers were still reluctant to take on Roma employees, which was a symptom of the general tension and lack of understanding between Roma and the rest of the population. In drafting the Employment program, the Ministry also took into account studies suggesting that the ways in which Roma support themselves contribute to

negative perceptions held by majority society, and engender mistrust, conflicts, and the isolation of the Roma population.¹⁶⁰

As noted by the Open Society Institute, the strategy developed on the basis of these conclusions was more focused than the 1995 Program, but it only provided for short-term measures. Projects initiated under the Employment Program began in 2000, and the program was concluded in 2001.¹⁶¹ According to the Office for National Minorities the program, regardless of the number of Roma included, has more than twice exceeded the planned number of inclusions.¹⁶² The ERRC (European Roma Rights Centre) report from 2001, on the other hand, noted that

“The government’s Romany employment programs apparently have not been made widely known. Of the Roma and government officials interviewed by the ERRC throughout Slovenia, alarmingly few knew about the existence of the programs at all, and none stated that there had been any practical positive impact of the programs in their area. Criticism was mostly directed at the way in which the public works scheme is funded, as it reportedly offers payment only at the level of social aid, and therefore offers little incentive.”¹⁶³

In 2003, the regional units of the Employment Service of Slovenia prepared a special analysis of the situation in the field of Roma employment, based on the data on 1.650 registered unemployed Roma in the RS, which at the time was 72% of all registered unemployed Roma. The general picture showed that Roma in Slovenia were concentrated in several regions, mostly in Prekmurje and Dolenjska, thus representing also regional problems. According to the above mentioned analysis, the educational structure of Roma is really very low – in Dolenjska, 98,2% of unemployed Roma have not completed their primary school education, and in Prekmurje, 90%. The number of registered unemployed Roma is constantly growing. According to regional employment services, where unemployed Roma are registered, some employers do indeed have a negative attitude towards Roma. Despite this, the main reason for their high unemployment is their low education. In Dolenjska, only 1,5% have vocational training (II. degree education), and IV. degree only 0,3% of the registered unemployed Roma. With such a degree of education, possibilities for acquiring or preserving employment are relatively low.¹⁶⁴

Regional offices of the Employment Service of Slovenia ascertain that the majority of Roma aged over 15 is registered as employment seekers with the Service, even though many of them do not really search for a job. They register as unemployed merely because it is the condition without which they are not entitled to social financial aid.¹⁶⁵ This aid is the only source of income for most Roma families, apart from social transfers (parental aid, newborn aid, children aid, large family aid, etc.).¹⁶⁶ Income Roma (and other persons in similar

¹⁶⁰ ‘Minority protection in Slovenia’, Open Society Institute, 2002, pp. 595-597, http://www.eumap.org/reports/2002/minority/international/sections/slovenia/2002_m_slovenia.pdf.

¹⁶¹ ‘Minority protection in Slovenia’, Open Society Institute, 2002, pp. 595-597, http://www.eumap.org/reports/2002/minority/international/sections/slovenia/2002_m_slovenia.pdf.

¹⁶² Report on the situation of the Roma [Poročilo o položaju Romov], 2004: 30-31.

¹⁶³ Perić, Tatjana: Insufficient: Governmental programs for Roma in Slovenia. Field Report. <http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=1717>.

¹⁶⁴ Report on the situation of the Roma [Poročilo o položaju Romov], 2004: 29.

¹⁶⁵ In accordance with Article 24 of the Social Care Act [Zakon o socialnem varstvu] (Off. Gaz. No. 36/04 – official consolidated text).

¹⁶⁶ In accordance with Article 24 of the Social Care Act [Zakon o socialnem varstvu] (Off. Gaz. No. 36/04 – official consolidated text).

circumstances) receive from various forms of assistance is relatively high and does not encourage Roma to seek employment. In their research study, carried out for their graduation paper, two students of the College for Social Work in Ljubljana ascertained:

At the Employment Service office in Črnomelj, the following are registered as first employment seekers: 6 men, 10 women from the settlement Štiri roke. In three families and in one extra-marital community, both the man and the woman are registered, in one family only the man, and in five families only the woman. Registration of one of the spouses at the Employment Service is one of the conditions for the receiving of social aid. Roma from the above group are convinced that the Service will find it more difficult to offer adequate employment for the women, so men do not register with the Service« (Pavlič and Ličen Tesari 1996: 60).

Due to low education (93,2% of adult unemployed Roma have not completed primary school education) and consequently high illiteracy, Roma are not interesting for the labour market, but even if they are employed, they are generally paid less than the aid that they receive when unemployed. The share of unemployed Roma in the common unemployment number is growing within all communities where they are settled. Thus the first important step the state should make in order to help Roma is the motivation for education and employment (Regional Development Program of South-eastern Slovenia 2007-2013,¹⁶⁷ p. 5).

Strategies, aims and measures defined in the National action plan on social inclusion (2004-2006) in the field of employment

In 2004, special measures to help Roma with employment were included into the National action plan on social inclusion 2004-2006.

Objectives:

The objectives of the special employment policy/measures for Roma are not clearly set in the NAP. We can only draw them indirectly from the following text:

“The Roma fall within those groups of society with the highest risk of poverty and social exclusion, which is a consequence of unemployment and low education. In recent years the Roma have been increasingly included in various public works programs organised as part of the regional services of the Employment Service of Slovenia (ESS), which have the objective of raising the employment prospects of the Roma and reducing the number of unemployed Roma. A National Action Program for Employment and Social Inclusion of Roma is being drawn up, and this envisages a range of measures to improve the social inclusion and employment prospects of Roma, while also envisaging a re-deployment of appropriate financial means for the implementation of measures and achieving of objectives” (NAP/inclusion 2004-2006, p. 19).

The two mentioned objectives (1. raising the employment prospects of the Roma, and 2. reducing the number of unemployed Roma) are also listed in the first annual report on the implementation of the NAP (in chapter 2.4 *Help for most vulnerable*, p. 28), prepared by the responsible Ministries, so we shall regard them as the objectives set in the NAP/inclusion 2004-2006.

¹⁶⁷ <http://www.pc-nm.si/docs/RRP-CV%20skupen%20tekst%20-%202011.04.06.doc>

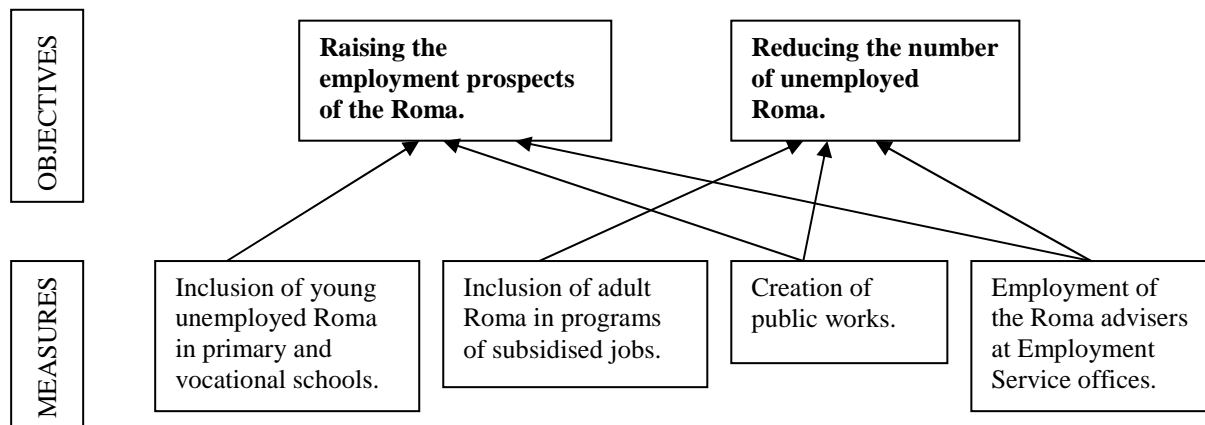
Special measures and priority tasks:

Among special measures and priority tasks to help the Roma in gaining employment, the NAP mentions the Action program for employment of the Roma 2003-2006, which has been harmonised with European Employment Strategy (EES). The program envisages the following measures:¹⁶⁸

- inclusion of young unemployed Roma in primary and vocational schools (gaining an education opens up greater employment prospects),
- inclusion of adult Roma in programs of subsidised jobs (in cooperation with Roma societies and local communities),
- creation of public works,¹⁶⁹
- employment of the Roma advisers at Employment service offices.

All the four measures are directed towards attaining the above-mentioned objectives.

Figure No. 3: Measures to achieve declared objectives of the Roma employment policy



Besides, the Roma are included into the general programs of the Active employment policy (AEP). Programs of active employment policy represent the fundamental instrument with which the state attempts to promote the inclusion of population in employment. In the National Action Plan on Social Inclusion 2004-2006, measures and priorities in the field of employment mostly relate to the Active employment policy.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ NAP/inclusion 2004-2006, p. 34.

¹⁶⁹ The NAP only mentions the creation of public works (for help in learning) to reduce the school drop-out rate, but there are also other public works programs for the Roma and we shall include all of them into our analysis.

¹⁷⁰ The first yearly report on the implementation of the National action plan on social inclusion 2004-2006, http://www.gov.si/mddsz/doc/managed/1078_19af9a5a4c77f4d8fb59e9d53141a355.pdf?PHPSESSID=80a9ee509378154e39f377eca63c1cfe.

Program of measures of the Active employment policy (AEP) for 2006

The AEP program for 2006 includes measures, the aim of which is faster and more efficient employment, decrease of unemployment, increase of possibilities for working – social integration, and prevention of unemployment traps, as well as the reducing of regional differences in the state. The fundamental objective of the AEP is to increase the employment prospects for disadvantaged persons (those hard to employ).¹⁷¹ In the year 2006, a special commission was formed for the preparation of the Roma Employment Program within the Program of Active Employment Policy measures for 2006.¹⁷²

Within the Program of Active Employment Policy measures for 2006, Roma are mentioned as a special target group of this policy, and are listed among the ‘less employable unemployed persons’ and ‘particularly vulnerable groups of unemployed persons’ (Program of measures of the AEP for 2006, Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 26/06, p. 2739). In accordance with the measures for 2006, Roma are among the groups that will have priority in the inclusion in education and training programs, public works and non-market employment programs (intended for non-profit employers, for the performing of social services and other activities that are in public interest) (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 26/06, p. 2739); Roma, as a special target group, are also mentioned with all other AEP measures (see Table No. 28, below).

The Employment Service of Slovenia estimates that about 2600 Roma are registered as unemployed. The number is an estimation, as with the registration and further evidence record, the stating of ethnical adherence is not obligatory; it is, however, stated by the advisor after the interview with the job seeker, if the advisor believes that this fact can be an obstacle in employment. In the Roma Employment Program for 2006, 820 new inclusions of Roma into the active employment policy are planned and 30 ‘exits’ in regular employments.¹⁷³

Alongside the existing AEP programs, plans are in hand for special programs for employment and social inclusion, which will respond to the needs of the disadvantaged persons.¹⁷⁴ A new National Action Program for Employment and Social Inclusion of Roma will be drawn up during the course of 2006.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ NAP/inclusion 2004-2006, p. 8.

¹⁷² Source: Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, May 31, 2006.

¹⁷³ Source: Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, May 31, 2006.

¹⁷⁴ NAP/inclusion 2004-2006, p. 33.

¹⁷⁵ ‘Follow-up report on Slovenia (2003-2005)’ - The report of the Council of Europe's Commissioner for human rights, March 29, 2006, p. 8,

<https://wcd.coe.int/com.instranet.InstraServlet?Command=com.instranet.CmdBlobGet&DocId=961660&SecMode=1&Admin=0&Usage=4&InstranetImage=92688>.

Table No. 28: Measures of the Active employment policy (AEP) for 2006

Code	Measure Activity/Sub-activity	No. of newly included	No. and % of women included	Value of the measure – TOTAL (in EUR)	Anticipated transitions to employment	Target groups
1.	Professional orientation and help with employment	861.500	473.800 or 55%	3.914.568 EUR	for activities 1.1 in 1.2 no monitoring is envisaged	- young - unemployed - employed - workers in the process of losing their job - Roma
	1.1 General advising and informing for the unemployed 1.2 Vocational orientation 1.3 Help in employment 1.4 Help in self-employment				3.300 or 30% of all included in activity 1.3. participants of activity 1.4. continue with activity 3.4.	
2.	Training and educating	48.700	26.780 or 55 %	36.524.869 EUR out of this 9.144.630 EUR from the integral part of the budget of the MLFSA,	9.500 or 20 %	- unemployed - participants in public works - workers in the process of losing their job - unemployed invalids - unemployed with decreased working abilities - unemployed with ascertained employment hindrance - employed - Roma - recipients of financial social aid
	2.1. Institutional training 2.2. Training on the job 2.3 Formal education 2.4 Project learning for young adults and Training for Success in Life 2.5 Work funds 2.6 National vocational qualifications 2.7 Co-financing of training and education of the employed 2.8 Training on the job and the integrated programs for invalids 2.9 Training in educational workshops and educational firms			20.584.983 EUR from ESF and MLFSA, 3.054.230 EUR from MES, 3.741.025 EUR from PHARE 2003		
3.	Employment stimulation	6.600	3.300 or 50 %	15.723.459 EUR out of this 9.138.039 EUR from the integral part of the MLFSA budget,	6.600 or 100% out of these: 3.700 employments 2.700 self-employments 200 preservations of working posts	- unemployed - workers in the process of losing their job - employers - Roma
	3.1 Preserving of working posts 3.2 Promoting new employments 3.3 Subsidies for self-employment 3.4 Refundation of employer's contributions 3.5 <i>compensation of a part of salary to invalids and less-employable persons</i> 3.6 Promoting new employments of the elderly			6.585.420 EUR from ESF and MLFSA		

Code	Measure Activity/Sub-activity	No. of newly included	No. and % of women included	Value of the measure – TOTAL (in EUR)	Anticipated transitions to employment	Target groups
4.	Direct creation of new working posts	5.500	3.300 or 60 %	26.542.483 EUR out of this 24.040.157 EUR from the integral part of the MLFSA budget, 2.502.326 EUR from ESF and MLFSA	5.300 employments through public works, 200 employments	- unemployed, priority to: - especially vulnerable groups of unemployed, - Roma - recipients of the financial compensation, financial aid and/or financial aid from the CSW, - long-term unemployed (more than 2 years) - unemployed who couldn't get employed despite their activities to find a job
	4.1 Local employment programs of public works 4.2 <i>Subsidizing employments in help at home, personal assistance and care for invalids – 'invalids to invalids program'</i> 4.3 Help in employments for long-term unemployed women 4.4 Project of non-profit employment programs					
5.	Experimental programs	500	300 or 60%	3.495.174 EUR out of this 555.093 EUR from the integral part of the MLFSA budget, 2.940.080,39 EUR from EQUAL		- vulnerable groups - Roma - employers - unemployed - wider public
	5.1 EQUAL 5.2 Advising for a successful presentation in the labour market 5.3 Promotion of the employment of the elderly					
	TOTAL	922.800	507.480 or 55%	86.200.555 EUR	16.700 regular employments, 5.300 employments through public works, 2.700 self-employments, 200 preservations of working posts	

Source: Program of measures of the active employment policy for 2006 (consolidated text), Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 26/06, pp. 2746-2747

*Implementation of measures for the promotion of Roma employment within the Program of active employment policy measures for 2006*¹⁷⁶

Measure 1: PROFESSIONAL ORIENTATION AND HELP WITH EMPLOYMENT

Planned number of Roma included: 350, mainly within the activity 'Professional orientation' and 'Help with employment'. Information and motivation seminars will be carried out.

Realized number of new inclusions in the period January - May 2006: 180 Roma.

On the measure in general:

Priority goes to activities for the prevention of transition to long-term unemployment. To this purpose, intensity of the aid to individuals in the search of employment will increase, as will informing on professional possibilities and improvement of employment opportunities in the labour market, together with unemployment monitoring. Informing and basic counselling is offered to all unemployed and surplus workers in order to encourage an active approach to the search of (new) employment. In-depth counselling is offered to persons facing various difficulties on labour market, and help with employment is made accessible to those who, despite their own activities and activities of the Employment Service of Slovenia (ESS), have not succeeded in finding a job. Special attention will be dedicated to the encouraging of active employment search, even while unemployed persons are included in other activities of the active employment policy measures.

Measure 2: TRAINING AND EDUCATING

Planned number of Roma included: 170, mostly in the 105-hour training for employment seeking and inclusion into the training for the acquiring of national professional qualification (e. g. 'Roma mentor'), and into formal education.

Realized number of new inclusions in the period January - May 2006: 81 Roma. In the schoolyear 2005/06, 255 Roma are included into the formal education system to obtain primary school education.

On the measure in general:

The increase of training or education level of the employed and the unemployed, in order to make them reach a higher level in the labour market competition. Within this measure, programs of training and on-the-job training for deficitary professions will be carried out, thus enabling the candidates to obtain practical experience at their working post. This kind of target training signifies faster reacting in labour market. Activities performed within this measure will, where relevant, link to instruments of competition and innovation of the Ministry of the Economy.

¹⁷⁶ Most of the data in this chapter have been provided by the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs (May 31, 2006) and the Employment Service of Slovenia. If other sources were used, they are cited in the footnotes.

Within the measure, the PHARE project *Improvement of Computer Literacy of the Unemployed* SI 0309.02 is also carried out, which in 2006 included 9 Roma (integrated in the above shown realization of new inclusions in the period January - May 2006) (81 Roma).

Measure 3: EMPLOYMENT STIMULATION

Planned number of Roma included: 30.

Realized number of new inclusions in the period January - May 2006: 2 Roma. One person was self-employed (as independent individual entrepreneur). One person was employed within the framework of activities for stimulation of giving jobs to less employable persons.

On the measure in general:

Co-financing of employment of less employable persons, stimulation of self-employment and employment preservation. Programs within the measure are mostly state aid, and are carried out in accordance with the rules on granting state aid. Employment stimulations will, where relevant, link to instruments of competition and innovation of the Ministry of the Economy, and enable initiatives' synergies.

Measure 4: DIRECT CREATION OF NEW WORKING POSTS

Planned number of Roma included: 150

Realized number of new inclusions in the period January - May 2006: 110, mostly within the program of public works.¹⁷⁷ 27 Roma are included in local public works programs, and 81 in national programs of public works. Within the Project of non-market employment programs, co-financed by the European Social Fund, 2 Roma were employed (with the aid of employment grant¹⁷⁸) with non-profit employers.

¹⁷⁷ Public works are local or national employment programs, whose aim is to preserve or develop working abilities of the unemployed persons, to increase the integration of the unemployed persons into the working and social processes, and to develop new working posts. Public works are organized in order to carry out social-security, educational, cultural, communal, agricultural and other programs (Local Employment Programs – Public Works 2006 [Lokalni zaposlitveni programi – javna dela za leto 2006], p. 3, [http://193.2.236.95/dato3.nsf/OC/0511020825433/\\$file/dato3_javna_dela06_50a.pdf](http://193.2.236.95/dato3.nsf/OC/0511020825433/$file/dato3_javna_dela06_50a.pdf)).

Until 2006 the unemployed could be included in the public works programs for 30 hours a week (as a rule). This rule has been changed in 2006 and now the unemployed are included in the public works for 40 hours a week. A person can work in a public works program for a year at the most, the only exception being women above 53 years of age and men above 55 years of age – they can get an extension until they reach the required retirement age in case they cannot be provided with another suitable employment (»The implementation of the public works in 2005 and a public call for applications for 2006« [Izvajanje javnih del v letu 2005 in javni razpis za l. 2006]«, Employment Service of Slovenia, <http://www.ess.gov.si/slo/dejavnost/novinarskekonference/ostrbovlje/24-11-05-2.htm>).

The program 'Local employment programs – public works for 2006', that has been adopted by the government on 28 October 2005, is aimed at including the unemployed into the social and working processes, at rising their level of knowledge and qualifications, at promoting transitions to regular employments and the development of new working posts in the local communities. The Roma belong among the specially vulnerable target groups of the unemployed persons who can be included in this program (Local Employment Programs – Public Works 2006 [Lokalni zaposlitveni programi – javna dela za leto 2006]

[http://193.2.236.95/dato3.nsf/OC/0511020825433/\\$file/dato3_javna_dela06_50a.pdf](http://193.2.236.95/dato3.nsf/OC/0511020825433/$file/dato3_javna_dela06_50a.pdf)).

On the measure in general:

Help in employing groups of less employable persons by means of grants for employment with non-profit employers, especially in activities carried out in public interest, which can lead to the broadening of the social service network, or development of new services. Within the program Local employment programs – public works, a special quota of financial means exists for particularly vulnerable groups of the unemployed, among which Roma belong.

Measure 5: EXPERIMENTAL PROGRAMS

Planned number of Roma included: 120

Realized number of new inclusions in the period January - May 2006: 25

On the measure in general:

By means of pilot projects, new solutions will be sought for the inclusion of target groups in the labour market. Within this measure, EQUAL Community Initiatives are also performed. The Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs co-finances 2 Development Partnerships, the activities of which are dedicated to members of Roma community in the RS. These are the Development Partnerships Roma Employment Centre,¹⁷⁹ coordinated by the Municipality of Škocjan, and the Roma Education and

¹⁷⁸ In 2004 the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs managed to include in the Social Security Act a provision on subsidies for the employers, who employ a person less employable. The last changes of the Social Security Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 2/04) envisage a special measure of promoting the employment of those persons who are entitled to the social financial aid (Article 36a). According to this provision an employer, who employs for an indefinite period a long-term unemployed person, who has been receiving social financial aid for at least 24 months in the last three years, is entitled to a subsidy for the employment of this person in accordance with the provisions on employment and unemployment insurance and in accordance with the active employment policy. The subsidy is provided by the state, partially from the budget for social financial aid and partially from the budget for the promotion of employments. The implementation of this measure should at least partially soften the problem of unemployment among the Roma and also among other recipients of social financial aid. (Notes from the conference on 'The problems of economic and social integration of Roma in Slovenia' [Zapis posveta Problematika ekonomsko-socialne integracije Romov v Sloveniji], Ljubljana, July 1, 2004, http://www.ds-rs.si/dejavnost/posveti/posvet_01072004/ZapisPosveta.pdf).

¹⁷⁹ There are 27 institutions participating in the Development Partnership (DP) 'Roma Employment Centre'. In the past each local community used to deal with the Roma problems on its own. In the DP Roma Employment Centre they united their strengths on a regional level. Their endeavours are aimed at improving the position of the Roma in the labour market. The project is focused mostly on the regions of South-Eastern Slovenia, Posavje and Central Slovenia, where the Roma community lives. The main purpose of the DP Roma Employment Centre is to establish a public institution "Roma Employment Centre". The Centre will provide services for the potential companies looking for Roma workers, for the companies that already employ Roma workers as well for the Roma who are seeking employment. Within the project participants will pay attention to the existing ways and measures for inclusion of the Roma in education, training and employment. On the basis of positive experiences and good-practice cases they will co-operate in creating a positive atmosphere for a better inclusion of the Roma into the processes of education and work. They will develop programs for motivation, training and education of the Roma and they will carry out activities among the employers to motivate them to employ Roma workers. The activities of the project will mostly be aimed at:

- preparing a proposal of a strategy for education and employment of the Roma,
- preparing a list of occupations and suitable jobs for the Roma,
- informing the Roma about educational, training and employment possibilities,

Information Centre,¹⁸⁰ coordinated by Regional Development Agency Mura Ltd. The Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs estimates that 100 Roma will be included. The projects are co-financed from the EU means (75%) and from the national means (25%). They will be concluded on October 28, 2007.¹⁸¹

-
- creating programs of additional training for persons, who are working with the Roma (educators, advisors, employers),
 - motivating employers and assessing their needs for employing the Roma,
 - establishing the Roma employment Centre,
 - establishing the data base that would include data on the Roma job-seekers as well as data on the potential employers,
 - exchanging experience, information and good-practice cases (also transnational),
 - preparing proposals (motions) for the changes and supplements of the labour legislation. (Source: <http://www.ric-nm.si/pro-equal.asp>).

¹⁸⁰ The purpose of the Development Partnership 'Roma Education and Information Centre' is to establish the institution of a Roma assistant that would help Roma with their integration and especially with education and employment. The general objective of the project is to improve the overall situation of the Roma (education, employment, self-image). Specific objectives are to establish the occupational qualification of a 'Roma assistant' and to ensure the work of Roma assistants in the Roma Education and Information Centre. Expected results:

- establishment of a national occupational standard for the occupation 'Roma assistant';
- education of the first generation of 'Roma assistants';
- to start the work of Roma assistants and to test the implementation of their tasks;
- to evaluate the implementation of the tasks of Roma assistants;
- to establish the Roma Education and Information Centre, respectively the legislation that defines its activity (Source: http://www.rra.mura.si/sl/informacija.asp?id_meta_type=8&id_informacija=97).

¹⁸¹ Opinion of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia on the Council of Europe's Commissioner for Human Rights Follow-up Report on Slovenia (2003-2005) [Mnenje na poročilo komisarja za človekove pravice Sveta Evrope o napredku Slovenije pri izvajanju njegovih priporočil (2003-2005)], p. 6, http://www.mzz.gov.si/fileadmin/pageuploads/Zunanja_politika/gil_robles_-_Internet_link.pdf.

Table No. 29: Amounts allocated from the State budget for the EQUAL Community Initiative (in EUR)

EQUAL Community Initiative	2005	2006 (plan)	2007 (plan)
1st DP* - Roma Employment Centre	10.848	149.234	127.346
2nd DP* - Roma Education and Information Centre	14.279	121.105	103.343
Total	25.127	270.339	230.689

* DP – Development Partnership

In 2006 25 Roma were included in the Program PHARE 2003 of Training for Success in Life within the project ‘Vocational Informing and Advising for Roma.’¹⁸²

Some of the employees of the Employment Service offices, Social Work Centres and some educational institutions for adults have pointed out a few problems with the implementation of the measures of the AEP. Different measures of the AEP are mutually incompatible, meaning that if a person is included into one of the measures, he/she cannot at the same time be included in another one. For example, if a Roma attends a primary school educational program for adults, he/she cannot at the same time be included in the public works (or any other) program of the AEP. There were suggestions that in the case of Roma there should be some exceptions to this rule, since – considering the extremely low educational structure of the Roma population - it is very important that as many (adult) Roma as possible attend and finish at least the primary school, yet at the same time they should not be prevented from doing a job within a public works program if they so desire. The problem is that there are not many suitable Roma candidates for certain public works programs. For this reason the opportunity should be seized when an appropriate candidate that is willing to work comes along.

To include more Roma in the programs of the AEP it would also be recommendable to introduce more flexibility regarding the time periods in which a certain program has to be carried out. It happens, for example, that in a certain moment there are financial means available for a specific public works program, but there are no appropriate Roma candidates to be included in this program, while in a few months there could be appropriate Roma candidates but no program of public works available. For this reason it would be in the interest of the Roma as well as in the interest of the state and local

¹⁸² Within the project *Vocational Informing and Advising for Roma* a research study that included around 800 Roma aged between 15 and 45 has been carried out in the region of Dolenjska, Bela krajina, Posavje, Kočevje and Grosuplje. The main goal of the research was to determine the educational and vocational interests of the Roma. The assumption was that the members of the Roma community on average have low level of education, low motivation to educate or become employed, the majority is illiterate or functionally illiterate and all this is linked to unemployment and their limited access to information about the possibilities of education and employment. The results of the research showed that 13% of the interviewees never attended school, 76% attended primary school yet almost a third of them had not even finished a class. 30% finished up to 4 classes of primary school while only 16% finished primary school. The research also showed that almost 91% of Roma people in the region were unemployed: 55% of the interviewees have never been employed, almost 37% were employed for a short period, and only 8% are still working. 60% of the interviewees do not seek employment, which confirms the findings regarding the satisfaction with the present situation – 59% of the interviewees claim to be satisfied with the present situation (See ‘Presentation of the PISR project – Summary’ in Žagar and Klopčič 2006: 89-101).

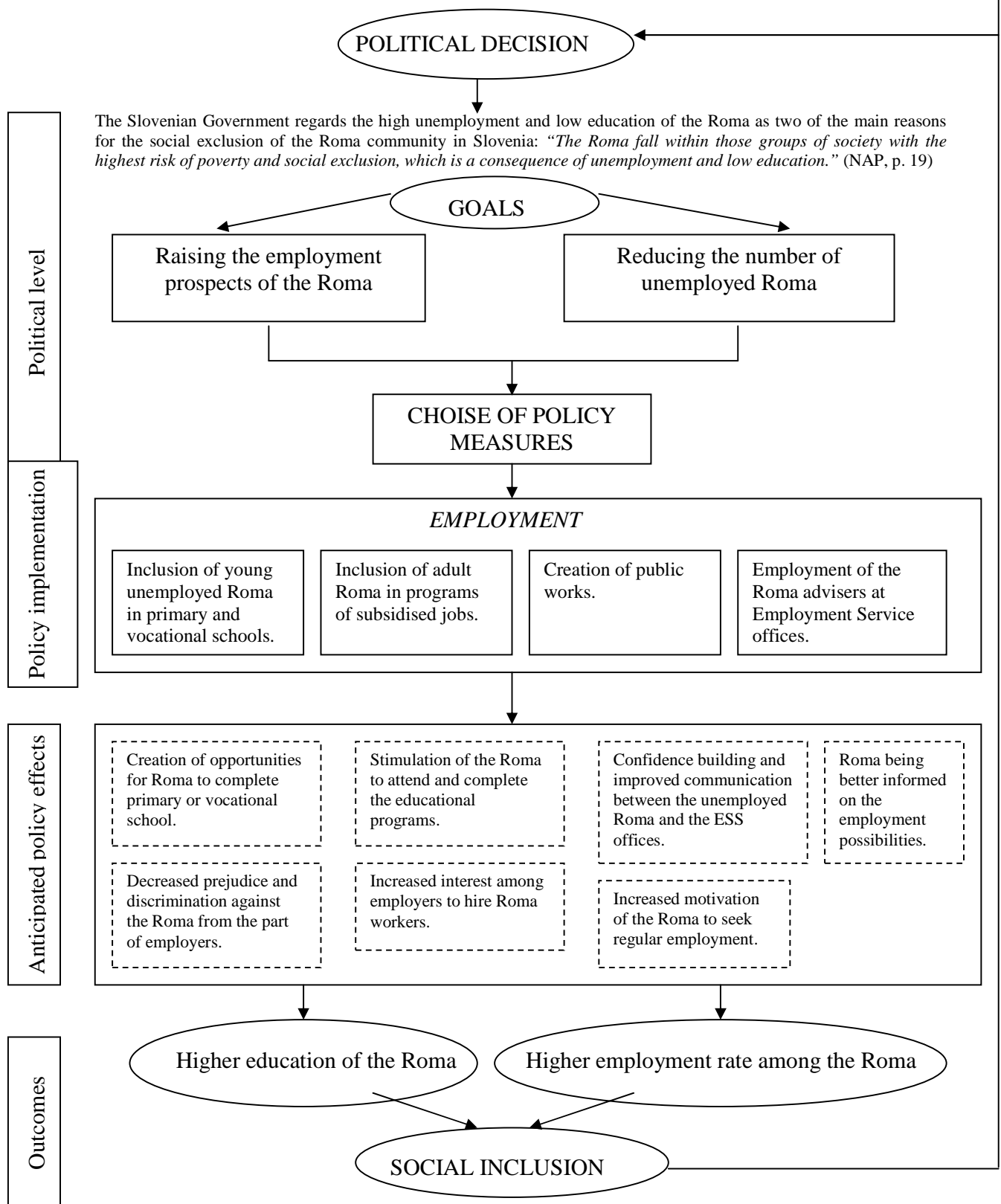
communities to adapt the existing system of financing and implementing the approved programs of the AEP to the existing situations, needs and capabilities.

Unemployed Roma integrated into the AEP in 2006 (Source: Employment Service of Slovenia)		
MEASURE/activity/sub-activity of the AEP	Period: January - May 2006	
	plan	realisation
MEASURE 1	350	
1.1.1 Information and motivation seminars for Roma		152
1.2.2 Vocational orientation before the inclusion in the AEP		2
1.3.1 Help in planning of one's vocational course and help in looking for employment		0
1.3.2 Employment search club		0
1.3.3 Working test		0
1.3.4 Health employment counselling		26
1.4 Help with self-employment		0
MEASURE 2	170	
2.1.1 Institutional training (4x special programs for Roma)		14
2.1.2 Improvement of the computer literacy - Phare 03		9
2.2 Training on the job		33
2.2 10000+ - primary school		255*
2.2 10000+ - other programs		17
2.6 National vocational qualifications		3
2.9 Training in educational workshops and educational firms		5
MEASURE 3	30	
3.2 Promoting of new employments of less-employable persons		0
3.3 Subsidies for self-employment		1
MEASURE 4	150	
4.1 Public works – local programs		27
4.1 Public works – national programs		81
MEASURE 5		
5.1 EQUAL Roma Employment Centre	100	0
Phare 03 UŽU ZIK Vocational Informing and Advising for Roma	20	25
TOTAL AEP	820	395
Regular employment	30	4
Number of Roma in the register of the unemployed persons		2606

* included in schoolyear 2005/2006

VII. 2.3 Model of the employment policy for the Roma

FIGURE NO. 4: MODEL OF THE EMPLOYMENT POLICY FOR ROMA



In Figure No. 4 we sketched a model that represents the NAP's employment policy for the Roma.¹⁸³ The governmental decision to introduce special measures to help the Roma in the sphere of employment stems from the presumption that the high risks of poverty and social exclusion, which Roma are facing in Slovenia, are a consequence of their unemployment and low education (NAP, p. 19). The government therefore set two goals, the implementation of which should produce effects that would favourably influence the educational structure of the Roma community (and consequently raise their employment prospects) as well as directly raise the number of employed Roma. The four measures and priority tasks, defined in NAP to help the Roma in the sphere of employment, are consistent with the set goals and we can reasonably expect that their implementation should contribute to the improved position of the Roma in the labour market (better employment prospects and lower unemployment) and consequently improve their social inclusion. At the same time we should be aware that the proposed measures are only a part of the puzzle and they should be harmonized with other measures (also in other spheres of social life) to achieve long-lasting results.

In the next chapter we will analyse and evaluate the implementation of the four measures defined in NAP to help Roma in gaining employment.

VII. 2.4 Evaluation of the measures defined in NAP on inclusion 2004-2006, to improve the participation of the Roma in labour market

The choice of indicators in this chapter is conditioned by measures, anticipated in the National Action Plan on social inclusion 2004-2006 in order to help Roma with their employment. Data concerning individual indicators were obtained from the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, from the Employment Service of Slovenia, from various official reports, newspapers and through focus groups. Unfortunately, many data relevant for an all-comprising analysis and evaluation of the anticipated measures' effectiveness are inaccessible. There are several reasons for this. In some cases, data are not even gathered, in others they are not collected according to ethnic adherence, or are not collected continuously. Sometimes only partial data for certain regions, municipalities or local programs are available.

¹⁸³ The structure of the model was inspired by Grin's 'policy-to-outcome-path' model, published in Grin and Moring (2002: 79).

Measure 1: Inclusion of young unemployed Roma in primary and vocational schools (gaining an education opens up greater employment prospects)

Outputs indicators:

- a. *Number of the Roma participants in general and target programs for completing education and acquiring qualifications, organized by Employment Service.*
- b. *Percentage of the Roma, who successfully finish the programs.*

Outcome indicator:

- c. *Number/percentage of adult Roma, who found a job after successfully finishing primary school or vocational program for adults.*

Add a) Number of the Roma participants in general and target programs for completing education and acquiring qualifications, organized by Employment Service

As we have seen in the previous chapters, the education structure of the Roma in Slovenia is extremely bad. Most of them have not even finished primary school. This limits their chances of finding a regular job and it also limits the chances of their children to regularly attend the school and successfully finish it. Therefore it is in the interest of the state to stimulate the adult Roma to enrol in the programs of education for adults. Education is probably one of the basic preconditions for eventually breaking the vicious circle of ignorance and poverty that are pushing the Roma to the margins of the Slovene society.

In the years 2001, 2002 and 2003, the number of Roma participating in the primary school and vocation schools programs greatly increased. The data for 2002/03 indicate that at least 220 adult Roma altogether were incorporated into education programs (55 in Murska Sobota, 130 in Novo mesto, 22 in Ljubljana and 4 in Sevnica¹⁸⁴). Roma in Maribor were also incorporated in the program.¹⁸⁵

In the territory covered by the regional office of the Employment Service in Murska Sobota, in 2004, 116 Roma were incorporated into education programs (the total number of those participating in primary school education was 121). Most of them attended the program of primary school for adults, where they attended classes from the 5th to the 8th or 9th grades. 16 Roma were participating in the vocational education programs.¹⁸⁶ With the schoolyear 2003/2004, in the territory of Murska Sobota a new group was formed, the Project Learning for Young Adults. 21 unemployed persons were incorporated, 14 of

¹⁸⁴ Employment Service of Slovenia, Regional Office Sevnica, July 21, 2006.

¹⁸⁵ Report on the situation of the Roma [Poročilo o položaju Romov], 2004: 30.

¹⁸⁶ Employment Service of Slovenia, Regional Office Murska Sobota: Annual Report 2004, p. 32 (<http://www.ess.gov.si/slo/Predstavitev/LetnaPorocila/lp04/LP2004MS.pdf>), (May 20, 2006).

them women. There were 9 Roma in the group. Till the end of 2004, 6 participants concluded the program. The program was financed by the European structural fund.¹⁸⁷

In the territory covered by the regional office of the Employment Service in Sevnica, in the school year 2002/03, 4 Roma enrolled in the primary school education program, but they all dropped out in less than a month. One Roma girl started attending the program for hairdressers (she successfully finished it in 2004), and one Roma girl attended the program for pre-school education (she successfully finished in 2006). In the schoolyear 2003/04, 8 Roma enrolled in the primary school education program, but they never started the program because they refused to sign a contract. Two Roma have been attending the program of primary school for adults since the schoolyear 2004/2005 (they have not finished yet). In the schoolyear 2005/06 there were no new enrolments.¹⁸⁸

In the territory of the regional office of Employment Service of Novo mesto, in the school year 2004/05, 87 persons attended the primary school for adults program. Most of them were Roma.¹⁸⁹ Among the persons incorporated in the program of formal education in 2005/06, 89 (36%) were in programs of general education. Roma prevail, they attend classes of literacy (1st to 4th grade) and up to the 9th grade.¹⁹⁰

In the school year 2005/06, 255 Roma all over Slovenia were incorporated in formal education programs to obtain primary school education.¹⁹¹

According to Nada Žagar,¹⁹² education of adult Roma is a specific activity, differing largely from other educational fields. It is characterized by non-homogenous structure of participants. The programs of the Institute for Education and Culture in Črnomelj – one of the institutions in charge of adult Roma education - are attended by persons aged from 16 to 50 and over, and of different pre-education. Among them some are without any formal education (illiterate), some with unfinished primary school (functionally illiterate) and rare individuals with completed primary or vocational school. They differ greatly with regard to their psycho-social characteristics. Those participating voluntarily are motivated, while those, encouraged by the Centre for Social Work or Employment Service, regard this as a burden, forced upon them (Žagar 2003: 229).

One of the problems with educating adult Roma is in the fact that the financing of educational programs lacks systematic regulation, which means there are no permanently guaranteed means for the preparation and implementation of programs and projects. The institutions implementing these programs thus depend upon public invitations for tenders and the political will of local authorities. Such a system does not guarantee continuity in adult education, which is a precondition of efficiency. Experience shows that occasional

¹⁸⁷ Employment Service of Slovenia, Regional Office Murska Sobota: Annual Report 2004, p. 36 (<http://www.ess.gov.si/slo/Predstavitev/LetnaPorocila/lp04/LP2004MS.pdf>), (May 20, 2006).

¹⁸⁸ Employment Service of Slovenia, Regional Office Sevnica, July 21, 2006.

¹⁸⁹ Employment Service of Slovenia, Regional Office Novo mesto: Annual Report 2005, p. 25 (<http://www.ess.gov.si/slo/Predstavitev/LetnaPorocila/lp05/LP2005NM.pdf>), (May 20, 2006).

¹⁹⁰ Employment Service of Slovenia, Regional Office Novo mesto: Annual Report 2005, p. 30 (<http://www.ess.gov.si/slo/Predstavitev/LetnaPorocila/lp05/LP2005NM.pdf>), (May 20, 2006).

¹⁹¹ Source: Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, May 31, 2006.

¹⁹² Manager of the Centre for Education and Culture in Črnomelj (*Zavod za izobraževanje in kulturo – ZIK Črnomelj*).

interruptions of educational projects lead to regression and resistance of the Roma community members, who are not acquainted with these circumstances (Žagar 2003: 230).

Add b) Percentage of the Roma, who successfully finish the programs

Percentage of Roma who successfully complete primary school for adults or vocational education programs differs from region to region. In Prekmurje, about 80% of them are successful, in Dolenjska 50%.¹⁹³

Add c) Number/percentage of adult Roma, who found a job after successfully finishing primary school or vocational program for adults

Despite the fact that the number of adult Roma, participating in primary and vocational school programs, is increasing, experience shows that it is very hard for them to get a job after completing their education. All regional offices of the Employment Service report that employers prefer other candidates (if available) to Roma (Miletič 2004).

In 2003, Development and Educational Centre (RIC) and the Regional Office of the Employment Service in Novo mesto managed to help five Roma, who finished primary school educational program for adults, to get employed in Revoz (Klopčič 2004: 32). Nine Roma, who finished the primary school program in 2005, also got employed in Revoz (Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, May 31, 2006). In the territory covered by the Employment Service in Sevnica, two Roma women were employed immediately after they finished their educational program – one attended the program for hairdressers (she started in 2002, finished in 2004) and one attended the program for pre-school education (she started in 2002, finished in 2006).¹⁹⁴

In the First Annual Report on the implementation of NAP/Inclusion 2004-2006, an opinion of trade unions is expressed that »the Employment Service of Slovenia still fails to offer adequate help to employment seekers, and does not perform its task sufficiently. Education programs are all too often self-sufficient and dedicated to the survival of consulting companies, rather than achieving concrete aims of education for very concrete needs. Hence the appraisal that despite ten thousand persons, incorporated into education programs, results – concrete employments resulting from education and training, are not satisfactory.«¹⁹⁵

From the point of view of complete integration of Roma population into wider society, the very acquiring of a certain education is a progress, even though it does not bring immediate employment. Parents with finished primary school find it easier to help their children with schoolwork, thus contributing to the fact that at least future generations of Roma will have a better starting position in the incorporation into labour market. On the

193 Source: Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, May 31, 2006.

194 Employment Service of Slovenia, Regional Office Sevnica, July 21, 2007.

195 The first yearly report on the implementation of the National action plan on social inclusion 2004-2006 [Prvo letno poročilo o izvajanju Nacionalnega akcijskega načrta o socialnem vključevanju 2004-2006], p. 9,

http://www.gov.si/mdds/managed/1078_19af9a5a4c77f4d8fb59e9d53141a355.pdf?PHPSESSID=80a9ee509378154e39f377eca63c1cfe.

other hand, a situation where unemployed Roma complete an educational program but still fail to get a job, leads these to a conclusion that education does not matter, as they cannot get work due to the fact they are Roma. Many efforts should be put into prevention and elimination of prejudice of the majority society (employers in particular) against Roma workers, as well as into elimination of ethnic discrimination in employment.

Measure 2: Inclusion of adult Roma in programs of subsidized jobs (in cooperation with Roma societies and local communities)

Output indicator:

- a. *Number of the Roma included in the programs of subsidized jobs*

Outcome indicator:

- b. *Number of the Roma, who retained their job, acquired through the program of subsidized jobs, for a longer period of time.*

Add a) Number of the Roma included in the programs of subsidized jobs

In the year 2006, four Roma were employed in a subsidized job, one was self-employed as an entrepreneur, while one was employed through the job-searching program for less employable persons. Within »the Projects of non-market employment programs«, co-financed by the European social fund, two Roma found jobs on the basis of a subsidized job with non-profit employers. Efficiency of co-financed jobs is supervised over a longer time period after the actual start of employment (e. g. two years after).¹⁹⁶

These numbers could lead to estimation that the measure of subsidized jobs is not very efficient, as there was no major interest or readiness for employing Roma amongst employers. On the other hand, with regard to the extremely low share of employed Roma in Slovenia, every change for the better is welcome. One has to be aware that in the present situation it is unrealistic to expect changes to occur overnight.

Subsidized employment of Roma can be ambivalent – as there were cases when employers received financial means for a subsidized job, but Roma were told not to come to work.¹⁹⁷

Add b) Number of the Roma, who retained their job, acquired through the program of subsidized jobs, for a longer period of time

The efficiency of the subsidized employments in terms of providing a long(er)-term employment for a person can only be evaluated after a certain period of time (e. g. a couple of years). Since the few subsidized employments that we mentioned above have only been realised in 2006, we can't provide any assessment of their long-term effects.

¹⁹⁶ Source: Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, May 31, 2006.

¹⁹⁷ Miletić (MLFSA). Notes from the conference on 'The problems of economic and social integration of Roma in Slovenia' [Zapis posveta Problematika ekonomsko-socialne integracije Romov v Sloveniji], Ljubljana, July 1, 2004, http://www.ds-rs.si/dejavnost/posveti/posvet_01072004/ZapisPosveta.pdf.

Measure 3: Creation of public works

The purpose of the public works program is to preserve or develop working abilities of the unemployed persons, to increase the integration of the unemployed persons into the working and social processes, and to develop new working posts. Taking all these aims into account, it is difficult to assess the effectiveness of the public works programs, since there is much more than numbers (objective data) that matters. There are data available on the amounts of money spent for the public works programs and also on the numbers of participants. But these data tell us little more than how many people have been taken off the social welfare (for a year at most). We would need complex (subjective) indicators to measure whether inclusion of an unemployed person in the program of public works has helped him/her to retain or (re)gain his/her motivation to work, whether it has helped him/her to develop new skills, whether it has opened up his/her possibilities to find a regular job, etc. Unfortunately we do not have data to answer these questions. We can only present numbers of created public works, numbers of the Roma included in the programs of public works, and some examples and statements of a few individuals about their experiences with the program.

Outputs indicators:

- a) number of the programs of public works intended for the Roma
- b) number of the Roma included in the programs of public works
- c) number of created public works for help in learning to reduce the school drop-out rate among the Roma

Outcomes indicators:

- d) motivation of the unemployed Roma to be included in the programs of public works
- e) number of new jobs developed from, or in connection with, the program of public works
- f) reduction of the school drop-out rate among the Roma who received help in learning from the persons included in the public works

Add a and b) Number of the programs of public works intended for the Roma; and number of the Roma included in the programs of public works

According to the Employment Service of Slovenia data, national and local programs of public works were in 2003 carried out in the following regional offices: Sevnica, Novo mesto, Murska Sobota and Ljubljana. There were 20 local programs which incorporated 88 unemployed persons, among them 34 unemployed Roma, which is 39% of all persons, included in public works programs, dedicated to Roma.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁸ Notes from the conference on 'The problems of economic and social integration of Roma in Slovenia' [Zapis posveta Problematika ekonomsko-socialne integracije Romov v Sloveniji], Ljubljana, July 1, 2004, http://www.ds-rs.si/dejavnost/posveti/posvet_01072004/ZapisPosveta.pdf.

In 2004 there were 37 local public works programs, dedicated to Roma. They took place in the above-mentioned offices of the Employment Service and included 144 unemployed persons, 108 of who were Roma (75% of all participants).¹⁹⁹

In 2005 there were 36 public works programs, dedicated to Roma, including 111 unemployed persons, among them 77 Roma (69% of all participants). Local programs took place in the regional offices of the Employment Service in Novo mesto, Sevnica, Maribor and Murska Sobota. A national program of public works »Socialization and integration of Roma into local communities«, including 7 unemployed persons, was also carried out.²⁰⁰ The commissioner of this program was the Employment Service of Slovenia, and it was carried out by Social Work Centres: Krško, Brežice, Metlika, Trebnje, Grosuplje, Ribnica and Kočevje. The program was intended for Roma population, which to a large degree is socially excluded, having a low educational structure and a high degree of unemployment. Every Centre employed one public worker with V. to VII. degree of education, according to the available resources from the unemployed persons register. The so far experience shows that this program is an upgrading to the regular activity of the centre. Roma reacted favourably to it, and communication between Roma and the local community has improved.²⁰¹

In 2005 the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs allocated 397.339 EUR for the Public works programs for the Roma (there are also non-Roma included in this programs). Out of this total amount 46.721 EUR were spent on the National Program of Public Works 'Socialisation and Integration of the Roma in the Local Community' (7 unemployed included), and 350.617 EUR were spent on the local programs of public works for the Roma.

Add c) Number of created public works for help in learning to reduce the school drop-out rate among the Roma

Until 2005 public works programs as a help to Roma pupils were carried out as local programs (17), in 2006, however, as a common national program (Socialization of Roma children), approved for 33 persons.²⁰²

As already mentioned in chapter VII. 1.5 of this report, the Pomurje Institute of Education and Research in 2005, with financial aid from the Employment Service,

¹⁹⁹ The first yearly report on the implementation of the National action plan on social inclusion 2004-2006 [Prvo letno poročilo o izvajanju Nacionalnega akcijskega načrta o socialnem vključevanju 2004-2006], p. 29,

http://www.gov.si/mddsz/doc/managed/1078_19af9a5a4c77f4d8fb59e9d53141a355.pdf?PHPSESSID=80a9ee509378154e39f377eca63c1cfe.

²⁰⁰ Opinion of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia on the Council of Europe's Commissioner for Human Rights Follow-up Report on Slovenia (2003-2005) [Mnenje na poročilo komisarja za človekove pravice Sveta Evrope o napredku Slovenije pri izvajanju njegovih priporočil (2003-2005)], p. 6, http://www.mzz.gov.si/fileadmin/pageuploads/Zunanja_politika/gil_robles_-_Internet_link.pdf.

²⁰¹ The first yearly report on the implementation of the National action plan on social inclusion 2004-2006 [Prvo letno poročilo o izvajanju Nacionalnega akcijskega načrta o socialnem vključevanju 2004-2006], p. 29,

http://www.gov.si/mddsz/doc/managed/1078_19af9a5a4c77f4d8fb59e9d53141a355.pdf?PHPSESSID=80a9ee509378154e39f377eca63c1cfe.

²⁰² Source: Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, May 31, 2006.

educated Roma assistants in a one-year experimental educational program. Thus from the mid-November of 2005, through the national public works program, 15 Roma have been employed as Roma assistants (mentors) in primary schools, kindergartens, students' hostel and in the Educational Institute of Veržej. Their work is financed by Ministry of Labour.

In the region of Dolenjska no educational program for Roma assistants has been carried out yet. The problem there is that there are not enough Roma who could meet the condition of finished primary school, let alone the condition of finished vocational or secondary school, to be able to get included in the educational program for Roma assistants. Nevertheless a few Roma co-ordinators work in kindergartens. The Roma co-ordinators were trained in a pilot program that has been developed and carried out in the region of Dolenjska. The program lasted 32 hours and took place in Črnomelj, Novo mesto, Kočevje, Krško and Trebnje in the beginning of 2006. There were 34 participants, 30 of whom successfully finished the training and were given a certificate. Finished primary school was a 'desired' condition for participation in the program, but most of the participants (23) did not meet this condition.²⁰³

One of the positive results of the creation of public works for help in learning has been the preparation of a vocational standard for Roma assistant. When and if the standard is approved and the job of a Roma assistant is included in the Occupation Core, the Roma will be able to find regular employment as Roma assistants in different institutions (schools, kindergartens, etc.). A vocational standard is being prepared also for Roma co-ordinators. Roma co-ordinators are not supposed to work in schools and kindergartens, but to help in the education of adults as well as in other areas of contacts and communication between the Roma and the state institutions.

Add d) Motivation of the unemployed Roma to be included in the programs of public works

As early as 1996 Pavlič and Ličen Tesari ascertained that the public works program for Roma is not stimulating as it is not financially profitable:

»Legal change in the relation between social financial aid and salary for the participants of public works will be necessary. Based on the Social Care Act, nearly all adult Roma are receiving financial aid, which is even higher than public works wages. A Roma employed in public works loses the right to financial aid, has to pay his own health insurance, and, moreover, he has to work. They perceive this as an injustice, and the employees of the Employment Service also believe that such a way of granting social aid is not stimulating for incorporation of Roma into public works, representing a unique paradox« (Pavlič and Ličen Tesari 1996: 65).

Despite this, the above system has not changed essentially during the following years. The Open Society Institute reported in its 2001 report on the minority protection in Slovenia that

²⁰³ See the articles: 'Presentation of the PISR project – Summary', p. 102, and 'Program usposabljanja romskih koordinatorjev' [Training program for Roma co-ordinators], p. 277-291, in Žagar and Klopčič (eds.) (2006). Vocational informing and advising for Roma - PISR.

“[r]egarding implementation of the special governmental program on equal opportunities of employment for Roma (2000-2001), the president of the *Roma* association in Kerinov grm claimed there has been little application in his region, expressing the opinion that ‘[t]he public works scheme is a good idea, but with little chance of implementation because of its financial construction – the public works scheme offers minimal wages – less than social welfare – and offers no stimulation to take on such jobs.’ Another Roma leader from the same settlement corroborated this opinion, stating that ‘generally, the public works scheme offers very low payment. In one case, the Roma workers eventually got paid in gherkins, as the company did not have money.’ An official from the state employment agency was unaware of the program. A Ministry representative declined to comment on the effectiveness of the employment program; another government worker on Roma affairs commented: ‘I am not aware of how much the 2000 program is implemented. It did not seem to have much effect in the Dolenjska area.’”²⁰⁴

The mayor of Šentjernej Franc Hudoklin also pointed to the problem of integrating of Roma into public works, not offering sufficient financial stimulation: »As such are the rules, Roma are employed in public works. They work for 14 days, and by the time we supply the necessary clothing and train them, they quit, saying they get more money for just staying home« (Dolenjski list, February 20, 2003, p. 8).

The Roma Marko Stojanovič told Dolenjski list that other Roma made fun of his daughter, who was working through public works for 187 EUR. Isn't it simpler just to depend on financial aid? (Dolenjski list, March 16, 2006, p. 27)

An unemployed person participating in the public works program has the right to the salary, equalling agreed wage of tariff scale (I-VII) of the respective collective wage agreement for the economy or public sector (Article 53 of the Act on Employment and Insurance in case of Unemployment). Considering the fact, that Roma integrated in the public works programs, are mostly uneducated, they are assigned to the 1st grade of the tariff scale. Net wages can therefore be lower than the financial aid, provided by the Social Work Centres.

The Government of the RS determined at its 64th regular session on March 9, 2006 the text of the changes and supplements of the Act on Employment and Insurance in case of Unemployment Draft (later: The Law), which was conveyed to the Parliament in discussion. The Law defines in detail the legal status of unemployed persons, integrated into public works programs, and guarantees higher social security. Persons, participating in public works programs, are entitled to holiday allowance. The wage, to which the unemployed person is entitled, is linked to minimum wages, and not to initial wages, according to the respective collective wage agreement. The Draft retains the up-to-now relation between wages, only the wages for the first two grades of education scale are slightly increased, due to former disproportion, as they used to be even lower than financial aid, and therefore unstimulating and unjust.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ Minority protection in Slovenia, p. 525,

http://www.eumap.org/reports/2001/minority/sections/slovenia/minority_slovenia.pdf.

²⁰⁵ Source: Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, May 31, 2006.

Unemployed Roma participate in measures of active employment policy on the basis of estimation of the justification of their integration (Article 49 b of the Law), and on the basis of the employment plan, conceived as a written agreement between an unemployed person and the Employment Service.²⁰⁶ With the integration of unemployed Roma into the active employment policy measures, special emphasis is laid on additional counselling and motivating within the measure, termed 'Professional orientation and help with employment'.²⁰⁷

According to the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, Roma do not show great interest in public works. They only respond to the Employment Service's directions for fear of losing the right to financial aid, issued by Social Work Centres. Owing to all this, it would be sensible to enable their inclusion into public works program also after the anticipated time limit when they express an interest in further cooperation. Here is an example that points at the unsuitability of the existing time limits of the public works programs. At one Primary School, a young Roma girl was in 2005 employed as an assistant through public works. As her work was estimated as good, and after a year's time both sides expressed the wish for the girl to continue her work, they tried to find a way to make this possible. The public works program unfortunately does not foresee a possibility of prolongation of the program after its expiration²⁰⁸ neither a transition into regular employment (in the case of Roma assistants). The above school found a different solution – after a short break, they managed to keep the assistant, this time working through another public works program. Despite this, this example points out the shortages of the public works program – on the one hand, it offers an unemployed person an opportunity to work, motivates him/her to perform certain activities, but on the other hand does not make it possible for this person or the employer to continue with the work, even though there exist mutual wishes and needs. Such a situation can be very demotivating for an unemployed person, as next time it will be difficult to actively and enthusiastically participate in another active employment policy program without any long-term benefits in sight. For an institution that has, over the public works program, trained and educated a certain person for a specific kind of work, this signifies that next year, even if they manage to acquire an equal or similar program, the training of a new person must begin from the beginning, and this person will again be unable to do the job longer than foreseen in the program. Therefore it would be sensible to take into account suggestions and demands for the change of public works programs in such a way as to allow jobs to last longer, e.g. three years. This would be particularly welcome with public works including Roma, as in the present situation this is often the only possible form of employing them.

²⁰⁶ According to the law the Social Work Centre can sign a contract with the recipient of financial social aid on the active cooperation in solving his or her social problems. Concerning Roma, in practice they are usually obliged to regularly send their school-aged children to primary school, encouraged to attend adult primary school education, to regularly contact Employment Services and search for employment, to participate in public works programs and other limited period employments, and in organized training. (Notes from the conference on 'The problems of economic and social integration of Roma in Slovenia' [Zapis posveta Problematika ekonomsko-socialne integracije Romov v Sloveniji], Ljubljana, 1 July 2004, http://www.ds-rs.si/dejavnost/posveti/posvet_01072004/ZapisPosveta.pdf.)

²⁰⁷ Source: Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, May 31, 2006.

²⁰⁸ Exception only refers to women over 53 and men over 55, for whom the inclusion can be prolonged till they fulfill the pension age condition, if adequate or suitable employment cannot be found for them.

Add e) Number of new jobs developed from, or in connection with, the program of public works

So far there have not been many transitions from public works to regular employment. Individual Roma found employment in communal service after having completed the public works program.²⁰⁹

Add f) Reduction of the school drop-out rate among the Roma who received help in learning from the persons included in the public works

Data on (the reduction of) the school drop-out rate among the Roma are not being collected. Besides, there are no plans to collect them in the future.

Measure 4: Employment of the Roma at Employment Service offices.

Output indicator:

- a) number of the Roma employed at the Employment Service offices

Outcomes indicators:

- b) Improved communication between the unemployed Roma and the Employment Service offices
- c) Roma being better informed on the employment possibilities
- d) Increased motivation of the Roma to find regular employment
- e) Increase of the number of jobs suitable for and available to the Roma
- f) Increase of the number of employers willing to employ Roma
- g) Increase of the number of Roma who got employed with the help of the Employment Service and the Roma coordinators

Add a) Number of the Roma employed at the Employment Service offices

The *Report on Roma status* (2004) states that the Employment Service in the year 2003 passed the decision that in all regional services and offices with higher concentration of Roma population, Roma be employed, in order to improve communication and efficiency of working with Roma. According to the data of the Employment Service (May 2006), in 2005 two Roma were included within the public works program in order to work with unemployed Roma (Novo mesto, Murska Sobota). In the year 2006 though, on the basis of good practice, a special national program was adopted – ‘Coordinator for the increase of Roma employability’ -, into which 11 Roma will be integrated in the regional offices of the Employment Service in Novo mesto, Sevnica, Murska Sobota, Kranj, Ljubljana and Maribor.

The aim of the program is the increase of employment opportunities of Roma with the integration into active employment policy with permanent monitoring and promotion of Roma employment. The program comprises:²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ Source: Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, May 31, 2006.

²¹⁰ Source: Employment Service of Slovenia, May 31, 2006.

- coordination and cooperation with institutions, in charge of Roma issues, especially in the fields of education, training and employment;
- offering help with integration of unemployed Roma into the active employment policy measures – setting up a network of informing on activities and obligations, on employment possibilities, motivation, monitoring, conflict solving;
- co-operation with employers in searching new employment possibilities for Roma, search for adequate jobs, assistance with communication with employers.

In the regional office of the Employment Service in Murska Sobota the program of the 'coordinator for the improvement of the employment possibilities for the Roma' has been approved for two Roma for the period of eight months (May 1, 2006 – December 31, 2006). The coordinator's tasks are:

- classification of documents,
- simple legal procedures,
- other technical and administrative tasks by order of the superior,
- cooperation in working groups/teams,
- evidencing unemployed persons (Roma),
- monitoring of the AEP (Roma) programs participation,
- monitoring of Roma programs implementation,
- cooperation with creation of new programs for Roma,
- cooperation with candidate selection for AEP programs and employment,
- motivating Roma for education and employment.

For now, the coordinator in Murska Sobota only co-operates with those employers that have themselves expressed their willingness to employ a Roma person. For the future, an action plan is being prepared according to which the coordinator would be engaged in the activities of searching for new potential employers that would be willing to employ Roma job seekers.²¹¹

According to the first two Roma coordinators that have been employed in the Employment Service's regional offices in the two areas with the highest density of the Roma population in Slovenia, the Roma have reacted positively to their employment and work at the Employment Service.²¹² Their work has contributed to the improved communication between the Roma and the Employment Service; the motivation of the Roma to seek employment through the Employment Service has increased; the Roma have become better informed on and better included in different programs of the AEP (active employment policy); the prejudice of (some of) the employers against the Roma has decreased.²¹³

²¹¹ Source: electronic communication with a coordinator for the improvement of the employment possibilities for the Roma, employed at the Regional Office of the Employment Service in Murska Sobota, June 19, 2006.

²¹² See the report written by Vera Klopčič about the Project CRP 'Romi v procesih evropske integracije/razvoj modelov izobraževanja in usposabljanja Romov za povečanje rednega zaposlovanja', Appendix II, pp. 57-61.

²¹³ Ibid.

Darko Rudaš (a Roma coordinator employed in the Regional Office of the Employment Service in Murska Sobota):²¹⁴

»Personal achievement, I'm pleased to share with an employed Roma, is that I managed to convince an employer to give a Roma job despite his doubts. Today I no longer need to persuade him, as this Roma happens to be the best among the ten workers he employs.«

The first effects of the employment of the Roma coordinators at the Employment Service's regional offices can therefore be assessed as positive. The Regional Office of the Employment Service in Murska Sobota presents the employment of a Roma coordinator as an example of 'good practice' that could/should be introduced in other services (where many Roma appear as customers) as well.²¹⁵ To evaluate the long-term outcomes and effectiveness of the measure in years to come, we could use the indicators that we proposed above:

- a) Improved communication between the unemployed Roma and the Employment Service (more contacts, better mutual understanding, etc.);
- b) Roma being better informed on the employment possibilities;
- c) Increased motivation of the Roma to find regular employment (more Roma (voluntarily) registered at the Employment Service offices, more Roma included and actively participating in the programs of the AEP, etc.);
- d) Increase of the number of jobs suitable for and available to the Roma;
- e) Increase of the number of employers willing to employ Roma;
- f) Increase of the number of Roma who got employed with the help of the Employment Service and the Roma coordinators.

214 Ibid., p. 59.

215 Ibid., p. 58.

VII. 2.5 Conclusions

Even though the answer to the question of whether it is better to include the Roma into the general programs of employment policies or to design special employment programs only for them has not been agreed upon,²¹⁶ we believe that the inclusion of special policies to improve the employment possibilities of the Roma in the National Action Plan on Social Inclusion 2004-2006 is a good idea. Not only because the Roma are facing disproportionately high risks of unemployment (compared to the majority population as well as other groups at risk), but because the special employment policies for the Roma are designed in a way that helps improve the social situation of the Roma communities in a much broader sense than just in terms of reducing their high unemployment rates.

The NAP does not envisage special mechanisms to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the envisaged measures and the attainment of the objectives.²¹⁷ Therefore many data that would be needed to evaluate the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness of the policies are not being collected. In some cases the data are being collected for all unemployed and the number of Roma cannot be detached from it.

The implementation of the measure of including young unemployed Roma in primary and vocational schools can be measured through the numbers of Roma included in the educational programs. These numbers, as we have seen, have risen in the last years. Nevertheless, the objectives to be achieved by this measure are to get the Roma not only to attend but also to successfully finish the educational programs and eventually get a regular employment. At the moment there are no data being systematically gathered that would enable the assessment of these outcomes. It is also difficult to evaluate how cost-effective such a measure is, because all the outcomes cannot be translated into numbers. For example, if a Roma person successfully finishes his/her educational program, but does not get a regular employment afterwards, the money spent on his/her education can still be justified, if this person's education positively influences the future generations – an educated person is better able to help his/her children at school and is more likely to encourage them to attend school and participate in school activities. On the other hand it is possible that the consequences in the case we mentioned are quite the opposite. If a person cannot get a regular employment after finishing an educational program, this can persuade him/her or strengthen his/her previous opinion that the education does not matter and that it is not worth putting any effort into finishing school. If such an attitude is transmitted to this person's children, then the measure has missed its goal and the money spent on his/her education was in vain.

²¹⁶ See for example the report from the Workshop I of the project *South East Europe Regional Project to Promote Employment Opportunities for Roma*, held in Novo mesto, 3-5 October 2001, in: Klopčič, V. and Polzer, M. (eds.) (2003) *Europe, Slovenia and Roma*. Ljubljana: Institute for Ethnic Studies, p. 332.: »The question whether or not Roma should be identified as a special group within unemployed persons (and therefore given special rights), or whether they should be granted the same and equal status, protection and opportunities as for all other unemployed persons was vigorously discussed, as well as consequences for both alternatives. The participants could not achieve a consensus.«

²¹⁷ It only defines the Slovenian Government Office for Nationalities as competent for monitoring and coordination of the programs and measures that competent Ministries formulate and implement in their area of work (employment, education, housing) (NAP/inclusion 2004-2006, p. 34).

The problems of evaluating the cost-effectiveness can be encountered in other measures as well. For example the public works program. Financial compensation, unemployed persons participating in the public works program are entitled to, is only slightly higher (in some cases even lower) from social aid they would be receiving if they remained unemployed. This leads to conclusion that for the state budget expenses are not essentially higher if unemployed persons are participating in public works. Other positive results of the inclusion of the unemployed in the public works programs probably outweigh the means invested, although it is hard to estimate them in numbers - especially in public works, integrating Roma, and dedicated to the solving of Romani social problems. (e.g. public works for helping Roma children in school (a Roma assistant), public works for improvement of the employment possibilities of the Roma, public works aimed at Roma settlements renovation). Such public works not only help eliminate unemployment, but also improve the status of the Roma community in different spheres, from education to housing, etc. This has a long-term effect on the improvement of social integration of Roma.

It is therefore necessary to see the whole picture and not to evaluate each measure (only) on its own. The measures proposed in NAP complement each other and we believe that only in this way the general objectives of improving the employment opportunities and reducing the high unemployment rates among the Roma can be achieved. But the outcomes of the measures, the implementation of which started in the past few years, cannot be fully observed yet. Therefore our conclusions on the effectiveness of the measures can only be partial as well. To sum up these (partial) conclusions we could say that:

- The measures introduced in the NAP/inclusion 2004-2006 to help improve the employment opportunities of the Roma are being implemented.
- All the introduced measures have had some positive effects – more Roma are included in educational programs for adults; more Roma are included in the public works programs; the employment of the first two Roma coordinators at the Employment Service's offices has given positive results and the program has now been expanded to include 11 Roma coordinators; the introduction of the Roma assistants in schools and kindergartens through public works will result in the systemization of this occupation and the jobs of a Roma assistant and a Roma coordinator will be included in the Occupation Core.
- There have been some deficiencies identified in some of the measures (e. g. the non-stimulative payment for the public works; too short maximum duration of the program of public works (one year); incompatibility of different programs of the active employment policy; unsuitable system of providing financial means for the organization of educational programs for adult Roma), but this does not mean that the measures are bad or completely ineffective – it only means that some modifications in their implementation could help improve their effectiveness.
- The government did not envisage special mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of proposed measures in the NAP. Nevertheless, in the field of employment, the Program of measures of the Active employment policy for the year 2006 (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 26/2006) envisages constant monitoring of the implementation and effectiveness of the measures by the Ministry of Labour, Family and Social Affairs, and also a final evaluation by an external evaluator. Since most of the measures listed in the NAP that relate to

employment are being implemented through the Active Employment Policy programs, we could actually say that most of the NAP's measures (their implementation and effectiveness) are being monitored and (will be) evaluated. But as far as Roma are concerned it is not always possible to detach data related specifically to them (e.g. there are no exact data on the money allocated specifically to the Roma in certain programs of the AEP, since the Roma are included in these programs together with other unemployed).

- Many potential outcomes of the proposed measures cannot be measured in numbers and can also not be explained as a consequence of only one measure. This makes the effectiveness and cost-effectiveness analysis much more complicated.

VII. 3 Policy to promote access to culture

The decline of great modernist theories and appearance of the 'interpretation overthrow' in different forms caused a looser dealing with culture as a factor which rather joins people than 'integrates' them. This difference is important, as the notion of joining implies differences among people rather than similarities. In this case, culture should be regarded as a consequence of social interaction. This means that individuals are active in the creation of culture instead of being merely its passive recipients.

To be able to live together well, people need to be able to communicate and understand one another's culture. Communication is the basis of culture and also the basis for any multiethnic society to function well. The lack of communication is likely to lead to conflict, violence and social disintegration. This is especially true with regard to cultural differences. Cultural diversity should be respected, but what is most desirable is a flourishing, interactive diversity in which people of different cultures are able to communicate their values, beliefs and traditions to another in an atmosphere of mutual respect and learning. In today's rapidly changing world, driven relentlessly by the so-called information revolution, people run the danger of becoming marginalized if they are not literate and do not have access to modern means of communication. The competitiveness and living standards of whole nations have become much more dependent on access to information and technological know-how. For many minorities, however, communication is really only a one-way process, in which people of the dominant majority in their country attempt to spread the influence of their own culture or people of dominant countries in the world strive to propagate their own cultural values and merchandise their own cultural products. Modern means of communication, which have such tremendous potential to uphold and strengthen cultural diversity, are in fact being used to standardize cultural values, beliefs and lifestyles. This is why the concept of communication must be enriched to include authentic cultural communication – real dialogue among people of differing ethnic, religious and linguistic backgrounds (McKinley 1997: 11-12).

Ethnic minorities often lack the opportunities and means to participate in the host culture as well as the opportunities and means to preserve their native cultures. Both are needed and should be supported by the state if it wants to encourage and enable a real intercultural dialogue in a society.

VII. 3.1 Present situation – incorporation of multicultural topics into the Slovene cultural space

We could say that in Slovenia more attention is being paid to the preservation of cultures of ethnic minorities than to their integration into the mainstream cultural space. It is therefore questionable how much the governmental support for the cultural activities of the ethnic minorities contributes to the improved social inclusion of these groups.

In this part of the report we will focus on the cultural policies towards the Roma and the new ethnic minorities in Slovenia. The present situation in general could be described as non-integration of new ethnic communities and the Roma in the cultural space. There is

no doubt that (most of) the Roma as well as members of the new ethnic minorities in Slovenia wish to preserve their native cultures. On the other hand there is a very reserved, often even negative attitude of the majority population towards expressions of ethnic diversity in public.²¹⁸

While members of ethnic minorities get acquainted with the majority culture practically in 'every corner' (formal educational process, media, cultural institutions, etc.), the information on cultures and cultural activities of the Roma and the new ethnic minorities in Slovenia are mostly accessible to the wider public (as well as to the members of the ethnic communities) through the activities of the cultural associations of ethnic minorities and through some of the (mostly local) media. Let us therefore first present the current associational organization of the Roma and the new ethnic minorities in Slovenia and their inclusion into the Slovenian media space.

VII. 3.1.1 Cultural associations

In order to preserve, confirm and renew individual's ethnic identification, symbols, ceremonies, associations, etc. are necessary. Various cultural, sporting, religious associations, societies, organizations, local self-managing communities, etc., where members of ethnic communities gather, have an important role in this process. Collective gatherings, celebrations, events, often of a constant form, based upon tradition, consolidate cultural foundations, renew and strengthen the feelings of belonging and solidarity. Membership and cooperation in associations or other organizations of ethnic communities relate to the individual elements of group identity and identification. They also transmit myths, especially those confirming the idea of (preferably) very long-lasting and uninterrupted existence of an ethnic community (Južnič 1993).

So Roma as the new ethnic minorities have founded a number of cultural associations in Slovenia. These are mostly financed by their own means (donations), modest contributions are made by the Ministry of Culture,²¹⁹ the Republic of Slovenia Public Fund for Cultural Activities (RSPFCA) and local communities.

The Act on the Implementation of Public Interest in the Field of Culture (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 96-4807/02) and Associations Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 60/95, 89/99) have given associations in different fields of culture the possibility to gain the status of an association in public cultural interest, if their activities surpass the implementation of interests of their members. This has given associations a more equal status, while the civil society has gained an influence upon the solving of important social issues, participation in decisions regarding public financial means, and influence over public interest activities. Among the associations organized by new ethnic minorities from the former Yugoslavia, so far only two have gained the status of an association of public interest, i.

²¹⁸ More on this in: Medvešek, Mojca and Vrečer, Natalija (2005). Percepcije sociokulturne integracije in nestrpnosti: nove manjšine v Sloveniji. In: Percepcije slovenske integracijske politike. (Eds.) Komac, Miran and Medvešek, Mojca. Ljubljana, IES, pp. 271–377.

²¹⁹ More on the financing by the Ministry of Culture see in Čurin Radovič, Suzana (2002). Analiza stanja na področju kulturnih dejavnosti narodnih skupnosti, romske skupnosti, drugih manjšinskih skupnosti in priseljencev. In: Grilc, Uroš (eds.) Analiza stanja na področju kulture in predlog prednostnih ciljev, Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za kulturo Republike Slovenije, pp. 230–268.

e. Društvo srbska zajednica – Srbska skupnost (Serbian Community) from Ljubljana and Folklorno makedonsko društvo Vardarka (Macedonian Folklore Association Vardarka) from Maribor.

The Roma community

Till 2005, 38 Roma associations have been established in Slovenia.²²⁰ 22 Roma associations are linked into a central organization – Union of the Roma of Slovenia,²²¹ which is a coordinator of their activities and at the same time a collocator of the state bodies. These Roma associations (RA) are: RA Romano vozo (Velenje),²²² RA Zeleno vejš (Serdica, Rogašovci),²²³ RA Romano Pralipe (Maribor),²²⁴ RA Čapla Vanča vas (Tišina),²²⁵ Inter-municipal RA Romano Gav (Novo mesto), RA Pušča (Murska Sobota),²²⁶ RA Ejavi dombu (Puconci),²²⁷ RA Zeleno dombo (Puconci),²²⁸ RA Amala (Ljubljana),²²⁹ RA Romani Union (Murska Sobota),²³⁰ RA Maj (Kočevje),²³¹ RA Rom (Črnomelj),²³² Društvo Roma (Semič),²³³ RA Metlika Kham (Metlika),²³⁴ RA Mankuši pri avga (Dobrovnik),²³⁵ RA Somnakuni čerhenja (Cankova),²³⁶ RA Romano Jilo (Lendava),²³⁷ RA Pejtaušaugo (Črenšovci),²³⁸ Romano čačipe (Grosuplje),²³⁹ Romano

²²⁰ Associations are organized according to regulations of the Associations Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 60/95)

²²¹ Romani Union – Roma Association of Murska Sobota was listed in the register of political organizations in 1991. In 1992 the political organization was transformed into Roma Association Romani Union MS, which newly adopted and registered its statute in 1996. That same year, Union of Roma Associations of the RS was established which at the time incorporated 4 Roma associations. In 2000 this union was renamed into Union of Roma of Slovenia, which then incorporated 6 associations. In 2003 Union of Roma incorporated 21 associations (Klopčič and Polzer (eds.), 2003: 305-306).

²²² The Association was established in 1997.

²²³ The Association was established in 1996. It numbers about 50 persons. There is a folklore group active within the Association. The Association's activities provide for preservation and promotion of Roma traditions and culture. It also helps solve existential problems, such as road paving in Roma settlements Serdica and Sotina.

²²⁴ As told by Fatmir Bečiri, the Association Romano Pralipe was established in 1996 in order to preserve identity and improve status of about 2000 Maribor Roma. The association fosters different cultural activities (music, folklore, theatre), and they are also active in sports (football). They help their members with acquiring of citizenship, schooling and solving of social, housing and health problems. Available on www: <http://www.mladina.si/dnevnik/38949/>. It numbers about 170 members.

²²⁵ The Association was founded in 1998, it includes folklore and musical groups.

²²⁶ The Association was founded in 2000, it includes folklore, musical and dance groups. Available on the www: <http://www.romsko-drustvo.com> (April 21, 2006).

²²⁷ The Association was founded in 2000.

²²⁸ The Association was founded in 1996.

²²⁹ The Association was founded in 1997. It mostly dedicates its activities to music. The President is the leader of the musical group Amala, composed of professional musicians. It was founded in 1996 in order to preserve and continue the rich Roma musical heritage and present it in a more contemporary way.

²³⁰ The Association was founded in 1992 and is the first association established within the Union of Roma of Slovenia. The Association is politically active and also has three folklore groups, a theatre group, and is also active in publishing and media. It publishes the bulletin Roma Nevipe – Romske novice.

²³¹ The Association was founded in 2001 and includes folklore activity.

²³² The Association was founded in 2001.

²³³ The Association was founded in 2001.

²³⁴ The Association was founded in 2002.

²³⁵ The Association was founded in 2002 and includes folklore activity.

²³⁶ The Association was founded in 2002 and includes folklore activity.

²³⁷ The Association was founded in 2003 and includes folklore activity.

čhavora (Leskovec near Krškem), RA Romano drom (Trebnje), RA Romano veseli (Novo mesto).

The Union of the Roma of Slovenia has three forums:

1. in 2002, a working body within the Union of the Roma of Slovenia was established, The Roma Counsellors' Forum, which is a form of linking of Roma municipal counsellors;
2. political forum;
3. women's forum.

Other Roma associations are:

RA Kamenci (Črenšovci), Cultural RA Vešoro (Črnomelj), RA Jarniko Šentjernje (Šentjernej), RA Ljubljana (Ljubljana), RA Romano Anglunipe (Maribor), RA Somnakuni čerhenja of the municipality of Cankova (Gornji Črnci), Roma cultural association Zelena dolina (Dolina), RA Pomlad Ribnica (Gorička vas), Association for the Promotion of Culture and Musical Education of the Roma population Nevo Di (Murska Sobota), Cynological Association Roma (Vanča vas), Cultural Roma Association Vešoro (Črnomelj), Inter-municipal Roma cultural association Romano Center (Murska Sobota), RA Jagori (Črnomelj),²⁴⁰ RA Rom (Krško),²⁴¹ RA Romano Kham (Ljubljana),²⁴² RA Inter Kuzma (Kuzma).²⁴³

New ethnic minorities

When incorporating into the social structure of the host state, immigrants (new minority communities) first face a different cultural repertory of the domestic population. Contemporary population mobility, easy border crossing, globalisation, media influence do, to a certain degree, bring cultural universalisation, meaning that generation gaps within a society can exceed the gaps between immigrants and the domestic population. However, upon arrival into a new environment, immigrants still face cultural peculiarities, language obstacles, differences in the manner of communication, etc. The first condition of integration and participation of immigrants in the social structure of the host state is, therefore, to change or adapt – to a certain degree – their original cultural code. Ethnic adherence can be regarded as a basis of cultural differences of the immigrant communities.²⁴⁴ It should be taken into consideration that the existence of an ideal

²³⁸ The Association was founded in 2001 and includes folklore activity plus musical group. In cooperation with the development agency – LTO – in Lendava, in 2003 the first Roma museum of Slovenia was open in a Roma settlement (Klopčič and Polzer (eds.) 2003: 310).

²³⁹ The Association was founded in 2005.

²⁴⁰ The Association was founded in It numbers about 50 members, developing folklore, dance and sports activities. More on the program can be read in the article 'The municipal Roma Association Jagori' (Klopčič and Polzer (eds.) 2003: 319).

²⁴¹ The Association fosters folklore and dance.

²⁴² The Association was founded in 2003.

²⁴³ The Association was founded in 2002, mostly fosters sports: The Small Football Roma Club.

²⁴⁴ In contemporary interpretations ethnicity is understood as a way of acting and representing. It relates to individual's decision to mark himself or others symbolically as bearers of a certain cultural identity. Symbols used to this purpose originate from daily life and not only from elaborate rituals and ceremonies. Consequently in his shaping of ethnic identity, an individual identifies himself with a certain culture or its elements. This means that he usually identifies with a definite string of cultural elements, at the same distancing himself from others. Such contrast is not necessary. We must not accept the supposition that

boundary line – the ‘indigenous’ culture on the one, and immigrant culture on the other side – is questionable. Due to characteristics of contemporary lifestyle, boundaries between individual cultures are unclear and it is not possible to say that an immigrant only chooses between two different cultures.

Most of the cultural associations of the new ethnic minorities were established in a delicate social period, during the first years of Slovenia's independence, when members of the new ethnic minorities from the former Yugoslavia felt their status to be radically changed. A part of them assimilated in order to improve their social status or obtain a ‘positive’ identity, but a part felt the need to preserve their original ethnic identity and establish cultural associations.

In the middle of 2004, in Slovenia there were 64 officially registered associations of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia (Kržišnik-Bukić 2004: 5), but the research project Perceptions of the Slovene Integration Policy from 2003, performed amongst immigrants from the territory of the former Yugoslavia and their descendants in Slovenia, showed (see Medvešek and Vrečer 2005: 331-332) that immigrants and their descendants do not really actively participate in these associations' activities, and not in large numbers. Only 3,2 percent of respondents stated that they were active members of cultural associations. 1,5 percent regularly follow associations' activities, 26 percent only temporarily. As many as 42 percent of respondents claimed they had no interest in activities of cultural associations of ethnic/national communities, 17 percent believed that their ethnic community had no association of its own in Slovenia. Considerable ignorance concerning the existence of cultural associations can be ascribed to the fact that »regarding the number of organized associations, the number of actually active associations is relatively small, and their seats are usually in larger towns (Ljubljana, Maribor, Kranj, Novo mesto, Škofja Loka), due to which they are not equally accessible to all immigrants« (Medvešek and Vrečer 2005: 332).

The Ministry of Culture has formed a list of associations,²⁴⁵ founded by immigrants from the territory of the former Yugoslavia. We have added a few of the more active associations to their list:

Albanian community	Cultural Association of the Albanians Migjeni, Ljubljana, ²⁴⁶ Cultural and Educational Association ‘Bashkimi’, Maribor ²⁴⁷);
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ethnicity is simply generalized among community members and is not integrated in their self-perceptions in other ways than as a bearer of a certain ethnic identity. Thinking about ourselves, wondering who we are is more than just negative reflecting on who we are not. It is a matter of autobiography, including things we know about ourselves, and characteristics we believe to possess, etc. Thus the inner heterogeneity is preserved, although masked by common symbolic forms (Cohen 2001).

²⁴⁵ List of associations and unions that have already applied to the tender of Ministry of Culture; the last updating from December 29, 2004.

²⁴⁶ Among the association's activities the establishing of the paper Alternativa (1989-1990) should be mentioned; for a while an instrumental group was also active, and they occasionally organize concerts and have yearly children's events at Christmas time. The association has its office with club hall for associating. It is member of the City Association of Cultural Organizations (Štefanec, Tone: ‘Pri Ivanu Gjonu Simoniju. Albanci se v Sloveniji dobro počutimo.’ Svobodna misel, May 28, 1999, pp. 12–13).

²⁴⁷ Cultural and educational association ‘Bashkimi’ was established in 1998, its activities being: organizing concerts, lectures, seminars and state holidays celebrations. Their aim is preservation of culture and history

Bosnian community	Bosnian Cultural Association of Slovenia, ²⁴⁸ Ljubljana, Assoc. of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian and Slovenian Friendship 'Ljiljan', ²⁴⁹ Ljubljana, Homeland Assoc Plava and Gusinija 'Izvor', Kranj, ²⁵⁰ Bosnian Cultural Assoc. 'Liljan', Kranj, ²⁵¹ Club of the Muslims of Bosnia and Hercegovina in Slovenia, ²⁵² Ljubljana, Coast Youth Club in Slovenia, ²⁵³ Izola, Association Sandžak, ²⁵⁴ Medvode, Cultural Assoc of Muslims Biser, Jesenice;
Croatian community	Union of the Croatian Cultural Association in Slovena, ²⁵⁵ Ljubljana, Croatian Cultural Assoc. Novo mesto, Novo mesto, Croatian Club Komušina, Škofja Loka, Croatian Cultural Assoc. of the Maribor, Maribor ²⁵⁶ and Croatian Cultural Center v Sloveniji (with filials), ²⁵⁷ Ljubljana;
Macedonian community	Union of the Macedonian Cultural Association in Slovenije, Ljubljana, ²⁵⁸ Macedonian Folklore Assoc. Vardarka, ²⁵⁹ Maribor, Macedonian Cultural Assoc. 'Biljana', ²⁶⁰ Maribor, Macedonian Cultural Assoc. Ilinden, Jesenice, Macedonian Cultural Assoc. 'Makedonija',

of the Albanian community. The association is very active with members' mutual help; they were gathering help for Kosovo refugees, visiting refugee centers in Slovenia, talking to directors and offering help. In past years it became regular practice to collect money for the schooling of children of Kosovo. The society is financed mainly by membership fees and voluntary contributions (Flere, Klenovšek 2000).

²⁴⁸ Bosnian cultural association of Slovenia was founded in 1996 in Ljubljana. Occassionally it publishes the bulletin Bošnjak. Since 2000, when the bulletin began to be published, 20 issues were published up to now. There is a Bosnian portal on the website <http://www.slotekbir.net>.

²⁴⁹ The Association of the Bosnian/Herzegovian and Slovene friendship 'Ljiljan' was founded in 1992, incorporating folklore section, music section and football team.

²⁵⁰ The Association was established in 1992, incorporating sections of sports, culture and folklore.

²⁵¹ The Association was founded in 1992.

²⁵² The club was founded in 1994, its activities being: humanitarian actions dedicated to refugees in Slovenia.

²⁵³ The Coastal Youth Club was founded in 2003.

²⁵⁴ Since 2004 they are publishing Glas Sandžaka.

²⁵⁵ The Union of Croatian Associations in Slovenia was founded in 1994, incorporating 10 associations (Lučev 2000).

²⁵⁶ The Association was founded in 1990, incorporating theatre, music, visual arts. They organize lectures on national history, as well as sports and social events. Since 2001 they have been publishing Glasilo Hrvatskog kulturnog društva u Mariboru.

²⁵⁷ The Association was established in 1991.

²⁵⁸ The Union of Macedonian cultural associations in Slovenia includes associations from Celje, Ljubljana, Kranj, Jesenice and Izola.

²⁵⁹ Available on the www: <http://www.drustvo-vardarka.si/>

²⁶⁰ Macedonian cultural association 'Biljana' is active since 1993. Although it includes over 2000 members, they still have no premises of their own. The association's seat is at secretary's home address. They have a good folklore section, which once a week organizes free lessons in the premises of the Union of Cultural Associations Maribor. The folklore group has throughout the year numerous performances in Slovenia and abroad (Flere, Klenovšek 2000). Available on the www: <http://www.mkd-biljana.si/si/>

²⁶¹ The Association was founded in 1992. Within Macedonian cultural association there are a folklore group Sv. Ciril in Metod and a drama section. In 2005 they acquired new, larger premises for a library with mostly Macedonian books, including computer classroom and performance hall. The premises' renewal was mostly based on voluntary work, participated by, apart from Association members, also Serbs, Bosnians and Montenegrins, living in Kranj. They also borrowed som money from the Macedonian association from Ljubljana, part of the money was given by donors. The Association unites about 500 Macedonians, living in Kranj and surroundings.

	Ljubljana, Macedonian Cultural Assoc. 'Sv. Ciril in Metod', Kranj; ²⁶¹ Slovenian-Macedonian mitrašinsko Assoc., Kranj; ²⁶² Association of Slovenian-Macedonian friendship, Ljubljana ²⁶³
Serbian community:	Union of Serbian Association in Slovenia, Ljubljana, Assoc. Serbian Community, Ljubljana, ²⁶⁴ Serbian Cultural Assoc. Maribor, ²⁶⁵ Cultural Assoc. Mladost, Ljubljana, Cultural Assoc. Mihajlo Pupin, ²⁶⁶ Ljubljana, Cultural, Educational and Sports Assoc. Vuk Karadžić, ²⁶⁷ Radovljica, Kulturno društvo Brdo, Kranj; Serbian Humanitary Assoc. Desanka Maksimović, ²⁶⁸ Celje, Union of Serbian Cultural Assoc. in RS, Celje, Serbian Cultural and Educational Assoc. Sveti Sava, Kranj, Association of Serbian Students in Slovenia, Ljubljana;
Montenegrin community	Montenegrin Cultural, Educational and Sports Assoc. Morača, Kranj;

VII. 3.1.2 Media

Attitude of Slovene media towards ethnic minorities is based upon (excluding) idea of the Slovene nation. The Roma and especially new ethnic minorities are not included enough in mass media and culture space as part of Slovenian nation and there is evident existence of distance between majority population and ethnic communities.

If in some extent local media include information about activities and other relevant issues concerning Roma community and new ethnic minorities, study of Slovene mass media shows that especially issues of new ethnic minorities are regarded as irrelevant; they are 'silently overlooked', ignored and/or dealt with from the negative point of view.

Legal stipulations on the regulation of Slovene media space only mention the 'classical' ethnic/national minorities, while the issues of 'new' (immigrant) national communities are completely left out (Komac 2005: 391). The research study *Perceptions of the*

²⁶² The Association was founded in 2004 in Zgornja Besnica near Kranj with the purpose of bridging the gap between Slovenes and Macedonians, as well promoting the rich natural, cultural and historic patrimony of the two countries. They organize member meetings, various events (talks, round tables, cultural and culinary evenings), thematic trips, promote Macedonian language with particular emphasis on the Maleševo dialect. Association membership is open to everyone that agrees with the statute and signs the adequate statement. (Available on the www: <http://www.slovensko-makedonsko-mitrasinsko-drustvo.si/slo-home.htm>)

²⁶³ The Association was founded in 2001. Available on the www: <http://www.slo-mak.com/slo/about.html>

²⁶⁴ Available on the www: <http://www.srbska-skupnost.si>. Within the association in 2001 the folklore group Moravec and theatre group Teater Paradoks were founded.

²⁶⁵ The Serbian Cultural Association was founded in 1998 with its seat on the premises of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Maribor. It is a member of the Union of Cultural Organizations Maribor. Their activities: ceremonies in the Serbian Orthodox Church (yearly meetings with other Serbian cultural associations on the Vidovdan holiday.), 35 member folklore group, literary evenings, publishing of the bulletin Kontakt (2003 -), exhibitions, etc. (Flere, Klenovšek 2000).

²⁶⁶ They publish the paper Mostovi.

²⁶⁷ Available on the www: <http://www.vuk-karadzic.freeservers.com>

²⁶⁸ They publish the Bulletin Naša reč (2003 -)

Slovene Integration Policy showed that a large part of the studied, immigrant origin, population in Slovenia wishes that the state made possible, within the framework of national media, programs on culture, life and activities of other ethnic/national communities and immigrants in Slovenia. With reference to these wishes, the »Slovene legislation on media should be adequately supplemented with obligations of public media, primarily the public TV and radio, to enable 'new' minority communities implementation of their right to access (entry) into mass media, and thus to participate in cultural life« (Komac and Medvešek 2005: 42). A possible measure in this direction would be forming of national minority program within the Radio and TV of Slovenia, which could be obtained by supplements to the law on RTV.

The Roma community

Television: Roma TV programs are broadcast only by local studios in areas populated by Roma. With the year 2002, half hour TV programs (Romano dikhijpe) on the work, life and problems of the Roma community produced by Studio TV AS began to be broadcast on cable TV in areas populated by Roma (Prekmurje, Dolenjska, Maribor).²⁶⁹ Roma TV programs are momentarily broadcast by local studios TV IDEA in Murska sobota²⁷⁰ and TV Vaš kanal in Novo mesto.²⁷¹

Based on the provisions of the new Act on RTV Slovenia (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 96/05), in the future, radio and TV programs for Roma community will be prepared, broadcast and archived also within the Radiotelevision of Slovenia.²⁷²

²⁶⁹ II. Periodical report of the RS on the implementation of European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages. Accessible at http://www.coe.int/t/e/legal_affairs/local_and_regional_democracy/regional_or_minority_languages/2_monitoring/2.2_States_Reports/Slovenia_report2SL.pdf, p. 20 (June 14, 2006).

²⁷⁰ Once a month a program on Roma (20-30 minutes), titled Drom-Pot.

²⁷¹ A 30-minute Roma program Za soncem – Šu kham.

²⁷² Article 3 of the Law on RTV Slovenia states: (1) Public service based on this law comprises creation, preparation, archiving and broadcasting of:

two national TV programs

- three national radio programs
- radio and TV programs from the regional centers Koper and Maribor
- one radio and one TV program for each of the autochthonous Italian and Hungarian national communities, as well as radio and TV programs for the Roma ethnic community
- radio and TV programs for Slovene national minorities in the neighbouring states and for Slovene emigrants and migrant workers abroad.
- International Radio and TV programs
- Teletext, Internet and mobile portals

The basis for the financing of these programs is Article 30 of the cited law: »(2) Financed from the state budget are: the share of minority programs finances, not acquired from the subscription fee ...«

Radio: Radio programs are momentarily broadcast at local radio stations Murski val in Prekmurje and Radio Studio D in Dolenjska region. For eight years Radio Murski val Murska Sobota and Studio D Novo mesto have been broadcasting one-hour radio programs for Roma every week. Programs are in Slovene language, partly also in Romani language. They bring current information from life and work of Roma, report on culture, sports and other events, including lots of Roma music and original texts by Roma.²⁷³ Both Radio programs 'Romas' 60' and 'Korako angle' are financed by RS Government Office for National Minorities. Roma are in big part included in the production of first and a little less in the production of later.

The Union of the Roma of Slovenia in 2003 established Roma information centre (ROMIC)²⁷⁴ - a documentation centre, which combines a library and radio production.²⁷⁵ Radio Romic at the moment produces and offers programs (half hour program 'Šunen Le Romen') to eight radio stations in Slovenia (Radio Študent (Ljubljana), Radio Marš (Maribor), Radio Odeon (Črnomelj), Radio Maxi (Ljutomer), Radio Kaos (Ljubljana), lokalna TV Idea (Murska Sobota), lokalna TV Lendava (Lendava)).

Programs about Roma and for Roma are produced also by several more 'open-minded' radio stations such as Radio Marš (Maribor's radio Student) and Radio Student (Ljubljana).

Radio Marš (Radio Student, Maribor) from 2000/2001 broadcasted every Sunday a one-hour program, titled Romano Krlo, produced by Roma living in Maribor. »The program is in Roma and Slovene languages, so more people can listen to it. It is created by Roma community members, who are completely autonomous, but also helped by other radio staff. Roma are also offered free-of-charge basic training to acquire elementary skills of radio production and better language. When acting as journalists, conditions are given for easier contact making with representatives of various institutions, and thus better chances for solving their own problems; often, however, they encounter the insensibility of competent officials.«²⁷⁶

Radio Student (Ljubljana) broadcasted weekly one-hour program *Romano drumo*. Sunday (mostly musical program) is produced by Roma living in Ljubljana.²⁷⁷

²⁷³ II. Periodical report of the RS on the implementation of European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages. Accessible at http://www.coe.int/t/e/legal_affairs/local_and_regional_democracy/regional_or_minority_languages/2_monitoring/2.2_States_Reports/Slovenia_report2SL.pdf, p. 20 (June 14, 2006).

²⁷⁴ <http://www.romic.si/dejavnost.html>

²⁷⁵ The information center gathers literature on Roma and literature by Roma authors. The Center strives to supply information for Roma population, as well as majority population. The Center is of great significance for the preservation of Roma values and language. They have their own music production, they organize different cultural events (concerts, literary evenings, ...), they catalogue archive materials on VHS and DVD, preserve and archive photographs.

²⁷⁶ Available at: <http://www.radiomars.si/program/skupnosti/romanokrlo/>

²⁷⁷ Haris Tahirović, a Macedonian Roma, has been programe editor since 2004, when he participated at the training, organized for Roma journalists by the Peace Institute with financial aid of the European Union. (Nahtigal, N.: Usposabljanje Romov za profesionalno radijsko novinarstvo. Medijska preža 20/21 (November 2004).)

Printed media: Slovene-Romani newspaper *Romano Them/Svet Romov* was first published in 1996. It started as annual issue, from 2004 three issues per year have been published. Until 2006 26 issues were published. The periodical is written partly in Romani and partly in Slovene language.

Romani Association Romani Union (Murska Sobota) since 1992 publishes annual magazine *Romano nevijpe/Romske novice*.

Internet: Union of the Roma of Slovenia has its own internet page: <http://www.zveza-romov.si/> on which it informs broad public about important events regarding Roma community.

New ethnic minorities

Television: New ethnic minorities have no programs of their own, either on public or local TV stations.

Radio: New ethnic minorities have programs of their own on some local radio stations. Radio program Podalpski selam on Radio Študent Ljubljana (musical program), Radio Maribor (Macedonian radio 3M).

Printed media: *Bosnian community:* Bosnian Cultural Association of Slovenia has been publishing the paper Bošnjak since 2000. The Association Sandžak has been publishing Glas Sandžaka since 2004.

Croatian community: Croatian Cultural Association of Maribor publishes a bulletin.

Serbian community: Serbian Cultural Association of Maribor has been publishing the bulletin Kontakt since 2003. CA Mihajlo Pupin (Ljubljana) publishes the paper Mostovi. Serbian humanitarian association Desanka Maksimović has been publishing the bulletin Naša reč since 2003.

Internet: Some cultural associations have their own Internet page on www; among them are:

<http://www.srbska-skupnost.si>.

<http://www.vuk-karadzic.freesevers.com>

<http://www.slotekbir.net>

<http://www.slovensko-makedonsko-mitrasinsko-drustvo.si/slo-home.htm>

<http://www.mkd-biljana.si/si/>

<http://www.drustvo-vardarka.si/>

<http://www.slo-mak.com/slo/about.html>

Roma and members of new minority communities rarely get a chance to express their opinions on their status in mass media. Even when topics linked with ethnic minorities are being discussed, central media usually rely upon 'official' sources. The consequence of such journalistic approach is a general lack of access to public discourse, which is an important factor of social power.

Reports on ethnic minorities are all too often full of prejudice and stereotypes. It is often focused on the presentation of negative characteristics of individual ethnic communities:

violence, drugs, crime, mass immigration, threatening the Slovene national nucleus. Apart from traditional media there are also new technologies – Internet – which help spread hostility.²⁷⁸

Commercialisation of media is an important factor, contributing to negative reporting on ethnic minorities. The presentation of events from the sensationalist viewpoint increases sales (higher profit, higher viewing rate), and protection of human rights is quickly forgotten. Prejudice and stereotypes, which can be found in media, are a result of personal opinions of individual journalists. Some are not even aware of them, others are not willing to admit them. Training programs and manuals for sensitising of journalists on the importance of multiculturalism and on the impact of media discourse, containing prejudice and stereotypes, are necessary. Even more troublesome is the fact that there are relatively few minority members, particularly Roma, among journalists.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁸ Cases of hostile speech at Internet forums and chatrooms, and other illegal contents spread via Internet are becoming an increasing problem, without there being any means for their prevention, or these means are inefficient.

²⁷⁹ Center for Media Policy with the Peace Institute has prepared (together with Roma Association Romani Union from Murska Sobota) within its programs for the expansion of Roma community access to media, a program of intensive education for Roma radio journalists. The project of *Educating of Roma for professional journalism*, financially aided by the EU took place from December 2003 to July 2004. (Accessible at: <http://mediawatch.mirovni-institut.si/bilten/seznam/20/recenzije/>).

VII. 3.2 Measures of the government

Regarding protection of cultural rights of new ethnic minorities and members of ethnic communities from the former Yugoslavia, the Ministry of Culture refers to the above mentioned Article 61 of the Constitution of RS, which states that everyone has the right of expressing adherence to his nation or ethnic community, and the right to foster his culture, as well as use his own language and script. Thus the Ministry of Culture established a special *department for cultural activity of the Italian, Hungarian and Roma community, as well as of other minority communities and immigrants.*²⁸⁰

Apart from the mentioned constitutional provision, the following laws give legal ground for special minority cultural policy and assurance of special cultural rights, pertaining to minority ethnic communities:

The Act on the Implementation of Public Interest in Culture (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 96-4807/02), which was put into force on November 29, 2002, Article 6, deals with respectful attitude towards minority languages, i.e. that cultural events in areas, defined as ethnically mixed, should be announced in Italian or Hungarian (posters, official invitations, etc.) (Article 126 imposes a fine of 20.920 EUR on a person that fails to announce cultural events in ethnically mixed regions also in Italian and Hungarian.) This protection applies only to the languages of the two ethnic communities with acknowledged minority status, and not to immigrants from the republics of the former Yugoslavia; the latter do not live in condensed settlements but are dispersed all over Slovenia. Moreover, Article 8 of the Act on the Implementation of Public Interest in Culture presents starting points and documents for the definition of public interest in culture, emphasizing the importance of cultural diversity. The public interest in culture should be implemented in such a way as to provide conditions for it. Article 31 of this law again refers only to ethnic communities with minority status. Dealing with financing of public institutions, it states: »Means for financing of public institutions, the Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities are entitled to establish for their cultural needs, are provided by the state within the frame of financial funds for Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities.« Article 65 defines public institutions, cultural programs and projects that are within state's competence, and says that it is the duty of the state to also finance (apart from the Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities, and Roma) cultural integration of minority communities and immigrants, »... if their cultural programs and projects reach

²⁸⁰ Special program for the cultural activities of Italian and Hungarian national communities was established at the MC in 1974 (Čurin Radovič 2002). In 1992 the program was expanded for the first time – proposals of immigrant societies were dealt with for the first time. In 1993 the program also comprised the cultural activity of Roma community, in 1998 a special minority department was formally established within the sector of cultural and artistic programs. At that time the renaming of the special program in its part relating to immigrants took place with addition: 'of other minority communities'. In 2001 the department became an independent organization unit, which was also an organizational confirmation of the specificity of the program it deals with.

A historic survey shows that minority cultural policy has been a component part of cultural policy ever since 1974, and that special cultural program has been developing in two directions. More and more social groups with 'minority status', who were in need of special services in the field of culture, have been included in the program. This is related also to the increased awareness of cultural rights. Specific features of the program got more emphasis in the sense that special measures (normative, organizational, financial) were perfected in dialogues with minority ethnic communities (Čurin Radovič 2002).

beyond local relevance«. Article 66 also states that municipalities are also obliged to finance cultural integration of minority communities and immigrants.

Media Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 35/01) states in Article 4 that the Republic of Slovenia supports media in disseminating the programs, important for the implementation of the right of citizens of RS, Slovenes abroad, members of Slovene national minorities in Italy, Austria and Hungary, members of Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities in the Republic of Slovenia, and for Roma living in Slovenia, to be informed [...].

Librarianship Act (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 87/01) in Article 25 imposes public libraries in ethnically mixed areas to provide for library activities, intended for members of Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities and Roma. These libraries ensure these people the possibility of communication in their own language. Libraries are to create a program of activities in consent with members of ethnic communities. Article 33 of the same law states that within public library service, national library collects, catalogues, keeps and loans the basic national fund of library materials in Slovene language, on Slovenia and Slovenes, of Slovene authors and publishers, of members of Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities, Roma community and other minority communities in Slovenia (Slovenika), as well as foreign literature.

National Program for Culture 2004-2007

In 2004, the National program for culture 2004-2007 (NPC) was adopted,²⁸¹ stressing the cultural pluralism, which has »already been integrated into the Slovene culture« (p. 3). Likewise, promotion of cultural diversity is an important aim of cultural policy. On page 6 it is stated: »The openness of cultural policy to other cultures, international exchange, cultural rights of national communities, minority communities and other vulnerable groups, as well as cultural activity of Slovenes outside the borders of the Republic of Slovenia, contribute essentially to the growth of cultural identity.«

Within the National Program for Culture, 2 chapters should be mentioned, the first relating to cultural diversity stating: »An important aim of cultural policy is promotion of cultural diversity, pluralism of creativity and of cultural goods. It is one of the aims, contained in Article 151 of the Amsterdam treaty from 1997, on which the idea of European integration is based, and which is also described in the Unesco Document 'Our creative diversity' (1993). The openness of cultural policy to other cultures, international exchange, cultural rights of national communities, minority communities and other vulnerable groups, as well as cultural activities of Slovenes outside Slovenia, contribute significantly to promotion of cultural identity. The realization of this aim will depend on programs, including the European dimension and applying for financial means from international sources. The aim is especially important from the viewpoint of the integral Slovene cultural space, as Slovenian culture has always been characterized by its rich inner diversity.« The second chapter refers directly to Ethnic communities, Roma

²⁸¹ The RS Parliament adopted, on the basis of article 107 in connection with article 109 of the Parliament Standing Orders (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 35/02), and in connection with articles 10 and 11 of the Act on Implementation of Public Interest in Culture (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 96/02), at the meeting on February 27, 2004, the Resolution on National Program for Culture 2004-2007.

communities and other minority ethnic communities and immigrants. It states: »The public interest for culture in the field of ethnic communities, Roma communities, other minority ethnic communities and immigrants comprises: activities of cultural institutions, the founders of which are the central organizations of the national communities, publishing, librarianship, preservation of communities' mother tongues, activities in all other cultural fields, cultural contacts with their parent states, international cooperation of communities and minorities in culture, and communities' mutual cooperation.

The NPC defines two general aims that are related to the Roma community and other minority ethnic communities and immigrants:

1. Promotion of cultural diversity - by the year 2007 at least half of public institutions in the field of culture will include contents with diverse ethnic topics into their programs. This means that by 2007 at least a half of public institutions in the field of culture will integrate various ethnic topics into their programs. One of the most important components of cultural diversity is respect and promotion of ethnic diversity. The aim tends towards the inclusion of programs and projects of various minority communities' members into the programs of public institutions, as well as into sensitising these for ethnic topics.

2. Increasing the share of contents on ethnic diversity in public cultural programs and projects, which means:

- a) promotion of cultural pluralism. It is necessary to guarantee cultural rights as part of human rights, to promote cultural pluralism, and to ensure the conditions for special treatment of cultural rights of minority communities, with emphasis on the conditions, necessary for their cultural creativity and access to cultural goods. This should lead to a higher degree of creativity, greater cultural diversity, social cohesion, greater quality of living, promotion of cultural cooperation with the neighbouring states and the states of former Yugoslavia in different spheres, etc.;
- b) providing conditions for authentic expression of cultural needs of various minority communities, promotion of minority cultures, and basic conditions for the promotion of their cultural identities;
- c) increasing of the share of minority programs, supported by the Ministry of Culture and local communities;
- d) accessibility of information on minority cultures. Low accessibility of information is one of the key obstacles to promotion of cultural pluralism. Better access to information will be achieved by support to programs and projects, which will bring adequate information support to the cultural activities of minority communities. Expected effects of such support are: increase of the awareness of cultural rights, decrease of conflict situations within minority communities, better knowledge of the majority nation on minority communities' activities, higher accessibility to cultural goods (National Program for Culture 2004-2007, 2004: 56).

»Ministry of Culture has since 1992 been creating ground for cultural activities of other minority communities and immigrants, mostly performed by the Association of members of the former Yugoslav nations, living in Slovenia.«²⁸²

²⁸² Second report submitted by Slovenia pursuant to article 25, paragraph 1 of the framework convention for the protection of national minorities, July 6, 2004.

National Action Plan on Social Inclusion 2004-2006

“Access to and participation in cultural activities plays a very important role in promoting inclusion and in preventing and reducing poverty and exclusion. [...] Participation in cultural activities is a key way in which people can define and develop their own identities. People can represent themselves to others and engage in symbolic exchange. It is well documented how active involvement in cultural and arts activities can be a tool in helping people who are isolated and marginalized to gain skills and self-confidence. Cultural projects can also contribute significantly to the regeneration of disadvantaged communities and to creating employment opportunities. With higher levels of migration and a trend towards greater diversity in societies cultural policies are likely to play an ever more important role in overcoming and preventing social exclusion. However, in spite of this many Member States still give little or no attention to this issue in their NAPs/inclusion [...] (Commission of the European Communities, COM (2006) 62 final, p. 122).

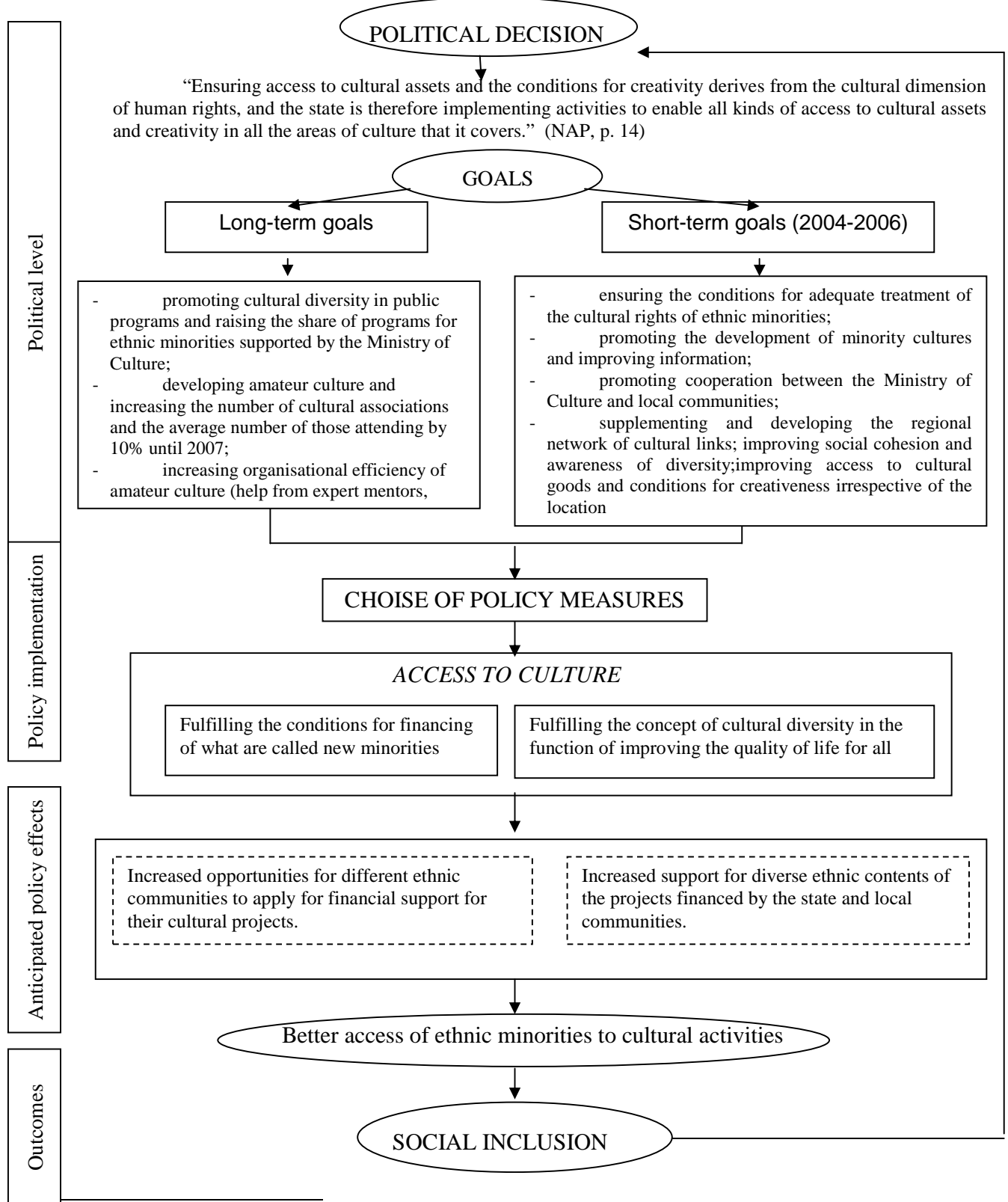
The Slovenian NAP/inclusion (2004-2006) does pay attention to the role of culture and cultural activities, but contrary to what one might expect, it does not indicate a direct link between participation in cultural activities and increased social inclusion (as for example: participating in certain cultural activities might result in employment in the arts sector). Instead of this it emphasizes a cultural rights approach. In 2002 an analysis of the situation in the area of protecting the cultural rights of minority ethnic communities, children and disabled persons was carried out - at the Ministry of Culture. There were some deficiencies identified in the analysis. For this reason the basic objective of the NAP is to eliminate the deficiencies assessed in the analysis.

The long-term objectives defined in NAP are:

- promoting cultural diversity in public programs and raising the share of programs for ethnic minorities supported by the Ministry of Culture; developing amateur culture and increasing the number of cultural associations and the average number of those attending by 10% until 2007; increasing organisational efficiency of amateur culture (help from expert mentors, adequate premises). Priority objectives for the period 2004 – 2006:
- ensuring the conditions for adequate treatment of the cultural rights of ethnic minorities;
- promoting the development of minority cultures and improving information;
- promoting cooperation between the Ministry of Culture and local communities;
- supplementing and developing the regional network of cultural links;
- improving social cohesion and awareness of diversity; improving access to cultural goods and conditions for creativeness irrespective of the location. Measures and priority tasks for improving access to culture:
- fulfilling the conditions for financing of what are called new minorities (for the most part comprising people who settled in Slovenia from the former Yugoslav republics);
- fulfilling the concept of cultural diversity in the function of improving the quality of life for all.

In the assessment of the implementation of the above mentioned objectives we will focus on selected minority ethnic communities – Roma and new ethnic minorities – although the aims and measures, anticipated in the NAP, do not relate exclusively to these ethnic minorities.

VII. 3.3 MODEL OF THE POLICY TO PROMOTE ETHNIC MINORITIES' ACCESS TO CULTURE
 Figure No. 5: Model of the policy to improve ethnic minorities' access to culture²⁸³



²⁸³ The structure of the model was inspired by Grin's 'policy-to-outcome-path' model, published in Grin and Moring (2002: 79).

The Slovene government considers inclusion and co-operation in cultural activities as one of the important aspects that can positively contribute to the social inclusion of individuals or groups.

“Inclusion in cultural groups has strong socialisation significance, since it enables the self-assertion of those groups of society and individuals that in their everyday working or family environment do not achieve personal satisfaction and affirmation or for biological (youth, old people, disabled), age or other reasons are pushed to the margins. Cultural appreciation programs act in the function of social cohesion. This is manifested primarily in the form of social life accompanying cultural activities, as a counter to the growing trends of alienation” (NAP/inclusion (2004-2006), p. 14-15).

In the NAP/inclusion (2004-2006) the Slovene government envisaged a policy of ensuring access to culture as one of the policies to promote the social inclusion of different groups and individuals, living in the Slovene society (special attention has been paid to the (new) ethnic minorities). The measures and priority tasks to attain the goals of this policy were vaguely defined and might lead to different interpretations of what the anticipated effects of the policy might be. We believe that in general they are supposed to run in two directions: 1. increased opportunities for different ethnic communities to apply for financial support for their cultural projects; 2. increased support for diverse ethnic contents of the projects financed by the state and local communities. This should improve the access of ethnic minorities to cultural activities, especially their possibilities to preserve and develop their cultures and also to present them to the broader public.

It is evident from the Figure No. 5 that the existing 'cultural policy' (policy to promote ethnic minorities' access to culture) deals mostly with creating of conditions for the preservation of the minority cultures and with providing financial means for cultural activities of ethnic minorities. The cultural policy neglects potentials of the human and social capital of ethnic minorities. Culture is not recognized as a factor that contributes to the personal growth of an individual, a factor that could provide for employment possibilities in the field of culture and arts, etc. The connection between participation in cultural activities and social inclusion is not established.

VII. 3.4 Evaluation of the measures defined in NAP on social inclusion 2004-2006 to improve access to culture

Since the measures and priority tasks envisaged in the NAP are so vaguely defined, we have come up with a set of indicators that do not relate specifically or only to the proposed measures, but to (some of) the afore mentioned goals in general (long-term and priority objectives). Therefore, to evaluate how much has been done to promote the cultural diversity in public programs, to promote access to cultural activities for the Roma and the new ethnic minorities in Slovenia, to promote the development of their cultures and improve information about their activities, we will use the following indicators:

1. Increase of the amount of financial means, dedicated by the state to the financing of Roma community and new ethnic minorities' projects;
2. Improvement of the financing conditions of new ethnic minorities;
3. Increase of ethnic diversity of contents included in the special program of the Ministry of Culture;
4. Increase of the number of projects within the special program, which contribute to the presentation of minority cultures in Slovenia and abroad and contribute to greater accessibility of information on the minority communities' cultural activities;
5. Number of programs and projects, co-financed by the Ministry of Culture and local communities (+ the share of co-financed projects within all minority programs and projects, financed by the Ministry of Culture).

Add 1) Increase of the amount of financial means, dedicated by the state to the financing of Roma community and new ethnic minorities' projects

The financial means for minority communities' culture have been increasing since 2003. Especially noticeable was the increase within the special minority program of the Ministry of Culture in 2005, when the total amount, reserved for ethnic communities' culture, increased through rebalance by 248.402 EUR.

Table No. 30: Total amounts in EUR, the Ministry of Culture within special program for minority communities culture dedicates to the culture of Roma and other minority communities and immigrants²⁸⁴ (Source: Ministry of Culture, June 2006)

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007 (plan)
Roma	46.125	41.915	44.240	52.587	57.031	93.656	81.423	83.376
Other ethnic minorities and immigrants	42.512	41.210	84.637	76.000	82.459	174.737	193.143	197.780

These amounts should be added the means that the Ministry of Culture reserved for the projects of minority communities within the integration program.²⁸⁵ In 2002, the Roma community thus obtained 3.275,75 EUR, in 2003 2.086,46 EUR, in 2004 4.420,80 EUR, and in 2005 2.420,30 EUR (Source: Ministry of Culture, June 2006). Other minority ethnic communities and immigrants have so far not been included in the integration program.

Associations and other organizations of minority ethnic communities can apply with their projects to the competitions of the *Public Fund for cultural activities* of the RS. In 2005

²⁸⁴ Amounts of money for the programs intended for the Italian and Hungarian national communities are not shown in the table.

²⁸⁵ The 'integration program' is directed towards assuring access to cultural goods and services and access to creativity also for the members of special social groups (MC pays special attention to the following 'special social groups': ethnic minorities, handicapped and children) (Ministry of Culture, http://www.kultura.gov.si/index.php?id=9692&no_cache=1).

this Fund financed their projects in the total amount 18.778,17 EUR (The First NAP Report 2006: 22), and in 2006, projects totalling 19.821,40 EUR were endorsed.

Add 2) Improvement of the financing conditions of new ethnic minorities

The mere fact that the means, reserved by the state for the financing of these projects, are increasing can be regarded as improvement of conditions of cultural projects financing. Besides, the number of beneficiaries – associations, entitled to applying to the Public Fund's (Republic of Slovenia Public Fund for Cultural Activities) public competition, expanded, as the conditions no longer demand at least 5 years of work in culture, but only three (The first NAP Report 2006: 22). The Ministry of Culture considered the shortening of the demanded period to one year; this, however, has so far not been implemented.

In the past the members of the cultural associations of the new ethnic minorities complained about difficult bureaucratic procedures they had to go through to get access to the funds allocated for financing of cultural projects of the minority communities at the Ministry of Culture. The volunteers working in the cultural associations of ethnic minorities often could not handle the demanding procedures (Čurin Radović 2002: 235). Professional help or counselling, that has been introduced by the Ministry of Culture, can therefore also be considered as improvement of conditions for the financing of cultural projects of the new ethnic minorities. The purpose of this help is realization of cultural activities (help with the application, creation of programs and projects, complying with contractual obligations, and with the activities themselves and their monitoring), informing and legal help. Members of the cultural associations of the new ethnic minorities still complain that the procedures to apply for financial means for their cultural projects are not simple. It bothers them that the conditions listed in the calls for applications are constantly being changed. But on the other hand they speak well of the co-operation with the Ministry of Culture and the personal endeavours of the employees of the Ministry, who are there to help them with the applications for the projects.

Add 3) Increase of ethnic diversity of contents included in the special program of the Ministry of Culture²⁸⁶

In 2005, the special program of the Ministry of Culture included the same number of minority ethnic communities as the year before; there was, however, a change in the list of the ethnic communities included. In 2005, the Albanian community or, rather, their cultural organization Migjeni, was included into the special program, and the African centre was excluded due to the incomplete application. Many more associations of various minority communities than in earlier years applied for funds with their cultural projects (in 2005 ten more than in 2004).

Roma associations have – unlike in the previous years – started registering their cultural projects independently, and no longer through the Union of Roma of Slovenia, which is now possible, according to the changes in the tenders. In 2005, two Roma associations

²⁸⁶ Source: Report of the Ministry of culture on the implementation of the National program for culture 2004-2007 – for the year 2005.

registered independently. Thus the possibility was given and implemented for a wider variety of proposals. Also increasing is the number of other non-government organizations, applying for funds with their cultural projects, dealing with minority ethnic communities (3 in 2005, which is 1 more than in 2004).

The increase of ethnic diversity (of topics in the special minority program) was obtained by the support to various new cultural activities of national communities, as well as to new topics of cultural projects of the Roma community and other minority ethnic communities and immigrants in the RS. In the sphere of Roma community, apart from the central Roma journal, a journal of a local Roma association was registered and co-financed. The Union of the Roma of Slovenia began gathering documentation for the *Roma information centre (ROMIC)*.

Associations and unions of other minority ethnic communities and immigrants began presenting their activities in radio programs (the Bosnian community in Ljubljana, the Macedonian community in Maribor). There was a number of new cultural projects, such as: literary evenings (when, apart from members of minority ethnic communities in the RS, writers and poets from parent states were also invited), internal newsletters (almost every minority ethnic community publishes its newsletter), websites, ethno musical shows, (workshops, lectures, concerts), different ways of associations' presentations (films and brochures), as well as events at anniversaries of important personalities (150 years from the birth of Mihajlo Pupin, 40 years since the death of Ivo Andrić). The cultural diversity of the special program has therefore increased considerably, so from the viewpoint of activities, among which contemporary means of expression are being used, as from the viewpoint of initiators.

*Add 4) Increase of the number of projects which present minority cultures in Slovenia and abroad and contribute to greater accessibility of information on the minority communities' cultural activities*²⁸⁷

The increase of the number of projects, which present minority cultures in Slovenia and abroad, was achieved, as a number of different projects, enabling minority communities to present themselves in different ways, were included into the special program of the Ministry of Culture. There were 18 such projects with the Roma community, which means 34% within the Roma sub-program (7 more than in 2004), and with other minority ethnic communities 28 altogether, which means 47,5% within this sub-program (14 more than in 2004). Such projects are about publishing and press conferences of books, newspapers, newsletters, CDs, music workshops, presentations at festivals in Slovenia and abroad, performances of culture groups, exhibitions and lectures on characteristics of minority cultures, radio programs, information centres, internet portals, etc.

Information on minority communities' activities is also accessible on the Internet portals of minority societies. The number of Internet portals, financed by the Ministry of Culture, increased with regard to 2004 (apart from the Bosnian portal, the Macedonian one appeared in 2005). Also the number of registered and co-financed Internet journals and newsletters of individual associations, which greatly contribute to the information

²⁸⁷ Source: Report of the Ministry of culture on the implementation of the National program for culture 2004-2007 – for the year 2005.

spreading between association members, increased in 2005. There were 11, four more than in 2004. In Murska Sobota there is a Roma information centre ROMIC, founded in 2004, broadcasting weekly 25-minute TV programs on current events in the Roma community, and documenting these, which is also financed by a special program of the Ministry of Culture. Individual minority associations have started broadcasting radio programs of their own. So, for example the Bosnian cultural association of Slovenia broadcasted a weekly program on the Radio Študent frequency, and the Folklore Macedonian association Vardarka on the Maribor Radio Študent – Radio Marš frequency.

Add 5) Number of programs and projects, co-financed by the Ministry of Culture and local communities (+ the share of co-financed projects within all minority programs and projects, financed by the Ministry of Culture)

The government and some local communities have expressed their interest or willingness to finance different cultural projects of the Roma and the new ethnic minorities and they have been allocating certain amounts of money for these ends every year.

In the field of cultural activities of the Roma community, 5 projects were co-financed from the side of municipalities (Črešnovci, Črnomelj and Novo mesto, which was the financer of 3 projects), which amounts to 9,4% of all the Ministry of Culture projects, financed within the Roma sub-programs. In the field of other ethnic communities and immigrants, 5 projects were co-financed by municipalities (Hrastnik and Jesenice, which financed 4 projects), which amounts to 8,5% of all projects, financed by Ministry of Culture within this sub-program.

The share of cultural program, co-financed by local communities within the program for (Italian and Hungarian) national communities is 18,6%, while the share of cultural projects, co-financed by local communities within all the realized cultural projects of the special program of the Ministry of Culture is 9,1%; the municipalities, populated by national communities are therefore more generous. With this in mind, the relevant service of the Ministry of Culture has already started negotiations with the Public fund of the RS for cultural activities with the purpose of obtaining better integration of minority programs at local level, with the help of the local Fund offices.

Apart from co-financing by the local communities, the proposers, due to insufficient means of the MC reserved for the covering of all project expenses, search for other co-financers, sponsors and donors. In 2005 these were: Employment Service of Slovenia, American embassy, German embassy, Republic of Austria, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary, various associations, companies and individuals. However, the performers of projects invested substantial means of their own, in as many as 42,8% of all cultural projects of the MC special program.

Even though the NAP defines the promotion of cooperation between the Ministry of Culture and local communities as one of the priority objectives for the period 2004 – 2006, there are no concrete measures envisaged to promote this cooperation in the field of culture. The Ministry of Culture is not active in the sense of encouraging local communities to co-finance cultural activities of minority communities. Whether or not a

local community will co-finance minority communities' projects, largely depends upon the project proposers and their capability to convince local authorities to reserve some money for the project.

VII. 3.5 Conclusions

In the field of promoting access to culture for the most vulnerable ethnic groups in the Slovene society, the NAP on social inclusion 2004-2006 envisages very general measures, the implementation of which cannot be easily evaluated. Nevertheless according to the indicators that we used we could say that the policies to promote cultural pluralism and the development of minority cultures in Slovenia are being implemented and that progress can be noticed in a number of areas:

- the amount of money allocated for these policies has been raising in the last few years;
- more and more minority cultural associations have been able to gain money for their cultural projects from the Ministry of Culture;
- the number of projects that signify the presentation of minority cultures across Slovenia and abroad contribute to greater accessibility of information on the minority communities' cultural activities has also been rising.

In the course of our research we interviewed individual members of new ethnic communities, who were active in cultural associations and were also participating in the process of financial means acquisition (tenders, donations) for the performing of association activities. We asked them to estimate the implementation of the NAP on social inclusion 2004-2006 measures.

Representatives of individual cultural associations of new minorities in Slovenia are mostly satisfied with the cooperation with the Ministry of Culture and with personal endeavours of individual Ministry employees, in charge of financing of cultural projects of minority associations. Likewise they are satisfied with the cooperation with the Public fund for Cultural Activities, which also finances some of their projects. However, the question is to what extent the existing system contributes to the actual preservation of minority cultures in Slovenia, to what extent it reflects and considers the minority communities' needs, and contributes to the promotion of interculturalism.

Our respondents confirmed the increase of financial means, reserved by the Ministry of Culture for cultural activities of ethnic minorities, but at the same time stressed it remains insufficient. Along with the increase of financial means of the Ministry of Culture, the number of ethnic communities and cultural associations applying to tenders, has also increased, which means that individual communities do not get more money in the end. They are satisfied with the work of the professional service, which helps and advises them with tender applications, although many bureaucratic procedures are unnecessary, and frequent changes of tender conditions are disturbing.

The shortage they exposed is the fact they can only acquire financial means from the Ministry of Culture. Many of their projects belong to the field of education (courses of minority languages, etc.) and could be financed by the Ministry of Education and Sport,

if this ministry disposed with funds, reserved for ethnic minorities. They also disagree with the fact that the Ministry of Culture does not allocate funds for visiting minority artists from abroad. Furthermore they miss the possibility of being paid for the work on projects they perform as members of cultural associations.

Minority associations members emphasized there are differences between their needs in culture and the needs of the majority nation. These specificities and differences are not paid sufficient attention by the Ministry of Culture. They pointed out that the existing program of financing of cultural (art) projects of minority communities is insufficient for the preservation of minority cultures in Slovenia, and does not contribute enough to the promotion of interculturalism in society. For ethnic minorities, culture is not merely artistic creativity (theatre, music, publishing), but refers to lifestyle as a whole. For the preservation of minority cultures – rather than project financing of individual minority artists – continuous financing of association activities would be necessary, which would provide for the preservation, transmission of language, traditions, culture. Their needs are: long-term non-project organizing and financing of different activities, which would give a chance of associating to their members (creation of a social network) in various activities (sports associations, choruses, days of culture celebrations, etc.).

They expressed the need to establish a public or private institution (for archival, information, cultural, economic activities), which would be headed by adequately educated community members.²⁸⁸ The fact is cultural associations are amateur, and their functioning is based exclusively on voluntary work of a narrow circle of individuals. They are faced with the problem that many intellectuals (minority community members) do not wish to expose themselves, as being active in cultural associations of ethnic minority communities is not socially 'desired' or positively evaluated. They would need infrastructural support, which would contribute to the raise in quality of their work.

They also stressed they had no access to information channels through which to inform the public on their work. Strong media like public television and large circulation papers charge prices (commercial), which these associations cannot afford. Thus they are left with mail (mostly to their members), email, Internet, posters and free-of-charge publications of events on informative pages of major newspapers. This kind of information only reaches a limited number of people.

The increase of the financial means for the cultural projects of the Roma and the new ethnic minorities has been accompanied by the increase of the number of cultural associations of these ethnic communities in the last five years. This is especially true for the cultural associations of the Roma. Higher number of cultural associations is not only important for the preservation and the development of minority cultures, it is also important for the reason of a better overall organization of the minority communities. The purpose of the minority cultural associations is not only to carry out creative cultural

²⁸⁸ Such a solution would alleviate reproaches on discrimination between 'classical' minorities and 'new' national communities. Above all this would mean a similar treatment of new ethnic minorities in Slovenia and members of the Slovene communities outside Slovenia with regard to the fact that the Act on Relations of the RS with Slovenes Outside its Borders in its Article 28, item 1 states: »RS stimulates establishing of public or private centers (archival, informational, cultural, economic) in those states, populated by a larger number of Slovenes«. (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 43/06).

projects, but also to connect and unite the members of the minority in order to be better able to attain common goals and improve the overall position of their community in different social areas. Especially for the Roma community in Slovenia it could be claimed that through the cultural associations the Roma are included in the activities of the local communities and their cultural associations represent interlocutors to the local authorities in the matters related to the solving of Romani social problems (Bačič 1999: 38).

VIII. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this report was to evaluate the cultural policies introduced in the Slovenian National Action Plan (NAP) on Social Inclusion (2004-2006) in terms of their impact on promoting social inclusion of ethnic minorities. We focused on three policies: education policy for the Roma, employment policy for the Roma, and the policy to promote access to culture for minority ethnic groups. We analysed the implementation and effects of the individual measures envisaged to attain the objectives of these three policies.

In the estimation of these measures we found out:

1. There is a discord among the stated aims and measures of the NAP, adopted legislation and their practical implementation.
 - a) Education: With regard to the legislation and measures anticipated in the NAP in promoting the intercultural approach to education and introducing multicultural contents in curricula, much more could be done with mere operationalization and implementation of the already adopted (legislative) measures.
2. It turned out, there is no political consensus on the implementation of certain measures recommended by professionals.
 - a) Education: There is momentarily no political will to introduce multicultural concepts into educational system, which would truly alter school atmosphere.
 - b) Culture: There seems to be no political consensus on inclusion of new ethnic minorities into mass media. The duty of the state is to create adequate conditions for the preservation and promotion of cultural and language identity of all its inhabitants. This means that media entry ought to be available to ethnic minorities.
3. Some of the NAP aims were not sufficiently transformed into operative measures. Especially two of them were too generally formulated.
 - a) Education: There are no concrete measures at the national level in the field of inclusion of Roma children in kindergartens.
 - b) Culture: Measures for improving access to culture such as - the fulfilling the concept of cultural diversity in the function of improving the quality of life for all – are defined too vaguely.
4. Members of the ethnic minorities are still not sufficiently participating in the formation of specific policies. Measures are often formed from the standpoint of majority population, which can differ from aspirations and needs of ethnic minorities.
 - a) Education: A positive example is the Ministry of Education and Sport whose working group for the preparation of action plan for the implementation of the Strategy for education of the Roma in the Republic of Slovenia included 13 members, 4 of who are Roma, including the president. The tasks of the working group comprise preparation of action

- plan for the implementation of the Strategy, monitoring of the implementation of the program, proposals related to Roma schooling problems, yearly reports.
- b) Culture: Second example of good practice is the establishment of the special *department for cultural activity of the Italian, Hungarian and Roma community, as well as of other minority communities and immigrants* at the Ministry of Culture. This department created a special program for financing the cultural activities of the ethnic minorities.
5. The absence of mechanisms and methods for monitoring and evaluation of the measures to promote social inclusion of ethnic minorities is evident. Individual Ministries or other institutions nevertheless do monitor the implementation of some of the measures, but there is no coherent system for evaluation of efficiency of the existing policies.
- a) Employment: special mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the employment policy for the Roma have not been envisaged in the NAP. Nevertheless, monitoring and evaluation are envisaged in the Program of measures of the Active employment policy for the year 2006 (Off. Gaz. of the RS, No. 26/2006) and since most of the measures listed in the NAP that relate to employment are being implemented through the Active Employment Policy programs, we could actually say that most NAP's measures (their implementation and effectiveness) are being monitored and (will be) evaluated. But as far as Roma are concerned it is not always possible to detach data related specifically to them (e.g. there are no exact data on the money allocated specifically to the Roma in certain programs of the AEP, since the Roma are included in these programs together with other unemployed). Besides, the evaluation of AEP probably won't explain how or whether the outputs of the AEP measures improve social inclusion of the Roma, which is the ultimate goal of the NAP on social inclusion (2004-2006).
6. In the NAP on social inclusion 2004-2006, new ethnic minorities are only considered within the cultural policies. With regard to ethnic structure in Slovenia and future demographic trends, more attention should be dedicated to new ethnic minorities and immigrants. Empiric research studies showed (Komac and Medvešek, eds. 2005, Kržišnik-Bukić 2003, Dekleva and Razpotnik 2002) that also members of new ethnic minorities do not have equal opportunities in employment, education and access to culture.
7. The link between national and local levels must be strengthened. The present shortcomings are: inadequate mutual informing, insufficient consideration of local needs at national level, unclear distribution of competence in certain spheres, due to which competence is being shifted from one level to another.
8. There are still gaps in data availability, especially with respect to the Roma and new ethnic minorities. The Protection of Personal Data Act limits gathering of data on ethnic adherence, which prevents quality evaluation of individual measures.

9. It is necessary to ensure mutual compatibility and complementarity of policies in individual social spheres: education, employment, culture, healthcare, and housing.

Apart from the implementation of the measures, dedicated to vulnerable groups or ethnic minorities to promote their social inclusion, two things should be considered:

A lot can be done by minority communities themselves. Self-segregation of minority communities from the public life, inferiority feelings, accepting the status of victims due to intolerance and social exclusion from the part of majority population is non-productive, not contributing to problem solving and co-existence.²⁸⁹ New minority communities must be aware of the mutual influence between majority and minority. A minority, which does not act dogmatically and rigidly, and is willing to accept reasonable compromise or dialogue on common aims, can have impact on majority. Minority communities must act consistently, autonomously (political and financial autonomy are important), transparently, but above all in accordance with the idea of active citizenship (Nastran Ule 1997, Moscovici 1976).

Regardless of the dimension of ethnic minorities social inclusion we are dealing with (education, employment, culture, housing), discrimination and ethnic distance from the part of the majority population prove to be important aspects. In the recent period we are becoming increasingly (but still not enough) aware of the significance of effective struggle against discrimination. The number of projects, publications, programs for education of teachers, healthcare workers, public administration on phenomena and prevention of discrimination is increasing. A more systematic approach to education and sensitising of people from kindergarten on is necessary. It would be good if society accepted multiculturalism as an opportunity, challenge and source of creative potential of the young state. At the same time we should not be satisfied with declarations, but should implement measures, leading to the decrease of discrimination and ethnic intolerance.

Despite the shortcomings, the general estimation of measures and policies defined in NAP on social inclusion 2004-2006, is positive. Gradual progress can be seen, making a long-term contribution to the improvement of social cohesion and integration of all citizens.

²⁸⁹ Darko Rudaš, a Roma from Murska Sobota said that it is evident from the previous discussions, that there are shifts in this field, but are not leading to the improvement of Roma community status. This status itself requires a different approach, but it is a question which measures are needed to make the topic more commandable. ... Until Roma themselves can figure out what is good for them, they will have problems. Roma have to make the first step and unite within their own community. In his opinion, policy is an instrument for improving societies, so the situation will not be improved until Roma become politically active. Roma are stigmatized in society, but a turn will only take place through their own political action, supported by the state and local communities. A strategy based on the interests and needs of Roma is necessary, above all Roma should make their wishes known, instead of pointing out their problems. When they are educated and employed, they will know what brings them benefit, and negative majority attitude towards them will improve.« (Zapis posveta Problematika ekonomsko-socialne integracije Romov v Sloveniji [Notes from the conference on 'The problems of economic and social integration of Roma in Slovenia'], Ljubljana, July 1, 2004, Available on the www: http://www.ds-rs.si/dejavnost/posveti/posvet_01072004/ZapisPosveta.pdf).

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