



## Journal of Geography, Politics and Society

2016, 6(3), 5–17

DOI 10.4467/24512249JG.16.015.5802

---

## SLOVENE MINORITY ISSUES

Matjaž Klemenčič (1), Jernej Zupančič (2)

(1) Department of History, Faculty of Arts, University of Maribor, Koroška cesta 60, SI-2000 Maribor, Slovenia, e-mail: matjaz.klemencic@um.si

(2) Department of Geography, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, e-mail: jernej.zupancic@ff.uni-lj.si

### Citation

Klemenčič M., Zupančič J., 2016, Slovene minority issues, *Journal of Geography, Politics and Society*, 6(3), 5–17.

### Abstract

The contribution explains the historical development of the political boundaries of Slovene states and the creation of minorities as political bodies in Slovenia and in the neighboring countries, as well as the creation of Slovene Diasporas in Europe and around the world. The ethnic development of Slovenes can only be understood within the context of the general ethno-national, political-territorial and socio-economic processes in Europe since the beginning of 19th century. In the treatise, we deal with ethnic minorities and minority policies as typical political heritage of Europe: the destiny, problem and challenge, but an advantage as well. Due to the size and importance of minorities, Slovenia count to the minority sensible countries. Legal and actual Protection of autochthonous minorities in Slovenia is normatively wide and realized consistently, while Slovene minorities in neighboring countries have much worse formal-political baseline.

### Key words

Slovenes, Slovenia, ethnic minority, diaspora, Slovene history.

---

## 1. Introduction

Slovenia is a small Central European country, known by its minority policy. Regarding the level of minority protection standards per capita, the Italian and Hungarian community can be counted as the highly protected national minorities in Europe. From the other point of view, the national development of Slovenes is comparable central-european story, where the creation of ethnic community is much older than the making of political-territorial unit (or state). Established in 1991 and internationally recognized in 1992, Slovenia is among the youngest countries in Europe, but its political borders have much larger

(and older) background. The minorities are, however, a result of these dynamic political processes.

Slovenia lies on crossroads; there, where the eastern part of the Alpine Arc passes through the lower hills into the Dinaric Mountains and delineates the continental Pannonian basin from the Mediterranean Northern Adriatic. Its' size is 20.273 km<sup>2</sup> and has 2,066.000 inhabitants. Traditional settlement territory of the Slovenes borders on the Italian, German, Hungarian and Croatian ethnic area. The area was until the crossroads of the 1990s as part of the non-aligned socialist Yugoslav federation at the

military-strategic point of contact among the NATO Italy, neutral Austria and Hungary, which belonged to the Warsaw pact. After a brief war Slovenia became independent nation in 1991 and less than two decades later joined the EU and NATO in 2004 and entered into the Eurozone and the Schengen area in 2007. Slovenia is a country of ethnic Slovenes, people of 2.4 million. The majority of them (approximately 1.8 million) lives in Slovenia, some 150,000 in neighboring countries and circa 500,000 in diaspora around the world (Zupančič, 2001). The ethnic development of Slovenes and the political consequences can only be understood within the context of the general ethno-national, political-territorial and economic-social processes in Europe since the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Slovenes are a people with the old and rich culture and relatively late political affirmation. Slovenia became an independent country during turbulent geopolitical changes after the fall of communist regimes and dissolution of multinational Yugoslav federation.

Slovenia is often described as "Alpine" land, which roughly corresponds to the geological-tectonic criteria as well as economic and social mentality of its inhabitants. Most of the state lies between 300 and 700 meters above the sea. It lies on the mountainous terrain and its climate intermingles Alpine, continental and Mediterranean. These climate types influences varied and rich flora and fauna. The current territory of the Slovene state was determined by the previous state systems and their economic, administrative and cultural policy (Natek, Natek, 1998). Slovenes have lived for centuries under the Austrian (Habsburg) Monarchy, which strongly influenced its cultural landscape. Also Northern Italy had an impact on the development of Slovenia. Because of the time proximity in particular Yugoslavia through the socialist social and economic heritage left important traces. These traces can be seen in administrative borders, widely understood material and spiritual culture, regional identities and mentality. Mosaic structure of Slovene cultural landscape also highlights the predominantly retail-settlement system. Slovenia has more than 6,000 settlements, reflecting the adjustment of the potential exploitation of the agricultural land on the rugged hilly terrain. In addition also important are small urban areas which are late result of a very intensive industrialization and relatively weak urbanization; with 51% of the urban population the least urbanized country in Europe (Natek, Natek, 1988).

## 2. Brief Slovene national history

The ancestors of the Slovenes (Alpine Slavs) inhabited the area of approximately 80,000 km<sup>2</sup>, extending between the eastern Alps and western Carpathian Basin in the north stretched to the Danube, in the west to central parts in Bavaria, in the east to Lake Balaton, and to Istria in the south, in the 6th century. Around the year 900, 10,000 km<sup>2</sup> of this area in the western part of the Pannonian Plain was occupied and settled by Hungarians (Magyars). They magyarized it until the end of the 11th century. Off the remaining 70,000 km<sup>2</sup>, approximately 36,000 km<sup>2</sup> was settled in the 15th century by Bavarian-Germans, and around 24,000 km<sup>2</sup> remained populated by the ancestors of today's Slovenes and represent the cornerstone of Slovene National Development (Grafenauer, 1994).

The ancestors of the Slovenes had their first state formed already in the 7th century. It was the tribal principality of Carinthia, which soon came into the feudal relationship (due to defending against Avars on the east) with the Bavarians and later the Franks. A typical residue of the first period of Slovene statehood was the ritual of installing Carantanian princes, and later dukes of Carinthia. It was held in the archaic Slovene language and preserved until 1414 (Grafenauer, 1952). Because of its unusual shape this ritual aroused the interest of later writers. It is described in the book of the French jurist and political philosopher Jean Bodin (1580), *Les six livres de la République*, in which also Thomas Jefferson read about it. Based on his bookmark in the book on page 129, where the ceremony is mentioned the theory aroused that the latter inspired Jefferson in writing the American Declaration of Independence (Declaration of Independence); especially in the part where the equality among human beings and the indivisibility of their fundamental rights is mentioned (Felicijan, 1967; Štih, 2005). Subsequent important events in Slovene history until the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century were peasant uprisings and reformation. The latter brought the codification of the Slovene language (grammar and the first translation of the Bible in the Slovene language).

The first modern political manifestation of Slovenes as people began in the revolutionary year of 1848, when Slovenes in their political program, "Unified Slovenia", demanded the unification of all territories inhabited by the Slovene population in one political unit within the Habsburg Monarchy (Granda, 1999). Administrative reform, or merger of lands with Slovene population (Carinthia, Styria, Carniola, Gorizia, Trieste and Istria and in parts of the Hungarian Zala and Vas counties in one unit mainly aimed to

achieve cultural objectives. In this new administrative unit Slovene was supposed to be the language of the administrative bodies, teaching and judiciary. Surely, the idea was very far from being fulfilled. But since then, the national idea was "alive" during all the time. What followed later was the policy of small steps by the leaders of Slovene political parties as the result of the political pragmatism of resistance against Germanization, Magyarization and partly Romanization. These objectives have remained unrealized. The result of a division of the Habsburg monarchy in the Hungarian and Austrian half (1867) was that northeastern parts (s. c. Slovene Kraina or Véndevidek in hungarian) came under the Hungarian part of the Double-Monarchy. A year before (1866) the Venetian Slovenes decided (by plebiscite) to remain within Italy. The idea of "United Slovenia", which was until all popular assemblies movement (so called taborsko gibanje) limited to the narrow circle of students, intellectuals and priests became popular in the years 1868–1871. People gathered in all Slovene provinces and demanded the fulfillment of the idea of United Slovenia (Gestrin, Melik, 1966). These political tensions were a part of much larger demands of Slavic ethno-nations (Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Ukrainians, Croats, Serbs, beside Slovenes) in the framework of pan-slavic movement within dual-monarchy<sup>1</sup>. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Slovenes achieved significant successes in the implementation of the demands for Slovene language in schools and offices, especially in Carniola and southern Styria. There Slovene language became an official language in municipalities. Based on the third article of the Carinthian provincial constitution of 1849 which proclaimed equality of both peoples of Carinthia bilingual local directories, bilingual Code and the Provincial Constitution was printed in German and Slovene also in Carinthia (Schnabl, 2016). Slovene, however, was also partly enforced in municipal administrations throughout the Slovene ethnic territory. So this is a period when Slovenes became politically aware of themselves and demonstrated their political will: to preserve their language and unique culture by organizing institutions on the basis of their ethnicity.

The beginnings of industrialization in the Slovene ethnic territory since mid of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and beyond was marked by intensified Germanisation, Italianization and Hungarization of Slovene population; on the one hand due to the immigration of German, Italian and Hungarian population

to the Slovene ethnic territory, on the other hand due to intensive emigration of the Slovene population. Due to mass emigration and assimilation pressures of numerically stronger nations, the number of Slovenes in the Slovene ethnic territory grew very slowly. Thus, in the lands of the western part of the Habsburg Monarchy, among which the majority of the Slovene ethnic territory was divided, the number of Slovenes between 1846 and 1910 increased only from 1.055 million to 1.253 million, or 18.76%. Share of Slovene population in this period in the region fell from 46.1% to 40.0% (Zwitter, 1936).

The geopolitical changes came soon in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. The First World War marked a turning point in the Slovene History, because part of the Slovene ethnic territory after the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy merged with the territories of other South Slavic ethno-nations into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (since 1929 Kingdom of Yugoslavia). Approximately 15,750 km<sup>2</sup> of the Slovene ethnic territory belonged to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, outside its borders remained approximately 8,700 km<sup>2</sup> of territory settled by Slovenes (or 65%); from that in Italy on approximately 6,000 km<sup>2</sup> with 340,000 Slovenes, circa 2,600 km<sup>2</sup> with 80,000 Slovenes in Austria and much smaller in Hungary: close to 100 km<sup>2</sup> and close to 8,000 Slovenes. Outside the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats remained around 428,000 or around one third of all Slovenes settled on their traditional territories.

After dissolution of multinational Habsburg Empire, Slovenes entered into another multiethnic political unit: the SHS state, later Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In 1918 began the Slovene history within the Yugoslav state. During this period of Slovene history, the Slovene politicians fought for decentralization and federalization. The Slovene language was introduced as language of the schools, official language in offices and in the courts, but there was no way to establish Slovene as an official language at the national level. This is the period when the University opened in Ljubljana, as well as a number of secondary schools in other central places in Banovina of Drava (slov. Dravska banovina) was administrative-political unit in Yugoslav kingdom established in 1929 with predominantly Slovene population.

After two decades, the peace-period was over. World War II represented the peak of assimilation pressures on the Slovene ethnic territory. After the attack of the Axis forces on Yugoslavia in April 1941 new partition of the Slovene territory occurred. Prekmurje, the northeastern part was occupied by Hungarians, Italians occupied the southeastern regions (Notranjska, Ljubljana and Dolenjska) and the Germans occupied the rest of territory settled

<sup>1</sup> Trialism: political idea and movement for political reconstruction of Habsburg-Monarchy into three parts: Austrian (or German), Hungarian and Slavonic.

by Slovenes (aprox. a good half of it). All parts were included into the occupying-states. The assimilation became most common and mostly very violent policy. Soon they forced mass emigration of Slovene population, either to concentration camps or to Serbia and Silesia. It is interesting to note that on the basis of an agreement between Hitler and Mussolini on the settlement of South Tyrolean question Italians and Germans also agreed upon the emigration of the Gottscheer Germans "back to the Reich" to the area of Brežice which was typical ethnic – motivated colonization (Ferenc, Zupan, 2011). Slovenes reacted with the armed resistance of Partisans against the occupying forces, which soon came under the Yugoslav national liberation movement under the leadership of the Communist Party. This resistance was part of the "anti-Hitler coalition" in Europe. It has played an important role in changing the borders with Italy in the Yugoslav favor. Whereas this resistance was also a communist revolution part of the Slovene population rebelled against it and collaborated with the occupying forces. After the Second World War, the soldiers who joined in the Slovene Home Guard (Domobranci) retreated to Carinthia, where they were captured by the British occupation forces. They returned part of the soldiers of Home Guard units to Yugoslavia. More than 12,000 of them were executed without any court procedures. This fact has been concealed by official politics of the communist regime until the democratization process took place in Slovenia. However, it remained to this day part of the political discourse in Slovenia.

Although the Partisan Army liberated most of the Slovene ethnic territories by the end of World War II, the borders with Austria and Hungary remained unchanged. Yugoslavia gained only some territory (Slovene coastland and Istria) in the west that had belonged to Italy in the period between World War I and World War II. However, the city of Trieste remained part of Italian state when the Free Territory of Trieste established by the Peace Treaty with Italy was divided between Yugoslavia and Italy by the "Memorandum of Understanding Between the Governments of Italy, the United Kingdom, the United States and Yugoslavia Regarding The Free Territory of Trieste" in 1954 (Jeri, 1961). However, it took more than twenty years to determine finally the border between Italy in Yugoslavia, by the Treaty of Ossimo in 1975. Altogether more than 200,000 ethnic Slovenes remained outside the borders of Yugoslavia after World War II as the national minorities in Austria, Hungary and Italy. The protection of Slovene national minorities in the neighboring countries was always an important issue for Slovenia that tried to put pressure upon the Yugoslav foreign policy for

the improvement of the situation and protection of Slovene minorities abroad.

However, the Slovenes in Yugoslavia also found themselves in a contradictory position after World War II. On the basis of the Constitution of 1946 they gained the status of a constitutive part of the Yugoslav federation. Formally, Slovenes gained their own state; their independence was, however, only apparent. Already by the end of World War II the Slovene partisan units were integrated into the Yugoslav Army. Later, Slovenia had to give up much of its autonomy and independence established by the Slovene National Liberation Movement during World War II, when Slovene independent economic, social and cultural policies and institutions were developed. In accordance with the Yugoslav federal constitution, Slovenia retained its governance in education, culture, social- and health care, planning system and urban development. Public administration has common Yugoslav platform, but was made in Slovenia in Slovene language and has, therefore, practically the Slovene character. Police was Slovene as well as limited local military forces (Teritorialna obramba)<sup>2</sup>.

As elsewhere in Yugoslavia, also in Slovenia the Communists took over all the powers after World War II. So they took control over political structures and the Communist Party was the only party allowed. In 1948, the country was under serious threat of soviet military intervention, which did not occurred. This was the breaking point with the other communist countries in Europe in sense of military as well as economic collaboration. Yugoslavia however kept the socialist economic and political system – therefore remained the typical socialist society, but the economic relations with the "west" were of a crucial importance. Slovenia was the only Yugoslav republic territorially bordering with the west (Italy, Austria) and has – despite typical socialist economy – quite a few economic connections and cooperated with western economies. Some enterprises exported up to 80% of their products to the West! Otherwise, the economy was until the mid-1950s characterized by state ownership of means of production. In the 1950s a period of socialist self-management with a typical social ownership of the means of production began.

<sup>2</sup> Teritorialna obramba (eng. Territorial defense) was a part of total defense system, developed in Yugoslavia due to the geopolitical position of Yugoslavia, after 1968. The units based on commune level had to defend the local areas in the case of occupation. Among all Yugoslav republics, Slovene territorial defense forces were far more organized, equipped, led and skilled in military profession than in any other part of Yugoslavia. They were however a part of common (Yugoslav) military. The commands were all in Slovene language.

At the end of the 1980s as in other Eastern European countries also in Slovenia and Yugoslavia the democratization processes began; and with them also demands for greater independence of Slovenia; at first, still within Yugoslavia. In 1990 the first democratic elections, were carried out in which democratic parties won. The leaders of the new government called for a plebiscite on Slovenia's independence in December 1990 in which almost 90% of all the voters voted for independence, which was declared on 25 June 1991 (Klemenčič, Žagar, 2004).

### 3. Slovene ethnic minorities in neighboring countries

The Slovene minorities in neighboring countries are a result of dynamic political processes in first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, they represent a direct result of new political borders after the First and the Second World War. Slovene communities in the border regions are much older; these spaces were an important part of Slovene ethnic body and gave evidently important contribution to the creation of Slovene ethno-nation and national movements of Slovenes during Habsburg rule in these areas. The First World War marked a turning point in the Slovene History, because part of the Slovene ethnic territory after the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy merged with other South Slavic peoples in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (since 1929 Kingdom of Yugoslavia). Outside Yugoslavia remained around 8,700 km<sup>2</sup> of the territory settled by 340,000 ethnic Slovenes, which was a little bit more than one third of the Slovene ethnic territory as well as of ethnic Slovenes who lived on this territory.

Actual and legal protection of Slovene indigenous minorities was not adequate in all three countries (Italy, Austria, and Hungary). This was still a period of integral nationalism, during which the nation-states followed the idea of ethnic homogeneity. The minorities were very often seen as a threat to the country where they live. The nation states' policies towards them aimed to assimilate the minorities, or even worse, to force them to emigrate and thus ethnically cleanse the region of their settlement. The assimilation pressures on the outskirts of the Slovene ethnic territory continued and gained strength during this period. Thus, in Italy the fascists shortly after their arrival (in 1920s) to power prohibited the use of the Slovene language in schools and all other public institutions. Also physical attacks on the Slovene population occurred. For this reason, the Slovene mass emigration from the Western part of the Slovene ethnic territory which was under

Italian rule (The Littoral)<sup>3</sup> to Yugoslav Slovenia, as well as to South America and Australia strengthened. The delimitation process between Austria and State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was turbulent. After some military attempts, the great powers decided for plebiscite<sup>4</sup> as a delimitation tool. In Southern Carinthia (Austria) in the year 1920 the majority of the voters decided in a plebiscite that it will belong to the Republic of Austria. In doing so, they did not decide on ethno-nationality only. It was a political decision and calculation, based on the fact, that Austria was at that time advanced and industrially developed republic, and the Yugoslav state economically weak backward Balkan kingdom (Zupančič, 1999). It is necessary to mention the fact that the Carinthian provincial assembly before the plebiscite promised by a solemn declaration to Carinthian Slovenes that they would be able to maintain and foster their identity in Austria. Already a few days after the plebiscite all these promises were "forgotten" and Slovene was "expelled" from public institutions and schools, Slovene intellectuals had to emigrate in large proportions to the Yugoslav Slovenia or overseas countries. Pressures on the Carinthian Slovenes have reached its peak after the Anschluss of Austria by the German Third Reich in 1938. With the intention of ethnic cleansing of the region the Nazis sent many Slovenes to concentration camps during the World War 2. Slovenes in Hungary were also exposed to similar assimilation pressures. The situation worsened during the World War II.

After the World War 2 there were several changes of border with Italy in favor of Slovenia/ Yugoslavia, while the national frontier with Austria and Hungary remained unchanged. The question of protection of Slovene minorities in neighbor states became an important political issue for Slovenes, since there lived large Slovene minorities in Italy and Austria, and much smaller in Hungary. In Austria the legal base for protection of the ethnic/ national minorities can be found already in article 19 of Austrian Constitution in 1867. It is also the Treaty of Saint Germain of 1919. The most important document regarding the protection of Slovene minority in Austrian provinces of Carinthia and Styria is the Austrian State Treaty of

<sup>3</sup> Littoral (in Slovene: Primorje or Primorska) sourcing from Austrian province (Austrian Littoral), which was (beside city of Trieste with particular city statute and Istria) an administrative unit in Austrian part of double Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The term »littoral« remain and was later used as a common name for the whole territory settled by Slovenes (and party Croats, in Istria) ruled by Italy.

<sup>4</sup> Plebiscite were commonly used in delimitations between new established countries in Central Europe after WW1.

1955<sup>5</sup>, especially its Article 7. The Austrian authorities continued assimilation pressures on Slovenes of Carinthia and Styria even after 1955. They reached its peak in 1970s with the War of bilingual localities signs and with the special census of population of 1976. With this census the Austrian authorities searched for Carinthian Slovenes in the whole Austria; although the world knew where Slovenes of Austria lived. Even during the 1970s and 1980s there were several cases of physical attacks on Carinthian Slovenes. The changes of the law regulating bilingual education of elementary school children put further pressure on Carinthian Slovenes. The Austrian constitutional court established a few times in 1990s and 2000s that Austria failed to realize provisions on minority protection fully. The provincial- as well as federal Austrian authorities tried to minimize the minority protection (Klemenčič, Klemenčič, 2010). The situation of the Slovene minority in Austria improved slightly after years of negotiations the Austrian parliament passed a new law on protection of Slovene minority in 2011.

For Slovenes in Italy the most important documents regarding their minority protection are the Peace Treaty with Italy of 1947, "Memorandum of understanding on Trieste of 1954" and some bilateral treaties between Italy and Yugoslavia; most important among them Osimo Treaty of 1975 included also provisions on the protection of the Slovene minority. However, these provisions have never been fully put into practice and the Italian political elites always found reasons and ways how to avoid the fulfillments of these diplomatic agreements. After years of negotiations and political maneuvering the Italian Parliament passed the special law on the global protection of the Slovene national minority in Italy as late as 2001. At a formal level this meant that after three decades of endeavors the Slovenes in Italy at least formally enjoy minority rights throughout the territory of their historical settlement. The law was realized only in 2009. In addition, Italian neo-fascists physically attacked Slovenes of Italy and their institutions physically attacked by Italian neo-fascists until late 1980s.

Nevertheless, in the period of the "Cold War" the situation of the Slovene national minority living in an underdeveloped part of Hungary behind the "Iron Curtain" was much worse than the situation

of the Slovenes in Italy and Austria. The situation of this minority started to improve when the gradual liberalization in Hungary in the 1980s took place, yet improved substantially in the 1990s when representatives of Slovenia and Hungary signed a bilateral agreement on the protection of national minorities between Slovenia and Hungary.

Today, Slovene minorities live in border areas of neighboring countries. The minorities took important part in Slovene foreign affairs. Slovenia is the successor state of former Yugoslavia and therefore has inherited succession of contracts and agreements that were concluded during the existence of Yugoslavia. Based on these agreements the Republic of Slovenia with a high degree of autonomy was able to support them. Slovenia during the Yugoslav period actively took care of Yugoslav diplomatic efforts which were made in regulating minority issues as part of diplomatic relations with the neighboring countries. Slovenia financially supported activities of Slovene minorities. It also took part thru its diplomats in the work of diplomatic and consular missions in the regions where Slovenes live and in promoting cross-border economic and cultural cooperation. The policy towards minorities in neighboring countries sometimes has to adapt to general political circumstances and could be less principled – which can also be a problem.

The Slovene minority in Austria inhabits around 2,600 km<sup>2</sup> of territory in southern Carinthia and most Southern Styria, where lives, according to official Austrian census data, in 2001 about 13,000, according to Slovene estimates, 45,000 Slovenes (Klemenčič, Klemenčič, 2010; Zupančič, 2013). Outside these areas in Austria live more than 5,000 Slovenes, mostly in Vienna and Graz (Zupančič, 1999). Basic legal document for the Slovenes in Austria is the Article 7 of the Austrian State Treaty of 1955, which was written as a compensation to territorial changes in favor of Slovenia (then Yugoslavia) and provides a wide range of minority rights in a given territory. Second Austrian Republic largely ignored or even violated, as far as education or bilingual topography (Klemenčič, Klemenčič, 2006). Education is organized in the framework of the public education network, but not as a special minority schools, but implement bilingual education. The success of this model is relatively modest. There are many successful private mostly Catholic) kindergartens. Secondary Education stands at the provincial and Austrian levels for effective multilingual educational model. Minority is organized into three umbrella organizations, left-oriented Association of Slovene Organizations (ZSO) right-oriented National Council of Carinthian Slovenes (NSKS) and the newest organization

<sup>5</sup> Austrian State Treaty of 1955 is an international diplomatic agreement among major powers (USA, United Kingdom, France, Soviet Union) with Austria. Yugoslavia and some other countries joined the Treaty as cosigners. Austrian borders remained unchanged as they were from St. Germain Treaty in 1920.

Community of Slovenes (Klemenčič, Klemenčič, 2008). Styrian Slovenes are organized in an association (Association Article 7). At the regional and local level a political party Unity list (EL) has been successful. Slovene minority members were elected also to national parliament as well as to provincial assembly (Klemenčič, Klemenčič, 2010). Slovene minority additionally has some successful economic organizations and is, despite some disadvantages regionally strong and successful. Members of the minority are very successful in cultural activities.

Slovenes in Italy live on 1,500 km<sup>2</sup> in Italian Region Friuli-Venezia Giulia. The region has a special status because of its cultural diversity. In the region Slovenes and Friulians live. According to the Slovene estimates there are between 83,000 and 100,000 Slovenes who live in this region; according to official (Italian) estimates there are 52,000. About 10,000 of them live in the Friuli plain, outside the territory of the indigenous Slovene settlements. The education is organized in the framework of the Italian national education through Slovene schools. Slovene is the teaching language in these schools, while Italian is a compulsory subject. School in Špeter Slovenov/St. Pietro Natisone in s.c. Venetian Slovenia is an exception. The education there is bilingual. Slovene minority has developed rich cultural, sports and media activities which is partly supported by Italy and partly by Slovenia partially through tenders. Slovenes until 2001 enjoyed different level of protection. After 1954, Slovenes in Trieste enjoyed the highest level of protection, Slovenes in Gorizia and Udine provinces enjoyed protection to a lesser extent. Slovene minority has formed two umbrella political organization, the more left-oriented Slovene cultural and economic union (SKGZ) and right – oriented Catholic Community of Slovene Organizations (SSO). An umbrella organization means that it unites under its “umbrella” numerous cultural, sport and commercial organizations. Slovene minority has more links with leftist parties in Italy, although at regional and local level, it has its own political party “Slovene community”. Ethnic Slovenes were elected to national parliament and to provincial and regional assemblies. The minority is also economically quite strong and well organized especially in Trieste and Gorizia and also at European level realizes integrative role of minorities in cross-border cooperation.

Slovenes in Hungary represents a small traditional ethnic minority in Europe. They live in the Raba region in Vas County on 100 km<sup>2</sup>. According to official census data, in 2001 there were about 2500, according to Slovene estimates nearly 5,000 nationwide (about 2,000 Slovenes live scattered throughout Hungary outside Raba Region). Raba

region/Porabje is purely peripheral region with low economic advantages (Zupančič, 2000). Slovenes in Hungary have gained the first classic minority rights after the democratic changes in Hungary at the crossroads of the 1990s. Before the democratic changes took place in Hungary they were considered as a “Yugoslav” minority and the level of formal protection was very low. However, the range of these rights is still now very modest. The implementation of minority rights and economic development is hindered by the placement of the entire area populated by Slovene minority in the Órség National Park in 2001 without compensatory measures. A minority has two organizations: the Association of Slovenes in Hungary and “Slovene national minority self-government”. Education comprises bilingual instruction, but the model failed, partly due to a very modest financial support by Hungarian state, small total number and reduced number of intellectuals among minority (Šiftar, 2016).

Traditional Slovene minority in Croatia is comprised only of a few hundred people. They are settled in five small and mutually separated areas along Slovene-Croatian border. The Slovene community in Croatia is much more numerous (around 20.000 of members) if we add also Slovene migrants. So most of the Slovenes in Croatia are immigrants and their descendants who reside in major cities especially in Pula, Zagreb, which is the capital city, and Rijeka, important Croatian harbor. These cities were attractive as immigrants’ destinations since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and most of Slovenes in Croatia have therefore gained relatively good economic positions as individuals. The community as a group remained practically hidden during the Yugoslav period and became visible only after Slovenia became an independent nation. They are organized in clubs. Slovenes are mentioned as a minority in Croatian Constitution; but it does not bring them practically any particular advantage (Kržišnik, Bukič, 1995).

#### **4. The emigration of Slovenes and creation of Slovene diaspora**

From late 1870s till the beginning of World War I. the mass emigration took place in most of the areas populated traditionally by Slovenes. Slovenes were than a part of enormous human stream from Europe to North America. The immigrants mainly from East-Central and Central Europe emigrated to the US in search for a better life. The US needed to settle the empty West and support the immense increase of American economy. After several decades the US became the important economic power,

thank to millions of newcomers, who brought fresh and cheap work force. In less than one generation the immigrants became Americans, people of common American culture with diverse ethnic roots. The ethnic background was not forgotten, but was not important in their daily life in the US, either. The culture, awareness and belonging remained, the language mainly not (Bodnar, 1987).

Also Slovene immigrants experienced transformation and became first American Slovenes and later Americans of Slovene descent. Slovene diaspora remained strong, relatively numerous and influential. The United States was not the only destination of the Slovenes, but remained probably the most numerous (Klemenčič, 2013).

There were many reasons for emigration; and it could not be limited to the economic reasons (in sense of seeking job or better economic position). One of the main reasons for the emigration of Slovene population was rapidly reduced income from non-agrarian activities since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. It began to decline due to the construction of the railways which brought cheap products into the region and due to the development of the industry in the areas nearby Slovene ethnic territory. It was therefore not surprising that the Slovenes began mass emigration, both to the industrial and mining areas within the western part of the Habsburg Monarchy, particularly to the area of northern Styria and Vienna, and to industrial area in the Rhine in Germany, as well as to overseas countries. In the period before the First World War, over 150,000 Slovenes settled in the US, 40,000 to the northern areas of Styria and other industrial areas of the Habsburg Monarchy, and about 15,000 to the other areas of Western Europe. Mass migration of Slovenes took place from Slovene ethnic territory from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. In the period before the First World War, they settled mainly in Western Europe and the USA. The number of Slovene emigrants and their descendants from this period can be estimated at around 250,000 (Klemenčič, 1995) or even higher, to 300,000 or more (Zupančič, 2001).

After the First World War, the majority of Slovene emigrants settled in Western Europe, Canada, South America. We can estimate their size in the interwar period at around 100,000 (Klemenčič, 1987; Genorio, 1989). A lot of them were simply political emigrants, escaping from radical treatments of Nazi and fascist regimes in Italy and Austria during the period between both world wars. Due to mass emigration and assimilation pressures of numerically stronger peoples, the number of Slovenes in the Slovene ethnic territory grew very slowly.

After the Second World War people migrated from Slovenia from 1945 onwards first for political reasons to the US, Canada, South America and Australia partly also to Western Europe, especially to Great Britain. They were émigré, who emigrated strictly because of political reasons. They were refugees and displaced persons. They created (particularly in Argentina) very close communities and preserved the Slovene language very well also among members of second and third generation (Genorio, 1993). Since the mid-1960s when the then Communist authorities opened the border for economic emigration as well as for tourist visits, the trend of emigration continued into all areas of Slovene emigration (Klemenčič, 1995). This trend has strengthened again with the beginning of the last economic crisis in 2008. In five years since than around 35,000 emigrated. The Slovene immigrants are organized worldwide in different forms, as for example in fraternal organizations, ethnic parishes, political organizations, cultural organizations; they have built many national homes and ethnic parishes. Naturally, they built there Slovene churches. All these forms of organizations have in modified forms, survived until the present day. Globally, it is possible to speak of at least a thousand »Slovene settlements« if the latter is referred to as part of a settlement in which at least one of the above forms of Slovene organization can be found. In the cultural field there are, inter alia, Slovene publishing houses as well as drama and choir performances (Klemenčič, 2013). Thus, it can be argued that even in exile Slovene culture in the broadest sense of the word continues to this day.

## 5. Managing ethnic diversity: the minorities in Slovenia

Slovenia belongs to the countries with one of the highest levels of legal and real protection of indigenous ethnic minorities. The Slovene Constitution explicitly mentions two minorities, Italian and Hungarian, as well as a special Roma ethnic community. All three ethnic communities have a particular laws. Italians and Hungarians have a comprehensive set of specific minority rights throughout the existence of the independence of Slovenia, which dates from the arrangements, which were valid in the after World War II Yugoslav period. Specific laws regulate the field of bilingual topography, use of language, political participation, education, cultural and media support as well as the economy (Komac et al., 2004). Roma were given a special umbrella act of 2007. The construction of special minority rights has origins of the typical normative-legal nature based

on international treaties with Italy and Hungary and is through constitutional provisions realized in the sectorial laws. They are based in the fundamental premise of collective and territorial nature of (autochthonous) minorities. Individual areas of regulation of minority protection is adapted to the specific situations of minorities, while others are universal.

First, there is to make a brief explanation the distinction between classical or historical minorities' protection and immigrant communities. The concept of protection of minorities in Slovenia is not much different from these concepts in other European countries. The division into so called historical or traditional minorities which are explicitly mentioned in the Constitution is a typical result of diplomatic negotiations and simultaneous drawing of frontiers in which specific minority rights had a character of compensatory measures. Ethnic minorities are recognized as specific collective bodies within the nation, on a given territory. The area of autochthonous settlement is mainly a pragmatic instrument of determining the territorial scope, where specific minority rights are implemented. Members of immigrant ethnic groups, which are result of subsequent and recent migratory flows do not enjoy these special rights. They enjoy the general rights of citizenship, including the right to ethnic identification and organization and protection of their language and culture. Interpretations that these "new" minority communities (ethnic groups) are discriminated against and disadvantaged are completely inaccurate (Zupančič, 2004).

The ethnic structure of the population of today's Slovenia is the result of several centuries of historical processes. The image of today's cultural landscape was formed because of economic and spatial development, many political changes and migrations. These factors also determined its boundaries and the basic features of today's ethnic identity. Inclusion in the Habsburg monarchy strengthened position and size of German population, especially among a growing layer of civil servants, the nobility, the army, the artisans, miners and traders. Germanisation was spontaneous process of linguistic standardization in the urban and commercial environments, because German language was mostly used as language of communication by certain social classes and certainly by intellectuals. There were also quite a few migrants from German speaking territories i.e. miners in mines and serfs who were forced to migrate from one estate of the same landowner to another. As the result of these processes, some German "linguistic islands" were formed. The coastal cities in Slovene Istria were marked by unbroken tradition of ancient urban continuity from Roman times,

because of political, economic and cultural links with the Republic of Venice. The old population remained in these cities although they were constantly experiencing repopulation from the surrounding areas with the Slovene population (Božič, 1980). In addition to the above mentioned also individuals from other areas within the Habsburg monarchy were present in the Slovene area (Jews, Czechs, Hungarians, Italians, Greeks and others).

According to the last census in Austria-Hungary in 1910 the linguistic/ethnic structure on the territory of today's Republic of Slovenia was such that there lived in addition to more than 82% of Slovenes, almost 10% of Germans, 2% Italians and 1.5% Hungarians. This began to change rapidly after the collapse of the monarchy, when German and Hungarian population in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia became a minority. The number of Germans fell from the prewar 106,000 to only 42,000 in 1921 and fell again in 1931 to circa 29,000. The number of Hungarians has declined more slowly. The size of both communities have declined partly due to emigration, but even more because of the real or merely "statistical" change of identity. The number of Italians increased, because the territory of today's western Slovenia belonged to Italy. From there quite massive emigration of at least 40,000 Slovenes took place.

During the World War II 80,000 people were killed in battles as members of partisan units, in concentration camps and in post-war killings. Over 20,000 Slovenes were forced in exile. Already during the war the Italians deported around 15,000 Gottscheer Germans to the region of Posavje, from where the Germans evicted over 40,000 Slovenes. Most ethnic Germans (over 30,000) and Italians (circa 22,000) left Slovenia after World War II, due to fear of reprisals and deportations (Nečak, 1994). For a decade, Slovenia became ethnically homogenous. In 1948, Slovenes represented around 97% of the population. However, not for long. After the rapid industrialization of the 1960s, the number of immigrants from areas of the former Yugoslavia exceeded the number of Slovene emigrants. Slovenia has become an immigrant country and society, with all the characteristic features of social relations and processes. Members of various Yugoslav peoples and ethnic groups, mostly young and less qualified immigrated. They found employment in mining, metallurgy, construction, municipal activities and extensive sectors of industry (Klemenčič, 1992). The percentage of Croats, Serbs, Bosnians, Macedonians, Albanians and Montenegrins began to increase and the share of Slovenes slightly eroded (Gosar, 1993). According to the criteria of the mother tongue, the share of the Slovene population is currently around 90%. In the

Tab. 1. Slovenia's Population by ethnic affiliation in censuses in 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991

Ethnic affiliation	1951		1961		1971		1981		1991	
	Number	%								
TOTAL	1 466 425	100.00	1 591 523	100.00	1 727 137	100.00	1 891 864	100.00	1 965 986	100.00
Slovenes	1 415 448	96.52	1 522 248	95.65	1 624 029	94.03	1 712 445	90.52	1 727 018	87.84
Italians	854	0.06	3 072	0.19	3 001	0.17	2 187	0.12	3 064	0.16
Hungarians	11 019	0.75	10 498	0.66	9 785	0.57	9 496	0.50	8 503	0.43
Roma	1 663	0.12	158	0.01	977	0.06	1 435	0.08	2 293	0.12
Albanians	169	0.01	282	0.02	1 281	0.07	1 985	0.10	3 629	0.18
Austrians	289	0.02	254	0.02	278	0.02	180	0.01	199	0.01
Bulgarians	49	0.00	180	0.01	139	0.01	105	0.01	169	0.01
Czechs	807	0.06	584	0.04	445	0.03	433	0.02	323	0.02
Montenegrins	1 356	0.09	1 384	0.09	1 978	0.11	3 217	0.17	4 396	0.22
Greeks	24	0.00	50	0.00	24	0.00	18	0.00	23	0.00
Croats	17 978	1.23	31 429	1.97	42 657	2.47	55 625	2.94	54 212	2.76
Jews	15	0.00	21	0.00	72	0.00	9	0.00	37	0.00
Macedonians	640	0.04	1 009	0.06	1 613	0.09	3 288	0.17	4 432	0.22
Muslims / Bosniaks	1 617	0.11	465	0.03	3 231	0.19	13 425	0.71	26 842	1.36
Germans	1 617	0.11	732	0.05	422	0.02	380	0.02	546	0.03
Poles	275	0.02	222	0.01	194	0.01	204	0.01	204	0.01
Romanians	41	0.00	48	0.00	43	0.00	94	0.01	116	0.01
Russians	593	0.04	295	0.02	302	0.02	194	0.01	170	0.01
Ruthenians	46	0.00	384	0.02	66	0.00	54	0.00	57	0.00
Slovaks	60	0.01	71	0.00	85	0.01	144	0.01	141	0.01
Serbs	11 225	0.77	13 609	0.86	20 521	1.19	42 182	2.23	47 911	2.44
Turks	68	0.01	135	0.01	53	0.00	87	0.00	155	0.01
Ukrainians					143	0.01	192	0.01	213	0.01
Vlachs	9	0.00	6	0.00	5	0.00	17	0.00	38	0.00
Others	352	0.02	449	0.03	307	0.02	577	0.03	1 178	0.06
Undeclareds					3 073	0.18	2 975	0.16	9 011	0.46
"Yugoslavs"			2 784	0.18	6 744	0.39	26 263	1.39	12 307	0.63
Regional identity					2 705	0.16	4 018	0.21	5 254	0.27
Unknown	211	0.01	1 154	0.07	2 964	0.17	10 635	0.56	53 545	2.72

Source: Verska, jezikovna..., 2003.

1990s also the number of immigrants from other non-EU and non-European countries started to increase: the Chinese, Indians, Pakistanis, Ukrainians etc. (Zupančič, 2004).

In the areas of autochthonous settlement of Slovene minorities in neighboring countries, the number of Slovenes is constantly declining primarily due to statistical and real assimilation, partly due to migration from peripheral rural and border areas. Therefore, these areas have been characterized by the appearance of spatial expansion of settlement areas and at the same time by the numerical reduction of members of minority communities

The area of autochthonous settlement of the Hungarians in Slovenia comprises 195 km<sup>2</sup>. It lies along

the Slovene-Hungarian border. According to census data, in 2002, in Slovenia lived around 6,500 ethnic Hungarians; but we can estimate that the number of people who use Hungarian language reach up to 10,000. Area of settlement is peripheral, which contributes to a reduction in their number and hinders modernization (Zupančič, 2000). According to the census of 1991, there were 8503 Hungarians Slovenia, which represents a relative majority (49%) in the ethnically mixed area. Around 15% (around 1,300) of them live in other regions in Prekmurje and the rest of Slovenia, especially in major cities, because of displacement for economic reasons. There were 9,240 people with Hungarian mother tongue, who lived in Slovenia in 1981 (Zupančič, 2002).

The Italian minority lives in the coastal areas of Slovene Istria on 27 km<sup>2</sup>. According to the ethnic affiliation of the census of 2002, 2,700 ethnic Italians lives there. According to the criteria of the mother tongue about 3,400 Italians lives in Slovenia; estimates show circa 4000 members of Italian minority. According to the 1991 census, there lived 2575 people who claim Italian as their ethnic affiliation and 4009 by mother tongue. The area of settlement is vital and economically active; minority is also locally in the minority. The Slovene-Yugoslav- Italian border since the Treaty of Ossimo [1976] onwards is very open, which made it easier for minority to communicate with its Italian ethnic origin hinterland (Zupančič, Pipan, 2012).

Members of Roma community are autochthonous ethnic community, present in Slovenia for at least 500 years. Roma are not settled on a contiguous territory, but are in the majority in over 100 settlements. According to the 2002 census there were around 3,600 and in 1991 2,293 Roma according to the ethnic affiliation criteria and 2,847 according to the criteria of the mother tongue. According to estimates by social services around 8,000 Roma live in Slovenia, scholars estimate their total number at 10,000 (Zupančič, 2014). Minority protection has due to the poor economic situation of these communities mostly character of social interventionism, rather than keeping the ethnic and cultural nature of the population.

In accordance with Slovene Constitution, representatives of Italians and Hungarians have secured a permanent (virile) mandate in the Slovene Parliament. Deputies have the same powers as the other MPs, additionally they have the right to use their own language and the right of veto in matters that directly affect the rights of minorities. They are elected at the regular election in a special minority electoral roll. Members of minorities are included in this roll with the statement that they belong to a minority community. Members of minorities can vote for minority candidates and also for the candidates of political parties; thus they have double voting rights. The same is true at the level of local elections. Roma do not have their representatives in the national parliament, but they have the right to elect their own representatives or municipal councilors in the municipalities where they are traditionally present. In addition, all three minorities have their own umbrella organizations, which play roles of coordinative bodies. For the level of political and cultural rights, and issues the Office for National Minorities in the Slovene Government is responsible.

Another area of protection of minorities is bilingualism. Slovenia is consistently pursuing a policy

of bilingualism visible in the topography of settlements, streets and official institutions, which must be bilingual in the areas of minority settlements. Officials must master at least the basics of both languages at the local level in the area of autochthonous settlement. Officials with knowledge of the minority language are financially stimulated. Persons belonging to minorities have the right to a translator in litigation on the entire territory of Slovenia and have the right to communication with authorities in their own language. This also includes the right to a name and last name in the language and script of the minority. In the area of autochthonous settlement all, irrespective of ethnicity have bilingual identity documents: identity cards, passports, documents of origin, the various permits and certificates. Bilingualism is also possible in courts; if the client is a member of a minority and wants to do business in their own language. Written decisions and other documents are always bilingual, regardless of the language in which the proceedings take place. Bilingual operations are legally guaranteed in the procedures of the municipal authorities and the authorities of the municipal and local committees. Documents (statutes, regulations, rules, etc.) in the municipalities are in both languages. Minority languages are used also in the church, although this is not guaranteed by the state. Bilingualism in the Catholic and Protestant churches in Slovenia is consistently implemented, even among priests and pastors who are not members of the Italian or Hungarian community (Komac et al., 1999).

Education is the second most important socializing environment in the life of minorities; the first being family. Minority schools have a threefold purpose: to provide members of minority sufficiently general and professional knowledge of education in their own language and knowledge of the culture, history and geography of their own ethnic group, to form appropriate values and to assert the values of tolerance and accept differences in the ethnically mixed area. In Slovenia, due to peculiarities of historical development and circumstances two entirely different systems of minority education were established: Italian schools in Slovene Istria and bilingual schools in Prekmurje on the Slovene – Hungarian border. This education is part of a single Slovene state school system. In public schools located in the area of autochthonous settlement of minorities, in all educational institutions all pupils have to learn the minority language. In the Italian kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools where teaching takes place in Italian, pupils are also required to learn Slovene. Also, all communication with parents of school children is conducted in Italian in these schools. In total,

in Slovenia there are nine Italian primary and three secondary schools. Italian language and literature can be studied in Ljubljana Faculty of Arts (there they also train teachers for the Italian minority schools). For the needs of the Hungarian minority a system of bilingual education was developed, where classes simultaneously take place in Slovene and Hungarian. In the ethnically mixed areas there are 11 kindergartens, five elementary schools and one bilingual secondary school. At the university level Hungarian is taught at the University of Ljubljana and Maribor, where they train teachers and educators for bilingual schools. Mutual recognition of school diplomas at all levels among Slovenia, Italy and Hungary is regulated by separate agreements.

In the field of information and media the regulation of minority rights are of threefold nature:

- the right of the members of minorities to establish their own media image of themselves and the spread of information about themselves;
- the right to the presence of minority issues in the public media, and
- to ensure a smooth flow of information between the minority and the country of origin.

The Italian community in doing so has due to the characteristics of the territory a few advantages. In the context of the national radio and television, radio and television programs in Italian language are aired virtually all day and they have a seat in Koper. The Italian community in Slovene Istria has at its disposal a range of programs, magazines and newspapers from Italy. Media of Hungarian minority is much poorer. It has available the weekly newspaper, cultural magazine, radio station in Lendava and the emission on national TV twice a week. A special program council of Radio Television of Slovenia – public – national broadcaster, in which the minorities have their representatives, governs the content of the program, for both of the minorities. Roma community has several emissions in public radio and short magazine.

Cultural heritage of minorities, its preservation and development is included in the common heritage of the Slovene state. Hungarian community has established "Institute for Culture of Hungarian nationality", which includes the activities of civil society with predominantly folklore attitude to literature. In Lendava and Murska Sobota, the rich libraries in the Hungarian language exists. Cultural activity of Italians is organized in six associations. Important institutions with their seat in Croatia are also available for Italians of Slovenia: the Centre for Historical Research in Rovinj and the Italian Theatre in Rijeka, Slovenia allocates certain funds for the activities of both institutions (Zupančič, 2014).

## 6. Conclusion

Slovenes are relatively small European people, which live in contact with others in Central Europe and the Mediterranean. Due to historical circumstances, they achieved statehood relatively late. Traditional ethnic minorities in Slovenia and Slovene minorities in neighboring countries are a result of turbulent processes of border-making through a bit more than last century, when the recent political map of Europe has been made. Due to the intense emigration of a century ago, and later a relatively large Slovene diaspora in North America, Australia, Argentina and the countries of Western and Central Europe was developed. Immigrant communities from the former Yugoslavia in Slovenia are a result of recent migrations. Colorful ethnic heritage is difficult to manage, but is also culturally rich. Future cultural development and ethnic existence of Slovenes is dependent on both the skills of implementing new socioeconomic paradigm, consistent with the processes in Europe, as well as the conscious efforts of the existence of the Slovenian language and culture, in the sense of defiance global tendencies universalization of the one and migratory flows, on the other hand.

## References

- Bodin J., 1580, *Les six livres de la République*, Paris [s.n.].
- Bodnar J., 1987, *The Transplanted. A History of Immigrants in Urban America*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- Božič B., 1980, *Oris zgodovine Slovencev*, Državna založba Slovenije, Ljubljana.
- Felicijan J., 1967, *The Genesis of the Contractual Theory and the Installation of the Dukes of Carinthia*, Družba sv. Mohorja, Celovec.
- Ferenc M., Zupan G., 2011, *Izgnubljene kočevske vasi: nekoč so z nami živeli kočevski Nemci*, *Historia*, 16, Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, Ljubljana.
- Genorio R., 1989, *Slovinci v Kanadi / Slovenes in Canada*, Inštitut za geografijo, Ljubljana.
- Genorio R., 1993, Geographical Dimensions of Slovene Emigration around the World, *GeoJournal* 30(3), 225–230.
- Gestrin F., Melik V., 1966, *Slovenska zgodovina od konca osemnajstega stoletja do 1918*, Državna založba Slovenije, Ljubljana.
- Gosar A., 1993, *Nationalities in Slovenia – Changing Ethnic Structures in Central Europe*, *GeoJournal*, 30(3), 215–224.
- Grafenauer B., 1952, *Ustoličevanje koroških vojvod in država karantanskih Slovencev*, *Dela SAZU* 1/7, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, Ljubljana.
- Grafenauer B., 1994, *Oblikovanje severne slovenske narodnostne meje*. Zbirka *Zgodovinskega časopisa*, 10, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, Ljubljana.

- Granda S., 1999, *Prva odločitev Slovencev za Slovenijo: dokumenti z uvodno študijo in osnovnimi pojasnili*, Nova revija, Ljubljana.
- Jeri J., 1961, *Tržaško vprašanje po drugi svetovni vojni. Tri faze diplomatskega boja*, Cankarjeva založba, Ljubljana.
- Klemenčič M., 1987, *Ameriški Slovenci in NOB v Jugoslaviji: naseljevanje, zemljepisna razprostranjenost in odnos ameriških Slovencev do stare domovine od sredine 19. stoletja do konca druge svetovne vojne*, Obzorja, Maribor.
- Klemenčič M., 1995, *Slovenes of Cleveland: the creation of a new nation and a new world community Slovenia and the Slovenes of Cleveland, Ohio*, Dolenjska založba and Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete, Novo mesto and Ljubljana.
- Klemenčič M., 2013, Slovenes and Slovene Americans, 1870–1940, [in:] E.R. Barkan (ed.), *In Immigrants in American history: arrival, adaptation, and integration. Vol. 2*. ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara-Denver-Oxford, 613–622.
- Klemenčič M., Klemenčič V., 2006, *Prizadevanja koroških Slovencev za narodnostni obstoj po drugi svetovni vojni: (izbrana poglavja)*, Hermagoras / Mohorjeva, Celovec, Ljubljana, Dunaj.
- Klemenčič M., Klemenčič V., 2008, *The endeavors of Carinthian Slovenes for their ethnic survival with/against Austrian governments after World War II: (selected chapters)*, Hermagoras / Mohorjeva, Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, Wien.
- Klemenčič M., Klemenčič V., 2010, *Die Kärntner Slowenen und die Zweite Republik: zwischen Assimilierungsdruck und dem Einsatz für die Umsetzung der Minderheitenrechte*, Hermagoras / Mohorjeva, Klagenfurt, Ljubljana, Wien.
- Klemenčič M., Žagar M., 2004, *The former Yugoslavia's diverse peoples: a reference sourcebook. Ethnic diversity within nations*, ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara.
- Klemenčič V., 1992, Die geopolitische Lage Sloweniens und seine Offenheit nach Europa, in: *Ländliche Räume in Umbruch - Chancen des Strukturwandels, Münchner Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeographie*, 37, 99–110.
- Komac M., et al. 1999, *Protection of Ethnic communities in the Republic of Slovenia*, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana.
- Komac M., et al. 2004, *Percepcija slovenske imigracijske politike*, Final Report, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana.
- Kržišnik Bukič V., (ed.) 1995, *Slovenci v Hrvaški*, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana.
- Natek K., Natek M., 1998, *Slovenija. Geografska, zgodovinska, pravna, politična, ekonomska in kulturna podoba Slovenije*, Založba Mladinska knjiga, Ljubljana.
- Nečak D., 1994, Nekaj osnovnih podatkov o usodi nemške narodnostne skupnosti v Sloveniji, *Zgodovinski časopis*, 47(3), 439–451.
- Schnabl B., 2016, *Koroška deželna ustava 1849 ter njeni izvori in posledice*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Maribor, Maribor.
- Šiftar D., 2016, *Razvojne možnosti manjšine v narodnem parku na primeru Porabskih Slovencev*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana.
- Štih P., 2005, O modernem (ne)razumevanju in (ne)poznavanju stare zgodovine na primeru ustoličevanja koroških vojvod, [in:] D. Nečak (ed.), *Stiplovske zbornik*, Oddelek za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete, Ljubljana, 33–42.
- Verska, jezikovna in narodna sestava prebivalstva Slovenije. *Popisi 1921–2002*, 2003, Posebne publikacije, 2. SURS (Statistični urad Republike Slovenije), Ljubljana.
- Zupančič J., 1999, *Slovenci v Avstriji / The Slovenes in Austria*, Inštitut za geografijo, Ljubljana.
- Zupančič J., 2000, Slovenci na Madžarskem, *Razprave in gradivo*, 36/37, 125–143.
- Zupančič J., 2001, Slovenes abroad, [in:] J. Fridl et al. (eds.), *National atlas of Slovenia*, Rokus, Ljubljana, 127–128.
- Zupančič J., 2002, The ethnic development and protection of national minorities in Slovenia, *Mosella*, 27(1–2), 63–71.
- Zupančič J., 2004, Ethnic structure of Slovenia and Slovenes in neighbouring countries, [in:] O. Adamič (ed.), *Slovenia: a geographical overview*, Association of the Geographical Societies of Slovenia, Založba ZRC, Ljubljana, 87–92.
- Zupančič J., 2013, Dunajski Slovenci v perspektivi skupnega slovenskega kulturnega prostora, [in:] R. Vincenc (ed.), *Slovenski odnosi z Dunajem skozi čas*, (Srednjeevropska znanstvena knjižnica, Bd. 7), Slovenski znanstveni inštitut = Slowenisches Wissenschaftsinstitut and Založba ZRC and Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Dunaj = Wien and Ljubljana, 27–42.
- Zupančič J., 2014, *Romi in romska naselja v Sloveniji*, Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, Ljubljana.
- Zupančič J., Pipan P., 2012, Slovensko morje in obala: Severni Jadran v geopolitični perspektivi ter problemi razmejevanja med Italijo, Slovenijo in Hrvaško, [in:] O. Darko (ed.), *Geografija stika Slovenske Istre in Tržaškega zaliva*, Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete, Ljubljana, 13–35.
- Zwitter F., 1936, *Prebivalstvo na Slovenskem od XVIII. stoletja do današnjih dni*, Znanstveno društvo v Ljubljani, Ljubljana.