

SOCIAL AND ETHNIC STRATIFICATION Global Social and Ethnic Relations

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Abstract The author deals with problems of social and ethnic stratification. Regarding social stratification, he points to a fast class and stratum polarisation, generated by the increased importance of economic capital. On the other hand, the new nation state causes occurrences of ethnic stratification (immigrants pushed into an under-privileged position). Tolerant ethnic pluralism and interculturalism seem unlikely at the moment.

social and ethnic stratification, nationalism, immigrants

Transformations in Transitional Period

Introduction

Many transformations are characteristic of the period of postsocialist transition in Slovenia. Those which refer to transforming the values and objective elements of society seem to be significant; among the most outstanding are transformations of social and ethnic stratification, transformations of global social processes and transformations of ethnic relations. It seems reasonable to discuss simultaneously transformations of social stratification and ethnic relations regarding connectedness between the phenomena of social stratification and ethnic phenomena, as well as the more global social and ethnic processes taking place within them.

Transformations in the Evaluation of Social Inequality

In Slovenia attitudes to social inequality have changed. During the period of socialism in Slovenia, primarily lower social classes accepted the ideology of egalitarianism concerning the distribution of material goods, which means the establishment of quantitative distributive egalitarianism. Politocracy advocated above all qualitative dominant egalitarianism, by means of which it tried to bring about authoritarian ideological monism and at the same time spread fictitiously the idea of distributive egalitarianism and used it to conceal its actual non-egalitarian interests. In this way politocracy created legitimacy of authority (Bernik, 1992: 89-98). The ideology of ideological monism fell into disuse and was substituted by the values of notional, political pluralism. The egalitarian syndrome which repre-

sented the distinctive ideological foundation of the former system is being gradually transformed in the postsocialist period. Due to the increasing social inequality together with poverty, the belief in the appropriateness of functional inequality with hierarchy of events and abilities is slowly spreading among the Slovene public. The emergence of the idea of the acceptability of functional inequality is hindered by a still firmly grounded belief in egalitarianism and by objective social conditions which make it impossible to assure the foundations of functional inequality: equal possibilities and conditions together with the efficiency of a law-based state with regard for social welfare. As a result there are pressures of numerous socially handicapped categories in the direction of quantitative distributive egalitarianism and a widespread effectiveness of social measures. These pressures are spreading from the most handicapped lower social classes towards the (lower) middle classes (Klinar, Trampuž, 1992: 1055-1067; Turner, 1986: 34-36, 118-120; Saunders, 1990: 43-44, 48-51).

Stratification Transformations

Transformations of the social stratification structure in the several-year period of transition could hardly be more extensive and more profound. During the former system in Slovenia there occurred a stratification structure which is characteristic of more developed Central-European socialist societies. This structure indicated that the effect of modernization processes is restricted, which means that it did not keep up with Western modernization processes that give evidence of the transition of these societies from industrial to postindustrial societies. Signs of socialist regime in the structure of social stratification were visible in the large number and domination of politocracy and political bureaucracy, in the increase in working strata, in the small number of middle classes that provide various services, and in contemporary managerial classes. It was characteristic of socialist societies that they were distinctively hierarchically stratified in spite of the ideology of abolishing the class structure and of the ideological construct about the working class as the ruling class, about transformation into a one-class society; in this respect self-management was supposed to have a deciding role in Slovenia. Politocracy reached consensus with the subordinates by means of political manifestations, formal participation and ideological programmes. In those societies political hierarchy was dominant and meritocratic classes were present only to a limited extent; their positions were based on the hierarchy of knowledge and ability. Political hierarchy and partly also the hierarchy of knowledge and ability were the starting-point for the hierarchy of income (Bernik, 1992: 108-115).¹

Political hierarchy or political capital dominates throughout the existence of the socialist regime. It is thus a question of the domination of politocracy. The significance of cultural capital (meritocracy) starts growing in the 60's with some in-between limitations. Economic capital - private spheres of activity - were first abolished after 1945 or limited to a great extent. Very few classes belonging to private spheres of activity - small commodities, production and services - actually linger on. There were minor deviations from the limitations on private spheres of activity, yet these spheres started being revived in the last period of the existence of the socialist regime.

After the transition into the postsocialist period, Slovenia experiences stratification transformations. They are connected with the revival of private spheres of activity: lower middle classes that deal with services and production emerge together with entrepreneurs with substantial economic capital. Economic capital is visibly gaining importance. Abrupt growth in the importance of meritocracy is not yet noticeable, although the inherited and new managerial classes are strengthening their power. The significance of cultural capital is thus increasing. The significance of political capital has not been substantially limited and because of political pluralism politocracy has lost its uncontrolled dominant power. The two examples of cultural and political capital indicate that both the theory of reproduction and the theory of circulation of elites were present in the processes of stratification transition in Slovenia. A part of the former politocracy and some of the managers succeeded not only in political and management reproduction but also in transforming political and management power into economic power by means of various manipulations associated with the transformations of social (i.e. state property) into private property. However, the transitional period made circulation of elites possible. A new politocracy appears as a part of the politically-strategic elite (Trieman, Szelenyi, 1991).

Together with the crises occurring during the transitional period and with redundancy among skilled workers and office workers, the share of unemployed, marginal, lower social classes, old age pensioners with lower pensions, those who live on welfare, i.e. of the poor, increases, which is also demonstrated by numerous strikes, protests and other forms of traditional class conflict. We can hypothetically claim that the form of contemporary stratification structure in Slovenia is still rather far from the modern form of hexagon. A new economic elite and a new political elite are emerging, the lower middle and higher middle classes (private sphere and management) are growing, but so too is the number of those at the bottom of the social pile. Stratification structure is being polarized and conflict over social status is sharp (Klinar, Trampuž, 1992; Slovene Public Opinion 1992/2).

The rapid, problematic growth of an economic elite and the increased number of lower, unemployed, marginal classes that are affected by poverty and social insecurity causes classical class conflicts and at the same time offers an explanation for the renewal of the significance of egalitarian distributive values together with strengthened social functions of the state, as well as a gradual and differentiated evaluation of functional social inequality. On the other hand meritocracy, the role of experts, including contemporary managerial strata, is asserting itself more slowly, since its development takes time.²

Global Social Processes In Transition

The former socialist regime declared due to its ideological - monistic orientation primarily corporation processes which are in general supposed to be more intensively put into effect mainly in a state of emergency and in smaller primary groups. Thus in the former regime we are actually faced above all with the existence of processes of minimum adjustment - accommodation. In the monistic system the processes of a more developed adaptation could not begin to take off since these processes are based on pluralist tolerance. Accommodation was indispensable in order to

suspend conflicts and temporarily delay their outbreak. With the help of accommodation there was a minimum compromise consensus between the politocracy and the subordinate classes. There occurred a sort of forced "assimilation" process, which tried to make different opinions uniform and submerge them in official ideological currents. It is true that the socialist regime did not deny the existence of various processes of contravention and conflict which were obvious, yet which could not be effectively solved, since there were no possibilities for the transition of basic latent conflicts into manifest ones. This also resulted in the internal disintegration of the socialist regime when its crisis could not withhold transformation of latent conflicts into manifest ones, which had started to influence the fundamental ideological values of the socialist system and which had, at their outbreak, entirely destroyed its weak cohesiveness.³

In the socialist period the processes of social competition were distinctly neglected. They were made impossible by the domination of political capital with a politically regulated non-market economy and incompetitive relations among the performers of political functions, as well as by the impaired competitiveness in professional mobility (Berry, 1965: 131-132, 152-273; Park, 1949: 150).

In the short postsocialist period no essential transformations of social processes can be expected. New political antagonisms among party politocracies and the renewal of ideological conflicts from the period of World War II as well as new socio-economic conflicts which appeared due to the transformations of social stratification allow accommodation to be in full swing, whereas cooperation processes are pushed into the background after the euphoria at the emergence of a sovereign nation. The processes of a more developed pluralist adaptation are beginning to be put into effect, which also applies to competition processes. In the social and economic field the process of the value-oriented adoption of functional inequality is a slow one, owing to complications and deviations in upward and downward movements in social stratification. The values of political pluralism have quickly been established as acceptable. The acceptability of the idea of a political system (a multi-party one) had already matured in Slovenia in the former system and it quickly took root in the new one (Slovene Public Opinion 87, 88, 91/1). However, the adoption of political pluralism does not mean that people have confidence in political parties and in the dominant political institutions; confidence in them is falling in the postsocialist period (Slovene Public Opinion 91/1, 93/1).

Integral structural pluralism is slowly being implemented. The acceptability of proprietorial pluralism appears simultaneously with political and notional pluralism and it is almost impossible to talk about the implementation of ethnic-cultural pluralism. The new regime has given rise to new contrasts and conflicts in addition to the inherited ones, which is also shown in the above outline; at the same time political pluralisation raised possibilities for releasing tensions and transforming latent conflicts into manifest ones. There is still a long way to go until the implementation of competition processes and a more tolerant pluralist adaptation.

In the postsocialist period in Slovenia the old and the new political elite need unrealistic conflicts due to the critical conditions and because they want to take the pressure off them-

selves (Coser, 1964). The most appropriate ones seem to be ethnic since they mitigate the concentration of socio-economic conflicts. Since nationalism is the easiest way to attain political mobilization (Gellner, 1993) and since there is general anomia of values after the disintegration of the socialist regime, the encouragement of ethnic conflicts between the autochthonous population and immigrants from other parts of the former Yugoslavia is a process which does not surprise anybody because all the new nation states in postsocialism are confronted with it. Occurrences of ethnic stratification which are accompanied by ethnic conflicts, distance, discrimination, ethnocentric nationalism with xenophobia are evident during the transition period. Polarization of social stratification which has been attained by parvenu rises and falls up to the poverty level is reflected in the occurrences of ethnic stratification, in the harmony of lower social statuses and statuses of underprivileged ethnic immigrant minorities.

If we resume the dominant social processes in the transition period, it seems that on the one hand we are faced primarily with accommodation processes - suspension of conflicts - and processes of unequally developed structural pluralism - adaptation - which are apparent in the emergence of political and partly economic pluralism and on the other hand with the activation of new contrasts and conflicts which appear in the fields of social and ethnic stratification. Political pluralism has at the same time opened up possibilities for releasing the delayed latent conflicts which have been inherited from the former political regime. The development of the above-mentioned dominant processes has been encouraged by a slow differentiation of subsystems and by their freeing themselves from the domination of a political subsystem and of politocracy. Such development of global social processes is connected with the transformation of social stratification described above and its polarization, as well as with many obstacles that prevent the establishment of market conditions and such proprietorial relations which ensure responsibility of owners and their supervision of the activity of managers.⁴ The dominant processes indicate that modern values are far away; they apply to the principles of equal possibilities and conditions, to meritocratic principles, to the autonomy of minorities and subsystems, to formal equality (legitimacy), etc. The indicated global social processes are caused by the ineffective activity of the state authorities that are of course forced to take numerous unpopular measures which weaken consensus processes and restrict political mobilization. There is a lack of confidence in political state institutions and belief in a scarce political influence of the public together with the non-belief in a future establishment of legitimacy (Slovene Public Opinion 93/1).

National State and Mobilization Nationalism

The increase in nationalism, populism and religiousness is characteristic of postsocialist societies in transition, which is not surprising in view of the decline in values which were characteristic of the former socialist period. Critical anomic transitional periods give rise to the occurrence of social disorganization and deviation. If the starting-point is the hypothesis of the influence of social stratification, and the related values, upon ethnic stratification and of the influence of more global social processes upon ethnic processes, then ethnic relations in this society depend on an

insufficiently modern social stratification structure in Slovenia and on more global social relations of the same kind.

Ethnic relations in Slovenia are defined by means of the following specificities:

1. The Slovene nation state was formed simultaneously with the disintegration of the socialist system and the inadequate Yugoslav federation. Its formation was thus delayed, in contrast to the formation of nations in Western Europe and it occurred a long time after Slovenia as an ethnic nation had been formed; this resulted in incongruity among cultural and political characteristics of the "ethnonation". The Slovene nation state was developed after a long period during which the Slovene ethnonation had been developing its own culture, educational system and economy within the frameworks of limited political sovereignty and autonomy (Smith, 1986: 228-263; Rizman, 1991: 21-22).
2. Slovene nationalism can be characterized as the Eastern type of nationalism which occurred among politically non-autonomous ethnonations, particularly those that were small in number and that were affected by limited possibilities of access to power and education as a means for attaining modernization (Gellner, 1991: 239-265). For that reason and since majorization of bigger and politically stronger ethnonations was put into effect, we can regard the Slovene ethnonation as underprivileged and subordinate in the global processes of ethnic stratification.
3. It is not surprising that mobilization nationalism occurs among the Slovenes, which is connected with the establishment of ethnonational and national identity. Immediately upon attaining independence after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the Slovenes decidedly express their national identity through their attachment to Slovenia, through their partiality for the homeland, cultural heritage and language, through their indisposition to acculturation processes. They express particular enthusiasm over the attainment of national independence although the initial euphoria which was obvious immediately upon the declaration of independence is of course declining. They evaluate their own nation above European integration processes. Nowadays, national identity in Slovenia is even more distinctly expressed than ethnonational identity (Slovene Public Opinion 93/1).
4. In Slovenia, as in other postsocialist societies, nationalism proved to be a relatively effective way for political mobilization in addition to anomia after the disintegration of the socialist system. Since the nation had not been formed, it seems logical that nationalism was chosen; at the same time it represented a form of mobilization which was more easily put into effect than, for example, efforts to establish a civil society of tolerant ethnic pluralism i.e. a more integral structural pluralism (Gellner, 1993: 191-198). It is no coincidence that the majority of influential new political parties were based on national foundations. Political mobilization was achieved by means of mobilization nationalism, which was oriented towards the attainment of national sovereignty and political pluralism (multi-party democracy).

5. Mobilization nationalism which is oriented towards the attainment of national sovereignty was revived during the periods when Slovenia was a part of the Yugoslav federation. Such nationalism can be characterized as a peripheral nationalism and it showed aspirations for attainment of independence and at the same time for catching up with modern development. Since empirical data indicate that the percentage of people who prefer the independence of Slovenia is a little higher than the percentage of people who prefer opening up to the world and supranational integration, we can see that attitudes which can be characterized as neonationalist are present. Thus there is a widespread fear - characteristic of small ethnations - that European integration could result in a loss of national sovereignty and ethnational, historical and cultural features.

6. We should not forget that during the period of the Yugoslav federation, nationalism was rather well concealed and latent and that the Yugoslav federation during the socialist regime cannot be regarded as such a federative system as would efficiently restrict the causes of interethnic conflicts. Therefore they were often revealed in their latent rather than manifest forms. This explains why the phenomena of nationalism are released after the obstacles of the former socialist and federative system have fallen and after the possibilities for a transition of latent forms into manifest forms of nationalism emerge.

7. The late formation of a Slovene nation state resulted in the fact that the Slovene ethnation could not express its national identity and loyalty to its own nation state for a long time. This causes the problem of national uniformity which does not emerge until the present period of the formation of the nation. Since the nation had not been formed, political and other international contacts of the Slovene ethnation were limited and often only indirect, through the former Yugoslav federation. Slovenia was included in the international arena only to a limited extent. The formation of a nation state coincides with the establishment of intensive European integration processes, which is a complicated process because the well-developed Western nation states managed to accomplish a long-lasting development from traditional to modern forms of nation state before the supranational integrations took place (Rex, 1992).

8. At the beginning of its existence the Slovene nation state bears the signs of traditional national states. The nation occupies the central position, which means that priority is given to general interests over special and individual interests. There are limited possibilities for the establishment of regionalism, as well as problems in relations between the dominant ethnation and autochthonous ethnic minorities, particularly immigrant minorities. This is revealed in the occurrence of ethnic conflict and xenophobia, as well as in ethnocentric, problematic nationalism, which should be separated from the above-mentioned occurrences of mobilization nationalism connected with the formation of a nation state. There are limited possibilities for the establishment of tolerant ethnic pluralism. Due to the close link between the ethnation and the nation, political society is strong since it hinders the development of a civil society as well as a faster differentiation of subsystems and the process of freeing themselves of the domination of a political subsystem. The limited autonomy of minorities and subsystems also represents obstacles for supranational integrations (Klinar, 1992: 545-550; T. Mayer, 1991: 135-144).

9. The process of putting into effect the characteristics of a traditional nation state by means of the above-mentioned emphasized national identification delays the following processes: denationalization which should be started in postmodern periods due to supernational integrations and autonomies of minorities, establishment of civil society, functional differentiation and integral tolerant structural pluralism with occurrences of inter-culturalism. Denationalization processes can be understood as a liberation of an ethnonation from the domination of a nation state, which means shifting of the ethnonational and ethnic essence to the private sphere. The secularized state should therefore become tolerant to all cultures (Van Den Berghe, 1992: 1068-1079).

There is the question of how long the transformation of the new Slovene nation state from the classical to the modern nation state will take and how soon the postmodern processes of its denationalization will begin. In this respect it is not irrelevant that due to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Croatia, and also due to irredentist extremisms in Italy towards Slovenia, the Slovene public feels threatened from the outside (Slovene Public Opinion 93/1). The long duration of the Balkan crisis and the difficult transition processes might prolong the modernization processes of the Slovene nation state and postpone the beginning of its denationalization.

10. In a geographical and social sense Slovenia is a small country; furthermore, more than one quarter of the Slovenes live outside their motherland in neighbouring countries and immigrant societies. Assimilation processes affected the Slovene ethnonation to a great extent during their historical existence, which in addition to the late formation of the Slovene nation state explains the fact that the Slovenes are attached to their culture and territory. The Slovenes, who had been subject to long-lasting pressures of domination and majorization, consider ethnicity and acquired nationality to be the crucial foundation of social integration, together with primary family relations. Acquaintances and primary relations are very important in a small social area, which results in two sorts of consequences. On the one hand there are relations of endogamy and provincial introversion in a small social area with extended relations of acquaintance, as well as servility to the members of more developed and stronger ethnicities, and the relations of expressing their own power towards the members of less developed ethnicities who do not have social power at their disposal. On the other hand extended relations of acquaintance in a small social area cause emotionally agitated, mutually undestructive conflicts which are solved with difficulty, which makes the occurrences of intolerance more profound and aggravates the accomplishment of emotional co-existence as well as minimum structural unity, solidarity and integration (Cosser, 1964: 205-209).

Although the Slovenes have had a long negative experience due to their forced assimilation that affected them in their autochthonous environment as well as in the immigrant environment, they do not entirely give up the attitudes (there is only a small number of them) concerning assimilation as a way of including immigrants from other parts of the former Yugoslavia into Slovene society, yet there is a growth (Slovene Public Opinion 92/3) in such attitudes. Cultural assimilation of immigrants connected with structural assimilation still seems to be one of the more reliable models for including and promoting immigrants (Satzewitch, 1991: 283-302).

Ethnocentric Nationalism and Other Disjunctive Processes

1. The emergence of a new nation state with traditional features while military combat is continuing in the former Yugoslavia and in the critical conditions of transition results not only in mobilization-oriented nationalism connected with the attainment of national sovereignty, but also in various problematic - ethnocentric - nationalist phenomena and other disjunctive processes. These are mainly aimed against immigrants from other regions of the former Yugoslavia who had been internal immigrants and who became international immigrants after Slovenia attained independence. The occurrence of ethnocentric nationalism proves the existence of ethnic stratification, xenophobia, discrimination, ethnic differences and conflicts. Owing to these occurrences we can conclude that there are assimilation processes mainly in the second generation of immigrants as a result of their rational and impelled choice by means of which they are partly protected from conflicts and which help them to be included and promoted in the immigrant society more easily. The existence of problematic processes of ethnonationalism, processes aimed against immigrants, and of other interethnic disjunctive processes indicates that there are delays in the processes of a more integral modernization and development of civil society which - particularly after the disintegration of socialist regimes - many countries that are more universally developed than Slovenia suffer from (Stavenhagen, 1991).

2. Relations of the autochthonous population to immigrants indicate the decline of primary relations and the rise of secondary relations, as well as of ethnic distance. By analysing empirical data we can see that the increasing ethnic distance is mainly influenced by political relations, but partly also by cultural differences which defined the less intensively expressed processes of ethnic distance before the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The military and political aggression of Serbs and Montenegrins in the period of the disintegration of Yugoslavia is reflected in the most intensively expressed ethnic distance of Slovenes towards the members of these two ethnonations. The cultural differences of Moslems and Albanians explain the rather distinctly expressed ethnic distance of Slovenes towards these ethnicities. The increasing trends of ethnic distance towards the members of other ethnonations of the former Yugoslavia that live in Slovenia as immigrants draw attention to the increasing occurrence of intolerance. They have been found not only in relations towards other ethnicities but are also present in the growing trends of increased distance towards different socially marginal groups, which indicates a universal increase in intolerance in the forms of ethnic and social distance.⁵

Assessments of the Slovene public with reference to relations towards immigrants show predominantly negative attitudes and as far as relations towards the refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina is concerned there is a balanced ratio between negative and neutral attitudes. The existing trends indicate that assessments of relations of the autochthonous population towards immigrants are deteriorating, which is proved by prevalent opinions concerning the restriction of future immigration and by restrictive attitudes in connection with ensuring the rights of immigrants (Slovene Public Opinion 92/3; Slovene Public Opinion 93/1).

3. Besides the forms of a more liberal mobilization nationalism or peripheral nationalism there was ethnocentric nationalism during the period when Slovenia was a part of Yugoslavia, which was shown in its latent forms as well as in its manifest forms which became apparent after attainment of independence. The forms of chauvinism and other extreme phenomena of nationalism which reflect xenophobia are mainly shown in their verbal forms since incidents between the autochthonous population and the immigrants are rare at the moment. These extreme phenomena of nationalism are based on ethnic sources, thus it is a question of ethnonationalism and ethnocentric nationalism (Snyder, 1993: 5-26).

Empirical data show that there is intolerance and widespread aspirations that only Slovenes should live in Slovenia. Immigrants from other parts of Yugoslavia who had permanent residence in Slovenia and who wanted to become Slovene citizens gained Slovene citizenship after the attainment of independence. This move by the authorities is today seen by the public as a much too easy way to grant Slovene citizenship to immigrants, so the problematic revision of already granted citizenship is advocated (retroactive restriction of gained rights).

There is a widespread opinion that immigrant workers should be dismissed from employment before ethnic Slovenes.

We should not forget verbal expressions of a more militant, aggressive nationalism, e.g. that quite a large number of people agree with the opinion that people should take the matter into their own hands unless they are properly protected from immigrants by the state, and the not very widespread, yet significant opinions which reveal that the environment is ready for violent actions against immigrants, as well as a very small number who think that people sympathize with neo-Nazi movements. These expressions of extreme nationalism are nevertheless mitigated by the prevailing opinion that only primitive individuals commit violence against foreigners (Slovene Public Opinion 93/1; Tiryakian, Nevitte, 1991: 228-286).

Problems Concerning Establishment of Ethnic Pluralism

1. After the disintegration of Yugoslavia, connected with military and ethnic conflict and in critical conditions of transition, it cannot be expected that better developed relations of ethnic pluralism would be established in the new Slovene national country, where there are occurrences of ethnonationalism between the autochthonous population and the immigrants. Public opinion surveys show that people are in favour of the assimilation of more permanent immigrants only to a small extent, as mentioned earlier (yet it is true that the share of such opinions is growing to some extent). There are prevailing opinions that more permanent immigrants should adapt themselves to Slovene conditions, learn the Slovene language, and only among themselves should they speak their own language and develop their own culture (Slovene Public Opinion 92/3).

These adaptation processes that concern more permanent immigrants in Slovenia can be characterized as an underdeveloped level of ethnic pluralism when there are only one-sided and incomplete contacts between the autochthonous majority and the immigrant minority due to the existence of ethnic stratification. The dominant majority expresses low tolerance of immigrant culture, the influences of the immigrant culture upon the dominant one are minimal. Immigrant culture has not been given the same possibilities as are offered to the culture of autochthonous minorities in those ethnically mixed environments where the cultural rights of autochthonous ethnic minorities and their integral protection and equality are guaranteed. The result is therefore forced, involuntary adaptation of immigrants to the conditions of the immigrant society and its culture if the immigrants want to live more or less normally in the immigrant society, if they want to be included in it and fulfil their aspirations for social advancement.

The processes of adaptation of immigrants can also be characterized as processes of adaptation acculturation, which means that adaptation processes also comprise processes of acculturation to the immigrant culture if the immigrants want to avoid marginalization. They are protected against more severe acculturation forces by their immigrant ethnic communities, friendly and family relations within which they can develop their culture and speak their language.

This underdeveloped pluralism can also be called pluralism of inequality with no marked segregation of immigrants and no thorough integration in the immigrant society.

Thus in the public sphere there is the culture of the immigrant society and immigrants have to adapt themselves to it, accept its elements and the system of immigrant society if they want to live in it, satisfy their needs and change their status, which was the fundamental motive for their immigration. Yet in the private sphere there are possibilities for the existence of immigrant culture, for expressing their diversity, thus for ethnic pluralism.

It should be pointed out that the influence of adapted immigrants on the system and culture of immigrant society in the public sphere demands that equal possibilities and conditions are guaranteed to immigrants, which also means that all discrimination processes should be limited. It is important that the process of ethnic pluralism in the private sphere and the process of equal possibilities in the public sphere are parallel, since if only ethnic pluralism in the private sphere is guaranteed, without equal possibilities in the public sphere, it results in segregation and inequality of immigrants; if, however, only equal possibilities in the public sphere without ethnic pluralism in the private sphere are guaranteed, it brings about assimilation of immigrants.

Underdeveloped ethnic pluralism, with elements of a forced, involuntary character, concerning the necessity of the adaptation of immigrants to the elements of the dominant culture in the public sphere and their acceptance through the processes of adaptation acculturation at the same time, contains liberal and consensus elements. Last but not least, the first generation of immigrants makes a relatively voluntary decision to settle for the specific immigrant society in which they are allowed to maintain and develop their own culture in the private sphere. Immigrants are thus not entirely determined by the dominant culture and they still have some possibili-

ties to make their own choice. It is because of this very liberal, tolerant, consensus note that the underdeveloped type of ethnic pluralism which is discussed here differs from the conflicting, militant, corporative ethnic pluralism. This sort of ethnic pluralism, which is in conflict with the other culture in the common area, seldom occurs among immigrants, yet it results in the separation of the autochthonous population and immigrants, when immigrants live in their entirely built-up immigrant ethnic communities and are opposed to the dominant culture of the immigrant societies. The relations of conflict ethnic pluralisms between the immigrants and the autochthonous population cannot occur in Slovenia.⁶

2. The described model of underdeveloped ethnic pluralism, of involuntary - forced - adaptation, yet also with liberal characteristics, is being implemented with difficulty for several reasons. The first is that ethnic pluralism is in general hindered by archaic and traditional syndromes which result from the mythical image of one's own ethnicity, on which contemporary positive auto-stereotypes are based, and they marginalize and discriminate foreigners, immigrants, - except the celebrities - on the basis of ethnic stratification. Slovene society has experienced a long period of monism in the socialist regime and therefore it is not very likely that it would succeed in developing one of the most complicated aspects of pluralism: ethnic pluralism. Immigrants from other parts of Yugoslavia felt like internal immigrants with declared, recognized rights. Most of them used the Serbian or Croatian language, which was spoken by a majority of the Yugoslav population. These were obstacles to their inclusion in the processes of adaptation acculturation, together with the contemporary reasons which were discussed when we talked about disjunctive relations between the autochthonous population and immigrants (Rex, 1985; Katunarić, 1993: 14-25).

Yet there are scarce possibilities - as in other immigrant societies - for the stages of underdeveloped ethnic pluralism to turn into more developed stages and later on into processes of interculturalism. Such processes are theoretically possible as far as well-developed autochthonous minorities or immigrant societies are concerned, where immigrants play the role of the dominant majority (in the qualitative sense). Immigrants from less developed parts of the former Yugoslavia came to Slovenia. Their culture differed from Slovene culture; their motives were to achieve social advance. For this reason multifaced intercultural communications cannot be expected, nor can a better tolerance of immigrant culture, permission for various parallel institutions belonging to immigrants, co-existence of cultures and transculturation processes with dynamic interethnic contacts, which would result in a sort of new cultural syntheses owing to the mutual enrichment of cultures. More developed stages of ethnic pluralism in particular cannot be expected due to the violent disintegration of the former common federal state and due to ethnic conflicts which deepen the interethnic distance and cause xenophobia between the autochthonous population and immigrants in Slovenia. It seems that the inclusion of immigrants in Slovenia is similar to that in other countries, although here immigrants come from a former common state. The first generation might, in spite of all the conflicts and other disjunctive processes, be included in underdeveloped forms of ethnic pluralism which will become weaker in the following generations of immigrants, and assimilation processes will become stronger. Culturally entirely different immigrants (Moslems) might be an exception, because their ethnic religious features will defy assimilation in the second and also in later generations. The disclosed

processes of ethnic stratification and subtle forms of segregation might contribute to it (Berry, Kim, 1988: 62-89).

Those factors that might in some environments of postmodern societies give rise to well-developed stages of ethnic pluralism and interculturalism are not very well developed. We refer to the guaranteed equality of possibilities and conditions with legal equality, the act of surpassing the crucial significance of territorial cultural identity, genetic and functional interference of one ethnicity into the other one, etc. Contemporary technology makes it possible for cultures from international metropolitan centres to influence Slovene culture, yet in general there is no distinctive confrontation and interaction among the autochthonous culture and the cultures of immigrants (Mlinar, 1990: 5-25). Contacts of the Slovene society, which had for a long time been ethnically homogeneous enough, with the culture of immigrants caused anxiety, and disharmony after Slovenia attained independence - mainly due to political but partly also cultural reasons - caused many disjunctive processes. In the transition period Slovenia is subject to complex processes of transition from monism to integral structural pluralism, within which ethnic pluralism seems to be difficult to accomplish. In this time processes of social and ethnic stratification are being connected, where the ethnic origin of immigrants lowers their social status, and at the same time there often appears a harmony between their low social and ethnic status. The entire structure of public (state) institutions is certainly a monistic one and the autochthonous population cannot protect itself from the competition of the immigrants, not even by means of discrimination. For the most part the cultures cannot be interwoven at all; in relations between the autochthonous and immigrant cultures such processes can be seen only on the surface, on the margin of culture in mutual contacts (Katunarić, 1993: 14-25).

Conclusions

Among the transitional processes that concern transformations of social structure and values of social (in)equality, a fast class and strata polarization should be pointed out that is reflected in the increased importance of economic capital, while at the same time the power of political capital is preserved; it is also reflected in a gradual evaluation of a calm, functional inequality, with a widespread belief of distributive egalitarianism and emphasized activity of the social state. These stratification transformations and transformations of values - dependent on the transformations of the socio-economic system and transitional critical problems (unemployment, poverty, parvenu rises) - are connected with the affirmation-mobilization activities of the old politocracy that is reproduced and tries to keep its position, as well as of the new politocracy that tries to express and consolidate itself. The struggle for power between them is uncompromising and their power is based on a strong, traditionally oriented nation state and mobilization nationalism, as well as on endeavours for transition.

It seems that a strong, traditionally designed nation state at this time corresponds to the new processes of social stratification based on a fast accumulation of capital. Such process of social stratification causes occurrences of ethnic stratification which push immigrants into the status of an underprivileged ethnic minority. A strong nation state at the same time partly plays the role of

a social state, too, and in this way it mitigates class-stratification polarizations; thus there is still some hope for egalitarian tendencies to spread more extensively. Last but not least, occurrences of ethnic stratification can also be attributed to the limited establishment of meritocratic principles, or to the faster growth of the significance of cultural capital, i.e. increased number of experts and to the establishment of their influence.

Ethnocentric nationalism, which causes realistic and unrealistic ethnic conflicts, occurrences of discriminations, etc., is mainly followed by lower social classes in insecure transitional conditions of mass unemployment, encouraged by mobilization nationalism, because of the state of actual or fictitious threat, above all on the verbal level of attitudes and opinions.

The delayed formation of a nation state in the period of violent disintegration of the former Yugoslavia gave rise to mobilization nationalism and at the same time ethnocentric nationalism with political polarization among the members of the former Yugoslav ethnations, which can be seen in relations between the autochthonous population and immigrants in Slovenia. So there are certainly opinions among the autochthonous population on various aspects of how they are threatened by immigrants; arguments which support these opinions are based on the policy of "Yugoslavisation" of Slovenia as a cause for immigration to Slovenia (thus immigration would not only be of a socio-economic character), on the number of immigrants, their concentration, cultural diversity and inadaptability, political disinclination to the Slovene nation, expression of intolerance of immigrants, etc. These occurrences certainly cannot be excluded, particularly among those categories of immigrants where a low social and ethnic status overlap and among those who cannot comprehend that they have become international immigrants instead of internal immigrants. Various disjunctive relations between the autochthonous population and immigrants are also caused by the ideology of a scapegoat, or by interpretations of unrealistic conflicts and populist activities and manipulations of nationalist parties.

The presence of the forms of underdeveloped, unequal, yet still liberal - consensus ethnic pluralism in the processes of inclusion of immigrants - besides numerous disjunctive processes - can be attributed to the implementation of more global social processes of accommodation and new social conflicts, which have been caused by social and ethnic stratification polarization. It has to be pointed out that other aspects (political, notional, property relations, etc.) of pluralism do not give rise to a simultaneous development of ethnic pluralism and that therefore the integrity of structural pluralism is difficult to accomplish. Ethnonationalism and the traditional nation state - with the domination of a political subsystem - can be regarded as discouraging factors for spreading universal processes of competition. The politocracy often takes unpopular measures and the authorities are often inefficient, therefore mobilization nationalism is needed in order to establish a minimum consensus, together with tolerating unrealistic conflicts which are aimed at immigrants, which is reflected in the processes between the autochthonous population and immigrants described above.

The presence of disjunctive processes of immigrants, as well as the assimilation of the second generation, causes doubt about the possibilities of establishing more developed forms of tolerant ethnic pluralism and interculturalism, and at the same time complications arise in the process of creating integral modernization, which includes tolerant ethnic relations. These complications concern not only postsocialist societies, but also the more developed West-European societies. We believe that without tolerant ethnic pluralism and interculturalism there will be no integral postmodern development.

NOTES

1. Considering the fact that Slovenia may be regarded as one of the more developed Central-European postsocialist societies, the period of pronounced hierarchic bureaucratic-revolutionary system was shorter than in other Central-European societies with a socialist regime, but it started earlier, immediately after 1945. During the socialist regime its signs were still present: after the 60's in order to keep the increasing role of "technocracy" within certain bounds, but also recently in the 80's when the society was shaken by a profound integral crisis.

2. Explanation of the fact that a faster rise of meritocracy cannot be witnessed should be related to its limited presence in the former regime and at the same time to the parallelism of the emergence of a new managerial class together with the beginnings of the emergence of the owners of private capital, which differs greatly from classical capitalism, where managerial revolution happens later, when the capitalist class is already firmly grounded. The outflow of a number of experts to politocracy and political bureaucracy in the small Slovene system also represents specificity and an obstacle to a faster establishment of more numerous and more contemporary meritocracy. The complex and often problematic transformation of social-state property into private property affects the assertion of the inexperienced managerial class.

3. In the socialist regime, which was based on the ideology of effective abolishment of class conflict due to the limitation of private property, people slowly became aware of the fact that within the system there occurred numerous conflicts. This also resulted from the fact that the external conflict between Stalinism and the Yugoslav model of socialism was in full swing. The politocracy stuck to the existence of the conflict between the middle categories of bureaucracy and technocracy on the one hand and the working class on the other. By using such tactics, attention was diverted from the basic strata and classes. In the 70's conflicts between technocracy and politocracy became apparent. Interethnic conflicts and numerous other conflicts were evident. Although many conflicts were obvious, the ideological foundation of socialism and concentrated political power with a monopoly of repression did not allow establishment of effective regulative means for the purpose of settling and solving them. Conflicts cannot be solved without the confrontation of the two conflicting sides, which would mean that they would be transformed into milder forms of disjunctive processes and also into forms of conjunctive processes.

A more detailed analysis of the characteristics of conflicts in the former regime would show that the politocracy often tried to create unreal conflicts. It warned people against the presence of numerous fictitious enemies, which indicated its own insecurity. The existence of numerous real latent conflicts indicated the aggregate, incohesive character of a society where there were not enough available means for the activation of special and individual interests. The social system was not highly differentiated and flexible, not only because of the non-existence of political pluralism, but also because of the delayed modernization processes (Adam,

1989: 19-29), which was one of the reasons for the disintegration of the system after the outbreak of conflict.

4. Fundamental economic values which are characteristic of modern capitalist societies are: private property, stocks and shares, (consent to the restitution of nationalized and otherwise confiscated private property to previous owners and their descendants), acceptance by the public; at the same time they strive for a stronger role of the social state because of socio-economic problems, unemployment, poverty; they should not perform only the usual role of social state, but they should also ensure employment, higher wages and salaries, etc. (Slovene Public Opinion 93/1).

5. Events in the West of Europe concern Slovenia as well, where ethnic distance towards the Jews is expressed to a considerable extent, which is supported by occasional symbolic vandalism, although the Jewish community is almost invisible and in the course of history never represented a significant source of ethnic conflicts. Thus Slovenia is infected by ethnic intolerance and in this respect this society does not differ from other postsocialist societies in transition, neither does it differ from West-European societies (Slovene Public Opinion 93/1).

6. It has to be pointed out that the limits between the relations of ethnic pluralism and assimilation cannot be clearly defined. Those processes of ethnic pluralism which concern immigrants include adaptation processes (maintaining their own culture and accepting the new culture) which are called processes of adaptation acculturation. And acculturation is regarded as a lower stage of superficial assimilation. After adaptation acculturation has begun, further processes can be developed in the direction of ethnic pluralism or structural assimilation. Only the extreme options of a well-developed stratification and identification assimilation can clearly be separated from the disjunctive segregated ethnic pluralism, perhaps maintained or allowed by the immigrant society by means of positive discrimination. In Slovene conditions occurrences of disjunctive pluralism cannot actually be noticed. However there is a possibility that the processes of adaptation acculturation in the second generation of immigrants might turn into higher stages of assimilation, which probably does not entirely apply to Moslems.

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