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The Slovene-Speaking Minority of Carinthia: The Struggle for Ethnolinguistic Identity in the Gail Valley

by

Katharine Hunter ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

in

Applied Linguistics

Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies

Edmonton, Alberta

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2. October 2000

This thesis is an examination of the Slovene-speaking minority of Carinthia, Austria. Many of the Slovene-speaking Carinthians are undergoing a language shift (i.e., the change from Slovene to German) as they face assimilation into Germanophone Austrian culture. I focus on the bilingual population of the Gail Valley, the westernmost region of Carinthia. This region, and in particular the western Upper Gailtal, is the most heavily Germanized area of Carinthia. There are a number of historical reasons for this, as well as the fact that pro-German nationalist groups have been more successful in their propaganda campaigns here than elsewhere. Whether the language shift can be halted and-- eventually-- reversed depends not only on the attitudes and ethnic consciousness of the Slovenophones themselves, but also on the political and social institutions which surround the people in their everyday lives and which contribute to the attitudes they hold.

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Slovene-Speaking minority of Carinthia: The Struggle for Ethnolinguistic Identity in the Gail Valley" submitted by Katharine Hunter in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Applied Linguistics.

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Map of Austria. This map shows the bilingual zone of southern Carinthia and the position of the villages which are the focus of this thesis.

I. Introduction

1. Aim and Sources

This thesis is an examination of the Slovene-speaking minority of Carinthia (German *Kärnten*, Slovene *Koroška*), Austria. Many of the Slovene-speaking Carinthians are undergoing a language shift as they are faced with assimilation into Germanophone Austrian culture. I focus on the Slovenophone population of the Gail Valley (Gailtal/ Ziljska dolina), which is the westernmost region of Carinthia. This region, and in particular the western Upper Gailtal, is the most heavily Germanized area of Carinthia. There are a number of historical reasons for this, as well as the fact that pro-German nationalist groups have been more successful here than in other regions. My thesis is a contribution towards a description of this phenomenon and the role played-- individually and collectively-- by economics, politics and social structure in supporting or opposing a minority group in its struggle to create and maintain an ethnolinguistic identity.

The literature on the history and politics of Carinthia is extensive; for this thesis I have relied mainly on Barker (1984) and, for the Gail Valley, Janschitz (1990), but many other works (see the bibliography) were also useful. Apart from Janschitz, there are few published studies about the Gail Valley. Brudner (1970) discusses the ethnic component of intergroup relations in the village of Feistritz, which is mentioned in this thesis. Brudner's work presents an anthropological viewpoint on the state of affairs in Feistritz and the Gail Valley in general. In terms of sociolinguistics, although many of Brudner's individual remarks are valid, her overall view of the linguistic situation in the Gail Valley does not correspond with my own observations. Because of this, I do not quote from her works. Minnich (1988) focuses on the relationship between language and self-image in the area where the Slavic, Romance and Germanic languages and cultures overlap. Gamper (1974) concentrates on the Upper Gail Valley; his work is an investigation of the effect of tourism in the area. I have taken a number of quotations from Zavratnik-Zimic (1998), as well as a few from fieldwork interviews I conducted in the Gail Valley when I was part of a research team investigating ethnolinguistic vitality in Carinthia in 1999 and 2000. My interviews form the basis of many of my conclusions, especially with respect to language attitudes and the effects of the *Windischentheorie* (see Chapter 5). Although secondary sources have proved invaluable in outlining the historical background of phenomena like the *Windischentheorie*, personal interviews with people of various ages and villages have given me a greater understanding of these phonomena.

In order to preserve anonymity, our research team devised a method of identifying our informants for future reference. Each informant was assigned a letter which referred to his or her home village, the letter M or F , which stood for the sex of the informant, and a number, which referred to the informant's numerical position in our work. Thus, informant BF01 is from Feistritz (*Bistrica* in Slovene, hence the letter B), is female, and was our first female informant from that village. This is the system I will use in my quotations. All quotations and some citations are in my own translation from the original German or Slovene.

2. Structure

In Chapter Two, I will give a brief historical and geographical overview of bilingual Carinthia, focusing on the Gail Valley. Chapter Three is dedicated to the situation in the Gail Valley with respect to language shift. In particular, I will discuss the potential for language maintenance in terms of ethnolinguistic identity in the Upper and Lower Gail Valley. In Chapter Four, I present the history of education in southern Carinthia, with emphasis on the use of Slovene in schools. I will also discuss the role of cultural organizations and the media in the bilingual zone. In Chapter Five, I will concentrate on the political obstacles to the development of ethnolinguistic identity in the Gail Valley, and how these obstacles have contributed to the Slovene-speaking Carinthians' unique position among minority groups. The sixth chapter will be a summary of the contributing factors to the current situation in the Gail Valley, and of how history and politics have produced both positive and negative effects in this region.

3. A Note on Geographic Names

All geographic names in this thesis, other than "Carinthia" and "Austria" are given in the official standard language of the country of their location: German for those in Austria, Italian for those in Italy. The Slovene and, where relevant, German equivalents of all geographic names are as follows:

Cities, Towns and Villages

Achomitz-- Zahomec

Arnoldstein-- Podklošter

Dellach-- Dole

Egg-- Brdo

Feistritz-- Bistrica

Göriach-- Gorje

Görtschach-- Goriče

Hermagor-- Šmohor

Hohenthurn-- Straja vas

Klagenfurt-- Celovec

Latschach-- Loče

Mellweg-- Melviče

Nötsch-- Čajna

Passriach-- Pazrije

St. Stefan an der Gail-- Štefan na Zilji

Thörl-Maglern-- Vrata-Megvarje

Ugovizza (Italy)-- Ukve

Velden-- Vrba

Villach-- Beljak

Völkermarkt-- Velikovec

Wittenig-- Vitenče

Mountains

Carnic Alps-- Karnische Alpen-- Karniške Alpe

Gailtaler Alpen-- Ziljske Alpe

Karawanken-- Karavanke

Rivers

Drau-- Drava

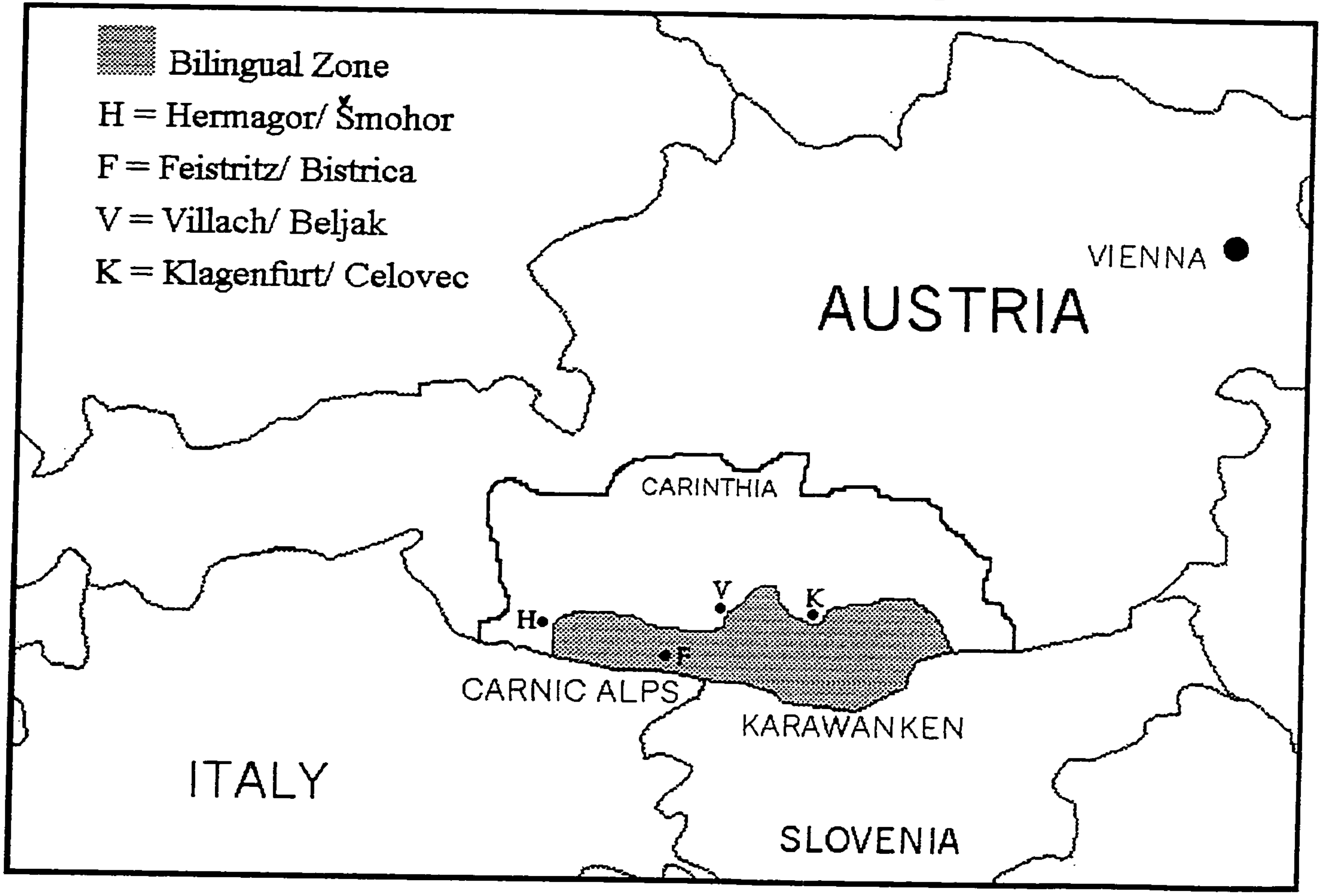
Gail-- Zilja

Valleys

Canale Valley (Italy)-- Val Canale

Gail Valley-- Gailtal-- Ziljska dolina

Figure I. Map of Austria showing bilingual zone


▨ Bilingual Zone
H = Hermagor/ Šmohor
F = Feistritz/ Bistrica
V = Villach/ Beljak
K = Klagenfurt/ Celovec
VIENNA
AUSTRIA
CARINTHIA
V
K
H
F
CARNIC ALPS
KARAWANKEN
ITALY
SLOVENIA

An Historical and Geographical Overview of Southern Carinthia

Carinthia is situated in the *Dreiländereck* (three-land corner) of Central Europe; that is, it is in the zone where the Slavic, Germanic and Romance worlds come together. Originally, Slavic settlement covered most of the inhabitable land in Carinthia and Styria, and extended to parts of East Tyrol and Salzburg provinces. Starting in the eighth century, the northernmost areas of the Slavic settlement were gradually overtaken by Germanic settlers moving in from the northwest. Now, only the area south of the Drau river has a significant Slovenophone population. There are now about forty thousand members of the Slovene minority in Carinthia (but see Chapter V on the problem of censuses). Though it is politically part of Austria, the influences of Slovenia and Italy can also be found in the architecture, cuisine and lifestyle of the Carinthians.

In the fourteenth century, the Habsburg dynasty gained control of Carinthia and consolidated its rule by clearing land, building roads and establishing churches. It was at this time that the Slovenes started to feel the pressure to assimilate to German culture. Since economic and political power lay in German hands, the Slovenes felt that they had to learn the German language and customs in order to get ahead in society. As early as the sixteenth century, Slovenes were sending their children to German schools (Barker 1984: 33-38).

The Gailtal, which is the main area of investigation for this paper, is the westernmost region of Carinthia. It takes its name from the Gail River, which flows through the valley and joins the Drau just east of the city of Villach. It is directly north of Italy, and Italian culture is particularly prominent here. The Gailtal spreads itself for about a hundred kilometres, between the Gailtaler Alps in the north and the Carnic Alps in the south. The main part of the valley is marked at each end by a town: Hermagor in the west and Arnoldstein in the east.

Until the nineteenth century, the Gailtal was prosperous in relation to the rest of Carinthia. The southern side of the valley was marshy; this made it unsuitable for agriculture. Instead, because of its lush grass, the area became known for horse-breeding. This made for a narrower economic gap between the Slovene Gailtalers and their German counterparts, a much narrower gap than the rest of Carinthia. The western Gailtal was settled by Germans earlier than other areas, and the proportion of Germanophones to Slovenophones was higher than it was in the rest of Carinthia. Therefore, the western Gailtal was exposed to the influence of Germanification earlier than the rest of Carinthia; even today, it is the most heavily-Germanized part of the bilingual zone.

Ideas of nationalism arose in the nineteenth century, and put the Slovene-speaking Carinthians under more pressure to assimilate to German culture. A main feature of nationalism was the concept that a nation should be homogenous, comprising one people speaking one language. In fact, the Carinthian Slovenes were pressured not only by German nationalism, but also by Illyrism, a movement working towards the unity of all southern Slavs.

Although modernization and industrialization did have an effect on Carinthia, the province did not advance as quickly as the rest of Austria. Many Gailtal farmers supplemented their income by working in coal or lead mines, but it was Germans who held the economic power. This left the Slovenes with little opportunity for advancement within their own sphere. Anyone who wanted to advance socially had to leave the Slovene sphere and try to find a place in German culture.

The coming of the railway had a profound cultural effect on the Gailtal. Since trains made it possible to export large quantities of food, Gailtal farmers had to increase their production. It was at this time that many of the marshes on the south side of the valley were drained for agricultural purposes. The resulting decrease in horse-breeding equalized the income discrepancy between the Gailtal and the rest of Carinthia (Janschitz 1990: 14-20).

When war broke out in 1914, the Slovene-speaking Carinthians found themselves in a difficult position. If they supported Austria, they might be considered disloyal to their "blood brothers" the Serbs. But if they supported the Serbs, they would be considered traitors to their country. As the war was drawing to a close, a territorial dispute arose between Austria-Hungary and the Southern Slavs, who joined together in 1918 to form the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS, as of 1929 Yugoslavia). Both laid claim to southern Carinthia: the Austrians saw Carinthia as a natural part of the multicultural Habsburg Empire. At the same time, Slovene representatives demanded that southern Carinthia become part of Slovenia. The two sides fought over control of the borderland, and in 1918, Yugoslav forces occupied southern Carinthia, including the capital, Klagenfurt (Broman et al 1985: 56-58). The situation was a point of discussion at the Paris Peace Conference.

Acting as intermediaries, American delegates at the peace conference set up the Miles Mission, which set out on a fact-finding tour of Carinthia in order to determine the ethnic make-up of the province. Mission representatives inspected grave inscriptions, architecture and traffic patterns, and spoke to the inhabitants of villages and towns throughout the disputed area. In February, 1920, the Miles Mission reported that Carinthia was a natural unit and that the population was opposed to division. The mission recommended the Karawanken chain as a border between Austria and the SHS. (Barker 1984: 90-105).

Despite this recommendation, conference delegates decided that the rule of self-determination should apply; the southern Carinthians themselves would decide their fate by means of a plebiscite. Southern Carinthia was divided into two zones, called Zones A and B. The first vote was to take place in Zone A, which covered the area adjacent to the Yugoslav border. It was arranged that if most of the Slovene-speaking Carinthians in Zone A voted to remain part of Austria, there would be no plebiscite in Zone B. A pro-SHS result from Zone A would mean that Zone B would also have a plebiscite.

During the period of the plebiscite, both Austrian and Yugoslav military forces left the disputed territory. The plebiscite was supervised by a commission made up of British, French, Italian, Austrian and Yugoslav representatives. Both Austria and the SHS mounted intensive propaganda campaigns in an attempt to win support. Ultimately, Zone A voted fifty-nine to forty-one per cent in favour of Austria, which decided the fate of Zone B as well. As the Miles Mission had suggested, the Karawanken became the new boundary between Austria and the SHS.

The dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the plebiscite changed the cultural situation of the Carinthian Slovenes. The border between Carinthia and the SHS, which had not been formalized under the Empire, was closed, and the Slovene-speaking Carinthians were cut off politically from Slovenes south of the Karawanken. However, there was no great change for the people of the Gailtal; neither the Gailtal nor the Val Canale (pre-1918 part of Austria, now northeastern Italy) had been involved in the territorial dispute or the plebiscite. These areas, which shared a border with Italy, were not occupied by Yugoslav forces during the war. At the peace conference, it was determined that the Val Canale should go to Italy, and the new border would be drawn along the Carnic Alps, south of the Gail river. Despite this change, the fall of the Habsburg monarchy and the establishment of the First Austrian Republic did not have a great effect on the Gailtalers.

In the mid-1920s, the Slovene-speaking Carinthians put forth a proposal for cultural autonomy. They established contact with minority groups in Italy and the SHS, including the small German population in Slovenia, to come up with a plan. In 1925, Estonia produced a statute for cultural autonomy which was approved by the Congress of European Nationalities in Geneva for adoption in other countries. The Congress recommended that the Slovene-speaking Carinthians form a legal corporation called the Slovene People's Community (SPC). Every Carinthian Slovene in each community was to register with the SPC, which would oversee the establishment of cultural institutions, Slovene schools, and teachers' colleges.

The Carinthian Slovenes, who were not consulted during the drafting of the proposal, had several objections. First, they objected to the terms of membership for the SPC. The proposal recommended that membership be voluntary, but the Carinthian Slovenes feared that voluntary membership would mean that only the nationally conscious would register, leaving the ambivalent in the same uncertain situation as before. Second, the Carinthian Slovenes objected to the terms proposed for the new school system, which were unclear with respect to the language of instruction. The strongest objection arose over the registry of SPC members. The Slovene-speaking Carinthians feared, with some justification, that a list of minority-group members could be used against them. Ultimately, the minority group was unable to reach a compromise with the Austrian government and the Congress of European Nationalities. Negotiations broke down, and the proposal for cultural autonomy was never introduced (185-187).

The 1930s were marked by pro-German nationalism, culminating in the *Anschluss* of 1938, whereby Austria was annexed by Nazi Germany. In this period, more and more restrictions were imposed upon the public use of Slovene. After the *Anschluss*, Slovene was banned outright. During the Second World War, repression was intensified; Slovene cultural institutions were dissolved, libraries were confiscated, and many Slovene-speaking Carinthians were victims of deportation or imprisonment.

Immediately after the war, the British occupying forces in Carinthia implemented bilingual education for both Germanophone and Slovenophone children, and the Carinthian Slovenes were granted many rights in terms of cultural and linguistic expression. However, in the aftermath of the war, there were many changes in both economics and social values throughout Europe. For instance, the Gailtal experienced an increase in tourism. In regions of the upper valley which were not suitable for agriculture, many people turned from farming to innkeeping as a main source of income. The influx of tourists brought a change in the traditional lifestyle of the village. Before the war, the Upper Gail village of Passriach was Slovenophone, and parents considered it important for their children to learn the local dialect. When the tourism boom began, people saw the practicality of speaking German. Since Passriach is now essentially devoted to holiday houses, it has lost much of its Slovene character (Gamper 1974: 49). Passriach exemplifies the cultural change which occurred in the Upper Gailtal in the years following the war.

The 1950s and early 1960s saw the resurgence of pro-German nationalism, and the Slovene-speaking community experienced a backlash. But in the 1960s and 1970s, a new ethnic consciousness emerged among the minority. Although nationalist groups still tried to suppress any movement towards the implementation of minority rights, the Slovenophone community, which was better-educated than it had been in any preceding period, was less willing to be intimidated.

The 1980s and 1990s saw the rise of a more mainstream nationalism, which took a less aggressive stance against minority rights, but which had a wider appeal than traditional nationalism. Today, this mainstream German-majority nationalism-- as espoused by the Austrian Freedom Party-- is extremely influential in Carinthian and Austrian politics. Many Slovene-speaking Carinthians fear that mainstream nationalism will lead to the gradual erosion of their rights (see Chapter V for further details).

III. Language Shift and Maintenance in Southern Carinthia

1. Reversing Language Shift

Language shift is the gradual shift from one language to another. It can happen any time when two linguistic groups come into contact. This contact can be political, economic, cultural, or geographical, or it can be brought about by a combination of these factors (Paulston 1992: 55). If the two groups are equal with respect to economic power and cultural prestige, both languages will probably be retained. However, if one of the groups is superior in terms of numbers or prestige, the weaker community will likely begin the shift from its own language to that of the more powerful group (Jahr 1993: 3).

Language shift occurs over one or more generations, and is marked by a gradual increase in the use of the new language in situations where it was not used previously. The shift happens by degrees, and there is an interphase of bilingualism during which people will switch back and forth between the minority and majority languages. Gal calls this the "alternation of old and new variants" (Gal 1979: 18). What may begin as an alternation will become a pattern of bilingualism. But whether bilingualism must lead to language shift depends on which type of bilingualism is displayed: additive or subtractive.

Additive bilingualism occurs when an ethnolinguistic group starts to use a second language with no negative effect on the first language. Subtractive bilingualism develops when the adoption of a second language has a detrimental effect on the first language. The difference between additive and subtractive bilingualism in any minority group depends on the power and influence of both the first and second languages (Allard and Landry 1992: 173). Within a minority group, additive bilingualism is possible only if the value of the traditional language is recognized (Landry and Allard 1991: 199). If a minority group displays negative attitudes towards the traditional language, this language will become stigmatized; group-members will start the shift towards the majority language (Allard and Landry 1992: 174). When a minority favours the majority language over the mother tongue, it is in a position of subtractive bilingualism.

Ultimately, subtractive bilingualism, if unchecked, will lead to language loss: often there will be no more intergenerational transmission. It is difficult to understand the dynamics of language shift and loss in individual situations: "in conditions of linguistic coercion, there will usually exist elements of group volition, and in cases in which it seems that groups have shifted voluntarily, there are often elements of coercion". While language shift almost always occurs when one community is under pressure from another group which is stronger in some way, the shift is often a manifestation of the wishes of the minority group: the desire to get ahead, to make a better life for one's children, and so on (Edwards 1985: 48-52). When a society is under any kind of assimilatory pressure, a shared cultural and biological past will not necessarily have the power to prevent language shift, especially if minority-group members have access to the majority language via the mass media, social institutions and the work force (Schermerhorn 1988: 1-8).

If an ethnolinguistic minority is genuinely interested in safeguarding its language and encouraging intergenerational transmission, it must have sufficient motivation to use the traditional language. Higher motivation to halt the shift will lead to more intentional decision-making in terms of language choice in various situations. After all, it is when people stop wanting to use their own language that the threat of language shift becomes a reality. It is important to motivate people to choose their own language before it is too late and the minority language is no longer an option. In a situation of subtractive bilingualism, it is difficult to motivate people to use the threatened language; however, it is a possible and worthwhile goal (Winter 1993: 313). Any action or program designed to slow or halt language shift has been defined by Fishman as *Reversing Language Shift* (RLS) action.

According to Fishman, RLS is rarely pursued for its own sake, but generally reflects some dissatisfaction with the cultural and political status quo. In other words, the move to RLS is taken when a community feels threatened by the dominant culture, for most minorities "...reveal the domino principle in operation and when any of their main props, such as language, are lost, most other props are seriously weakened and are far more likely to be altered and lost as well" (Fishman 1991: 17-18). Since language has a powerful saliency in culture, it is an important indicator of vitality.

Often, people think of RLS as a top-heavy government initiative. This does not have to be the case. In fact, it is better for an RLS movement to come from within the community: not only will this give grassroots appeal, it will be easier to win meaningful support from the government if those in power can see commitment to RLS at the community level (82).

Any attempt at RLS is often perceived-- mainly by outsiders but also by some insiders-- as a threat to national unity and to the rights of the dominant culture. This perceived threat is used to advantage by nationalist groups which want to halt RLS initiatives. It is important for those in favour of RLS to stress that, should their initiatives succeed, no one will suffer discrimination. Indeed, RLS activists must realize the advantages of bilingualism as a link between the minority and majority cultures (83-4). It is important for RLS activists to set priorities; often there is too little time, and there are too few resources, to initiate far-reaching and complex programs. Fishman identifies the main priorities for RLS: functions which are crucial to intergenerational continuity, and functions which have a chance of success. Of course, every minority community has its own set of circumstances and thus must tailor its RLS efforts accordingly (86).

What is the role of the school in RLS? Rowley writes that "...education is the area *par excellence* in which legislation may be expected to have immediate effect on what languages people use and on their attitudes to these languages" (Rowley 1986: 229). However, it is important to remember that school language programs are not a panacea for the problem of language shift. For a language to be transmitted from one generation to the next, it must have symbolic meaning; children must receive positive reinforcement outside of school in what Fishman calls the Family-Neighbourhood-Community Arena: "a language which is not normatively operative throughout this intimate, affect-related and societally binding arena is not subsequently handed on as, or transmuted into, a mother tongue merely by virtue of the school's attention" (Fishman 1991: 373).

Even within the school system, there is more to language education than the decision to teach a minority language so many times every week:

> The "hidden" curriculum of attitudes and expectation and the overt curriculum of subject teaching and the more informal activities such as

> sport are potentially as important to a minority as the decisions about which language shall be taught, when and how. (Bryam 1986: 100)

Bryam divides school-acquired knowledge into two types: *instrumental* and *expressive*. Instrumental knowledge is that which can be put to practical use: work skills, social behaviour and so on. Expressive knowledge governs sociocultural values and creative pursuits. In many instances, bilingual education programs have used the minority language to teach the expressive subjects, which leaves the students unprepared, in terms of their heritage language, for the discussion of instrumental topics. This trend contributes to linguistic assimilation when the schoolchildren enter the work force and must turn to the majority language in order to survive (101). Ethnic identity, then, is limited to expressive knowledge, whereby minority-group members channel their entire identity into features such as dance and cuisine but are culturally illiterate in terms of economics and political life. It is important for school administrators to find a balance between instrumental and expressive forms of knowledge, so that minority-group children can use both languages to express themselves and function in all aspects of life. In the bilingual primary schools of Carinthia, "practical subjects, reading, arithmetic, music, art, handwork and sport are taught in approximately equal amounts of German and Slovene" (Fischer 1986: 193). This corresponds with what Bryam writes about the importance of striking a linguistic balance between instrumental and expressive topics.

Since school shapes the socialization and values of students, it is important for students to learn not only the vocabulary and grammar of a language, but also its worth as a co-ordinating element in society (Larcher 1985: 100). Bilingual education for both Slovenophones and Germanophones in Carinthia would stimulate those with natural linguistic talent, even out future chances of social advancement, and, if implemented, would help "make the idea of German as the prestige language obsolete" (100). Larcher's ultimate goal for bilingual education is to break down prejudice until it is possible to integrate minority-group members into mainstream society without assimilating them. Culturally-integrated bilingual education would "make minority children, who come from a weaker segment of society, capable of testing the various contradictions and potentials for change in their cultural life, especially in relation to the majority culture" (107-8).

Gstettner's vision for bilingual education fits into Fishman's idea of the Family-Neighbourhood-Community Arena. Like Fishman, he emphasizes that school activities cannot be a substitute for meaningful political reform (Gstettner 1985: 67). He suggests opening the schools to a variety of community events, so that children and adults alike can participate in minority-centred cultural activities (48). This would help forge the important intergenerational link which is necessary for linguistic survival.

By the time children reach school age, it is often too late to inculcate the threatened language as a mother tongue if there has been no positive reinforcement in the community. Pro-RLS parents must use the threatened language with their children before the children start school, and must continue to use the language when the children have left school. There must be a community effort to promote use of the language in a variety of settings. This is the best way to encourage intergenerational transmission. "The utilization of the school for RLS purposes must increasingly become merely only one step in an integrated, stagewise progression of steps, rather than the first, last and most crucial step that it has often been made out to be in the past". Minority-language use situations need not be complicated or expensive to be effective. Childbirth preparation classes, day care and play groups, sports associations and so on are good ways to bring the minority language out of the schools and into daily life (Fishman 1991: 377-8).

The *Menter Iaith* (language initiative) program, which was established in Wales in 1991, is devoted to RLS action based on Fishman's recommendations. The program was designed by the Welsh Language Board in order to "consolidate and support existing [language] domains, establish new domains of language use and extend the use of Welsh to those domains which functioned mainly through the medium of English--concentrating mainly on community activities (Campbell 2000: 1-5).

Each local *Menter Iaith* supports pre- and post-natal classes, family activities, youth groups and other family-directed events. Though the program is still in its early stages, Welsh authorities recognize it as "one of the most effective models of language planning seen in Wales in recent years". They attribute this success to the fact that the *Menter Iaith* operates mainly at the community level and encourages local participation. The *Menter Iaith* program shows that simple initiatives can make the difference between subtractive and additive bilingualism (17, 34).

Grassroots activity can be effective, but ideally, there will also be some formal governmental support for the group in its efforts. Language planning at the state level must focus on both corpus and status planning. Corpus planning involves the preparation of a body of linguistic material. This body of material comprises printed works such as schoolbooks, novels, religious works and so on. It also includes songs, legends, jokes and other non-material, folkloristic features of the language. The Slovene-speaking Carinthians have had access to Slovene corpus material for at least one hundred years; it is merely a matter of diversifying this corpus to include various domains, or of tailoring it to fit the needs of a particular community. Status planning is the attempt to improve people's attitudes to their language so that they will want to speak it. Status planning also has to do with language domains: if, for example, the minority language is spoken mainly by farmers, and farming does not have status, then the minority language generally lacks status. One goal of status planning to extend the range of language domains, so that the language will be spoken in many different situations.

It is possible to measure a group's likelihood to implement successful RLS measures. In 1977, Giles, Bourhis and Taylor developed the idea of ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (Allard and Landry 1992: 172). A group's EV can be examined from its economic, political and cultural perspectives, and

> the more positive an ethnolinguistic group's relative position is on these factors, the better its chances of survival and further development. Conversely, the more negative the group's relative standing is on these factors, the more likely its chances of disappearing as a collective entity (172).

Of course, for any measurement of group EV to be effective, there must also be a way of measuring EV on the individual level. An index of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV) was developed by Giles, Bourhis and Rosenthal to measure individual group members' perceptions of a group's overall EV. On the linguistic level, SEV is helpful in determining an individual's attitudes towards both the minority and majority languages, and his or her motivation to use and maintain the traditional language. It is individual experiences with the minority and majority languages which determine a group's collective disposition towards language shift and maintenance (173).

In any bilingual situation, people will have to make language choices. Generally, these choices are based on both the symbolic and practical value of each language (Woolard 1989: 5). For instance, in Austria today, and even throughout Europe, Slovene simply does not have the same power or utility as German. Because of this, many Slovene-speaking Carinthians have chosen German and allied themselves with the dominant group at the expense of solidarity in their own linguistic group. The choice of one language over another will cause a change in the EV of the community, and may lead to dysfunction in terms of the traditional language and culture.

2. Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

Fishman's GIDS can be considered the Richter scale of language shift. Like the Richter scale, the GIDS has eight stages; the higher the number, the greater the degree of language loss and the more work which must be done to reverse, or at least halt, the shift. It is important to remember that at each stage, RLS activities are rewarding even when they do not lead to a lower stage on the GIDS.

In stage 8 on the GIDS, most speakers of a minority language are elderly and are often isolated from each other and the minority community in general. RLS work at this stage involves recording as much of the language as possible, involving the old people in interviews whereby they tell stories, talk about their families and recite nursery rhymes. When possible, these people should be encouraged to speak the minority language to younger members of the community, in the attempt to create a link between the generations. It is possible to work from stage 8 towards a less disrupted stage, but even if this fails, any activity which links the minority people to their language is worthwhile (Fishman 1991: 88-9).

Stage 7 involves a minority-language community which is socially and ethnolinguistically active but too old to have young children and thus ensure intergenerational transmission. However, these people can serve as an example to the younger generation. The main goal of RLS efforts at this stage is to encourage the older people to use their influence on their juniors and try to re-establish the minority language as a means of communication. RLS work here should focus on community gatherings: readings, concerts and so on. But community members must realize that readings and concerts are not an end in themselves: they are fruitless if they do not contribute to linguistic continuity. Rather, community gatherings should be seen and used as a means to encourage transmission (89-92).

In stage 6, the minority language is spoken by individual families at home, but rarely in the larger community or in any formal aspect of life. The RLS goal of this stage is to promote use of the language within the larger community and to encourage non-speakers to learn the minority language. Progress at stage 6 can be difficult, because of social forces such as exogamy, and because non-speakers, or those lacking skill, may be reluctant to learn. However, learning is easier with reinforcement, and the establishment of community newsletters, local radio programming and cultural events will encourage people to learn and use the threatened language. Many minority-language communities exist and continue to do so at stage 6 on the GIDS. But it is crucial to bring the minority language out of the house and into public life. An important goal of RLS is, whenever possible, to revitalise the minority language in many spheres of life. The more vibrant and multifaceted the language, the greater its chances of survival (92-6).

Stage 5 stresses the importance of literacy. Literacy in its own language liberates a minority community from its dependence on the media of the majority culture.

> This is an important "liberation", since without it pro-RLSers are likely to become convinced that there is no way in which *their* views can receive the widespread, informed and elegantly impassioned expression that is needed for [the minority language] to compete with and counteract the [majority culture's] views with which pro-RLSers themselves are so frequently bombarded. (emphasis Fishman's) (96)

The first step in achieving minority-language literacy is to focus on the community through places of worship and cultural centres such as reading rooms. The idea is to provide the community with a space all its own, removed from the influence of the dominant culture. Of course, community control often means that there is less support-- both moral and financial-- from the majority-run government and community at large. But it is at stage five that people should begin to see the potential for a life and culture which do not always conform to the dominant paradigm (96-7).

At the fourth stage on the GIDS, the minority language has been incorporated into lower education programs which conform to the general education laws. At this stage, the minority community often fights for recognition and funding from the government of their region. While official recognition and public funding for schools enhance the prestige of a minority group, they reinforce the group's dependency on the majority culture-- and government funding can be withdrawn. Also, publicly-funded schools tend to stress the values of the majority group:

> education links those who receive it to the reward system controlled by those who provide it. *That is its function and that is what motivates its success*. RLS activists must make sure that the education of [minority children] links them as early as possible and as closely as possible to the maximal possible [minority] reward system. (emphasis Fishman's) (102)

If possible, minority communities should find ways to fund and run their own, independent, schools in their own language while conforming to the curriculum set out by the government. In an independent school, the community can set its own standards with respect to the language of instruction, of assemblies and of extracurricular activities. Also, the community will control hiring in teaching and non-teaching positions. Independent schools are crucial to boundary maintenance, for they demonstrate that an ethnic minority can be largely self-sufficient and yet not conform to the cultural expectations of the majority (98-103).

Stage three involves the use of the minority language in the lower work sphere. As with the schools, it is important for local businesses to be controlled by the ethnolinguistic minority; even though many businesses will exist to serve the majority-controlled economy, local ownership and management will encourage the use of the minority language in interpersonal communication and record-keeping. The community will have the power to close shop on important cultural holidays. As much as possible, local institutions should provide service in the minority language. In summary, the more control the community has over its local economy, the less dependent it will be on the dominant culture for jobs and services (103-5).

At stage two, the ethnolinguistic minority has access to lower government services and mass media. At any stage below the fifth one, there is some security of intergenerational continuity within the family and the community, and it is possible to work towards having an influence on local government and media. Local agencies should be bilingual, and regional radio and television should provide a certain amount of programming in the minority language. This will contribute to boundary maintenance by creating jobs within the community. However, it is important not to rely too much on these services, since the skilled people who work in government and media institutions can be tempted to leave the community and work in the majority culture for more pay and prestige (103-7).

When a community is at the first stage of the GIDS, there will be some use of the minority language at the higher levels of education, the work sphere, government and media. Although this may be gratifying to members of the community, they should not become complacent, for they will continue to feel the pressures put on them by the dominant culture. Stage one, which occurs when the validity of the minority language and culture is recognized by the majority, is almost a luxury; every community's first concern should be intergenerational transmission (107).

The GIDS is a flexible tool; each community can determine its place and where to begin with RLS efforts, should circumstances be appropriate. What is important is that RLS activists do not become too ambitious and try to accomplish too much at once. Stages one through four, while good for prestige and public relations, are complicated and expensive. For many communities, it is better to focus on stages eight through six, which involve more work but are relatively cost-effective and easy to implement.

The stages on Fishman's GIDS are not easily distinguished from each other. Rather, each stage represents a point on a continuum. It is possible for a minority-language community to be at one stage in terms of education and another in terms of cultural activities. Whether a group moves up or down the scale over any given period will be affected by features such as official minority-language legislation, the birth rate and the number of young children in the community.

The Slovene-speaking Carinthians of the Gailtal are hovering around stage seven; that is, Slovene is still spoken, but mainly by people past childbearing age. Many old people speak Slovene among themselves but switch to German in the presence of their children and grandchildren. As informant BF16 commented: "We didn't speak Slovene with the children while they were growing up...We didn't want them to be disadvantaged. Now we realize that this was a mistake". When old people speak Slovene, their conversation is generally limited to the spheres of home and farm. Some look on Slovene as a *Küchesprache* (kitchen-language), unsuitable, or even impossible, for use outside the home. The almost complete lack of bilingual church services has had a profound impact on language shift. Not only are bilingual services important for their Slovene content, but a village priest sets an example for his parish. Also, churchgoing is a social event, and bilingual services encourage people to speak Slovene among themselves before and after Mass. In other words, in the Gailtal, and especially in the heavily Germanized Upper Gailtal, the prevailing attitude is that Slovene is at best doomed and at worst, completely worthless: "German is certainly more important than Slovene...In twenty years, everything will be German. Slovene has no future" (ZM03). Since commuting became part of village life, most young people are linked to the reward system of the majority, which, for the most part, does not value knowledge of Slovene. On top of this, Carinthia is a conservative province, and many Gailtalers-- both Slovene and non-Slovene-- feel that minority groups should assimilate to the status quo, that they have no right to services in their traditional language. As informant ZF01 mentions, "I don't know what things are like down there [in other areas of Carinthia]. But for us here, there simply aren't enough of us to make such demands [for a Slovene-speaking political representative or for bilingual place-name signs]".

Essentially, the people of the Gailtal live in a state of diglossia, which is "a situation in which two languages or two varieties of a language have very precise and distinct functions" (Grosjean 1982: 130). Specifically, Slovene is the language of private life, while German is the language of public life, including education. According to Fishman's GIDS, diglossia tends to occur between the fourth and fifth stages of language shift, when the minority language is relegated to the home sphere. A symptom of diglossia in both the Upper and Lower Gailtal is the fact that only German is spoken in the village *Gemeinderäte* (town councils). In Feistritz, although there is at least one Slovenophone employed in the *Gemeinderat*, Slovene is simply not used. There has been some controversy in the past over the mayor's (the current mayor is a monolingual Germanophone) refusal to say a few words in Slovene in the speeches he makes on Slovene holidays. Another symptom of diglossia is the use of German as the language of education: most people count and add in German, because until recently, German was the language used in mathematics instruction.

The current diglossic situation in the Gailtal puts the Slovene-speaking population in a position of subtractive bilingualism. Most people have little formal education in Slovene. Middle-aged and elderly people, if they received any Slovene schooling at all, generally did not go past the fourth grade. This makes them unable to function in the public realm without depending on German.

There are exceptions to the rule of diglossia and subtractive bilingualism. In Feistritz, many of the politically active people use Slovene as much as possible. Generally, these people are university-educated and work as schoolteachers or professionals. Both the husband and wife of my Feistritz host family have higher education in Slovene, and they speak Slovene almost exclusively. However, as mentioned, these people are the exception. Most Gailtalers, both in the upper and lower valley, do not have sufficient education to use Slovene outside the home sphere.

IV. Education and Culture in Southern Carinthia

1. Education

School attendance first became compulsory in Carinthia in 1774, when the government ordered that a school be opened in each parish. Although this was a positive step in that it started a general trend towards literacy, all classes except catechism were conducted in German (Feinig 1997: 18-19). It was not until 1790 that Slovene schoolbooks became available for children in southern Carinthia. The late eighteenth century was marked by conflict between the imperial government in Vienna and the Carinthian educational authorities. Whenever possible, Vienna tried to install bilingual teachers, but the provincial government wanted monolingual Germanophones (30).

Carinthia was a poor province; often, the lower clergy had to take on the responsibilities of school teaching because individual communities could not afford to hire trained teachers (20). Not only was there a shortage of qualified bilingual teachers, but the pay and living conditions for teachers were substandard. These conditions improved somewhat when new schools were built and a school tax was imposed whereby every family had to contribute to the local teacher's salary. Previously, only families with children in school had been obliged to pay (Janschitz 1990: 90).

It was not until the revolution of 1848 that the status quo of Carinthian education changed. The new constitution, the *Märzverfassung*, recognized Carinthia's multilingual character and enshrined the right to protect and promote all the minority languages of the province. For the first time, the Slovene-speaking Carinthians had the right to schooling in their own language (Feinig 1997: 31). Seventy-three Slovene schools were established in southern Carinthia, as well as five utraquistic schools and nine purely German ones. The utraquistic schools offered instruction in both Slovene and German, but were not fully bilingual. Generally, Slovene was gradually phased out over two or three years. In bilingual areas, German and Slovene were both used as languages of instruction. In homogeneous Slovene areas, children were taught catechism, reading, writing and arithmetic in Slovene, and started learning German in the second grade (44). Slovene-language instruction led to a rise in attendance. However, some German nationalists were opposed to any expression of what they considered a drive towards Slovene cultural autonomy (Janschitz 1990: 90-91).

As a rule, those who supported Slovene in the schools were conservative in outlook, Roman Catholic and pro-Austrian, while those who favoured a program of Germanification were liberal, Lutheran and pro-Prussia (91-96). It is important not to underestimate the role of the Church in the fight for Slovene education. At the time, the clergy were the closest thing to an intelligentsia in rural Carinthia, and they had a profound influence on the Slovene movement. After the revolution of 1848, the imperial government tried to use the Church to exert influence on the people. Many priests disagreed with this practice and were loyal to their congregations first. In 1852, Anton Slomšek, Urban Jarnik and Andrej Einspieler-- all of them clerics-- founded a cultural association called the *Družba svetega Mohorja* (Saint Hermagoras Society). The purpose of this group was to bring Slovene literature to the people of Carinthia. Einspieler commented:

> The strongest bond of any nationality is the language which the people speak. In its common language a people develops and grows; in a common language it brings forth its sorrows and laments; in a common language it sings of its joys and good fortune. If one takes a language from a people, one has cut off a pulsating vein, has pierced its heart. (Barker 1984: 68)

In 1869, the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz*, a new school law, was passed. Under this law, the Austrian provinces had the right to choose the language of instruction in the schools. New schools were opened in Slovene-speaking areas, and attendance increased, but most of the Slovene schools joined the utraquistic system. After this, Slovene was used only in the first two or three grades. It was the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* which set the stage for Carinthian schools to be used as a medium of Germanification. Whereas the *Märzverfassung* had established Slovene and German as equal languages of instruction, the new law created an imbalance in favour of German: "Slovene had a single function as a step towards fluency in German" (Feinig 1997: 45). The controversy over the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* was a turning-point in German-Slovene relations:

> In this[...]phase of the dispute with the German majority[...]the Slovenes succeeded not only in raising their national consciousness by means of a lively, culturally-directed group effort which gave them the power

> to express themselves as a national group, but also in using legal means to fight for some of their demands for the school system. (Feinig 1997: 57)

It was not until the 1880s that the imperial ministry of education ordered the Carinthian authorites to ensure that Slovene-language education was not neglected. Despite the order from Vienna, in a decree of November, 1891, the Carinthian provincial council for education stated:

> Systematically regulated German lessons must be connected to Slovene learning material, which will then act as an introduction to the German language[...]Starting in the third grade, three hours a week should be devoted to the Slovene language. (Fischer 1980: 156)

Meanwhile, in the same year, the imperial ministry of education declared: "there can be only one language of instruction in an elementary school. A second language may be offered, but no one can be forced to learn it". (Feinig 1997: 56-7)

Following this, some Slovene-speaking communities, which had seen their Slovene schools forced to adopt the utraquistic system, changed back to the Slovene curriculum (56). But the provincial authorities were not willing to conform to the imperial ruling. Their hesitation to enact any law which might have improved Slovene-language education became the status quo until the end of the First World War.

After the 1920 plebiscite, Slovene was removed as a language of instruction from Carinthian schools and from public life in general. Bilingual place-name signs were replaced with monolingual German ones, and many bilingual teachers and professional people had to leave Austria. Thus southern Carinthia lost much of its bilingual character. Some Slovene-speaking Carinthians wanted to establish private Slovene schools, but the Carinthian education authorities, again going against a ruling from Vienna, declared this illegal.

Between 1925 and 1930, there was a movement from the minority ranks to establish a system whereby children with Slovene as their mother tongue would receive elementary schooling in Slovene. This movement failed, since its opponents contended that the utraquistic schools could serve this purpose. Demands for Slovene in the upper grades, a Slovene agricultural school and a Slovene-speaking school inspector for the utraquistic schools were also refused by the provincial authorities, and the teaching of Slovene in school was reduced to the first few months before German superseded it. "The result of this system was only a very primitive Slovene vocabulary and very great difficulty in reading Slovene books, not to mention similar difficulties in German, which was not the mother tongue" (Barker 1984: 180).

In 1934, the Slovene-speaking Carinthians demanded new reforms. They wanted to establish a curriculum which would use only Slovene in the first grade, then introduce four weekly hours of German in the second and third grades, then a half-Slovene, half-German program in the fourth grade. The higher classes would include at least four hours a week of Slovene. These reforms were never realized, partly because of the vocal pro-German nationalist opposition to Slovene education (Feinig 1997: 60-61).

After the *Anschluss* of 1938, the use of Slovene in public was banned. A merciless drive for Germanification was begun in the schools. The utraquistic schools were abolished. Slovene-speaking teachers were resettled in purely German areas and replaced with Germanophones. Many schoolchildren could not speak German when they started school, so the Nazi regime established *Erntekindergärten*, which were summer kindergartens designed to introduce children to German before they started school. "In order to speed up the rate of Germanification, pre-school children had to learn German[...]The Nazis used southern Carinthian kindergartens as a political weapon" (Broman et al 1985: 90)

In the summer of 1938, fifty-eight of these kindergartens were in operation and 2237 children were enrolled. In the regular school system, Slovene was used only when necessary. A report to the government from 1939 states that "in Carinthia, there is not a single school using Slovene as a language of instruction in the first four grades" (Feinig 1997: 61). This situation continued throughout the duration of the Second World War.

Immediately after the war, the occupying British forces in Carinthia introduced minority reforms as part of their policy of de-Nazification. Bilingual schools based on the Swiss model were opened as a result of a decree issued from Klagenfurt, which stated:

> In the southern region of the Province of Carinthia there shall be bilingual primary schools. Instruction will be imparted to the child in the first three

> grades in his mother language as a matter of principle. Conversely, the second provincial language will be cultivated from the beginning of school in at least six weekly hours. (Barker 1984: 217-218)

The decree was to have effect in the administrative districts of Völkermarkt, Klagenfurt, Villach and Hermagor. Universal bilingual education was seen as an advantage in that children would not feel forced to choose between their German and Slovene culture and heritage. "Understanding between the two ethnic communities was no longer theory but practical educational reality" (Fischer 1986: 190). However, many Germanophones were opposed to bilingual education from the beginning, and agitated to have the law revoked. This, and a shortage of Slovene teaching materials, convinced the Slovene-speaking Carinthians that they would be better served by their own school and teachers' college. In 1947, representatives of the Slovene-speaking Carinthians addressed themselves to the conference of Allied foreign ministers in London:

> Teaching in Slovene is almost impossible. We were not granted permission to establish a Slovene high school and a Slovene teachers' college. The small number of Slovene teachers is systematically persecuted and teaching positions, for the most part, are taken by people who played an active role [under the Nazi regime] in the Germanification of Slovene Carinthia. (Fischer 1980: 134)

However, this state of affairs did not last. The Austrian State Constitution, which came into effect in 1955, grants that

> [Austrian citizens of the Slovene minority] have the right to elementary education in the Slovene[...]language and to a proportional number of their own high schools. In this regard, the school curriculum will be inspected and a department of the school supervisory board will be established for Slovene schools. (134)

This gave the Slovene-speaking Carinthians the power they needed to assert their right to a school for Slovene children. In 1957, the *Slovenska Gimnazija* (Slovene High School) opened in Klagenfurt, and 183 children were enrolled by 1959. Although this was a positive step, the establishment of the *Gimnazija* led to the removal of compulsory Slovene lessons from the curriculum in some other schools (Barker 1984: 232-233).

At the same time that the Slovene-speaking Carinthians were fighting for their right to Slovene-language education, many right-wing groups were agitating against bilingual education. The *Schulverein Südmark*, which had been banned in 1945 as a racist organization, re-emerged and led a propaganda campaign against Slovene-language education for German children. In the 1950s, more nationalist groups reappeared and came together under the name *Kärntner Heimatdienst* (cedri 1985: 22-23) (see chapter 5). The *Heimatdienst* organised school strikes and circulated petitions calling for the repealment of the bilingual-education laws enshrined in the Constitution. *Heimatdienst* agitators used the threat of Titoist Communism to intimidate people: they exaggerated Yugoslavia's former claim on bilingual Carinthia, and put forth the idea that the Yugoslavs intended to force Germanophones from their homes. They suggested that children taught in Slovene would be open to the influence of Yugoslav nationalism, and played on people's fear that monolingual German children would later be passed over for jobs (33-39). In other words, the members of the *Heimatdienst* disguised anti-Slovene sentiment as concern for the equal treatment of children. "History has shown on repeated occasions that the real target of restrictive trends is not so much the school itself but the ethnic group instead: not so much bilingual classes as the hard-fought rights of the Slovenes" (Fischer 1986: 188).

During the propaganda campaign, teachers and other prominent Slovene-speaking Carinthians were subjected to threatening telephone calls and vandalism. Some parents were economically dependent on Germanophones, and felt they had to sign the *Heimatdienst* petition to protect their jobs and their children from discrimination (cedri 1985: 24). The petition criticised the government for the *Zwangsslowenisch* (Slovene by force) bilingual school program, and the loss of *Elternrecht*, or parents' right to choose the language of instruction for their children. The petition also claimed that German should be the only official language of instruction, except in cases where parents insisted on Slovene (Brumnik 1974: 18). In September, 1958, the bilingual-education law was repealed (14). Under the old system, parents who were opposed to Slovene-language education had to withdraw their children from Slovene classes. Under the new system, parents who wanted Slovene-language instruction had to register for it. Because of the

Heimatdienst's intimidating anti-Slovene campaign, many parents chose not to register their children for Slovene classes (19). Of the thirteen thousand who had been enrolled in the bilingual program, only 2500 remained (Fischer 1986: 190). "Thus the Carinthian Slovenes lost the essential foundation and assurance of any other minority rights" (Broman et al 1985: 151).

Once the bilingual-education law was struck down, the *Heimatdienst* concentrated its efforts on segregation. Agitators wanted to amend the law so that Slovene would be the language of instruction only in schools which had registered for it and which had achieved a minimum enrolment (cedri 1985: 27). Most people-- including Germanophones-- opposed this initiative:

> A breakdown and isolation among ethnic lines would kill any chance for unity and mutual understanding. The Slovene minority would be forced even more into a societal ghetto, and declaring one's knowledge of Slovene would carry the stigma of differentness. (28)

The segregation initiative was unpopular not only because of its racist overtones, but also for the logistical and administrative problems which would have been associated with it. For instance, "Slovene as well as German-speaking children would have to cover long distances to schools in order to be taught in their mother tongue in large centralized schools". There was also the threat of job loss among teachers, and the problem of educating both Slovenophone and Germanophone children in isolated rural areas (Fischer

1986: 192). Many Slovene-speaking Carinthians feared that nationalist groups would use school enrolment lists to monitor and, ultimately, to control the Carinthian Slovenes (Bogataj 1989: 132).

Since many regular schools stopped offering Slovene instruction, the *Slovenska Gimnazija* became more important to the Slovene-speaking Carinthians. Although having a child or children attend the *Gimnazija* causes some financial hardship for parents (Priestly n.d.: 7), the *Gimnazija* was popular from the outset: one thousand students graduated in the first twenty-five years of the school's existence. In fact, the school is now considered vital to the struggle against German nationalism. "Contrary to German-nationalist predictions, the *Gimnazija* has proven itself as an educational institution for the Carinthian Slovenes" (Feinig 1997: 65).

The late 1950s and early 1960s saw many changes in the Carinthian school system. The first graduates of the *Gimnazia* became active participants in the cultural, political and economic life of southern Carinthia. Although most of the students came form farming families, over time, more and more came from professional and civil-service parents (Barker 1984: 249). Thus the Slovene-speaking minority lost the stigma of being a rural, uneducated community (Nećak 1985: 134).

> Overall, the *Gimnazija* has been successful[...]its aims include not only humanistic learning but also the acquisition of the practical skills necessary in business and tourism. Its end result tends to be university-level admission, professional and social ascent, personal financial

> autonomy[...]and the creation of a new intelligentsia. (Barker 1984: 250)

When *Heimatdienst* agitators saw the success of the *Gimnazija*, they mounted a propaganda campaign against the school, calling it a "great poison" to Carinthia. In the early 1970s, during this period of increased tension between Slovenophones and Germanophones, registration throughout the province reached its lowest point. Since 1976, registration numbers have increased every year (Ogris and Domej 2000: 64).

In the 1980s, the Carinthian government was more willing to promote the Slovene language and culture. A bilingual *Handelsakademie* (commercial college) opened in Klagenfurt in 1980 (Government of Carinthia 2000: 2). However, in 1988, the government gave in to *Heimatdienst* pressure and amended education laws, so that access to bilingual education would be based on parental choice rather than census figures. As before, the *Heimatdienst* relied on assimilatory pressure to restrict the number of parents choosing bilingual education for their children. Despite this setback, the 1990s showed great improvements in the status of Slovene education. In the 1992-1993 school year, Slovene was offered in sixty-four Carinthian elementary schools and twenty-one high schools (Feinig 1997: 68). Registration numbers reached their highest point in 1998-1999. There are now about four hundred children enrolled in bilingual kindergartens, and the bilingual *Glasbena Šola* (music school) had more than four hundred students in 1999-2000. It would seem that the new ethnic consciousness which became popular in the 1980s and 1990s has led to increased consciousness among the Slovene-speaking

Carinthians, so that they are no longer afraid to register their children for instruction in their traditional language.

The Gailtal falls under two school districts; the upper valley belongs to the Hermagor district, and the lower valley belongs to Villach-Land. In 1998-1999, of the three Upper Gailtal villages with elementary schools, Egg, Görtschach and St. Stefan an der Gail, only Egg offers any type of Slovene instruction. In the Lower Gailtal, four towns with elementary schools are in my area of investigation: Arnoldstein, Hohenthurn, Nötsch and Thörl-Maglern. Of these, both Hohenthurn and Thörl-Maglern offer Slovene in all four grades (76-77). However, because the lower valley is not as isolated as the upper valley, it is easier for children to commute to schools offering Slovene in Villach, Velden and Klagenfurt.

The question remains, however, whether or not these children are truly bilingual. Most children who are registered for Slovene learn it only in elementary school. Registration numbers show a sharp decline in Slovene registration numbers after the fourth grade. In the higher grades, many children choose to learn English instead of Slovene because they consider English to be more "useful" (Feinig 1997: 75). Another possible reason for the decline is the fact that many children must commute to high school, and then find themselves in larger towns with insignificant Slovene-speaking populations (84). A fourth-grade education in Slovene is not sufficient for full participation in society. Although higher-level Slovene education is now available in many areas, the historical lack of any Slovene past elementary school has resulted in the current state of subtractive bilingualism in the Gailtal, since it has been virtually impossible to bring Slovene out of the private sphere and advance to a lower stage on the GIDS.

2. The Germanification of the Gailtal Churches

Until the end of the nineteenth century, the clergy was powerful in the cultural life of the Gailtal, especially in the realm of education. Slovenophone priests used their influence to protect and encourage the Slovene language through their involvement in the schools and cultural institutions such as the *Družba svetega Mohorja*. However, after the *Reichsvolksschulgesetz* was passed in 1869, the clergy lost most of its power in Gailtal cultural life. Local school boards took on the responsibility of schooling children. In general, the new schoolteachers were "progressive" pro-Germans. They felt that German would give improve the children's chances of success later in life (Moritsch 1991: 54). At the same time, the clergy felt responsible for inculcating a sense of Slovene national consciousness. This led to an impasse of mutual antagonism between the "progressive" teachers and the conservative priests, which was not resolved until the end of the First World War (Moritsch 1991: 53-61).

During the war, the clergy lost any advantage they might have had over the teachers. Slovenophone priests were accused of siding with Serbia and were forced to withdraw from public life beyond their churchly duties. In 1919, many priests were persecuted or imprisoned because of their loyalty to the Slovene language and culture. Because they were no longer able to organize an effective resistance against the pro-German teachers, the teachers became more influential in the Gailtal (66-68). Also, at this time, as a way of showing their loyalty to Austria, many Gailtalers rejected their Slovene heritage. In this atmosphere, there were no longer any limits on the trend towards Germanification. After the plebiscite in 1920, the stage was set for the gradual erosion of Slovene ethnic consciousness in the Gailtal. The nationalism of the 1930s, which culminated in the *Anschluss* of 1938, further restricted access to Slovene education and cultural institutions, and finally led to the Nazi ban on Slovene in any form and the persecution of Slovene priests. This persecution was at its worst in 1941, when Hitler's army attacked Yugoslavia (69-73). Many Slovene-speaking priests were arrested and replaced with Germanophones.

The churches of the Gailtal never recovered from this trend of enforced Germanification, which was particularly vicious during the two wars. When the priests lost their influence over education and cultural life, they were no longer able to encourage Slovene among children in school or through a leading role in cultural institutions. Today, there are only four bilingual parishes in the Gailtal. Two are in the Lower Gail, in Feistritz and Göriach, and two are in the Upper Gail, in Egg and Mellweg (Apolonija Igerc and Father Stanko Trap, p.c.). Since most of the villages in the Upper Gail now have monolingual Germanophone priests, they lack the community support which would come from bilingual church services and from the social aspect of churchgoing.

3. Cultural Organizations and the Media

Most Carinthian cultural associations were established as a deliberate attempt to counteract the effects of illiteracy and Germanification. As was the case with political groups, most of the cultural associations were dominated by conservatives and the clergy (Janschitz 1990: 124). After the establishment of the *Družba svetega Mohorja*, various organizations were established in the Gailtal; they sponsored guest lecturers, cultural activities and practical activities such as cooking lessons. The clergy were also instrumental in setting up a Slovene educational society, the *Slovensko izobraževalno društvo.* Chapters of this society were opened in Egg and Mellweg in the Upper Gail and in Feistritz in the Lower Gail (118-119).

These organizations thrived through the 1920s, but in the 1930s, Slovene cultural activities were gradually restricted until the *Anschluss* of 1938, when all Slovene cultural institutions were prohibited and libraries were confiscated. However, after the Second World War, many organizations were re-established, and the Slovene-speaking Carinthians again took an active interest.

Today, the Carinthian Slovenes have a diverse social and cultural life. There are three main cultural associations, which act as umbrella groups for local societies. All three groups are involved with youth and sponsor exchanges and summer camps between Carinthia, Slovenia and the Slovene-speaking areas of Italy. The *Krščanska Kulturna Zveza* (Christian Cultural Association, or KKZ), which was established in 1953, promotes research into folklore, architecture in the bilingual zone, social history and toponyms. The KKZ is loosely linked to the Hermagoras Press, a publishing house specializing in religious and educational books and various works in translation. The *Zveza Slovenskih Organizacij* (Association of Slovene Organizations, or ZSO) sponsors various Carinthian Slovene institutions, including the Central Library, the Scientific Institute and the Drava publishing house. Drava is dedicated to the publication of books concerning minority issues and regional politics. Like the Hermagoras Press, it is involved in translating books from Slovene into German and vice versa (Bogataj 1989: 304). The *Slovenska Prosvetna Zveza* (Slovene Cultural Association, or SPZ) supports local musical events, adult education courses and intercultural events. It has local chapters in thirty-six villages across southern Carinthia. In the Gailtal, there are chapters of the SPZ in Feistritz in the lower valley and Latschach in the upper valley (305).

The Carinthian Slovenes run six agricultural co-operatives, continuing a tradition which goes back a hundred and thirty years. There are also seven branches of the *Posojilnica in Hranilnica*, a Slovene-run savings and loan bank, including a branch in Feistritz which was established in 1891 (Government of Carinthia 2000: 11). Cultural institutions in the Gailtal include the *Športna Družba Zahomec* (Achomitz Sports Society) in Achomitz, as well as many bilingual choir groups: the Dellach-Egg men's choir, for example, is active throughout the Upper and Lower Gailtal.

Carinthia has two Slovene-language publishing houses, Drava and Hermagoras/Mohorjeva. There are three weekly newspapers: *Naš tednik* (Our Weekly), *Slovenski vestnik* (Slovene News) and *Nedelja* (Sunday). There is also radio and television broadcasting in Slovene. ORF, the federal television and radio station, offers fifty minutes of Slovene radio every day and a half-hour television program, *Dober dan*

Koroška (Good Day Carinthia) once a week. Two new privately-run radio stations, Radio Agora and Radio Korotan, which have offered bilingual programming since 1998, have received federal funding (8), but this funding is now under the threat of being withdrawn (Council of Slovenes), despite the popularity of the Slovene programs. As an Upper Gailtal informant commented: "We need more media. Radio Korotan is only the first step" (ZM08).

4. Literature in Southern Carinthia

For a country of its size, Slovenia has a remarkably well-developed literary tradition. Ljubljana has been an important literary centre for centuries, especially in the nineteenth century, when writers such as France Prešeren worked towards the standardization of the Slovene literary language.

In Carinthia, literary history began in the ninth century, when Slovenophone missionaries arrived in the region. These missionaries brought with them Slovene religious books, mostly in translation from the Latin. The first known indigenous Slovene Carinthian work is the *Freisinger Denkmäle* (Freising Memorials), a religious work compiled by two anonymous West Carinthian clerics at the end of the tenth century (Vospernik et al. 1985: 16-18). During the Reformation, many religious works were written in the vernacular. The most famous of these is a manuscript found in a monastery outside Arnoldstein (90).

Before the era of universal schooling, there were literate lay people in Carinthia. These people were known as *bukovniki*. Over time, the word *bukovnik* took on the meaning of "folk poet". The Carinthian *bukovnik* tradition dates back to the 1500s. The best-known *bukovnik* was the poet Michael Andreaš, who wrote in the eighteenth century. Self-taught in German and in both written German and Slovene, Andreaš travelled throughout Carinthia, writing poems and songs. Carinthia also had a flourishing publishing industry. For instance, in the late 1700s, the publisher Oswald Gutsman ran a printing press in Klagenfurt. His materials were mainly of a religious or educational nature (91-101).

In the 1800s, the priest Matija Majar-Ziljski, who was born in the Upper Gail village of Wittenig, caught the spirit of Illyrism and, along with writers south of the Karawanken, worked towards the establishment of a common language for all Slovenophones. In 1830, Bishop Anton Slomšek, one of the founders of the *Družba svetega Mohorja*, founded a literary circle in Klagenfurt. Slomšek and a colleague, Matija Ahacel, compiled the first collection of secular songs. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a number of Slovene-language newspapers and magazines were available in Carinthia (107-110).

After the First World War, the Slovene-speaking Carinthians were isolated from Slovenes in Yugoslavia. In the anti-Slovene atmosphere which developed during the war and the period of the plebiscite, many writers left Carinthia. The pro-German nationalism of the late 1920s and 1930s was not encouraging for Slovenophone writers; there was little literary activity in Carinthia until after the Second World War (175). However, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Slovene writers became productive again. Today, many Slovenophone writers are active in Carinthia. For instance, Janko Messner, one of the best-known Carinthian writers, writes plays and short stories (Detela 1998: 41). Jani Oswald, a poet, is known for his creative use of both Slovene and German in his works (Poniž 1998: 154).

There is very little literature available in any Carinthian dialect of Slovene. Although writers such as Janko Messner and the poet Milka Hartman have written in dialect, the trend in Carinthia is one of writing in Standard Slovene (Priestly 1998: 245-254). However, the lack of dialect literature has had little effect on the Slovene-speaking Carinthians, who do not express great interest in reading anything written in the dialect. In general, Carinthian Slovenes do not read their traditional language. Most of my informants in the Gailtal, when asked about their reading habits in both Slovene and German, replied that they do not have time to read works of fiction in either language. Their reading is restricted to newspapers, generally printed in German. In many villages, especially in the Upper Gailtal, the people simply do not have the education to read Slovene, either in the standard form or in dialect.

V. Obstacles-- Past and Present-- to the Maintenance of Ethnolinguistic Identity

1. Introduction

In addition to the pressures normally exerted by a majority group on a minority, there are some specifically Carinthian phenomena which make it even more difficult for the Slovene-speaking Carinthians to develop a sense of ethnolinguistic identity. For instance, the *Windischentheorie (Windisch* theory), which came about in the nineteenth century, has at times been revived and used to manipulate the Slovenophone community. One of the main proponents of this theory is the *Kärntner Heimatdienst* (Carinthian Homeland Service), a nationalist group which is vehemently opposed to any minority concessions for the Carinthian Slovenes. Recently, a right-wing political party, the *Freiheitliche Partei Österreich* (Austrian Freedom Party), which has a softer approach than the *Heimatdienst* to questions of nationalism and minority rights, has surged in popularity; it now forms both the provincial government of Carinthia and, as part of a coalition, the federal Austrian government. In this chapter, I examine the beliefs inherent in the *Windischentheorie*, the *Kärntner Heimatdienst* and the *Freiheitliche Partei Österreich.*

2. The *Windischentheorie*

The term *Windisch* is an old German name for Slavs in general, and for Slovenes in particular (Barker 1984: 53). It shares a common root with the word *Wend*, which is the German name for the Lausatian Sorbs of eastern Germany. Generally, it is believed that *Windisch* and *Wend* are names for Slavs who have been in contact with Germans at some time (Fischer 1980: 39).

Before 1800, *Windisch* was simply a name for the Slovenes in Austrian Carinthia and Styria, as opposed to those living south of the Karawanken. In the nineteenth century, as new ideas about language and ethnicity became popular, the term was applied to the Carinthian Slovenes as a national group. Originally, the word *Windisch* did not carry any negative connotations, but as the German and Slovene national movements became polarized, the German majority developed a derogatory attitude towards the Slovene minority, and associated *Windisch* with rural, unsophisticated people.

At the turn of the century, both Austrian and Slovene nationalist groups exaggerated the difference between Standard Slovene and the Carinthian varieties. It was claimed, mainly by pro-Austrian nationalists, that the Carinthian Slovene dialects were actually a *Mischsprache*, a mixed language which had features of both Slovene and German. This mixed language was the result of the "natural assimilation" of the minority group to the majority. The idea of natural assimilation corresponded to the theory of social Darwinism, which was prevalent at the time. According to this theory, the Slovene language in Carinthia had assimilated to German because the German language-- and, by extension, the German people-- were inherently superior to the Slovene language-- especially in a dialect form-- and people.

One thing which made the natural assimilation theory so persuasive was the fact that many Carinthian Slovenes had difficulty in understanding Standard Slovene. Although this difficulty came mainly from a lack of education and exposure to scientific, technical and administrative vocabulary in the newly-standardized Literary Slovene, it was exaggerated and exploited by pro-Austrian nationalists, who wanted to make it seem as though Carinthian Slovene had mixed with German to the point that it was closer to German than to Slovene (Priestly 1997a: 78-83). "It was thus not a question of dialects of Slovene, but rather of an autonomous mixed German-Slavic: "Windisch" (Moritsch 1986: 18).

After the 1920 plebiscite, which split the bilingual population almost in half, Austrian nationalists concluded that there must be two groups of Carinthian Slovenes: those who voted for Carinthia to remain part of Austria were further ahead in the process of assimilation, or more German than Slavic, whereas Slovene-speaking Carinthians who voted for the SHS were, culturally and ethnically, still closer to their Slavic origins. Despite the belief in these two groups, the terms *Windisch* and *Slowene* were used interchangeably until 1927. In that year, the historian Martin Wutte wrote the political tract *Deutsch-Windisch-Slowenisch*, in which he set down the *Windischentheorie* as it had developed to that point (Priestly 1997a: 86-89). He also established the difference between Slovene and *Windisch*. Thanks to Wutte, *Windisch* took on the meaning of "German-friendly Slovene" while the term *Slowene* became synonymous with pro-Yugoslavia, pro-partisan or pro-Communist as time went on.

In 1929, negotiations for Slovene cultural autonomy broke down. One reason for the impasse was that the Austrian government wanted to establish a registry of the Slovene-speaking Carinthians. The Slovene-speaking Carinthians who were involved in the negotiations knew that such a register would split the minority between the politically conscious and those who were apathetic or pro-German (Moritsch 1986: 17). They were afraid that some people would be unwilling to register themselves for fear of persecution. This would make it look as though the number of Carinthian Slovenes was lower than it actually was. Wutte wanted to exploit this fear of persecution. He wrote:

> By establishing the nationality registry a line of demarcation will be created. I believe that no more than fifteen thousand Slovenes will list themselves, and hence we shall no longer have to operate with the number of fifty thousand. (18)

The difficulty of the *Windischentheorie* is that, although it is "fundamentally an historical fable" (Barker 1984: 171), some Slovene-speaking Carinthians believe in it. For most Carinthian Slovenes, the word has negative associations and is even considered a racial slur. In most areas, *Windisch* is a pejorative term for would-be Germans, people who have assimilated to German culture. However, in the Upper Gailtal, many people accept that they are *Windisch*; it is not considered an insult but only a fact. The residents of the Gailtal who call themselves *Windische* are Slovene-speaking Carinthians who use Slovene as the language of private life; it is used only at home and is considered a "kitchen language". The language of public life is German, which is spoken at school, at work, and in any contact with outsiders or authority figures.

The *Windische* of the Upper Gailtal believe that their language has only a distant connection with Standard Slovene and that it is actually a mixed language with no true grammar (Zavratnik-Zimic 1998: 61-62). Many claim that they cannot understand Standard Slovene or Slovene spoken by people from other parts of Carinthia. Informant ZF01 summed up this attitude when she said: "We're talking about two different things here. One is *Windisch*, the other is Slovene". However, these claims are exaggerated: I learned Standard Slovene in Canada and Ljubljana, and I had little difficulty speaking with the interview subjects. When I asked them how this could be, they could not answer. They do not seem to understand that their difficulty with Standard Slovene, and with reading and writing, comes from lack of education and not from any irreconcilable differences between the standard language and their variety of it. As Barker writes,

> the majority bilingual group of nonconscious Slovenes: (1) has been deprived, politically, of the chance to learn literary Slovene; or (2) has not "wanted" to exploit the opportunity when available. One may submit that the latter reflects the combined effort of wilful indoctrination, deliberate economic compulsion, and sociopolitical dynamics (ie the interrelationship of language and social identity). (Barker 1984: 368)

A similar situation has arisen among the Slovene-speaking population of Ugovizza, a village in Italy's Val Canale. In Ugovizza, most people identify more with German culture (the valley belonged to Austria until 1918) than with Slovene culture, although Slovene is their language of everyday use. Like the *Windische* of the Gailtal, many Slovene-speaking Italians claim that their variety of Slovene is closer to German than to Standard Slovene (Minnich 1988: 126). Language is not necessarily linked to ethnic self-ascription, and it is possible for people to assume various ethnic identities in various social situations (139). This correlates to the situation of the *Windische* in the Upper Gailtal, who, although they speak Slovene, have formed their ethnic identity in relation to Germanophone culture.

The anti-minority sentiment inherent in the *Windischentheorie* has intimidated many Slovene-speaking Carinthians into denying their linguistic heritage. Since the mid-nineteenth century, when the Austrian government first tried to make a linguistic count of the population, it has been virtually impossible to make an accurate count of the Slovene-speaking Carinthians. The subjective nature of any questions regarding language and ethnicity has been a persistent problem:

> Is a person to be classified by the language which he himself learned in the cradle and/or which, as an adult, he speaks at home in the intimacy of his family, or by the language of the superior nationality which he has learned in school[...]? If he feels himself a German, though it is not his mother tongue, is he to be counted as such? (Barker 1984: 86)

In 1846, the Austrian government issued the first linguistic survey. At this time, ninety-one percent of the bilingual zone chose Slovene as their ethnicity (Brumnik et al 1974: 8). The first official census, which was issued in 1880, included a question relating to *Umgangssprache*, or language of everyday use. This was controversial, because many

Slovene-speaking Carinthians believed that this question would be used to make the number of German-speakers appear larger than it was. According to Janschitz, the term *Umgangssprache* was chosen deliberately in favour of *Muttersprache*, or mother tongue. *Umgangssprache* was defined as the language used within the family, in the neighbourhood and in business transactions. The inclusion of "business transactions" in the definition made it nearly impossible for anyone to choose Slovene, especially in the larger towns. Also, the choice of *Umgangssprache* over mother tongue would not account for people who had spoken Slovene as children and switched to German as adults (Janschitz 1990: 61). Because of this, many Slovene-speaking Carinthians believed that the census was little more than an instrument of Germanification:

> In 1880, when the first census raised the question of languages in relation to each other, the practice of taking censuses developed into a method of lessening the Slovene segment of the population, and into a platform for German nationalism (60).

Another problem with the census was inconsistency in the questions. After 1910, the government dropped the *Umgangssprache*-related questions and asked people to report which cultural sphere they felt they belonged to. Since the two questions could elicit different responses, it is difficult to compare the results from censuses completed before and after 1910 (Barker 1984: 191).

The census results-- unreliable though they are-- showed that the Slovene population was shrinking. Although the number of Slovene-speaking Carinthians had certainly decreased because of emigration and other external forces, the drop in the census figures was startling (Janschitz 1990: 61). Because of this, during the census period for 1923, Carinthian Slovene church and community leaders conducted a private census in fifty-seven towns and villages in southern Carinthia. While the official figure for Slovene-speaking Carinthians came to about thirty-five thousand, the private census gave a result of about seventy thousand (Moritsch 1986: 19). The 1934 census asked people which cultural sphere they belonged to. The official result of about twenty-five thousand, or 6.6% of the population of Carinthia (the Slovene-speaking population was normally estimated at about one-third the total population) is hardly surprising, given the political atmosphere in Austria at the time (Suppan 1983: 47-48). In fact, questions about cultural sphere were probably more useful in determining the number of politically-conscious Slovene-speakers, those who would not be afraid or ashamed to be counted as Slovenes. Other private counts done between 1934 and 1936 gave results ranging from about eighty thousand to about ninety-seven thousand.

The private counts may be as inaccurate as the official census. First, the private counts were not set up or analyzed by professional statisticians. Also, the community leaders who organized the private censuses may have exaggerated the number of Slovene-speakers, underreported the number of Germanophones, or both. Neither the government reports nor the private censuses should be considered unbiased or accurate.

There is, however, a report from 1927 which can be considered reliable. The figures come from a linguistic questionnaire covering German-speaking territory. This questionnaire was designed by a Marburg librarian, who was collecting data for the *Deutscher Sprachatlas* (German Language Atlas). At first, the questionnaire focused on Germany, but after the First World War, it was expanded to include Austria and Switzerland. The Austrian segment of the questionnaire became a cooperative project between the University of Marburg and the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna. The questionnaire was sent to schoolteachers, who were asked to report: "are any non-German languages customarily used in your school's village? Which ones? What is the proportion of people who speak German at home to those who do not?" (Priestly 1997b: 263-265).

The data from this questionnaire are more reliable than either the official or the private census. For one thing, it was not connected to any political authority, but to the Academy of Sciences.

> Moreover, the office to which [the schoolteachers] addressed their responses was the *Kanzlei des Bayrisch-österreichischen Wörterbuches* [Office of the Bavarian-Austrian Dictionary] and it may be assumed that they knew that the people who would be reading their reports would be linguists, not educators or, indeed, Austrian officials of any kind. (276)

Because of this, there was no reason for the schoolteachers to feel pressured into giving a particular response.

When one compares the results from the questionnaire with results from the 1929 census, the discrepancy is surprising. For instance, in the 1929 census, the village of Feistritz, in the Lower Gailtal, reported that twenty-four per cent of its population was Slovenophone (Janschitz 1990: 138). However, in the 1927 questionnaire, the schoolteacher reported that ninety-five per cent of Feistritz was Slovenophone (Priestly 1997b: 269). In Görtschach, in the Upper Gailtal, the 1929 census gives a figure of fifty-seven per cent for the Slovene speaking population (Janschitz 1990: 139), and the questionnaire gives a figure of ninety per cent (Priestly 1997b: 267). Clearly, the official census is not to be trusted, since the Slovene-speaking Carinthians were under constant political and economic pressure.

The census for 1939 was significant in two ways: it used the term *Windisch*, and it asked people to distinguish between *Sprachzugehörigkeit*, the language group they felt they belonged to, and *Volkszugehörigkeit*, the national group they belonged to. This census gave a high number of people belonging to the Slovene language group, perhaps because there were many categories to choose from: German, German and Slovene, German and *Windisch*, Slovene, Slovene and German, Slovene and *Windisch*, *Windisch*, *Windisch* and German, and *Windisch* and Slovene. Just as the planned nationality registry of 1929 would have given the government information about which Carinthian Slovenes were politically conscious, and therefore a supposed threat to the regime, the results from the 1939 census were used in the persecution of Slovene-speakers (Suppan 1983: 52-54).

When the next census appeared, in 1951, the term *Windisch* was retained, as were the complicated language categories. Many Carinthian Slovenes complained that the category *Windisch*, aside from being offensive because of its connection with Nazi-era racism, was unnecessary, since the term "*Slowenisch*" could be understood to include both standard and non-standard language varieties (Brumnik et al 1974: 9). About forty-five thousand people reported that they spoke either Slovene or *Windisch* as their language of everyday use. (Suppan 1983: 56). However, school records from the same year show that about sixty-five thousand people had registered their children for Slovene lessons (Barker 1984: 228). Clearly, the 1951 census was as inaccurate as its predecessors.

It is interesting to note that in the villages around Hermagor in the Upper Gailtal, the 1951 census showed a drop in the number of people reporting either Slovene or *Windisch* as their language of everyday use. This is surprising, since the numbers from the rest of Carinthia increased. In 1961, census results showed an overall drop in Slovene-speaking Carinthians, but this could be attributed to a wave of emigration which took place in the 1950s. In the whole of Carinthia, about twenty-five thousand people reported using Slovene or *Windisch* as their main languages, but as with the 1951 census, this figure does not reflect the true number of Carinthian Slovenes. Although census results concerning the Slovene-speaking Carinthians are not trustworthy, in 1961, there was a decrease in the number of people who chose a language category including

Windisch. This is likely a reflection of increased political consciousness (Suppan 1983: 57-59).

In fact, as mentioned above, it has been suggested that the census is a good yardstick by which to measure the number of ethnically-conscious Carinthian Slovenes, those who will report accurately regardless of political pressure:

> About all that can be gotten from the [1971] tally is that there seem to be at least sixteen thousand persons who have a strong sense of Slovene identity and there are at least another five thousand who are either not ashamed or unafraid to admit that they have a good knowledge of a Slovene dialect (Windisch)[...]The best educated guess as to the *total* number of speakers is now fifty thousand. (emphasis Barker's) (Barker 1984: 268)

The next census, which was conducted in 1976, was touted as a *Volkszählung besonderer Art*, a "special kind of census". This was to be carried out along the same lines as an election; it was designed like a secret ballot, so that people could report accurately and not be swayed by political opinion or intimidation of any kind. Ostensibly, the purpose of this secret census was for the government to gain "an objective picture of the makeup of the population" for "solving minority-group problems" throughout Austria (Suppan 1983: 60). Despite the secret-ballot style of the count, the *Heimatdienst* mounted a propaganda campaign urging "choose German, if you don't want to be a

Slovene" (cedri 1985: 66). Slovene groups called for a boycott of the census, and even non-Slovenes took offence to the way the census was carried out. Although the government wanted to count minority-group members in order to determine new minority legislation, many Carinthian Slovenes felt that their rights were enshrined in the Constitution and should not depend on an actual number. They suspected the government of proposing the census in order to claim that the Slovene-speaking Carinthians did not have the critical mass required for their rights to be recognized (Larcher 1985: 125-126). As a result, the total of Slovene-speaking Carinthians came to just under four thousand (in 1971, the count had been seventeen thousand), while non-Slovene Viennese deliberately gave inaccurate responses, giving Vienna a higher number of Slovene-speakers than all of Carinthia (Fischer 1980: 128).

In many ways, the *Windischentheorie* has had the effect that nationalist groups wanted: it has divided the Slovene-speaking population. In terms of ethnolinguistic identity, it has had a negative impact, especially in the Upper Gailtal, where minority-group members consider their traditional language inferior to the majority language and refuse to speak Slovene outside the home sphere. Perhaps the most damaging effect of the *Windischentheorie* is the fact that the Upper Gailtalers impose pressure on themselves to conform to Germanophone culture. Also, in the Upper Gailtal, because there are only two bilingual parishes, the minority receives little positive reinforcement from the Church.

Taken together, the social forces behind the *Windischentheorie* have combined to produce a negative impact on the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Slovene-speakers in the

Upper Gailtal. The low ethnolinguistic vitality in this area makes it difficult for the government to implement any pro-minority legislation, since the establishment of social and cultural institutions depends on the number of minority-group members, and for the past hundred years, the Slovene-speaking Carinthians have been reluctant to report their true numbers. In fact, many Upper Gailtalers were reluctant even to give interviews when I was working in the field. Many refused to answer questions about self-ascription, such as "do you feel like an Austrian? Like a Slovene? Like a *Windisch* person?" Some informants, who agreed to be interviewed in 1999, refused in 2000. One man claimed the 1999 interview brought back too many bad memories about the Second World War. Other people said they felt uncomfortable with questions relating to language and ethnicity.

3. The *Kärntner Heimatdienst*

The *Kärntner Heimatdienst* (Carinthian Homeland Service, or KHD) was formed in 1920 as a pro-Austria propaganda organ during the phase leading up to the plebiscite. After the plebiscite, the KHD continued to exist as a nationalist group, working against Slovene political and cultural organizations and promoting Germanification.

Although the KHD was originally supported by all the ruling political parties, the Social Democrats withdrew their support in 1924. At this time, the KHD changed its name to the *Kärntner Heimatbund* (Carinthian Homeland Alliance). The *Heimatbund* focused its propaganda campaigns on three areas: the bid for cultural autonomy, education and business. *Heimatbund* officials proposed that cultural autonomy for the

Slovene-speaking population would be detrimental to all Austrians, both Slovenophones and Germanophones. In the area of education, the *Heimatbund* used its influence to pressure educational authorities to hire only teachers who were nationalists, even in the utraquistic schools. In business, the *Heimatbund* made it difficult for ethnically conscious Slovene Carinthians to obtain loans to buy land.

In the 1930s, the *Heimatbund* became involved with the National Socialist movement, and, after the *Anschluss,* took on a leading role in the Nazi Germanification policy. Alois Maier-Kaibitsch, who was a central figure in this policy, commented that "German must be spoken in the area north of the Karawanken". The use of Slovene, even in private, was discouraged, Slovene books were confiscated from schools, churches and homes, and people involved in Slovene cultural associations were subject to persecution. In 1942, nine hundred and seventeen Carinthian Slovenes were sent to prison camps. Others were forced to resettle in purely German areas.

When the British occupied Carinthia in 1945, they outlawed the *Heimatbund* as a racist organization. However, in 1957, the *Kärntner Heimatdienst* was re-established, counting among its members many people who had been active in the *Heimatbund.* Most of the changes to the group were merely cosmetic. For instance, the KHD newsletter, which had been called *Die Heimat ruft* (The Homeland Calls) before the war, was changed to *Ruf der Heimat* (Call of the Homeland) (Fritzl 1990: 16-23). In 1987, the name of the newsletter was again changed, to *Der Kärntner* (The Carinthian).

The basic belief system of the KHD is based on the cult of the homeland. According to the KHD, society consists of a "national community" and personal and minority interests must submit to the will and destiny of the majority "nation". Anything which goes against the will of the national community must be resisted, for it is a threat to national unity (32). The KHD's mission is to expose any negative elements which are damaging to this unity. Group leaders have taken the responsibility upon themselves for determining just which elements are damaging. (Gstettner 1988: 49).

The KHD promotes the *Windischentheorie*, though its attitude towards the Slovene language in all its varieties is contradictory and illogical. Although one of the main features of the *Windischentheorie* is the linguistic difference between Standard Slovene and *Windisch*, the KHD has at times published newsletters for the *Windisch* people-- in Standard Slovene. According to KHD propaganda, the *Windische* are peace-loving, loyal citizens who are happy to recognize German as the true language of the Austrian people. On the other hand, the "*Slowenen*"-- that is, any ethnically-conscious Slovene-speaking Carinthians-- are troublemakers andd traitors. Although the Slovene-speaking population of Carinthia has certain rights enshrined in the Constitution, the KHD promotes the idea that anyone who claims these rights, or works towards their implementation, is an irredentist. In fact, the danger of "Slovenification" has always been emphasised by the KHD. Until the 1980s, the group warned Carinthians to be vigilant against an imminent Yugoslav invasion of southern Carinthia. Any time Slovene-speaking Carinthians tried to organize in order to improve their political situation, they were immediately accused of being Communist sympathizers, Titoists and enemies of the state. After the death of Tito and the breakup of Communist Yugoslavia, the KHD focused on Slovenia's supposed claim on southern Carinthia (Fritzl 1990: 44-50).

In 1972, the Austrian government fulfilled its duty to install bilingual place-name signs in the bilingual zone of Carinthia. According to the Constitution, the Slovene-speaking Carinthians have the right to "bilingual signs indicating towns and topographical features" (82). Although the federal government allowed for bilingual signs in train stations and public buildings, the Carinthian provincial government was not willing to go along with this. In the end, bilingual signs were installed only for place-names, and not everywhere in the bilingual zone. By limiting the scope of the bilingual-sign law, the provincial government succumbed to pressure from nationalist groups like the KHD (Barker 1984: 279). All the same, the KHD protested against the new law, as did the Freedom Party and the conservative People's Party. Nationalists saw the bilingual signs as a symptom of the impending "Slovenification" of southern Carinthia. Signs were defaced or removed. In September and October, 1972, opponents of bilingualism staged a mass movement against the bilingual signs. About two thousand people staged demonstrations and dismantled bilingual signs. By January, 1973, there were bilingual signs only in the most politically-active bilingual villages of Carinthia. The installation of the bilingual signs, which in some ways was meant as a symbolic act-- Slovene could be brought into the public sphere-- met with massive resistance from nationalist groups and individuals (Fritzl 1990: 83-84).

The KHD denied playing any active role in the protest against bilingual signs. The group's leaders like to present the KHD as a peaceful organization, and any group which organized an anti-minority protest like the one against bilingual signs is forbidden by the Austrian Constitution. Since active involvement could lead to repercussions for the

KHD, it is only natural that its leaders would want to distance themselves from the protest. Because of this, it is difficult to pinpoint the role of the KHD. However, the KHD was vocal in its opposition to bilingual signs from the beginning, and it was the KHD which came up with the main arguments against the signs. Also, in June, 1972, the KHD organized a poster campaign to agitate against bilingual signs. Predictably, the official KHD view was that bilingual place-name signs were just one step along the road to Yugoslav hegemony, and that action against the signs was action in favour of a strong, united homeland (86-88).

In the 1980s, the KHD proposed a system of "separate development" in the name of economic and political self-determination for the Slovene-speaking minority. In truth, by destroying whatever interdependent relationship exists between Germanophones and Slovenophones in southern Carinthia, "separate development" would force the Slovene Carinthians into a cultural and economic ghetto. The disadvantages of such a system would encourage minority-group members to switch camps, as it were, to find a place in the Germanophone culture and economy. The minority would shrink: this is essentially what the KHD wants (Gstettner 1988: 42).

Based on the same principles as the proposal for "separate development", the KHD put forth a proposal for school segregation. This proposal was based on a quota system: any school which did not have a certain minimum number of students registered for Slovene lessons or bilingual classes would no longer offer Slovene. The students who did want to learn Slovene would have to attend a different school, probably in a different town. In 1984, the KHD stated in *Ruf der Heimat* that only *Deutschkärntner*, or

German-Carinthian, teachers should be entrusted with teaching German-Carinthian children. The group has also suggested that accessibility to certain jobs should be determined by ethnic heritage. Both moves have been proposed in the name of job creation and protection for German-Carinthians (cedri 1985: 27-28).

Though the KHD has wielded tremendous power in the past, its future is not assured. While its propaganda campaigns may reinforce what is already in the mentality of those Carinthian Slovenes who assimilate to Germanophone culture, KHD propaganda may also have the opposite effect, that of producing a sense of unity among the target population (Barker 1984: 259-260).

4. The *Freiheitliche Partei Österreich* and Recent Political Developments

The *Freiheitliche Partei Österreich* (Austrian Freedom Party, or FPÖ) was founded in 1956. Its membership included former Nazis, neo-Nazis and nationalists (cedri 1985: 31). For thirty years, the FPÖ played only a minor part in Austrian politics, never winning more than five per cent of the vote. However, in 1986, Jörg Haider, who had been a member of the Carinthian parliament from 1979 until 1983, became party leader. In the next election, the FPÖ's representation grew from five to almost twenty-three per cent. Over the next decade, the FPÖ emerged as the strongest party in Carinthia. In 1999, Haider's party won forty-two per cent of the vote and became the ruling party (ADL 2000).

The FPÖ is an ultraconservative party; as such, many of its goals are similar to those of the KHD. In fact, the FPÖ has supported KHD initiatives on more than one occasion (Fritzl 1990: 136). One of these initiatives was the proposal for school segregation. According to KHD leaders, separating Germanophone and Slovene-speaking children in school would protect German-Carinthian children from the influence of "Slovene" teachers-- though most Slovene-speaking teachers are Austrian citizens (Gstettner 1988: 30).

Like the KHD, the FPÖ supported the idea that students registering for Slovene instruction must meet a critical mass. Otherwise, Slovene would be offered only in schools which used Slovene as a language of administration. Had this proposal been passed into law, it would have decreased the number of schools offering Slovene instruction from eighty-three elementary schools in thirty-four towns to thirty-one schools in thirteen towns. Also, segregation would bring the language conflict into the schools and politicize the learning environment (cedri 1985: 27-28).

Haider is a charismatic politician who presents himself as a plain-speaking, reliable representative. "To his supporters, Haider is a breath of fresh air, promising a stop to immigration, job security, social benefits, and a new breed of politician who follows through on his election promises" (ADL 2000). In this way, he has gained a wide appeal in Carinthia. Haider, who has been governor of Carinthia since 1989, has been involved with the KHD at least since the early 1980s. He has attended many KHD functions and supported KHD-led petitions demanding limitations on Slovene instruction in schools. He has been active in the *Kärntner Abwehrkämpferbund* (Carinthian Defense Alliance), a more radical version of the KHD. His opinions concerning minority rights in Carinthia can be summed up with a statement he made in 1984: "We should not let ourselves be satisfied with the fact that this province remains free and undivided. This province will be truly free only when it becomes a German province" (cedri 1985: 35).

Since it was elected to form the provincial government, and especially since the European Union economic boycott of Austria introduced in 2000, which was a political response to the inclusion of the FPÖ in the Austrian federal government, the FPÖ has tried to improve its image with respect to minority groups in Austria. A brochure issued by the party in June, 2000, describes the current situation of the Slovene minority in Carinthia and FPÖ-led initiatives to improve this situation. For instance, in 1990, Haider initiated annual meetings of the Congress of European Minority Groups. Also, the FPÖ founded the [Carinthian] Ethnic Minorities Bureau, which deals with cultural issues and officially promotes good intercultural relations. The Bureau funds the annual Carinthian Slovene Cultural Week, which highlights cultural achievements within the minority group (Government of Carinthia 2000: 7). Carinthian representatives sit on the advisory board of the Federal Union of European Ethnic Minorities. In February, 2000, the FPÖ established the Ossiach Foundation, which supports two institutions: the Carinthian Institute for Ethnic Minorities, which will collect data to compare minority policies in Europe, and the European Ethnic Broadcasting Association, an umbrella organization which will monitor more than four hundred ethnic radio and television stations in Europe. The Ossiach Foundation also sponsors the "Carinthian Summer" multicultural festival (12). The brochure describes the educational situation in Carinthia with respect to the Slovene minority, stating that three thousand students are now registered for Slovene lessons (5).

Although the FPÖ's initiatives have won praise from the Slovene foreign minister, organizations like the Council of Slovenes in Carinthia have criticized the brochure, describing it as a piece of political whitewashing, designed to

> [give] the false impression that the protection of the Slovene minority in Carinthia fulfils the standards set by the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (signed and ratified by Austria) as well as the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages (signed by Austria), thereby attempting to avoid actually improving protection of the Slovene minority. (Council of Slovenes)

For instance, although the brochure praises Haider for his generous attitude towards the minority, the fact remains that many provisions outlined in the Constitution in 1955 have yet to be implemented. In fact, the FPÖ has been instrumental in setting limits on any minority concessions. Although no minimum is set out in the Constitution, a town must now have a Slovene-speaking population of at least twenty-five per cent before it can demand a bilingual place-name sign. Even so, one-third of the towns which meet the minimum have not been issued bilingual signs, although in July, 2000, the provincial government agreed to install more bilingual signs throughout southern Carinthia.

In the Gailtal, not everyone agrees that bilingual signs are necessary. In the Lower Gail, most of my informants agree that each bilingual town should have a bilingual sign. In the Upper Gail, bilingual signs are not considered important, since "everyone knows the Slovene [village] names anyway" (ZM13) and "there are too few of us [Slovenophones] for that" (ZM01). Informant ZM09, who is more politically conscious than most Upper Gailtalers, thinks bilingual signs are important, but not the most important one. He would like to see other minority rights implemented first. One informant from the Lower Gail, BM09, commented that every village should have a trilingual sign (German-Slovene-Italian). In his opinion, this would not only give a more accurate reflection of the cultural make-up of southwestern Carinthia, but Italian would act as a mitigating factor in the traditional German-Slovene dichotomy. Unfortunately, not every Gailtal village has an Italian name.

Although the Constitution guarantees the right to bilingual public kindergartens, Carinthian authorities refuse to establish them. The cost must be borne by the Slovene-speaking Carinthians themselves, who are forced to establish private kindergartens. Also, Haider has stated that the principal of a bilingual school need not be bilingual; minority leaders fear that this may lead to a gradual lowering of education standards in the bilingual school system.

The brochure mentions the FPÖ's support of ethnic radio and television broadcasting and the print media. However, Slovene broadcasting in Carinthia is below the standards set by the European Charter for Ethnic Broadcasting. Federal funding for the new ethnic stations, Radio Agora and Radio Korotan, is under threat. The Slovene-language newspapers exist only with support from Slovenia.

At this writing, the FPÖ rules Austria in a coalition with the conservative *Österreichische Volkspartei* (Austrian People's Party). In May, 2000, Haider resigned as leader of the FPÖ; there was controversy over pro-Nazi statements Haider had made in parliament. Haider's supporters hoped that his resignation would lead to a lessening of the European Union sanctions against Austria.

5. Summary

The struggle for a minority group to establish and maintain its ethnolinguistic identity is difficult enough in ordinary circumstances. In the case of the Slovene-speaking Carinthians, a number of elements, such as the *Windischentheorie*, Nazi-era persecution and the resurgence of nationalism as espoused by both the KHD and the FPÖ, have had the combined effect of making it nearly impossible for the Carinthian Slovenes, especially those in the Upper Gailtal, to move forward as a community.

Today, the KHD is generally seen as a radical group which does not give a true picture of Carinthian ethnic relations. However, the FPÖ has grown in popularity to the point that it governs not only Carinthia, but has joined in a coalition government at the federal level as well. In many ways, the attitudes of the FPÖ are the same as those of the KHD. The only difference is in the way the party presents itself. The official minority policy of the FPÖ, though generous-- liberal, even-- on the surface, has been criticized by various organizations representing the Slovene-speaking Carinthians as being superficial and geared only towards improving the FPÖ's image.

Although the *Windischentheorie* has lost most of its adherents in Carinthia, it still holds sway throughout the Upper Gailtal, to the point that many Slovene-speaking people in the villages around Hermagor do not feel that they have any rights with respect to their status as an ethnolinguistic minority. This negative attitude towards their own language and identity is reinforced both by hard-core nationalist groups, such as the KHD, and by more subtle organizations, such as the FPÖ. Though FPÖ representatives have learned to use a softer touch when presenting their attitudes, the fact that they wield power at the provincial and federal levels may lead to a gradual lowering of Austria's standards with respect to ethnolinguistic minorities.

VI. Summary and Conclusion

1. The Current Situation in Southern Carinthia

Although the Gailtal is considered a unit, it is clear that there is a difference in ethnolinguistic vitality between the western and eastern regions of the valley. The western Lower Gailtal, particularly Feistritz, has a stronger sense of identity; there has been enough positive reinforcement in the form of church services and cultural institutions to ensure intergenerational transmission. Also, Feistritz is closer to the heartland of Carinthia. This is important in terms of access to cultural activities and institutions in other towns throughout the province. The eastern Upper Gailtal, on the other hand, is in a less comfortable position with respect to language maintenance and ethnolinguistic identity. The combined forces of a general lack of Slovene religious services and cultural institutions, the widespread belief in the *Windischentheorie* and the isolation of the region from other Slovene-speaking areas have made it difficult for the Upper Gailtalers to determine their own ethnolinguistic identity, let alone develop it to its full potential. This situation is not encouraging when one considers the importance of intergenerational transmission; it is likely that the current Slovenophone generation, already middle-aged, will be the last. In the Upper Gailtal, only one bilingual family, that of ZM09 in Dellach, shows promise for intergenerational transmission.

The struggle for Slovene education has had mixed results in the Gailtal. Despite the efforts of the KHD and other anti-minority organizations, enrolments in bilingual schools and Slovene classes in general are at their highest point, and children from Feistritz have the opportunity to learn Slovene in a number of schools near their home village. However, Upper Gailtalers are not as enthusiastic as other Carinthian Slovenes about Slovene-language education, and, though there are more choices in terms of schools and language programs, the relative isolation of the Upper Gailtal villages limits children's opportunities to enrol in these schools.

Many minority groups are in a similar situation to that of the Slovene-speaking Carinthians. The current state of affairs in Belarus is comparable to the Gailtal, in that to some extent, it is the Belarusians themselves who exert pressure on themselves with respect to a language shift from their native language to Russian. It is the political situation which makes southern Carinthia's situation unique among ethnolinguistic minorities. Historical racism and modern nationalism have worked against the Slovene-speaking Carinthians at every attempt to establish-- or even strive for-- a more positive ethnolinguistic identity. Since the Carinthian Slovenes have only recently moved out of the agrarian sphere and developed an educated elite, it has been easy for their opponents to manipulate them. Although nationalism and neo-conservatism have experienced a dramatic upswing in the past fifteen years, this has been balanced to some extent by the Slovenes' increasing presence on the political and economic scene. Today, the Slovene-speaking Carinthians are represented in professional associations; for instance, the *Skupnost južnokoroških kmetov* (Community of Southern Carinthian Farmers) has two representatives in the Carinthian Chamber of Commerce. In provincial politics, the *Enotna lista* (Unity List) is a political party with a mandate to support the Carinthian Slovenes. In the last local election, in 1997, the *Enotna lista* won fifty-six seats on local councils. Slovene-speaking Carinthians also run for mainstream political parties. As is often the case with ethnolinguistic minorities, the Slovene Carinthians have won some acceptance in local politics, but have yet to break into federal politics in any significant number.

2. Conclusion

Language is a salient feature of ethnic identity. Often, when a minority group loses its language, its culture is also in danger. Whether a minority group succeeds or fails at language-preservation efforts is determined by people's behaviour within the ethnic group, and also by the amount of conflict and cooperation in the social systems of both the minority and majority cultures (Woolard 1989: 1-6).

Whether the language shift now underway in the Gailtal can be halted and-- eventually-- reversed depends not only on the attitudes and ethnic consciousness of the Gailtalers themselves, but also on the political and social institutions which surround the people in their everyday lives and which contribute to the attitudes-- both positive and negative-- held by these people. Although both regions of the Gailtal are at stage seven on the GIDS, and are in a situation of subtractive bilingualism, people in the Lower Gail have started moving towards stage six. Parents are encouraging their children to speak Slovene outside the home sphere. In Feistritz in particular, there are enough ethnically-conscious people to strive for the implementation of the rights enshrined in the Constitution. The villages in the Lower Gailtal may have enough support from cultural institutions and the Church to strike a balance with the anti-minority attitudes espoused by nationalist organizations and, at times, the government itself. This support may make the difference between language loss and language maintenance. However, conditions in the Upper Gailtal do not favour language maintenance, for the minority-group members from this region do not receive the same level of support, either from within the group or from beyond it. The burden of language shift may be too great for the people to bear without organized support of some kind.

It is not certain what the future will bring for the Slovene-speaking Carinthians as a whole. If Slovenia's bid for European Union membership is accepted, the opening of the Slovene-Austrian border may have a positive impact on the Carinthian Slovenes' attempts at linguistic and cultural preservation. Increased ethnic consciousness among youth has diminished the stigma associated with minority-group membership. However, the increasing popularity of the right-wing FPÖ, which is now ruling Austria in a conservative coalition, suggests that official support for minority groups may decline over the next few years. In short, the situation of the Slovene-speaking Carinthians is as uncertain as ever.

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