

論 文

スロヴェニアにおける多言語主義の 政策と教育に関する考察

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An investigation into plurilingual language policy and education in Slovenia

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Abstract

The number of languages spoken in the world is in a constant state of flux, but it is estimated at between 7000 and 8000. The right to language is considered a basic human right. Whether a person is monolingual or plurilingual is determined by not only personal preference and competence, but by the language policies and language education in each and every country in the world. The aim of this paper is to show the lingual diversity in Slovenia by examining the development of Slovene, the structure of language policy and the implementation of foreign language education and curriculum at the primary level. The paper presents an insight into the ethnic and lingual diversity in Slovenia. The official language is Slovene (spoken by 92% of the 2.8 million population) and in certain regions Italian and Hungarian are also official languages. Through language policy, the language of ethnic minorities, migrants, Roma communities and refugees are all acknowledged and respected. Foreign language education is embraced from an early age at primary school and hence plurilingualism in Slovenia is at one of the highest percentages in the European Community. The analysis of the results of a survey by the European Commission (Special Eurobarometer) reveals that Slovenians believe that knowing multiple languages, especial English promotes personal development and improves job opportunities. The findings show that Slovenia's language policies, education and attitudes are an area of interest for countries where language policies need to be reformed and refined for native speakers, migrants and refugees.

Key words : Slovenia スロヴェニア
language policy 言語政策
foreign language education 外国語教育
bilingual education バイリンガル教育
plurilingualism 多言語主義

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〈和文概要〉

世界中で話されている言語の数は7－8千ぐらいと言われる。人がただ一つの言語を話すのか、複数の言語を話すのかは、単に個人的な選択や能力の問題と思われがちだが、世界的な次元でこの問題を見ると、実は、国レベルの言語に関する政策や言語教育のあり方によってかなりの部分が決まっている。しかも今日重要なことは、言語への権利は基本的人権の一つと見なされていることである。そこで、本稿では、スロヴェニアという小さな国を取りあげ、その民族と言語の多様性に照準を当て、スロヴェニアの言語政策の歴史とあり方、及び、外国語教育の実施方法と基礎学校（9年制の義務教育学校）におけるカリキュラムの検討を行うことを目的とする。

スロヴェニアの公用語は、スロヴェニア語（人口280万人のうちの92%が話す。）であるが、一部地域ではイタリア語とハンガリー語も同様に公用語である。また、少数民族、移民、ロマの人、難民の言語も、言語政策を通じて、すべて認められ、尊重されている。外国語教育が小学校レベルの早い段階から行われており、スロヴェニアの多言語主義はEUで最も高い達成率を誇る国の一つに数えられている。欧州委員会の調査結果（EU指標）の分析では、スロヴェニアの人々は、多数の言語、とりわけ英語を知ることが個人の発達を促し、就業機会を高めるのだと信じていることが明らかにされている。本稿で検討したスロヴェニアの言語政策と教育政策、及びスロヴェニアの人々が言語に対して持つ態度は、母国語話者に対しても、移民、難民などの少数話者に対しても、言語政策の改善と改革の必要な国々に深い示唆を与えるものと言えよう。

Introduction

The desire to communicate and be understood is human nature. As globalization brings us closer to our neighboring countries, we find ourselves undertaking a second or third language to be able to communicate with others across the globe. Foreign language education is increasingly in the limelight, especially in countries where English is not the native tongue. All countries implement foreign language education policies and strategies that reflect each country's linguist history, linguistic needs for the future and attitudes of people towards language for communication and for job opportunities.

Presently in countries within the European Union (herein EU), language policy is based on plurilingualism (native language plus two foreign languages). The Council of Europe has established a common standard for language acquisition and sets clear goals known as Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (herein CEFR). Members of the EU use these guidelines to formulate language education policies, achievement goals, levels, curriculum, learning materials, evaluation and testing for language learning, teaching and assessment in their own country. With increasing spatial and social mobility due to socio-economic and political reasons, issues regarding language education policy, foreign language learning, cultural identity and harmony need to be addressed.

With the above issues set as aspects for consideration, the aim of this paper is to present language policy, foreign language education and education for minorities in Slovenia, with a special emphasis on how all of these areas combine by examining the results of a survey about language. Slovenia is a small country in the EU (member since 2004), where ethnic communities who don't share the same first language or language of identity have coexisted for long periods of time. Slovenia possesses a strong linguistic potential due to the fact that its people have indirect experience of plurilingualism throughout its history (Language Education Policy Profile, 2005). Slovenians' language acquisition success lies in first, second and third languages being introduced at an

early age, while respecting ethnic and geographical diversity. The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia protects the human rights and fundamental freedoms of ethnic minorities by giving them the freedom of language choice as well as respecting their cultural heritage with the aim of integration and harmonious development of society and culture.

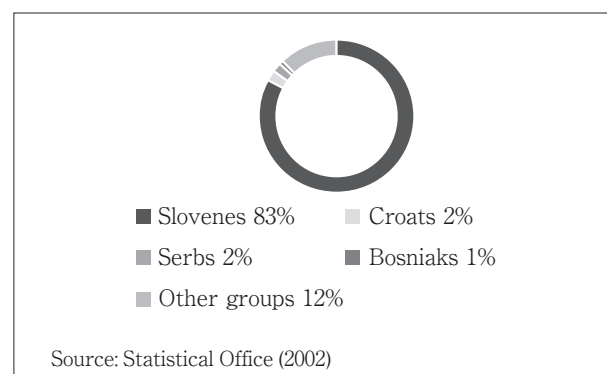
In order to fully understand language in Slovenia, this paper proceeds as follows. The first section presents an overview of the history of the Slovene language and ethnic and lingual diversity. The middle section addresses language policy, language education (including foreign language, bilingual and minority groups) and the results of a survey about Slovenians' attitudes toward language, language learning and support for minorities. Finally, the last section synthesizes the main findings.

Ethnic and Lingual Diversity

This section will firstly look at an overview of the population breakdown and languages spoken. According to the United Nations World Population Review (2018), the population of Slovenia is 2.08 million. This is up from 1.9 million recorded at the last population census in 2002. (Statisticni urad Slovenije, 2011) The population density of 101 people per square kilometer ranks as one of the lowest population densities in Europe.

The population breakdown of Slovenia is 83% Slovenes, 2% Serbs, 2% Croats, 1% Bosniaks and 12% other groups. Ethnical specifics, from a historical perspective have encountered great changes in Slovenia's past and due to this reason, resulted in a

Graph 1. The population breakdown in Slovenia



great sensitivity toward the question of Slovene language and other languages in this region even before reaching independence in 1991 (Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, 2003).

The languages spoken are 95% Slovene, 1% other official EU languages (including 0.2% Italian, 0.4% Hungarian) and 5% other languages (not state languages).¹⁾ Italian and Hungarian are also official languages of Slovenia. Romani is also spoken by the Roma Community. The percentage of people speaking Slovene is up from 87.7% in 2002 and as such, this makes Slovenia one of the most homogeneous countries in the EU in terms of speakers of a predominant mother tongue. Other homogeneous countries include Hungary, Portugal, Greece, Poland, Czech Republic and Cyprus. Countries with the lowest percentages are Slovakia, Latvia and Estonia. (European Commission, 2006) The percentages of Italian (0.2%) and Hungarian (0.4%) speakers have not changed over the past fifteen or so years, which proves that the constitution, language policy, language education and the community have all been instrumental in protecting these minority diversities while maintaining the Slovene mother tongue.

In order to facilitate the understanding of language policy in Slovenia, it is important to examine the ethnic makeup of Slovenia, including the rights of specific ethnic groups living there. There are five periods of history that will be briefly presented here to give a clear picture of how events shaped the history of language and lingual development, in order to understand how language has evolved in Slovenia. Firstly, Slovene is Slavic language and is closely related to Croatian with 46 dialects. The earliest written records in Slovene are the Freising Fragments from around 1000 AD and the first printed Slovene books, including a translation of the bible, were published in the 16th century. (Leopoldina Plut-Pregelj, Gregor Kranjc, Žarko Lazarević, Carole Rogel, 2018, p.303). Up until the 20th century, the Slovene linguistic community existed in different multiethnic and multilingual state formations and it had the status of a minority language which was used only in the private domain with no institutionalized possibilities for wider use. However, the language survived

among ethnic Slovenes as a means of everyday communication which began to increase at the end of the 18th century, and at the same time, the corpus of literary texts, the development of the education (partially in Slovene) was prevalent. The linguistic demands continued slowly and persistently through the second half of the 19th century and in the first decade of the 20th century. (Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, 2003)

Secondly, Post-World War 1 saw the establishment of international agreements and the treaties of Rapallo and Trianon meant that the Slovene ethnic territory was divided among different states and hence the Slovene speaking population remained a minority in Hungary, Austria and Italy. After 1918 within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, Slovenes (Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1929), Slovene became established in most areas of public life within the Slovene speaking community. The Vidovdan Constitution of 1921 recognized the language and stipulated that the official language of the kingdom was Serbian-Croatian-Slovene; in essence; one language with three variants. (Novak-Lukanovic & Limon, 2012)

Thirdly, Post-World War 2, saw the development of the Slovene statehood and the Republic of Slovenia was created within the framework of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (renamed in 1964 as the Socialist Federation Republic of Yugoslavia). It was at this time, that Slovene formally assured equality with other federal languages, with the exception of its use in certain key areas including the armed forces, custom service and some state institutions. (Novak-Lukanovic & Limon, 2012)

The next period is from 1974, when the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia became a federal state and the Socialist Republics consisted of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo (constituent parts of the Socialist Republic of Serbia) and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. The status of Slovene was retained and strengthened within the constitution. Article 3 of

the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia²⁾ states:

The Social Republics are states based on the sovereignty of the people and the power of and self-management by the working class and all working people, and are socialist, self-managing democratic communities of the working people and citizens, and of nations and nationalities having equal rights.

From this we can see that Slovenia as one of the socialist republic states was defined as one of the sovereign states of the nations and along with this came the right to self-management and self-determination. Another article that contributed to protecting the mother tongue of Slovenia in some ways is the following, Article 170 which states:

Citizens shall be guaranteed the right to opt for a nation or nationality and to express their national culture, and also the right to the free use of their language and alphabet. No citizen shall be obliged to state to which nation or nationality he belongs, nor to opt for any one of the nations or nationalities.

From this we can see that citizens were granted the right of nationality and national culture and the free use of their language and alphabet. It is from this time that the use of Slovene became more widespread.

In addition, an article that contributed to Slovene being used in public office is Article 171 which states:

Members of nationalities shall, in conformity with the constitution and statute, have the right to use their language and alphabet in the exercise of their rights and duties, and in proceedings before state agencies and organizations exercising public powers. Members of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia shall, on the territory of each Republic and/or Autonomous Province, have the right to their own language in conformity with statute.

This article stipulates that the use of the Slovene language was compulsory before the authorities of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. Equality was largely enforced in the territory of the Republic of

Slovenia (with the exception of certain problematic communication areas i.e. army, media, customs, and some other all-state institutions); on the country level, the status of Slovene was neglected, namely until the dissolution of the federative state in 1991. (Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, 2003)

Finally, the last period to be examined is from when Slovenia gained its independence in 1991, with the break-up of the then Yugoslav federation. This was the start of a new beginning however the previous constitutions created the legal basis for a more decisive enforcement of linguistic rights and it also laid the foundations for the legal framework for the use of Slovene by the public. Article 11 states:

The official language in Slovenia is Slovene. In those municipalities where Italian or Hungarian national communities reside, Italian or Hungarian shall also be official languages.

It is from this time that Slovenia recognized two of its minorities and made legal provisions in the Constitution to protect their languages, cultural identities and freedom of expression. Article 64 (Special Rights of the Autochthonous Italian and Hungarian National Communities in Slovenia) proclaims:

The autochthonous Italian and Hungarian national communities and their members shall be guaranteed the right to use their national symbols freely and, in order to preserve their national identity, the right to establish organizations and develop economic, cultural, scientific, and research activities, as well as activities in the field of public media and publishing. In accordance with laws, these two national communities and their members have the right to education and schooling in their own languages, as well as the right to establish and develop such education and schooling. The geographic areas in which bilingual schools are compulsory shall be established by law. These national communities and their members shall be guaranteed the right to foster relations with their nations of origins and their respective countries. The state shall provide material and moral support for the exercise of these rights....

The right to Italian and Hungarian minorities to freely use their language, express and develop their native culture and in order to do so, establish organizations and use their national symbols was granted in the 1991 Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia.³⁾ In Slovenia, the Roma community is a minority community recognized by the Constitution; it does not have the status of a national minority, but it is a minority community specially mentioned in the Constitution and granted special protection by the law. It is recognized as a special community or minority with particular ethnic and cultural characteristics (its own languages, culture and history) that may be preserved in accordance with constitutional provisions, taking into consideration the needs of the community itself which it expressively puts forward. (Lobnikar, Hozjan, Suklje & Banutai, 2013) The legal basis for regulating their status is Article 65 (Status and Special Rights of the Romany Community in Slovenia) which specifies:

The status and special rights of the Romany community living in Slovenia shall be regulated by law.

There is diversity within the Roma community⁴⁾ in Slovenia: the Roma community in the Dolenjska region who came from Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Roma community in the Maribor region who came from Kosovo and the Republic of Macedonia; the Roma Community in the Gorenjska region (also known as Sinti and the Roma community in Prekmurje. Article 65 acknowledges the special rights in the fields of education, employment, culture, health and social care and so on, but not to the extent of the Italian and Hungarian minorities. It can be said that Slovenia is sensitive to minority groups.

In examining the five historical periods we can see that Slovenia was never been a territory that was ethnically homogeneous, hence the present-day percentage of lingual homogeneity at 95% (as previously mentioned) is outstanding. With shifting national fortunes and changing political boundaries, the number, size and economic and political strength of ethnic minorities has fluctuated through different historical periods, but in the process, Slovene has been able to survive.

Language Policy

Slovenia has encountered numerous educational challenges in the first few decades of its political independence. Advances made in education, as a whole, and in particular with regards to language and language learning are highly significant. According to Article 62 in Constitution:

Everyone has the right to use his language and script in a manner provided by law in the exercise of his rights and duties and in procedures before the state and other authorities performing a public function.

This shows that language rights are considered to be a basic human right, hence the protection of Slovene and other languages spoken by ethnic minorities. Indigenous minorities, irrespective of their numerical size, have extensive rights with regards to state financed activities such as educational, cultural, economic and public activities.

Due to Slovenia's ethnic diversity, the potential for development of plurilingualism-oriented language education is considerable. Plurilingualism is a fundamental principle of the Council of Europe language education policies and is not just embraced by Slovenia, but prevalent throughout all of Europe.

Plurilingualism should be understood as:

- the intrinsic capacity of all speakers to use and learn, alone or through teaching, more than one language. The ability to use several languages to varying degrees and for distinct purposes is defined in the Common European Framework for languages as the ability "to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural action, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience several cultures.
- an educational value that is the basis of linguistic tolerance, in other words, positive acceptance of diversity: speakers' awareness of their plurilingualism may lead them to give equal value to each of the varieties they themselves and other speakers use, even if they do not have the same functions (private,

professional or official communication, language of affiliation, etc.). But this awareness should be assisted and structured by the language of schooling since it is no sense automatic (hence the expression: plurilingualism as a value). (Council of Europe, 2007, pp 17-18)

Slovenia is rich in plurilingual potential because of the presence of speakers with varied linguistic repertoires, the collective acceptance of linguistic differences, individuals' desire to learn languages as the result of the geopolitical and economic context, substantial collective expertise in the field of language education and linguistics. (Ministry of Education and Sport, 2005). As indicated by this view of language education under the auspices of the Council of Europe: Slovenia boasts high awareness of the importance of learning several widely spoken languages, minority languages, the languages of neighboring countries and less taught languages, providing a sound basis for linguistic diversification. (Ministry of Education and Sport, 2005)

Slovenia is actively involved in European language programs and changes are gradually being introduced. International cooperation in the field of education currently includes bilateral, regional and multilateral cooperation at all levels from pre-school to higher education. In bilateral relationships, Slovenia cooperates with neighboring countries, the minorities in Italy and Hungary, 50 bilateral agreements with the EU and other countries and 30 programs and protocols with the EU and other countries. In regional cooperation it cooperates with Alps-Adriatic Working Community, Central European Initiative and Mediterranean countries. Multilateral cooperation involves working with UNESCO, OECD, Council of Europe and EU. (Stremfel & Lajh, 2012)

Language policy in the Republic of Slovenia was formulated by the Council of Europe and the Slovenian authorities and a Language Education Policy Profile, 2003-2005 was introduced. This document sets out the policies on language education, reviews of the current situation with regards to languages and teaching, identifies issues requiring further investigation and proposes guidelines for the future.

Key issues that have been addressed are:

1. the national language
2. the language teaching situation in the mixed territories
3. language teaching for Roma/Gypsies
4. the question of non native Slovene speaking children and adolescents
5. the positive acceptance of linguistic differences
6. the place accorded to languages at all education stages and at university
7. language teaching for adults (Ministry of Education and Sport, 2005)

The education system in Slovenia covers pre-school education to higher education, but for the purposes of this paper, compulsory basic education will be examined. Compulsory basic education lasts for nine years and combines primary and lower secondary level of education. It is organized in a single-structure nine-year basic school⁵⁾ for pupils between the ages 6-15 years. (Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, 2017) Basic education is provided by public and private schools (less than 1% of students are enrolled in private schools) and educational institutions specializing in children with special needs. (UNESCO, 2015)

The basic school curriculum specifies:

1. number of compulsory and elective subjects, as well as days of activities for each year
2. optional subjects
3. number of class discussion periods
4. scope of extra-curricular non-compulsory basic school activities schools have to provide
5. minimum number of lessons required to realize the curriculum

Special provisions for members of the Italian and Hungarian national minorities, the Roma community, immigrants are one of the main objectives in regards to the legal aspects of the Slovenia language policy as decided in a new program: Resolution on the National Program for Language Policy 2014-18, adopted by the National Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia in 2013. (European Federation of National Institutes for Language, 2017) Bilingual educa-

tion, education for Roma community and migrants will be discussed in a following section.

Foreign Language Education

European societies can be characterized and enriched by linguistic and cultural diversity, by migration and, also by mobility. The European Centre for Modern Languages of the Council of Europe quotes “Language education is key: the provision of lifelong, quality education supports not only educational and professional success, but personal growth, democratic citizenship and social cohesion.” Slovenia has been a member of the EU since 2004 and actively participates in EU policies, including the Barcelona Objective⁶⁾ and Erasmus Plus.⁷⁾

As specified by the Basic Schools Act, the compulsory basic school subjects for language include Slovene, and Italian or Hungarian in ethnic mixed areas and two foreign languages. The first foreign language (schools choose English or German) is a compulsory subject since the 2016/2017 school year from grade 2. Pupils of grade 4 and onwards can choose a second foreign language as a non-compulsory optional subject (schools choose from English, German, French, Croatian, Italian, and Hungarian). Pupils of grade 7-9 may learn a compulsory (second) foreign language (schools choose from English, German, French, Croatian, Italian, Hungarian, Chinese, Latin, Macedonian, Russian, Serbian, and Spanish). Students may also choose non-compulsory optional foreign language classes (grade 1); second foreign language classes (grade 4-6) and third foreign language classes (grade 7-9).

When the Barcelona Objective was introduced 16

years ago, most countries started learning a first foreign language as a compulsory subject between 9 and 11 years old. (Eurydice, 2000) In 2016, the situation is markedly different with the age for starting a compulsory foreign language starting as early as the first year of primary school, with some countries, such as Cyprus and Poland introducing reforms which makes language learning compulsory for all children attending pre-primary school (Eurydice, 2017)

At the primary level in Slovenia, the annual hours dedicated to foreign language teaching is more than 75 hours, which corresponds to more than 2 hours per week, based on an average of 34 weeks in a school year. (Eurydice, 2017) It is interesting to note that in Slovenia the number of hours spent learning mathematics, Slovene and English are exactly the same amount of time and these three subjects are tested on the national examination (matura) in the 6th grade of primary school and in the 9th grade of middle school. (UNESCO, 2011) (see Table 1)

In 2016, in a majority of countries in the EU, all students must start learning a second foreign language before the end of compulsory (basic) education. Countries that have adopted these reforms include the Czech Republic, France and Poland. In Slovenia as shown in the table below, a second foreign language is compulsory from grade 7-9 but it is optional from grade 4. School in Slovenia offer a second language as an optional subject and classes are held soon after school finishes. Other countries who offer the same optional second language education include Spain, Croatia, Sweden and Norway. Statistics show that in Spain, Croatia and Slovenia about half of the students in lower secondary education study

Table 1: Foreign Language Education in Slovenia

Foreign language		Age	Grade	Choice of language	Total hours
1 st	Optional	6	1	English, German	1/week
	Compulsory	7	2		2/week
2 nd	Optional	9-11	4-6	English, German, French, Croatian, Italian, and Hungarian	2/week
	Compulsory	12-15	7-9		3/week
3 rd	Optional	12-15	7-9	English, German, French, Croatian, Italian, Hungarian, Chinese, Latin, Macedonian, Russian, Serbian, and Spanish	N/A
	Compulsory	—	—		

Source: adapted from UNESCO, World Data on Education, pp 11-12

Table 2: CEFR proficiency levels (Global Scale)

Proficient User	C2	Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarise information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.
	C1	Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.
Independent User	B2	Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialisation. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.
	B1	Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics, which are familiar, or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes & ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.
Basic User	A2	Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.
	A1	Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.

Source: Council of Europe (2001). Common European Framework of Reference for languages: Learning, teaching, assessment, p 5

at least two foreign languages. In Sweden and Norway this percentage amounts to over 70% of students.

The levels of attainment in foreign languages are measured using CEFR and above is a table of the scale that supports the evaluation of the outcomes of foreign language learning in a comparable way. There are six levels of proficiency: A1 and A2 (basic users), B1 and B2 (independent users), C1 and C2 (proficient users). (see Table 2)

In a survey First European Survey on Language Competences conducted by the European Commission in 2012, 14 EU countries participated: Belgium (3 linguistic communities), Bulgaria, Croatia, Estonia, France, Greece, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and UK-England. The ESLC collected information about the foreign language proficiency for the two most taught languages (out of English, French, German, Italian and Spanish) of 54,000 European pupils in the last year of lower secondary education (ISCED 2) or the second year of upper secondary education (ISCED 3). In Slovenia these two languages are English and German.

The results for English as a first foreign language in

Slovenia show that 54% of the pupils attained a level of an independent user (B1 and B 2). The top score for English was 82% in Malta and Sweden; and the lowest being 14% in France. The results for German as a second foreign language show that 63% of the pupils attained a level of basic user (A1 and A 2). The top score for German was 48% in the Netherlands.

The findings of the survey prove that 'an early onset is related to a higher proficiency in the foreign language being tested, as is learning a larger number of foreign language and of ancient languages. Slovenia ranked 5th for English and 9th for German which shows that the standard of education of first and second languages is high in the EU.

Bilingual Education- Italian and Hungarian

Slovenia is an important case study of how bilingual language policies have been successfully applied, in slightly different ways, in the two ethnic areas of Slovene Istria and Prekmurje (Novak-Lukanovic, S. & Limon, D, 2012). Language policy accounts for protecting the rights of these ethnic communities and bilingual education involves education in the mother

tongue and second language acquisition (majority or minority language), as well as becoming acquainted with and preserving both cultures.

The school system in accordance to legislation enable members of ethnic communities to maintain and develop their own language and culture, implements one of the basic human rights and is a practical realization of Slovenia's constitution and attitude towards its minorities.

In the first model of bilingual education, the mother tongue is the first language at school and the second language is a compulsory subject. This model has been practiced in Slovene Istria on the Slovene coast since 1959 at primary school and in 1980 for pre-school and secondary education. It can be labelled as a maintenance model (Baker, 1988, 1993) that offers language and culture classes to pupils from the majority community. Pre-school, primary and secondary school education is offered in either Slovene or Italian with the second language being compulsory. In schools where Italian is the language of instruction, teaching staff are native Italian speakers and the language of communication with parents and society is also Italian. Slovene is taught as a compulsory subject and is taught for at least three periods per week. In schools where Slovene is the language of instruction, Italian is a compulsory subject. The inter-cultural education strategies and the didactic premises of early second foreign language acquisition around the world lead to a renewal of this model. Efforts for a didactic renewal have yielded empirical and practical results. (Cok, 2001)

The second model of bilingual education has been practiced in the ethnically mixed Slovene-Hungarian region of Prekmurje. This model also dates back to 1959 and is one where both languages are languages of instruction and school subjects. This is a two-way model an example of how two languages as preserved and acquired (Mackey, 1970). Bilingual classes are attended by students of both Slovene and Hungarian and both mother tongues: Slovene and Hungarian. This model employs the concurrent method in all aspects of school life. Language switching takes place and both languages are subjects as well as languages of instruction, so either can be

used during any lesson, except in second language classes. Both languages have equal status in all subjects. This model is designed to offer students an opportunity to develop communicative abilities in the two languages present in the environment for communication and education needs. It is supported by the system of institutional bilingualism, whereby by law all teachers and personnel must be bilingual and all signs, announcements, documents and communication with parents must be bilingual. By studying and monitoring this model in Prekmurje, it was found that it was necessary to introduce the 'didactics of languages' approach⁸⁾ to accommodate for both mother-tongue and second language speakers learning together in the same classroom.

Both models of bilingualism include cultural pluralism and intercultural dialogue with aspects of Italian or Hungarian history, geography and culture being added to the usual syllabus. Legislation gives national minority members rights at all levels to design the school curricula. Ties with the mother nation of the minority in matters of textbook preparation, field trips and in-service teacher training assures the quality of education.

In the international context, Slovenia cooperates with minorities in Italy and Hungary and neighboring countries on the education of Slovenes abroad. Since 1992, more than 50 international bilateral agreements have been signed by Slovenia on education, culture and science, as well as more than 30 programs and some protocols. (Eurydice, 2009)

Other Minorities: Roma people and refugees

The special status of Roma people promotes preferential treatment of Roma problematic and their language. Next to the projects for strengthening comprehensive competencies in Slovenian language by Roma people the main concern goes to language codification and systemization of Roma language and creativity in Roma language. In 2007, Slovenia adopted the Roma Community Act which defines the role of state bodies and self-governing in realizing the rights of the Roma Community. It ensures that immigrant children have the right to compul-

sory education under the same conditions as citizens of Slovenia. Schools also offer additional teaching of the Slovene language to those that need it (Kalin, 2015).

In the past few years, more attention is being paid to the languages of immigrants and support to creative and media projects by inhabitants and organizations from ex-Yugoslav countries. Public television has special programmed intended for all officially recognized minorities. (Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe, 2018) However, the speakers of other minority languages (besides Italian and Hungarian), are mostly immigrants or second-generation speakers from the former Yugoslav republics. This shows that there is a hierarchy of languages with the Italian, Hungarian and Romanian speakers being acknowledged but the speakers of language of the former Yugoslavia receiving little or no official support. (Medvesek & Bester, 2010)

That having been said, education and schooling play an important role in the integration of migrant children into their new environment. The Slovenian education has demonstrated solidarity and proved to be inclusive and successful at sheltering people who fled war in the former Yugoslavia. In September and October 1992, temporary refugee children from Bosnia and Herzegovina reached a total of 17,000 and the Slovenian government organized education in basic schools pursuant to the Bosnian and Herzegovinian curriculum. In the following years the numbers decreased so in 1995/1996 school year their gradual integration into the Slovenian basic schools began. (Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, 2017)

In 2007, the Ministry introduced the Strategy for integration of migrant children, basic school and upper secondary students into the Education System of the Republic of Slovenia. This document highlights the right of migrant children to free teaching, in particular, instruction in the Slovene language, with a focus on the promoting learning of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin, as well as access to the education system under the same conditions that apply to citizens of Slovenia. (Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, 2007)

Other special treatment for migrant children include the following. In the first year of education for migrant children, they are entitled to expert help in learning Slovenian (since 2006). In the second year of education, migrant children can be unassessed in individual subjects and proceed to the next year (since 2010/2011). In addition, if migrant children enter Year 6 or Year 9 and Slovene is not their mother tongue then they can take the national exams on a voluntary basis.

Survey about languages/foreign languages and Slovenia's ranking in EU 25

Language policy is decided by the government, followed by educators and is studied by children through the curriculum at schools. Language policy and language education do not function in a vacuum, so that socio-political and economic factors many easily outweigh the efforts of language planners and educationalists (Novak-Lukanovic & Limon, 2012). The general public tend to opt for language choices that they believe will have a clear socio-economic benefit, so it is important to know what the general public is thinking and feeling. The questions of interest for this paper are listed below, starting with an overview of the survey, the number of languages spoken, the range of languages, place of learning, usefulness of foreign languages, target languages, age of acquisition, reason for acquisition, and minority support.

1. Overview: A survey about experiences and perceptions of multilingualism was carried out in the 25 EU countries (as well as Bulgaria (BR), Romania (RO), Croatia (HR) and Turkey (TR)). 28 694 citizens responded to this survey on multilingualism as part of the wave 64.3 of the Eurobarometer. It was carried out by Special Eurobarometer of the European Commission and the results were collated in a document 'Europeans and their languages' (2006). This survey covers many aspects of language, including languages spoken and number, how languages were acquired, which languages are useful for personal development and which languages are necessary for job opportunities. 1,030 Slovenians responded to this

survey.

2. Number of Languages spoken: According to the results when asked ‘Which languages do you speak well enough in order to be able to have a conversation, excluding your mother tongue?’ The average for the EU 25 is 56%. 91% of Slovenians can speak at least one language well enough in order to be able to have a conversation. Slovenia ranks in 6th place in EU 25. As for bilingualism, 71% of Slovenians speak at least two languages well enough in order to be able to have a conversation, with the EU average at 28%. Slovenia ranks at 3rd place in EU 25.

As for trilingualism or plurilingualism, 40% of Slovenians can speak at least three languages well enough in order to be able to have a conversation. The EU average is 11% and Slovenia ranks 2nd place with 40% of people being tri- or plurilingual. In 2002, the EU heads of state and government set a long-term objective for all EU citizens to speak two languages in addition to their mother tongue. ^{A)} This data indicates that Slovenia has implemented and executed policies and guidelines to be followed at schools and institutions to be successful in plurilingual education. The table below summarizes the above in percentages for one, two and three languages besides the native tongue that can be spoken at a conversational level.

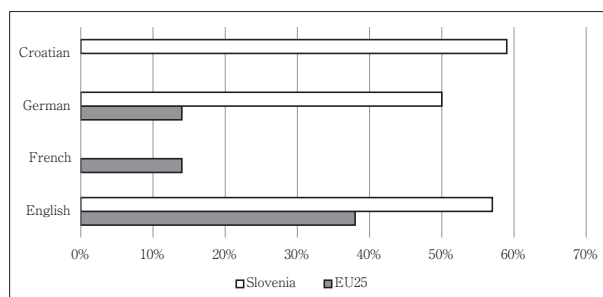
Table 3: Which languages do you know well enough to have a conversation, excluding your mother tongue? (in percentages)

	at least one language	at least two languages	at least three languages	None
EU 25	56	28	11	44
Luxembourg	99	92	69	1
Slovakia	97	48	22	3
Latvia	95	51	14	5
Lithuania	92	51	16	8
Malta	92	68	23	8
Netherlands	91	75	34	9
Slovenia	91	71	40	9
Sweden	90	48	17	9
Estonia	89	58	24	11
Denmark	88	66	30	12

Source:European Commission, Special EUROBAROMETER 243, p 9

3. Range of languages: Next, in addition to the distribution of language skills, the range of languages spo-

Table 4: Which languages do you know well enough to have a conversation, excluding your mother tongue?



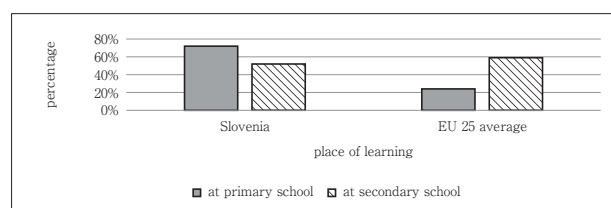
Source:European Commission, Special EUROBAROMETER 243, p 13

ken is given here. The five most spoken foreign languages over the continent are: English, French, German, Spanish and Russian. In 2005, the average in EU 25 for knowing English well enough to have a conversation was 38%. The other two most widely known languages are French and German. The three most widely known languages in Slovenia are Croatian (59%), English (57%) and German (50%). This shows that for both English and German, the percentage of Slovenians who can speak them well enough for a conversation is higher than the European averages.

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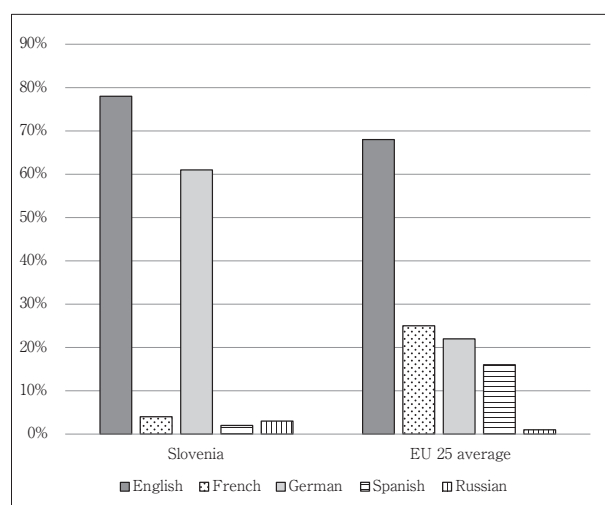
4. Place of learning: In this survey, respondents were asked several questions with regards to their foreign language learning experience. ‘How did you learn or improve your first foreign language?’ To this question, 72% responded at primary school and 52% responded at secondary school. This data shows that in Slovenia, learning a first foreign language is particularly concentrated on in primary

Table 5: How did you learn your first foreign language?



Source: European Commission, Special EUROBAROMETER 243, p 22

Table 6: The two most useful languages to know for your personal career and development



Source: European Commission, Special EUROBAROMETER 243, p 32

schools. The average is low at 24% and Slovenia ranks at number 4 with the top countries being Luxembourg (82%), Malta (80%) and Latvia (74%).

5. Target languages: ‘Which two languages apart from your mother- tongue are useful for personal development and your career?’ The top five languages believed to be useful in Slovenia are English 78%, German 61%, Italian 12%, French 4%, Spanish 2% and Russian 1%. The top five languages in the EU 25 are English, French, German, Spanish, Russian and Italian with the percentages being shown in the table above.

6. Usefulness of foreign languages: ‘Do you think knowing other languages other than your native tongue is or could be useful for you personally?’ 84 % gave a positive response. In every country polled, a distinct majority acknowledge the advantages of foreign language skills, with scores ranging from 73% in Portugal to 99% in Sweden. This shows how

important learning foreign languages is to all countries in the EU 25.

7. Age of acquisition: ‘At what age do you think children should start learning their first foreign language?’ 71% of Slovenians responded with between the ages of 6 and 12 and 72% responded with between the ages of 6 and 12 for the age children should start learning their second foreign language. The majority of Europeans believe that the best age to start learning a foreign language is between 6-12 years. When it comes to learning a second foreign language, the majority in every country thinks that children should not start learning it before the age of six. This shows that while Europeans believe that plurilingualism is important for personal growth and development, they are not pushing for studying too many languages at an early age.

8. Reason for acquisition: As for the reason why people might think foreign languages should be studied, 82% of Slovenians answered that it would improve their opportunities to gain employment. They included such reasons as being able to use foreign languages at work and being able to work overseas as the ways of improving these opportunities. Other reasons for acquisition in the EU include being able to use foreign languages when traveling abroad and also for personal satisfaction.

9. Minority support: As to ‘To what extent do you agree or disagree that ‘regional and minority languages should receive greater support?’, 80% of respondents replied that they agree. The average for this answer in Europe is 63% with Malta having the highest percentage (87%), Slovenia second with 80% and Cyprus third with 79%.

10. Summary: From the results of this survey we can get a feel for how Slovenians think about foreign languages and how the language policies have filtered down through education and everyday life. The percentage of Slovenians who can speak a first foreign language well even to carry out a conversation is very high and in the EU 25, Slovenia ranks in 6th place. The percentage of Slovenians who can speak two foreign languages is also high, ranking in 3rd place in the EU 25. Furthermore, the percentage of Slovenians who can speak a third foreign lan-

guage ranks in 2nd place in the EU 25. In all three groups, Luxembourg ranks in 1st place.

Starting to study a first foreign language from an early age is considered important and not just one foreign language, but two are preferable. English is considered to be an important language to learn for personal development, job opportunities and career development, with the percentage of Slovenians knowing English being higher than the average for the EU 25.

Most Slovenians are learning their first foreign language at primary school and respond that this is where they improved their language skills, which reflects the language policy guidelines in place are being followed and are successful. The importance of knowing a foreign language is high and this reflects how Slovenians are endeavoring to educate themselves and their children.

Three countries, Malta, Slovenia and Cyprus have the most sympathy for regional and minority languages. It could be interpreted here that respondents of relatively small Member States with native languages spoken by a limited number of people seem to understand the importance of preserving linguistic diversity. (European commission, 2012)

Findings

To understand the development of Slovenia's language policy, education and approach to provide its citizens with the appropriate language education, it is necessary to focus on the attitude of the government and the people toward their mother tongue, foreign languages and the languages of ethnic minorities. Until Slovenia's independence, through the previously mentioned five periods of history, Slovenian education developed within the framework of several education systems and Slovenian education often struggled to survive in environments that were not in the least favorable. It survived linguist and social struggle against the pressures of its more powerful and wealthier neighbors, as well as ideological indoctrination and post-war experimentation. In the interweaving of various cultural, linguistic, educational and conceptual influences, Slovenia edu-

cation can be given credit for consolidating its survival and becoming a sovereign, well-developed and internationally comparable education system. (Stremfel and Lajh, 2012)

The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia has contributed largely to the legality of language policy as it considers the right to use one's language to be a basic human right. This has ensured the protection of minority groups and has seen the development of bilingual education in the two ethnic areas of Slovene Istria and Prekmurje. (Novak-Lukanovic and Limon, 2012) Slovenia is an important case study of how bilingual language policies have successfully been applied to a relatively small portion of the population. In addition to preserving and encouraging the languages of the ethnic minorities, cultural pluralism, intercultural dialogue and ties with mother nations have been secured to create sensitivity to the languages and cultures of others. Not only does this benefit Slovenia, but it plays a part in the overall promotion of multiculturalism and multicultural education in Europe. Knowledge is the strongest weapon against stereotypes while promoting multiculturalism at schools and in education and training future teachers without doubt encourages critical thinking and antithesis to prejudice. In the time of globalization and demographic changes, multicultural education paves the way for improving the learning outcomes and the curriculum for all students. (Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, 2017)

Plurilingualism is being embraced by the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport in cooperation with the European Commission. Early acquisition of a first, second and even third foreign language has been included in the curriculum at primary and secondary school. The emphasis is on the ability of all individuals to learn more than one language for social communication. The aim is not to turn Europeans into polyglots, but to help them develop plurilingual competence throughout their lives. The chief function of language policy is thus to organize the balanced management of plurilingual repertoires, local languages and collective needs according to the available resources and cultural and educational tra-

ditions, in order to ensure social cohesion, if necessary, by explicitly recognizing all parties' linguistic rights and duties. (Ministry of Education, Science and Sport, 2005)

The survey conducted by the Special Eurobarometer reflects the opinions of participants in all the member nations of the EU 25. Slovenia ranks high in the EU 25 for bilingualism, trilingualism and plurilingualism. This reflects not only the success of foreign language policy and education but also the motivation of people to be plurilingual, which stems from their direct experience with various languages in their past, the history of the country itself and modern-day language policies. The languages that are well spoken reflects the geographical influence and practicality of being able to speak the languages of the neighboring countries. Slovenians are learning foreign languages at primary school and most feel that this was the most beneficial place to learn it. English and other foreign languages are being acquired to improve job opportunities and contribute to personal development. This survey also shows that Slovenians are sensitive to regional and ethnic minorities and believe that more support should be given to those who need it.

The above findings show that language policy, education and attitudes toward language in Slovenia is exemplary and should be examined by countries that are trying to reform and refine their current language and foreign language strategies. For countries now being faced with an influx of migrants and refugees, Slovenia's programs provide relevant and ongoing examples worth being researched in more detail.

Notes

1. European Commission (2006) Europeans and Their Languages, p 7
These figures allow for multiple answers, meaning that some people responded with several languages as their mother tongue. Thus, the percentages may add up to more or less than 100%.
2. Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of

Yugoslavia 1974.

<http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Yugoslavia-Constitution1974.pdf> (Last checked 04/01/2019)

3. Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia 1991
<https://www.us-rs.si/media/constitution.pdf> (Last checked 04/01/2019)
4. Romany (Roma) community refers to a sizable ethnic minority group in Slovenia which despite its long presence has been insufficiently integrated and is one of the groups most vulnerable to social exclusion. The exact size of the community is unknown but was estimated between 7,000 to 10,000 (Peace Institute, 2004, p 7)
5. The Slovenian education system is organized into several levels:
 - Pre-school education: Pre-school education (predšolska vzgoja) is optional, and encompasses the center-based early general pre-school education and care. Children can enroll as early as at the age of 11 months and attend it until they start basic school.
 - Compulsory basic education: Compulsory basic education (obvezno osnovnošolsko izobraževanje) is organized in a single-structure nine-year basic school attended by pupils aged 6 to 15 years.
 - Upper secondary education: Upper secondary education (srednješolsko izobraževanje) takes 2 to 5 years (typical age of students: 15-19). Educational programs include vocational, professional and gimnazija (general) programs.
 - Tertiary education
(https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/slovenia_en)
6. Barcelona Objective: the aim of teaching two foreign languages from an early age as adopted by the EU heads of States and Of Government in the Barcelona European Council, 2002. (European Commission, doi.org/10.2797/828497)
7. Erasmus Plus provides grants for activities in the fields of education, training, youth and sport. It offers opportunities for individuals to spend a mobility or volunteering period abroad and to receive linguistic training. European Commission, https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/erasmus-plus_

en

8. Didactics of languages approach is an approach which incorporates the instruction of language. This takes into account the fact that Slovene and Hungarian were mother tongue for some students and second languages for others attending the same class (Cok, 2001)

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