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A comparative study of minority language schools in the Italian regions of Trentino-South Tyrol and Friuli-Venezia Giulia

FERRI, Jennifer

Mémoire présenté sous la direction de Pieter LAGROU en vue de l'obtention du titre de Master en Communication multilingue

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Résumé

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DÉSCRIPTION : Ce mémoire porte sur la situation linguistique particulière de deux régions italiennes, le Frioul-Vénétie Julienne et le Trentin-Tyrol du Sud, analysée à travers une étude comparative des écoles de langues minoritaires, respectivement les écoles de langue slovène et allemande. Plus précisément, ce travail porte sut la manière dont le gouvernement central italien et les institutions régionales sont engagés dans le maintien du statut bilingue, en citant les documents légaux les plus éloquents sur la protection des minorités linguistiques. Ensuite, l'étude pratique est développée : afin de comprendre l'importance du bilinguisme pour les parents d'élèves d'écoles minoritaires et bilingues, ceux-ci ont été interrogé.e.s sur les raisons qui les ont poussé.e.s à inscrire leurs enfants dans lesdits établissements. Une comparaison des résultats a permis de découvrir que les deux groupes d'interviewé.e.s ont choisi ces écoles pour des raisons variées et pourtant similaires, liées à l'importance qu'ils accordent à la connaissance de la langue minoritaire, mais aussi pour des raisons plus pratiques. Il s'est aussi avéré que la protection des minorités linguistiques historiques est différente dans les deux régions.

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A mio nonno Lucio

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1. Introduction

This thesis focuses on the peculiar linguistic situation of two Italian regions, Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Trentino-South Tyrol[1], analysed through a comparative study concerning minority language schools. Specifically, the way the central Italian government and the regional institutions are engaged in the maintaining of the bilingual status is explained. Then, some interviews conducted with the inhabitants of one town in the two regions are analysed, to understand the importance that the inhabitants of these regions confer on bilingualism. This study is concluded by a comparison between the two regions, making some references to the different historic events of these areas, which happened to be turbulent and controversial on some occasions and which influenced the way people consider Slovene and German languages.

The decision to study multilingualism in Italy was made because the Italian linguistic situation is not always well known in Europe and, most importantly, in Italy. Probably, it is because these languages are not very widespread in Italy. However, this does not mean that their historical and cultural value should be underestimated.

The notions of *multilingualism* and *bilingualism* are not rare in Europe, but the Italian case might seem different. The Italian Nation itself has one official language, Italian, but some areas of the country are considered bilingual or multilingual. For that reason, it seemed very interesting and important to point out the situations in those regions.

Even if the historical linguistic minorities in Italy are numerous, it was chosen to study the German and Slovene ones respectively in Trentino-South Tyrol and Friuli-Venezia Giulia since, as mentioned in chapter 3.1, they present some analogies in historical events, minority language protection and uses. I believe that studying the differences between similar situations is more interesting than explaining the differences between totally dissonant contexts. The results were indeed extremely interesting, highlighting why the two languages are valued differently and to what extent stereotypes and social life influence the vision that people have about language learning.

[1] When the place names do not have English translation, I wrote them in Italian if they are placed in Italy, in Slovene, those in Slovenia, even if they often are bilingual municipalities/towns.

Since the phenomenon of bilingualism is very broad and complex, it was necessary to narrow the scope of the study. Therefore, education was chosen as the focus of the study since it is one of the most powerful tools to promote and transfer languages. Minority language learning has indeed been controlled and denied due to nationalist purposes. It is also one of the criteria to classify the vitality of a language since "literacy is directly linked with social and economic development"[2].

1.1 The aims of the thesis

The initial plan was to make two different studies: one analysing learning materials and funding of the minority schools, to understand the national and regional commitment for their protection and the second one focusing on the opinions and ideas of inhabitants. Since the social researches were huge and unexpectedly various, the thesis focuses on the social value accorded to bilingualism, after a brief explanation of the legal protection of those languages.

Therefore, throughout the first chapters of the thesis, the most important national and regional measures regarding linguistical minorities are explained, to give the readers an overview of the legislative protection of those linguistic groups. Then, the study at the core of the thesis is explained in detail.

One of the commonly used factors to study the endangerment of a language is the intergenerational transmission[3]. For that reason, the main research question "to what extent is bilingualism important for the inhabitants of these regions?" was answered after interviews with some parents from two towns, one for each region[4], who decided to enrol their children in the school of the linguistic minority. This was useful in order to understand whether the learning of German and Slovene and, consequently, the bilingualism of their children, is a priority for them.

[2] UNESCO Ad hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages, "Language Vitality and Endangerment," Document submitted to the *International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Programme Safeguarding of Endangered Languages*, Paris, March 2003, 12.
[3] *Ibidem*., p. 7.
[4] As explained in the methodology of the study, two towns were chosen, one in Friuli-Venezia Giulia and one in Trentino-South Tyrol since it was necessary to narrow the scope of the research. It was indeed not possible to make interviews in the whole regions.

The study hypothesised that Italian-speaking or bilingual parents who registered their children in Slovene- and German-speaking schools made this choice because they believe that bilingualism is important for their children.

The aim of the thesis, in general, is to compare the results found in Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Trentino-South Tyrol, both concerning legal protection and social commitment, trying to understand the reasons for the differences.

1.2 The plan

The thesis proceeds from the general to the specific.

The second chapter explains the definition of *multilingualism* and *bilingualism*, as well as more specific terms such as *individual bilingualism*, *social bilingualism* and *diglossia*. The social importance of studying these phenomena is also highlighted since bilingualism and multilingualism are intrinsically linked with society and identity.

The third chapter is dedicated to linguistic minorities and their legal protection in Italy. Even if the definition and classification of linguistic minorities are controversial, it was necessary to describe their legal protection and, therefore, to categorise them. The term *minority* was only used to consider a community which differs from the more numerous one in the country in terms of language (the Italian linguistic majority, as it is more numerous). To understand the mechanism of education and support of bilingualism in these areas, it was indeed necessary to diversify linguistic groups, which could sometimes seem discriminatory and therefore controversial. However, the goal of the thesis is not to classify the inhabitants of these regions in ethnical or, even worse, racial groups, but to understand the values of bilingualism from the different linguistic groups' points of views.

The history of the Slovene and German-speaking community in Trentino-South Tyrol and Friuli-Venezia Giulia is then summed up in chapter 4, together with the specific protection of respectively German and Slovene minorities in those regions. Their protection is, in fact, the outcome of historical events, which also resulted in the promulgation of the so-called *special statutes of autonomy*. They are provided to some Italian regions which have been considered in need of more administrative autonomy.

The fifth chapter concentrates on the main study of the thesis, that is the analysis of the interviews, which answered the research question. After the comparison of the results, the conclusions are drawn, pointing out the differences and analogies of the two regions' commitment for the linguistic minorities safeguard and, therefore, of the promotion of the bilingual status.

1.3 Studies about the subject

It is also important to mention some research centres which already developed some studies and reports like this one.

The EURAC research centre of Bolzano developed the *Kolipsi* project. It aims to measure the level of competence of Italian and German as a second language. They carried out this project questioning a representative sample of South Tyrolean high school students. They also asked them the reasons why they were studying the 'other' language, as the motivation can also influence the language learning itself, according to the report[5].

Regarding Slovene minorities, the studies performed by the SLORI (*Slovene Research Institute*) must be considered. The *EDUKA Project: Educare alla Diversità*, aims to study the situation of schools in cross-border areas, not only regarding Slovene and Italian cohabitation but considering pupils with migration background. Their goals were to understand the viewpoints of teachers, parents and pupils regarding multi-ethnic classes[6]. Another study, performed by Bogatec and Lokar, analysed the experience of the pupils registered at *I.C. Iqbal Masih* middle school in Trieste, the first school in the FVG region to have included the teaching of Slovene as a second foreign language as a curriculum subject. They were asked why they made that choice, also asking about their satisfaction with the lessons[7].

[5] Chiara Vettori, Andrea Abel, *Kolipsi II – Gli Studenti Altoatesini e la Seconda Lingua: Indagine Psicosociale. / Die Südtiroler SchülerInnen und die Zweitesprache: eine linguistische und sozialpsychologische Untersuchung*, (Bolzano: EURAC Research: 2017).
[6] Norina Bogatec, Nives Zudič Antonič, *Educare alla Diversità: Ricerca Comparativa Interdisciplinare tra Italia e Slovenia* (Koper: EDUKA, 2014).
[7] Norina Bogatec, Veronika Lokar, *Pouk slovenščine: raziskava o poučevanju slovenščine na italijanski šoli v Trstu / A scuola di sloveno: una ricerca sull'insegnamento dello sloveno in una scuola italiana di Trieste*

My thesis differs from those studies since I analysed the reasons why parents decided on a German-, Italian-speaking or bilingual school for their children, to understand the value they attach to bilingualism, not to study their experience or their language mastery. I also tried to give my humble contribution to the research about bilingualism and minority protection, comparing the two realities, being aware of the fact that the results could not be representative, as explained in chapter *Study*.

2. Defining multilingualism and bilingualism

In the *Treccani* online encyclopaedia, the term *multilingualism* is defined as the "capacity of an individual or of an ethnic group to use alternately and without difficulty different languages"[8]. The same definition is mentioned in the *Oxford* dictionary for the label *multilingual*, which is someone or something "speaking or using several different languages"[9]. These are the simplest definitions of the word, in the sense that they are the more generic ones and do not touch other concepts which are linked to it.

A more precise term often used in this paper is *bilingualism*. As the word suggests, this label stands for "the ability of an individual, or ethnic group, to use two different languages (or even, by extension, two different varieties of a language, or the literary language and the dialect) alternately and without difficulty", but also "the division of a region or nation into two language groups."[10]. In the *Oxford Learner's Dictionary*, bilingual is defined as the individual who is "able to speak two languages equally well"[11].

Analysing these first definitions, the shades and difficulties in defining the term, which have been analysed by several linguists and sociolinguists, emerge. The first explanation given by the *Treccani* dictionary implies that bilingualism has, at least, two dimensions: the first one concerns the individual, the second one the society. The definition of the *Oxford* dictionary highlights, instead, a recurrent question: which degree of language proficiency speakers must have to be considered bilingual? In the *Oxford*

[8] Personal translation of: *Treccani.it*, s.v. "Multilinguismo," accessed March 18, 2020, http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/multilinguismo/

[9] *Oxford Advances Learner's Dictionary,* s.v. "Multilingual," edited by Ben Francis, Diana Lea, et al. 8th edition. Oxford University Press, 2010.

[10] Personal translation of: *Treccani.it*, s.v. "Bilinguismo," accessed March 20, 2020, http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/bilinguismo/

[11] *Oxford Advances Learner's Dictionary,* s.v. "Bilingual," edited by Ben Francis, Diana Lea, et al. 8th edition. Oxford University Press, 2010.

dictionary, it says *equally*, nevertheless other expert opinions in the field often dissent from that, as is explained below.

Edwards points out the two levels at which bilingualism (and multilingualism in general) could be considered, explaining that social and individual bilingualisms differ not only because of their scope but also of the dimensions that they involve. Individual bilingualism involves linguistic and psycholinguistic dimensions, whereas the societal one concerns historical, educational political aspects[12].

2.1 Societal bilingualism

Finding a definition of *societal bilingualism* is not as simple as it might seem. Generally, it defines the situation of bilingualism in a society, where "both of the languages are standardized and elaborated, equally usable in every formal context, including written, scientific, educational and technological uses"[13]. In this regard, it is important to mention that individual and societal bilingualism could but not necessarily have to be interconnected. In other words, one country could be officially bilingual without all its citizens being bilingual[14]. It could indeed happen that the country is bilingual because a percentage of their citizens speak one language, another percentage a different language and some of them speak both. The case of effective societal bilingualism is rare: in some regions, bilingualism is only *de jure*, but not *de facto*. Then, as explained below in this thesis, there are several ways to make bilingualism official in a given region.

2.1.1 Diglossia

In fact, in some cases, *diglossia* occurs, "a situation in which two languages or two forms of a language are used under different conditions within a community"[15]. In some bilingual communities, there is often a functional specialisation of the languages, which are referred to as high and low varieties, corresponding respectively to the variety used

[12] John Edwards, *Multilingualism* (London: Routledge, 1994), 55.
[13] Personal translation of: *Treccani*, s.v. "Bilinguismo e Diglossia," by Silvia Del Negro, accessed March 20, 2020, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bilinguismo-e-diglossia_(Enciclopedia-dell'Italiano)/
[14] John Edwards, "Foundations of Bilingualism," in *The Handbook of Bilingualism*, ed. Tej K Bhatia, William C Ritchie (Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004, 2006), 7.
[15] *Oxford Advances Learner's Dictionary,* s.v. "Diglossia," ed. Ben Francis, Diana Lea, et al. 8th edition. Oxford University Press, 2010.

in formal contexts (such as media, education and government) and the one implied in informal situations, i.e. in personal domains of interaction[16]. Diglossia as a functional distribution of the two varieties of a language or two languages was first theorised by Ferguson[17] and later extended by Fishman[18], who consider it as a consensual situation. The fact that the two languages or varieties are complementary and have their distinct functions in society "guarantees the stability of the system"[19], in their opinions. However, over the years, this term has been defined in many ways, not least because it is difficult to find equal linguistic situations in the world. Therefore, the meaning of the word also varies also according to the examples that are made of it.

Other linguists, for instance, the Catalan-Occitan school of sociolinguistics, disagree with Fisher and Ferguson, claiming that diglossia is bound to result in conflicts. They affirm that in these situations of linguistic inequality, there is a competition between the two languages (or varieties of language), which is bound to lead to conflict. For them, diglossia is indeed always unbalanced and unstable, and not a consensual situation. This mirrors some linguistic situations which happened to be the reality in different moments of history in Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Trentino-South Tyrol, taken into consideration in this thesis. As explained in the analysis of the interviews, many times the German and Slovene languages were considered inferior and sometimes it generated some rebellions against the high variety.

According to the Catalan-Occitan school, the conflict could then engender different consequences: either the languages maintain their previous status and, eventually, the dominating language replaces the dominated one, or the dominated language community fights for the normalisation of their language. For a language to be normalised, which means to follow its normal development in society, to be considered as the norm, it needs to be normativized too: the language community must agree on a standardised variety of

[16] Suzanne Romaine, "The Bilingual and Multilingual Community," in *The Handbook of Bilingualism*, ed. Tej K Bhatia, William C Ritchie (Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004, 2006), 385-405, p. 393.
[17] Charles Ferguson, "Diglossia." *Word* 15, no.2 (1959): 325-340 quoted in Garabato et al., "Attitudes and Diglossia," 284.
[18] Joshua Fishman, "Bilingualism with and without Diglossia; Diglossia with and without Bilingualism." *Journal of Social Issues* 23 (1967): 29-38 quoted in Garabato et al., "Attitudes and Diglossia," 284.
[19] Carmen Alén Garabato et al., "Attitudes and Diglossia. Collective Imaginary and Sociolinguistic Representations," in *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism*, ed. Geneviève Zarate et al. (Edition des Archives Contemporaines, 2011), 284.

their language, which needs to be codified. However, normalisation does not only concern linguistic normativization, but also society.

Community imaginaire of languages

Both the high and the low varieties (or languages) are mirrored by a *community imaginaire*, which represents the ideologies, prejudices and attitudes that people have towards them[20]. For instance, the high variety is usually considered the more prestigious one, used in institutionalised settings and formal contexts. On the contrary, the low variety (or language) presents generally a sort of paradox: it is considered both the language of origins, of the roots, and lack of education, of the past. For that reason, Carmen Garabato et. al. explains, from this situation paradox attitudes derive. The social imaginary of the dominated language could result in sublimation (i.e. pride), but also, and most frequently, stigmatization, self-denigration and guilt. These negative emotions can also lead to the non-transmission within the family circle, as is also mentioned in the analysis of the interviews. It means that, due to the negative community imaginaire constructed about the low variety, native speakers of that language sometimes choose not to transfer it to their children. The dominated language community could also, on the contrary, react and engender a collective "contestation of the diglossia situation" to emerge from it[21]. Since prejudices and, therefore, attitudes toward a language are also linked with historical events, it is clear that in different moments of history, the 'community imaginaire' of languages can change.

For this situation of diglossia to be solved, the community imaginary of the languages must also change since the prestige attached to a language and the power it acquires are also influenced by language representations. In other words, if the social ideologies around a given language do not change, which means that its value is not considered, it is very difficult to change the situation of diglossia and, therefore, to make a language follow its normal development in society.

[20] Carmen Garabato et al., "Attitudes and Diglossia," 284.
[21] *Ibidem*., 284.

2.2 Individual bilingualism

A question concerning individual bilingualism which arose from the above-mentioned definitions is: to what degree must a person master the languages they speak to be considered bilingual? It is not clear since experts in the field disagree: their opinions vary from the most indulgent to the most restrictive ones. It means that some of them think that for a person to be bilingual, they must be able to speak some utterances in the second language. Others require equal mastery in both languages[22].

In this paper, bilinguals are considered to be the individuals who currently speak two languages, who can have an entire conversation in both. This choice was made because, generally speaking, the definitions of bilingualism are becoming less and less pretentious: over time it seems that experts tend to call bilingual people whose language mastery would not have been sufficient in the past. However, since the thesis focuses on bilingual regions, it is necessary to differentiate between people who know some utterances and words in a different language other than their first one, and people who master it in such a way that they can have a conversation with native speakers.

2.2.1 Language, Culture, Identity

To prove to what extent multilingualism is important to study, even at the social level, it is important to mention Kern and Liddicoat. Multilingualism is so widespread and ordinary nowadays, that people sometimes are led to think that it is not important to consider it as a phenomenon that can change how human beings view the world, their identities, traditions and cultures.

Regarding the definition of multilingualism, these (psycho)linguists confirm what is written in most of the dictionaries and encyclopaedias, that "the multilingual and multicultural speaker/actor is an intercultural individual: s/he experiences his or her daily life in two or more languages, and each language might be used in different domains"[23]. They refer to multilingual persons as multilingual and multicultural speakers/actors, since speaking another language has also to do with society because the individual *acts* in it. In

[22] Edwards, "Foundations of Bilingualism," 8.
[23] Richard Kern, Anthony J. Liddicoat, "From the Learner to the Speaker/Social Actor," in *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism*, ed. Geneviève Zarate et al. (Editions des Archives Contemporaines, 2011), 21.

other words, being multilingual has to do with society and not only with the individual and their mind. It is also important to highlight that while defining *multilingual*, the authors focused not only on languages but also on cultures, as these two notions are intrinsically tied. Speaking different languages means, according to the authors, living different cultures.

Moreover, they affirm that the concept of multilingualism is also linked with identity since multilingual and multicultural actors articulate their languages to integrate them into their identities. That is to say that the multilingual speakers/actors create their proper vision of the world and identity through the languages they know[24]. Other sociolinguists and anthropologists confirm that language and identity are intertwined, even in the past. Gumperz, for example, claims that "social identity and ethnicity are in large part established and maintained through language"[25].

Identity and L2 learning

Regarding identity and culture, many experts also refer to language learning, affirming that it does not only concern the acquisition of useful codes to communicate with others, but a search to create affiliations and identities. Learning a foreign language also means "developing a mode of expression that is shared by members of a speech community. Speaking another language is speaking the language of the Other through words that have a social, historical and cultural existence"[26]. That is to say, that speaking the language they are learning, people not only enter into another way of thinking and articulating their words and sounds, but also another culture and history. This also confirms the social importance of the study of foreign languages learning in bilingualism contexts, such as the ones in Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Trentino-Alto Adige.

Language is indeed so important for the creation of self-identity, that it has been on several occasions exploited by nationalistic parties and governments, to exclude or embed

[24] Kern, Liddicoat, "From the Learner to the Speaker/Social Actor," 21.
[25] John J. Gumperz, Jenny Gumperz, "Introduction: Language and the Communication of Social Identity," *Language and Social Identity*, ed. John J. Gumperz (Cambridge University Press, 1982), 7.
[26] Claire Kramsch, "Voice in L2 Acquisition: Speaking the Self Through the Language of the Other," in *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multiculturalism*, ed. Geneviève Zarate et al. (Editions des Archives Contemporaines, 2011), 25.

members of other linguistic groups, as happened in Italy during Mussolini's government[27].

Identity and linguistic minorities

Edwards deepens the language-identity relation, raising the question of minority groups. If for monolingual majority-group the two concepts (language and identity) are not confusing since they are linked directly, for minority group members the matters regarding identity are more immediate[28]. In other words, as confirmed also in the analysis of the interviews, it is not simple for members of those communities to speak about their identity or to 'pick' one, because they legally belong to a state, but speak a different language than the national one. Sometimes, the languages spoken by the minorities are also the official ones of the peoples beyond the borders, which could be on some occasions even more confusing.

3. Linguistic Minorities

Before describing the Italian legislation protecting linguistic minorities, it is important to define the term. Although many articles and books affirm that defining it is very difficult, if not impossible, the more general definition, used in this thesis, is the following: "linguistic minorities are population groups that speak, as their first language, a different language than the majority one", according to *Treccani* dictionary[29].

One problem of definition derives from the fact that *minority* is often ambiguous. It is indeed a relative term since a minority exists if a majority does. As Romaine affirms, "the label *minority* is often simply a euphemism for non-elite or subordinate groups, whether they constitute a numerical majority or minority in relation to some other group that is politically and socially dominant"[30]. She continues explaining that they are generally defined as such from a socio-political viewpoint in relation to administrative units, usually the nation-state. In the case studies of this thesis, Slovene and German-

[27] I.e. *Italianisation* process, that is the assimilation to Italian nation, culture and identity performed during Mussolini government in Italy.
[28] Edwards, "Foundations of Bilingualism," 29.
[29] Personal translation of *Treccani*, s.v. "Minoranze linguistiche," by Fiorenzo Toso, accessed April 22, 2020, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/minoranze-linguistiche_(Enciclopedia-dell'Italiano)/
[30] Romaine, "The Bilingual and Multilingual Community," 389.

speaking groups are not necessarily minorities in their towns and regions, but they are in Italy. However, since linguistic minority is the term used to refer to those groups of people in official documents, as well as in sociolinguistic essays, they are called this way in this thesis, too.

The communities of speakers of different languages other than the national one and its dialects have been generally divided into two sub-groups. The first ones are called *linguistic minorities*, which were established in a given territory usually after immigrational streams. The second ones are *historical linguistic minorities*, which portray communities formed by autochthonous, indigenous people, whose first language is neither the national language nor its dialects.

This division between the two groupings has sometimes been criticised by linguists because it could be perceived as discriminatory. Linguistically speaking, the languages spoken by the new waves of migration belong to the Italian linguistic heritage as much as the historical ones[31]. However, linguistics and languages are not the only elements taken into consideration in the safeguard of the linguistic minorities process. Politics and historical events are also to be taken into consideration. The differentiation between the two kinds of communities was not made to discriminate minorities, but to recognise that the historical ones, as the name suggests, have the additional 'historicity' element[32], as well as being characterized by their significant settlement in precise territorial areas[33]. In other words, concerning the minorities considered in this thesis, they are autochthonous peoples who have lived in those territories for many centuries and happened to be part of the Italian territory due to the movement of political borders, as explained in more detail in the following paragraphs.

[31] Fiorenzo Toso, "Quante e quali minoranze in Italia," *Treccani – Enciclopedia dell'italiano*, 2011. http://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/speciali/minoranze/Toso_quali_quante.html
[32] Nicoletta Maraschio, Cecilia Robustelli, "Minoranze linguistiche: la situazione in Italia," in *National, Regional and Minority Languages in Europe*, ed. Peter Lang GMBH (Germany: 2011), 73-80.
[33] Giorgio Lattanzi, "La tutela delle minoranze in Italia," Report of the meeting with the delegation of the Constitutional Court of Kosovo on 7 June 2013 at the Consultative Palace, p. 11. https://www.cortecostituzionale.it/documenti/relazioni_internazionali/RI_20130606_LATTANZI.pdf

The term *historical linguistic minorities* is employed in this thesis also because it is also mentioned in the regulations governing the protection of this kind of community of December 1999[34].

3.1 Historical language minorities in Italy

On the Italian government's website, the historical linguistic minorities are defined as groups of "Italian citizens, settled on a given territory, numerically smaller than the rest of the population, whose members have different ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics from the rest of the population"[35].

As explained below in the ch. *Historical linguistic minorities protection in Italy*, the minorities considered as historical, which are protected by national law, are Albanian, Catalan, Germanic, Greek, Slovene, Croat minorities, and those speaking French, Francoprovençal, Friulan, Ladin, Occitan and Sardinian. These minorities are very various at many levels[36].

Linguistically, some of them are neo-Latin languages, such as Ladin, Occitan, Francoprovençal, Friulan, Catalan and Sardinian; Slavic, like Slovene and Croat; Germanic languages, which include South Tyrolean German and other dialects, such as Cimbrian, Mòcheno, Walser and Carinthian; there are also Albanian and Greek-speaking minorities. Among them, there are minority languages which are unique to Italy (such as Sardinian). Others called non-unique which are a minority in Italy and elsewhere (such as Occitan, which is also a minority language in France), or that are local-only minorities, i.e. they are a majority in other nations (like Slovene)[37].

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[34] "Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche – Legge 15 dicembre 1999, n. 482," in *Gazzetta ufficiale* no. 297 (December, 20, 1999), accessed April 06, 2020 https://www.camera.it/parlam/leggi/99482l.htm

[35] Personal translation of "Minoranze," Governo Italiano, accessed April 1, 2020, https://www.interno.gov.it/it/temi/cittadinanza-e-altri-diritti-civili/minoranze

[36] The information about historical minorities in Italy were found (and compared) in:
- "Italy," Minority Rights Group International, accessed May 20, 2020, https://minorityrights.org/country/italy/
- Fabrizio Dal Passo, *Storia e diritti delle minoranze* (Roma: Università degli studi La Sapienza: 2005).
- Fiorenzo Toso, "Quante e quali minoranze in Italia," *Treccani – Enciclopedia dell'italiano*, 2011. http://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/speciali/minoranze/Toso_quali_quante.html

[37] John Edwards, *Multilingualism* (London, Routledge: 1994), 139.

They find themselves in Italian territory for different reasons: some of them result from the ancient immigration flows, like the Greeks, who fled to Italy from Ottomans in the 8th century BCE; some others, such as the Slovene and German ones, from the movement of borders. They are distributed in groups of different sizes throughout Italy, and vary in terms of consistency, too: some of these minorities have a substantial size, such as the Friulan-speakers in Friuli-Venezia Giulia, who are also concentrated in a specific area. Others are smaller and sometimes scattered in different regions, like the Albanian-speakers. Their geographical areas are visible in the very detailed maps in appendix I.

Finally, they are protected by different measures and to different extents. All of them, as explained below, are safeguarded by national law[38]. But not all of them are protected in the same way at the regional and local level and therefore, they do not enjoy the same status in society. The table in appendix II summarises the uses of the minority languages in the regions in which they live. As you can see, some of them are used in everyday life in schools, in public offices and official documents. Some others are only used orally and in informal contexts.

Comparing all the historical linguistic minorities status would have been a very interesting project. However, a choice had to be made because of obvious practical issues. I decided to study Slovene and German respectively in Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Trentino-South Tyrol because the two regions share, to a certain extent, similar historical events and geographical characteristics, which are the reasons why those border zones were often the playground of political, as well as social and ethnic tensions, often tied to linguistic questions. These two regions are situated in the North-East of Italy, divided by a slight piece of the Piedmont region. Trentino-Alto Adige borders Switzerland and Austria and Friuli-Venezia Giulia borders the Republic of Slovenia in the east and the Republic of Austria in the north (see appendix III).

The two minority languages are also both spoken in the nations beyond the borders (Austria and Slovenia), so they are locally only minorities in Italy. As Romaine explains, it is indeed not rare that a different language is spoken in border areas: “the heterogeneity of some countries reflects the linguistic arbitrariness of shifting political boundaries and

[38] i.e. National Law 482/1999, explained in detail in ch, *Historical linguistic minorities’ legal protection in Italy*.

the encapsulation of distinct ethnic groups or nationalities with their own languages, it follows that the borders of most countries are often linguistically diverse areas"[39], where it is normal to speak another language than the national one. For that reason, they could count on bilateral treaties which safeguarded their presence in Italy, despite unique or non-unique minorities, which do not have the same chance.

It could be argued that also Occitan-speakers living in the Piedmont region on the border with France, do not have the same status as German and Slovene-speakers. This could have different reasons: firstly, Occitan and Francoprovençal are not the official languages in the nations beyond the border. This surely is detrimental to their power. In addition to this, Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Trentino-South Tyrol are both regions with a special statute of autonomy in Italy. Valle d'Aosta has also a special statute of autonomy in Italy. However, it differs from these regions, as the bilingualism in this area is not effective, even if established by the statute: the 'other' language (French) is there only as a symbol of culture and the language used in administration is Italian, but not the native language of the natives in Valle d'Aosta. French is indeed spoken by only 1% of the population, against the 63% Italian speakers and 35% speakers of Francoprovençal languages, which do not enjoy the same status[40]. Once again, the relation between language value and power could have influenced the statute.

Both Slovene and German languages are employed in public offices, they are the languages of instruction of many schools in their respective regions. For that reason, they were chosen to be compared, from an administrative and social point of view.

3.1.1 Historical linguistic minorities' legal protection in Italy

In the modern world, the safeguard of minority rights is important not only for the minorities themselves but also for the construction of democratic and pluralist societies. It concerns indeed one of the fundamental human rights, that is, the right to defend people identity and diversity[41].

[39] Romaine, "The Bilingual and Multilingual Community," 392.
[40] Andrée Tabouret-Keller, "Bilingualism in Europe," in *The Handbook of Bilingualism*, ed. Tej K Bhatia, William C Ritchie (Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004, 2006), 662-688, p.675.
[41] Lattanzi, "La Tutela delle Minoranze in Italia," 1.

This reference to the protection and, most importantly, to the preservation and the development of minority's identities is also present in the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*, one of the international treaties signed and ratified by the Italian government. In Italy, the safeguard of the linguistic minorities' rights finds its place at international, national and regional levels. In this chapter, some national, regional and cross-border treaties are explained, to understand how the minorities languages are protected in that territory.

In the Constitution of the Italian Republic (hereafter: const.), several articles could be considered as protecting minorities. The second article, for instance, protects the rights of the individual and the groups in which the individual personality is expressed[42]. The third one recognises the equality of people without distinguishing them depending on their sex, race, language, religion, political opinion, personal and social conditions[43]. In the ninth, the Republic "safeguards natural landscape and the historical and artistic heritage of the Nation", among which could be also considered minority languages.

Nevertheless, those articles represent *negative protection* measures, that means that they are based on the principle of non-discrimination but not of actual protection and had to be accompanied by *positive protection* measures[44]. The latter are capable of achieving substantial equality towards the minority language communities and are mirrored by art.6 const. and its implementing rules published later.

Article 6 of the Constitution of the Italian Republic

"The Republic safeguards linguistic minorities through appropriate measures"[45], affirms the sixth article of the Constitution of the Italian Republic. It was approved in 1947 after quite a few hesitations among the members of the constituent assembly.

[42] "Constitution of the Italian Republic," *Senato della Repubblica*, https://www.senato.it/documenti/repository/istituzione/costituzione_inglese.pdf
Art.2: "The Republic recognises and guarantees the inviolable rights of the person, both as an individual and in the social groups where human personality is expressed."
[43] Art.3 const.: "All citizens have equal social dignity and are equal before the law, without distinction of sex, race, language, religion, political opinion, personal and social conditions."
[44] Valeria Piergigli, "La Costituzione Italiana delle minoranze linguistiche tra principi consolidati, riforme mancate e prossime sfide," *Revista d'Estudis Autonòmics i Federals*, no. 26 (2017): 172.
[45] Art.6 const.

As Piergigli explains in her article, the members of the constituent court did not immediately agree on the measures to be taken concerning the protection of minorities and, above all, on the scope of these measures[46]. In other words, they were not sure if the protection of the linguistic minorities should lay at national or regional level. Some members of the constitutional court insisted on the fact that the protection of minorities should be linked to the statutes of autonomy regulations. Some others claimed that "it is a fundamental element of every modern constitution"[47], and that it must be a national matter.

Finally, after days of debate, the court decided that the safeguard of linguistic minorities was a national interest and not only a regional one. That is to say that, even though the regions have decision-making power in this regard, the Republic must commit itself to the defence of linguistic minorities[48]. For that reason, the article was inserted among the fundamental principles of the constitution and not among the articles regarding regional statutes.

The assembly also decided that the details of the regulations regarding linguistic minorities would have to be revised later: the sixth article not only attests the existence in Italy of people whose first language is not Italian, but it also enacted the need for specific measures for linguistic minorities.

Law 482/1999 and D.P.R. 345/2001

After almost fifty years, in 1999, the implementing rules for the protection of the linguistic minorities dictated by art.6 const. were promulgated, with law n. 482 *Rules on the Protection of Historical Linguistic Minorities* (hereafter: law 482/1999). In May 2001, then, the *Decree of the President of the Republic* n. 345 (hereafter: D.P.R. 345/2001) regulates in detail the measures of 1999.

[46] Piergigli, "La Costituzione Italiana delle minoranze linguistiche," 170.
[47] Fabrizio Calzaretti, "La nascita della Costituzione," accessed April 20, 2020, https://www.nascitacostituzione.it/01principi/006/index.htm
[48] The national and regional competences and duties regarding this matter are explained later on in this thesis (§3.2.2.).

In 482/1999 rules, the historical linguistic minorities which must be protected are listed. After having confirmed that the official language of Italy is Italian[49], and explained the intention of the Republic to promote minorities' languages and cultures, art.2 affirms that the Italian Republic "protects the language and culture of Albanian, Catalan, Germanic, Greek, Slovene and Croat populations and those speaking French, Francoprovençal, Friulan, Ladin, Occitan and Sardinian"[50].

These minorities are protected in the municipalities of which at least 15% of the citizens who are registered on the electoral rolls and who reside in those municipalities, that is one-third of the councillors, require it[51]. As Piergigli and Lattanzi claim, this law not only focuses on the historical linguistic minorities but also concentrates on the territoriality of those minorities, whose protection is limited in specific territories. In other words, their rights are mainly articulated according to the criterion of territoriality since they are confined to specific territories, which must be declared by the municipalities themselves[52]. The need for geographical boundaries is also highlighted in 345/2001 D.P.R., in which it is enacted that "the territorial and sub-municipal area in which the provisions for the protection of each historical linguistic minority laid down by law apply coincides with the territory in which the minority is *historically rooted* and in which the language allowed for protection is the way in which the members of the linguistic minority express themselves"[53].

The fields of application of the above-mentioned law and decree are various and concern the essential elements of the social sphere. They regulate oral and written language uses in education (kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, universities), public administrative offices, official place names, individual family and first names, public broadcasting services and publishing. They also regulate the state fund to be used

[49] Art.1 of "Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche – Legge 15 dicembre 1999, n. 482," in *Gazzetta ufficiale* no. 297 (December, 20, 1999), accessed April 06, 2020 https://www.camera.it/parlam/leggi/99482l.htm
[50] Personal translation of Art.2 of 482/1999.
[51] Art.3 of 482/1999 Law.
[52] Piergigli, "La Costituzione Italiana delle minoranze linguistiche," 183.
[53] Personal translation of: Personal translation of "Regolamento di attuazione della L. 15 dicembre 1999, n. 482, recante norme di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche Storiche – D.P.R. 2 maggio 2001, n. 345," Archivio dell'Area Istruzione, accessed May 05, 2020, https://archivio.pubblica.istruzione.it/normativa/2001/dpr345_01.shtml

for the practical implementation of protective measures and the application of the law to regions (both ordinary and special statutes ones).

Minority language in education, which is the main subject of this thesis, is enacted in the first articles of 482/1999 law in the municipalities which require the bilingualism status. There, the minority language teaching must be introduced in first and second level schools and universities, both taught as a school subject and/or used as the teaching language[54]. The 345/2001 D.P.R., then, enables the Ministry of Public Education to indicate the necessary criteria to implement the teaching in the minority language. The Ministry must also establish professional training on the minority's language and culture for teachers and professors, but also translators and interpreters, to ensure a high level of teaching[55]. The law also enables regions and municipalities to create bodies for the protection of linguistic and cultural traditions or dedicate sections of existing institutions to the minority language's culture[56].

In addition to that, the intention of the government to rectify, even if only on paper, what fascism had caused to the members of these indigenous minorities is also clear while reading through the articles of the law. In fact, it allows people who through the process of Italianisation had to change their name to Italian language names, to regain possession of their original names[57]. The 345/2001 decree stipulates that the request for the restoration of one's first name, or the original name of one's family, shall be exempt from all taxes[58]. The fact that the reappropriation of their original names is explicitly defined as a right and that the whole request is free of charge, shows the Italian government encouragement to restore them.

Regarding funding, the 482/1999 law indicates that the Italian State must establish a national fund for the protection of linguistic minorities so that the municipalities where they are resident have the opportunity to protect and promote them. These resources are distributed annually by decree of the Prime Minister[59]. First of all, the Prime Minister must list the criteria for the distribution of the national fund with a D.P.C.M. (Decree of the Prime Minister, in Italian *Presidente del Consiglio dei Ministri*). Then, the local

[54] Art.4, Art.6 of 482/1999 Law.
[55] Art.2 §1, 2 of 345/2001 D.P.R.
[56] Art.16 of 482/1999 Law.
[57] Art.11 of 482/1999 Law.
[58] Art.7 of 345/2001 D.P.R.
[59] Art.9 §2, Art.15 §1 of 482/1999 Law.

authorities must transmit to the regions the detailed programmes of measures for the protection of linguistic minorities. They include projects for the teaching of the language, translation of official documents, publishing, radio and television broadcasting… The regions transmit these requests to the Council of Ministers, which allocates the sums according to the projects declared by the regions. These projects, for which a financial sum is claimed, must be accompanied by detailed reports on their progress and final results[60].

To take an example, for the two-year period 2019-2021, fifteen projects in the field of the study of the languages and cultural traditions belonging to historical linguistic minorities were financed, distributed in ten regions and addressed to ten minority languages (Friulan, Ladin, French, Occitan, Greek, Croat, Albanian, Sardinian, Cimbrian), for a total of almost €175.000[61].

Between state and regions

Before the measures were signed in 1999, the protection of linguistic minorities was recognised based on regional statutes and laws only, adopted by constitutional law, and on some occasions by cross-border bilateral treaties. For that reason, many researchers affirm that the status of minorities protected before 1999 was "a privileged status on the basis of regional statutes"[62]. Piergigli prefers to call the safeguard of the minority rights before 1999 *asymmetric* since autochthonous minority languages having similar characteristics (i.e. the so-called *historical* ones) were not protected at the same level by the law. For that reason, she claims that the law 482/1999 "is the first (really) general law implementing article 6 of the Constitution"[63].

Article 13 of this law indicates to ordinary regions (i.e. those that do not enjoy a special status of autonomy) to follow the principles established by the law itself, maintaining any regional provisions that provide more favourable conditions for minorities. Article 16, then, refers to special statute regions, which must regulate the

[60] Art.8 of 345/2001 D.P.R.
[61] "Piano di interventi e finanziamenti per la realizzazione dei progetti nel campo delle lingue di minoranza ex Legge 482/99". Circular of Ministero dell'Istruzione (January 14, 2019). https://www.miur.gov.it/documents/20182/2432359/prot+499+del+14+gennaio+2020.pdf/b322f4a9-25d9-27a0-d45d-1caef9e6eef0?version=1.0&t=1578994921647
[62] Lattanzi, "La tutela dei diritti delle minoranze in Italia," 10.
[63] Piergigli, "La Costituzione Italiana delle minoranze linguistiche," 181.

application of those measures through rules implementing their statutes, maintaining the rules of protection already present in the respective regional systems. These articles balance the respect of historical linguistic minorities in Italy, since all regions, ordinary or not, must at least respect the measures issued by this law. Both Lattanzi and Piergigli agree on the fact that the lack of national protection before 1999 was surely detrimental for historical minorities which do not reside in regions with a special status of autonomy because they were not recognised at all. But also, for the minorities who did live in special regions, because they were not recognised and protected by national law, but only locally.

However, this law does not detract from the power of the regions to enact more detailed laws on the subject: in fact, the regional measures for the protection of linguistic groups before 1999 are maintained, sometimes adapted. Nevertheless, the central state has the final say.

As a matter of fact, there is a sort of compromise between the regional and central legislators regarding the decision-making concerning the protection of linguistic minorities. As Lattanzi explains in his report citing several judgments delivered by the Italian government over the years, the protection of minorities was entrusted to the state legislator since it should be the most neutral body, able to make pluralism and uniformity compatible[64]. Leaving the decision-making power to the regions alone could have been indeed dangerous both for pluralism and uniformity, since some regions could have denied minorities[65], but also to the protection of any regional language or linguistic variety, such as dialects. This last possibility would test the uniformity of the national language since in each region dozens of different dialects are spoken.

Although the protection of minorities also takes place at the regional level, the Italian central government controls and, above all, has the final say in the matter of linguistic minorities and the measures taken to preserve them.

[64] Lattanzi, "La tutela delle minoranze in Italia," 7.
[65] *Ibidem*., 171.

4. Linguistic minorities' protection in Trentino-South Tyrol and Friuli-Venezia Giulia

As explained above, some regions with a special status of autonomy have also committed themselves at a regional level to the safeguard of minorities.

Article 116 of the Constitution of the Italian Republic explains that the regions of "Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Sardinia, Sicily, Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol and Valle d'Aosta/Vallée d'Aoste have special forms and conditions of autonomy pursuant to the special statutes adopted by constitutional law"[66]. Those statutes of autonomy are defined special provisions "which take the form of constitutional laws and establish the areas and limits of the autonomy, the individual legislative competences and the administrative and financial order of each region"[67]. It means that they have some additional regional regulations which confer to them special administrative powers, making them more autonomous than the other fifteen regions.

The statutes are different from region to region and were established because of different reasons. Some of them were provided with those statutes because they are islands, like Sardinia and Sicily, and, therefore, more isolated from the rest of the peninsula. Some others, because "geographically situated at the border with other Nations, which divide a linguistic minority from the majority of the same language beyond the border"[68], and this is the case with the regions studied in this thesis.

The minorities protection in Trentino-South Tyrol and Friuli-Venezia Giulia is explained in the following chapters, after having focused on the linguistic minorities taken into consideration in this paper. It is indeed important to understand the reasons why those minorities live in Italian territory since they represent some of the reasons why the Italian government decided to confer on them a special status of autonomy.

[66] Art.116 const.
[67] "Le regioni a statuto speciale," *Camera dei deputati, Servizio studi* (May 19, 2019) https://www.camera.it/temiap/documentazione/temi/pdf/1105813.pdf?_1569148757259
[68] Matteo Cosulich. "Regioni a Statuto Speciale," in *Diritto Online di Treccani*, 2017, accessed March 29, 2020, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/regioni-a-statuto-speciale_%28Diritto-on-line%29/

Additionally, the historic events that took place in those areas influenced the imaginary of people about Slovene and German languages.

4.1 The German-speaking minority in Trentino-South Tyrol

The Trentino-South Tyrol region is composed of two autonomous entities: The Province of Bolzano and the Province of Trento. The two have different linguistic characteristics, and this difference is also at the basis of their autonomy. The province of Trento is predominantly Italian speaking, except for 3,5% of the population speaking Ladin, 0,3% Cimbrian and 0,2% Mocheno language[69]. On the contrary, of 453.272 South Tyrolean people, 314.604 consider themselves German speakers, 118.120 Italian speakers and 20.548 Ladin speakers. These numbers correspond respectively to 69,4%, 26% and 4,5% of the population (see appendix IV), according to the last census of 2011[70].

Currently, the German speaking community prevail in all the cities and small towns, except for some valleys where most of the inhabitants speak Ladin and the cities of "Bozen/Bolzano, as well as Leifers/Laives, Branzoll/Bronzolo, Salurn/Salorno and Pfatten/Vadena, where the majority are Italian"[71]. Generally speaking, the German and Ladin communities preponderate mostly in the outskirts or towns and in the valleys.

4.1.1 Historical events

The presence of the German-speaking minority in the region dates back to the 6th century when Germanic tribes settled in the area south of the Alps[72]. As for Slovenes in Friuli-Venezia Giulia, they are the result of archaic waves of immigration, from a time when the concept of Nation-state did not even exist. It is precisely for this reason that they are found in (autochthonous) historical minorities, as already mentioned. That is why the

[69] Claudio Vidoni, *La scuola dell'Autonomia provinciale* (Roma: Armando, 2013), 13.
[70] Giuseppe Stassi, Alessandro Valentini, *L'Italia del censimento - Struttura demografica e processo di rilevazione nella Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano-Alto Adige* (Roma/Bolzano: ISTAT, ASTAT, Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano-Alto Adige: 2013).
[71] Marlous Visser, "The German Language in Education in South Tyrol (Italy)," *Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning*, 2nd Edition, 2017, https://www.mercator-research.eu/fileadmin/mercator/documents/regional_dossiers/german_in_south_tyrol_2nd.pdf
[72] *Ibidem*., 5

actual border between Austria and Italy has been drawn arbitrarily according to many historians.

The territories of today's Trentino-South Tyrol region were divided until the beginning of the 19th century when the emperor of Austria unified them into the so-called Historical Tyrol, in which different linguistic communities lived. It belonged to the Habsburgian Empire until the end of World War I, except for a brief period in which this area was invaded by Napoleon (from 1805 to 1813). During the Habsburgian period, which lasted one century, the Italian bourgeoisie emerged in Trentino and started asking for linguistic rights. It is interesting to note how the situation was reversed from the one we are used to. Being the Trentino part of a German-speaking nation, Italian-speaking Trentini were the minority, in a situation of diglossia, asking for the independence from a territory in which the majority spoke a different language. At that time, on the one hand, the pan-Germanist organisations and parties wanted Trentino to stay under the Austrian government and to impose upon them the German language, also in education. On the other, in Trentino, associations defended the linguistic and cultural *Italianity*[73].

Trentino-South Tyrol became an Italian region in 1919 with the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, which sanctioned the end of World War I. This decision was highly criticised and discussed, even among Italians, since the territory between Salorno and Brennero was almost exclusively German-speaking. However, irredentists[74] and nationalists of the time used to think that the borders to consider were the ones naturally drawn by geographical factors, in this case, the Alps. In the end, despite the new ideas of self-determination of peoples and the drawing up of borders depending on the clearly recognisable lines of nationalities[75], almost exclusively German-speaking South Tyrol was also attached to Italy. Its inhabitants moved from a state in which they were the linguistic majority, to one in which they constituted a minority. Nevertheless, they were reassured by the Italian king Vittorio Emanuele III that their language and the German institutions would be maintained and respected.

[73] Vidoni, *La scuola dell'Autonomia provinciale*, 19-20.
[74] *Irredentism* is a political movement which advocated the annexation to Italy of territories which were considered Italian and inhabited by indigenous Italians. It started with the unification of Italy in 1861.
[75] These ideas were spread by USA president Wilson. He listed 14 points to ensure national security and world peace after WWI.

These promises were broken in 1921 when fascism appeared. The nationalistic ideas were put into practice in multilingual areas such as South Tyrol, where most of the inhabitants spoke German. The year after, the process of Italianisation began. In the province of Bolzano, some measures provided for the introduction of the Italian language in procedures and practices which were until then only handled in the local language, i.e. German. After Benito Mussolini came to power in Italy, this process strengthened: people could only speak Italian (in offices, courts, toponyms, family names…). In other words, they gradually imposed the exclusion of German language in social and administrative life, passing through a brief stage of imposed bilingualism. In addition to administrative measures, practical measures were taken for the Italianisation of South Tyrol. In fact, the cities of Merano and Bolzano were forcibly populated by Italians from the so-called old provinces to Italianise the area.

Regarding education and schools, in 1923 the Gentile reforms allowed only Italian as a teaching language. In the beginning, in border zones, the local languages could be taught to pupils with that origin and after school, but after a few years they disappeared completely, and the German teachers were reassigned to schools in other regions of Italy. To resist this unrecognition and to continue teaching German, the so-called *Katakombenschulen*[76] were built and the German language was secretly transmitted to children[77].

When Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933, 200.000 German-speaking people still lived in South-Tyrol and most of them hoped in vain that he would add this area to the Third Reich and consequently free them from Italian oppression. However, in 1939, after Austria was added to the Third Reich, Hitler confirmed the borders with Italy of the Brenner, making an agreement with Mussolini regarding German speakers living in Italy, perceived as a betrayal for many South Tyrolean people: they could either expatriate to the Reich and be free to speak their language or stay in Italy and waive ethnic recognition. In South Tyrol, German speakers were divided into *Dableiber* and *Optanten*[78] and found themselves in a situation of chaos, as their future was uncertain no matter what decision they took. On the one hand, they had no certitude that the Third Reich would welcome

[76] German word meaning *catacombs-schools*: secret schools organised to ensure German education.
[77] Vidoni, *La scuola dell'Autonomia provinciale*, 30.
[78] *Dableiber* were called South Tyrolean people who decided to stay in Italy, *Optanten* those who decided to leave.

them as they claimed, or if they would find a place to live and what would happen to their homes in Italy… On the other, staying in Italy would mean giving up their culture and language. As the debate also assumed political dimensions, with parties advising them to stay, others to leave, the situation became very tense, dividing also families and, on a larger scale, South Tyrolean people[79]. Between 1939 and 1943, tens of thousands of South-Tyrolean people emigrated to Hitler's Reich. The number oscillates between 69,4% and 92,8% of people being allowed to vote[80] [81]. Interestingly, schools have a crucial role even in that situation: *Optanten*'s children were enrolled in German-speaking schools to prepare them before emigrating to the Third Reich. Language is once again considered as a fundamental tool for identity, exploited for nationalistic purposes.

After the armistice of 8 September, in which Italy withdrew from the war, Hitler invaded South Tyrol. Those were hard times for the *Dableiber* who were defined betrayers. Nevertheless, Germans re-opened German schools, willing to germanise as soon as possible those territories. Italian schools remained open only if there were Italian-speaking pupils.

After the end of World War II, the entire region was assigned to Italy again. People in South-Tyrol were divided into two main groups: the first one wanting their region to remain part of Italy, the second one hoping that it would become part of the new Austrian nation[82]. The question was solved by the winners of the war, who decided that the region would remain an Italian territory, denying again the principle of auto-determination of peoples.

A sort of compromise for the German minority in South Tyrol came in 1946 with the Degasperi-Gruber Treaty, which claimed that "to German-speaking inhabitants of the Bolzano Province and of the neighbouring bilingual townships of the Trento Province will be assured complete equality of rights with the Italian-speaking inhabitants, within the framework of special provisions to safeguard the ethnical character and the cultural

[79] Alfons Gruber, *Storia del Sudtirolo* (Bolzano, Athesia: 2001), 77-9.
[80] Oskar Peterlini, *Autonomy and the Protection of Ethnic Minorities in Trentino-South Tyrol* (Bolzano, Presidium of the Regional Parliament Trentino-South Tyrol: 1997), p. 76,7.
[81] It is important to specify that Ladin-, Mocheno- and Cimbrian-speaking people could emigrate as well. According to Peterlini, the number of *Optanten* oscillates between 69,4% and 92,8%. For Gruber, however, 86% of people (210.000) voted to leave Italy, but only 75.000 really did it.
[82] Austria was created in 1945, after the WWII and the capitulation of the Third Reich.

and economic development of the German-speaking element"[83]. The two nations guaranteed the equality of the two speaking communities in public life and offices, toponomy, family names. It assured the right for the minority members to receive an education in their own language. Finally, it showed the government's desire to bridge the gap created by Fascism, allowing the re-germanisation of family names, but also the revision of the Optanten question, in a "spirit of equity and broad-mindedness"[84].

This treaty is at the basis of the first statute of autonomy, signed in 1948 and explained below. However, the German minority living in South Tyrol was strongly disappointed with it. Despite the exodus of the WWII, German speakers were always a majority in South Tyrol[85] (even if in 1953 they were counted 25.000 less than 1939's census) but not in the entire Trentino-South Tyrol region, where many more Italians lived. Unifying the two provinces in one region was perceived by the German minority as a threat to their identity. The 1950s were consequently characterised by social and political tensions, with various protests and marches, but also more violent demonstrations of discontent, such as bomb attacks[86].

Austrian intervention in defence of the German linguistic minority in the region, brought the South Tyrolean issue to the UN's attention, which led to new measures thirty years after the Degasperi-Gruber agreement: the so-called *Package of Measures* (in Italian *Pacchetto*, hereafter: Package), which is still today the most important improvement of the protection of the minorities in the region, explained in details below.

The first twenty years after the Package were characterised by the separation between the linguistic minorities. It was important to know who identified with which community through the first censuses, performed to describe the language groups consistency. Some politicians at the time claimed that the more they separated, the easier it would be to understand each other. At that time, the Italian-speaker group, constituted also with migrants from the old provinces during the fascist period, was dealing with identity issues. They felt left out since the province of Bolzano promulgated measures to

[83] "Statuto di autonomia della regione Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol – D.P.R. 31 Agosto 1972, n. 670," in *Gazzetta ufficiale* n. 301 (November 20, 1972).
[84] "Accordo Degasperi-Gruber," in *Accordo di Parigi* (September 5, 1946), accessed May 12, 2020. http://www.regione.taa.it/codice/accordo.aspx
[85] According to Gruber, 20.000 people came back to South Tyrol after WWII and 55.000 decided to stay where they migrated to.
[86] Vidoni, *La scuola dell'Autonomia provinciale*, 52-3.

defend linguistic minorities like the German one, who already had cultures and traditions well anchored in the territory. Nevertheless, the Italian language school was privileged by a state identity, both from a cultural, administrative and didactic point of view. On the contrary, the German one had to maintain relations with the German-speaking world and culture, but also with Rome from an administrative point of view[87].

Although it is wrong to generalise, as there still are separatist parties anyway, and even though the situation in politics seems to be calmer, citizens sometimes disagree with multilingual politics, the relations between Italian and German communities seem to have been improving since then. From 1992, the first bilingual classes opened and today, South Tyrolean people seem to have embraced the belonging to a particular identity, which is not only different from the Austrian one, but also the Italian one. It is the identity of the autonomous province, as Vidali claims[88], which is also highlighted by the respondents of this thesis' study.

4.1.2 Legal protection of German-speaking minority

Besides the Italian Constitution and the Law 482/1999, the protection of the German minority in Trentino-South Tyrol is also ensured by regional laws and international treaties, some of them prior to 1999. The turning point for the protection of the minorities and the region's autonomy was the Package, which resulted in the second *Statute of Autonomy* of Trentino-South Tyrol, currently valid. It finds its bases on the Degasperi-Gruber treaty of 1946.

The latter was the first document signed specifically for the German minority in those territories. As already mentioned, its implementation of 1948 (i.e. the first Statute of Autonomy) deeply deceived the members of the German minority in the region, who were once again surrounded by an Italian majority with whom they had to decide on administration, education, language.

Consequently, in 1959, Austria denounced to the UN Italy's failure to apply the measures of the 1946 treaty. Italy had an international obligation to find a solution. As a result, a committee was created to propose new measures concerning the autonomy of

[87] Ibidem., 61-6.
[88] *Ibidem*., 75.

South Tyrol and, therefore, the protection of the German-speaking minority. These measures led to the Package and included 137 measures taking different forms, from state laws to simple administrative acts. Most of them, however, were implemented through an amendment to the 1948 Statute of Autonomy (72), or introduced into the Statute (15), shaping the new Statute of Autonomy in 1972[89].

The Special Statute of autonomy

The new *Statute of Autonomy* (hereafter: St. TST), consisting of some measures of the old statute and the ones implemented by the Package ensures minorities rights both implicitly and explicitly.

First of all, it declared the presence of the two provinces of Bolzano and Trento and assigned to them more autonomy. The powers (including legislative ones) regarding most of the fields of social life were then transferred from the region to the provinces. The province was declared responsible for the education of the three linguistic groups. The ones left to the region concern issues of common interest for both provinces[90]. This must be considered a step forward for the German-speaking population living in South Tyrol (i.e. the province of Bolzano)[91], who is the majority in the province of Bolzano. Nevertheless, schools in this province remain within the national system of education, guaranteeing the validity of the diplomas[92].

According to the law, every citizen is equal, regardless of the language group to which they belong, and it safeguards their ethnic and cultural characteristics[93]. The local linguistic minorities protection is then defined as an 'international obligation' which the region must deal with by article 4.

The Statute explicitly protects the minorities in the part entitled *Use of German and Ladin Language*, declaring that "in the region, the German language is equal to the Italian language"[94]. The social bilingualism imposed by the statute is based on *co-officiality*, i.e.

[89] Lukas Bonell, Ivo Winkler, *L'Autonomia dell'Alto Adige* (Bolzano, Giunta Provinciale di Bolzano: 2010).
[90] Vidoni, *La scuola dell'Autonomia provinciale*, 57.
[91] Art. 1 of "Statuto di Autonomia della Regione Trentino-Alto Adige/Südtirol – D.P.R. 31 Agosto 1972, n. 670," in *Gazzetta ufficiale* n. 301 (November 20, 1972).
[92] Visser, "The German Language in Education in South Tyrol (Italy)," 12-3.
[93] Art.2 St. TST.
[94] Art.99 St. TST.

a legal equalisation of languages, which can be used indifferently in public relations[95]. In the following two articles, German speakers are indeed enabled to speak their first language in relations with the judicial offices, with the bodies and offices of the public administration and interest. In the province of Bolzano, German toponymy is required[96]. To do this, the presence of German speakers in those offices is necessary.

To this regard, it is important to mention the so-called *ethnic proportional representation*. The statute ensures to the three linguistic communities of the province of Bolzano (Ladin, German and Italian) the right to be represented in public offices depending on their numerical consistency. In other words, in local and national administrations, including the administration of justice, and privatised entities like post offices and railways, the number of employees must be proportional to the number of citizens belonging to each linguistic community[97]. The numerical consistency of every linguistic group is reported by a census performed every ten years. Every citizen over fourteen must declare anonymously to belong to one of the three groups and, if they feel to belong to none of them or more than one, they must join one of them. If they want to benefit from the ethnic representation (if they want, for example, to apply to public offices posts), they can deliver a nominative declaration.

Additionally, the knowledge of both the German and Italian language is a requisite for the hiring of public offices[98]. The level of language skills required vary depending on the functions and must be attested by a certificate of bilingualism (also called *patentino*). There are, in fact, four levels: C1, B2, B1 and A2, which correspond to the knowledge required to be hired in different positions[99].

As far as schools are concerned, the Statute enables pupils registered to kindergartens, primary and secondary schools to have the right to receive an education in their first language, given by native speakers. This measure was discussed and criticised

[95] Piergigli, "La Costituzione Italiana delle minoranze linguistiche," 177.
[96] Art.100, Art.101 St. TST.
[97] The fields to which this procedure applies and how are explained in the Statute (Art.89) and in its implementing rules concerning the employment in public offices, that is: "Norme di attuazione dello statuto speciale della regione Trentino-Alto Adige in materia di proporzionale negli uffici statali siti nella Provincia di Bolzano e di conoscenza delle due lingue nel pubblico impiego – D.P.R. 26 luglio 1976, n. 752," in *Gazzetta ufficiale* n. 304 (November 15, 1976), https://www.consiglio.provincia.tn.it/leggi-e-archivi/codice-provinciale/Pages/legge.aspx?uid=384
[98] Art.1 of D.P.R. 752/1976.
[99] "L'Esame di bilinguismo," Amministrazione Provincia di Bolzano, accessed May 10, 2020, http://www.provincia.bz.it/formazione-lingue/bilinguismo/l-esame-di-bilinguismo.asp

a lot. On the one hand, it was considered restrictive, on the other the free choice of schools without considering pupils' skills in the language of teaching could threaten the monolingual education of the 'other' language. The current legal situation enables pupils to enrol in schools of any language of instruction, but if their proficiency in the teaching language is not enough, they would be automatically enrolled in the corresponding class of the other language of instruction's school[100]. In Italian primary and secondary schools, the teaching of German is also mandatory and vice-versa.

4.1.3 German-speaking schools

The administration of German schools in South Tyrol is more autonomous compared to the Italian one (and the one concerning Slovene schools in Friuli-Venezia Giulia). Since the transfer of responsibility for schooling from the regional to the provincial level, other decrees and provincial laws have strengthened the local powers regarding education. They allow the province to deal with teacher employment and salaries, to alter the subjects taught and the hours of teaching, to introduce additional subjects. Those new achievements led to progressive educational initiatives in favour of language learning[101].

German schools then also need textbooks and material in the German language. Some of them are given by Austria, Germany and Switzerland. Although, the curricula of Italian schools are different: Austrian history books for primary or secondary schools do not touch subjects such as the history and cultural aspects of the South Tyrolean area. For that reason, the Innovation and Consultancy Service of the Department of Education provides some educational material: either they created new ones, or they buy it from German countries and adapt it for South Tyrolean schools[102].

As already mentioned, the school system of German schools in South Tyrol follows the Italian national one. That means that education is mandatory from the age of 6 to 16, but it is a right until 18. Pupils must attend five years of primary school, three of middle school (also called lower secondary school). Then, they can choose an upper secondary

[100] "Norme di attuazione dello statuto speciale per la regione Trentino-Alto Adige in materia di iscrizione nelle scuole con lingua di insegnamento diversa dalla madre lingua dell'alunno – D.P.R. 15 luglio 1988, n. 301," in *Gazzetta ufficiale* n. 177 (July 29, 1988), accessed May 10, 2020. https://www.consiglio.provincia.tn.it/leggi-e-archivi/codice-provinciale/Pages/legge.aspx?uid=588
[101] *Ibidem*., 10-1.
[102] Visser, "The German Language in Education in South Tyrol (Italy)," 18.

school among these: Gymnasium/liceo, Fachoberschule/istituto tecnico and vocational schools. The latter ones are the only difference from the national program, because they have not been implemented in the rest of the Italian regions yet.

Parents can choose to enrol their children to German-, Ladin- or Italian-speaking schools, as well as bilingual ones. The first bilingual class was organised in *Alessandro Manzoni* primary school in Bolzano in 1992 and is taken into consideration in the second part of the thesis. As far as upper education, vocational trainings and universities are concerned there are some bi- or trilingual programs[103].

In South Tyrol most of the kindergartens, primary and secondary schools have the German language as the language of teaching. The rates of the pupils registered in German-speaking schools are also very high. As appendix V shows, 74% of South Tyrolean pupils of kindergartens are enrolled in German-speaking ones, such as almost 73% of primary school pupils and 71% of middle school ones. Nevertheless, it was not possible to find the number of pupils registered in schools in which the language of instruction is different than their own.

4.2 The Slovene-speaking minority in Friuli-Venezia Giulia

According to *Mercator* regional dossier on Slovene minority in Italy, there is no official record concerning the Slovene community's size and geographical position[104]. Since the region does foresee mechanisms such as the ethnical proportional representation in South Tyrol, it is not essential to know the exact number of people belonging to the different linguistic groups. The last surveys indicate that the estimated number of Slovene-speaking community members is between 65.000 and 85.000, but still, this number includes only people that self-declared to speak Slovene as their first language. In any case, in the last century, their number has been greatly reduced. On the *World Directory*

[103] Visser, "The German Language in Education in South Tyrol (Italy)," 10-2.
[104] Anna Fardau Schukking, "The Slovene Language in Education in Italy," *Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning*, 3rd Edition, 2020, p. 7, https://www.mercator-research.eu/fileadmin/mercator/documents/regional_dossiers/slovene_in_italy_3rd.pdf

of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples' website, they are estimated to be approximately 60.000[105].

It is nevertheless possible to mention the municipalities to which the 38/2001 law for the protection of the Slovene minority apply. In other words, the presence of the Slovene minority in these territories is officially recognised[106]. They are shown in appendix VI and belong to the provinces of Trieste, Gorizia and Udine. Even if it is not possible to count the exact number of Slovene speakers, they are surely a minority in Friuli-Venezia Giulia region.

In the following chapters, the historical events regarding the presence of the Slovene minority are explained, together with the corresponding status of Slovene-speaking education. The information regarding schools are taken from Vida Forčič's master thesis: she explained chronologically the changing role of Slovene schools in Friuli-Venezia Giulia, mentioning Bonamore[107] and Pahor[108].

4.2.1 Historical events

The Friuli-Venezia Giulia region, Carinthia, Styria and modern Slovenia were occupied by the Slavs from the end of the sixth century[109] when they settled in the empty territories left by the Avars. From that moment on, those regions have always been a meeting place for peoples of different languages and cultures. These have been in some occasions part of the same state, or it has even happened that populations speaking the same languages have been divided by political borders, as is the case today.

The multicultural coexistence of German- Italian- and Slovene-speakers has been generally peaceful: they used to communicate with one another and take an interest in learning the language of the other. In the 18th century, at the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the first Slovene-speaking schools were created under the orders of Maria

[105] "Slovenes," Minority Rights Group International, accessed May 9, 2020, https://minorityrights.org/minorities/slovenes/
[106] The legal protection of Slovene minority in FVG is explained in §4.2.2
[107] Daniele Bonamore, *Disciplina giuridica delle istituzioni scolastiche a Trieste e Gorizia* (Milano: Dott. Giuffre Editore: 1979).
[108] Drago Pahor, *Pregled razvoja osnovnega šolstva na zahodnem robu slovenskega ozemlja, Osnovna šola na slovenskem 1869-1969* (Ljubljana: 1970).
Drago Pahor, *Prispevki k zgodovini obnovitve slovenskega šolstva na Primorskem 1943-45* (Trieste: 1974).
[109] "Slovenes," Minority Rights Group International.

Theresa of Austria[110].This peace and mutual respect lasted until the 19th century. With the rise of bourgeois society, the language of administration and justice became important, because speaking the language used in those domains meant aspiring to jobs in the upper echelons of society[111].

At that time, called the Spring of Nations, among the Slovene community, the nationalistic sentiment began to grow. Since they had never been independent, they started thinking about a Slovene state which would finally unite the Slovene people under the same government. This possibility was not taken into consideration by the Austrian Empire's central government and generated a change in the social representation of the Slovene people. Before that date, Slovenes were considered 'good rustics', 'good savages' by the élites composed of Italians and Germans, but due to their new aspirations, they were transformed into 'barbarians', 'sneaky villains' in social imaginary[112].

Socio-linguistically speaking, the Slovene language was, at that moment, in a situation of diglossia, being the low variety dominated by Italian and German languages, more powerful and spoken by the upper classes. In that case, diglossia generated a conflict due to the Austrian Empire's resistance against the inclusion of the Slovene language in the public administration and education, which was resolved for a short time. In 1849, in fact, an Emperor's decree enacted the use of minority language in schools in multicultural regions[113] (including the province of Trieste). But this flowery moment for the Slovene language did not last very long.

Shortly after the Italian unification (1861), some territories of the Friulan Slavia were annexed to the new Italian Kingdom. However, Gorizia and Trieste still belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire[114]. In their urban centres, the Slovene-speaking schools were closed since Slovenes were mostly peasants, who, according to the upper classes, did not need to go to school. Once again, the low variety is represented as the less prestigious one in the *collective imaginaire*. Also, in the territories annexed to the Italian

[110] Tomaž Simčič, "La scuola con lingua di insegnamento slovena in Italia: Cenni storici, giuridici e culturali," *Annali della Pubblica istruzione*, n. 5-6 (2006): 62.
[111] Milica Kacin Wohinz, Jože Pirjevec, *Storia degli Sloveni in Italia: 1866-1998* (Venice: Marsilio, 1998), 9.
[112] *Ibidem*., 10.
[113] Vida Forčič, "The Changing Role of Slovenian Schools in Italy: A Dynamic Path Towards the European Interculturality?" Master Thesis (Université Libre de Bruxelles, 2015).
[114] In appendix 2, you can see that the areas in red, corresponding to Trieste and Gorizia provinces, were annexed to Italy only later, in 1920.

Kingdom, they were suspended since the Italian language was used as a tool to unify several regions[115]. Additionally, the will of the newly unified Nation to amalgamate all the territories in which Italians lived, regardless of the other people living in those areas, gave birth to the Italian irredentism.

These goals, which are at the bases of the secret signature of Pact of London by Italy in 1915, were achieved in 1918, when Gorizia, Gradisca, Trieste, Istria, central Dalmatia and some islands were attached to Italy. Again, like in South Tyrol, the political borders did not correspond to the linguistic ones: according to a 1910 census, 480.000 of the people living in those territories were Slovenes or Croats, and 410.000 Italians[116].

The Treaty of Rapallo signed in 1920 between the Italian Kingdom and the newly created Kingdom of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (the SHS Kingdom, later Yugoslavia) established the borders between the two states, which were very different from those decided in the Pact of London. As a consequence, Italian nationalists and irredentists claimed the so-called *mutilated victory*[117]: they believed that Italian war efforts were not recompensated by the lands their Nation gained. As a matter of fact, many Italians still lived abroad and, even if several historians claim that Italian minority living in the SHS Kingdom was protected, that was not reciprocated within Italian borders[118], it remained one of the fundamental arguments of Fascist propaganda. Even if after WWI the Italian government ordered the re-opening of all schools, the Slovene schools had the same fate as the German ones in South Tyrol, after the Gentile reforms of 1923.

Like in South Tyrol, in Friuli-Venezia Giulia Slovene teachers also organised secret Slovene classes in the afternoon and evenings, using very different locations such as gyms, reading rooms and theatres…[119]

At the beginning of the 1930s, Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Trentino-South Tyrol shared the same situations: the process of Italianisation driven by Mussolini led many Slovene-speaking people like literates, professors, public officials to expatriate,

[115] Forčič, "The Changing Role of Slovenian Schools in Italy," 31, 34.
[116] Kacin Wohinz, Pirjevec, *Storia degli sloveni in Italia: 1866-1998*, 27, 30.
[117] This term (in Italian *vittoria mutilata*) means that even if Italy was one of the winners of the WWI, this victory was for someone 'mutilated' since they did not gain the territories decided before it entered the war.
[118] Kacin Wohinz, Pirjevec, *Storia degli sloveni in Italia: 1866-1998*, 35.
According to the authors, the Italians living in Dalmatian coast were 6.226, despite the about 500.000 Yugoslavs who lived inside the Italian borders, newly drawn in 1920.
[119] Forčič, "The Changing Role of Slovenian Schools in Italy," 38.

committing the so-called 'cultural genocide', which led to the almost disappearance of the Slovene middle class in Trieste and Gorizia.

On the one hand, the beginning of World War II partially weakened the persecution of the Slovenes by the fascists, who were now focused on war. On the other hand, they invaded some territories of the ex-Yugoslavia, where many Slovenes lived. During the conflict, the Italian-Slovenian borders had never been so uncertain: the Italian government insisted on the borders accorded to the Treaty of Rapallo, while the Yugoslav partisans wanted as far as Gorizia and Trieste, without taking into consideration that, even if the hinterland was inhabited by Slovenes, the urban centres were Italian-speaking[120].

Meanwhile, the Yugoslav communist partisans headed by Josip Broz (Tito) began, in fact, their fight against Germans and Italians. Their goals are often compared to the Italian irredentist ones[121]. These armed fights, which continued until the end of the conflict in 1945, were also very violent and authoritarian. Tito's partisans used the *foibe*[122] to hide the corpses, which were not just the bodies of fascist soldiers: at that time many civilians also disappeared. These mass murders are called today 'foibe massacres' and still are matters of controversy. The number of Italians killed and hidden in those sinkholes is not clear: some research concludes that the number of victims is around 10.000, others reach 20.000, including those who have been *infoibati* and those deported to concentration camps in Slovenia and Serbia[123]. In any case, the events of the *foibe* and the repressions of the communist partisans remained imprinted in the collective memory of the time. Some authors also speak of 'denied massacre', as it was excluded from the collective consciousness of the nation[124].

In that time of strong intimidation, the Istrian-Dalmatian exodus took place. It "refers to the post-World War II expulsion and departure of ethnic Italians from the

[120] Kacin Wohinz, Pirjevec, *Storia degli sloveni in Italia: 1866-1998*, 21.
[121] Since 1924, a sort of Slav irredentism took form, but the armed organised movement only began in 1941, when they started attacking the 'invaders'. From: *Ibidem*., 10.
[122] "From Friulan *foibe*, which is the lat. *fŏvea* "fossa"]. In physical geography, type of sinkhole; in particular, in the Istrian region, a large closed hollow (deriving from sinkholes melted together) at the bottom of which there is a sinkhole." From: *Treccani.it*, s.v. "Foiba," accessed May 11, 2020, http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/foiba/
[123] Gianni Oliva, *Foibe: Le stragi negate degli italiani della Venezia Giulia* (Mondadori, 2017), ch. "La quantificazione delle vittime" p. 5, Kobo.
[124] *Ibidem.*, ch. "Introduction".

Yugoslav territory of Istria, as well as the cities of Zadar and Rijeka"[125]. Many anti-communist Slovenes and Croats also escaped communist intimidations and executions, fleeing to Italy. At that time, Slovene-, Croat- and Italian-speaking populations were in the greatest chaos. The borders were not yet certain, but in the meantime, they hoped to escape from, on the one hand, the Italianisation perpetuated by the Italian nationalists and, on the other hand, from the denationalisation of the Titoites (i.e. Tito's followers). The Slovenes in Friuli-Venezia Giulia and the German speakers in South Tyrol have once again something in common: although at different times in history, both had to choose whether to stay in their own land or keep their language. Deciding between identity or political ideas was not easy for everyone. This exodus also marked deeply those peoples and the representation they had of each other.

When the conflict ended and the peace treaty was signed in 1947, Yugoslavia obtained part of the region in question. However, Istria remained Italian and Trieste became the Free Territory of Trieste (FTT), as appendix VII shows. This last became one of the Cold War symbols since it was divided into two zones of control (one Anglo-American, called Zone A, and the other Yugoslavian, Zone B, supported by the Soviet Union). The Cold War was getting worse and in the FTT there were strong political tensions between Italy and Yugoslavia. This situation was discussed by the two states, together with the United Kingdom and the United States, and gave birth to the Memorandum of Understanding of London in 1954, in which it was decided that Zone A would be part of Italy, Zone B of Yugoslavia. This Memorandum was also fundamental for Friuli-Venezia Giulia and the Slovene minority: attached to it was a document protecting Slovene minority in Italy and Italian minority in Yugoslavia.

In those years, Slovene minority was nevertheless fragile regarding their identity. They had survived Italianisation, but the harshness with which they were seen, especially after the events of the foibe and the exodus, did not help at all. Besides, the generations born in the 1920s until 1945 did not have the opportunity to be educated in their first language[126].

[125] "Istrian-Dalmatian Exodus," Wikipedia, accessed May 12, 2020, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Istrian-Dalmatian_exodus

[126] Fiorella Benčič, president of the *Association of Slovenes of Muggia Municipality Kiljan Ferluga* and ex-school director of the comprehensive institute "Josip Pangerc." (interview 18 April 2019).

The Treaty of Osimo, signed in 1975, confirmed the borders between Yugoslavia and Italy accorded in the Memorandum, in addition to the measures taken for the protection of the minorities. It also touched on the questions of mutual relations between Italy and Yugoslavia, at social, economic and cultural levels, and minorities, as explained in the next paragraph[127]. However, the behaviour of the majority elites towards Slovenian minorities continued to be sometimes hostile[128].

Then, due to the dramatic events of the 1991 collapse of Yugoslavia and creation of the independent state of Slovenia, Italians on the border sympathised with the Slovene rebel partisans, who were attacked by the Yugoslav People's Army to quench their thirst for independence. For the first time since the 19th century, Slovenes were seen by Italian and Austrian public opinion "as possible partners in a choice of common civilisation and culture"[129]. The independence of the Slovene state was also a very important step for their identity: for the first time, they were not dominated by another European power. Linguistically speaking too: if before 1991 Slovene was seen as 'one of the Slave languages', after that date it was the official language of the newly created Slovenia. Minorities living beyond the border felt the wave of pride due to the acquisition of a new status, also due to the increasingly precise language protection measures explained in the paragraph below.

The entry of Slovenia in the UE in 2004 and in the Schengen area in 2007 reinforced the status of the Slovene language, even among the minority settled in Italy. The link between language and power was mentioned in the previous chapters: the fact that the Slovene language became one of the languages of the UE was certainly a step forward for the imaginary of the language. Moreover, the free flow of people and goods also helped in bureaucratic and administrative mechanisms. In education, such novelties permitted also the free movement of students on school trips or cultural exchanges. Even if there still are steps to be taken, for example for the employment in Slovene schools in Italy of native speaker teachers coming from Slovenia, the crush of the borders made it easy for people living in those zones[130].

[127] Kacin Wohinz, Pirjevec, *Storia degli sloveni in Italia: 1866-1998*, 123.
[128] *Ibidem*.,13.
[129] Personal translation of: *Ibidem*., 14.
[130] Fiorella Benčič, "Schengen in campo scolastico: Aspettative disattese," in *Dietro, a ridosso, oltre il confine*, ed. Štefan Čok and Anja Škarabot (Trieste, Regione Autonoma Friuli-Venezia Giulia: 2019), p. 120-1.

4.2.2 Legal protection of Slovene-speaking minority

The protection of the Slovene-speaking minority's rights in social life, administration and education has been enacted, as for South Tyrol, by national and regional acts, in addition to bilateral treaties. Below, I summarised the most important for the members of the minority members, explaining why they are so crucial for their rights. Since the thesis aims to compare the value attached to bilingualism by both regions, it is important to highlight the differences to Trentino-South Tyrol's protections of German-speaking groups.

The Special Statute of autonomy

The special statute of Friuli-Venezia Giulia was enacted with constitutional law in 1963. The measures concerning linguistic minorities' safeguard and promotion adopted in the statute are considered by many researchers vague and bounding, as opposed to those protecting German-speaking minority in Trentino-South Tyrol's statute.

In fact, the only mention of Slovene minority's safeguard is article 3, which states that: "in the region, equal rights and treatment are granted to all citizens, whatever their group language to which they belong, with the safeguarding of their respective ethnic and cultural characteristics"[131]. As opposed to Trentino-South Tyrol, this statute does not contain specific provisions aimed at guaranteeing minorities in the region.

The 3rd article of the special statute was converted into an actual competence of the region with the legislative decree 223/2002, thanks to which the functions regarding the protection of the language and culture of historical linguistic minorities were transferred to the region's administration[132].

[131] "Statuto speciale della regione Autonoma Friuli-Venezia Giulia," Published by the regional council of Friuli-Venezia Giulia Region in 2018.
[132] "Norme di attuazione dello statuto speciale della regione Friuli-Venezia Giulia per il trasferimento di funzioni in materia di tutela della lingua e della cultura delle minoranze linguistiche storiche nella regione - Decreto legislativo 12 settembre 2002, n. 223," in *Gazzetta ufficiale* n. 240 (October 12, 2002), accessed May 13, 2020, https://www.camera.it/parlam/leggi/deleghe/02223dl.htm

Unlike the special statute of Trentino-South Tyrol, the statute of the Friuli-Venezia Giulia is not very eloquent in terms of the minorities protection, which is ensured by other national laws and decrees.

National Law 38/2001

The turning point in measures for the protection of historical linguistic minorities in the region took place in 2001, with the law n. 38, *Rules for the protection of the Slovenian linguistic minority in Friuli-Venezia Giulia* (hereafter: law 38/2001). In the 1st article, the rights of the Italian citizens belonging to the Slovene minority, living in the provinces of Trieste, Udine and Gorizia, are safeguarded[133]. Article 7 confirms their right to give children Slovene names and to have their names correctly written in official documents[134]. Articles 8 and 10 regulate the use of Slovene language in public administration and in toponomy and official place names.

Crucial for Slovene-speaking schools safeguard is article 13, which states that: "a special office shall be set up to deal with matters relating to education in the Slovenian language"[135], headed by the school director of one of the Slovene-language schools of the region. It is the Office for Slovene Schools, established at the Regional School Office of Friuli-Venezia Giulia[136], and the full knowledge of Slovene language is required by its staff. The article also enacted the creation of the Regional School Commission for Slovenian Language Education to ensure the autonomy of instruction in the minority language. It manages the fund granted by the central government for these schools[137].

The territorial scope of the law corresponds to that of Law 482/1999 and is explained in article 4. With the adoption of this law, a Joint Institutional Committee was established: they listed the municipalities where the minority is 'traditionally present', which were approved in 2007 with a presidential decree[138].

[133] Art. 1 of "Norme a tutela della minoranza linguistica slovena della regione Friuli-Venezia Giulia – Legge 23 febbraio 2001, n. 38," in *Gazzetta ufficiale* n. 56 (March, 8, 2001), accessed April 08, 2020, http://www.regione.fvg.it/rafvg/export/sites/default/RAFVG/cultura-sport/patrimonio-culturale/comunita-linguistiche/FOGLIA25/allegati/Legge_38_del_2001_Sloveni.pdf
[134] Art.7 of 38/2001 Law.
[135] Art.13 of 38/2001 Law.
[136] Fardau Schukking, "The Slovene Language in Education in Italy," 20.
[137] Art.11 §5 of 38/2001 Law.
[138] The municipalities in with the measures are apply are listed in §4.2. See appendix 3.

Some researchers highlight the fact that this law shares a lot of similarities in structure, content and certain procedures with 482/1999 law[139]. This is because the 38/2001 law is the fruit of the latter. The 1999 law ordered indeed all the regions concerned to provide protection measures in line with the law itself, but before that date, the Slovene minority was only protected by bilateral treaties with Slovenia (the Memorandum of London and the Treaty of Osimo)[140], and they did not concern all provinces of the region where the minority lives. In fact, they only regarded the provinces of Trieste and Gorizia. Udine's territories were left out. In other words, rule 38/2001 ensured for the first time the uniformity of the measures for the protection of the Slovene minority in most of the provinces in that region.

Regional Law 26/2007

At the regional level, the most mentioned in the articles and books taken into account for this thesis is surely law n. 26, *Regional Rules for the Protection of the Slovene Linguistic Minority* (hereafter: Law 26/2007), which was modified and implemented until 2015. With this list of measures, the region recognises, protects and promotes Slovene linguistic minority[141].

It considers art.6 const., art.3 of the special statute, the most important international documents protecting linguistic minorities and promoting human rights, Law 482/1999 and 38/2001. The measures cited in this law sometimes reflect the ones already mentioned in those documents. With this law, the region showed its commitment to the respect and the implementation of the measures already taken to safeguard the minority's rights in regional territory. With this regional law, the region is also committed to the protection of minorities. The bilateral agreements with the Republic of Slovenia were also

[139] Zaira Vidau, "The Legal Protection of National and Linguistic Minorities in the Region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia: a Comparison of the Three Regional Laws for the 'Slovene Linguistic Minority', for the 'Friulan Language' and for the 'German-Speaking Minorities'," *Journal of the Ethnic Studies* 71 (2013): 27-52, p.39.
[140] Lattanzi, "La tutela delle minoranze in Italia," 11-2.
[141] Art.1 of "Norme regionali per la tutela della minoranza linguistica slovena – Legge regionale 16 novembre 2007," in *Bollettino ufficiale regionale n.* 47 (November 21, 2007), accessed May 10, 2020, http://lexview-int.regione.fvg.it/FontiNormative/xml/XmlLex.aspx?anno=2007&legge=26&id=&fx=lex&n_ante=20&a_ante=2019&vig=21/11/2019%20Legge%20regionale%2013%20novembre%202019%20n.20&ci=1&diff=False&lang=multi&idx=ctrl0

maintained, "to ensure the improvement of the level of protection of the Slovene linguistic minority present in the FVG and of the Italian community present in Slovenia"[142].

It also lists the existing organisations and institutions for the protection and promotion of Slovene language in the region and enacts the convening of a regional conference on the protection of minorities every five years. These more detailed measures show the commitment of the region to their protection, but also its will to listen to the minority members to understand if the measures are respected.

As far as education is concerned, the regional administration declares its engagement to the promotion of education in the Slovene language, i.e. to the development and dissemination of cultural activities in the region, encouraging the teaching of the Slovene language in schools of all levels[143].

Article 21 touches on the question of the funding for Slovene minority, declaring that a regional fund must finance initiatives promoting cultural exchanges and spreading the Slovene culture and language, paying particular attention to initiatives carried out by public educational institutions, in areas of minority settlement; initiatives for the development of the mutual knowledge of the different minorities, but also for cross-border cooperation with Slovenia.

4.2.3 Slovene-speaking schools

The administration of Slovene schools in a responsibility of the Office for Slovene schools, which is directly linked to the Ministry of Education. During a meeting in his office in Trieste, the executive manager of the Regional School Office, Mr. Simčič confirmed to me that, unlike the school in South Tyrol, the administrative procedures for Slovene schools do not depend on the regional powers, but directly on Rome[144]. In this way, the Slovene schools can both maintain their cooperative relations with Slovenia and avoid being hostage to local party logic. The above-mentioned office is also responsible for allocating subsidies for the writing or translation of textbooks intended for Slovene

[142] Art.3 §2 of Law 26/2007.
[143] Art.16 §1 of Law 26/2007.
[144] Tomaž Simčič, Excecutive Manager of the Regional School Office in Trieste (interview June 20, 2020).

schools. Sometimes, the educational material is also provided by the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport of the Republic of Slovenia[145].

Schools with Slovene as the language of instruction belong to the Italian national schools system and function in the same way, like German-speaking schools in South Tyrol. The only change from Italian schools is in the curriculum: the local language, Italian, is also taught. Every certification issued by a Slovene school is also valid throughout Italy.

In the provinces of Trieste and Gorizia, people can choose to enrol their children in Italian or Slovene-speaking schools and there are no bilingual classes, unlike Bolzano. The only bilingual school currently open is the one in San Pietro al Natisone in Udine. What is important to highlight is that everyone can register their child in Slovene schools, not only Slovene-speaking people.

Today in the provinces of Gorizia, Trieste and Udine, 3.470 children are enrolled in Slovene schools (see appendix VIII). During the academic year 2003/2004, there were 2.512[146]. Regarding the linguistic environment of the pupils, the more recent records relate to the school year 2014/2015 and are put into comparison with 1994/1995 ones by Bogatec: the report shows that the number of children from Italian families has grown by 21%[147] (see appendix IX).

4.2.4 The Italian-speaking minority in Slovenia

As mentioned above, the territories corresponding to the current border zones between Slovenia and Italy have always been inhabited by people of different origins, speaking different languages. For that reason, in Slovenia there are also some minorities protected by law. The Italian-speaking minority is one of them: there are 2.258 Italian speakers in

[145] *Ibidem*., and Fardau Schukking, "The Slovene Language in Education in Italy," 20.
[146] Regione Autonoma Friuli-Venezia Giulia, "Regione in cifre 2019," (Trieste, 2019) http://www.regione.fvg.it/rafvg/export/sites/default/RAFVG/GEN/statistica/FOGLIA56/allegati/Regione_in_cifre_2019.pdf
[147] Norina Bogatec, and Zaira Vidau, *Skupnost v središču Evrope: Slovenci v Italiji od padca Berlinskega zidu do izzivov tretjega tisočletja* (Trieste: SLORI-ZTT, 2017) quoted in Fardau Schukking, "The Slovene Language in Education in Italy," 40.

Slovenia, according to a 2002 census, mostly living in Istria and Dalmatia (in municipalities such as Hrevatini, Koper, Izola…)[148].

The Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia granted the Italian minority the right to speak their language and develop their national culture. Moreover, in areas inhabited by the Italian community, there must be kindergartens and schools with Italian as the language of instruction. In Italian-speaking school, the teaching of Slovene is mandatory and vice-versa, in Slovene-speaking ones, Italian must be learnt[149]. In any case, like the minority language schools in Italy, Italian schools beyonf the border adopt Slovene schooling system.

5. Study

After having analysed the administrative and legal aspects, it was extremely interesting to understand the points of view of the inhabitants, to complete the study by giving an account of the sociological side of the issue. This part of the thesis focuses on the question: "To what extent is bilingualism important for the inhabitants of the regions (Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Trentino-South Tyrol)?".

As already explained in the introduction, it was impossible to analyse the importance of bilingualism for the regions entire population: the scope of the study had to be narrowed. Consequently, it was decided to study the situation in non-Italian schools. Why do parents enrol their children in German or Slovene schools? Answering this sub-question represents a step towards understanding the importance given by the inhabitants to bilingualism.

Depending on their answers, parents could confirm or reject the hypothesis that grounds the research program: some parents of Italian-speaking children could have

[148] Statistični urad Republike Slovenije, "Popis 2002. 5 Prebivalstvo, no. 2." *Statistične informacije*, no. 92. (Ljubljana: Statistični urad Republike Slovenije, 2002) quoted in Ineke Rienks, Saskia Benedictus-van den Berg, "The Italian Language in Education in Slovenia," *Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning*, 1st Edition, 2012.
[149] Ineke Rienks, Saskia Benedictus-van den Berg, "The Italian Language in Education in Slovenia," Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning, 1st Edition, 2012, 12. https://www.mercator-research.eu/fileadmin/mercator/documents/regional_dossiers/Italian_in_Slovenia.pdf

chosen to send them to Slovene- and German-speaking schools because they think that bilingualism is important for them.

As well as the two regions representing a very large territory, it was chosen to focus the study on two towns: Bolzano (in the Autonomous Province of Bolzano, South Tyrol) and Muggia (in Trieste, Friuli-Venezia Giulia).

This part of the paper aims to analyse the interviews made in those two towns and to interpret the results, putting emphasis on the similarities and differences between the two situations.

5.1 Methodology

In order to understand the reasons why people in Trentino-South Tyrol (Bolzano) and Friuli-Venezia Giulia (Muggia) decide to register their children in German or Slovene schools, the interviewees were questioned directly. The method of interviewing people was chosen because "it is a method solicited for works which mainly concern the social representations or the life experience of a given group" [150].It seemed therefore the best way to understand social phenomena and analyse social situations from the point of view of people's experience. In fact, the personal feelings and opinions about the linguistic situation in these regions and the issues linked with it play a central role in this study.

Firstly, some exploratory interviews with *key witnesses* were carried out to gain a better initial understanding of the situation in both towns. These witnesses are people who, "by their position, their actions or their responsibilities, have good knowledge of the problem"[151]. In other words, I interviewed some experts in the field of allophone schools of both towns, asking them some questions in order to know more about the subject. This step was crucial to identify the appropriate questions to ask people who were interviewed in the successive phase of the study.

Secondly, I tried to find a school in Trieste and one in Bolzano which I could base the research on. A school in Muggia, in the province of Trieste, was chosen. There, I met

[150] Aude Seurrat, *Écrire un mémoire en sciences de l'information et de la communication. Récits de cas, démarches et méthodes* (Paris, Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2014), 96
[151] Personal translation of: Seurrat, *Écrire un mémoire en sciences de l'information et de la communication,* 97.

the ex-school director, some teachers and some parents of the children registered at the school. Unfortunately, this was not the case in Bolzano, where I did not find a school willing to participate. The interviewees of the province of Bolzano are mainly parents who enrolled their children in a bilingual school, but it was not possible to speak with the school director or with any teachers of that school. However, I found some educators assigned to German-speaking schools in the province of Bolzano, and this proved to be extremely interesting, as will be explained below. The method used to build up the corpus of my analysis (that is to encounter people) was the snowball sampling method.

This method consists of contacting subjects, in this case to be interviewed, who in turn contact other subjects of their knowledge who might be interested or useful for the study: "the sample subsequently expands wave by wave like a snowball growing in size as it rolls down a hill"[152].

Then, the semi-directive interviews were carried out, either face-to-face or by phone, using two different interview guides attached as appendixes (X and XI) for parents and teachers. During semi-directive interviews, the questions are open, enabling interviewees to express themselves freely[153]. At the same time, these guides highlight the main issues to speak about during the conversations. It was indeed crucial to keep in mind the main general questions to bring up during the interviews, which helped not to miss the goal of the research. However, the questions to ask were not unchangeable: they were adapted to the linguistic environment of the respondents, their school choices and, most importantly, some questions were sometimes updated gradually, since some additional themes came up during the conversations.

Finally, the interviews were studied through content analysis.

5.1.1 Content analysis of the interviews

To analyse qualitatively the content of the interviews, category-based content analysis was chosen, because it shows the frequency in which some themes were repeated during

[152] Duglas D. Heckathorn, "Comment: Snowball versus Respondent-Driven Sampling," *Sociological Methodology* 41 (2011): 355-366 pp. 356. https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/41336927.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A57aee689b98ff92960a3c9d7c7eec314

[153] Seurrat, *Écrire un mémoire en sciences de l'information et de la communication,* 98.

the conversations and it helps to scan the whole of the interviews[154]. This type of analysis is indispensable to study interviews. After having collected all the testimonies, their opinions and points of view on the issues raised during the conversation were indeed compared and divided into categories. This passage was fundamental to see the recurrence of them. To take an example, it was asked the reason why parents chose a school with particular linguistic characteristics for their children (this general theme was chosen before the interview began). Then, the subgroups of answers "the importance of bilingualism", "methods employed at school", "geographical reasons", etc. were created after the interviews, to study the reasons why they chose that school.

However, it is also crucial not to limit the analysis to a schematic lecture of the interviews. It is indeed important to consider the personal observations and points of view of the interviewees, even if they might not correspond to the absolute truth, but they surely are to be taken into account. Opinions and emotions are indeed crucial in the analysis of a social phenomenon such as bilingualism and, mostly, to analyse the value inhabitants attach to it. They could be consequences of historic events and prejudices, that are sometimes still anchored in society. All of them were therefore considered, even though they may seem 'out of the box' or if their thoughts are not so recurrent. This study is, in fact, qualitative and not quantitative. The content analysis does not necessarily exclude a more human and empathic way of interpreting the interviewees' opinions and points of view.

5.1.2 Interviews guides

Parents interview guide

Since the goal of the study was to understand the value that parents give to bilingualism, which can be demonstrated by the reasons why they decided to register their children in minority language schools, the following elements were asked during the interviews, as the interview guide in appendix X shows.

First of all, it was necessary to ask some general questions about the linguistic environment of the children, that is their first and second language(s), the first and second

[154] Laurence Bardin, *L'analyse de contenu* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1989), 95.

language(s) of the parents and grandparents, the teaching language of the schools their parents attended. It was fundamental to know their family's origins and linguistic attitudes to build the basis of the conversation, since the reasons why their parents decided to register their children in Slovene- and German-speaking schools might also have been linked to family background.

Obviously, the parents were asked about the school where they enrolled their children: is it an Italian-, German-, Slovene-speaking school? What is the second language taught?

Then, the most significant questions, about the justification of the school choice. "Why did you choose to send your child to this school?" was the question at the heart of the study. The reasons why the interviewed parents made this decision could differ on their and their partners' origins, their family history, but also the language(s) they know, the level they have in these languages and if they are bilingual, the schools they attended… In addition to that, negative questions were also asked, like: "Why did you not choose an Italian-speaking school?". It was another way to understand their opinions and their points of view toward the education and linguistic school system in their area, putting the emphasis on the reasons why they think another type of school would not be suitable for their children.

Depending on the language of teaching in their children's schools, the parents were asked why it is important (or not) for them that their children speak German or Slovene. This information is also central to the research since the answer to this question outlines to what extent the parents think that it is important for their children to know the minority language and for what reason(s).

To understand if they were satisfied with their choice and if they changed their minds after the registration, it was also asked if they had comments on the school or school system, or if they had any regrets or remorse. Moreover, they were also asked if their children have had any problems or difficulties linked to the language(s) of teaching or if they have been somehow discriminated against because of their origins or first language, and if the school class they attend is homogeneous or some groups formed depending on their origins. These questions, even if they are not at the core of the

research, were useful to obtain some information regarding the relations between the different linguistic groups.

Finally, the respondents were asked about the identity of their children, if they identify themselves as Italians or if and to what extent the teaching of a second language can anyhow influence their process of identification to a social group, especially when dealing with historical linguistic minorities.

Teachers interview guide

The points of view of parents who registered their children in bilingual, German or Slovene schools were extremely relevant for the study. However, it was crucial to question some teachers of these schools to try to understand the phenomenon from another perspective.

Firstly, they were asked about their job: which subjects they teach, which languages are taught in those schools and where they are situated, the years of teaching... these initial questions were asked to ground the interviews.

In addition to this, knowing in what area they worked was important to detect if there could be some differences in term of language homogeneity from one place to another. Then, the years of teaching allowed to ask or to avoid some questions linked to their impression about changes in the registration rate. If they have been working in the same school for many years, for example, they were asked if they noticed some differences regarding the registration of Italian-speaking children in their school.

As a matter of fact, the presence or absence of Italian-speaking pupils in allophone or bilingual schools was relevant to the study, because it could reveal further information about the importance that people confer on bilingualism. If the number of Italian-speaking children is rising, it probably means that for some reasons Italian-speaking parents care more about learning the other language. I also tried to understand if those multilingual classes were homogeneous in terms of groups. Do the pupils create groups depending on their languages?

Depending on their spoken languages and the school which they are assigned to, they were questioned about the attitudes of one linguistic group to the other. For instance,

while interviewing Italian teachers who work in allophone schools, they were invited to speak about the attitudes of linguistic minorities towards Italian. On the contrary, when it came to interview Slovene teachers in Slovene school, the conversation touched upon other themes, such as the representativeness of the minority language in schools, the attitude of the major linguistic group towards them.

5.2 Case study: Muggia

Muggia is a municipality in the province of Trieste where 13.000 people live[155], including Slovene speakers. In fact, this town is located at the border of Slovenia. It is indeed the last Italian municipalities located before the border line, as appendix XII shows.

5.2.1 Exploratory interview

For what concerns the town of Muggia, the exploratory interview was done with Mrs Fiorella Benčič, the ex-school director of the comprehensive institute *Josip Pangerc*, to which the kindergarten *Mavrica* and the primary school *Albin Bubnič* belong. Mrs Benčič not only is the previous school director of the Slovene school in Muggia, but she is also president of the Association of Slovenes of Muggia's Municipality *Kiljan Ferluga*[156]. I had the pleasure to speak to her first by phone, when I was preparing the questions that I would have asked Muggia inhabitants, and the second time face to face, when I came to Muggia.

Prof. Luca Tomini, professor of Political Sciences at the ULB and member of *Giuliani nel mondo*, introduced me to her. It is an association formed not only by people who come from the provinces of Gorizia and Trieste, but also the exiles from Istria, Rijeka, Dalmatia and the Kvaerner Islands, who settled in Friuli-Venezia Giulia during the Yugoslav occupation after the second world war[157].

[155] "Popolazione residente al 1° Gennaio: Friuli-Venezia Giulia," ISTAT, accessed Mai 20, 2020. http://dati.istat.it/Index.aspx?QueryId=18551

[156] Associazione degli Sloveni del Comune di Muggia *Kiljan Ferluga* in Italian; Društvo Slovencev Miljske Občine *Kiljan Ferluga* in Slovene. They organize courses of Slovene language, but also spectacles, journeys and many other activities, which represent occasions to speak Slovene and learn more about Slovene culture.

[157] "Chi Sono i Giuliani nel mondo?," Giuliani nel Mondo, accessed February 27, 2020, http://www.giulianinelmondo.it/index.php?lang=it

During the first phone interview that I had with Mrs Benčič, she explained to me the general linguistic situation of the province of Trieste and, mostly, of Muggia municipality. Being an expert in the field, she paid particular attention to the historic events that changed the status of Slovene language in society, explained in the theoretical section on this thesis.

In addition to this, Mrs Benčič also suggested several topics to ask the interviewees, such as the identity question and the fact that some parents also choose Slovene schools for reasons not linked to bilingualism: the methods employed in *Bubnič* school and *Mavrica* kindergarten are in fact highly appreciated in Muggia and the number of registered children is not too high compared to Italian schools. This last aspect could be a positive one for parents, because it might mean that teachers are more available for pupils and more dedicated to them. The changes of the value that the inhabitants give to bilingualism in time was also a subject covered in the interview. She indeed highlighted the fact that many people choose today to register their children to Slovene schools also because their grandparents were Slovene or Slovene native speakers, but they did not want to teach this language to their children because of the negative image it had in their time, due to political and historical reasons, like the war and Tito's measures against Italians. However, she talked about a possible re-evaluation of the Slovene language after Slovenia's entry into the European Union, as already mentioned in the theoretical section.

Furthermore, Mrs Benčič pointed out the fact that, while it is good that people are interested in the language for different reasons, "this could be detrimental to the concept of identity conveyed by language". Since many pupils are Italian-speaking and their vehicular language is indeed Italian, the level of Slovene in the class could be lower compared to Slovene schools where the majority of the pupils speak Slovene to each other, too[158].

5.2.2 Presentation of the interviewees

In Muggia, six parents who registered their children at the *Albin Bubnič* primary school and the *Mavrica* kindergarten were interviewed. Two bilingual schoolteachers also agreed to answer some questions. Mrs Benčič introduced me to them: she is well known

[158] Fiorella Benčič, president of the Association of Slovenes of Muggia's Municipality *Kiljan Ferluga* and ex-school director of the comprehensive institute *Josip Pangerc* (interview 18 April 2019).

in Muggia thanks to her career as a school director, but also because of her role among the Slovene minority of Muggia.

Four of the parents interviewed are Italian native speakers, two of them bilingual, but their first language is Slovene. In all the interviewees' family, they generally speak Italian, since at least one of the partners does not speak Slovene.

Since the analysis of their testimonies was qualitative, it has been decided to ask the same questions to parents of children attending other schools with other linguistic characteristics, Giulio and Elisabetta, to understand why they made this choice.

The interviews were carried out in such a manner that the respondents felt that they could speak freely without any consequences on what they would say. For that reason, it was decided that no real names would be revealed. The following names are therefore invented.

Alessia: This family formed by the interviewee, her partner and their daughter, is an Italian-speaking family, actually a *Triestino*[159]-speaking family, which lives in Slovenia. Only the grandmother of the interviewee spoke Slovene, but she does not speak it anymore because of her age and she did not teach it to her children and grandchildren. Alessia and her partner attended Italian-speaking schools and they do not speak Slovene fluently: she knows some words because she worked in Opicina[160] when she was in her twenties and both have only taken some classes of Slovene language to help their daughter when she started the kindergarten. In fact, she was registered at the *Mavrica* kindergarten as soon as she began to speak. Now she attends the third year of primary school in Slovene language and she does not have any problems, according to her mother.

Silvia: Silvia is an Italian-speaking woman with mixed origins: her mother and grand-parents were Slovenes (from Slovenia) and her father Italian. However, she does not speak Slovene. Her partner's first language is Italian, and they both went to Italian-speaking schools when they were children. Consequently, their child's first language is

[159] *Triestino* is the dialect spoken in Trieste. It belongs to the Venetian dialects group and it is the successor of *Targestino*, a dialect belonging to the Friulan dialects group, from which it detached with the passing of time.
Jasna Gačić, "Stratificazioni adriatiche e il triestino." in *Annales. Series historia et sociologia* 12, no. 1 (2002): 88.
[160] Opicina is a town in the province of Trieste very close to the borders with Slovenia. It is inhabited also by the Slovene minority. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Villa_Opicina.

Italian, too. She went to Bubnič primary school and now that she has to decide which high school to enrol in, they are thinking about an Italian-speaking one.

Chiara: This family formed by the interviewee, her partner and their children is an Italian-speaking family, who lives in Muggia. They all speak Italian at home, even if Chiara's parents are Croats. The parents do not speak Slovene at all, and they attended Italian schools. Their first child attended an Italian kindergarten and now she is in her fourth year of primary school and she will probably continue her schooling in Slovene. The younger child is enrolled in *Mavrica* kindergarten.

Marco: His family is not from Trieste: both parents come from the centre of Italy and moved to Trieste for work reasons. They do not speak Slovene, but Marco attends a course of Slovene and his partner used to go with him. Nevertheless, they decided to register their daughter in Bubnič primary school.

Viola: She is bilingual: her mother is Slovene and her father Italian. Her mother always speaks to her in Slovene and she went to Slovene-language schools in Trieste. Her partner is Italian speaking, as is his family. He knows some words in Slovene and he understands it sometimes, but he does not speak it fluently. As a consequence, their son's first language is Italian, even though his mother (the interviewee) communicates with him in Slovene. The child went to *Mavrica* kindergarten and is going to start his first year of primary school. She worked as a teacher with a short-term contract in *Bubnič* primary school for a few years and, after having worked in other Slovene-speaking schools, she came back to Muggia and is now part of the teaching staff. She teaches Italian, Mathematics, Sciences and Art.

Mara: This family is formed by a bilingual parent (the interviewee) and an Italian one. They have three children: the two older ones are at two different Slovene-language high schools in Trieste (one in Cattinara and the other in San Dorligo della Valle[161]), the youngest goes to *Mavrica* kindergarten. They speak Italian at home: even the mother, who is bilingual, does not speak Slovene with them. So, their first language remains Italian.

[161] They are respectively a district and a town in province of Trieste.

Angela: This teacher's parents are both Slovene speaking, but she is bilingual since she was a baby. She belongs to the Slovene minority in Trieste and she attended Slovene-schools and University in Ljubljana, where she graduated in Psychology. She started speaking Italian playing with other children when she was a child. She has been working as a teacher in Muggia for fifteen years and teaches Slovene, History, Geography, Technology and Art.

Giulio: This Italian-speaking man living on a hill above Muggia decided together with his wife to register their two daughters in an Italian-speaking school in Slovenia, which belongs to the comprehensive institute *Pier Paolo Vergerio il Vecchio*, based in Koper. As already explained in this thesis, these schools adopt the Slovene schooling system, even if the school director told them that their children would have studied Italian history in-depth as well.

5.2.3 Analysis of the interviews

As already explained above, the semi-directive interviews have been analysed qualitatively, creating some categories which recurred often during the interviews.

Reasons for selecting the school

Some parents chose the Slovene-speaking school *Albin Bubnič* because of the methods that teachers adopt with pupils. The fact that "Slovenes are ahead"[162] was a recurring element of the interviews. Many parents believe that they approach everything in a more naturalistic way: they are more environment-friendly and they also seem more comprehensive when dealing with pupils, giving more space to their creativity and personalities. According to some parents, the educators know that the majority of the children's first language is Italian, and they do not speak Slovene fluently. Maybe for this reason, they are more comprehensive and attentive to pupils' psyche and needs[163]. The fact that Slovenes developed a lot despite what stereotypes show is highly shared by Giulio, who chose to send his children to an Italian-speaking school in Hrvatini also

[162] Silvia (interview 19 June 2019).
[163] Alessia (interview 17 June 2019).

because they devote a great deal of attention to sport and respect nature a lot more than people in Italy[164].

This last aspect was also confirmed by Angela, a teacher of *Albin Bubnič* primary school. According to her, in the first classes, teachers try to build happy relations among children, in order to avoid the setting up of small groups (also depending on the children's first language). Then, later on, they start "the didactic approaches that are fundamental when the teaching language is the second language of the child"[165]. She confirmed indeed what some parents affirmed, that it is the attention that teachers of this Slovene-speaking school grant to children's individuality. Teachers at *Bubnič* also believe that in this situation, effective communication with parents is fertile soil for good human interactions between them and for children's learning. In the longer term, an environment without stress could help pupils to acquire solid bilingualism[166].

Nevertheless, according to Viola, who is both an educator at the school and a bilingual parent of a child registered at this school, some parents are more attracted by the school program than by the teaching of Slovene. In fact, they do some extra activities and probably this influenced parents' choice too. In addition to this, she thinks that now it is very popular among Italian-speaking families to register their children at Slovene-speaking schools, probably because the school has gained prestige as being a good institute for children to learn Slovene[167].

On the contrary, all the parents interviewed affirmed that they chose *Bubnič* school because the teaching language is not the first language of their children. They all believe in the importance of speaking more than one language for different reasons: some chose it because the teaching language is Slovene, others because they think that knowing another language (whatsoever) is important.

[164] Giulio (interview 17 June 2019)
Here it is also about generalisations and even negative and positive stereotypes and clichés. It is not possible to discern to what extent Slovenes are more respectful toward nature. However, since the point of this paper it is to understand why parents are tent to register their children to Slovene or Slovene speaking schools, it is important to consider their vision about its culture and way of living.
[165] Angela T., teacher in *Albin Bubnič* primary school, graduated in psychology (interview 18 June 2019).
[166] *Ibidem*.
[167] Viola (interview 19 June 2019).

Importance of Slovene language

The theme of the border was recurrent during the interviews. Except for Marco who does not come from Trieste (and neither does his wife), all the parents interviewed think that Slovene is important in Trieste because of the city's geographical situation. Since they live on the border with Slovenia, they believe that it is important that their children can communicate with Slovene-speaking people too[168]. Additionally, Silvia suggested that it is useful to know the language of the neighbours because "they are growing"[169]. This affirmation probably meant that if some years ago they were considered by some as *barbarians*[170], now they are considered as a developed and respected people, who care about the environment and nature. The collective imaginaire about Slovenes seems to have changed.

Obviously, for parents who have Slovene origins, the reasons are more personal. On the one hand, some parents lament the fact that their Slovene or Slovene-speaking families did not teach them this language. They sent their children to *Bubnič* school precisely because they did not want to make the same mistake as their parents. For instance, even if Silvia's mother and grandparents were Slovene, they did not teach her their language, because of political and historical reasons. Silvia, then, decided to register her daughter at a Slovene-speaking school, because she wanted to give her the possibilities that she did not have[171]. She seemed indeed regretful to not have learned Slovene language. On the other hand, bilingual parents wanted their children to know both languages, to pass also Slovene on. Both Viola and Mara, for example, have a Slovene mother and an Italian father, and their mothers always spoke Slovene with them. It is crucial for them that their children speak their two mother tongues. In addition to that, Mara also put the focus on the importance of the knowledge of their grandmother's culture, because at Italian-speaking schools "they do not teach anything about Slovene culture"[172], she affirmed.

[168] Alessia (interview 17 June 2019).
[169] Silvia (interview 19 June 2019).
[170] See ch. 4.2.1.
[171] Silvia (interview 19 June 2019).
[172] Mara (interview 19 June 2019).

"Languages are the keys of the world: knowing more than one language opens your mind and gives you a different vision of the world"[173]. The fact that the more languages people know, the richer they become is another idea shared by some of the interviewees. Alessia claimed that the learning of Slovene language opened her child's mind towards integration. In fact, she said that "they [Slovenes] have always been multi-ethnic" and do not have ordinary schemes like borders. She referred to the fact that Istrian territories are inhabited by people from different cultures and nationalities from a long time and to the fact that the borders in these areas were changed so many times, that their concept of borders may be not the same as other countries'. She thought that this historical aspect could help her to widen her horizons and gave some examples. When they were on holiday in France: the ease of integration of the child while trying to communicate in another language is, in her opinion, due to her bilingualism. On the second day of their holidays, her daughter "enters French mode", learning a few words in the other language and trying to have conversations with locals[174]. Marco expressed the same sentiment towards the learning of another language and open-mindedness, even if it was not a priority for him that his daughter speaks Slovene.

Among the reasons why they think that Slovene is important for their children, some of the parents interviewed added that the Slovene language is important for the future of their children. It could open a window into Slovene-speaking high schools and universities, like the one in Ljubljana (Univerza v Ljubljani)[175], which is very well reputed. As cited above, some parents think indeed that Slovenia is a country which could give their children more than Italy[176]. For this reason, they want to give them the opportunity to attend Slovene higher education. In fact, those parents would like their children to have the widest choice for tomorrow. Other parents think that Slovene is important for their children's future job. Giulio, for example, explained that it could be crucial for his daughters to speak this language to find seasonal jobs. There could be a better chance for them to find a job: they live so close to the border that they could also work in Slovenia. He added that it could also be practical in daily life since they often go shopping beyond the border.

[173] Alessia (interview 17 June 2019).
[174] *Ibidem*.
[175] Mara (interview 19 June 2019).
[176] Silvia (interview 19 June 2019).

Most of the interviewed parents think that learning Slovene could make it easier for them to learn other languages. Slovene being a difficult language for Italian speakers, they believe that other languages would seem very easy to learn in comparison with it. English, for example, is considered by some of the interviewees simpler than Slovene[177]. It does not present grammatical declension (the so-called cases, *skloni* in Slovene)[178], grammar is more intuitive and less complex, and being the most spoken language in the world, their children may hear and read it more often. This hypothesis is confirmed by Alessia, who put an emphasis on pronunciation, suggesting that her child's pronunciation in English is remarkable. According to her, that is due to bilingualism. In fact, her child "has a different predisposition to languages"[179]. Plus, while speaking Slovene, people should pronounce very 'hard' sounds, which do not belong to Italian oral language for instance. Consequently, these children have little difficulty to recreate new sounds, especially if those are easier to perform. Some others believe that Slovene is a shortcut to other Slavic languages like Russian, Croatian or Polish[180].

Identity factor

Concerning children's identity, I was aware of the fact that children of primary schools are probably too young to identify themselves as Italians, Slovenes, both or neither. Nevertheless, it was extremely interesting to ask this question to parents, to detect what they think about identity in general and the perceptions they have of their children's feelings.

The responses can be divided into two sub-groups. Some of the interviewees answered with certitude that their children felt 100% Italian. They are Italian and Italian-speaking parents, who live on the Italian side of the border. The others hesitated some seconds before answering the question or asked what I meant by *identity*. Bilingual parents are the ones who hesitated the most. They have obviously a different concept of identity.

[177] Silvia (interview 19 June 2019).
[178] Grammatical cases in Slovene are six: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, locative, instrumental. It means that nouns change their morphology depending on the category they fulfil in sentences.
[179] Alessia (interview 17 June 2019).
[180] Giulio (interview17 June 2019), and Silvia (interview 19 June 2019).

Viola, for instance, did not know how to answer at first, then conveyed that her son recognised himself as Italian, linking the concept of *identity* with the one of *first language*. She said that his first language remains Italian and because of that he may identify himself as a member of this community.

Mara's opinion is more nuanced: she thinks that the transition between the two languages is so automatic, that they do not raise this question. It is indeed important to take into consideration that identity is not a simple concept to define in areas like Trieste, where more than one community live. To quote part of the conversation with Mrs Benčič, "Identity problem is, for [her], relative. It only exists if you oppose it with something else. And it is no time for oppositions"[181]. This statement confirms firstly that answering this question is not so simple, especially because the concept of *identity* can change from one person to another and it changes with the passing of time. Secondly, the statement refers to the fact that in the past, it *was* time for oppositions…

Changes from the past

In past years, in fact, the Slovene language was not considered by most of the inhabitants (mostly Italians, but also Slovenes themselves) as an added value. Or at least, people who counterposed its culture, history and language showed their resentment to it in a stronger way in comparison with today.

The respondents, who are indicatively from 30 to 50 years old, explained that when they were young (in the 1970s/1980s) there was a real distinction between Slovene- and Italian-speaking groups. Alessia stated that it was ridiculous, telling me that people used to write their disagreement down on the walls of the towns. One of the most recurrent words was, at the time, *s'ciavo*. It was (and sometimes still is) used to insult Slavic population, since it means both slave and Slav[182] in Triestino dialect. It shows how the

[181] Fiorella Benčič (interview 16 June 2019).

[182] "*Sciavo*, agg.e sm. (*sciavo*) *schiavo*; *slavo*." From "Dizionario - Vocabolario del dialetto triestino/S," *Wikisource*, accessed July 16, 2019. https://it.wikisource.org/wiki/Dizionario_-_Vocabolario_del_dialetto_triestino/S#sciavo
The words *Schiavo* and *Slavo* were both used to describe Slavic peoples, who were subordinated by other non-Slavic ones during the Venetian Republic. At that time, merchants often sold them as slaves. So, in the 10th and 11th c. slaves were usually from Slavic origins. Over time, the term Slavi became a synonym for enslaved people. The term *s'ciavo* in Triestino dialect is therefore disrespectful for Slovene national minority's members. From: Marianna Kosic et. al., *Neighbours… Friends Worth Getting to Know: Italians, Slovenes and Friulans Introduce Themselves* (EDUKA – Educare alla Diversità: 2013).

discrimination of Slovenes was strong, such as the memories of the war and the following bloody years in Trieste.

In addition to that, some Italian speakers interviewed affirmed that some of their relatives spoke Slovene (or were even Slovenes), but they did not teach it to their children and grandchildren because "it was a shame at the time"[183]. Silvia's mother and maternal grandparents were Slovene: they moved to Muggia from Slovenia. Consequently, they could send her to a Slovene-speaking school. However, they decided not to do that because it was not an advantage to show their origins, she said. Alessia confirmed that, saying that her 84-year-old grandmother spoke Slovene too, but she did not teach it to her children, because "at the time, people did not do that"[184].

Giulio confirmed the presence of other insults used against Slovenes, like *Yugo*[185], adding that some people still call them in this way. The first thing he explained to me is that opinions about Trieste history and its current issues regarding bilingualism and the Slovene minority can change depending on the political opinions and on the family's histories of people. Obviously, in his opinion, if someone's parents were *infoibati* by Tito's army, they cannot be too open-minded regarding relations across the border. The school choice could also be influenced by this in such realities like Trieste (and, therefore, Muggia). There are still many stereotypes building the community immaginaire about Slovenes today, even if less than in the past. He put the focus on the fact that even though they criticised Slovenes and treated them as *barbarians*, Italians have until recently been buying meat, gasoline or even houses in Slovenia because they cost less than in Italy. He was slightly critical about this sort of hypocrisy. During the interview, he expressed indeed his very strong opinions against discrimination.

Even though to a lesser extent, almost everybody showed to have a very open mind toward other cultures, more precisely in this case toward Slovene one. They really wanted to make a difference between what was the old vision of Slovene language and culture in the past, and how it has changed now.

To what concern changes in registration rates, it was not possible to analyse official documents since schools do not make statistics systematically about the first language of

[183] Silvia (interview 19 June 2019, Muggia).
[184] Alessia (interview 17 June 2019, Muggia).
[185] *Yugo* is the diminutive of *Yugoslavo* ('Yugoslav' in English).

pupils. Nevertheless, some studies carried out by SLORI showed that the number of Italian native speakers registered in Slovene schools is raising. The two teachers interviewed in Muggia confirmed to me that Italian-speaking children are increasing, or rather that Slovene-speaking pupils are decreasing[186]. These two sentences seem to express the same concept, but they represent the two sides of the coin: on the one hand, this shows that more and more Italian people recognise Slovene as an added value in Trieste (for the reasons explained above), even if both of them could not definitely affirm that these parents are only and exclusively influenced by the teaching of Slovene language in the choice of the school (but also in methods, extra activities…), as said above . On the other hand, it seems also evident that the number of Slovene-speaking pupils is decreased, and "it is a shame for [them]"[187]. In fact, Viola, who is a *Bubnič* teacher but also a parent of a pupil of this school, emphasised also that this phenomenon could be a limit for children who speak or, at least, are used to hear Slovene at home. She stated that since many children begin their first year at *Bubnič* primary school without knowing Slovene and they do not speak it at home, they learn it as a foreign language instead of as a second language. This may disadvantage the few Slovene-speaking pupils, who are obliged to communicate in Italian with their classmates[188]. Mrs Benčič confirmed that, saying that the fact that the vehicular language among children is Italian weakens the Slovene language for those children, because it is not an automatic language for them, but only the language they learn at school[189].

After-choice comments

Most of the interviewed parents are very satisfied with the choice they had made, because of different reasons, most of which are linked with bilingualism and the open-mindedness their children showed.

Nevertheless, some of them expressed some doubts about their level of Slovene at the end of the primary school, and about the lack of some terminology in Italian language. Some of them noticed that they are slightly behind schedule in some subjects. This has its roots in the fact that most of the pupils are Italian-speakers and have more difficulties

[186] Viola (interview 19 June 2019)
Angela (interview 18 June 2019)
[187] Viola (interview 19 June 2019)
[188] *Ibidem*.
[189] Fiorella Benčič (interview 16 June 2019).

than they would have in Italian-speaking schools. Therefore, Italian schools or Slovene schools where the majority of the pupils speaks Slovene at home are more advanced in the program. Some of them also hesitate about the choice of the middle school. For instance, Marco hesitates about the choice of the middle school: on the one hand he is afraid that choosing Slovene schools would prove to be counterproductive because of the lack of terminology in Italian. On the other, he knows that if his daughter stops studying Slovene, she would probably forget it and the five years of primary school would be wasted.

Some parents also lamented the fact that some children make fun of Slovene school pupils when they do not know some precise terms in Italian. When they play with other children in Muggia who are registered at Italian schools, if they speak about something linked to education, they probably know the term in Slovene since they are used to saying it in this language at school[190].

Anyway, in general, the interviewees affirmed that nowadays the division between Slovenes and Italians is decreasing.

5.2.4 Other interviews

Finally, it is important to take into consideration other viewpoints on the bilingualism question. In fact, there are also parents who chose to send their children to schools with Italian as the teaching language, because they did not (and still do not) believe in the necessity of speaking the minority language, even in border zones such as Trieste. As this thesis is meant to give a general vision of the inhabitants of those border zones regarding bilingualism, it has been extremely interesting to see what parents who made different decisions think about it. Elena is one of those parents.

Elena: She is an Italian speaking mother, coming from an Italian speaking family. She married an Italian-speaking man, too. They did not choose to send their children to Slovene-speaking schools. However, the middle school that the eldest son attends has Slovene as a third language: it means that it is taught two hours per week.

[190] Silvia (interview 19 June 2019)

However, the teaching of this language was not the reason why she and her partner enrolled their sons there. During the interview, she said that they chose that school because of its timetables. Elena explained in fact that "Slovene is not like the German language; you do not speak it in many places"[191]. Slovenia is a little country, she added, and on the border it is not necessary to speak it, because most Slovene speakers can communicate in English, too. She was also asked if she believed that this language would be important workwise, and her answer was negative: according to her, knowing English is enough. However, Elena confirmed what other parents already said, that Slovene is very useful for learning other Slavic languages such as Russian, because grammar is not so different.

5.3 Case study: Bolzano

Bolzano is a town in South Tyrol. As already mentioned, the population of the Autonomous Province of Bolzano is mostly German speaking, as appendix XII shows. However, it is important to highlight what is already mentioned in the theoretical section of this thesis: there is sometimes a difference between the linguistic consistency of the city centres and that of the valleys and the peripheries[192].

The municipality of Bolzano counts 107.000 inhabitants. Thanks to the 2011 census, it was possible to find the proportion of the three linguistic groups. 73,80% of them declared to belong to the Italian-speaking community, 25,50% to the German one and the remainder to the Ladin minority.

On the contrary, the linguistic profile of the inhabitants of the municipalities around it is very different. In Verano, for example, the percentage of German speakers is 97,90% on 1.000 people. In Renon, they constitute 95,20% of the 8.000 inhabitants[193].

5.3.1 Exploratory Interview

For what concerns Bolzano, the exploratory interview was done with Mr Von Ach a Secretary General of EUREGIO, the Common Representation of the European Region

[191] Elena M. (interview 19 June 2019).
[192] All the municipalities of the Province of Bolzano are shown in appendix XIV.
[193] Stassi, Valentini, *L'Italia del Censimento*, 36-8.

Tyrol-South Tyrol-Trentino in Brussels[194]. During the interview with him, I wanted to make sure if the questions I would like to ask interviewees were legitimate.

He explained to me that the fact that a lot of Italian-speaking children now attend German-speaking schools is a real issue, because it leads to other social and political questions. For example, he explained that many German-speaking families are not satisfied with the registration system in place now, because they often do not find a place in their language kindergartens or schools. Since the centre of Bolzano has a high percentage of Italophones, if they tend to register their children in German-speaking schools, this could be detrimental for German speakers' families, who cannot provide their children with education in their first language[195].

This caused political reactions during the year. When I spoke to him, he mentioned the Sud Tiroler Freiheit Party, which encouraged the fact that only German children have the right to attend German-speaking kindergartens, as some articles confirm[196].

For that reason, I also asked the teachers of German-speaking schools how German speakers feel about the interest of Italian speakers in their language schools.

5.3.2 Presentation of the interviewees

In the case of Bolzano, I interviewed by phone six parents who opted for the Italian school *Alessandro Manzoni* with bilingual program[197]. This project foresees thirteen teaching units in German. Then, using the snowball sampling method, it was also possible to speak with two parents who registered their children in German-speaking schools. Three of them have partners whose first language is German, five of them speak German very well, even if they do not consider themselves as bilinguals.

[194] "Common Representation of the European Region Tyrol-South Tyrol-Trentino in Brussels"
[195] Christoph Von Ach, Secretary General for South Tyrol at EUREGIO, interviewed April 10, 2019 in Brussels.
[196] Best News. "Bolzano, manifesti razzisti contro gli italiani: Asili solo per tedeschi," accessed February 26, 2020, https://it.blastingnews.com/cronaca/2018/05/bolzano-manifesti-razzisti-contro-gli-italiani-asili-solo-per-tedeschi-002544617.html.
[197] *Alessandro Manzoni* primary school belongs to the comprehensive institute *Bolzano VI*. It was one of the first schools to include the biliteracy project (*alfabetizzazione bilingue* in Italian), which foresees the teaching of some subjects in German, some in Italian and some others in both languages. https://icbz6.it/progetti-manzoni/manzoni-alfabetizzazione-bilingue/

Among these parents, there are four Italian teachers assigned to German schools, to whom some further questions have been asked to understand as well the viewpoints of teachers.

Sara: She is an Italian-speaking teacher assigned to a German school in the centre of Bolzano. She went to Italian-speaking schools when she was a child but then decided to learn German in linguistic high school. Married to a German-speaking man, who also speaks Italian very well, she decided to send her daughter to *Alessandro Manzoni* primary school. Previously, the child was registered at an Italian-speaking kindergarten, where some external educators also spoke German to children. they speak Italian at home, even if the father tries sometimes to communicate in German with his daughter. However, Italian still remains the first language used at home.

Elisa: Her first language is Italian, and her partner is bilingual. Elisa's grandfather was half Austrian, so her mother tried to speak German with her. Then she stopped, influenced by her paternal grandmother, who had some kind of resentment towards German speakers and Austrians, due to WWII. Plus, her schoolmates also made fun of her at school. Nevertheless, when she grew up and had children, she wanted them to go to the *Alessandro Manzoni* bilingual school. She is a teacher of Italian in a German-speaking school in Verano[198].

Anna: Anna's whole family is Italian speaking. Her passion for German allowed her to obtain a good level in this language. She teaches in a German school in Gries[199]. They have three children: the two eldest ones went to a German *Tagesmutter* (nanny) and a German kindergarten, and now they are registered at *Manzoni* bilingual section. The youngest of them went to Italian daycare for reasons of convenience: their intention was indeed to send him to *Tagesmutter* as well. In fact, he enrolled in German kindergarten like his siblings. The children speak Italian as do the rest of the family. However, sometimes they play in German.

Susanna: She is an Italian teacher in a German-speaking school in Renon[200]. She and her partner are native Italian speakers, but they also speak German, which they

[198] In the municipality of Verano, the L1 of most of the inhabitants is German. Appendix AA shows its geografical situation.
[199] Gries is a district in the municipality of Bolzano, where the L1 of most oft he people is Italian.
[200] In Renon German is the L1 most diffused. Appendix AA shows its geografical situation.

learned at school. In their families they always spoke Italian and with their children as well. Nevertheless, they chose to send their child to a German kindergarten and to *Manzoni* bilingual section.

Tina: Her family is Italian-speaking and they have a daughter. They registered her at a German kindergarten and at *Manzoni* primary school. She cares a lot about the German language: she really wants her daughter to speak it. For this reason, they also send her to German summer courses, because they are afraid that she will forget it during the holidays, since they speak only Italian at home.

Carla: Carla and her partner are Italian speakers, but her partner's mother is a French native speaker and speaks only French with her grandchild. For this reason, Carla said that her child is more used to switching language and for him it is, therefore, easier to learn other languages. They registered him at an Italian kindergarten, which provides some extra hours of German language, and now at *Manzoni* primary school, too.

Laura: Her first language is Italian, but her partner is bilingual. At home they speak Italian and German, in such a way that their children can distinguish between the two languages. In fact, she tries to speak only Italian to them, and the father only German. Their children attender German-speaking kindergarten and the eldest one started his first year in a German-speaking primary school.

Marta: Marta's family is formed of Italian speakers, even if she attained an excellent level in German language (*patentino A*). Her partner does not speak German, so they speak Italian at home. However, they decided to register their children at German kindergarten and schools. They also employed a native speaker when they were children to babysit them.

5.3.3 Analysis of the interviews

When it came to the decision of the primary school, many of the respondents hesitated between *Manzoni* school and German-speaking schools. For that reason, it was particularly interesting to analyse interviews of parents who sent their children to both bilingual and German-speaking schools. In the following paragraphs, their opinions are explained and analysed, as well as the teachers' viewpoints.

Reasons for selecting the school

Most of the parents who decided to register their children at *Manzoni* primary school's bilingual section were influenced by the reputation this school regarding its program and methods. Either they had heard about their organisation, or they had a very positive impression during the open day. This last one was the decisive element which led Tina, for example, to choose this school: when she went to a German-speaking school open day in Bolzano she did not have the same positive impression then she had in *Manzoni*. She said that in the first one the teachers seemed more distant[201]. Other parents had the same positive impression about *Manzoni* school[202], saying that the teachers seemed very collaborative and it was clear to them that pupils have a central place in the learning process[203]. Some interviewees affirmed that the teaching methods implied are very good and teachers are comprehensive and very capable.

Additionally, most of the interviewed parents heard that the bilingual program worked very well, and that children's level of German was high[204]. Since it has been in force at *Manzoni* school for more than ten years, it has a very good reputation and they were sure that they would not regret their decision[205]. Carla, for example, was convinced about her choice because she heard that the teacher of German was excellent and that he spoke only German with pupils[206]. The fact that both German and Italian are vehicular languages to teach other subjects was the key element for the respondents since they all believe in the importance of German for different reasons explained below. Nevertheless, they do also think that the best option for their children is to learn both languages.

They admitted that maybe in a German-speaking school they would have been totally immersed in the German language and consequently they would have better mastered the language[207]. However, they were not convinced about the methods employed towards the pupils and about the linguistical restrictions. As a matter of fact, in German-speaking schools the Italian language is taught only one hour per week[208] and in

[201] Tina (interview 28 June 2019).
[202] Susanna (interview 1 July 2019).
[203] Elisa (interview 30 June 2019).
[204] Susanna (interview 1 July 2019).
[205] Tina (interview 28 June 2019).
[206] Carla (interviewed 1 July 2019).
[207] Susanna (interview 1 July 2019).
[208] Sara (interview 21 June 2019).

some schools, children are not allowed to speak it as vehicular language. In some more radical ones, if pupils speak Italian even to each other they receive a bad mark[209], according to what Anna explained. Those parents, who wanted their children to open up to the German language, feared that is would be counterproductive to send them to a German-speaking school if, later, they would close themselves off to this culture because of the methods employed[210]. Then, learning Italian one hour per week it is not enough, said Tina, to deepen grammar and written skills[211]. Italian is indeed very important in Bolzano as well, and they did not want their children to neglect its grammar and culture.

The two interviewed parents who chose German-speaking schools for their children were apparently not scared of that. The reasons why they made that decision are mostly linked with the teaching of the German language. In fact, they think that German is important in their children's lives for the reasons explained below. They also explained that they wanted them to be fully immersed in the German language, to reach such a level which, in their opinions, could not be possible to attain in a bilingual school[212]. Since the first language of their children is Italian, they do not believe that it will be a problem if their education is fully in German.

Additionally, the methods used were more interesting for those interviewees. Laura, for instance, insisted on the fact that the methods employed in German schools are freer and more attentive to the autonomy of pupils[213]. They offer more open-air activities, which permit them to be more in contact with nature: they let pupils play in the garden even on cloudy days. This fact is important for these parents, who put nature and autonomy in a central place for their children's personal development. These considerations were also made by the interviewed parents who sent them to German kindergartens. They admitted that maybe in Italian kindergartens, teachers would have been more apprehensive[214]. Those could be either stereotypes: for the collective imaginaire, Germanic countries and peoples are more attentive to nature, and Italians, on the contrary, are too apprehensive and less independent on their families. Or they could

[209] Anna (interview 28 June 2019).
[210] Tina (interview 28 June 2019).
[211] Tina (interview 28 June 2019).
[212] Marta (interview 28 June 2019).
[213] Laura (interview 28 June 2019).
[214] Anna (interview 28 June 2019).

be realities, linked to teaching methods which could be influenced by culture and viewpoints about life.

It is crucial to mention one parent's feeling about German-speaking schools since it seems to be more radical than the others. During the interview, Carla affirmed that she had never thought of sending her child to a German school, because "it is not [her] thing". She continued that she would not be able "to relate to that world"[215]: during the interview, this mother referred to German speakers as *them* or *that world.* She justified her affirmation, saying that even at a cultural level there are some differences and she did not want to catapult her son into other reality and culture, too different than their own. The fact that she still registered her child to a bilingual school can also mean that the reasons why they want their children to know the minority language are mor practical than linked with the culture of the other.

In any case, despite the sometimes-conflicting ideas of the interviewees, it is clear that they have some common ground: they all chose those schools because of the importance they attach to the German language in their children lives.

Importance of German language

In each interview, the importance of German was indeed mentioned, even if for different reasons.

In general, they agreed that German is important there, because of the linguistic situation in South-Tyrol[216] and therefore they chose a bilingual or a German-speaking school for their children. Anna, for example, claimed that this language is "important at a social level"[217], because their region is bilingual, and many inhabitants are German native speakers. Dealing with them was indeed one of the most important reasons for which they think the German language is important[218]. Even if in Bolzano it is not essential since, according to some of them, almost everyone understands and speaks Italian as well, in the neighbourhood it is crucial to speak German[219]. As already

[215] Carla (interview 1 July 2019).
[216] Tina (interview 28 June 2019).
[217] Anna (interview 28 June 2019).
[218] Carla (interview 1 July 2019).
[219] Anna (interview 28 June 2019).

mentioned, in some villages of the valleys, people proudly speak German as a first language. According to the interviewees, some of them do not want to speak Italian at all. For the respondents, going to allophone schools and being bilingual is an advantage that South-Tyrol gives them, and they should seize this chance. They feel very lucky to live there, because it is a region full of opportunities, they said. One of them is surely the possibility to learn German since a tender age. It is indeed important that their children live this language serenely in their daily lives, because, as some of them affirmed, "in South-Tyrol, what gives you the biggest advantage is speaking German"[220], as it is helpful for many reasons.

Firstly, for work reasons. As already said in this paper, having a good level of German is so important, it is recognized by a specific certificate. Most of the parents interviewed said that they had some difficulties learning German when they were adults, so they wanted their children to learn it when they were young[221]. All of them believe, in fact, that this language is very important for their career. In other words, this language represents for many of the interviewees an investment for their children's future. Additionally, the fact that those parents are so committed to German learning confirms the fact that this language really is important in South-Tyrolean life.

"I want my child to become more bilingual than I am", Marta affirmed, "not only for professional reasons but also for personal growth"[222]. This point of view is also to be considered because the cultural element is often overlooked. Some of them did not refer to it during the interviews, but others insisted on the importance of their children's cultural background. They want them to enlarge it and they believe that knowing a second language is a gift, an added value. According to some of them, if they can understand the big opportunity that their region gives them, that is learning another language, it will be very enriching for personal growth, too[223].

"Since we are a bilingual family, we presumed that a bilingual program was the best solution for our child"[224], Sara explained. She registered her daughter at *Manzoni* school even if she teaches in a German-speaking one. Since the child's first language is

[220] Laura (interview 28 June 2019).
[221] Tina (interview 28 June 2019) and Susanna (interview 1 July 2019).
[222] Marta (interview 28 June 2019).
[223] Tina (interview 28 June 2019).
[224] Sara (interview 21 June 2019).

Italian, she did not want to send her to a German school because she thought it would be too difficult. However, she did not want to send her to an Italian school either, since it would be a shame not to broaden the German language. Thus, the bilingual program was the right compromise for them. In bilingual families, the cultural factor is indeed strongly felt, according to what I found out during the interviews. Some of them affirmed that their partners, who are German native speakers or bilingual since birth, were very happy that their children could carry on their German-speaking cultural heritage[225]. Laura and her bilingual partner thought that is would be perfect in their situation to send their child to a German-speaking school since she would speak Italian at home anyway.

The importance that some bilingual families attach to bilingualism is high and demonstrated in different ways in addition to the school choice. In Laura's family, for instance, she and her husband try not to mix languages: she tries to always speak Italian to their children, and her partner German. They do this, in order to avoid their children mix up the languages. The result is interesting since even though the children seem to prefer speaking Italian right now, if someone speaks German to them, they automatically switch to this language. This example is important to what extent bilingualism is important to those families. It is clear, then, that they also have more means to pass it on to their children.

Identity factor

Concerning the identity element, most of the interviewed parents admitted that their children identify themselves as Italians, as in Trieste. Some of them made a parallel between identity and first language, saying that they feel Italian, since their children's first language is Italian[226]. Nevertheless, their children seem very proud to speak German, as well. In fact, when they are asked what they feel about it or which language they speak, they answer that they are Italian native speakers, but they speak German too, even if, in the case of Tina, they have not mastered the German language as native speakers[227]. As in Trieste, in Bolzano children are already aware of the fact that they belong to a different reality than other Italian regions, a region in which they can learn two different languages.

[225] Laura (interview 28 June 2019).
[226] Sara (interview 21 June 2019).
[227] Tina (interview 28 June 2019).

Summing up, even if they feel mostly Italian, German is part of them, "both culturally and emotionally"[228].

For that reason, several parents seemed more hesitant when it came to answer that question. According to them, "what is good about learning languages as a child is that it is natural, they do not see it as an imposition. It is natural that they grow up with both languages"[229]. Consequently, it is not so simple for them to say what their children feel about identity, because they do not know either. They play with each other in both languages, switching them, depending on which language comes first in their mind. They fit perfectly in a context in which many children are bilingual, like all their schoolmates and friends, and the two languages are interconnected[230]. Some of them, in fact, admitted that they had never raised that question: it had never occurred to them to identify with one language group over another. Laura and Sara, whose partners are German native speakers, added that in mixed families it is not important to identify themselves as member of the Italian- or German-speaking community[231]: they seem not to care about definitions. They do not need this since it is normal for children to pass from one context to another automatically. They feel even sad about the fact that so many people still make a distinction between the two identities. "Identity changes in time: within the German school identity is getting lost to mingle and change over the years", said Sara.

Additionally, during the interviews some of them also made some differences between the centre of Bolzano and the valleys. According to them, in the centre of Bolzano most of the inhabitants speak more than one language: this does not mean that they are all bilingual Italian/German, but that there are also many immigrants, whose first language is neither of them. Consequently, they could not have the same identity concept of people living in the valleys[232].

What is curious about the identity question among the different respondents from Bolzano, is that their viewpoints and opinions are not directly linked to the languages spoken in the families or their origins. Elisa, for example, confirmed that her child feels 100% Italian, even if her partner is perfectly bilingual and her mother is a German native

[228] Anna (interview 28 June 2019).
[229] Susanna (interview 1 July 2019).
[230] Laura (interview 28 June 2019).
[231] Laura (interview 28 June 2019).
Sara (interview 21 June 2019).
[232] Marta (interview 28 June 2019).

speaker. On the contrary, Marta does not know, because she thinks that this kind of identification is not appropriate to the South Tyrolean context.

While interviewing the four teachers assigned to German-speaking schools, another issue arose: many German-speakers are afraid of the presence of Italian-speaking children in German schools. They fear that their attendance to those schools could be detrimental to the minority's identity[233]. Since they noticed that German-speaking schools have been losing their identity, some of the teachers closed themselves off from the Italian language. To take an example, some of them insist on speaking German to Italian-speaking parents of their pupils, even if they do not speak German very well. This proves that they are trying to defend their language against what could they see as a menace, as Mr Von Ach also told me. This idea of the Italian language as a menace for the German minority is also shared by the German Education Authority[234]. In the last few years, in fact, the number of Italian speakers who register their children in German schools has been rising.

Changes from the past

The fact that today many Italian-speaking parents register their children to those schools is confirmed by all the parents and teachers interviewed. However, in the past it was not the case. "Thirty years ago," explained Anna, "only children with at least one German-speaking parent could attend German schools", as already mentioned in ch. 4.1.3. Sometimes it was even necessary to pass a linguistic test to register at those schools. In both Italian- and German-speaking schools the situation was very rigid[235]. German-speakers attended German-speaking schools, and Italians Italian schools[236]. This was, therefore, an issue for bilingual families, who were forced to choose between two types of schools very closed to the other language. Then, she continued, teachers and German-speaking school administration noticed that they were losing pupils, because they were in short supply of children having two German native speaker parents. This was the moment, in her opinion, in which they started to be more open towards the Italian language.

[233] Sara (interview 21 June 2019).
[234] Susanna (interview 1 July 2019).
[235] Anna (interview 28 June 2019).
[236] Sara (interview 21 June 2019).

Most of the parents saw bilingual and German-speaking schools as an opportunity for their children. However, there has not always been this positive view toward the German language. Some interviewees shared their experience of their childhood and teenage years, which caught my attention, because it explained the influence that prejudices and resentments[237] could have on society and social choices very well.

Some of them refused to speak German, because of the hostile climate around it. Elisa, for instance, shared her anecdotes with me, saying that her German native speaker mother wanted her to speak German. Therefore, when she was a child, she started speaking this language with her. Then, at school, her classmates began to make fun of her because of that, since speaking German was still seen as speaking the enemy's language. Her paternal grandmother was against her speaking German too. Her grandmother was in fact irritated by Austrian people due to World War II events and, consequently, by their language. Her grandmother and her classmates' hostility were the reasons why she stopped speaking this language[238]. This event in her childhood reinforced her desire for her children to speak German, also because the collective imaginaire about German language changed.

Several parents interviewed confirmed that in the past, it was a little more difficult to learn German, due to lack of integration and the negative collective imaginaire about this language and its speakers[239]. Today, however, children are integrated with each other and there is not this resentment towards Austrians and Germans.

Tina affirmed that when she went to school, studying the second language was seen by them as an obligation, and not an opportunity. Consequently, Italian-speaking children did not learn German of their own free will. On the contrary, today parents who decide to register their children to German-speaking or bilingual schools take it as an added value for their children, which could help them widen their horizons and mind, in addition to their future professional opportunities.

Now, the registrations of Italian-speaking pupils have grown so much that German-speaking parents and teachers worry about the level of German in those schools. Some of Anna's colleagues think, in fact, that Italian pupils who do not have a family member at

[237] In this case, the two World Wars' resentments.
[238] Elisa (interview 30 June 2019).
[239] Anna (interview 28 June 2019).

home to speak German with sometimes slow the class down. Additionally, some of those teachers come from some almost totally German-speaking villages, and do not feel fully comfortable speaking Italian to pupils. For all the reasons mentioned, two or three years ago, they began to discourage Italian speakers from registering their children at German speaking schools[240]. Some parents added their personal opinions regarding that sentiment felt by those parents, saying that it is quite legitimate[241].

After-choice comments

All the parents interviewed are very glad to have taken the decision to register their children at German-speaking or bilingual schools.

Parents of *Manzoni* bilingual section's pupils affirmed that every school in Bolzano's province must be bilingual, from kindergarten to middle school[242]. They are very satisfied with their choice and they hope that this project will be extended to other schools: since Bolzano province is inhabited by German speakers, Italian speakers and bilinguals, the schools must be bilingual[243].

In addition to that, it is also crucial to consider the viewpoint of bilingual families, who sometimes struggle choosing their children's language of education. "There is no longer any point in dividing education into Italian- and German-speaking schools in Bolzano", Sara added, mostly for families like hers, who would like their children to study in both languages, due to emotional and cultural factors, too.

Tina also focused on the fact that pupils in the bilingual section have the two languages side by side, as they have subjects in Italian, German, or both. She finds it extremely helpful to have a bilingual education, they do not consider the two languages as a first or second language, since they study subjects in both[244].

The two parents who registered their children at German-speaking schools are also glad to have chosen those schools but have some concerns. Marta, for instance, brought up the question of the high percentage of Italian-speaking children in German-speaking

[240] Anna (interview 28 June 2019).
[241] Sara (interview 21 June 2019).
[242] *Ibidem*.
[243] Carla (interview 1 July 2019).
[244] Tina (interview 28 June 2019).

schools. She affirmed that her child has not reached the level that they hoped in German, maybe because the German schools in Bolzano city centre are attended by a high percentage of Italian-speaking pupils. Consequently, they speak Italian with each other and do not improve their German skills[245]. This phenomenon of linguistic impoverishment is also mentioned by Sara, who teaches in one of those schools in the centre of Bolzano. She confirmed the fact that the high number of Italian-speaking pupils who have not at least one German-speaking member of the family to speak it with slows down the entire classroom and this puts German-speaking children at a disadvantage, as they "are forced to learn a language that they already know"[246].

This fact represents also problems for Italian-speaking parents who decided to send their children to German schools, thinking that they would be fully immersed in the German language. In some cases, the level of German their children have reached does not always meet their expectations, since they speak Italian to one another[247].

5.4 Results

After having analysed the interviews' content, it is now necessary to draw the results.

Even if at the beginning the goal of this study was to compare the situation in the province of Bolzano and the one of Trieste, it quickly became clear that a precise comparison between the interviews in the two cities was not possible for many reasons.

First, the two towns where the interviewees live present widely different characteristics: one, Muggia, is a little town in the province of Trieste. The second, Bolzano, is a bigger town, with different demography and population.

Secondly, in the province of Bolzano, as explained above, people have the possibility to register their children in different schools with different language compromises. In Bolzano, in fact, there are schools with German and Italian as the language of instruction, but also bilingual sections, which offer both Italian and German languages as a media of instruction for ordinary subjects such as Mathematics, History, Sport… In Muggia, this is not the case: parents must choose between Slovene or Italian

[245] Marta (interview 28 June 2019).
[246] Sara (interview 21 June 2019).
[247] Marta (interview 28 June 2019).

schools for their children, which provide the teaching of the second language, but not as a medium of instruction.

Thirdly, a comparison between face-to-face interviews and telephonic ones is not the best option. Even though their contents are reliable since, as Bardin explains[248], I was introduced to the respondents by somebody that they already knew, speaking by phone is not the same thing as speaking face-to-face.

Finally, it is not simple to find schools that accept to support a project like this. The school Bubnič in Muggia was ready to help me. In Bolzano, I did not find a school which I could totally base my research on. I carried out phone interviews with parents who registered their children in the bilingual school *Manzoni*, however, I did not speak to any teachers or directors of that school[249].

For these reasons, this section of the thesis will analyse qualitatively different responses to the same questions, without seeking to make an exact comparison between the two towns. Nevertheless, during the content analysis, it was possible to detect some similarities between Bolzano and Muggia concerning the reasons that lead these parents to register their children in allophone schools, their opinions about the general linguistic situation and their visions of the minority languages, as well as the value they attach to bilingualism and multilingualism.

Final results

In general, the interviewees of both towns confirmed the hypothesis of this study, that the inhabitants of Bolzano and Muggia registered their children at German- and Slovene-speaking schools because they give a very important value to bilingualism.

Both groups agreed that Slovene and German languages are very important in their lives, because of their geographical situation. In both towns, some of them seemed more pragmatical, focusing on the practical aspects of their and their children's lives and career. However, the results are slightly different. For people in Muggia, the proximity to the border is one of the reasons why they think that the learning of the minority language is important at the social level. They took as example that speaking Slovene can be useful

[248] Bardin, *L'analyse de contenu*, 90.
[249] The teachers I interviewed from Bolzano are assigned to German-schools of other municipalities.

to go shopping beyond the border, to find a job in the future, or to go to universities in Slovenia. All the respondents coming from Bolzano, instead, focused on the fundamental asset of speaking German in their own region. They mentioned for instance the importance of the bilingualism certification (*patentino*) for jobs in the public offices. In any case, the fact that they wanted to widen their possibilities for the future shows that they believe those languages could be an added value for them. This last reason is also strictly tied to the vision that those parents have about those countries and cultures.

Therefore, during the interviews, I have found that the choices that those people made, as the choices everyone makes in general, are directly linked with the image they have of that precise subject. In this case, the positive vision that they have of some aspects of Slovene and German-speaking countries influenced their school decisions. Among them, both groups of respondents mentioned their positive thoughts regarding Slovenes and German/Austrian attitudes towards nature, open-air activities and pupils' autonomy process. This shows how the positive image people have about a culture could let them approach it. In Muggia, some parents denied the old clichés about *barbarian* Slovenes, saying that "they are ahead". The vision of people who chose Slovene- or German-speaking schools or kindergarten is different, for example, from the viewpoints of some interviewees who chose *Manzoni* bilingual section for their children.

Having some trouble accepting the way of thinking of a culture which is, in their opinions, too far from the Italian one, they chose a middle ground for their daughters and sons. Some of them were scared about German-speaking schools being *too German*, as if *to be German* meant to be restrictive and too strict, also linguistically speaking. This shows how sometimes the negative stereotypical image people have about a culture could influence their choices in daily life.

The collective imaginaire that Italian speakers have about the cultures beyond the borders, and, therefore, about minorities, has changed and is still changing throughout the years. This is obviously also influenced by politics and by historical events, which have been very rough on the borders, as explained in ch. 4.1.1 and 4.2.1. The interviews confirmed indeed the fact that, in the past, both German and Slovene peoples were snubbed by most Italians, not to mention insulted, because of the surnames those peoples

had[250]. The negative images regarding those nations were influenced by the events of war, which had devastating consequences in both regions for different reasons[251]. These generalisations let some people have a negative vision of the language itself, since as already mentioned it is the symbol of a nation and a culture.

It must also be said that some of the interviewed people were influenced by the belief that the learning of another language would promote their children's personal development and growth. The fact that learning another language is a gift is shared among both groups of respondents. One might think that this argument confirms the initial hypothesis that the inhabitants attach an important value to bilingualism in their regions. One must also think, however, that they actually value the learning of languages in general, as if they were speaking about foreign languages whatsoever, and not particularly about the minority languages of their regions. Which is also the fear that Mrs Benčič expressed during the interviews: for her, language contact should not only occur for use and consumption, for convenience in the future, but also for minority culture recognition and for the recognition of those languages as the territory's autochthone languages. The latter often remains marginal and superficial[252]. To sum up, the fact that these parents registered their children in minority speaking schools is not only linked to the borders and to minorities themselves, but also to a widener vision of bilingualism.

Nevertheless, a reflection comes naturally: if all respondents admit that the minority language of their region is important, even from a practical point of view, does this not mean that the minority is still taken into account at the societal level? Moreover, it is also clear that they do understand that they live in peculiar regions which give them exceptional possibilities compared to others, where people must learn languages other than Italian and English privately, not in public education. This sentiment is shared by people belonging to both groups of interviewees and confirmed while speaking about their children's identities.

The fact that some respondents' children feel they have a unique identity, made up by the Italian and minority components, even if to a different extent, confirmed the fact that the learning of the minority language, culture and traditions touches them in a deep

[250] Like *S'ciavi* or *Yugo*, regarding Slovenes, and *Mangia italiani*, regarding Germans.
[251] In Muggia, the episodes of *foibe* and *infoibati* were numerous.
[252] Fiorella Benčič (interview 17 June 2019).

way, shaping their concept of identity. The fact that some of them do not even need (or want) to make a choice between the two, mirrors their belief that this kind of division is not adapted to such a contest: it is natural that children grow up with mixed identities or mixed feelings about it, since they study in both languages.

Additionally, some families also care about the transmission of those cultures and traditions, besides spoken languages. Bilingual families or families of Slovene or German-speaking origin have been influenced by the element of the transmission. The fact that they feared that their children would not have acquired elements of the minority's culture and history, if they attended Italian schools. This reflects parents' desire for their children to bring the two cultures together. For that reasons, they also lament the fact that in German-, Slovene- or Italian-speaking schools there is not such a mix of culture, even if they live in regions in which culture are mixed.

Comparing the impressions of Slovene- and German-speaking parents about the high number of Italian-speaking children who attend minority language schools, I noticed some analogies. For instance, the fact that they are worried about the level of their first language at school. They are worried that the language level would not be as high as it would be if those schools were attended only by children who have Slovene or German origins. As a matter of fact, they all agreed that in German schools in the centre of Bolzano and in Slovene schools in Muggia, children speak Italian with each other. Concerning identity, I noticed a slight difference between the two towns. In Muggia, bilingual or Slovene-speaking interviewees were on the one hand afraid that their identity would be weakened by the impoverishment of their language, but on the other glad that the Italian community was interested in their language and culture. In Bolzano, according to what teachers of German-speaking schools and Mr Von Ach affirmed, the situation seems more borderline: some German speakers take a protective attitude towards their language and identity… However, as already mentioned, those affirmations are not fully comparable, since the goal of the study was not to understand their opinions about identity. It was although very interesting, and since identity is strongly linked with language and culture, it would be very interesting to do further research on this.

Then, it is also to mention that there is another factor that emerges from the interviews' analysis. The interviewed parents did not choose those schools only because of the fact that their children learning other languages would be somehow an advantage

for their children. As the first paragraphs of both analysis show, they chose those schools also because they have the reputation of being good schools, the teaching methods are better, that means that they seem more interactive and child-centred and so on. Listening to some parents' impressions, language comes in only secondly: they started speaking about methods and attitudes toward pupils.

Finally, it is impossible to deny the discordant points of view of some respondents regarding bilingualism and its importance. It occurred only once during the interview, in the case of the only parent which did not send her children to Slovene schools. This shows some limit of the snowball sampling method, because "the initial contacts may form the entire sample and exclude access to some members of the population of interest"[253]. Even if the goal of the research was to listen to Italian speakers who wanted to resister their children at Slovene- or German-speaking schools, to discern to what extent they believe bilingualism is important and why, they are not the representation of the whole towns, not to mention the whole regions.

6. Conclusions

The comparison of the two groups of respondents (one per region) shows many analogies, but also some details point to a basic difference from a social point of view.

The fact that the respondents from Trieste believed that the Slovene language is useful to work or study in Slovenia, despite people in Bolzano thinking that German is important in the region itself, shows that maybe in Friuli-Venezia Giulia some steps are still to be taken in order for bilingualism to spread. If in South Tyrol people have to prove their knowledge in both languages to find a job in public offices, for example, in Friuli-Venezia Giulia knowing Slovene is surely an asset, but not knowing it is not so detrimental than not knowing German in South Tyrol (also because of the bilingualism examination – *patentino*).

The reason why this is the case in South Tyrol is surely linked to language consistency, too. In South Tyrol, the protection of the national minority is much more precise than in Friuli-Venezia Giulia since in the Autonomous Province of Bolzano,

[253] Ilker Etikan et al., "Comparison of Snowball Sampling and Sequential Sampling Technique," Biometrics & Biostatistics International Journal 3, n. 1 (2015) http://medcraveonline.com/BBIJ/BBIJ-03-00055.pdf

German is not the language of the minority. It is a national minority, but locally speaking, it constitutes a *majority*. Slovene is, instead, a *minority* even in Friuli-Venezia Giulia context.

This difference regarding their proportion to Italian-speaking groups affects also schools administration. In South Tyrol, it is a provincial responsibility: after many years of struggles and fights, the German national minority became a local majority with the shifting of competences from the region to the province. In Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Slovene schools management is directly linked to the Italian central Ministry of Education, which is not detrimental for the Slovene minority. According to many (like Mr Simčič, whom I had the pleasure to speak to in Trieste), the Slovenian linguistic minority could also be subject to regional politics if it was only the competence of the region.

In addition to that, as mentioned in the theoretical part and confirmed by the interviewees, the historical events also influence the *collective imaginaire* of languages, which affects the transmission or non-transmission of them. The two languages had different prestige during history, due to the economic and political power of the nations beyond the border too. For that reason, many experts in the field (like Mrs Benčič) affirmed that the entry of Slovenia in the Schengen area was a turning point for the interest in the Slovene language. German has always been a very powerful language, one of the most used and spoken in the world, even though the stereotypes that people had about German-speaking people in South Tyrol were also determinative.

Nevertheless, the fact that the legal protection of the German minority is so precise could also be detrimental to multilingualism. To take an example, the ethnical proportional representation system is surely an innovation for the rights of all three linguistic groups, including Ladin, to be represented in public offices. However, South Tyrolean people must choose *one* identity to which they belong (or which they join) for the public administration to perform the ten-year census demanded by law. But what about bilingual families? They have to choose *one* community, even if during the interviews people clearly told me that they have a particular South Tyrolean identity and that choosing between the two is very difficult, if not non-sense. When I asked Mrs Benčič if a similar census existed in Friuli-Venezia Giulia, she answered that it is difficult to define Slovenes and to identify, also because of the historical events, the exoduses, the guilt and self-denigration which interrupted sometimes also the intergenerational

transmission… To sum up, the ethnical proportional system indeed ensures the representation of the three language groups, but it intrinsically also divides them.

Bilingualism being not automatically linked with the protection of the linguistic minorities is also a reality in minority schools. The fact that Italian native speakers, who most of the time do not have high proficiency in the minority languages, can register to allophone schools is a blessing for bilingualism. Thus, the level of language of Slovene and German schools is affected, neglecting also pupils of minority language communities who already speak the language of instruction as their L1, and their identity, as already mentioned. Also because many parents enrolled their children in those schools for convenience, and not because they are interested in the minority culture.

The establishment of more bilingual schools, which are already numerous in South Tyrol, could be the answer. Giving parents a choice between a monolingual education in German, Slovene or Italian, or bilingual education for their children would be a great step forward for the promotion of bilingualism, but also for the protection of minorities. To take an example, since many parents in Muggia have enrolled their children in the Slovenian school to give them the opportunity to become bilingual, if a bilingual school existed, this would perhaps also leave room for the Slovene minority to better develop their language skills and culture.

It would have been, in fact, interesting to interview monolingual parents belonging to the linguistic minorities to understand their viewpoints about the confusing relationship between the promotion of bilingualism/multilingualism and the protection of linguistic minorities, their identity and culture. Even if it was not the theme of my thesis since I tried to discover the value that Italian-speaking or bilingual families give to bilingualism, it would complete it, adding the point of view of the members of the other linguistic groups.

Also, for practical issues, I did not deepen the analysis of the administration of the schools, even though I tried to give the readers an overview citing the major legal documents about it. This could also be a captivating subject, which would deepen my study. During the redaction of this thesis, I understood that themes such as bilingualism and linguistic minorities protection and value are so vast and enthralling, that I was captivated many times and had to concentrate so as not to lose the main goals of the paper.

It would have been interesting, for example, to analyse the value attached to the other historical linguistic minorities, which have many different characteristics. According to many, some steps have indeed to be taken concerning the protection of historical linguistic minorities, and also about linguistic minorities due to more modern migration streams, which are also important for Italian cultural and linguistic heritage.

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7.3 Interviews

Alessia, parent of a child registered at *Albin Bubnič* primary school, interviewed June, 17, 2019 in Muggia.

Angela, teacher in *Albin Bubnič* primary school, interviewed June 18, 2019 in Muggia.

Anna, parent of a child registered at *Alessandro Manzoni* primary school and teacher at a German-speaking primary school interviewed Juned 28, 2019 by phone.

Benčič, Fiorella, president of the Association of Slovenes of Muggia's Municipality *Kiljan Ferluga* and ex-school director of the comprehensive institute *Josip Pangerc*, interview April 18, 2019.

Carla, parent of a child registered at *Alessandro Manzoni* primary school, interviewed July 1, 2019 by phone.

Chiara, parent of a child registered at *Albin Bubnič* primary school, interviewed June 19, 2019 in Muggia.

Elena, parent of a child registered at *Albin Bubnič* primary school, interviewed June 19, 2019 in Muggia.

Elisa, parent of a child registered at *Alessandro Manzoni* primary school, interviewed June 30, 2019, by phone.

Giulio, parent of a child registered at *Pier Paolo Vergerio il Vecchio* primary and middle school, interviewed June 17, 2019 in Muggia.

Laura, parent of a child registered at a German-speaking Primary school, interviewed June 28, 2019, by phone.

Mara, parent of a child registered at *Albin Bubnič* primary school, interviewed June 19, 2019 in Muggia.

Marco, parent of a child registered at *Albin Bubnič* primary school, interviewed June 19, 2019 in Muggia.

Marta, parent of a child registered at a German-speaking primary school, interviewed June 28, 2019, by phone.

Sara, parent of a child registered at *Alessandro Manzoni* primary school and teacher at a German-speaking primary school, interviewed June 21, 2019 by phone.

Silvia, parent of a child registered at *Albin Bubnič* primary school, interviewed June 19, 2019 in Muggia.

Simčič, Tomaž, excecutive manager of the Regional School Office in Trieste (interview June 20, 2020).

Susanna, parent of a child registered at *Alessandro Manzoni* primary school and teacher at a German-speaking primary school, interviewed July 1, 2019 by phone.

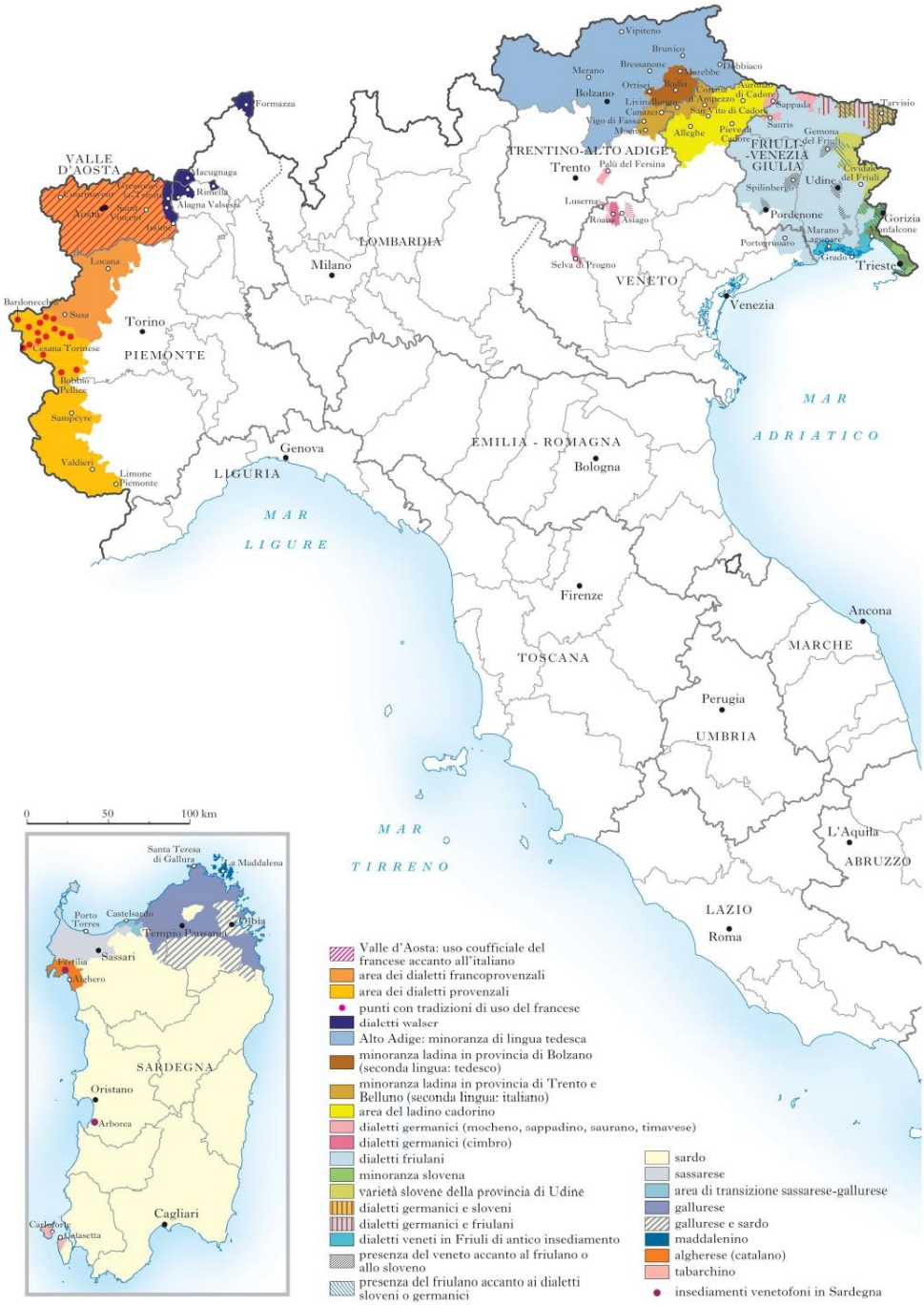
Tina parent of a child registered at *Alessandro Manzoni* primary school, interviewed June 28, 2019 by phone.

Viola, parent of a child registered at *Mavrica* kindergarten and teacher at *Albin Bubnič* primary school, interviewed June 19, 2019 in Muggia.

Von Ach, Christoph, Secretary General for South Tyrol at EUREGIO, interviewed April 10, 2019 in Brussels.

8. Appendixes

I. Map of linguistic minorities in Italy.



From: Raffaele Simone, *Enciclopedia dell'italiano II* (Roma, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani: 2011), 1628-29.

La carta illustra la diffusione delle → MINORANZE LINGUISTICHE storiche in base alla presenza effettiva delle lingue minoritarie (anche di varietà non riconosciute come tali dalla legislazione vigente), e al di là dei discutibili criteri di "zonizzazione" ammessi dalla legge 482/1999 (→ LEGISLAZIONE LINGUISTICA). Si tenga inoltre presente che le aree colorate sono per lo più caratterizzate da condizioni di plurilinguismo e pluriglossia, mentre lo scopo della carta è quello di rilevare soltanto la presenza e l'uso delle lingue minoritarie: ad es., così, nelle aree di dialetto provenzale delle Alpi Occidentali sono diffusi anche l'italiano e il piemontese (quest'ultima varietà spesso con percentuali d'uso più elevate del provenzale stesso), mentre l'italiano e il siciliano sono diffusi nei centri di tradizioni linguistiche altoitaliane e albanofone, e così via.

II. Table of the main information about historical linguistic minority in Italy.

Minority	**Historical reasons**	**Number of people estimated**	**Geographical position**	**Uses**
Albanian	Immigration streams of 16th c.	70.000 – 100.000	Abruzzi, Molise, Apulia, Campania, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicily	Cultural programs, taught in some Italian-speaking schools, intercultural project
Catalan	Spanish conquer and immigration streams of 13th c.	15.000	Sardinia	Experimental projects in some schools
Germanic - South Tyrolean	Movement of borders	300.000	South Tyrol	Co-officiality Language of instruction, courts, public offices and documents, municipal signs
Other Germanic dialects Mocheno Cimbrian Walser Carinthian	Moc: migration streams 13thc. Cim: migration streams 11thc. Wal: migration streams 8thc.	Moc:1600 Cim:880	Trentino, Veneto, Piedmont, Valle d'Aosta,	Some cultural institutions and organisations
Greek	Greek colonisation and immigration streams of 8th c. BCE	12.000	Calabria and Apulia	Used in some nursery schools and 3h/w in some primary schools, some bilingual road signs, some private radios
Slovene	Movement of borders	60.000	Friuli-Venezia Giulia	Language of instruction, courts, public offices and documents, municipal signs

Croat	Immigration streams of 15th c.	3.000	Molise	Optional subject in some schools, some road signs
French	Autochtonous	1.250	Valle d'Aosta	Co-officiality Language of instruction, courts, public offices and documents, municipal signs
Francoprovençal	Autochthonous	50.000 – 70.000	Valle d'Aosta, Piedmont, Apulia	Optional subject in some schools
Friulan	Autochthonous	600.000	Friuli-Venezia Giulia	Court proceedings, taught in some schools, radio and TV broadcasts,
Ladin	Authochtonous	30.000	Trentino-Alto Adige, Veneto	TST: Ladin speaking schools. Veneto: experimental projects
Occitan	Movement of borders (In Calabria, immigration streams 13th c.)	20.000 – 40.000	Piedmont, Liguria, Calabria	Optional subjects in some schools
Sardinian	Autochthonous	1 mln	Sardinia	Verbal contacts in public offices, optional subject in some schools

III. Political map of Italy representing Italian regions.

from https://www.beroad.it/cartina-geografica-italia/?fbclid=IwAR3_Edv-GezmgVwqDCNhqD07ORtpZQK25-jJ6AjTaFabkSgW1GElcwdIySk

IV. Declarations of affiliation or aggregation to each language group (Italian, German and Ladin) in Trentino-South Tyrol.

Sprachgruppenzugehörigkeits- und -zuordnungserklärungen - Volkszählung 2011

Dichiarazioni di appartenenza e di aggregazione per gruppo linguistico - Censimento della popolazione 2011

SPRACH-GRUPPEN	Sprachgruppen-zugehörigkeitserklärungen Dichiarazioni di appartenenza	Sprachgruppen-zuordnungserklärungen Dichiarazioni di aggregazione	Summe der gültigen Erklärungen Totale dichiarazioni valide	GRUPPI LINGUISTICI
		Absolute Werte Dati assoluti		
Italienisch	115.161	2.959	118.120	Italiano
Deutsch	310.360	4.244	314.604	Tedesco
Ladinisch	20.126	422	20.548	Ladino
Insgesamt	**445.647**	**7.625**	**453.272**	**Totale**
		Prozentuelle Zusammensetzung nach Erklärungsart Composizione percentuale per tipo		
Italienisch	97,49	2,51	100,00	Italiano
Deutsch	98,65	1,35	100,00	Tedesco
Ladinisch	97,95	2,05	100,00	Ladino
Insgesamt	**98,32**	**1,68**	**100,00**	**Totale**
		Prozentuelle Zusammensetzung nach Sprachgruppe Composizione percentuale per gruppo linguistico		
Italienisch	25,84	38,81	26,06	Italiano
Deutsch	69,64	55,66	69,41	Tedesco
Ladinisch	4,52	5,53	4,53	Ladino
Insgesamt	**100,00**	**100,00**	**100,00**	**Totale**

From: Stassi, and Valentini, *L'Italia del censimento*.

V. Pupils of kindergartens, primary and secondary schools in South Tyrol.

Kindergärten, Gruppen und Kinder - Schuljahre 2009/10-2018/19

Scuole dell'infanzia, sezioni e bambini - Anni scolastici 2009/10-2018/19

	Kinder-gärten Scuole dell'infanzia	Gruppen Sezioni	Kinder Bambini Buben Maschi	Mädchen Femmine	Insgesamt Totale	davon Ausländer (a) di cui stranieri (a)	
Schuljahre							**Anni scolastici**
2009/10	335	768	8.320	7.726	16.046	1.601	2009/10
2010/11	335	773	8.481	7.789	16.270	1.742	2010/11
2011/12	339	771	8.534	7.873	16.407	1.994	2011/12
2012/13	340	780	8.468	7.793	16.261	2.144	2012/13
2013/14	342	782	8.488	7.765	16.253	2.187	2013/14
2014/15	342	776	8.406	7.777	16.183	2.118	2014/15
2015/16	344	774	8.609	7.949	16.558	2.188	2015/16
2016/17	344	779	8.636	8.014	16.650	2.301	2016/17
2017/18	343	788	8.660	8.038	16.698	2.321	2017/18
2018/19	**343**	**800**	**8.639**	**7.984**	**16.623**	**2.354**	**2018/19**

Schuljahr 2018/19 / Anno scolastico 2018/19

Unterrichtssprache							**Lingua d'insegnamento**
Deutsch	268	585	6.378	5.946	12.324	1.436	Tedesco
Italienisch	58	175	1.909	1.675	3.584	862	Italiano
In ladinischen Tälern	17	40	352	363	715	56	Nelle valli ladine
Führung des Kindergartens							**Gestione della scuola**
Öffentliche Körperschaft	341	797	8.592	7.952	16.544	2.350	Ente pubblico
Kirchliche und private Führung	2	3	47	32	79	4	Enti religiosi e privati laici
Insgesamt	**343**	**800**	**8.639**	**7.984**	**16.623**	**2.354**	**Totale**

(a) Kinder ohne italienische Staatsbürgerschaft
Bambini senza cittadinanza italiana

Primary school:

Classi, alunni, stranieri e ripetenti per lingua d'insegnamento, comunità comprensoriale ed anno di corso - Anno scolastico 2018/19

	Klassen (a) Classi (a)	Eingeschriebene Schüler Alunni iscritti Buben Maschi	Mädchen Femmine	Insgesamt Totale	davon Ausländer (b) di cui stranieri (b)
Unterrichtssprache					
Deutsch	1.762	10.294	9.893	20.187	1.972
Italienisch	380	3.398	3.049	6.447	1.634
In ladinischen Tälern	99	624	516	1.140	82
Bezirksgemeinschaft des Schulsitzes					
Vinschgau	197	966	860	1.826	151
Burggrafenamt	398	2.748	2.600	5.348	731
Überetsch-Südtiroler Unterland	313	2.201	2.005	4.206	652
Bozen	292	2.627	2.512	5.139	1.166
Salten-Schlern	245	1.393	1.314	2.707	183
Eisacktal	289	1.542	1.461	3.003	348
Wipptal	115	553	553	1.106	144
Pustertal	392	2.286	2.153	4.439	313
Klasse					
1	454	2.870	2.745	5.615	747
2	450	2.843	2.689	5.532	735
3	449	2.845	2.614	5.459	708
4	439	2.782	2.639	5.421	725
5	449	2.976	2.771	5.747	773
Insgesamt	**2.241**	**14.316**	**13.458**	**27.774**	**3.688**

(a) Die Gesamtzahl der Schulklassen stimmt mit dem Wert in Tabelle 8 nicht überein, weil die zusammengelegten Klassen je nach Anzahl ihrer Jahrgänge (1., 2. Klasse usw.) mehrmals gezählt wurden (z.B. eine 1., 2. und 3. Klasse, die zusammengelegt wurden, gelten als 3 Klassen).
Il totale delle classi non corrisponde alla tabella 8 perché le pluriclassi sono state conteggiate in base agli anni di corso (es. una pluriclasse con tre anni di corso viene conteggiata tre volte).

(b) Schüler ohne italienische Staatsbürgerschaft
Alunni senza cittadinanza italiana

Middle school:

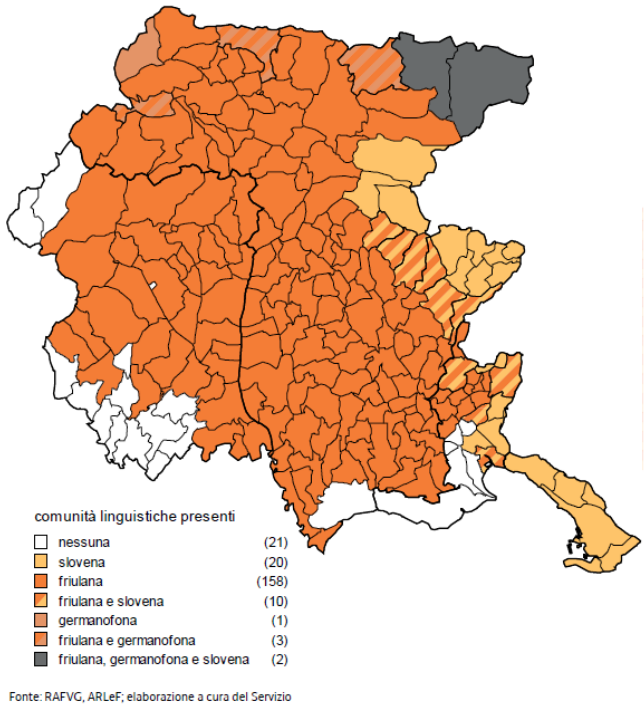
Classi, alunni, stranieri e ripetenti per lingua d'insegnamento, comunità comprensoriale ed anno di corso - Anno scolastico 2018/19

	Klassen Classi	Eingeschriebene Schüler Alunni iscritti			
		Buben Maschi	Mädchen Femmine	Insgesamt Totale	davon Ausländer (a) di cui stranieri (a)
Unterrichtssprache					
Deutsch	636	6.489	5.974	12.463	981
Italienisch	205	2.233	1.939	4.172	1.016
In ladinischen Tälern	41	406	380	786	45
Bezirksgemeinschaft des Schulsitzes					
Vinschgau	58	572	526	1.098	65
Burggrafenamt	165	1.633	1.533	3.166	464
Überetsch-Südtiroler Unterland	119	1.208	1.102	2.310	266
Bozen	168	1.848	1.697	3.545	705
Salten-Schlern	94	922	842	1.764	95
Eisacktal	100	1.115	941	2.056	181
Wipptal	33	322	285	607	74
Pustertal	145	1.508	1.367	2.875	192
Klasse					
1	291	3.080	2.704	5.784	710
2	295	2.960	2.789	5.749	631
3	296	3.088	2.800	5.888	701
Insgesamt	**882**	**9.128**	**8.293**	**17.421**	**2.042**

(a) Schüler ohne italienische Staatsbürgerschaft
Alunni senza cittadinanza italiana

From: Autonome Provinz Bozen – Südturol/Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano – Alto Adige, "Bildung in Zahlen/Istruzione in cifre 2018-2019." Bolzano: ASTAT in Zahlen/in Cifre 23: 2019.

VI. Linguistic communities in Friuli-Venezia Giulia.



Fonte: RAFVG, ARLeF; elaborazione a cura del Servizio

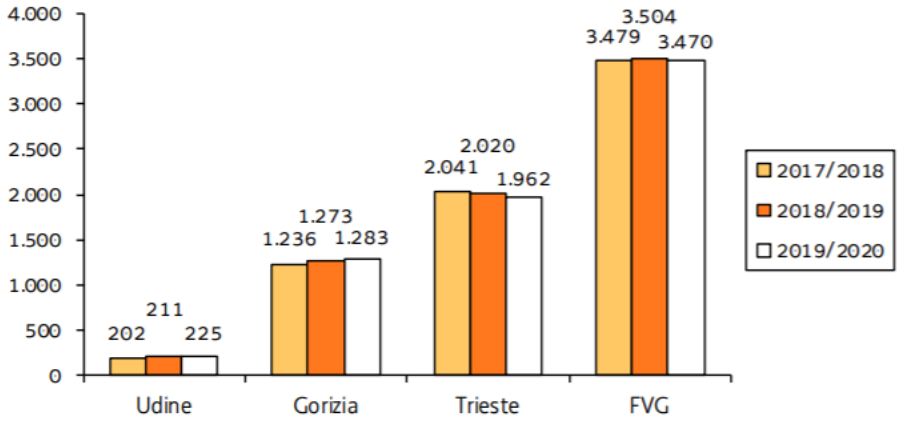
From: Regione Friuli-Venezia Giulia, "Regione in cifre 2019."

VII. Territories ceded after the Treaty of Paris in 1947.

From: Dizionari Zanichelli

https://dizionaripiu.zanichelli.it/storiadigitale/p/mappastorica/220/perdite-territoriali-italiane-verso-oriente

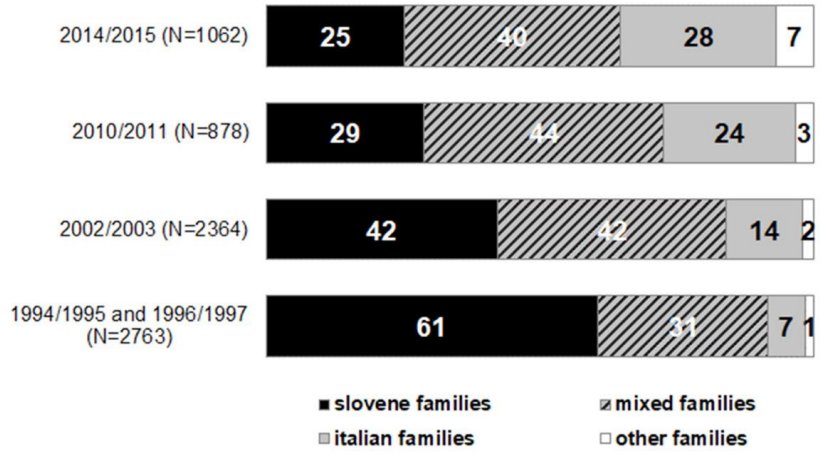
VIII. Children enrolled in schools with Slovene as the language of instruction in Friuli-Venezia Giulia for the academic years 2017-2020



Fonte: Ufficio scolastico regionale - Ufficio per l'istruzione in lingua slovena, Trieste; Direzione Didattica statale con insegnamento bilingue sloveno-italiano, S. Pietro al Natisone

From: Regione Friuli-Venezia Giulia, "Regione in cifre 2019".

IX. Ethnic origin pupils registered in Slovene-language and bilingual schools in the FVG region in the period between 1994/1995 and 2014/2015 (in %)



From: Bogatec, Vidau, *Skupnost v središču Evrope: Slovenci v Italiji od padca Berlinskega zidu do izzivov tretjega tisočletja*.

X. Guide of interviews with parents

Languages spoken by parent1 (interviewee)	
Languages spoken by parent2	
Languages spoken at hom - parents to each other - parent1 to child - parent2 to child - parent1 to their parents - parent2 to their parents - grandparents to child	
School attended by parents Languages taught	
School attended by child	
Class attended by child	
Languages at school - language of instruction - L2 / L3	
Reasons of registration	
Identity, cultural, historic factors	
Impression about school system	

Comments on choice (remorse…?)	
Language of upcoming studies	
(Impression of child) integration?	
Other comments	

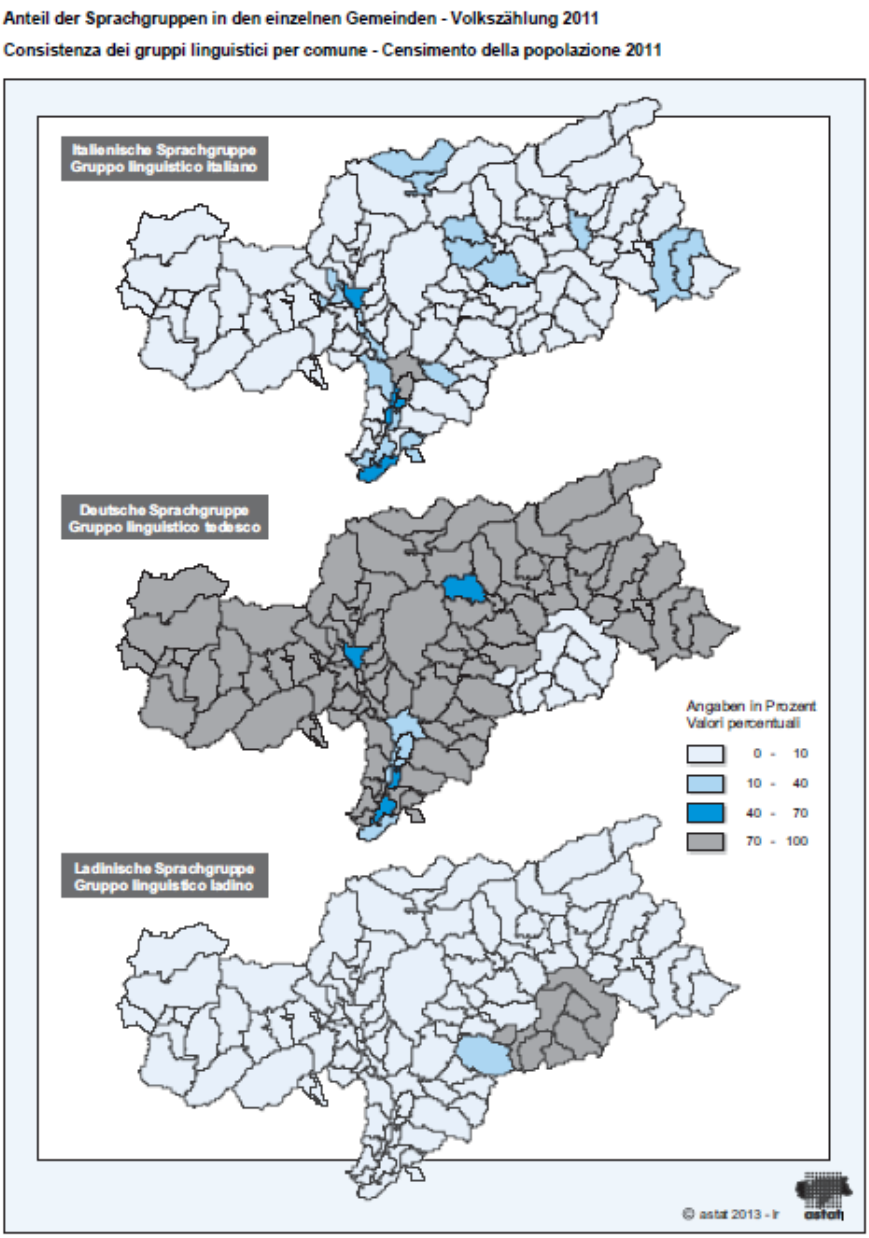
XI. Guide of interviews with teachers

School assigned (which subject)	
Classes they are teaching	
For how long	
Italian-speaking pupils?	
Languages spoken by children to each other	
Impressions about homogeneity of classes	
Change from the past	
Language represented in school system?	
Other comments	

XII. Map of the Trieste's province.

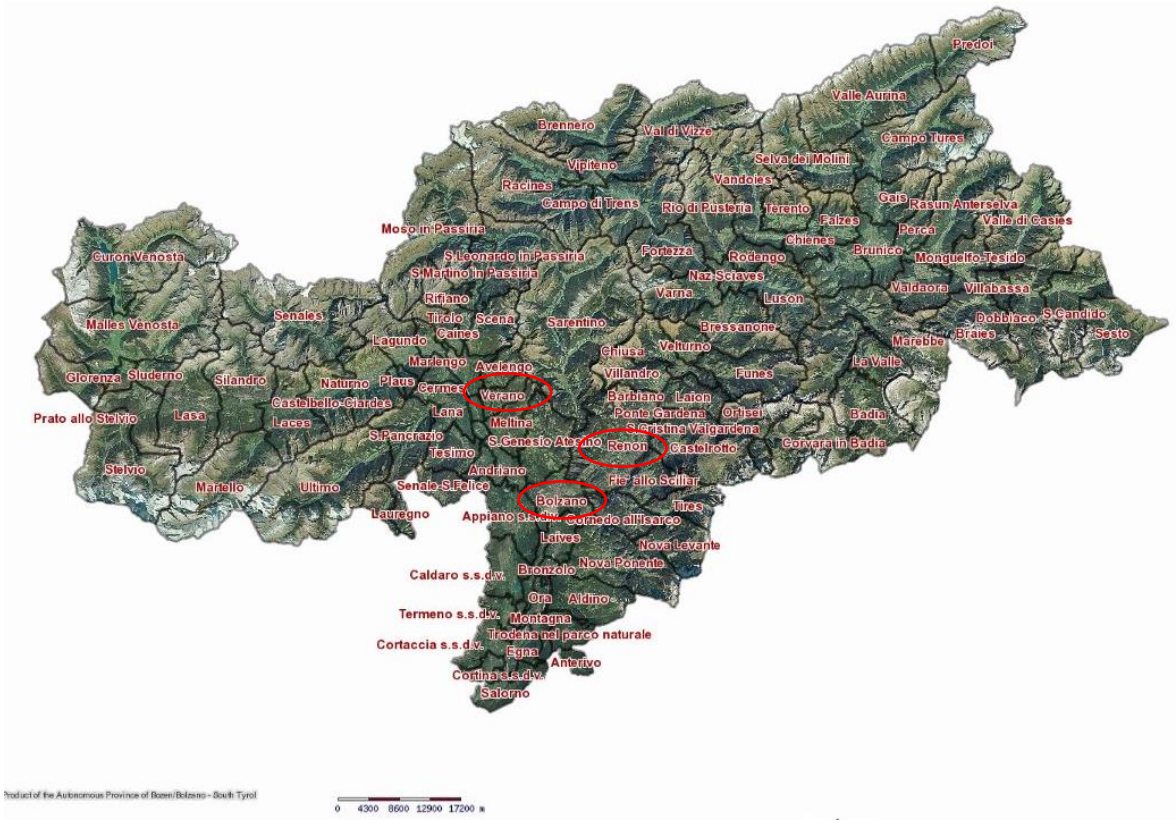
From: Google Maps

XIII. Linguistic consistency for municipality in the Province of Bolzano.



From: Stassi, and Valentini, *L'Italia del censimento*.

XIV. Map showing the municipalities of Autonomous Province of Bolzano.



From: Provincia Autonoma di Bolzano

http://www.provincia.bz.it/amministrazione/enti-locali/comuni.asp

Some pictures of my research stay in Muggia:

The Association of Slovenes of Muggia's Municipality *Kiljan Ferluga* headquarters in Muggia.

The front door of the *Bubnič* school and *Mavrica* kindergarten in Muggia, where I interviewed the teachers.