

# National Identities of Small Nations within the Context of European Integration: the Case of Slovenia

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**Abstract:** *There have been numerous discussions over the last decade concerning the current and future role of small states in the European Union enlargement process. There have also been a number of ideas involving a common European identity within the context of the development and reform of the European Union. These ideas are based on varying elements of common identity, whether they exist or not. It is not all that easy, however, to determine whether a common European identity actually exists. This article will attempt to demonstrate certain possibilities for preserving (small) state national identity in the European Union alongside the creation of a new, common European identity. There are also certain elements of national identity defined by various theories within the framework of the European Union. The Eurobarometer indicates, however, that the idea of a common European identity, which could be as intensive as a national one, is less than feasible. One can consequently argue that national identity still matters, within small states as well. The process of globalization will change the role of national identities and will in all probability strengthen supranational identities. National identities will still, however, be quite important due to their strong roots in society. Each country, particularly small ones, will still have to manage its identity wisely, otherwise the possibility arises of becoming lost in sea of additional identities.*

**Keywords:** *National Identity, the European Union, Small Countries, Socialization, Slovenia, Supranational Identity.*

## Introduction

In connection with the process of the creation and development of the European Union, the issue of shaping a common supranational European identity arises. The process of shaping a supranational identity is one of most crucial factors in the further development of the European Union. It should work as a link between different nations if it succeeds in eventually becoming a genuine identity for all Europeans. National identities can also, however, result in the destruction of the European Union in the case of a serious crisis in European institutions and a lack of democratic legitimacy.

Identity, regardless of what kind, is the essence which determines the action of an individual, state or supranational formation (if one can speak of a common identity within the framework of such a formation as opposed to only the convergence of separate identities bound to the representatives of national states). Here it is important to not overlook the role of identity in the development of the European Union as a supranational political system.

National identity is one of most important values of every nation. Small nations seem to be even more burdened with it than large ones. The European Union is most important factor alongside the process of globalization within the context of redefining national identities. This article will attempt to explain how membership in the European Union can affect the national identity of small nations. When discussing this one should not forget that the new European Union member states are much more sensitive regarding this issue because of rapid political and economic changes over recent decades. Attention will also be paid, however, to the role of the potential common European identity and its connection to the national identities of European Union member states. The question of a common European identity is not only a question of the homogenization of opinion and the sense of being European “citizens,” but also a question of the further development of the European Union and at the same time also a question of the future of the national identities of (small) member states. One methodological remark concerning what a small nation actually entails is necessary here. Various different definitions of small nations exist on the basis of various criteria. The current author understands a small state as every state which has no important means<sup>1</sup> to significantly influence the international (European) decision-making process.

## National identity

Identity can be viewed as a composition of psychophysical characteristics upon which one individual differs from others and in consequence these characteristics

make each individual unique. Individual identity is a combination of genetic predispositions and the environmental influence. There is also, however, a geographical environment with less influence (but not unimportant) as well as the social environment where an individual has been raised and lived and which can strongly influence the reactions of individuals in different situations (Mlinar 1995: 69; Ule 2000).

Before contemplating national identity, however, attention needs to be paid to social identity which is a broader framework connected with the process of socialization and the development of individuals and not so much to one political entity — to the nation. Jenkins (1996: 5) in this context exposed the reciprocity or interactionism when recognizing an individual's identity. No one can recognize himself as a part of a group if his/her reference group is not willing to recognize his status within that group.

When the first communities (not necessary political — initially communities were created for simpler and more successful survival) were created, a common identity was created as well. This identity made the people in one group more similar to one another and more different from other groups (Ule 2000: 177–178).

The development from tribe to nation is connected with the appearance of various social-integrative factors such as a common religion, language (as consequence of interpersonal communication), the shaping of common cultural tradition and in the final phase an individual's perception of themselves as members of a group. Makarovič (1995: 211–213) views, however, these integrative factors as necessary but not as sufficient conditions for the creation of a nation as the basis of a national awareness. Makarovič (1995: 212) argues that a nation is created when stratification takes place and the elite, which begins to lead the people, is formed. It should be admitted, however, that national identity is a quite recent phenomenon having received a more important role in the 19th century when it escalates into a mass phenomenon (Dunkerley et al. 2002: 61) also known as “the spring of nations<sup>2</sup>.”

National identity can be defined in a number of ways or discussed in a number of aspects. Due to the turbulent situation in the world, there arises a need to pay some attention to a geopolitical definition. Within this framework, national identity represents relations between nations or territories and includes concepts such as threat, inferiority or superiority and is connected with ideas on joint action against third nations or the creation of foreign policy (Dijking 1996: 11). This concept of national identity is accompanied by strong feelings of belonging to a group and separation into them and us. It at the same time strengthens interpersonal ties inside the group. This concept of national identity creation is connected with nations and formations with strong assimilation potential. Dijking (1996: 10) presents the case of the USA and the feeling of “being American<sup>3</sup>” in a suburb of New York, in comparison with Ireland and the feeling of “being European” in a suburb of Dublin, with the latter being much weaker than the former. Based on this comparison,

one can argue that the national identity of an American is much stronger than the national identity of an Irishman who recognizes himself first as a member of a local community then of a national state and finally also as a member of the European Union (Dijking 1996: 10).

The next, much more important, concept of national identity is the definition by Anthony Smith. This definition will also be used later in the article. Smith (1991: 14) views the following as key factors: historical territory, common myths and historical memory, mass culture, a common economy and common legal rights and obligations for all members. He details the following factors of common identity creation: historical territory, a common religion, mythology, ideology, history, culture, language, economic unity and common political institutions which are capable of taking shared steps against third countries and common symbols (Smith 1991: 14).

Each of these factors can be divided into more components or concrete indicators such as a common language, literature, the symbol of institutions (from cultural as well as from political and economic fields<sup>4</sup>), historical persons such as William Tell in Switzerland, flags, national anthems and other aspects which can serve to awaken a feeling of interconnection and common belonging to the same group (in Slovenia such a case is Triglav Mountain and the linden tree).

Various authors have a different list of criteria and priorities, but it would seem that the majority of them agree about the importance of languages in national identity creation. The most detailed explanation is in a book by Benedict Anderson (1998): *Imagined Communities*. He views national identity as a product of language and sentiment of interconnection between people that have never met one other but who know they exist and have something in common (an ability to communicate in the same language). A similar argument is provided by Brubaker (n.d.), although here in the specific case of Eastern Europe, when he is talking about the role of language diversity and national consciousness in the area of the Habsburg Empire at the time of its decline. This social constructivism, based on the integrative role of language, where people recognize one other as members of the same community because of the same language which enables them to understand one other, seems one of the most important approaches to national identity creation. Its validity can be found in the argument that national identity is a product of interpersonal relations and communication (Anderson, 1998). One should not, however, mix up identity with the social role although there are different (more or less important) roles and different (more or less strong) identities<sup>5</sup>. In opposition to “linguistic theory,” are certain ideas by Hobsbawm (1996: 256) where he emphasizes that there are numerous languages spoken by different nations and also nations that speak different languages. In this context he suggested a quite radical idea about the lowest denominator of Anderson’s “imagined communities.” Hobsbawm (1996: 265) argues that when someone can no longer feel himself as a member of a other group of people, he/she recognizes

him-/herself as a member of nation. There is virtually nothing to do in order to belong to it and it is almost impossible to be thrown out. The most controversial is the argument that people create their national (group) identity through xenophobia or exclusion of others who never were and never will be able to become members of their nation or community (Hobsbawm 1996: 265)<sup>6</sup>.

## Small nations and national identity

This part of the article will attempt to discuss the role of national identities of small states within the conditions of European Union membership and globalization. Special attention will be paid to the Slovenian case. The European Union is a symbol of connecting completely different cultures. This is particularly apparent (despite it not being emphasized all that often) after the last enlargement of the European Union, when a third large national group (Slavs) was added to the two previous (German, Roman). The importance of belonging to the Slavic national group and its diversity is also emphasized by Brusis (2001: 199) when he argues that the new member states of the European Union have a number of things in common and are at the same time quite different from old member states. National borders are also losing their previous role and many people are afraid of being assimilated by “larger nations.” Such fears have their origins in a traditional understanding of national identity as it was defined earlier. This also supports the views of Hobsbawm (1996: 265) and his theory on xenophobia as a method of creating a national awareness. This can be used in order to understand fear of being assimilated and the consequent rise of xenophobia in various parts of the European Union.

There is also a more optimistic view of erasing borders in the European Union which is connected with the advantages of faster communication and time-space compression. From this point of view, small nations (such as Slovenia) have the greater possibility to speak about themselves and inform other nations about their historical and scientific achievements. This is particularly important in today’s world when the tertiary and quarterly sector of the economy (services and “know-how”) are much more important than mass production (the secondary sector). Small nations can be as competitive as larger states in such circumstances and can create a new kind of identity, based specifically on cultural and scientific achievements which are not limited with natural resources and the number of workers. One of the best cases is the Swiss with their banking business or Nordic states with their “know-how” potential. Based on their potential, they are no longer small nations but important partners in negotiations.

Slovenia is one of the so-called small nations in the European Union and there is a great deal of debate on Slovenian streets about the country being erased from the

world map because of the changing role of the national state within the context of globalization and particularly of erasing borders in the European Union.

### **Slovenia and its national identity in the Europeanization /globalization process**

The Slovenian area was settled as far back as before Christ but southern Slavs as the direct progenitors arrived in this region around 500 AD. Despite this quite late settlement, Slavs in this area created Carantania, an independent and democratic political entity, which served as a model for creating democratic systems even in some other nations (Prunk and Ivanič 1996: 18–27). Carantania can be viewed as the first attempt at creating an entity which would be capable of taking shared steps against third “states” in the area. Administrative decay in the Middle Ages, however, prevented the efficient creation of a Slovenian national identity (Prunk and Ivanič 1996: 28–36) and consequently an inability to take shared steps against third nations. Slovenian national identity is based on numerous ancient written sources such as “Brižinski spomeniki” although the actual turning point in creating Slovenian national identity was the Reformation and Trubar’s “Katekizem” and “Abecednik” (as the first book printed in Slovene in 1550). Mention should be made that Slovenes were one of the first nations to be able to read the Bible in their own language (Prunk and Ivanič 1996: 44–54). After the Middle Ages, Slovenes maintained their own identity through their literature (Prešeren, Cankar...). Literary works in Slovenian history played not only an important cultural role but also a political one with a number of them even becoming symbols of the Slovenian nationality. In the political field, the creation of a national identity was bolstered by the political programme, “zedinjena Slovnija,” written in 1848 and finally realized in 1991 with the proclamation of a sovereign Slovenia. This resulted in the ability to take shared steps against third countries for the first time after Carantania. The period in between involved partial autonomy with a limited capability of taking shared steps against third nations. The development of Slovenia was economically and politically marked by the long period of Habsburg supremacy and socialist Yugoslavia. Within the framework of the Habsburg monarchy, Slovenia received a comparative economic advantage, and from the former Yugoslavia a stronger feeling for social equity. A strong associative factor was also the Catholic faith and the presence of various natural wonders such as Triglav Mountain, Bohinj Lake or the linden tree which have the status of national symbols (The World Book Encyclopedia 1992–1994, Vol. 17: 493–494).

Slovenian political identity was in the period between Carantania and an independent Slovenia more or less suppressed by stronger nations who tried to erase Slovenian identity. Such a historical experience and geographical barriers (the Alps) resulted in a high level of national consciousness and xenophobia. At the same time,

the aforementioned circumstances are also the reason for fear of losing national identity within the mix of the 25 different states in the European Union. One of the most important factors which will help save a small nation such as Slovenia on the world map, in the past and also at present, is the language and its impact on the cultural identity of the nation. And in a special sense the European Union, with its language policy allows member states to maintain their cultural specifics and identity if they are aware of it, willing and able to do so. In this sense Slovenes, as any other nation, are the only ones to blame if their national identity disappears from the map of national identities.

The European Union is evidence that independent economies, with common European market and the processes of globalization, are losing their role. Religious tradition differs from country to country, but the role of Christianity is always important. Cultural differences are connected with the geographic location and the historical development of each nation. There are also languages, of course, where the greatest differences<sup>7</sup> can be seen among the various states. It is apparent, however, that, language was most important factor for national identity creation, particularly in small countries, it being a key specific integrative factor which served to create the effect of a so-called imagined community (Anderson, 1998). In cases of larger nations, there were and still are additional factors such as a long historical memory, a strong political system and a long period of relatively sovereign control over the territory. In this sense, the protection of the language from foreign words and influences serves as a major factor for protecting national cultural identity.

## **The identity of the European Union vs. the identities of small nations**

Although dreams about a joint Europe are as old as Europe itself, the primary issue has been the way of realizing these dreams (Pinterič 2002: 415). From the historical perspective, Europe is a continent of conflicts and differences based on strong national feelings and the idea of one nation's supremacy over others. After the Second World War, there was a completely new approach to the unification of the continent. One way of attempting to subjugate other nations under one head was replaced by economic cooperation and creating nets of cooperation among nations. This helped to suppress negative feelings on at least a formal level.

From a historical and cultural point of view, one can talk about certain common characteristics of a uniform European culture impacted by Christianity, ancient Greek and Roman civilization and their achievements, the ideals of the French Revolution and the experience of both world wars. Europe is divided, however, by the



consequences of self-sufficient feudal units in the Middle Ages and the nationalisms of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Dunkerley et al. 2002: 110–116). As a result one could argue that the so-called common European identity is not merely a concept to bring people together into some kind of common form on the basis of an institutional framework, but that this common identity actually has some historical background. This background can be viewed as the basis for the creation of a common European identity in the future by the bottom up method, when people recognize their roots and feel they belong to a broader group (in this case to the European “quasi-nation”), particularly in relation to non-European nations. Lesaar (2001: 190) admits, however, that two of the most important integrative factors, a genuine “European soul” and European public opinion, are still lacking.

Linguistic diversity is, next to the aforementioned, one of the primary barriers in the process of creating a common European identity. Language is one of the strongest factors in national identity creation process. Anderson (1998) views it as the basis for national identity creation. The European Union has many more languages than member states, if we are not afraid to recognize languages of different national minorities with a strong national identity as independent (Basques, the Welsh...). According to certain data in the European Union, there are thirty-two nations and sixty-seven languages, without taking into account dialects (Borneman, Fowler cited in Dunkerley et al. 2002: 121). In such a case, if one agrees with Anderson’s concept of imagined communities, sixty-seven different (sub) national identities can be recognized.

Taking into account all the basic components of common European identity results in a quite confused picture connected with the historical elements of common culture (Greek and Roman culture and the Christian religion) versus the disintegrative “Spring of Nations” (when Europe, from self-sufficient feuds, become a puzzle of national states and numerous nationalisms, which in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century escalated into the two most bloody wars ever). After the Second World War, unifying tensions have come about as the answer to fear of the next possible conflict, due to national interests.

Opinions concerning a common European identity are extremely divergent among European scholars and politicians. A common identity is viewed as necessary and national identities should be protected in some kind of middle ground between these two poles in an image of so-called “cosmopolite communitarism” (Lacroix 2002: 197–198). Cosmopolite communitarism is a broader concept of understanding individual identity within the context of globalization which is not directly connected to the European Union, but is also of use in this concrete case. The European use of this concept entails a high level of agreement among nations on basic issues and values on the one hand, and national specifics on the other hand



(Lacroix 2002: 201–203) which seems quite similar to the current situation in the European Union.

The most important characteristic of the creation of a common European identity is its top-down format<sup>8</sup>. It is all actually about linking the economic interests of nation states and the spill-over effect which has homogenized other policy fields as well. One should not neglect to mention here the role of the European institutional framework, the creation of different common European spaces (such as a common administrative space) and *acquis communautaire*. For certain authors such as Brusis (2001: 205–206), participation in European institutions is so important that they argue that European Union membership means having a European identity at the same time.

The process of creating a shared European identity with a strong impact on the institutional framework is even more determined with the establishment of a common European citizenship<sup>9</sup> in the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. The formulation, stating that from the Maastricht Treaty onwards, citizens of each European Union member state are also citizens of the European Union, was written so awkwardly that a need to amend it arose in the Amsterdam Treaty where it was stressed that national citizenship still remains as the basic citizenship (Weiler 1999: 324).

In this context certain authors make a distinction between the common European identity and the common identity of the European Union which later refers to the institutional (political) framework and consequently to the value system, history, etc (see Lesaar 2001: 183–190). The present author can partially agree with this argument but according to Smith (1991: 14) with the criteria of national identity one can say that the identity of the European Union is only a component of the common European identity.

Certain data on the existence of a common European identity can also be found in the Eurobarometer European public opinion polls. Questions regarding the feeling of belonging to the European Union, the possibility of the existence of a shared European cultural identity and the presence of a shared European identity indicate quite a heterogeneous picture among the citizens of different member states and a pronounced lack of unity between the U.K. and continental Europe. The low level of European identity<sup>10</sup> and the diametrically opposite high level of national identity is characteristic for the U.K., the Scandinavian states and Greece. In accordance with this, it is difficult to say whether a common European identity exists (see Ferfila, 2002: 505–507). Also surprising is the level of agreement on a shared cultural identity, because there is no European member state where at least half of the people could agree that a shared European culture exists. In eight out of the fifteen member states, more than half of the respondents think that there is no shared European culture (see Ferfila 2002: 507).

According to the Eurobarometer public opinion polls (Eurobarometer 60, autumn 2003), one could argue that it is unrealistic to state that some kind of common European feeling exists among European nations. At present, the system basically revolves around various institutional mechanisms such as a shared institutional framework, shared policies, European citizenship and how to create it. Here one should not neglect to mention the role of a common European currency, the Euro. It received the nickname “our money” quickly and at the moment seems to be the most concrete integrative factor of the European Union and also the greatest symbol of a unified European Union (Dunkerley et al. 2002: 118). It is important to note, however, that all the European Union member states are not automatically member states of the European Monetary Union and did not necessarily give up their national currency despite being members of the European Monetary Union. Two other symbols of the European Union are the flag and the anthem which, along with other elements, attempt to convince the world and even the citizens of its own member states, that a shared European identity does exist.

The struggle over the supremacy of national identity over European or vice versa has in recent years quite an interesting solution in terms of the idea of a complementary relationship between national and European identity (Lesaar 2001: 180, 192–193) which is quite similar to the already mentioned concept of cosmopolitan communitarism.

Regardless of whether one talks about national or supranational identity, one should not forget about the impact of globalization. Various definitions of globalization provide different points of view. In the present case, one can say that globalization is the process of time and space compression (see Larrain 1994: 150–154). In relation to national identities this means that one can no longer avoid more frequent interactions with other identities. It is apparent that there are many more possibilities for mixing of different cultures and their elements. In this sense it can be said that Hobsbawm’s (1996: 265) idea concerning protecting national identity with xenophobia can be verified but at the same time globalization is a process of overcoming xenophobic barriers. Discussion on identity in the conditions of globalization leads in several directions. Cosmopolitanism has already been mentioned, while the second one is pan-nationalism, followed by new local identities. In the case of the European Union, pan-nationalism can be understood as so-called pan-Europeanism which unites different units (nations) into a shared political and cultural community on the basis of common characteristics. This can be understood as almost a federative model attempting to create a completely new (id)entity. There are, in contrast, few models for the connecting of broader (supranational) and local identities. This “glocal” mix is quite similar to cosmopolitanism where supranational common characteristics are joined with the characteristics of local identity. The primary barrier for such a “glocal” identity involves rare common elements on a supranational (global) level if we

overlook world wars and colonialism which are far from being a sound basis for a broader common identity<sup>11</sup>. Various authors (see Lučić 2003) agree, however, that a national identity will change its form and role in the process of globalization and strengthen the European Union. They also agree, however, that apart from extremists the role of the national will not vanish and will remain important and recognizable (see also Larrain 1994: 154–166).

In the situation of the top-down creation of a shared European identity, the future of (small states) national identity can be seen in terms of respecting national traditions. And this, not only from other nations but first and foremost from the nation which is trying to preserve its national identity. The European Union provides an excellent opportunity for small nations in the field of national identity preservation if nations will be interested. National identity can actually become an important economic product and small nations in particular should take advantage of it. Such commercial successes as Swiss knives, plates with paintings of the Eiffel Tower, Triglav Mountain, hand-made lace or similar products are small parts of national identity and at the same time also pleasant souvenirs with a double effect. On the one hand they recall where the producers come from and on the other hand enable tourists (members of other nations) to get to know at least a small part of other nations' identity and history. The Schengen system of erasing national borders in the European Union provides good opportunities for traveling and meeting new nations and their characteristics. Each nation is responsible, however, for its national identity. It is important, particularly for small nations, to be open towards other nations and cultures and at the same time be strong enough to resist all influences which could ruin their national identity.

## Conclusion

A system of shaping individual identity is strongly connected, in the first place, to the system of near social reference frameworks such as family, the local community and, only in the context of these two reference groups, does the indirect awareness of belonging to a broader entity begin. This broader entity is usually called “a nation,” which differs from other similar entities due to its shared language, tradition and lower or higher degree of openness towards other nations. An awareness of belonging to a broader political entity (usually a nation state) is called a national identity which is, on the one hand, collective (in the sense of the existence of integrative factors which an individual recognizes as important for the existence and development of national identity) and individual on the other hand (in the sense of every individual's self-recognition of this identity)

In this article, the core problem was the role of the (supra)national identity in the connection between small nations and the European Union. There has been an attempt to demonstrate that most of the European Union member states have certain shared elements of their national identities, such as the influence of the Classical tradition, the Christian religion, the Enlightenment, etc. There are, however, a number of divisions particularly in traditions and languages.

The strong role of national identities in the past still has an important influence on both the large and small countries of the European Union. A number of nations, particularly “young” ones are protecting themselves from foreign influences with xenophobia. Such an unwillingness to accept and understand foreign cultures is far from positive because it closes off ways of cooperation with others and at the same time prevents possibilities for further development. This is particularly problematic in the case of certain Central and Eastern European nation that recently changed their political and economic system.

Based on the importance of an individual’s socialization thesis, European identity is the only one of the identities of every individual which seems much more reasonable. At the moment this is accepted, one also has to accept that there must be a certain kind of hierarchy of identities where quickly adopted identities have a stronger impact than others and are usually connected to the local community. National and supranational identities only follow after this identity<sup>12</sup>. This could be supplemented by an awareness that the process of a shared European identity is, in the best case, fifty years old, whereas today’s national identities have a history of one hundred fifty to two hundred years. The third element of a national identity’s strength is its former history. According to Eurobarometer data, countries with longer and “more renowned” history have a stronger national identity than younger nations<sup>13</sup>. On the other hand, Beetham and Lord (1998: 51–52) are of the opinion that smaller nations will be aware sooner of their advantages in the European Union and consequently will be faster to assume some kind of a shared (European) identity. Experience tells us, however, that national interests are still prevailing and shared interests are only on the second level.

In accordance with what has been stated previously, it seems much more reasonable to talk of the presence of different elements of a shared identity at a certain level than to talk about the existence of this or another identity (particularly about a shared European identity).

In the European Union, small nations probably have even greater opportunity to preserve their identities if they will be able to respect them and sell them to other nations as a cultural product. Working in this manner will have at least two positive effects. On the one hand it will preserve national identity and on the other hand it will help national economies progress over the coming years.

It can also be argued that the process of globalization will change (but not suppress) the role of small national identities in relation to the supranational one. People will continue, however, to ask themselves who and what they are, where they are from and where they are heading.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> The number of citizens, important natural resources, a strong army or any other resource which helps one nation significantly influence policy output in a way which serves its own national interests.
- <sup>2</sup> The Spring of Nations is a historical label for the escalation of different nationalisms on the European continent in 1848 connected with the February and March revolution.
- <sup>3</sup> One has to be careful when talking about being American as one cannot forget that America is the largest melting pot and that the only people who are allowed to call themselves Native Americans are Indians.
- <sup>4</sup> A national parliament, national bank, national gallery, museums, opera... the scope of the institutions differs from state to state.
- <sup>5</sup> Our social role is what one does in ones life. In contrast, identity means answering the question of belonging and feeling sympathy with a specific group. In certain cases role and identity can be covered by one other.
- <sup>6</sup> See also Ule 2000: 177–178.
- <sup>7</sup> English is special branch of German language group, French is one of roman languages; Slovene is (South) Slavic and Estonian Ugrofine language (Južnič, 1983).
- <sup>8</sup> In this aspect it is similar to the creation of French identity which was created by a central government with a common education system and certain other policies.
- <sup>9</sup> For critical reflections on this topic see also Cesarain and Fulbrook (ed.), 1996.
- <sup>10</sup> In Luxembourg there are 20 % of the people considering themselves Europeans on the first place and then Luxembourgian, while in other states the percentage of people viewing themselves as Europeans is much lower (See Ferfila, 2002: 506).
- <sup>11</sup> For more basic ways of identity development in the era of globalization see Lučić (2003).
- <sup>12</sup> On multilevel of individual's identity and role of national and supranational identities see also Žagar 1998: 27–33.
- <sup>13</sup> See before: footnote 11: case Luxembourg.

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