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National Identity at the Margins of Europe: History, Affect and Museums in Slovenia

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Abstract:

National Identity at the Margins of Europe: History, Affect and Museums in Slovenia

Robert Allen Booth, Ph.D.
University of Connecticut 2014

This study examines the historical and idiographic aspects of national identity in Slovenia and brings empirical data to bear on the question of the effect of museums and their identity narratives on citizen museum attendees. Museums have often been portrayed as such sites of identity construction and as important state-making and state-maintaining institutions that educate citizens on the history and heritage of nationhood and nationality. This empirical data is coupled with ethnographic and discourse analytic approaches to demonstrate that the apprehension of identity is predicated on broader historical, socio-political, emotional, moral and economic aspects of society. This dissertation specifically engages four questions: (1) If museums are conduits for societal “memory work”, “place making” and identity building, as is often claimed, how is national identity transmitted by such “memory institutions”? (2) What are the implications of a conflicting valorization of the past with the cynicism of the present on national identity? (3) How does the treatment of “traumatic history” (such as that of World War Two) in national remembering affect national identity? And finally, (4) Do locally specific cognitive-emotional patterns serve as catalysts or as “reagents” for national identity construction? Findings suggest that World War Two era conflicts are salient in modern political and everyday discourse. Further, an agrarian past complicates nationalistic valorization of peasantry, due to narratives of subaltern resistance that imbue past social conflicts. I suggest a semiotic approach to understanding how these competing narratives find voice in the historical and ethnographic museums of Slovenia. These findings complicate the notion of the museum as

Robert Allen Booth – University of Connecticut, 2014

a conduit of national identity and suggests novel cognitive and semiotic approaches to study questions of national identity, social memory and memory institutions such as museums.

National Identity at the Margins of Europe: History, Affect and Museums in Slovenia

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B.A. Thomas Edison State College

M.S. Purdue University

A Dissertation

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Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at the

University of Connecticut

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Robert Allen Booth

2014

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Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation

National Identity at the Margins of Europe: History, Affect and Museums in Slovenia

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They say you aren't a true Slovenian until you've climbed Triglav.

-- Ljubljana, Marija, Office Manager, woman, 29.

One of the key national symbols of Slovenia today is that of Triglav Mountain. This mountain is stylistically represented on currency, postage, national badges, the flag, etc. Like Marija suggested, climbing it is often referred to as an act of national identity production. While I have not climbed the actual mountain, figuratively I feel as I have climbed one with the production of this dissertation. This task would have been impossible if it had not been for the patience and tolerance for my constant questioning and inquiries by the many Slovenians I talked to over the last few years peppering them with questions about Slovenian-ness, history, et cetera. For their help and insightful input I am eternally grateful. For those I have quoted here, I have intentionally changed the names and other identifying characteristics in order to protect their privacy. Any mistakes are mine and mine alone.

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For Claire and Katie

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A Note on Slovenian Phonology

In Slovenia, Slovene is given particular centrality to discourse of identity. Therefore, I will first offer this brief note on the language. Slovene, a Slavonic language, is a challenging language for native speakers of American English, at least in my estimation. Slovene has six cases, three genders, at least three tenses and most importantly, three numbers. There is also a fading tonemic system (Herrity 2000:4). A highly heterogeneous language considering its relatively small number of speakers (approximately 2.4 million speakers worldwide) it has over fifty dialects (Herrity 2000:1). The Contemporary Standard Slovene is based on a composite of the geographically central dialects of from Gorenjska and Dolenjska (Upper and Lower Carniola), which is to the East of the capital, Ljubljana (Herrity 2000:1). This official dialect is both artificial and less used in day-to-day life than the various colloquial dialects, even within highly educated circles (Herrity 2000:1). However, this is the version of Slovene taught to students and to foreigners attempting to learn Slovene. Of course, the construction of an “official” dialect is in itself an act of nation-making, one I will inquire about within my museum surveys. For now, I have included the following guide to help the reader with the Slovene included herein.

Slovene Alphabet

The Slovene alphabet has twenty-five letters. Three of the letters have superscript diacritics, namely č, š, and ž. I include only those letters that are more than marginally different from American English here, for brevity sake.

Figure 1. Pronunciation guide

Slovene	English Equivalent
Cc	ts (as in cats)
Čč	ch (as in church)
Dd	d (but more dental)
Ee	e (as in get)
Hh	ch (as in loch)
Ii	i (as in machine)
Jj	y (as in young)
Ll	l or w (w if at the end of a word)*
Oo	o (as in got)
Rr	r (but somewhat rolled as in Italian)
Šš	sh (as in ship)
Tt	t (but more dental)
Uu	u (as in rue)
Vv	v or w*
Žž	zh (as in measure or Za Za Gabor)

(Adapted from Herrity 2000:5-6).

* For further guidance see Derbyshire 1993, Herrity 2000.

CHAPTER 1:

Introduction

Slovenia is an independent Central European country scarcely twenty years old. Prior to that time, the territory of what is now Slovenia was part of various other polities, empires and multi-national entities. While Slovenia is a new state, it was also a political project that had begun in the mid-19th century. In essence it was among the last nations to be born out of the “Spring of Nations” of 1848, some 142 years late.

In 1989-1990, Slovenia acquired escape velocity from Yugoslavia and quickly joined NATO, the EU and the common currency. A new state faces a number of challenges, not least of which is the cognitive and economic investment or mobilization of citizenry to accept new political order. The populace on the other hand has a vested interest in ensuring that the political identity reflects their individual and communal values. While this can be approached via numerous nationalistic modalities (civic, ethnic, religious, et cetera), it invariably must be built upon a conceptualization of a base, default defining conceptualization of Slovenia *as a place* and Slovenes *as a people*. However upon my arrival in the field, it became clear to me that this nationalizing ideology was not universally accepted and was in fact often resisted, challenged or doubted. Attempting to understand this disconnect from identity as lived versus identity as a product of political ordering became the focus of my research.

This dissertation examines the processes of national identity creation at loci of “memory institutions”, explicitly examining the roles of both “traumatic histories” as well as negative constructions of national identity. In Slovenia, national identity is, of course, tied to the historical tangents and entanglements of the past, but nationalist valorization of Slovenianness or

Slovensko are contradicted by thoroughly negative and skeptical assessments of that identity. This dissertation explores this context and the implications it has on the scholarship of nationalism built on the foundations of Anderson (2006), Gellner (1993), Hobsbawm (1990, [1983] 2000), and Smith (1986, 1991, 1999).

This project seeks to address four questions specifically:

- (1) If museums are conduits for societal “memory work”, “place making” and identity building, how is national identity transmitted by such “memory institutions”?
- (2) What are the implications of a conflicting valorization of the past with the cynicism of the present on national identity?
- (3) How does the treatment of “traumatic history” in national remembering affect national identity? And finally,
- (4) Do locally specific cognitive-emotional patterns serve as catalysts or “reagents” for national identity construction?

This first chapter will first examine the theoretical terrain and various academic works that form a foundation for the dissertation while concurrently attempting to unpack the questions posed by this dissertation. Chapter Two discusses the methodology and fieldwork locations. Chapter Three is an initial attempt to approach the concept of *Slovensko* (Slovenian-ness) and attitudes of Euro-skepticism discovered during my first extended stay in the field. Chapter Four presents the historical context for the Slovenian case, including important historical and folkloric/mythic elements that are differently mobilized in modern Slovenian identity, especially the notion of the “peasant past”. Further, it engages the traumatic individual and social memories of World War Two and its aftermath in Slovenia and examines the political effects of

WWII and the political instrumentation of WWII memory in Slovenia. Chapter Five approaches the critical role of emotion (beyond patriotic sentiment) in national identity, arriving at several key categories which further illuminate questions of national character, values and morals. It also explores some structural foundations for societal anxiety by considering the ongoing economic realities in post-communist Slovenia and economic evidence of Slovenian fiscal (in)stability, marginalization and alienation in the face of an ever-expanding trans-regional and global capitalism. Chapter Six provides a more focused examination of the particular institutions and locations of this study after first briefly considering museum theory and examining the role of museum in society and the theories guiding museology today followed by discussions of the museums included in this project, examining identity narratives in closer detail and discussing the results of the museum questionnaires. Chapter Seven is the conclusion, where I offer some closing thoughts on the question of museums and national identity and point to the continuing economic undermining of nationalist identity work in Slovenia.

The Context

Slovenia is a small, mostly alpine, state in Central Europe and was the first former Yugoslavian republic to successfully break from Yugoslavia in 1990-91. The bloodshed and carnage of the dissolution of Yugoslavia was deeply traumatic and divisive. Whether portrayed as religious (with the actors being Catholics, Orthodox followers, Muslims), ethno-nationalist or as a conflict more deeply rooted in an urban-rural structural concerns (Jovic 2001), the long conflict overshadowed any international attention to Slovenia and its remarkable accomplishment of a nearly bloodless extrication from the latest Balkan wars. Few died in the “Ten Day War” for independence and the peace was negotiated between the parties themselves. Factors that lead to an “easy” departure from Yugoslavia involved alleged cultural and ethnic homogeneity, tied to a distinctive Slavic language that was deemed by pan-Slavist academics and

politicians as too different from Serbian and Croatian to encourage its inclusion in 19th and early 20th century efforts to forge one language from those spoken in (now former) Yugoslavian territories (Greenberg 2004). Additionally, Slovenia's economic strength and close ties to certain Western European economies (namely Italy and Austria) helped in the initial transition. Often, the alpine character of Slovenian identity was held up by not only local ethnologists and folklorists, but also by nationalist political elites to account for differences with the rest of Yugoslavia. Additionally, a long history of servitude to Imperialist states (e.g. the Hapsburgs) was (and continues to be) considered to be one of several historical peculiarities that shaped Slovenian national and ethnic identity. These linguistic, cultural and ethnic traits allegedly led to the establishment of a state rooted in part in the revolutions of 1848 and efforts by political actors to gain autonomy from the Hapsburgs.

The Questions

This dissertation explores four questions.

Question # 1: If museums are conduits for societal “memory work”, “place making” and identity building, how is national identity transmitted by such “memory institutions”?

Museum histories are rooted in the European collecting habits of the wealthy and elite and their art collections and *kunst-* and *wunderkamers* of the 14-19th centuries (Bennett 1995). With the French revolution, the Louvre was repurposed to be a repository of art for the masses (Bennett 1995). This model is essentially unchanged today. Be they private or public institutions, museums are broadly considered to be receptacles, containers and warehouses of the past, often nationally defined (Bennett 1995). Also, they are seen as institutions of civic education, as well as “identity work”¹. Within the interdisciplinary intersections of museum

¹ As early as 1919, the Ethnographic Museum of Zagreb was established. Now part of the new Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the museum presented an “exclusively ‘Croatian’ ethnographic heritage stretching across the territories

studies, museology, and disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology, art history, history, cultural studies, current trends are pushing for a re-interpretation of the museum. Despite this, the populace and political and cultural elites view museums often from a “less” critical perspective. Still, regardless of theoretical orientation, all view museums as educational institutions with a mandate to inform the public.

Museums can serve as memorials (and vice-versa), where traumatic, tragic pasts are on display, invoking strong emotional responses from their visitors (Young 2003, White 1999, White 2006a). And yet, museums are potential sites of contestation. In the United States, alone, has seen such controversies as the Enola Gay display at the Smithsonian (Dubin 1999, Thelen 1995, White 2006b, Zolberg 1996), the gunman attack at the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. (Fritze 2009), the drone display protest at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum involving around two hundred protesters, in October 2011 (Brown and Wilber 2011), even memorial protestations (Grider 2007). These sometimes violent protests are concerned with the narratives that the “protesters” perceive exist within these museums and seek to question their validity and authenticity. Clearly, there are concerns about the “authenticity” of museum narratives.

On Authenticity

Examining the claims of historicity and authenticity of local indigenous, ethnic, or other minority group leaders is fraught with potential political controversy. Any discussion about

of three cultural zones – Pannonian, Dinaric, and Adriatic, and ‘purging’ its links with other areas in this part of the Balkan peninsular. The emphasis on the three main nationalities – Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was accompanied by a relative neglect of the cultural heritage of other ethnic groups in state territory, most notably amongst them being those of the Bosnia and Herzegovina regions” Vukov 2011:338).

authenticity is a political act, one of endorsing one set of beliefs over another, and as such rendering other understandings as “inauthentic”, not genuine, untruth or even outright lie. Such is the case in the identity work of museums.

A quest for authenticity however, is complicated by the polyvalent nature of the term. To scholars and curators, there is an assumption that authenticity is ideally synonymous with verisimilitude, and authenticity to the academician is rarely a parsimonious “truth”. However scholarship often must contend with the political and personal. Contextual or idiosyncratic pressures or concerns can color these expressions of authenticity. For the audience, stakeholder or other interested party, authenticity is fraught with emotional, political and personal concerns and causes differential, ever moving conceptualizations of the subject matter. As mentioned earlier it can be a source or locus of societal strife, mobilizations, violence and protestations. A location of much authenticity debate is those that surround “tradition”, ritual and ceremony (Handler and Linnekin 1984; Linnekin 1983, 1991; Handler 1986). These are important to consider for a number of reasons. Not only is museum attendance in some ways highly ritualized (Duncan 1991, 1995), folkloric elements within historical and ethnographic museums explicitly deal with “traditions” and “ritual objects”. Nationalism is by its nature routinely concerned with “tradition” and authenticity, ritual and ceremony (Hobsbawm [1983] 2000). “Tradition”, ritual and ceremony are “traditional” purviews of anthropology that have been understood differently through the various theoretical winds that have blown through the discipline over the last one hundred years. However, an overarching definition seems to still be elusive, partly because of theoretical differences and partly because of a general lack of a

demand for some sort of “grand unified theory” of tradition.² According to some, authenticity is the antithesis of artifice, particularly work that arises out of the elites in hierarchical political systems. To these scholars, tradition is either authentic or an ideological tool of justification for the status quo.

Invention of Tradition

The edited volume *The Invention of Tradition* attempts to explore how traditions are invented (Hobsbawm and Ranger [1983] 2000). In Hobsbawm and Ranger’s book, scholars on nationalism and colonialism engage a number of cases, from coronations of British monarchs (Cannadine [1983] 2000) to Highland Scottish dress (Trevor-Roper [1983] 2000) as well as colonial experiences in Africa (Ranger [1983] 2000) and India (Cohn [1983] 2000). Hobsbawm’s introduction and final chapter are perhaps the clearest statement of this vision of the “invention of tradition” (Hobsbawm [1983] 2000). Hobsbawm contends that many traditions that are thought of as old are quite modern and some of those are *invented*. Hobsbawm defines the term thusly:

The term ‘invented tradition’ is used in a broad, but not imprecise sense. It includes both ‘traditions’ actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period (Hobsbawm [1983] 2000:1).

He maintains that “invented tradition” is:

a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature *which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior* by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past (Hobsbawm [1983] 2000:1, emphasis mine).

This is important as it influences what constitutes an “invented tradition” and it contrasts with the anthropological approaches documented below. “Tradition”, according to Hobsbawm must be

² Pascal Boyer (1990) extensively examines the concept of tradition in an effort to somehow operationalize it and move the concept away from an ill-defined conceptual category. His efforts, laudable as they may be, trap the concept within the theoretical confines of a cognitivist paradigm.

differentiated from “custom”. He envisions custom as a highly reflexive set of behaviors that allow for innovation and change. Custom is generally something of “traditional”, small scale societies but exists elsewhere (Hobsbawm [1983] 2000:2). The act of observing a custom is a behavior that relies on “precedent” to guide ones actions, but this is a highly fluid process of both observing existing and establishing new precedent (Hobsbawm [1983] 2000:2). Tradition on the other hand is slow to change, is quite resistant to innovation and ancient which is why a “neo-tradition” (Ranger [1983] 2000) seems oxymoronic. To Hobsbawm the invention of tradition is a “process of formalization and ritualization” that refers to the past ([1983] 2000:4). Traditions may be innovations of one person or by a number of persons. Hobsbawm, while a Modernist regarding nations and nationalism nonetheless suggests that the “invention of tradition” is a very old socio-political pattern ([1983] 2000). The ancient existence of the inventing of traditions (that is to say: a particular beginning to a tradition) seems like a tautological argument. All traditions have a beginning, thus the invention of tradition must have occurred before tradition existed. In order for tradition to be invented it had to be invented first...at least if one uses these definitions.

However, Hobsbawm is not interested in the (pre)history of tradition; he is instead interested in how traditions are either created from whole cloth or grafted on previous traditions or historical events. Specifically the authors of the volume are interested in how traditions are invented to justify social order and to maintain state control of a populace by “inculcating” desired “norms of behavior” to establish and maintain authority. The actual antiquity of an invented tradition is of interest precisely because it has been used by elites and elite institutions to create structure, maintain control, or justify social order. Hobsbawm suggests it has been from the period of the late 1800’s on that we see a substantial increase in these “invented traditions” ([1983] 2000:263). This implies a distinct typology of tradition. First, there is a difference between custom and tradition. Second, there is

“invented” tradition and tradition that is not “invented”. The distinction between traditions implies authenticity versus either political/cultural compromise of a tradition or a “fabrication”. Either one of the “invented” types are designed to generate authority and authenticity (Hobsbawm [1983] 2000, *passim*). These “invented traditions” are aimed at nation members, either to create a sense of nation or to establish or justify political and economic order. Cannadine ([1983] 2000) illustrates how the monarchy of Great Britain changed from “head of state” to “head of nation”. This is emblemized by the rituals and symbols around the royal family such as the coronation. During this time (the 1820's to 1977) the monarchy lost considerable authority within the British Kingdom and reconceptualization of the monarch in the political and cultural spheres is expressed and re-enforced by those symbols and rituals of royalty. An example of the latter was the invention of tradition in the British colonial experience in Africa. In British colonies of Africa: “the whole apparatus of invented school and professional and regimental traditions become much more starkly a matter of command and control than it was within Europe itself” (Ranger [1983] 2000:211). Ranger envisions “invented tradition” as a maneuver to control a populace either at a smaller level (Ranger suggests that European miners in Africa had trade union traditions) or at a larger societal level (Ranger [1983] 2000). This arises in part as Hobsbawm and some other scholars are in the “historical materialist” school. Hobsbawm sees the functions of invented tradition as a key element of nationhood. There is an implicit social critique or commentary within this approach. If a tradition that justifies social order isn’t genuine, but instead a product of artifice then it calls into question the legitimacy of that social order, if of course one accepts this reading of the construction of tradition. This Marxian understanding of tradition does not contend with “bottom-up” tradition and the (in)authenticities involved.

Understanding tradition as *Kastom*

However, another approach on the accretion of tradition and the questions of authenticity comes from Oceania. Within the South Pacific, there has been a great deal of scholarship on pre and post-contact societies. Marshall Sahlins, for one, leads the push for understanding the cultural-historical processes in this region as well as modern understanding and interpretation of those (often contested) histories. Coupled with that historical bent of the literature is the research on those recent understandings of the past. Sociologist Edward Shils wrote a volume titled '*Tradition*' in 1981 which tried to explain the phenomena. Concurrently there was already a healthy trade in the anthropological scholarship of *kastom* developing. The concept of *kastom* is complex and difficult to translate into English precisely. The notion of the English word custom fails to adequately explain the pidgin word *kastom*. *Kastom* (I use this Melanesian pidgin word even though there are many cognates in other Oceanic languages) is a practice found in much of the South Pacific and involves not only the observation of traditions and customs but also the objectification of those traditions in novel forms (Linnekin 1990). In some cases *kastom* results in a "*Wunderkammers*"; a veritable hodge-podge collection of symbolically imbued items deemed important for cultural identity (Larcom 1990). The research into *kastom* has raised questions of authenticity, creation of traditions, reification of practices deemed traditional, and the material manifestations of *kastom* (Jolly 1992). These ethnographic concerns with history and *kastom* are the seeds that lead to the research in the "invention of tradition" by these anthropologists. Further, these questions of new traditions, re-readings of old traditions and re-adoptions of forgotten and abandoned traditions are poignant to these anthropologists in part due to their origin in the subaltern colonial or indigenous group, the traditional subject of the anthropological lens. These evolving understandings of tradition and the past are very actively indexed and celebrated publicly by certain members of the particular group in question. Already we see a contrast between the two approaches; one is focused on Europe

or European efforts to invent colonial traditions of legitimacy, whereas the later focuses on actions and interpretations put forth by members of particular indigenous groups, tribes, ethnic minorities, et cetera. One is centered on the political center while one examines the political periphery.

Hawaiian Nationalism

Whereas European nationalism is usually tied to metaphors of either soil (territorial claims) or of “blood” (biological lineages) or of shared civic ideologies as an important locus of the “imagining” (Anderson 2006) of national community, the “current conception of Hawaiian identity does not depend strictly upon biological descent” but is instead based on a corpus of shared customs and traditions inherited from the past (Handler and Linnekin 1984:282). The subjugation and alienation of Hawaiians during the colonial era along with various waves of immigration and intermarriage translates into few Hawaiians of a so-called “pure Hawaiian” ancestry (Handler and Linnekin 1984). Linnekin indicates that ethnic categories in Hawaii are not mere designations of putative ethnic distinctions, instead:

ethnic designations such as Hawaiian, Chinese-Hawaiian, *hapa-haole* half-white, Portuguese and *haole* are used to describe qualities of behavior and relative social status as much as supposed national origin, and they form a gradient of social distance from Hawaiians, measured in quality of reciprocities (Linnekin 1990:155).

Also, the use of kinship terminology is available to those who may not be an “actual” relative “if one meets the behavioral expectations for a relative” (Linnekin 1990:155). These memberships are not static or dictated by strict social norms or codes. Even Hawaiian identity can be ascribed; hair and eye color, dress, and the use of pidgin may earn one the ascription. However, Linnekin suggests that the most important defining trait of Hawaiian identity is how one participates in social and familial relationships, displaying “generosity” and “humility” and participating in “long-term, symmetrical, in-kind exchanges” (Linnekin 1990:156). There are geographic metaphors of memberships as well. For example, villagers of Keanae on the Island of Maui use an “inside-outside” dichotomy to explain

their rural lifestyle compared to urban dwellers (Linnekin 1983). Keanae serves as a symbolic core of Hawaiian-ness, according to Hawaiians and Hawaiian nationalists, in part because they were far less alienated from their lands and the farming of taro (Linnekin 1983). This village living “in the old style” (Linnekin 1983:243) and even with the high amount of exogamy is still considered “pure” Hawaiian (Linnekin 1983). These distinct understandings of Hawaiian identity speak to fluid memberships and shifting terrains of Hawaiian cultural identity however notions of “pure” Hawaiian persist. The villagers of Keanae had a school where children were “taught their own culture in the form of ‘Hawaiiiana’ [...] where pageants regularly feature[d] performances of chanting and the hula”³ (Linnekin 1983). Linnekin notes that one woman has “become a specialist in ‘traditional’ arts” learned from family, village elders, and by attending “‘*Hawaiiiana*’ workshops in the city” (Linnekin 1983:244).

From these bases of Hawaiian identity one must consider the increase in interest in “*Hawaiiiana*” that accompanied Hawaiian nationalism. According to Linnekin, “*Hawaiiiana*” included “an interesting selection of performing arts: chanting, weaving, feather leis, and dancing the hula” which is taught across the islands; however she adds that these are taught “rather than such quotidian skills as taro gardening, poi making, or fishing” (Linnekin 1983:245). It is ironic considering how taro, poi, and fishing are central to perceptions of “true” Hawaiian-ness and when you consider that many Hawaiian nationalists are interested in the *‘āina* (land) and their alienation from it, with some demanding reparations (Linnekin 1983). Further, Linnekin illustrates a couple case examples of (then) recent re-understandings of tradition. The first was the voyage of a specially built canoe, the Hokule’a in 1976 (Linnekin 1983). This was initially a project to disprove the

³ According to a broadcast of NPR’s “Morning Edition” program (February 28, 2006) the school has been closed. The “No Child Left Behind” legislation was used as a partial justification for closing it (to the complaints of the Keanae villagers).

“accidental-voyaging theory” that explains the Polynesian settlement patterns and the project became “a mission of cultural revival to Hawaiians” (Linnekin 1983). Its designer, half-Hawaiian, grew up and lived in the Midwest, the navigator was Micronesian and the crew faced tensions:

The attitude of the Hokule’a’s crew epitomizes the alienation of urban Hawaiians. Individually, and as a group, crew members clashed continuously with the canoe’s captain, himself a pureblood Hawaiian from rural Niihau. Niihau is a privately owned island where casual visitors are forbidden and Hawaiians grow up speaking Hawaiian as their first language; but the captain’s Hawaiian credentials did not impress the crew. They wanted to take the canoe to Kahoolawe, the uninhabited island used for naval bombing practice, thus linking the Hokule’a to another focus of Hawaiian nationalism (Linnekin 1983:246).

Coupled with a mish-mash of other symbolic rituals performed with clear borrowing from Fijian and Samoan traditions (Linnekin 1983), the exercise of the Hokule’a may be deemed traditional⁴, but it bears clear discontinuity from the past.

Yet folkloric or “traditional” reenactments are often becoming tradition in and of themselves, taking on a recreational quality (Crang 1999:27). Thus, cultural, ethnic and/or national identity can be viewed as a matter of performative or behavioral ascription (Astuti 1995, Paulson 2006) wherein the participants engage in certain behaviors, including consumptive ones (Handler 1984, Paulson 2006, Wolff 2004, Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). These re-readings of the past are at variance with scholarly conclusions, even though nationalists often look to scholars for source material about the past. These kinds of contestations come to the fore in places that purport to be memory institutions such as museums.

The “invention of tradition” scholarly literature that comes to us from Great Britain is primarily “historical materialist” in orientation and this is evident in the cynicism of their conception of “invented tradition” offered up as a critique of state-level nationalism. Hobsbawm, Ranger, and others ([1983] 2000) view two kinds of inherited social practices, customs and traditions. Customs

⁴ Linnekin points out that the quintessential “traditional period” was just before contact with Captain Cook and that the literature about Hawaii of the past comes mostly from “outsiders” (1983).

are fluid and reflexive and the element of change is built into the concept. Traditions are on the other hand difficult to change. To Hobsbawm there are two types of tradition, authentic and invented. The authentic is a long standing practice which is not invented. “Invented traditions” to Hobsbawm, et al. ([1983] 2000) are constructed by elites or political interests in order to establish and maintain both order and legitimacy. Thus “inventions” to these scholars are bits of wooly false consciousness pulled over the members of society by their leaders, elites, or by the very societal structure itself. This contrasts with the anthropological trajectory I have traced.

Within the anthropological scholarship we see the full expression of a social constructivist understanding of tradition. These scholars do not differentiate between authentic tradition and invented tradition. They are all invented and all are authentic, in part because authenticity is itself a social construct. Since all traditions are interpreted in the present under the influences of the social, political, economic, legal, and ecological environments, there is considerable impact on tradition. Further, tradition itself is a social practice, as is conceiving of tradition, namely “traditionality”.

Authenticity is also a concern to art, expression, artistic endeavors, and consumption of those endeavors. McCarty (2009) argues that an interest in personal authenticity arose alongside the development of individualism in West of the late 18th century. This ideal of personal authenticity is about being “true to one’s self”; it is a matter of personal integrity. It is therefore a moralizing model of behavior and of worth. Indeed worth or the valuation of the inauthentic is something that challenges all realms where authenticity and its antithesis are found. This “true to one’s self” notion is tied to identity as well. While this notion of personal authenticity is explicitly an internalized phenomenon, it is, more importantly, also a social one. Authenticity is often the judgments of the group, of outsiders who are often-times tasked with the explicit job of authenticating. Thus, the act of authentication is one of external validation of putative internal psychological or historical states of

being. Further, social groups themselves may be confronted with anxiety regarding their authenticity. I contend that this is one key component of the Slovenian identity “question”.

Therefore authenticity should not be viewed as a “state” or “status” (something being either authentic or inauthentic) but instead understand authenticity is a process practiced by multiple parties with possibly competing narratives, agendas, et cetera. As many have suggested, authenticity is an “alignment to the present” of the past (Bramadat 2005, Golub 2013, Handler 1986, Linnekin 1991, Urry 1990). In Chapter Six I examine the question of museums broadly and within the Slovenian situation, conducting surveys of visitors, interviewing curators and examining the texts of the museum displays. Understanding the contested, contingent nature of authenticity and tradition must inform an understanding of the processes of identity formation when it comes to national identity, “tradition” is the coin of the realm.

Realizing the role of tradition and the desires for authenticity only partly addresses the first question, just how is national identity influenced by and conveyed by “museums”? While there are multiple levels of this relationship, I will focus on two, the state level or “macro” level and the individual level. I limit the “macro” to the state and not the nation very deliberately as, generally speaking, State territory is less ill-defined than that of the nation.⁵ The “micro” level involves individual identity. Both ends of the continuum present theoretical problems. From the “micro” level, how do individuals interact with individual displays and discourses of national identity? From the “macro” level, how can this process of “imagining” the nation (Anderson 1983, *passim*) shape

⁵ Gellner argues national identity is based on shared “culture” including shared “system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating” (1983:7). Gellner defines the state as a definition of political distinction and nationalism as the desire to have the political boundaries of the state be synonymous to those of national boundaries, noting that nations never seem to match the political boundaries and notes how it is a global predicament or condition (Gellner 1983).

the society in aggregate when you are dealing with individual actors? In the Slovenian case, it also ties directly into the next question.

Question #2: What are the implications of a conflicting valorization of the past with the cynicism of the present on national identity?

An assumption in the work of scholars of nationalism is the tendency to accept that the contents of the various nationalizing processes more or less are similar to other nationalist efforts elsewhere. For example, in Europe, one expects to find the valorization of the peasantry and, in the post-colonial setting, the simplification and romanticization of conditions prior to colonization (Seed 1991). As illustrated in the discussion of the first question, museum narratives can be contested and rejected due to inauthenticity or lack of assumed veracity. In Slovenia the case is particularly acute as the typical discussions of the past tread ground that is highly contested. This contestation is not between subaltern or elite (although at times it had such a complexion) or as a contestation between insider and outsider (although again sometimes the contestations were characterized as such), but instead we find tensions along such axes as rural-urban, Left-Right, religious-secular, and Partisan-Home Guard.

Nationalism in Europe, particularly in the 19th century, has been characterized by certain thematic elements such as “language codification (dictionary and grammar writing), collecting folk materials, reinstituting historical traditions, folk costume, and festivals to engendering new creativity and exciting athletic society activities” (Dović 2012:352). Nationalism in Slovenia is characterized by these same themes and they will be explored as well. While the traditional subjects of Modernist scholarship on nationalism have been either empires such as the British, French, German and Italian states with their active control of colonies across the globe, they also focused keenly on those colonies and their national creation after independence from their old colonial masters. On one hand

you have the Western “Great Powers” and on the other hand you have the colonized who often underwent relatively short, although bloody, occupations ranging from a couple hundred years in some cases to as little as a couple of years in others. Also, these colonial masters were distant ones divided by thousands of miles. Additionally you have the scholarship around the disintegration of empires such as the nationalism characterized by the “Spring of Nations” of 1848.

But what about nationalism in the “Marches” of an empire; those often militarized zones that were politically and culturally marginalized yet geographically near, at the edges of an empire? What if such a locale failed to realize nationalist imaginings that erupted in 1848 during the “Spring of Nations”? This omission within the various theories of nationalism speaks to a need to reformulate or refine our understanding of nationalism. Including Slovenia not only helps to “flesh out” the theoretical understandings of nationalism, it also suggests a new point of reference within the colonizer-colonized and imperial models that continue to dominate our understanding of nationalism. Further, examining processes of failed nationalism can also inform the discussion. Another weak point of modernist models of nationalism and national identity making is the assumption that European nationalism often mobilizes deeply “Romantic” (especially of the Germanic variety) imaging of the nation, complete with a valorization of the past, mythologizing of pasts recent and distant, and a conception of ethnogenesis or national foundation. What if you are valorizing past actors who could be interpreted as challenging the current, prevailing authority of the state? What if the scholastic integrity (or antiauthoritarian bent) of curators calls them to present nuanced accounts of the past in their quest for authenticity and do not homogenize or scrub the past clean of objectionable (to nationalist, authoritarian interests) material? What if that occurred at the very same time as politically-charged recent pasts have been carefully avoided or navigated, failing

to treat the same subject matter to the same scrutiny for fear of offense? This brings us to the third question this dissertation will attempt to address.

Question #3: How does the treatment of “traumatic history” in national remembering affect national identity?

This crucial question is ever relevant in state re-building projects, restorative justice endeavors, as well as surviving the repercussions of past traumas. Examples include: South Africa, Guatemala, Iraq, Afghanistan, Egypt, Libya, Former Yugoslavian states, Sudan and South Sudan, Liberia, Congo, et cetera. Even in so-called “stable” Western democracies, deep societal scars can influence the political life of a state; one only need to look to the American Civil War and Reconstruction, to see how these past traumas can shape a country. Thus many states today grapple with deep societal divisions that are, at least in part, a result of a large “societal trauma”. I use “societal trauma” for what sociologist Jeffrey Alexander calls “cultural trauma”.

Cultural trauma occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future in fundamental and irrevocable ways(Alexander 2004:1).

While this definition is already problematic, as it takes many *a priori* assumptions about how societies “function” and the existence of a “group consciousness”, it does point us toward possible points of useful engagement. I consider the possible structural as well as social or cultural cleavages formed by such traumas in subsequent chapters. Far from residing within the amorphous “group consciousness”, I will argue that such traumas are semiotically engraved on landscape, place and space, and person in a sense as an social-cognitive interaction within what Jakob von Uexküll called the *Umwelt* (Sustrup 2001). It is semantically “near” and a matter of discursive construction. Perhaps operationalizing how discourses of trauma affect identity construction will lead us toward the goal of finding a way forward for reconciliatory or otherwise transformative justice, as it may

further inform the ways past traumas actually damage the fabric of society. One place to examine the aftermath of these societal traumas is within the acts of “social memory”. As hinted at above, one weakness of the “Cultural Trauma” approach is its reliance on an ill-defined social remembering. This is because it is built upon notions of collective memory. If public actions such as memorializing are evidence of this “collective memory” then we can examine such places to better understand these social memory processes. Museums are also mobilized to do such memorializing and social memory work. Indeed, Paul Williams notes the relatively recent proliferation of commemoration of Holocaust museums and other museums of violent historical traumas (2008)⁶. Thus museums will be a focal point in examining the discursive construction of identity in Slovenia and Slovenian social or collective memory.

Social and Collective Memory

Maurice Halbwachs is credited with the appellation “collective memory” (1938, 1939). However, conceptualizations of collectively held cognition long predates Halbwachs’ configuring of memory at the social level. Philosophers such as Averroës discussed monopsychism, concepts like “zeitgeist” stem from Hegel’s work, Jung conceived a “collective unconscious”, Durkheim argued the diachronic character of “collective representation”, etc. However, Halbwachs’ conception of collective memory as a group constructed and held set of memories has been far more influential in academic circles. It has been further elaborated by scholars in anthropology, sociology, psychology, history, cultural studies, media studies and other fields, and this interest in collective or “social” memory is an important starting point for my research here. Hall notes that the processes of social memory are a complex series of ‘selective’ construction.

⁶ Erika Doss (2012) describes the American penchant for memorializing large scale group, regional, or national traumas as a “mania” of sorts.

Like personal memory, social memory is highly selective. It highlights and foregrounds, imposes beginnings, middles and ends on the random and contingent. But equally, it foreshortens, silences, disavows, forgets and elides many episodes which — from another perspective — could be the start of a different narrative. This process of selective ‘canonisation’ confers authority and a material and institutional facticity on the ‘selective tradition’, making it extremely difficult to shift or revise. The institutions responsible for making the ‘selective tradition’ work develop a deep investment in their own ‘truth’ (Hall 1999:26).

As Hall notes above, “social memory” is equally about socially forgetting. This “selective omission” of events (Igartua and Paez 1997:80, Baumeister and Hastings 1997:280-281) allows for facing societal traumatic events to be reconstructed in meaning-making ways. As Pennebaker and Banasik point out, “a critical step in understanding both individual and collective memories...is that the long term impact of events themselves help to determine the memories” (1997:5). What are the implications of a museum charged with collective remembering as well as a collective forgetting? What about those contested pasts that are long papered over or forcibly submerged, when these memories are relegated to individual or family-based memory activities? What if those memories are held primarily by a diaspora? Especially considering that collective memory is tied to place:

most groups – not merely those resulting from the physical distribution of members within the boundaries of a city, house, or apartment, but many other types also - engrave their form in some way upon the soil and retrieve their collective remembrances within the spatial framework thus defined (Halbwachs 1992:14) .

This spatially defined memory is eloquently illustrated by Keith Basso and his work with the Western Apache of Cibique (1996). Moralizing tales and exemplifying narratives are so rooted to specific geographic locales that the landscape itself becomes richly imbued with such meaning. To the Western Apache, the landscape, topography and toponyms are themselves used in moralizing discourses within the society (Basso 1996). The complex interplay between structural hierarchy, collective identity and spatial arrangement is a complex one (see Gupta and Ferguson 1992). In this Slovenian case, I will demonstrate specific symbolic linkages of place and identity creation. By

exploring how those symbolic geographies are mobilized by Slovenians in their efforts at national and ethnic identity construction I will attempt to illustrate the specific processes of identity work in Slovenia.

Several of the different assumptions held in collective memory scholarship are problematic (for critiques see for example, Confino 1997, Kansteiner 2002) one aspect of national, ethnic, cultural or other identity is its social nature, namely that it is held by members of a group. These individuals may be spatially bounded or be distant, separate entities. They may be populations with a history of fracture or disjuncture. Either way, they have rooted within their constituent collective identity senses of place and senses of the group in question.

Question #4: Do locally specific cognitive-emotional patterns serve as “catalysts” or “reagents” for national identity construction?

The affective component of nationalism has long been characterized by both scholars and the “lay public” as emotional feelings of both decidedly moral and normative character, such as “patriotism”, “love of king and country”, “duty”, et cetera. Occasionally, reactions to outsider groups or local groups perceived as outsiders may elicit the inverse of these emotions such as “jingoism” and “xenophobia”. However, scholarship on prevailing trends in emotional states and conditions within a locale is not generally considered. How do moralizing emotional states impact nationalistic discourse and its reception? This glaring omission will be addressed by looking at specific prevailing national or cultural emotional “schema” within Slovenia and how they interact with national identity and national identity discourses. In the Slovenian case, local emotion discourses color local perceptions of what it means to be Slovenian, that is to say, certain emotion states are held to be quintessentially Slovenian.

Nationalistic discourse is assumed to be, on the whole, a discourse of positive valuation of putative collective identity. Within this hegemonic narrative framework, there may lie counter-hegemonic discourses that undermine or contradict those official nationalist ones. Further, structural conditions may counter these discursive acts. One socially mediated component is the locally held catalogue of personal-emotional models.

Assumptions

Models of Social Grouping

Erikson (1968) viewed psychosocial identity as the continuity of personhood within an individual over time. Identity is necessary for participation in human society even at its most basic level (e.g. in-group versus out-group determination) (Brubaker et al. 2004) or a “we” versus “them” sort of orientation, that has historically taken on the language of ethnicity/nationalism (see Eriksen 1991a, 1991b, 2002). Also, people classify the world around them, including their social world in richly complex taxonomies, typologies, schemas, et cetera (Weller 2007, Romney and Moore 1998, Weller and Romney 1988). Barth (1969), Cohen (1985) and others have shown social, ethnic and communal boundary maintenance to be integral in understanding community even though membership and the diacritical markers that delimit boundaries change over time. Fluid group membership and identity means that individually held models of specific (and general) identities are therefore likely to change and transform. Thus identities are not bounded, discrete wholes but are instead locked into a process of continual dialogic transformation, one where interaction with the social, cultural, political, economic and physical environment plays a part.

Ideology

This research is based on some explicit assumptions regarding the transmission of ideology. In the current English vernacular, ideology is a collection of beliefs that are at some level

aspirational, goal-oriented or explanatory. There is considerable overlap with the concept of *weltanschauung*, or “world-view”. At times it is used in the pejorative, implying a narrowness of thought or slavish devotion to a doctrine or belief. The concept, however, is conceived of differently by different scholars, past and present. Ideology’s original meaning is very different than those in broad circulation today (see Kennedy 1979).

Marx defined ideology in terms of patterns of ideas that obfuscate what he deemed to be the true nature of social order (Marx and Engels 1970). Ideology, to many Marxist scholars (as well as activists), was a tool of exploitation that guaranteed the alienation of labor from capital. It is, in a sense, required in order to create “false consciousness” which prevents the working classes from accurately assessing the existing hierarchical political order and the exploitation it demands, thus preventing “class consciousness” (Marx and Engels 1970). Building on this conception of ideology is Louis Althusser’s concept of the “ideological state apparatus” which maintains that the dominant ideology that Marx places squarely (or perhaps triangularly) within the *superstructure* (the realm of religion, tradition, et cetera) is also materialist in nature, that is to say, it also occupies space within Marx’s *structure* or “Base” (Althusser 2001, Wolff 2004). Thus what in Marx is an externality to *structure* becomes a partially imbedded set of beliefs, attitudes and ideas (Althusser 2001).

Michel Foucault also engaged with this concept of “dominant ideology”, although he re-envisioned it in terms of the *episteme* which involves the relationship of the ideas within the hierarchically ordered realm of scientific knowledge (1973, 1980). These are realized through processes of discursive formation via mechanisms through “enouncement” (*l’enonce*) which is a discursive statement. Foucault sees these discursive acts penetrate into our perceptions of time, place and space (Foucault 1980). Gramsci distinguished between “historically organic” and

“willed” ideologies: “historically organic” ideologies help justify current social order, that is often validated at a “psychological” level and is organizational in nature, whereas “willed” ideology is one that is “arbitrary” and “rationalistic” and limited to individual “movements” (2003:376-377). “Historically organic” ideologies organize and “create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc.” (Gramsci 2003:377). He argues *contra* Marx that ideology can and does shape structure and that it is not necessarily illusory in nature (Gramsci 2003:376).

Pierre Bourdieu examined the nature of power in society and argues that power is often encoded within the unmarked, daily routines of a people: what Bourdieu (1977) called *habitus*. This habitus is discursively constructed (Scheuer 2003). This is in many ways illustrated by Billig’s concept of *banal nationalism* (1985) and Hall’s notions of ideology as transparent and “spontaneous”:

It is precisely this “spontaneous” quality, its transparency, its “naturalness”, its refusal to be made to examine the premises on which it is founded, its resistance to change and to correction, its effect of instant recognition, and the closed circle in which it moves which make makes common sense, at one and the same time, “spontaneous,” ideological and *unconscious*. You cannot learn, through common sense, how *things are*: you can only discover *where they fit* into the existing scheme of things. In this way, it is very taken-for-grantedness is what establishes it as a medium in which its own premises and presuppositions are being rendered *invisible* by its apparent transparency (*italics in the original*, Hall 1979).

This invisible closed circle is reminiscent of Huizinga’s conception of implicit social agreement within the concept of the “magic circle” (1971). This is an *a priori* demarcation that is necessary to separate the action of play from other activities and it can take on physical and spatial dimensions as well as cognitive ones allowing the nesting of “temporary worlds” within the ordinary one (Huizinga 1971). Applying Huizinga’s theory of the “magic circle” to other social behaviors such as the social work of collective identity may provide a novel lens to view these

activities. Consider for example Barth's contentions that certain socially held cultural traits act as markers that bound off (and thus also bound in) an ethnic identity (1969). This very system of demarcating of smaller social worlds within our broader world is something that is given as a priori to the very participation of group social life altogether. It imbues our language and quite possibly our very cognitive capacities.

George Lakoff, looking at political metaphor and language, suggests that ideological beliefs can and do influence linguistic practices and that in turn, linguistic forms can possibly affect ideological constructs (Lakoff 1987). If, as I do, one accepts at least a limited amount of linguistic relativism (i.e. the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis) then one must concede that at some level language does affect cognition, that is to say, the way we individuals think. Further, linguistic aspects of political economy (Irvine 1989) suggest "deep" interrelationships between ideologies of language, power and economy.

I contend, like some Marxists, post-Marxists and post-Structuralists, that ideology is directional: hierarchical (or counter-hierarchical) in nature. It flows or follows the multiple, convoluted hierarchical orderings of society. However, there are significant problems with the implicit assumptions often found in discussions about dominant ideology (Ambercrombie and Turner 1978). As Ambercrombie et al. (1980) suggest, ideological formations are neither monolithic, nor uniformly expressed or realized. Thus, ideology can be dominant, utilized by elites or implicitly existing due to the nature of current socio-political order, but it can also be organized around competing political structures, factions or institutional goals. Ideology can also be organized around those ideas, beliefs, goals, habits and attitudes which are currently peripheral to society or even subaltern. Ideological constructs may be monolithic or weakly supported, or exist only weakly and vaguely. They may simply be historical artifacts, no longer

relevant to the present day, or it may be an actively fostered ideological construct. Such formulations of ideological content are nested in hierarchic, nesting assemblages or directly ordered. Further they may be prevailingly long or fleetingly brief in existence. While the coalescence of ideology is one area of much needed research, I am instead interested in sites and processes of ideological transmission. One primary way that ideology is transmitted, shared and enacted is through discourse.

Discourse

Discourse has a number of different meanings depending, in part, on academic discipline. However, here I will use it, *sensu*, Foucault. First actively entering the lexicon of social scientists in 1952 (Harris 1952), discourse analysis has been a focus of many thinkers, of whom perhaps Michel Foucault is the most well-known. Foucault wrote extensively on processes of institutionalized knowledge patterns pregnant with power (Foucault 1972, Foucault 1980). While many social theorists have approached discourse analysis as a set of various methodologies (Benwell and Stokoe 2006) or as a heuristic tool to interrogate hegemonic structures (Blommaert and Bulcaen 2000, Lacau and Mouffe 1985) or to fashion modes of critical inquiry regarding ideological discourses (De Cillia et al. 1999, Reisigl and Wodak 2001, 1999, Wodak and Meyer 2001), I will instead follow the theoretical framing of Keller's "sociology of knowledge approach to discourse" (2011, 2012), which attempt to integrate a social constructivist epistemological position grounded in Berger and Luckmann (1967) while at the same time integrating ideological content and practices with more classical Foucauldian understandings of discourse. If groups or communities are organized around discursive acts (Gee 1999:6-7), we can see the possibility of re-imagining Barth's social markers (diacritical marks) of the ethnic group (1969) or the symbolic demarcation of community (Cohen 1985:12) as instead, an assemblage of discursive acts.

Approaching the four questions of identity construction and its contexts posited by this dissertation poses several challenges. The first is finding a theoretical footing from which to approach these questions. This I have addressed briefly in this chapter. The second is the search for methods that can reveal ideological transmission and identity construction. The search to find appropriate methods to gain an understanding of the complex issues interwoven throughout these research questions is the subject of the next chapter. How, for example, does one gauge notions of identity? How does one determine the conceptualizations of identity most valued by members of a group? How does one gauge the impact discourses have on individuals? The next chapter examines the methodologies used and in a sense continues into the following chapter with an initial field site field experiment.

Chapter Two: Methodology

“Where all of Europe meets”
Ljubljana city tourism slogan

Research Methodology

This study entails the use of a mixed-methods approach to data collection and analysis. The strength of a mixed-methods approach is that allows multiple angles from which to approach a research question, especially thorny ones such as questions of identity. The challenge of using mixed methods is in unifying the different types of data into a coherent interpretation of the findings. This research project relied on participant observation, survey questionnaires, elicited interviewing techniques, both semi-structured and unstructured interviews, and content analysis of museum displays, placards and guidebooks.

Ethnographic Fieldwork

Fieldwork was conducted over approximately 11 months (from 2007-2011). Data collection was carried out in Central and Western Slovenia. Five types of data were gathered: 1) participant-observation field notes, 2) public discourses at museums, 3) a museum attendee survey, 4) semi-structured and unstructured ethnographic interviews and 5) free listing and pile sorting. No sensitive data (e.g. names, income, or political affiliation) were collected in order to protect privacy, and names of individuals quoted in this dissertation have been changed in order to protect participant anonymity⁷.

(1) Participant-observation was central to this project, it is essential for the collection of ethnographic data and for understanding emic perspectives (Harris 1980). I spent two months in

⁷ This project was approved by the University of Connecticut Internal Review Board, IRB # H10-311.

Koper and nine months in Ljubljana totaling 11 months from 2007-2011, with frequent travel throughout the Western and Central areas of Slovenia, visiting a number of different communities for durations lasting a few hours to a few weeks in length. These included the towns and villages of Ajdovščina, Bled, Cerklje, Dolenji Novaki, Javorca, Kobarid, Kranj, Logatec, Medvode, Piran, Škocjan, Škofja Loka, Tolmin and Velike Lašče.

I attended museum events (e.g. “Museum Night” and concerts) in addition to various conversations and interviews with both museum goers and museum workers. I also attended public concerts, holiday festivals and market days, such as the *Miklavž* procession complete with angels and devils (*parklji*), “Winter Nights”, the Ljubljana Wine Festival, the Folk Music Festival in Koper, et cetera. During my time in Slovenia, I also struck up friendships with a number of people who were members of a local board game club. Through the conversations I had with these diverse people (e.g. members of the military, business owners, IT technicians and retirees) I was able to pursue questions I might have felt too polarizing in some other settings (e.g. Slovenia’s claim of a stretch of nautical territory— which has been why Slovenia (in part) has obstructed Croatian accession to the EU; the treatment of Roma). Furthermore, I participated in the everyday ethnographic grounding in the local setting, discussing various issues with numerous individuals (e.g. bus drivers, greengrocers, market stall owners, neighborhood café owners, taxi drivers), as well academics and ex-pats (e.g. graduate students, professors, retirees). It is in those quotidian spaces of everyday life where we, as socio-cultural anthropologists, can ground research. As such it is foundational to socio-cultural anthropology (Bernard 2006:256).

(2) Background or baseline public discourses on national, ethnic and regional identities (Wodak et al. 1999) in local print and television media was collected before, during and after my fieldwork. I used Slovenian media sources such as *Delo*, *Radio-Television Slovenia*, *The Slovenian Times* and

Mladina. While these were important to understand prevailing public discussions, they also tended (with some exceptions) to present sometimes authoritative or nationalistic narratives. A deeper, more nuanced reading can and should be enacted; however, an extensive review of Slovenian media was beyond the scope of this project. Thus, my interest here was more an effort to establish a baseline of public identity discourses and to use this material in a supplemental fashion.

(3) I examined museum discourses of identity in the *Narodni Muzej Novejše Zgodovine* (the National Museum of Contemporary History), the *Partisanska Bolnica Franja* (Franja Partisan Hospital), *Kobariški Muzej* (Kobarid Museum) and the *Slovenski Etnografski Muzej* (Slovenian Ethnographic Museum). I examined the narratives provided by these museums, focusing on the historical narratives and discourses of Slovene-ness, and European-ness. Further, I interviewed three museum curators and three other museum staff in order to elicit their opinions on the narratives provided by their museums. Finally, as mentioned earlier, I attended several museum sponsored events, concerts, lectures, films and other events aimed designed for public consumption. These public fora offered opportunities to observe discursive construction of identity “in situ”. In addition to these specific sites of investigation, I also visited a number of other museums; the *Loški Muzej* (Loka museum) in Škofja Loka, *Mestni Muzej* (City Museum) in Ljubljana, *Pomorski Muzej Sergej Mašera* (Sergej Mašera Maritime Museum) in Piran, *Trubarjeva domačija* ([Primoz] Trubar’s Home) in Velike Lašče, *Grad Turjak* (Turjak Castle) near Škocjan, and *Ljubljanski Grad* (Ljubljana Castle) in Ljubljana. This last location was particularly interesting because it had opened as temporary-turned-permanent exhibit in 2010. It is now called *Razstava Slovenska Zgodovina* (Permanent Exhibition of Slovenian History) and is tailored to foreign tourists. I will make reference to all these museums in the course of this dissertation.

The narratives or information present in museums come through texts from signage or placarding, the objects themselves, provided guide material and audio/video components to the various exhibits. Also, decoration and design are considered, as these too are carefully chosen or manipulated for a given exhibit. These things were recorded by me via transcription and photography. The second proved particularly helpful for verbatim transcription of particular written materials.

(4) Semi-structured and open-ended interviewing

Most of my interviews fell into two basic categories. The first was that of semi-structured interviews (Bernard 2006: 119, Schensul et al. 1999:149-164) where I had a number of questions I asked as the conversation guided us along. I did not simply go through a checklist of questions, but instead tried to encourage a more organic exchange between the interviewee and myself. The second and more frequent type of interview was the open-ended interview (Bernard 2006:199, Schensul et al. 1999:91-148). The open-ended interviews were at times “exploratory” (Schensul et al. 1999:91-120), trying to establish a basic understanding of a topic or area of inquiry, while others were “in depth” (Schensul et al. 1999:121-148) to varying degrees. My conversational and informal approach favored open-ended interviews as they were genuinely felt expressions of curiosity on my part, and not an impersonal inquiry into a person’s life.

(a) Thirty brief ethnographic interviews were conducted. These open-ended interviews covered a broad range of topics surrounding Slovenian state, national and ethnic identities, including the topics listed above. They ranged from ten minutes to an hour in length.

(b) Ten semi-structured interviews investigated conceptions and attitudes regarding local, regional, national, ethnic, European and personal identities as well as their attendance at local museums and monuments. The interviews were designed to (i) elicit attitudes regarding social

identity, (ii) explored potential determinants of these attitudes, (iii) examined possible causes for changes of these attitudes noted during the study and (iv) gauged whether individuals are engaging, participating or otherwise interacting with public discourses about identity and how these discourses informed self-conceptualization of national and ethnic identities.

(5) The surveys I used at the museum locations gauged attitudes regarding ethnic, national, trans-regional (European), and local identities and attitudes regarding museums. Survey questions (included questions about identity) were arrived at from prior free-listing and interviews (field work in 2008) and used Likert scales.

Survey questionnaires

A key component of this study was the use of survey questionnaires to 1) establish a baseline of attitudes of museum visitors regarding national and ethnic identity and the role of historical, heritage and ethnographic museums, 2) to assess any change in attitudes after attending the museum and 3) to compare results of museum visitors in order to gauge if any factors predicted the responses received.

Survey Design

The survey research design is initially based upon the modified Solomon Four Group test (Bernard 2006:91-92). I had originally decided to have a before survey for one group, an after survey for another group, and a before and after survey group. The idea with the Solomon Four Group test was to control for the fact that viewing the survey before going into the museum would color their responses after attending the museum, hence a separate before and a separate after group. In the classic Solomon Four Group model, the fourth group would have controlled for the passage of time, but as the duration of the exposure to the museum was limited (from minutes to a few hours), I deemed it unnecessary to control for such a short passage of time. However the requirement of asking museum goers to fill out two surveys (one before and

another after) was deemed too onerous after field trials and discussions with local contacts.

Therefore I instead decided to compare before group surveys to after group surveys. I assumed their responses were not an artifact of sampling. This assumption was based on the idea that by randomly choosing individuals who were at the museum, I was not somehow prejudicing my results. In other words, people who were asked to do the survey before their visit didn't have a built in proclivity for any particular ideological or cultural beliefs compared to those people I randomly asked to complete their survey after their visit.

The questionnaire was therefore administered to a “before” group, and “after” group with the key stimulus being the visitation of the museum. This survey method was performed at four museums, *Narodni Muzej Novejše Zgodovine* (the National Museum of Contemporary History), the *Partisanska Bolnica Franja* (Franja Partisan Hospital), Kobarški Muzej (Kobarid Museum) and the *Slovenski Etnografski Muzej* (Slovenian Ethnographic Museum). The surveys were collected at two different time periods; the first was between December 2010 and January 2011. The second collection period was from June 2011 to August 2011.

The survey (see appendix I) consisted of questions which were designed to measure certain socio-political attitudes. The question subject matter originated from three main sources. Some were theoretically inspired questions while the second source of question ideas comes from ethnographic observations made and gleaned from previous participant-observation and discussions with Slovenian individuals such as media makers (a reporter and a documentary filmmaker) and scholars (such as B. Jezernik and P. Stankovič). The final source of question ideas comes from identity themes that were discovered in the elicitation interviewing techniques of freelisting and pile sorting (see below). A total of 132 surveys were given at the four

museums (*Slovenski Etnografski Muzej*: 60, *Narodni Muzej Novejše Zgodovine*: 24, *Partisanska Bolnica Franja*: 16, *Kobariški Muzej*: 32).

Sampling and data analysis

It is important to note that the museum visitors were from a number of possible nationalities and ethnicities; however, a majority of museum patronage were Slovenian. Since the surveys and interviews were carried out in Slovene it reduced the chances of interviewing foreign visitors (due to the low numbers of non-Slovenian speakers of Slovene). Prior visitation was also ascertained. Sampling for the surveys was based on convenience sampling (Bernard 2006:147) whereas interview sampling was based on either convenience sampling, purposive sampling (Bernard 2006:145) or respondent-driven sampling (Bernard 2006:148). Survey results were compiled, analyzed and compared to interviews and to the museum discourses observed. In a sense the approach is one of Content Analysis (Bernard 2006:407-408) influenced in part by Critical Discourse Analytic approaches (Wodak et al. 1999) and approaches such as the Cultural Analysis of Discourse (Quinn 2005a, 2005b, Strauss 2005). Both provide analytic frames to interpret both interviews and museum discourses. Data analysis was performed from August 2011 through January 2012. Likert Scales from questionnaires were compiled and managed via *ANTHROPAC* (Borgatti 1989, 1996a, 1996b) and *SYSTAT* statistical software (SYSTAT Software 2008). Factor analysis of surveys were utilized examining the theoretical “frames” derived from prior free-lists and interviews.

Elicitation techniques: Free listing and Pile Sorting

Data collection for elicitation techniques was carried out in Koper in the summer of 2008. This included free-listing fifty participants’ attitudes toward the “European-ness” (twenty-five respondents) and “Slovenian-ness” (twenty-five participants). I subsequently completed twenty-five pile sorts using the most common terms from the “European-ness” and “Slovene-ness” free-lists.

The participants performed constrained pile sorts in which they placed forty-five terms into one of four groups: Slovenian, European, Both, or Neither. I used multidimensional scaling with ANTHROPAC (Borgatti 1996a) software. This initial work indicated both a strong “Euro-skepticism” and an ambiguity of the idea of a Slovene national or ethnic identity on one hand while still elaborating a strong association of concepts of Slovenian-ness on the other. Interviews conducted in the summer of 2008 uncovered high levels of regional identity within Slovenia. This was the starting point for this project.

Limitations of the methodology

In an ideal world, at least regarding research, all variables can be controlled or accounted for. This certainly wasn’t the case in this project. A number of other issues exist in my methodology. First, historically, anthropological fieldwork has often been expected to be contiguous and last at least a year. While my time is close to one year, it was spread out over four years, corresponding to my academic schedule. As such, I cannot claim a contiguous stay. Additionally, I chose to focus not on one place, but at a number of places, institutions, et cetera. This too has possibly limited the depth of my insight into a given museum, town, community, and so on. However, multi-sited ethnographies are appropriate for the examination of national identity representations and discourses. Also, the questionnaire evolved with the project, and in hindsight I see several areas or topics I wish I had explored with them such as a further elaboration of demographic data for example. Another shortcoming was that the limited input from curators and my limited number of direct interviews with museum-goers resulted in responses that could have been ethnographically richer and more nuanced. Finally, I personally would have liked a larger sample size for some of the museums. This is due, in part, to an evolving fieldwork and the late addition of a couple of the museums as the opportunities arose. Having said that, I hope the reader will find the triangulation of ethnographic, survey and

documentary evidence that I present here as compelling as I do, and understand that any errors contained herein are strictly my own.

The methodology of this study is one grounded in three methodological approaches. First, I privilege history, as the past has an often under-appreciated yet immense influence on the present, especially how the past is “used” to inform the present in popular discourse. Second, I use qualitative methods such as ethnographic fieldwork and participant observation, interviews and field elicitation techniques. Finally, I examine responses to questionnaires using quantitative and qualitative methods. The idea is to triangulate upon the research topic at hand. In the next chapter I will discuss my first extended foray into the field with my visit to the Slovenian coast.

Chapter Three:
An Initial Attempt to Gauge Identity:
Free Lists, Pile Sorts and Slovenian Uncertainty

Slovenes are really self-conscious about their identity and status in Europe for example.
--Stefan, Škofja Loka, technician, 32

Introduction

In the summer of 2008, when I arrived in Koper at the Northern terminus of Slovenian Istria, I decided to collect a number of free lists and perform some pile sorts. I knew I wanted to do something related to Slovenian national identity but had yet to formalize my research plans or design. I had overheard a number of conversations and participated in more than a few regarding the adoption of the Euro and the participation within the EU. What I heard from people, young and old, was the same thing, a sense of unease regarding the process of joining the EU and the adoption of the Euro (Slovene: *Evro*). I found repeated expressions of euro-skepticism and ambiguity, not only aimed at the political project of EU broadly speaking (as well as Slovenian accession) and the economic realities of the common currency, but also an anxiety about the ultimate survival of Slovenian cultural identity due to these projects.

From this, I decided to explore European identity versus National identity. This “European-ness” was something I was interested in comparing with “Slovenian-ness”, in particular, because the narrative of Slovenia as “not Balkan” and “of the West” (in other words Western European in nature) was ubiquitous during the period leading up to and post-independence (Lindstrom 2003, Volčič 2005).

Free List and Pile Sorts

When I began to inquire about what people perceived to be the distinguishing aspects of Slovenianness from other European cultural, national and ethnic identities, I was met with vaguely expressed anxieties about the very notion of what it might mean to be Slovenian. I asked Marko, 19, a student at the University of Primorska who hailed from a village near Postojna and he responded:

“What is it to be Slovenian? Well, hmm, that is a good question... [long pause] I suppose it has to do with the language, I mean, no one speaks Slovenian unless they are Slovenian, or unless they live here.”

I asked him if there is a typical Slovenian personality or stereotype, trying to probe a bit further. He responded:

“My older brother! (Laughs). Yes, you must be very serious and must keep your emotions hidden and then you must drink...drink a lot”.

However, he otherwise seemed to be both unsure and perhaps even a bit unhappy with his lack of sureness. I encountered these sorts of reaction often. For example, another discussion happened at the seaside in Koper. I was talking to Marija, a woman in her thirties, who despite the hot summer day ordered coffee. Marija took a long drag off her cigarette after I asked her about Slovenian identity and how it was different from other nations. Jutting her lower lip she blew out a cloud of smoke toward the table's blue umbrella that advertised *Fructal*, a brand of juices and juice drinks. She put down her cigarette and smiled while reaching for her coffee, *“That is a hard one, Robert!”*

Katja, recently graduated from the University of Primorska and was looking for work. Her mother was Slovenian, her father was from Croatia but identified as Istrian. We talked of the sort of quotidian stuff that people discuss as they attempt to get to know one another; family,

life, pets, music, et cetera. When we arrived at her apartment she offered me house slippers (Slovene: *čopati*). “These, yes, these are Slovenian!” she said, meaning the act of wearing house slippers was typical Slovenian behavior, before that she seemed to be grasping for other uniquely Slovenian qualities.

Part of this, was due to the local flows of individuals across territorial boundaries in Yugoslavia. During the post-World War Two era rapid industrialization caused a demographic shift from rural to urban residence patterns (Barbič 1998, Cox 2005, Gow and Carmichael 2000). Throughout Yugoslavia there was some intermarriage between groups, particularly in those new industrial centers (Bringa 1995), however it wasn’t very high in rural areas (Halpern 1963:160). A Kosovar Albanian told me:

“In other parts of Yugoslavia, Bosnia for example, there was some intermarrying, but this wasn’t the case in Kosovo because Serbs hated the Albanians so much”
(Alexi, 40).

However, this alone does not account for the majority of the “doubts” expressed by the many Slovenians I have talked to. Indeed the most emblematic Yugoslav of the second half of the twentieth century was that of Josep Broz Tito, who was half Croat and half Slovene. As I began to ponder this anxiety and skepticism I decided to try to gauge Slovenian perceptions of *Slovenianness* and what *Europeanness* might be. I decided on a constrained pile sort.

I decided to conduct two *Free List* exercises. I asked one group of individuals (n=25) to list words that come to mind when they think of “Europe” and “European”. I asked a second group (n=25) what words came to mind when they thought of the words “Slovenia” and “Slovenian”. From the two free lists I extracted terms or words that were repeated three or more times. Some terms were semantically similar (e.g. “little” and “small”) and were consolidated. This resulted in 42 terms that I placed these on index cards. I added three additional terms gleaned through

additional interviews and encounters with Slovene (the language). I added these terms in an effort to help interpret the data. I included the national symbol of Slovenia, “Mt. Triglav” (mentioned specifically only once), the distinctive “dual” grammatical number and finally the “large” card to act as an opposite of the “small” card generated from the free listing. Next a third group of participants (n=25, 15 female, 10 male) who had resided in Slovenia (and were Slovenian citizens) did a constrained pile sort.

After doing the Free List exercise, I consolidated the duplicates and aggregated similar terms and from that created a list of 45 terms to be used in a constrained pile sort. A constrained pile sort is a pile sorting method (see chapter Two) that circumvents a larger issue in pile sort studies, namely the “lumper versus splitter” problem (Bernard 2006: 379, Borgatti 1994). The participants were asked to place each card within one of four piles. The piles needed not have any cards in them if they chose not to place any there. They were asked to place the term according to which category it best fit. The four piles were (a) Slovenian, (b) European, (c) Slovenian and European and (d) neither Slovenian nor European. The results are included in appendix B. The resulting terms were as follows (see also appendix C):

Figure 2. Aggregate free list

C #	CODE	ENGLISH	SLOVENE
22	ART	ARTIFICIAL	UMETNO
3	BEA	BEAUTIFUL NATURE	NARAVNE LEPOTE
24	CAM	COPIES AMERICA	KOPIRA AMERIKO
8	COH	COLORFUL HISTORY	PESTRA ZGODOVINA
34	COL	COLONIALIST	KOLONIALISTIČEN
10	COM	COMPETITIVE	TEKMOVALNOSTI
31	CTA	COUNTERPOINT TO AMERICA	NASPROTJE AMERIKI
42	DTM	DRINKS TOO MUCH	PREVEČ PIJE
28	DUA	DUAL [GRAMMATICAL]	DVOJINA
20	ENV	ENVIOUS	ZAVIST
13	EQU	EQUALITY	ENAKOST
9	EU	EUROPEAN UNION	EU
36	EXC	EXCESSIVE	PRETIRAN
16	EXP	EXPERIENCED	IZKUŠEN
18	FLX	FLEXIBLE	PRILAGODLJIV
5	FOC	FUSION OF CULTURES	ZLITJE KULTUR
39	FOI	FEELINGS OF INFERIORITY	OBČUTEK MANJVREDNOSTI
35	FRC	FORCED	VSILJEN
45	HOS	HOSTLER	HLAPEC
11	HRM	HARMFUL	ŠKODLJIV
37	HUM	HUMBLE	SKROMEN/PONIŽEN
2	IMP	IMPOSSIBLE	NEMOGOČE
17	IND	INDEPENDENT	SAMOSTOJNOST
19	LRG	LARGE	VELIK
23	MID	MULTICULTUAL/INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE	MULTIKULTURNOST/MEDKULTURNI DIALOG
29	NEG	NEGATIVE	NEGATIVEN
30	NXP	INEXPERIENCED	NEIZKUŠEN
40	PBM	POLKA/BEEF MUSIC	POLKA/GOVEJA GLASBA
41	PLY	POLYGLOT	POLIGLOT
44	RES	RESERVED	ZADRŽAN/ZAPRT
43	SBD	STILL BECOMING/DEVELOPING	V NASTAJANJU/V RAZVOJU
6	SEC	SELF-CENTERED	EGOCENTRIČEN
38	SML	SMALL	MAJHEN
4	SPL	SPECIAL LANGUAGE	POSEBEN JEZIK
25	SPO	SPORTY	ŠPORTEN
7	STR	STRONG	MOČAN
14	STU	STUBBORN	TRMAST
27	SUI	SUICIDAL	SAMOMOR
1	SUP	FEELINGS OF SUPERIORITY	OBČUTEK VEČVREDNOSTI
32	TCP	TRADITIONAL/COUNTRY/ PEASANT FOODS	TRADICIONALEN/PODEŽELSKI/ KMEČKA HRANA
21	TRI	TRIGLAV	TRIGLAV
26	UNA	UNAVOIDABLE	NEIZOGIBNO
12	UNI	UNITY	ENOTNOST
15	UNQ	UNIQUE	EDINSTVEN
33	XEN	XENOPHOBIA	KSENOFOBIJA

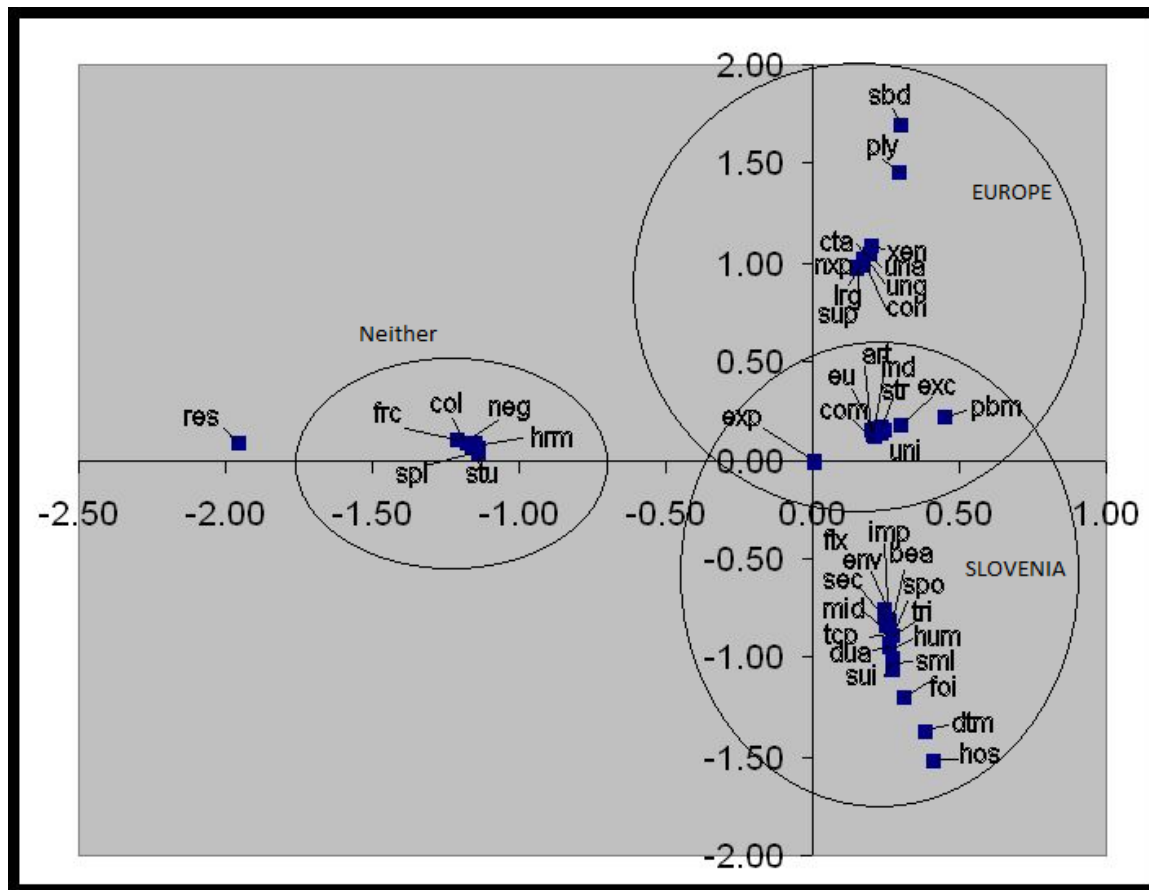
The results show strong, tight clustering of concepts, the implication being that there is, in fact, a general consensus to some underlying attributes to the concepts of Slovenian and European that go beyond “simple” state-level (and super-state-level) political demarcations⁸. After performing the Constrained Pile Sort, the results were then calculated with multi-dimensional scaling using *ANTHROPAC* (Borgatti 1989, 1996a, 1996b) with the following results (see figure 3).

As can be seen, a clear clustering was the result. In order to identify the Slovenian category and the European category, I looked for two terms and subsequently consulted the original data to verify the grouping of each term. For the Europe category, I looked for “Large” as it is undoubtedly so, when compared to Slovenia. Further, I had already encountered how prominently the smallness of Slovenia was emphasized. For Slovenia I looked for “Small” and the National symbol “Mt. Triglav” (see figure 3).

Looking at the results, I will begin by quickly dispatching the “neither Slovenian, nor European category” before discussing the “European” category. I will follow with the “Both Slovenian and European” category and finally finish with the “Slovenian” category.

⁸ Multi-dimensional scaling such as that used here has often been used in examinations of cultural schemas or domains. Those are in part an effort to gauge cultural competency, namely how well a group adheres to agreed upon concepts, terms, et cetera. It also can gauge the accuracy of individual knowledge in comparing it to the consensus (Boster 1994, 2005, Romney and Moore 1998, Weller and Romney 1988, Weller 2007). My intent here is not to use this method as part of a cultural competency model per se, but to model how Slovenians conceptualize their identities.

Figure 3. Multi-dimensional scaling



Neither Slovenian, nor European

These terms were deemed to characterize neither Europe nor Slovenia (see figure 4). They included “Colonialist”, “Stubborn”, “Harmful”, “Negative”, “Forced”, “Reserved” and “Special Language”. Boster and Maltseva (2006) examined attitudes of members of several European countries and suggested that individuals generally do not apply negative descriptions or terms to their native country and that familiarity is geographically oriented according to state proximity. This may account for why many of these terms found themselves outside the Slovenian and / or European groupings. However, as we shall see, so-called “negative” descriptors or terms were also included within those categories and indeed I will return to this in subsequent chapters.

Figure 4. Neither Slovenian nor European

Neither Slovenian or European	
English Translation	Slovenian Term or phrase
HARMFUL	<i>Škodljiv</i>
STUBBORN	<i>Trmast</i>
NEGATIVE	<i>Negativen</i>
SPECIAL LANGUAGE	<i>Poseben jezik</i>
COLONIALIST	<i>Kolonialističen</i>
RESERVED	<i>Zadržan/Zaprt</i>
FORCED	<i>Vsiljen</i>

Of particular interest to me is the rejection of this concept of “reserved” (*Zadržan/Zaprt*) as this has been one of the conceptualizations that manifest in the Partisan films of the 1950’s through the 1980’s (Stankovič 2008). Peter Stankovič points to a continued shift from portraying Slovenians as “warm” and “emotional” and the Axis forces as “cold”, “reserved” and “analytical” to one where Slovenians are the reserved ones, internalizing emotions and acting with clear thought and work ethic (2008). The pile sort respondents rejected the concept. However this might be a matter of misapplication or mistranslation of terms. In Slovene *zadržan* means “delayed”, “unwilling” or “indisposed” while *zaprt* means “closed”, “sealed off”. Thus I believe it lies on the outer edge of the “neither Slovenian, nor European” category, however, my translation and use of terminology may have affected it.

European

The “European” cluster (figure 5) included “Large”, “Xenophobic”, “Inexperienced”, “Unavoidable”, “Unity”, “Counterpoint to America”, “Feelings of Superiority”, “Colorful History”, “Polyglot”, “Still Becoming/Developing”, “Fusion of Cultures” and “Equality”.

Figure 5. European

English Translation	Slovenian Term or Phrase
FEELINGS OF SUPERIORITY	<i>Občutek večvrednosti</i>
FUSION OF CULTURES	<i>Zlitje kultur</i>
COLORFUL HISTORY	<i>Pestra zgodovina</i>
EQUALITY	<i>Enakost</i>
UNIQUE	<i>Edinstven</i>
LARGE	<i>Velik</i>
INEXPERIENCED	<i>Neizkušen</i>
COUNTERPOINT TO AMERICA	<i>Nasprotje Ameriki</i>
UNAVOIDABLE	<i>Neizogibno</i>
XENOPHOBIA	<i>Ksenofobija</i>
POLYGLOT	<i>Poliglot</i>
STILL BECOMING/DEVELOPING	<i>V nastajanju/V razvoju</i>

I am primarily interested in the “European” category as it represents those aspects of a broader European identity which do not apply to Slovenia according to the participants. It is “unavoidable”, “xenophobic”, nascent (“still becoming/developing”) and “inexperienced”. These are generally negative aspects of Europe, while it is obviously multi-cultural (“equality”, “fusion of cultures”, “polyglot”) and yet as you will see below, multicultural dialogue is decidedly missing from both European categories.

Both European and Slovenian.

The “Both European and Slovenian” category contained “Competitive”, “European Union”, “Independent”, “Strong”, “Unity”, “Artificial”, “Copies America”, “Excessive” and Polka / Beef Music”. These traits include transregional cultural products such as polka as well as positive and negative traits. Both are “excessive” and “prone to copy America”. Both are also seen as “artificial” (*umetno*). It doesn’t completely carry the negative connotation that “artificial” currently does in English. *Umetno* more strongly connotes the more traditional meaning of artificial and its sibling words artifice, and artifact. Thus, it is human made.

Figure 6. Both European and Slovenian

English Translation	Slovenian Term or phrase
COMPETITIVE	<i>Tekmovalnosti</i>
EUROPEAN UNION	<i>EU</i>
INDEPENDENT	<i>Samostojnost</i>
STRONG	<i>Močan</i>
UNITY	<i>Enotnost</i>
ARTIFICIAL	<i>Umetno</i>
COPIES AMERICA	<i>Kopira Ameriko</i>
EXCESSIVE	<i>Pretiran</i>
POLKA/BEEF MUSIC	<i>Polka/Goveja glasba</i>

However, there is a slight sense of negativity still present, just not as strong as in American English. Regardless, the artificiality of Slovenia and Europe are thus implying that both Slovenia and Europe are the results of human acts of creation, fabrication building and invention. Processes of Europeanization (Borneman and Fowler 1997, Botetzagias 2005, Shore 2000) are relatively recent and perhaps its relative novelty or “newness” may account for some discrepancies (see below on a discussion of Euro-skepticism) but it is also a matter of actual or perceptual differences between these two categories and as such, there is a finite overlap.

Slovenian

The largest cluster was those set of terms deemed to be exclusively Slovenian (figure 7). A number of surprises greeted me when I began this project, not least of which was this description of Slovenians as having high rates of suicide⁹. I later learned that there has been some discussion of this topic in Slovenian media. Terms like “feelings of inferiority”, “drinks too much”, “self-centered”, “impossible” and “envious” suggest elements of self-loathing. These

⁹ According to Pridemoore and Snowden (2009) Slovenia had the highest suicide rate in Western Europe in the 1990’s numbering 30 per 100,000. With a new law aimed at curbing alcohol abuse in 2008, there has been a significant decline in suicide amongst Slovenian men (Pridemoore and Snowden 2009).

are emotional words; they are moral and normative judgments. Finally there were typical nationalist symbols of “country or peasant food”, “beautiful nature”, “Dual grammatical number”, “hostler, servant”¹⁰ and the national symbol of Slovenia, Triglav. I will examine some themes already present in this pile sort, an agrarian past, “negative” emotional components and the landscape throughout the rest of this dissertation.

Figure 7. Slovenian

English Translation	Slovenian Term or Phrase
HOSTLER / SERVANT	<i>Hlapec</i>
DRINKS TOO MUCH	<i>Preveč pije</i>
FEELINGS OF INFERIORITY	<i>Občutek manjvrednosti</i>
SMALL	<i>Majhen</i>
HUMBLE	<i>Skromen/Ponižen</i>
TRADITIONAL/COUNTRY/PEASANT FOODS	<i>Tradicionalen/Podeželski/ Kmečka Hrana</i>
DUAL [GRAMMATICAL]	<i>Dvojina</i>
MULTICULTUAL/INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE	<i>Multikulturnost/Medkulturni dialog</i>
TRIGLAV	<i>Triglav</i>
SUICIDAL	<i>Samomor</i>
SELF-CENTERED	<i>Egocentričen</i>
SPORTY	<i>Športen</i>
BEAUTIFUL NATURE	<i>Naravne lepote</i>
IMPOSSIBLE	<i>Nemogoče</i>
FLEXIBLE	<i>Prilagodljiv</i>
ENVOIOUS	<i>Zavist</i>

The Dual grammatical number is a matter of distinction (Gronold 2010:279) as no other Indo-European language has the Dual in use (Jakop 2008:ix). I was told by a teacher of the Slovenian language that Slovene is the most poetic, romantic language because of the Dual grammatical number. She illustrated by asking “How can *WE* or *THEY* be in love?” Here, the “we” and “they” are all plural, meaning 3 or more in Slovene. So the question was, in essence,

¹⁰ When I asked a participant what *hlapec* meant, she said, “You know, in the old days, people who took care of horses...like that”. A hostler or alternatively ostler, is traditionally one who takes care of the horses in a stable. The term is a catch all for servants, especially in a medieval or more recent Hapsburgian sense. See chapter four for a Partizan poster on the topic.

“how can 3 people be in love”, as it is an intimate thing between two people (see Lenček (1982) for more on the use of the Dual in Slovenian poetry).

What is surprising to me is the embracing of “multicultural dialogue” as a Slovenian trait and that “xenophobia” was not. It may be as Boster and Maltseva (2006) suggest, that people tend to describe themselves in the most positive light, but that did not apply to other positive or negative traits. The reason of my surprise is the several examples of noticeable levels of intolerance towards groups such as the Roma or to people from the “Balkans” (Blitz 2006, Erjavec 2001, 2003, Kusmanić 1999, 2003, Jalušič and Dedeč 2008, Lesar et al. 2006, Pajnik and Kusmanić 2005). However, it may also be a lingering effect of very active “rights” groups such as feminists, gay and lesbian rights groups, and environmental activists who proliferated during the 1980’s, only to find their voices ironically muted after independence (Kramberger et al. 2004).

Cultural Intimacy

Such negative societal self-apprehension has been explored by Michael Herzfeld who coined the term “cultural intimacy” to describe those allegedly negative aspects held by a society about itself and its mobilization as a marker of in-group membership and an inverted sense of pride that arises from such negative stereotypes (Herzfeld 1997, 2013). To Herzfeld, “cultural intimacy” is the:

recognition of those aspects of cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but nevertheless provide insiders with assurance of common sociality, the familiarity with the bases of power that may at one moment assure the disenfranchised a degree of creative irreverence and at the next moment reinforce the effectiveness of intimidation. Cultural intimacy may also reinforce the hand of power when its display becomes a sign of collective confidence, as in upper-class and colonial affectations of modesty. It consists in those alleged national traits...that offer citizens a sense of defiant pride in the face of a more formal or official morality and, sometimes, of official disapproval too (1997:3).

Adding elsewhere that “[t]he activities that qualify as culturally intimate thus defy the rule of states and other institutions – but, and here’s the rub, those institutions actually, and to a surprising degree, depend on and even surreptitiously sustain that comfort zone as a way of securing the continued fealty of their members” (Herzfeld 2005:492). As will be demonstrated in chapter five, there are qualities that many Slovenians hold on to dearly as hallmarks of identity that are also sources of frustration and consternation, namely *zavist* (envy) and *majhnost* (smallness). During my fieldwork I also observed such “cultural intimacies” surrounding over-consumption of alcohol. This is reflected in the free-list and pile sort data.

Eurocentrism and Euro-skepticism

Mitja Velikonja coined the term *Eurosis* to discuss the sometimes exuberant embrace of the EU in the days running up to the 2004 accession (2005). As the term suggests, there is something deeply pathological about its feverish embrace:

Never in the era of one-party era of the uniformity of mind under Yugoslav totalitarianism did I see as many red communist stars as I saw yellow, European stars in the spring of 2004, that is to say, under democracy. To put it differently, ... I could not get rid of the impression that it is only one and a half decade [sic] after we abandoned the path of socialist revolution, that we have finally managed to put in practice a line from the Internationale that reads *we have been naught, we shall be all*; ...that we separated from Yugoslavia, a community of *equal nations and nationalities*, only to join anew another community of *equal nations*, the European Union...that only after we wrenched ourselves from the Yugoslav federal embrace, have we managed to realize its ideological maxim—*brotherhood and unity* (Velikonja 2005:7, italics in the original).

Velikonja adds that in those early days of the Republic of Slovenia that the ubiquity of the European discourse when “[p]rattle about the Europeanism of just about everything—politics, behavior, product quality, creativity, knowledge and so on – has permeated every pore of public discourse” (Velikonja 2005:8). The period which Velikonja calls “*Eustacy*” is that period just prior to and leading up to the accession (Velikonja 2005:9) and was of particular interest to him as this was a period of considerable Eurocentrism and consumption of EU imagery and

symbolism in the marketplace (Velikonja 2005:10, Vidmar-Horvat 2010). Four years after accession, I found much less enthusiasm and much more skepticism about the European Union.

While I was interviewing residents of Koper and the surrounding areas, I had found a notable level of “Euro-skepticism” which is what spurred me to do a pile sort of Slovenian and European identity. I was surprised to see “European Union” represented in the “Both” pile because of that expression of skepticism. However, when I looked at the raw data, only 24% of individuals (n=6, sample = 25) placed European Union in the “Both” pile. It ended up in the “European” pile 68% of the time (n=17, sample = 25). This raises the question of how the civic ownership of the European Union is perceived by citizens of other member states. From my own conversations with Slovenians, I encountered discourses of external danger, of the European Union as an external thing or entity. It was characterized as a collective group of politicians and policy makers in Brussels more so than a larger socio-political grouping of member states. I often heard from them about the adversarial nature of European Union versus the member states and, especially its citizenry. European Union policies were often viewed as foreign, alien and certainly never informed by local realities. While the European Union has many legal paths for citizens to challenge particular member states (e.g. via human rights legal frameworks) it was conceived as generally a distant process, divorced from the day-to-day realities lived by Slovenians. However, that is not to say they expressed a desire to “go it alone” as a state. Indeed many individuals noted how they enjoyed the freedoms (economic, political, religious, intellectual and geographical) that the European Union offered them. There was a sense of powerlessness and being beholden to foreign bureaucracy, especially in the farming and education sectors.

This skepticism may be part of a larger trend: “during the 1990s, the European identity became less important for the Slovenian population than it used to be at the beginning of the decade” according to survey data (Adam et al. 2002), declining from 15.8% in 1992 to 9.4% in 2001 (Adam et al. 2002, Toš et al. 2001). One example of this process of the interaction between European Union policies and local realities is the Bologna Process (See Keeling 2006). This program was implemented in order to standardize higher education in Europe. When the topic came up virtually every (Slovenian) academic (i.e. students, professors and administrators) I talked to was extremely disappointed and frustrated with the reforms. They expressed a “dumbing down” of their local academic standards to meet the European Union ones.

However, this wasn’t the only critique of academia I heard. For example: Petra, a 25 year old graduate student, told me *“The only scholarship that gets funded by the state today is one with implicit or explicit nationalist overtones or scholarship that makes Slovenia look better to the outside world.”* This mirrors what Pušnik (2010) suggests when she examined nationalist discourse in the sciences within Slovenia and suggest those that support the nationalist narratives of the state are those most likely to be represented.

Another graduate student, Marko, mentioned that since there are only three universities, graduate students usually end up in the departments where they studied and got their degree. When he asked what American academics might think of this, I said that many might think it rather “incestuous”. Marko slapped the table excitedly half-shouting:

“Yes, yes! That is exactly how it is here. That is a good word for it! You can never question the work of your mentor and if they ever get in trouble, you get in trouble too! It is so very medieval.”

Whether these critiques of the Slovenian system are valid, I cannot say. It may simply be the grouching and grumbling that may well be a global graduate student “Cultural Universal”

(Murdock 1945). The concerns and complaints regarding the Bologna Process I heard from both faculty and students.

In 2008 I participated in a summer program at the University of Primorska in Koper, Slovenia. It was called “The Mediterranean Summer School of Theoretical and Applied Humanities (META Humanities)” covering the broad theme: “Re-thinking Europe: Constructions of the New”. As a socio-cultural anthropologist I was as interested in the behaviors of the students as well as the content of the lectures, themselves. These classes were advertised not only to Slovenian students but also actively targeted students of institutions affiliated with the European Commission Erasmus program. Students would earn up to nine credits of ECTS (European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System, known locally as: *kreditne točke*) toward their degree. Thus, there were many students that year from Italy, Austria, Poland and the Czech Republic but most students were Slovenian. I was the sole *Američan*. I was surprised by the performance and behavior of some of the students. While many were engaged to some degree, several had tuned out the lectures and did crosswords or looked at their phones. Additionally, many students talked while the lecturer tried to lecture. I cannot comment on whether that is typical student behavior or whether it was a matter of summer school inattention (the glimmering Adriatic Sea was less than two minutes from the university, by foot!). My own preconceptions were shattered. I had sort of romanticized European higher education, in part from the constantly negative reports of American academic shortcomings, partly from my Europhilic tendencies. When I told my friend Eva about it, she bemoaned that the educational system was becoming “diluted” (Slovene infinitive: *oslabeti* “to dilute”, note its root of *slab*, meaning “bad”) due to the Bologna process. I mentioned that the students I observed were in many ways similar to my American ones. This surprised her. She

explained that the United States is always held up in Slovenia as the pinnacle of higher education. I then discussed how much higher education tuition was in the United States and at first she thought I was having her on. The numbers were incomprehensible considering annual tuition (and all costs except housing, food and books) at the time was, if I recall correctly around 1400 Euros (approximately \$1850 in 2013). Many students even have an amount waived due to scholarships, etc.

Another example of Euroskepticism I can point to is the controversy over whole, unpasteurized milk in Slovenia¹¹. One ruling of the European Union sought to limit the sale of raw milk. The dairy farmers eventually found an innovative way to sell their milk directly to consumers, which circumvented the ruling, via direct vending. When I talked to a Slovenian couple, they were indignant that the EU would tell them what they could or could not drink. Pictured below is one such Mlekomat in the Ljubljana Center.

Figure 8. Mleko Non-Stop



(A fresh milk vending machine in central Ljubljana, 2010).

¹¹ (For controversies over raw milk and its illegal status in the USA, see Johnson 2008).

Returning to the broader question of Slovenia and the European Union, Slovenian public academics such as Aleš Debeljak (2001, 2003, 2004) have written extensively on the topic of Slovenia's place within Europe and the world, expressing anxieties and concerns as well as a guarded optimism of the accession into the European Union. After Slovenia's turn with the EU presidency in 2008, I noted, anecdotally a slight decrease in worries around the EU, *per se*¹², but those have returned with the current economic conditions in Slovenia.

Interpreting the Pile Sorts

Ethnic and national identities could be considered cultural domains, Borgatti states "Practically speaking, to define a cultural or cognitive domain is to make a list of its elements" (1996b). This pile sort elicitation revealed strong clustering of the "Slovenian" terms or descriptors and also for the "European" category. Contrary to the discourses of anxiety and soul searching over Slovenian identity and the ambiguous nature of said identity, here the pile sort shows relative agreement on associated terms or aspects of Slovenianness. To take a decidedly Barthian view of Slovenian ethnicity, one could suggest these closely agreed upon terms and concepts could represent the "diacritical marks" (Barth 1969) which serves as boundary markers and membership badges. They are shibboleths, passwords and signifiers, transmitting to insider and outsider alike that there are in fact categories as Slovene and non-Slovene, and that these matter. These are mobilized to symbolically demarcate and distinguish between categories (Barth 1969, Zimmer 2003).

¹² However, the Slovenian film "Slovenska" (Slovenian girl) (renamed "A Call Girl" in English markets) by Damjan Kozole (2009) takes place during Slovenia's turn as the European President and painted a portrait of clashing economic realities. It depicted a call girl whose desperation to escape her little home town fuels her illicit activities and her efforts to afford a decent lifestyle in the city soon devolve into elaborate sets of lies which gets her deeper in trouble.

***Vignette: Greva na Kava?*¹³**

Between trying to learn Slovenian and attending the META summer school, I would also try to find time to talk to local Slovenians. Some of the most insightful conversations were over the proverbial coffee (*kava*). One conversation was in regard to the political machinations within one of the university's (Primorska) departments. A so-called radical faculty member made too many waves in his department and his contract was not renewed. Further, all of his students lost their place within the university. In a higher educational system still built on quasi-feudal clientage, this was an academic death knell. One couldn't go to another Slovenian university since the academic community is so insular and small. Being blacklisted, even by association, was grossly effective. This is the story one ex-student told me. Now working a bar part-time, he told me he was trying to decide what to do. He was unsure of local prospects and unsure of European ones. He had worked for many years to get to where he was and then he had that taken away, in part because his advisors' students rallied and supported the ousted academic. As we sat there in a café off of *Tito trg*, on a hot Friday afternoon, his frustration was palpable. I wasn't sure what to make of his story, or how accurate the account may have been, but within it there was a kernel of a theme I found throughout my fieldwork, one of unease and anxiety.

The "ontological" or perhaps epistemological anxiety that I witnessed time and again then was not as it appeared on the surface. That is not to suggest insincerity on the part of those Slovenians I talked to, read, or watched on television, but instead a requirement for a more nuanced re-reading. Ethno-national identity building during the run up to independence in the media (Lindstrom 2003, Volčič 2005) was less an exercise in wholesale "invention" (*sensu*

¹³ Translation: (We, the two of us) go for coffee? In English its equivalent would be "want to go for coffee?" or some variant.

Hobsbawm) and more an exercise in reification or entrenchment of weakening ethnic/national boundaries as a result of Yugoslav policies and demographic flows. Fear of being “swallowed up” by Europe was more a fear of the unknown and the relative lack of economic, political and military influence within the European stage than an actual obliteration of Slovenian identity. However, these fears were often couched in the language of conflict over “tradition” and external threats, thus mirroring the insider versus outsider boundary markers. This anxiety is further illustrated in the European Values Study or EVS (2011). Citing from the EVS 2004, Nahtigal and Prebilič noted, “The fear of losing national identity can be felt in Slovenia, too, as almost 60 per cent of survey respondents say they are afraid of losing Slovenian national identity” (EVS 2004, Nahtigal and Prebilič 2004).

Regionalism in Slovenia

Slovenia has a broad range of regional variations: topographical, ecological, linguistic, and to an extent also cultural ones. These variations were often studied by folklorists and early ethnologists in the area. The Slovenian Ethnographic Museum for example illustrates folk costume variations by region. Stereotypes about the inhabitants of various areas or regions of Slovenia also exist (see chapter four, below). While it is regrettably beyond the scope of this study, it is important to note the importance of regional variation when discussing national identity, as regional cultural identity does potentially interact and influence individual conceptions of national identity as well. For example, in the process of standardizing Slovene, Primož Trubar (see chapter four) relied on centralized dialects, placing more peripheral dialects at a disadvantage. In highly contested border areas this becomes more complicated by competing claims by various groups, states, nations, et cetera. Take for example Istria.

Istrian Regionalism

The pile sort of this project was conducted in a region of Slovenia known as Istria. Istria is a territorial designation of a large wedge shaped peninsula along the Adriatic Sea presently crossing the boundaries of Italy, Slovenia and Croatia. The region has been at times Hapsburgian, Italian and Yugoslavian (Ashbrook 2006, Ballinger 2003, 2004, D'Alessio 2008, Sluga 2001). The region straddles the boundary of the European Union and the Balkans and finds itself between the so-called “West”/ “European” and the “East”/ “South” / “Balkan” (Hayden and Hayden 1992, Hayden 1996, Todorova 1997). Istrian discourses of a “vernacular multiculturalism” (Armstrong-Fumero 2009) draw upon images of constant intermixing, “hybridity”, and intercultural contact which created an Istrian identity (Ashbrook 2005, 2006, Ballinger 2004*a*, 2004*b*, Kappus 2006)¹⁴. These discourses of hybridity were propagated by a number of different groups including political parties and civic groups (Ashbrook 2005, 2006, Ballinger 2003, 2004*a*, 2004*b*). But Istria has been a strongly contested region in the past as well and it still bears the societal scars of the conflict at the end of World War II (Ballinger 2003, 2004, Miklavcic 2008, Sluga 2001).

In next door Trieste (*Trst*), Italy, local politically motivated partisan monument defacements, graffiti evoking World War Two imagery and conflicts around sporting events have occurred routinely in recent years (Fikfak 2009, Miklavcic 2008). Trieste (*Trst*) presents an interesting case because of its contested history over the last one hundred years, from Hapsburgian city, to Italian possession. Yugoslav (and especially Slovenian) claimed it at the end of World War Two, due to the long Slovenian presence in addition to Italian *esuli* (exiles) from Istria after partition (Ballinger 2003, 2004*a*, 2004*b*, Sluga 2001). Thus, Istria is a site of a

¹⁴ Of course, as Urbanc (2007) points out, it is an ongoing process.

double narrative: (1) Istria as a hybrid zone, unique for its overlapping cultures¹⁵, civilizations, languages and (2) a region that was and is hotly contested between historically placed and displaced peoples who carry irredentist visions of ethno-nationalist wholeness.

The question then is whether my pile sort is representative of local, indigenous perceptions or broader Slovenian ones. To address this I first looked at the sample, most of the participants considered themselves to be Slovenian and/or from other parts of the country. Second, very few identified as Istrian per se. Third, the results, when compared to subsequent (a) ethnographic data and (b) survey data assured me that it was generally representative of the larger Slovenian “national” populace.

While the Euro-skepticism was marked, I also found that Slovenians viewed themselves as European, especially as Central or Western European. Further, a number of characterizations came out of the Pile Sort exercise. Among these characterizations were “stereotypes” of Slovenian-ness. These included an agrarian and peasant association, a propensity for alcohol abuse, feelings of inferiority, egocentrism, smallness, suicidal thoughts and enviousness. I also encountered an emphasis on athleticism, outdoors activities, the natural landscape, and upon language. Ironically, one key concept I will explore later, envy, had already presented itself

¹⁵The oft noted study by Kroeber and Kluckholm (1952) pointed out that there were already 162 distinct definitions in a discipline scarcely seventy years old. The continued reformulation, invention and re-invention of the concept have led some (Kuper 1999) to reject the concept out of hand for lacking any specificity or usefulness at all. Cultural (or social or socio-cultural) anthropology must be one of only a few fields with which it cannot define or agree upon what exactly it is studying (the other I suspect, lies within the field of philosophy). I attempt to use the concept sparingly, in part because of its imprecision as a concept and because it has so thoroughly imbued American vernacular of identity and difference. My definition of culture is close to Geertz's as: "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (Geertz 1973: 89)...and ...“ is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning.” (Geertz 1973: 5). I use “culture”, in part, as a gloss (a kind of short hand) for the material, organizational, social, cognitive and ideational aspects of a human group which contains within its collective a sense of identity that is specific to itself and differentiated to that of others. I also acknowledge that the capacity to have culture is a species wide evolutionary adaptive strategy.

here. However, at the time I failed to note the importance of the concept. That would come later. After encountering this concept again and again during my fieldwork, it became more centered as a major theme. Only then did I return to my initial Pile Sort project, in the process integrating it into the dissertation did I discover that even in 2008, envy had “raised its ugly head”. For me, it was both a forehead slapping moment, but also an “a-ha moment” of validation.

One theme I did originally take away from the initial Pile Sort was this emphasis on a peasant past. This is one that I continued to explore and encounter. To understand these constructions of the current conceptions of a “peasant past”, we must put it into some sort of historical context as well as examining how the “peasant past” is mobilized in nationalist discourse. In the next chapter I discuss some historical moments or factors which have been utilized or is in some way foundational in nationalist “imaginings” of a nation. In the following chapter I look at emotions and specific kinds of remembrance.

Chapter Four: The Peasant, the Past, the Past Imperfect¹⁶

Am I Slovenian? Am I Istrian? Long ago nobody lived in this place and then Venice needed the wood from the trees. Istria was once full of trees. And people from all over eventually came here and once, after the first person was here, when the next person came he said “what are you?” The first man replied “I am Istrian.” And it went like this, so that when the third man came and asked the second man, who took pride in what he had built in Istria and thus said he was Istrian too. And this went so on, because what is an Istrian, Italian, Slovenian or Croat, anyway? People just saying it is so. –Martin, Koper, Taxi Driver, 50.

Introduction

The ancient past is something that can be highly politicized (e.g. Arnold 1990, Bender 1998, Dietler 1994, Meskell 2002). It is something often mobilized by nationalists. In this chapter I will look at a few key periods of “Slovenian” history that are mobilized in national identity discourses and discuss some issues with each. This will contextualize the question of ethnic and national identity in Slovenia. These pasts live on today in the discourses of nationhood and other social identities in Slovenia today. Indeed, World War Two has so shaped the current Slovenian political topography that to make sense of the political order of Slovenia today, one must account for it. Following is a necessarily brief and selective representation of the full extent of history of the region.

Slovenia is a new state. It has never had complete autonomy and has routinely been part of other political entities and empires. While Slovenia had a nascent collective identity, especially manifesting in the mid to late 1800’s, the proto-state still had much to do to “validate” its existence to both insiders (citizens) and outsiders (both inside the state and outside the state) (Lindstrom 2003, Volčič 2005). This was done in part by building on the work of Slovenian romantic nationalism of the 19th century. Growing linguistic, educational and political autonomy was achieved throughout

¹⁶ Imperfect from the Latin “*Imperfectus*” meaning “unfinished”.

the Yugoslav years and language and literature (especially poetry) were to play a pivotal role in “imagining” Slovenia (Debeljak 2004). Those pushing for independence looked for symbols within the literary, social, historical and environmental spheres and came up with national emblems of Triglav Mountain, Lipizzaner horses, and various nationalist poems (Cox 2005:169-170, Prunk 2008:68-69, Volčič 2005), but the choice of emphasizing (and manipulating) some histories, traditions and symbols and ignoring (or expunging) others is only part of the story. Some traditions are also highly contested. As the past is highly important in national identity it is doubly important to consider historical trajectories, not so much as in a Braudelian *longue durée* sense but instead in the sense that the past is particulate, and from time to time historical particularities are mobilized by elites or by subalterns. This happens, in part, due to “The genius of nationalism... as ‘community’ it is dispersed and remote while at the same time capable of evoking strong emotions and mobilizing collective action” (White 2001:502)

Also, the past is very much the concern of the present as it “is endlessly constructed in and through the present” (Urry 1996:48). This chapter is not meant to be, and cannot be, a thorough account of Slovenian history. I am selectively highlighting certain components of the past and present to illuminate certain prevailing themes in the identity discourses I deal with in this dissertation. I have provided a simple timeline that spans from 1918 to 2013, adapted from BBC News Europe (2013) in Appendix H for the reader’s convenience.

PART I

Ancient History:

In Slovenia, there has been a continuing debate amongst scholars and those interested in Slovenian ethnogenesis regarding Slovenian origins. Ethnogenesis is the birth or foundation of an ethnic group, and the theories around the origins of Slovenian ethnic identity is, in part, rooted

in a clash between “Veneticists” who back some version of the “Veneti theory” (Bajt 2011a, Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:286) and more traditional notions that I label the “Karantanija theory”, and the overlapping Slav theory. Whether one accepts Smith’s notion of an *ethnie* or core ethnic group as the historical pre-cursor to much of the nationalism extant today or whether you reject this claim, either altogether or by challenging the “ancientness” or homogeneity of the purported *ethnie*, one must admit that it certainly reflects attitudes of many nationalists themselves (Smith 1986, 1991, 1999).

The region that is now Slovenia has had continuous occupancy by humans, evidenced by archeological findings that date back to at least the Mesolithic era (Luthar 2008:13). There have also been numerous Neanderthal findings in the area. Its most famous, or infamous, is that of the *Divje Babe I* site where a 60,000 year old alleged Neanderthal bone flute was found (Luthar et al. 2008:15, Morley 2006, Tuniz et al. 2012). This artifact, conceived of as evidence of artistic expression by Neanderthals, is also now integrated into Slovenian nationalist narratives about Slovenian identity. As an artistic device, a musical instrument, it is meant for personal expression, artistic expression. This theme is heavily represented in narratives about Slovenianness and Slovenian culture. It has also entered into tourism marketing and museum merchandising (the Natural History Museum of Slovenia gift store for example, sells keychain replicas of the flute). The immediate area of Ljubljana, a swampy, river wetlands, was once occupied by people who lived in elevated pile-dwellings dating back to the 4th millennium BCE. (Luthar 2008:19). In the middle Bronze Age (approximately the late 16th century until the 14th century BCE) two distinct populations were suggested by archeological records. One buried their dead in barrows (typical throughout Central Europe) and another lived in fortified hilltop settlements, but little is known about the two groups (Luthar 2008:21-25). Groups at the

periphery of current Slovenian territory or nearby were eventually (8th to 4th centuries BCE) the *Histri* found in Istria, the *Iopodes* in Bosnia and *Liburni* in Dalmatia (Luthar 2008:25).

By the Iron Age, many tribal groups immigrated into the iron-rich areas of what is now Slovenia. The “*Hallstatt*” Celts settled the region (Prunk 2008:11, Luthar 2008:25). (Current) Slovenian territory was at an extreme periphery of Greek civilization and I was told several times by Slovenes that the city of Ljubljana was allegedly established by Jason and the Argonauts. The myth of the great monster they fought is the reason why the dragon is the symbol of the city, as the Argonauts fought it at the site of Ljubljana. This mythic narrative is interesting; of course, I haven’t yet met any Slovenes who (a) believes there were once dragons or (2) believes that Slovenes are descended from the Greeks. Luthar traces this myth to early Roman chroniclers (2008:53).

After the *Norici* tribe of Celts came, the Roman occupants and Rome left considerable evidence behind of its long occupation of the area, eventually known in Rome as Noricum and Panonnia. The Roman settlement of Emona is where Ljubljana now sits and a Roman dig is part of the basement of the City Museum of Ljubljana (*Mestni Muzej Ljubljana*). After the Romans came a brief wave of Lombards marching west to Roman territories in current day Italy and finally the Slavs and Avars.

It is widely held in Slovenian academic circles that Slovenes are descended from Slavs who moved into the region around the second half of the sixth century CE (Cox 2006:1, Curta 2008, Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:245, Skrbis 2006). According to prevailing scholarship, these Slavs had to defend themselves from Bavarians and another group, called the Avars and established a consolidated Slavic land called Karantania (alternately spelled Carantania, Carinthania) (Luthar 2008:83, Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:245, Prunk 2008:17) and joined other Slavic lands in a

union under a new ruler. Its ruler, Samo, was supposedly a merchant of Frankish origin (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:245). The tribal Slavs who were predominantly herders and farmers (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:245) were thought to arrive with the Avars, a “nomadic horsemen” (Prunk 2008:17) who ruled the Slavs (Luthar 2008:85, Prunk 2008:17). Luthar notes:

The Slavs were subordinate to their Avar masters, paying tribute and providing military service. Yet the attitudes and relations of the horse-bound Avar warriors to various Slavic groups differed according to time and geographical circumstances. Avar supremacy over the Slavs was undoubtedly more keenly felt at the heart of the khaganate¹⁷ based around the lower Danube and Tisza rivers in Pannonia than on the periphery, in the hilly and heavily forested eastern Alpine and northwest Balkan areas, which were less suitable for the nomadic horse people (Luthar 2008:85).

Knezhji Komen: the Prince’s Stone

Luthar notes that the collapse of Avar rule is tied to Slavic resistance under Samo (623 CE) and to a failed siege the Avars waged against Constantinople which greatly weakened the Danubian khaganate (Luthar 2008:83). The Slavs then established a consolidated Slavic land called Karantanija. Karantania sat within a broader Slavic territory, *Scaborum Provincia* (Latin: Provinces of the Slavs), and eventually *Marcia Vinedorum* (Latin: Marches of the Wends) (Luthar 2008:88-90). While the leader of Karantania was a vassal under a Bavarian or Moravian ruler, it is still considered by many as the first Slovene kingdom (Rogel 1994:4-5) or proto-state (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:2, Prunk 2008:18). This brief political entity, Karantania, is the foundational myth for Slovenia. Carole Rogel for example entitles her opening chapter on Slovenia “In the Beginning: The Slovenes from the Seventh Century to 1945” (Rogel 1994). It is the source of the “*Knezhji Komen*” or Prince’s Stone. The Prince’s Stone (alternately, Duke’s Stone, Ducal Stone) was “actually the base of an ionic column turned upside down” (Štih et al. 2008:33) at Krn Castle that was used in the ceremonies surrounding the accession of rulers in

¹⁷ Khaganate is the term for an area controlled by an Avar ruler (*khagan*) (Luthar 2008:83).

Karanitania, and is thought to represent the idea that the power of the leader came from the ruled, namely the peasant classes (Cox 2005:2, Gow and Carmichael 2000:12 *fn*24, Prunk 2008:18, Štih et al. 2008:33, Vosnjak 1919:98).

An alternate ethnogenesis

Offered up as an alternative theory to the traditional or mainstream theory of Slovenian ethnogenesis is what is called the “Veneti theory”. The Veneti theory, first espoused by Matej Bor, Ivan Tomažič and Jožko Šavli, argued that Slovenians descended from a group called the Veneti that existed from 1500-1000 BCE leaving inscriptions counting into the hundreds (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:286). While it is evident that pre-Slavic local groups (the Histri and Hallstatt groups) there is little to suggest these people as proto-Slavic founders (Luthar 2008:26). The beginning of this historical argument began in the mid 1980’s (Skrbis 2006) by a poet/linguist, a priest, and an economist, whether they all walked into a bar together is unknown, however the three did co-author a book titled *Veneti: First Builders of European Community* in 1988 (the English version in 1996). Zlatko Skrbis characterizes these Veneti proponents as “amateur historians” that interpret alleged toponymic similarities to Veneti linguistic constructions as proof (Skrbis 2001). In this historical revisionism, we see interesting efforts to divorce the Slovenians from Slavic history of the Western Slavic group. Skrbis notes that while the theory has little currency in Slovenian historiographical circles, it has some purchase abroad:

“The Venetological theory, which is only the latest attempt among Slovenes to show that they are indigenous Europeans, evokes nationalist pride and is generally encouraging of ideas that emphasise the current worth and ancient roots of Slovenes. The theory evokes precisely the sorts of feelings that generally tend to find fertile ground in diaspora settings: intensely emotional appeal. Put differently, the social, cultural and political characteristics of the diaspora setting as well as the effect of the ‘distant view’ process all contributed to providing a safe ground for the anchoring of the Venetological theory” (Skrbis 2001).

Peasant Life

Typical of Germanic style romantic nationalism, peasantry was afforded a special place in conceptualizing an “authentic” Slovenian past. The center of peasant life was the village. As Štih et al. 2008 note:

“Peasants or the agrarian population in general, lived mainly, though not exclusively, in villages, with some more isolated at outlying farms or clusters of dwellings. A village is defined as permanent settlement that lives primarily from agricultural production. The core of a typical village in this period would comprise a group of neighbouring houses (farms), alongside which individual craft workshops might be found. Each village was surrounded by a set amount of village land with fields, meadows, waters and pastures and woods, part of which was for individual use, and part for common use. Yet a group of farms standing together does not automatically become a village, as there must be functional connections between them. Common buildings and public spaces, such as gathering places (often beneath a linden tree in the middle of the village), paths, wells or a church, are therefore as much constituent elements of a village as the common regulation of economic and legal matters that stood above individual farms. A community of village neighbours of this kind – regardless of the dispersed nature of the seignury land system in the Late Middle Ages, when a number of different seigneurs would have *mansi* in the same village – linked by common economic interests and the need for common management of village land are referred to as a *soseska* (from Slovenian. *sosed* – neighbor). A similar term that came from common usage is *srenja*, which derives from *sredina* or centre (in the sense of the centre of the village where villagers would gather). Sometimes, terms such as commune, deriving from Latin, the German word *Gemeinde* and the Slovene word *gmajna* derived from it, are also used to refer to a *soseska*. The *soseska* enjoyed a certain level of self-governance or autonomy, which was relatively small in scope yet of exceptional importance to villagers as it included matters such as making binding resolutions on the time and place for certain agrarian duties, on letting otherwise cultivated land be used as pasture (in relation to triennial fallow rotation), and managing shared village equipment and land” (Štih et al. 2008:116).

I asked Marko, someone I had befriended at *Klub Kind* about the folk costumes I saw a folk music demonstration. He explained:

“You mean the hat and vest or the woman’s avba¹⁸? That is the clothes of the previous centuries, when we Slovenians were all peasants who worked the land. Why do you think

¹⁸ The *avba* is seen as a national symbol in itself. The word itself is from the German *die Haube* “a cap”. In Croatia it is called a *jalba* and its image can be found in late medieval murals and manuscripts (Hajba 2002).

we are so good at ‘Agricola’¹⁹? It’s in our blood! [Laughs] Each area has its own costume, and from those they made a national one”

I wondered if Slovenians were good at building wonders of the world, as they routinely defeated me at “7 Wonders”. While playing board games we would discuss a variety of topics, and I noted they in general steered clear of controversial topics, but when they did arise, they were discussed without acrimony or invective. On one such game night, usually held on Thursdays, we discussed the peasant past and the various Turkish invasions before becoming distracted by the game at hand (*Notre Dame*).

In Slovenian film, the peasant is well represented. The first Slovenian films focused on the Mountains (and communities) of Western and Northern Slovenia in the works of Janko Ravnik. His 1934 classic, *V kraljestvu zlatoroga* (*In the Kingdom of the Goldhorn*) was Slovenia’s first feature length film (Stanković 2012). According to Slovenians I talked to, a classic Slovenian series was ones based on a boy named *Kekec*²⁰. The character *Kekec* is based on three short novels written in the early 1920’s by children’s literature author Josip Vandot. The first, eponymous, film *Kekec* (1951) by Jože Gale, is about the mountain-dwelling, precocious boy who shows both bravery and guile in dealing with the mountain dwelling villain, eventually

¹⁹ Agricola is a “German-style” or “Euro-style” board game published in a number of languages including German, French, Italian and English (see Woods 2012) designed by Uwe Rosenberg and published by Lookout Games and Z-Man Games. In the game you play a peasant farmer who must tend sheep, cows and pigs while also growing wheat and vegetables. It may sound dull to any non-hobbyist, but it is among the most popular “Euro” or “German” style board game to come out in the last five years. These games have more to do with resource management than with the combat or conflict traditionally associated with American board games and derisively called “Ameritrash” by board game hobbyists.

²⁰ I first saw this film in 2006 while attending Slovenian language courses at Indiana University’s Summer Slavic Language Institute. The Instructor, Peter Jurgec, now at the University of Toronto, brought three films to represent Slovenian cinema. The first was *Kekec*, the second was *Ekspres*, *Ekspres* (Express, Express) (1995) and the final one was *Rezervni deli* (Spare Parts) (2003). Stanković says of *Ekspres*, *Ekspres*: “*The film proved to be hugely popular among audiences and collected several international awards, but its principal importance lies in the fact that it showed a path between the extremes of commercialism and high art that is typically Slovenian, in the sense that it builds on several characteristics of the country’s culture... It has almost no dialogue and...It is a markedly small story about small people, yet its artistic eloquence, gentle lyricism, black humour, and human warmth hidden behind clumsy words, were important reminders of the best qualities of Slovenian culture*” (2012).

forcing the villain to promise to leave Slovenia forever. According to Peter Stanković, it was an important first in Slovenian film as it was the first post-war film to lack a clear ideological bent, and one that was both technologically sophisticated and commercially successful (Stanković 2012). While the film may have been free of communist ideological messages, I do think it may have had nationalist ones, and certainly does today. First, the film references a Slovenian folk-literary hero, *Kekec*. Second, if we look at the content of the film, the “semiotics of resistance” are indeed there. A small, clever blonde-haired boy faces the huge, hirsute black haired man with long beard. The villainous poacher threatens Mojca, the small girl with long blonde braids and *Kekec* in trickster-like cleverness defeats the big, swarthy, and hairy villain. The small, blond children can be read as the small Alpine country of Slovenia resisting that large, Southern, possibly Turkish, aggressor.

With my visits to ethnographic (or “ethnological” in the local sense) and historical museums, I came to the realization that the figure of the peasant is a semantically laden symbol utilized in current discourses about identity in the past and in the present. Of course this privileging of a peasant past is nothing new in the nationalist “imaginings” of European societies. However an aspect of Slovenia’s peasant past which is routinely, and uniquely, emphasized is the many peasant revolts that occurred in Slovenia. Although such revolts were generally common throughout Europe, the more common European image of peasants is of a determined, quiescent “salt of the earth” peasantry.

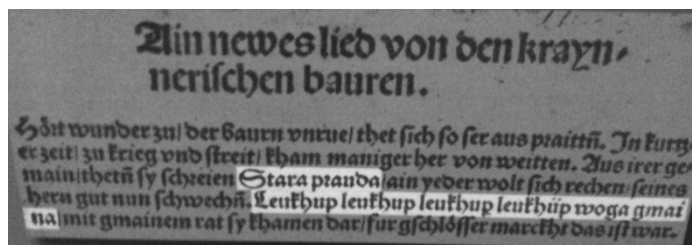
Peasant Revolts (*kmečki upor*)

From the 13th century to 18th century there were numerous peasant revolts across Slovenian lands. According to Švajncer (2001), at least 130 recorded peasant revolts (*kmečki upor*)²¹ took

²¹ These peasant revolts are now commemorated on the hill outside Ljubljana grad (Ljubljana castle) with a sculpture by renowned sculptor Stojan Batič erected in 1973.

place in Slovenian territories over that period. Luthar, on the other hand, estimates the number of peasant revolts to be at least 180 (2008:185). The causes and characters of the individual uprising vary, many were in reaction to several key political and economic factors. These uprisings occurred during the time of Protestant Reformation and Counter-Reformation along with the various Turkish Wars. Extraction of ever more burdensome taxes such as urbarial dues and demands of more servitude on the peasantry by feudal lords including corvée labor arising from “bonded labor” rules (*tlaka*) were often considered the cause of such uprisings (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:211, Štih et al. 2008:132-133). The peasants often called on the Emperor to intercede, as he too had disagreements with the Feudal lords, and peasants often demanded a return to *Stara Pravda* (the “old” or “traditional” rights) (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:212). These *Stara Pravda* are grounded in historical relationships. The nobility who ruled these lands was a foreign one. These relationships between peasant and feudal lord had mutated over the years to further alienate the rights (the few the peasants had) to living on the lands held by the ruler. Indeed one of the first published Slovenian words was in a mid-sixteenth century German leaflet where it mentions “*stara pravda*” and a rallying call: “*Leukup, leukup, leukup uboga gmaina*” (‘let us unite, poor common people’)” (Prunk 2008:43).

Figure 9. “*Leukup, leukup, leukup uboga gmaina*”



A facsimile at the Slovenian Ethnographic Museum.

The harshness of existence for the peasantry in the late 15th to early 18th century also fueled revolts. As Štih et al. note:

Peasant rebellions did not die down in Inner Austria, or in the German empire in general. In the following centuries of the early modern era, 70 to 80% of peasants in Slovene territory – as elsewhere in the empire – were continuously living close to bare subsistence level, since, despite an increase in non-agrarian activities, the simultaneous increase in service obligations meant they remained in poverty. When peasants also had to face poor harvests, contagious diseases and military action, their tolerance was soon exhausted. At that point, the bonded peasants appealed to the “old law” (*stara pravda, alte Recht*), not only calling for the application of the “fixed levies” written in the urbarial record, but also to retain their established rights of participation in rural trade. Over the next three centuries, around 170 localised disputes and uprisings took place in Slovene-populated areas, and approximately every two or three generations a major peasant uprising broke out, enflaming a whole region or even several *Länder*, or provinces, at once (Štih et al. 2008:134).

During the Turkish Wars, at least 350 *tabori* were built (Luthar 2008:184, Štih et al. 2008:132). A *tabor* was a walled settlement or church-site where peasants could take refuge from marauding Turkish invaders²². They were built at the behest of the peasants who had complained about their own security, invoking the *Stara Pravda*. These *tabori* were later utilized in the peasant uprisings so effectively that many were eventually destroyed (the walls removed) (Luthar 2008:190) but several have survived and considered uniquely Slovenian (Prunk 2008:37).

One of the more successful uprising actions was in the town of Brečice where approximately 9,000 peasants defeated the nobles and their troops, taking the walled town in one attack (Luthar 2008:190). Eventually the revolts were quelled, in part by mobilizing *Uskoks*²³ (Croatian Hapsburg soldiers) (Štih et al. 2008:147-148). The largest, best organized of these uprisings, a joint Croat-Slovene uprising in 1573, was led by Croat Ambrož (or Matija) Gubec (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:212, Luthar 2008:214). This was a locally tense period of Protestant

²² Prunk uses the term “encampment” to describe them (2008:36).

²³ According to Plut-Pregelj and Rogel, Uskoks were soldiers recruited by landed gentry to fight the Turks however they were often additionally used to quell peasant rebellions (1996:282). These soldiers were primarily displaced Serbs and Croats (Murko 1990:123).

Reformation and the divide of nobles between Catholic and Protestant normally caused political difficulties, but they were able to put aside their religious differences when confronted with a peasant uprising (Luthar 2008:214-215) citing Paul's Letter to the Romans, chapter 13 to condemn the rebels as rebelling against God (Štih et al. 2008:170). Upon this revolt's defeat, one Noble eyewitness said the peasants were "with God's aid, broken, slaughtered, hung, impaled on stakes, drowned" (Štih et al. 2008:170). The treatment of the captured Gubec may illustrate the disdain the authorities had for Gubec and his rebels, he: "was crowned with a red-hot iron crown, then dragged along the streets of Zagreb, tortured with red-hot pinchers, and finally quartered" (Luthar 2008:214). Thus was the end of Gubec whom the nobility mockingly called "the peasant king and emperor" (Štih et al. 2008:170).

However, not all peasants were locked into servitude to the landholders. In Western-most Slovenia (Gorizia and Istria), an alternate system also existed. In this system there developed a:

...comprehensive village self-government, with their own courts. In Istria and Gorizia there developed a special status, particularly among wine-making peasants, called 'colonatio': a peasant had individual freedom, while the land was rented for a limited term, but without ownership rights attached (Luthar 2008:145).

These peasant revolts would become mobilized in subsequent public confrontations of 1848 and beyond. The peasant symbolism would also be mobilized again and again, especially in the literary sphere. As for the *tabor*, it would be re-conceptualized into the "tabor movement" around 1868, following the Czech nationalist example, "Young Slovenes" (*mladislovinci*) instituted a number of open air meetings to rally for a "United Slovenia" that included spontaneous attendance by locals wearing traditional garb and performing folk songs that was used as evidence of popular support for nationhood many years later (Gow and Carmichael 2000: 19-20, Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:268). One of the leaders of the *mladislovinci* nationalist

movement was Fran Levstik, a writer who had recorded a folktale about a larger than life Slovenian named Martin Krpan (Gow and Carmichael 2000:19-20).

Martin Krpan

“*Kaj je bil Slovenski največji junak? Tihotapec*”.
“Who was Slovenia’s greatest hero? A smuggler”.

--Slovenian Identity Design Project exhibit book (Vogelsang and Frass 2011).

One piece of literary work which is now the domain of children literature is that of *Martin Krpan*. This work was written by Fran Levstik in 1858. It received little attention at the time but it has since exploded in the national consciousness in Slovenia, especially after 1991 (Baskar 2003). The work is supposedly based on a folk tale from Notranjsko (Inner Carniola) as he was allegedly from the village of Vrh v Sv. Trojica (Kropej 2005). One version of the story is included below in English:

Martin Krpan was a robust and ingenious peasant who was transporting or smuggling salt from the Adriatic coast to his home village in Inner Carniola, not far from Ljubljana. Once during a very cold winter, returning from the coast, he met the emperor on his way to Trieste who talked to him but Martin Krpan, without recognizing the emperor, deceived him about the nature of his load, claiming that he carried whetstones and tinder. One year later a terrible [Turkish] giant came to Vienna and started to challenge knights to a duel. When the cream of the Habsburg nobility were killed one after another, including the emperor’s own son, the desperate emperor was reminded of the witty peasant from Carniola who had easily removed his heavily loaded mare from the narrow path in order to allow his coach to pass. So he sent for him. Martin Krpan came to Vienna and started to prepare for the duel. As all weapons from the court armoury he took in his arms crushed into bits, he decided to make his own weapons in the smithery. He produced something huge reminiscent of a butcher’s axe. After that he went into the Emperor’s garden and cut down a young lime-tree above the stone table where the lords and ladies used to sit for coolness in summer. Then he carved a huge club out of it. He also asked that his small mare be brought to him from his home, as no other horse from the court stables was strong enough for him. When he appeared in front of Brdavs, the latter assumed that the yokel will be an easy prey and started to make fun of Krpan. Krpan retorted in a self-assured manner and parried the first stroke of Brdavs’ scimitar with his club so that the scimitar bit deep into the soft lime wood. Thus he was able to pull him down from his horse, and with final remarks chopped his head off. The Viennese were much relieved and the emperor was happy and grateful, but the empress was still holding a grudge because of the lime-tree. Instead of accepting the compensation

in food proposed by her, Krpan confessed to the emperor that he had lied to him about his load and asked him for the licence [*sic*] to traffic in salt. The emperor agreed and ordered the ill-tempered minister to issue the letter (Boskar 2003 citing from Levstik 1960 [1858]).

Boskar points out that literary theorists past and present interpreted Martin Krpan as neither a *Volksmärchen* (folk tale), a *Dorfgeschichte* (village history), nor a *Volksgeschichte* (people's history) but is instead categorized as a literal translation or "artificial tale" which is meant to distinguish it from a typical folk tale (2003). Whatever its classification by literary theorists, the story has followed a familiar trajectory of "juvenilification" of folk tales (as well as some fantasy related social critiques) in English and German (For example, the Grimm Brothers or Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*). The hero, who destroyed the giant Turk terrorizing Vienna, has become a major iconic figure in Slovenia. There are Martin Krpan festivals and contests (Kropej 2005), he has appeared on postage stamps (Boskar 2003), tourism has arisen around his alleged home town and his image is used in the advertising and branding of salt²⁴ and meat products (Boskar 2003, Kropej 2005). He appears on the coat-of-arms (Slovenian: *grb*) of the city of Pivka, and Krpan was the name given to a model of a locally sold Volkswagen van (Kropej 2005). He has even entered into continued use as metaphorical device in political discourse. Boskar illustrates how he is mobilized by both the Left and Right in newspapers such as *Delo* and *Družina* and between Partisans and "collaborators" (2003).

Nationalist discourse has recast Martin Krpan, the character, as a Slovenian hero, one who resisted the local tyranny of the empire (lying about his cart contents to avoid taxation) to representing great strength and ingenuity. He is a trickster figure who out-wits the Turk and the urban dweller at the metropole of the empire. He does so by breaking off a piece of the linden

²⁴ Western Slovenia, particularly in Istrian Slovenia, along the Adriatic Sea, there are historical salt pans which are now a museum (Sečovlje Salina Muzej) (see Sovinc 2012).

tree, a national symbol of Slovenia. Some even suggest he smuggled not salt, but saltpeter (potassium nitrate) an ingredient of gunpowder (Boskar 2003) or that he smuggled gunpowder itself (Kropej 2005). Thus, he takes on the image of freedom-fighter, proto-Partisan, or Slovenian nationalist. His letter of dispensation allowing him to carry on trade unimpeded has been re-envisioned as the Slovenian Constitution itself (Boskar 2003).

The story also has the Ottoman Turk who terrorizes Vienna. It is the Slovenian hero who vanquishes the Turk from Europe. This is particularly striking as one theme of Slovenian nationalism is the role of Slovenia as a buffer for Europe, holding back the Ottoman Turkish expansion. Andre Gingrich has noted a kind of “frontier orientalism” that exists in the region which acts as a “systematic set of metaphors and public culture” (Boskar 2003) in regions that encountered or maintained contact with a Muslim presence or periphery (Gingrich 1996, Boskar 2003). If one considers the renewed importance of the Battle of Sisak (1593) in Croatian and Slovenian nationalist remembering²⁵, one can begin to see the saliency of the Turkish giant in the Martin Krpan story. According to Boskar, this “Krpanomania” is the result of an “invented tradition”, one whose very tradition is constantly being repurposed or reinterpreted (2003). The intertextuality or the interconnectedness between folklore and literature is a common phenomenon (Golež Kaučič 2009).

Peter Klepec

Martin Krpan wasn't the only folk hero to confront the Turks. A popular Slovenian story of Peter Klepec tells of a physically weak but industrious boy who underwent torment by his peers. (Smole 2005, Debeljak 2004:9) He one day went looking for lost sheep and came upon a woman

²⁵ The Battle of Sisak was a major victory over the Ottoman Empire (Štih et al. 2008:174). Boskar notes that in 1993, the Right wing government of Slovenia used its quartercentenary to have military ceremonies (promotions, et cetera) at a castle important in the battle. It was overseen by the “Hero of the 10 Days War”, the Defense Minister. Narratives about Slovenia as the bulwark against Islam were heightened at this time (Boskar 2003).

sleeping in the sun. He decided to protect her from the sun by arranging some branches above her. This kind act was rewarded when she awoke and revealed she was a mountain fairy and granted him one wish. He chose supernatural strength, told his bullies that they would have to do their own work for now on and proceeded to continue to be industrious around the farm, later going on to defeat a Turkish army near Vienna, singlehandedly for the Emperor and asking only “permission to hunt in the greenwood and exemption from tithes” in return (Copeland 1931:445). These valiant, clever, industrious peasants riddle the folklore topography of Slovenia.

“Social bandits”

Part of a larger regional cultural pattern are the valorized bandits called *hajduk* (pl. *hajduci*). These romanticized “Robin Hood” figures became important characters in oral narratives during and after the period of the Turkish Wars (Murko 1990). The *hajduci* phenomenon was widely experienced across much of the contact areas between Ottoman and European cultural, political and military spheres of influence. In Southeastern Europe *hajduci* were sometimes conflated with *uskoci* (see above fn. 23, p. 69, Murko 1990). Eric Hobsbawm described these sorts of brigands and highwaymen “social bandits” (1959:13). He suggested that such outlaws were often not only criminals but also those whose actions were directly a resistance to authority (Hobsbawm 1959, *passim*). These *hajduci* were mobilized in narratives as a form of subaltern resistance. In some ways figures like Martin Krpan and Peter Klepec have quite similar motifs of resistance to authority and I argue here that they too were mobilized in narratives, songs and poems similar to the *hajduci*.

King Matjaž

Another mythic figure from Slovenian folklore is King Matjaž (Copeland 1931, 1949). This king is in many ways similar to King Arthur in English folklore (Kropej 2003:144). He is a just and noble king who sleeps—along with his army—in a cave, waiting for a moment when

Slovenes will need to be saved (Kropej 2003:140-141). There is, of course, a disagreement regarding which cave he and his army sleeps. (For a list of potential resting places see Kropej 2003:141). *Kralj Matjaž* is now a conflation or fusion of two historical figures into/onto King Matjaž. The first is “Good” King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary (1443-1490) who’s popularity among peasantry was widespread both during and after his death (Copeland 1931:416, Lukács 2010) the latter being the rebel Ambroz Matija Gubec (Copeland 1931:416). King Matjaž is another figure who allegedly battled against the Turks in order to protect Slovenia (Kropej 2003:141).

Lepa Vida

“Fair Vida” is yet another Slovenian folk tale or ballad recounted in a poem by France Prešeren, where he tells the story of Fair Vida who is “a strong female personality who cannot accept the reality of her unfortunate marriage. For this reason, she abandons her decrepit husband and sick child and is taken off by a Moorish courier across the sea to far-away Spain” (Ovsec 1998:267). She later regrets her decision and pines for home and her family (Kropej 2003:135-140, Ovsec 1998). The Moor is sometimes represented in stories as being a Sub-Saharan African or as a Turk (Ovsec 1998). Here too, we see the “Othering” of the Turk, Moor, and Muslim. The explicit and implicit patterns of “Othering” is quite common in folkloric sentiments (Rodensky 2006).

Slovenia’s literary and linguistic past

The oldest known recording of Slovenian words is in a document, the *Brižinski Spomeniki* (the Freising Fragments) of 972 CE. Distinct from Southern and other Western Slavic linguistic forms, the Slovenian language became a language of the subaltern²⁶. German was the language

²⁶ Gow and Carmichael (2000:62) suggest that the vernacular was often used by elites as well.

of the secular rulers and of European scientific scholarship; Latin was the language of the Church. Slovenian nationalism and cultural identity is explicitly tied to its linguistic and literary heroes (Dolinar 2008). Slovenian linguistic distinctiveness (such as the use of the dual grammatical number) is often stressed in discourses about national identity (Gronold 2010:279).

Since the seventh century the Slavs in this region had been Christianized, being overwhelmingly Roman Catholic. With the arrival of the Protestant Reformation in the 1500's, came the demand for a translation of the Bible into the local vernacular. A Slovenian Catholic, turned Protestant, preacher, Primož Trubar published the first two books in the Slovenian Language in 1550, *Abecedarium* and *Catechismus (Katekizem)*. *Abecedarium* was a booklet to teach the alphabet while *Katekizem* was a Catechism. Trubar, revered as the “the founding father of his language” (Gow and Carmichael 2000:62) is iconic in Slovenia. He also occasionally composed hymns such as *Ena duhovska peisen zuper Turke*, “A Hymn against the Turks” (1567). His image graced the ten *Tolar*²⁷ note (modern day Slovenia’s pre-Euro currency) (Unwin and Hewitt 2001) and currently graces the one Euro coin.

Jurij Dalmatin continued Trubar’s efforts to print a Slovenian Bible and in 1584, published the first translation. It was the twelfth language to receive its translation of the Bible and its high literary quality had an on impact of the vernacular that has been compared to the impact of the King James Bible on English (Gow and Carmichael 2000:63)²⁸. Several other literary figures loom large on the Slovenian national-linguistic understanding of the past.

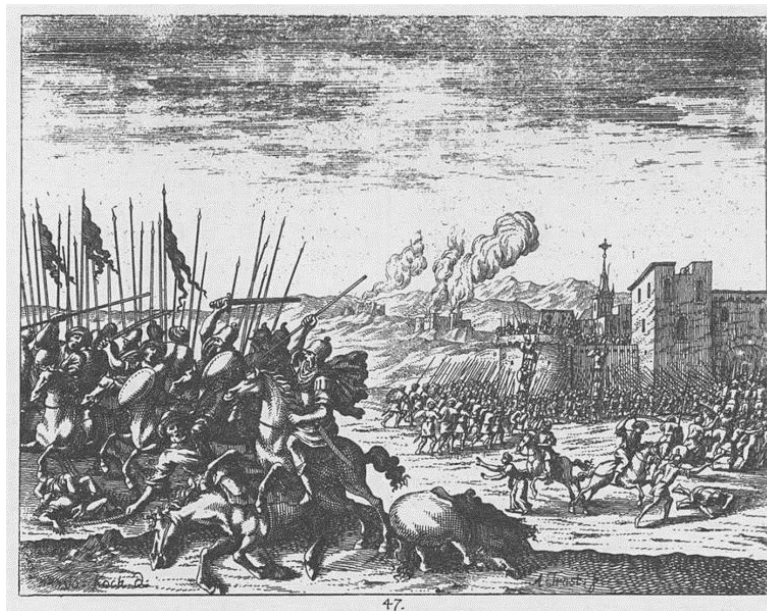
²⁷ The Tolar was the currency of Slovenia from 1991 until 2006.

²⁸ For more on the Protestant Reformation’s significant impact on the Slovenian territory and people, see also Velikonja (1999, 2003).

Janez Vajkard Valvasor

Janez Vajkard Valvasor (in German, *Johann Weichard von Valvasor*), is another important figure in Slovenian national history, was a world-renowned natural scientist and polymath of the 17th century. To say his library was impressive is an understatement. While most libraries at the time contained fewer than fifty (typically) to two hundred (a large library) his contained over 10,000 (Štih et al. 2008:201). He wrote extensively and his fifteen volume “The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola” (German: *Die Ehre deß Hertzogthums Crain*, Slovene: *Slava vojvodine Kranjske*) was a critical piece of historical and natural scientific writing that collected folk lore, folk life, natural history, geography and history of the region of Carniola within present day Slovenia. (Of course geography is an important *episteme* (viz Foucault) of inquiry and for national imagining. For a Slovenian example, see Urbanc et al. (2006)). Valvasor also wrote much about the Austro-Turkish conflict. This aspect as borderland with the Orient continues to this day, with Islam broadly (and Bosnia specifically) as a proxy for Ottoman Turkey.

Figure 10. “Boj s Turki” by Valvasor, 1689.



France Prešeren (1800-1849)

Lawyer and Romantic poet, France Prešeren, is considered by many as the greatest Slovenian poet to ever live. “He combined classical, renaissance, and romantic elements with Slovene folk traditions” to create “new poetic forms” (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:223). Known to be anti-German and nationalistic, he wrote extensively on themes of humanity, homeland and love. His poem *Zdravljica* (A Toast) was selected as the national anthem of the Republic of Slovenia in 1991 (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:223). The seventh stanza is considered by some to be the extent of the national anthem, however there is debate as the constitution names the poem only, not a specific section. As such there is debate in certain Slovenian circles of which parts (or entirety) to use for governmental purposes (Božič, *Delo* 3/11/2010). See Appendix A for the poem.

Ivan Cankar (1876-1918)

Ivan Cankar is considered the finest representation of the Slovenian *Moderna* literary movement (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:32-33) and a national treasure (Cox 2005:21). A poet, playwright, short story writer as well as novelist, his main political contribution was that of a 1913 essay “Slovenes and the Southern Slavs” in which he called for a federal republic of Southern Slavs (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:33, Prunk 2008:91)²⁹. Cox points out that another 1913 essay of his is also of special importance, namely “How I Became a Socialist” which is considered a poignant call to activism (2005:21). Among Cankar’s plays are *Za Narodov Blagor* (For the Good of the Nation), *Hlapci* (The Servants) and *Hlapec Jernej* (Bailiff Jernej), the last being a critique of the servant-master relationship Slovenians had toward Austria and its themes

²⁹ Prunk takes pains to stress that Cankar’s call to form a federation was not in fact an embracing of a “cultural Yugoslavism” because Cankar contended Slovenians were very different from South Slavs on cultural, historical as well as linguistic grounds, something lost on many scholars (2008:91). Cox suggests Cankar’s political views vis-à-vis a South Slavic federation is viewed by most Slovenes as superannuated (2005:21).

included humiliation and exploitation of Slovenians (Gow and Carmichael 2000:72, Cox 2005:19).

Edvard Kocbek (1904-1981)

Another important literary figure was poet, writer, and politician Edvard Kocbek. A Christian Socialist, he began writing during the inter-war years, critiquing certain Catholic Church policies and became one of the best-known dissidents of the time (Cox 2005: 45-46, Kranjc 2013:23, Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:141). He led the Christian Socialist segment of the Partisan movement (*OF*) (Kranjc 2013:23, 71). After the war he continued his reputation as a dissident by publishing such critical³⁰ works as *Strah in pogum* (Fear and Bravery) in 1951 that “explored the moral dilemmas of Partisan resistance” resulting in a decade long publishing ban on his 1967 memoir *Tovarišija* (Comradeship) that challenged the historicity of the official accounts of World War Two by the state (Kranjc 2013:23-24). Several of his essays were published in a book titled *Svoboda in nujnost* (Freedom and Necessity), of which Leopoldina Plut-Pregelj and Carole Rogel characterize as belonging “to the best Slovene writing of its kind” (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:141-142).

Today, Slovenia is a highly literate country with a taste for books. Five books per capita are published, twice that of neighboring Austria. Two thousand literary titles are published per year when weighted by Slovenia’s small population would be the equivalent 56,000 literary works in Italy or France, twice their actual amounts (Gow and Carmichael 200:19f, quoting Kmecl 1991:23).

³⁰ In both literary and political senses of the word.

Political movements toward Slovenian autonomy

Illyrian Provinces and Illyrianism

A brief four year period (1809-1813) occurred during the Napoleonic Wars in which 625,000 Slovenes (along with Serbs and Croats) came under French rule in the territory named by Napoleon himself (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:124) to commemorate the ancient Illyrians. While many hardships were experienced in the Illyrian Provinces (for a more detailed description see Luthar 2008:254-264), there were also French enlightenment reforms, particularly, making local languages the official languages. French authorities secularized the local schools which also began to teach in Slovenian (Prunk 2008:65-66). The academic system was expanded and the Slovenia's first university was founded (Luthar 2008:258). Court proceedings were held in Slovenian as well. The legal system used was *Code Napoleon*, vestiges of which can still be found in the Slovenian legal system (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:124, Prunk 2008:65). This period, though brief, fanned the flames of nascent nationalist sentiment as well as pan-Illyrian and pan-Slavic sentiments in Slovenian intellectual circles. Illyrianism and pan-Slavism were movements within the Austrian Empire. The pan-Slavic movement was an attempt to unify the political efforts of various Slavic groups ruled by the Habsburgs. Illyrianism envisioned South Slavic unification, linguistic (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:125) as well as political.

The Spring of Nations and Slovenia

From 1815-1848, the "Pre-March" period was characterized by reversals of some rights realized during the Illyrian years. Further, Austria during this time came to experience the Industrial Revolution that spread from England across Europe (Luthar 2008:264-280). The period also saw the increase in nationalist sentiment in Slovenia. Eventually, Slovene was taught

in various schools. The Slovenian clergy was interested in perfecting a vernacular language and early on engaged in the humanities and Enlightenment traditions coming to the belief that:

“culture stood as the pillar of national development – even though most of the inhabitants of the Slovenian Territory did not define themselves in terms of national identity, but rather by their affiliation with Slovenian provinces and local communities, and, undoubtedly, with the imperial family and the monarchy it ruled (Luthar 2008:272).

During this time you saw terms like *Slovenec* (Slovenian man), *Slovenski* (Slovenian) and *Slovenija* gaining purchase. For example, in 1844, minor poet and Conservative Jovan (alternately, Ivan) Vesel Koseski wrote a poem called “Slovenia to Emperor Ferdinand on his Name Day”, establishing “himself forever in the memory of Slovenes as he was the first to clearly and in its full extent call their country ‘Slovenia’” (Prunk 2008:67-68).

1848

The European nobility suffered a crisis in 1848 starting in Paris and spreading across Europe. In Austria, the turmoil took on a decidedly Hapsburgian character. According to Luthar, when news of the 1848 revolution reached Ljubljana, local elites publicly declared approval of the Emperor’s promises for political liberalization while:

The rest of the population of Ljubljana and its environs, particularly workers and students, gathered in the streets, demonstrated, rioted, destroyed a statue of [Chancellor] Metternich, attacked excise offices, and drove Ljubljana’s mayor to flee (Luthar 2008:281).

Luthar also notes that the revolutionary fervor existed in the countryside too, with several peasant actions including besieging (and razing) Ig Castle on the outskirts of Ljubljana (Luthar 2008:281). This mirrors medieval peasant riots which also occurred here in 1515.

“United Slovenia”

Demands for local autonomy and the establishment of a Kingdom of Slovenia within the Hapsburg Empire was the clearest demand of national autonomy, by the Viennese Slovenija

Society (Roter 2003). As Luthar notes, it was one that had backing of several social classes (2008: 283-284). However, the revolution was doomed, and an effort to establish a Slovenian kingdom was aborted by actions of the Austrian parliament and the Emperor. Moreover, the nationalizing discourse among elites spanned the political spectrum, with Conservatives embracing *Slovensko* (Slovenian-ness) while pledging loyalty to the emperor and Liberals calling for independence. In that sense then you have both “soft” nationalism and more classically conceived of “hard” nationalism. These tensions would be replayed in the various federations of Slovenia into various kingdoms and states into the future.

PART II

Santa Claus is a Domobracni!!!

RTVSLO.si forum comment in response to news
of a *Dedek Mraz* (Grandfather Frost) being fired. 12/11/2010.

World War Two and the Two Post-War Narratives

The moment of the 20th century that most defined Slovenian identity is not the Independence of Slovenia from Yugoslavia as some might expect. The single most defining event of the 20th century on Slovenian Identity is World War Two and its immediate aftermath. In April 1941, Germany, Hungary and Italy all occupied parts of the Slovenian section of Yugoslavia. In response, the Communist Party of Slovenia organized the *Protiimperialistična fronta*, (Anti-Imperialist Front) with the express goal of liberating “Slovenia with ‘the help and under the leadership of the Soviet Union’ (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:158). The organization, which did not extend to the rest of Slovenia, also included the popular Christian Socialists³¹, a group

³¹ The Christian Socialists were part of a progressive political movement founded in the 1860’s and eventually centered on the encyclicals of Pope Leo the XIII, particularly his 1891 *Rerum Novarum*. In the OF, they eventually dissolved affiliation as “Christian Socialists” under pressure by the Communist leadership in 1943, under the *Dolomitska Izjava* (Dolomite Declaration) which forced participants other than the Communists to vow not to found any political party after the war (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:79-80).

consisting of mobilized members of Sokol³², and progressive members of the cultural and academic elite (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:158). This front was re-branded the *Osvobodilna Fronta Slovenskega Naroda* (Liberation Front of the Slovene Nation) or *OF* for short. These *Partisan* forces would essentially liberate their country from Axis invaders; the only European country to do so almost entirely on their own, something I was reminded of several times by pro-*partisan*, Slovenians during my fieldwork.

The Partisans would eventually be valorized and memorialized by the triumphant Tito and the ruling Communist Party³³. Under Tito's regime, the atrocities that Partisans committed during and at the end of the war were suppressed. The death of Tito, collapse of Communism and the independence of Slovenia allowed these atrocities to come to light. It is important to note however that the Slovenian partisans operated within a larger Yugoslav partisan movement. However, as Hoare points out, local socio-political, demographic and military concerns colored the experiences of local and "ethno-nationally" defined partisan groups who had to confront different conditions on the ground (2010). Hoare also notes that the support for the Partisan movement was strongest in Slovenia because: "unlike Serbia or Croatia, Slovenia was not established as a quisling state but was partitioned between Germany and Italy and its population threatened with national extinction" (2010). Further, as Stanković notes:

³² *Sokol* (Falcon) was a patriotic gymnastic society. It was established in 1863 as a way to improve men's physical fitness while also attempting to combat Germanization under Austrian rule. Patterned after the Czech *Sokol*, it was originally otherwise apolitical until conservatives founded a competing organization in 1906 called *Orel* (Eagle). In 1929 (during the "January 6, 1929 Dictatorship", ethno-national athletic groups were banned in Yugoslavia and Sokol became part of the Yugoslavian *Sokol*. It continued to be plagued by political confrontations and by 1936 the Slovenian branch began espousing against control by Yugoslavia's dictatorial political party (all others being banned). By 1940, they had divided into leftist and rightist factions with the rightists joining various "Clericist", Catholic affiliated political groups and the leftist group began to more closely associate with the Slovenian Communist Party (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:100-101).

³³ Prior to the war, the party was illegal, after the war, all others were.

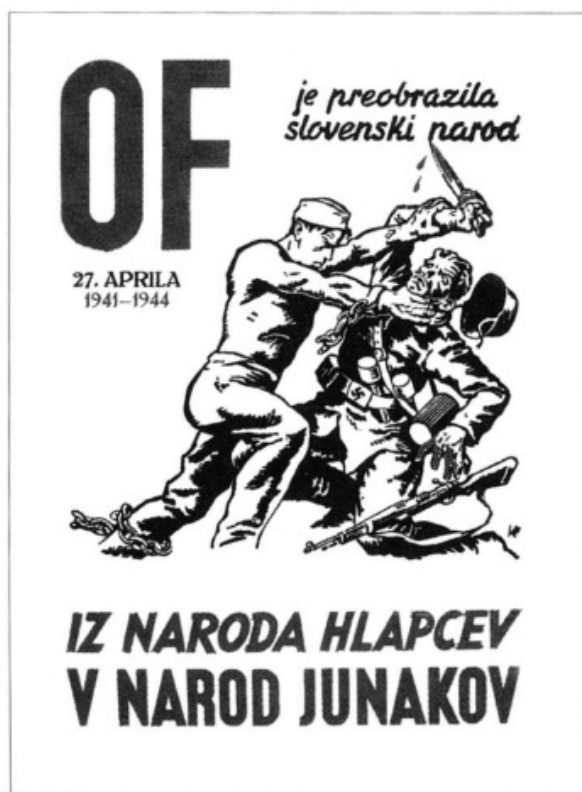
Partisans under the leadership of the charismatic Marshal Tito prevailed in the end, but in Slovenia the situation was slightly different. In Slovenia, the uprising was led by *Osvobodilna fronta* (Liberation Front), a somehow more diverse coalition of communists, Christian socialists, Sokols, and cultural workers, which ensured a wide popular support for the partisans at least until 1942, when conservative political groups aligned with the German and Italian occupiers” (Stanković 2012).

Thus, the Partisan liberators in Slovenia represented a broad coalition, and maintained a pluralism that was not subsumed entirely in a pan-Partisan identity. Another aspect of the Slovenian Partisans that deserves special note is in their organization of field hospitals. The most famous of these field hospitals is the Franja Partisan Hospital that will be discussed in more detail six. The Slovenian volunteer units often named themselves after Slovenian literary figures such as the famous Ivan Cankar Brigade. As the war progressed, local control of Partisan efforts, particularly military ones, became less and less controlled by Slovenian forces and more so the Yugoslavian partisan leadership, dominated by Serb and Croat nationalities.

Partisan media

The Partisans also operated a printing press from 1944 until the end of the war, hidden in a small wooden structure in a forest ravine. There, the Partisans published a daily newspaper, the *Partisanski Dnevnik*. According to Mestni Muzej Idrija (2011) forty to fifty people worked at the press publishing 4,000 to 7,000 copies of each of its 313 issues, totaling 1274 pages, resulting in a total of 1,394,000 published. Not only did the Germans never discover the press, the “Partisan Daily was the only daily newspaper to be printed by a resistance movement in occupied Europe” (Mestni Muzej Idrija 2011). The Partisans had film units as well. Much of the equipment was funneled to the *OF* by a filmmaker Milan Kham working for the German company to produce anti-Communist propaganda (but secretly an *Osvobodilna fronta* member) (Stanković 2012:38). His assistant was also a Partisan but neither knew the other was, due to the secretive nature of the *OF* (Stanković 2012:39).

Figure 11. OF poster



A poster proclaiming the OF as transforming Slovenia from a nation of *hlapcev* (plural of *hlapec*, a peasant, hostler, or servant) into a nation of heroes (Stanovnik 2008).

Vignette: OF Poster Game

It was 2011 and I was anxious to see the Permanent Exhibition Slovenian History (*Stalna razstava Slovenska zgodovina*) in the Ljubljanska Grad (castle). It was opened while I was back home, teaching, reading, parenting and preparing for my return to Slovenia. The museum exhibit is written as a museum for non-Slovenians to understand Slovenian history. I walked up to the castle on a rainy Slovenian Wednesday and entered the gallery. After leaving my umbrella with the front desk, I began to peruse the museum exhibit, which I discuss later in this work. There was an effort to make the exhibit more child friendly by placing objects and display screens for children to interact with. These screens are at about waist-height (at least for a six-foot tall man)

and had various shot video clips, pictures and explanations. Toward the end of the exhibit, the section on World War Two included a screen for children. After watching two boys playing with it, I investigated the screen, discovering that on the screen was a game. In the game you were a pro-partisan person who had to sneak behind Fascist guards within a city and post fliers or posters that say in large letters *OF*, the abbreviation of the partisan fighters. In the game you had to wait until a guard wasn't on the screen to post the "*OF*" symbol.

However, the military and political landscapes weren't simply foreign occupier/occupied in Slovenia. Indeed, several other, domestic, factions actively maneuvered for power and control of the region. It is also important to note that an unknown number of Slovenians had little to no participation or cooperation with any particular domestic group. The other main domestic groups operating during the occupation of Slovenia are as follows.

Ustaše

Upon invasion, Fascists in Croatia set up their own state. These Ustaše were a puppet or proxy state for the Axis powers. In Slovenia, there were no active fascist parties at the time and as such, there was no Slovenian Ustaše (Prunk 2008:145). I only include it here because the *Ustaše – Četnik* symbolism was heavily used during the break-up of Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia (Denich 1994).

***Četnik* / "Blue Guard"**

The first of the anti-partisan domestic groups involved in the Slovenian conflict we will begin with is the *Četnik* forces. In Slovenia, the *Četniks* supported the royalist Yugoslavian government-in-exile. The Slovenian partisans labeled them the *Plava garda*, in English the "Blue Guard" and they numbered at most 350 fighting men (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:42). Thus, they were a very small faction operation categorized by partisans under umbrella term *Bela Garda*, (White Guard) (named after the "White" Russians opponents of the Russian

Revolution). This term described all anti-communist groups not backed by foreign invaders. Although small, the *Četnik* force was one that Stalin strongly encouraged the Partisans make peace with so that they could create a joint military force (Luthar 2008:430).

Village Guard

Another faction was that of the Village Guard, *Vaške Straže*, started in 1942, during the Italian Summer offensive. According to Gregor Kranc, among the first, and heralded as the most important was the Village Guard that arose in the village of *Šentjošt nad Horjulom*, that organized more or less spontaneously to rebuff partisans “who had come to rob and murder” (Kranjc 2013:85). This was in response to the sometimes brutal requisitioning of property and violence at the hands of Partisans (Plut-Pregelj 1996:287). Soon, the Village Guard groups organized by clergy and the right-wing political parties, they sought out the Italian fascists for help (Luthar 2005, Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:287-288, Prunk 2008:159).³⁴ They were organized by the Italians into the Anti-Communist Volunteer Militia (Italian: *Milizia volontaria anti comunista*, or *MVAC* (Kranjc 2013:85, Prunk 2008:159). These Village Guard units were joined by the “Legion of Death”, a group of young, (economically) liberal men who were highly mobile and sought out to disrupt Partisan activities Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:288). Kranc notes:

“The romanticized view of the village guards as soldier-farmers simple, industrious, and pious Slovenes who were protecting their families and farms from the Red Terror – that still persists among Slovene opponents of the Liberation Front – needs to be qualified” (Kranjc 2013:102).

³⁴ Pope Pius XI’s encyclicals *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) and *Caritate Christi* (1932) “painted an apocalyptic image of Communism feeding off global economic turmoil” (Kranjc 2013:44).

Kranc noted most of the anti-communists were young men, under 21 and while some 50 per cent were farmers, a large percentage were laborers, but only 2 percent were students, as politicized students generally favored the *OF* (Kranjc 2013:102).

DomobranCI

Operating mainly from 1943 until the end of the war, the *DomobranCI* (Home Guard) was founded with German backing in order to battle the *OF* Partisans. They were initially constructed from the remnants of the “Village Guard” after Italy’s capitulation. They numbered between 10,000 and 15,000 and included four assault battalions and a secret police force (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:120). They operated under the auspices of the German Nazi Party and German military. Plut-Pregelj and Rogel contend that by and large these *DomobranCI* were patriotic and were not happy about working with the Fascists, they viewed it as toward a greater good of defeating Communism for the Government-in-exile (1996:120). However, historian Janko Prunk notes that the *DomobranCI* received orders from London (the seat of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia’s government-in-exile), to stop all collaboration with the Germans, and to come to peaceful terms with the Liberation Front (*OF*) but did not do so (Prunk 2008:164). Today, the *DomobranCI* serve as a gloss for all those anti-communist groups who came before during World War Two.

WWII as a Context for “*Civil War*”³⁵

Be it under Italians, Hungarians, or Germans, the occupation took on a character of a project to eradicate Slovenian identity in order to import their own. During this conflict for example, Germany sought to remove Slovenian cultural and politico-structural aspects from local society.

³⁵ (Mlakar 2008). Luthar (2005) argues that use of the term is highly political and privileges the historical revisionism of the “anti-Communist” political narrative. I use the term here only to emphasize that not only was the conflict between foreign invaders and Slovenians, but also between Slovenians themselves.

Germany had elaborate efforts to “Germanize” the various occupied Slovenian groups. Prunk describes some of these methods:

At once, both the German and Hungarian occupiers began repression of the Slovenes with all their might, immediately abolishing Slovene education, Slovene administration, and all national organizations. The Germans began executing their ruthless, pre prepared plan of ethnic cleansing: they started with the deportation of all Slovene intelligentsia and the pro-nationalist population, including clergy. Their intention was to deport over a third of Stajerska and Gorenjska and the remainder to be completely germanicized within a few years (Prunk 2008:148).

Under the Axis occupiers, many Slovenians were killed, rounded up and placed into prison camps and concentration camps, forcibly relocated, et cetera. Considering the historical struggles that took place to free itself from Austrian control, only recently completed in 1918, one can see too, the reluctance to return to Germanic control.

Some many years before, Bogumil Vošnjak, an active Yugoslavist and eventual Yugoslav diplomat wrote a treatise in 1917 (during the First World War) portraying Slovenia as the “Bulwark against Germanization” (Gow and Carmichael 2000:61 *fn* 1). In the book “*A Bulwark against Germany: The Fight of the Slovenes, the Western Branch of the Jugoslavs, for National Existence*”, Vošnjak says, “For centuries the Slovenes have opposed German aggression in the cause of democracy and the equal rights of nations” (Vošnjak 1917). Thus Slovenia has been seen as bulwark from both directions, keeping Germany at bay, when not keeping the Turks at bay.

Probably more than any other factor, it is the immediate aftermath of the World War Two that has figured so importantly in the divisiveness of the war. At the end of the conflict, Tito’s Partisans began an effort to purge those considered collaborators and / or anti-communists. The

Dolomite Agreement signed two years prior made the Communist Party the de facto political entity post-war, and the purges of those accused of being collaborators were quick and performed in large numbers. Immediately after the war, there were a few trials (for example the Dachau Trials) but generally speaking opponents, real or imagined, had already been liquidated or forced to leave. These violent spasms at the birth of the second Yugoslavia were ones that the Communists carefully and consistently buried. There was a period of some fifty years before such travesties ever came to light.

Mass Graves and *Foibe*

In November 2005, a government commission was established to investigate “recently” unearthed mass graves and to account for all the mass graves in Slovenia³⁶, the Commission on Concealed Mass Graves in Slovenia (*Komisija za reševanje vprašanj prikritih grobišč*). The head of the commission is the sometimes controversial historian and former director of the National Museum of Contemporary History (*Narodni Muzej Novejše Zgodovine*), Jože Dežman³⁷. The mass graves project estimates 100,000 dead, buried in dozens of mass graves, caves and *foibe*. *Foibe* are conical sinkholes that develop in the “karst”³⁸ areas of Western Slovenia. Immediately after the war, several massacres and executions were performed at various *foibe*. The bodies were generally recovered much earlier in the *foibe* than in the mass graves, and were more, well known, if suppressed by officials, than were the mass graves.

At the end of the war thousands of members of the Home Guard and their families, along with other refugees, fled to Italy and primarily to Carinthia in Austria (near Klagenfurt (*Celovec*)), surrendering themselves to the British. “Besides Slovene Home Guard, a few

³⁶ Mass graves have been discovered in other parts of Yugoslavia as well such as Croatia (cf. Borić et al. 2011).

³⁷ Oto Luthar lists him as one of several “revisionist” historians who are re-casting the Home Guard as specifically anti-Communists rather than Fascist collaborators (2005:116 *fn* 11).

³⁸ “The Karst is a porous terrain with numerous caves, holes, and, underground rivers” (Miklavcic 2008:442).

thousand Serbian *Četniks*, and around 18,000 Croatian *Ustaše* and regular army members also gathered in Carinthia” (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:175). Štih et al. note:

The refugees included many farmers and uneducated people (particularly from the Province of Ljubljana), who had fled from the Partisans under the influence of anti-Communist propaganda, and stories – some real, some invented – of Partisan atrocities (Štih et al. 2008: 442-443).

British officers promised to send the Slovenes to Italy, but returned most to Yugoslavia instead (Štih et al. 2008:443). Most Home Guard members “were first imprisoned in detention camps in Celje (Teharje), Ljubljana (Šentvid), Kranj, and Skofja Loka” (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:175). Minors were released but the rest were executed by Partisan forces, without trial and buried in mass graves such as those at Črngrob, Kocevski Rog, Podutik, and Teharje (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:175). According to John Cox, approximately 50,000 Croats, 5,000 Serbs and Montenegrins were massacred in addition to in addition to 15,000³⁹ Slovenian “collaborators and civilians” (2005:44-45). While these Stalinist era massacres were expunged from “public memory”, they continued to be discussed in the Slovenian émigré media (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:175). It was first publically discussed with a published interview with writer Edvard Kocbek (*q.v.*) in Trieste in 1975 (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:141, 175).

Many of the victims of political executions immediately after the war were either turned back from the Austrian border by the British or were otherwise caught while fleeing. Others were likely the result of rounding up of victims. Whether or not these individuals were guilty of collusion with the enemy, they still deserved a fair trial. For some of those on the right, this is the quintessential example of the barbarism of the Communists and it is used to characterize those who are sympathetic with the Slovenian partisans as supporters of mass-murderers. For

³⁹ Gow and Carmichael estimate around 8,000 were executed (2000:49).

those on the Left, they viewed the Right as white-washing Nazi collaborators into anti-Communists (Štih et al. 2008:561). The slowness of official state efforts to identify the dead and re-inter them has itself been a political issue (Štih et al. 2008:561) although there has been some progress (see for example the work at the *Konfin I* site (Zupanič Pajnič et al. 2010)).

Yugoslavia, Two-goslavia?

This division during World War Two, between pro-*Partisan* and pro- *Domobranici*, has in current popular discourse been partly re-conceptualized as a conflict between collectivist, progressive, anti-imperialist people versus individualistic, Catholic, free-marketers. This left-right divide is not categorically tidy however. The characterizations of “socialist versus capitalist” and “East versus West” are distinctions of idealized poles, not reflecting the realities of the continuum of economic and political policies. Polemics from both sides accuse the other of corruption, graft, inefficiency, cruelty, et cetera. Consider also at least seven political parties that sit at various points of the spectrum. Indeed the political system is, compared to the U.S. quite volatile, in part due to the parliamentary system and in part because of the various scandals that have undermined various regimes over the past twenty some odd years. A species of historical revisionism⁴⁰ is taking place within certain corners of academia, where partisans are being aggressively re-painted as despicable villains (Luthar 2013). Textbooks that replace “liberation” with “communist occupation” and replace “collaboration” with “anti-communist” have also begun to appear (Luthar 2013:885). There is also a trend in Slovenian historicism and historiography to equivate all major institutional actors regarding moral blame (Ramet

⁴⁰ Luthar defines historical revisionism as “a practice of radical reinterpretation of the past that is unequally founded on the penchant for therapeutic values over cognitive values” that is resistant to any confrontation with evidence to the contrary of the revisionist’s position (2013:891 *fn* 3).

2013:876, Luthar 2013). This division also manifests in graveyard memorials. Describing Žale, Ljubljana's main cemetery, Erica Debeljak noted in 1993 that:

...there is the enormous constellation of red communist stars, victims of fascism, to the fallen partisans, and rising up beside them now in this brave new post-1989 era, a crop of fresh clean white monuments dedicated to the victims of communism, the fallen home guard, the *belogardisti*. It is a competition that doesn't end even in death (Debeljak 2009:153).

Luthar (2013) notes several failed attempts at a societal reconciliation. The first "failed attempt to reach national reconciliation [was] in 1990 after the first multi-party elections, by the joint commemoration of the president of the state and the Catholic Church" adding that a "[s]imilar inability to reach national reconciliation throughout the 1990s was marked by the unsuccessful legislative provisions and the proposal to erect a joint monument to all the victims of Second World War" (Luthar 2013:891 *fn* 2). Thus the dueling moralizing discourses of *Partisan* versus *Domobranci* continue to be divisive in Slovenia today as Slovenes attempt to come to terms with the past while defining themselves in the present.

Post-War Slovenia

In the years following World War Two, Slovenia, as part of Yugoslavia, began a process of industrialization and modernization and a reconfiguration of agricultural practices. Under influence of the Soviets, efforts to quell active religious engagement in civic life placed the (primarily in Slovenia and Croatia) Catholic Church into a situation where it lost much property to the state. This would eventually be an issue that was litigated upon the establishment of the Slovenian state.

Also during this time, we see the development of disagreement with the *Cominform* and Tito and Stalin's falling out (see below). Yugoslavia began policies of non-alignment and independence, political and economic. During the 1950's and 1960's Yugoslavia began to thrive and grow economically and began to establish itself in global markets. This economic success

was of course differently realized depending on where in Yugoslavia you lived and where you fell on the socio-political hierarchy. In general, Slovenia was the most developed and prosperous of the Yugoslav republics.

Občina

One of the innovations within the SFRY (Yugoslavia) that began in 1952 and continued to be expanded and refined well into the 1990's in Slovenia was the regionally oriented *občina* (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:209-210). This worker controlled political unit made economic policy decisions regarding various industries and was envisioned as part of a process of decentralization goals of the federation. Within the 1974 Constitution, these became mandatory and conceived of as the basic unit of "self-management" in Yugoslavia. They continue to exist in Slovenia, reaching sixty-two in the early 1990's and numbered 147 by 1994 (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:210).

Worker councils and unions

These *občinas* coupled with *delavski svet* or workers' councils instituted in the 1950's meant that within Yugoslavia there was considerable influence of labor into various policies that would impact them, more so than in many of the Eastern-bloc Communist countries. In Slovenia today, they act as municipalities, and thus act as localized political domains. With the economic crises confronting Slovenia in the immediate aftermath of independence, union membership did decline due to unemployment pressures (Stanojević 2000) yet they remain remarkably stable in an era of general union decline in the developed world (Andersson 2003) with Slovenian union density being approximately 40 percent through the 1990's, although dropping closer to the pre-accession EU members (EU-15) rate of 36.8 percent; much higher than other post-Communist EU members which rank an average union density of a meager 18.6 percent (Crowley and Stanojevic 2011). This high organized labor participation has played itself out in very political

ways, including rallying to defeat proposed pension reforms in recent years. The role of labor stoppages and strikes also came to bear during the 1980's and 1990's which also added to the prospects of a possible collapse of the government (Kusmanić 1994). It is this setting of regional independence, local political control, social security and economic prosperity which sets the stage for future nostalgic longings for “the good old days”.

Communism, Tito, and Slovenia

Josip Broz (Tito) was ethnically half Slovenian, half Croat, was an impoverished farm boy who, looking for work, went abroad to work in industry and was exposed to radical, Marxist writings and ideas that subsequently returned home and began a life as a radical/revolutionary, imprisoned and eventually studying in Moscow in the 1930's (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:272). Tito and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia prevailed at the end of World War Two and he began to implement Soviet style communism. Tito became Prime Minister and Ivan Šubašić, who had been the head of the Yugoslav government-in-exile in London became Tito's foreign Minister (Štih et al. 2008:444). However, in 1948, Soviet attempts to claim control of Yugoslavia lead to a break between Stalin and Tito, with Yugoslavia being expelled from the Communist Information Bureau (*Cominform*) (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:273). This event allowed a new Socialist model to develop, one rooted in “self-management” and “non-alignment”. Probably the key architect of the economic policies was Slovenian Edvard Kardelj (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:137, Štih et al. 2008:383).

The character of (local) Slovenian Communist leadership was notable by its dominance by a highly educated, youthful middle-class (Štih et al. 2008:383). In Slovenia, Communists expected considerable autonomy from Belgrade, similar to the Slovenian political situation during the interwar period. The Slovenian civic program has since acquired a highly literary quality,

meaning that media, especially newspapers and books plays a significant role in the civic life of Slovenians to this very day.

From 1948 on, “fine-tuning” of self-rule in Yugoslavia was pursued, in no small part due to the political maneuvering of the various factions of Yugoslavia, culminating in, first the 1953 Constitution, then the 1974 Constitution. In the 1974 Constitution, a labyrinthine, confusing political structure was established whereby delegates of various associated labor groups would be represented at *občina* and republic levels with an eightfold, rotating presidency positioned below the president of the republic (for life) Josip Broz Tito (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:61-63). The legal framework allowed an effort to further “disassociate” with the “1988 Slovene amendments” passed in 1988 “that initiated an economic restructuring toward capitalism while social property was still in effect” (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:63). These structural reforms occurred, in no small part, in response to civil engagement by its citizenry in Slovenia.

PART III

Seeds of Independence

Quoting from the booklet released (and distributed at the rally) to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of Slovenian independence:

The events which led to its [Slovenia's] birth took place mostly in the 1980s. At that time, Slovenians lived in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) where, after the death of long term president Josip Broz Tito (1980), an economic crisis erupted. Through various (largely unsuccessful) measures, the federal leadership attempted to deal with the deteriorating situation, which was characterized by a shortage of basic consumer goods and crude oil derivatives, and by intermittent power cuts. Worsening conditions, the ever-increasing demands made by the SFRY on Slovenia, and an insistence on old models of governance further increased dissatisfaction. Alongside the authorities, in which the leading role was played by the League of Communists, individuals and groups began to emerge that were particularly critical of the strong reliance on the past and the unclear vision of the future. Ecological, peace, feminist and philosophical civil society movements were born. Under the auspices of one socio-political organization — the Alliance of Socialist Youth of Slovenia — two media organs appeared that challenged the status quo: the weekly magazine *Mladina* and *Radio Študent*. Demands for the democratisation of society and the state became ever more frequent. In the fifty-seventh

edition of the *Nova revija* journal in February 1987 the opposition published 'Contributions to a Slovenian National Programme' in which it stated its demand that Slovenia's statehood be strengthened. In addition, there was a debate about changing Slovenia's constitution (Strlič 2011:6).

In this brief, if dense, paragraph the official state narrative is presented. From the political chaos arising from the death of Josip Broz Tito came a spiraling economic instability, causing local political weaknesses that allowed social movements such as the Green movement, feminists and civil reform groups to flourish. Three important outlets allowed the venting of frustrations as well as places for dissidents and intellectuals to present alternative views that challenged the status quo, viz. *Radio Student*, *Mladina* and *Nova revija*.

Radio Student, Mladina, Nova revija

The democratic movement in Slovenia in the 1980s and 1990's was characterized by two important domestic factors. The first was the involvement of intellectuals, writers and philosophers, essentially Slovenia's Intelligentsia. The second, equally important aspect of the movement was its involvement with young people. The role of youth and "youth culture" in Slovenia during the 1970's and 1980's in eventually maneuvering Slovenia toward independence must be acknowledged. Early protests include those in solidarity with Kosovo in the early 1980's.

The intelligentsia weigh in

In early 1987 the thematic issue number 57 of *Nova revija*⁴¹ (New Review) addressed the questions of democracy and quite possibly independence. Various intellectuals and thinkers⁴² weighed in and began the project of a "Slovenian National Program" (Luthar 2008:492, Prunk

⁴¹ *Nova revija* was launched in 1981 and viewed itself in some measure a successor of *Revija*, a journal in the mid 1950's that was eventually banned (Luthar 2008:486). Issue 57 in a sense echoed *Revija* of 1957 (Gow and Carmichael 2000:94).

⁴² Including France Bučar, Tine Hribar, Peter Jambreč, Jože Pučnik, Dimitrij Rupel, Ivan Urbančič, Veliko Rus, Gregor Tomc and others (Luthar 2008:492 *fn* 631, Prunk 2008:203).

2008:203, Gow and Carmichael 2000:93-95). Dimitrij Rupel, for example, used the venue to complain that Slovene was a “second class language” and protesting the requirement to communicate in (then) Serbo-Croat (Gow and Carmichael 2000:94). Eventually, many of the literary leaders and dissidents would become political leaders as well.

In the years that followed Tito’s death, efforts to further centralize Yugoslavia were attempted by political elites primarily in Belgrade. One realm of interest was in centralizing the curricula of academic institutions, particularly the humanities and specifically history, geography, art, music and literature would follow a core curriculum dictated by Belgrade, in part to limit Kosovar autonomy (Štih et al. 2008:523). The other republics saw this as a direct attack on their constitutional sovereignty and it became another point of contention held by the intelligentsia and in literary and academic circles.

Youth

In the 1980’s a key locus for nationalistic, or at least anti-authoritarian, resistance to Yugoslavian elites based in Belgrade were the youth groups and movements in Slovenia. Student groups, student magazines like *Mladina*, and student political groups were all involved with additional independence seed-sowing (whether it was their intention or not is at times hard to say). The following are some examples of this youth movement aspect of the lead up to Slovenia’s independence. During the late 1970’s and 1980’s a sense of alienation was being experienced in certain segments of the youth population. These feelings of disenfranchisement were made manifest in the music scene in Yugoslavia, particularly Ljubljana, the center of what would be the Punk scene (Luthar 2008:487).

Every Revolution Needs a Soundtrack

Plut-Pregelj and Rogel contend that Slovenians are an inherently musical people who enjoy singing together, that “[c]horal singing is one of the most widespread leisure time activities

among Slovenes” adding that in 1996, “over 800 adult choirs, 1,200 children’s and youth choirs, and 400 church choirs” existed in the country (1996:194). Klemenc further backs up such claims by pointing out there were in 2002 over 2,000 amateur or semi-professional secular choirs and ensembles in a country of less than two million people (2007:77), in 2002 there were roughly 1,992,000 Slovenian citizens (POPIS 2002) divided by 2,000 choirs and ensembles, resulting in an average of one choir or ensemble for every 996 citizens. That one of my key informants was a (semi)professional singer should perhaps be no surprise.

Folk songs have long been of interests to nationalists⁴³ (and scholars of nationalism), as these oral traditions have been used to argue for the existence of a collective identity, used as a mobilizing force or symbolic representation of said collective identity for political claims. These claims are not always spurious, as these folk songs come out of some specific setting of a particular social or cultural group (however conceived). Further, they can be considerably resilient over time. Their popularity often results in their incorporation into more “modern”, popular entertainment pursuits, such as pop music, and this is also the case of Slovenia (Šivic 2007). For example:

A singing group from Podmelec near Tolmin heard the folk ballad *Riba Faronika nosi svet* (Faronika the Fish Carries the World, which is no longer a part of living folk tradition) in an adapted form on a CD intended for school music classes, but then learned the lyrics from Karel Štrekelj's collection of folk songs. Although they did not change the lyrics, they completely adapted the melody in their own way, despite having the original melody in their memories as well. This demonstrates how new global media and cultural dynamics can influence local ones (Golež Kaučič 2009:43).

I will informally categorize folk music in Slovenia into the following categories (simply as a heuristic device): old traditional, new traditional, pop traditional, and pop with folk elements.

⁴³ Music of course is often a political tool. Every year in Europe for example there is the “*Eurovision*” contest which pits performers from various nations against one another, stoking domestic nationalism as well as plenty of controversies at home and abroad (see for example Bolman 2007, Baker 2008).

The first category includes everything from very old songs to the performances of the Avseniks and other popularizers of “*Oberkrainer*” music. This category is highly, regionally, ordered.

“New traditional” is a category of new music created in the vein of old traditional music by folk performers. This genre was put on museum display in 2007-2008 in a Slovenian Ethnographic Museum exhibit (Cvetko 2008). Pop traditional are modern interpretations of folk songs, while pop with folk elements is a music genre that combines pop music with the sounds, instruments and images of folk music. The popularity of this last category is well represented by the music television station *Golica TV*, which was founded in 1995. To my eyes, it is reminiscent of the American MTV of my generation; a place of youthful celebration of music with many, many music videos. In *Golica TV*’s case, they are all modern folk infused pop performances. The station’s casting and content as well as the bands are all uniformly young, suggesting more of an MTV and less a “*Lawrence Welk*” ‘vibe’.

While the “*Oberkrainer*” genre of “country music” was established by Slovenians (The Avseniks), its popularity spread throughout the Alpine and Germanic speaking areas of Europe and beyond, to various diasporas. So too did musical traditions flow into Slovenian territory⁴⁴. In Yugoslavia, Ljubljana became the central hub of the late 1970’s and 1980’s Punk scene (Luthar 2008:489). As a counter-cultural movement, the Punk movement challenged local hegemonic authority (Tomc 1994), primarily the authority (or perceived authority) of Communist youth groups. Rock bands like *Buldožer* had periodic run-ins with local Socialist youth group leaders during this period. For example *Buldožer* was prevented from playing one concert in Ljubljana after local youth leaders deemed them politically suspect (Tomc 1994).

⁴⁴ A recent phenomenon is Turbo-folk, a genre that incorporates primarily “Balkan” styles and involves materialist braggadocio, machismo and the hyper-sexualization of women (Stanković 2001, Volčič and Erjavec 2010), however this is not the dominant musical variety consumed by the general masses, indeed it is often deemed inferior and assumed that only “*Southerners*” listen to it.

However, by and large, the youth music scene was generally tolerated in Yugoslavia. When punk arrived, it was assumed to be yet another variety of rock music however the sometimes very violent themes and imagery become something of concern to authorities (Tomc 1994). Further, a specific sub-movement of Punk became associated with Nazism and this “culminated with harassment [by authorities] as an everyday aspect of being a Slovenian punk” (Tomc 1994:117). However, the political aspirations of punks and punk bands may have had few actual political ambitions. As Gregor Tomc notes:

We didn’t fight for political freedom in Slovenia or Yugoslavia. We lived our personal freedom and consequently extended the space of autonomous socializing for others as well [...] we didn’t fight against the system; we played rock music with subversive connotations – mostly because we enjoyed provoking the ruling political paranoiacs (quoted in Luthar 2008:490).

Tolerance by authorities evaporated and they began to actively target punks. “Police action against graffiti writers was also ruthless and swift. In a couple weeks the authorities managed to do what the fascists did not achieve in three years of occupation of Ljubljana in World War II – they arrested 18 graffiti writers (Tomc 1994:122). Here Gregor Tomc conjures up the images of the Partisan resistance to criticize the police as being dictatorial, however it is ironic that some of those arrested were arrested for painting swastikas (at least one confessed to doing so) (Tomc 1994:122). Gregor Tomc, now a sociologist at the University of Ljubljana, was the lead musician in one of Yugoslavia’s first punk bands, *Pankrti* (the Bastards) and author in the *Nova Revija 57*. Further, punk and the subsequent new wave music movements caught the attention of student academic circles where they published articles in *Problemi*, where authors examined punk and new wave themes (Luthar 2008:490). Punk gained the attention of a number of Slovenian intellectuals and critics who saw these youth music movements as a way to discuss their own grievances with the state. Finally, Luthar notes: “In the light of growing instability of

the state, punk (and other movements) eventually became tools for cultural elites to articulate their discontent politically and offered an opportunity to define and promote a nationalist agenda” (2008:490).

Laibach and enjoin

Another band was *Laibach*, who considered themselves the musical wing of the *Neue Slowenische Kunst* (NSK) (German for “New Slovenian Art”) (Gržinic 1993, Rizman 2006). The very name *Laibach* is controversial as it was the German name for Ljubljana. Further, the musicians often sang their lyrics in German as opposed to Slovene. This group’s persistent use of totalitarian, fascistic imagery was offered up as a critique of Yugoslavia, but was often considered an embrace of fascist ideology. The *avant-garde* artist collective NSK offered up its version for a poster competition in 1987. The poster competition was over the 40th annual Day of Youth. This celebration usually involved concerts, poetry readings, et cetera. It also involved a symbolic relay race where batons were carried by members of each Yugoslavian nation throughout many Yugoslav cities and being chosen to carry the baton was considered a prestigious honor (Luthar 2008:493). The race was to honor Tito’s birthday. Although Tito died in 1980, the tradition continued. The NSK entry won the competition, over “thousands of other designs” (Luthar 2008:493). Upon its release, the poster caused public controversy because the poster was actually based upon German painter Richard Klein’s 1936 painting *The Third Reich* (Komelj 2012:68, Gow and Carmichael 2000:96, Luthar 2008:493). Debates swirled about the fact that the authorities chose fascistic imagery and others debated the appropriateness of using Nazi imagery. The artists replaced Nazi imagery with Yugoslav images (such as replacing the swastika with the star) and for a Slovenian aspect, they included an architectural detail that referenced Slovenia’s most celebrated modern architect, Joze Plečnik (Komelj 2012:68). This

was the last Day of Youth, first celebrated in 1947. The importance of this particular event cannot be overstated. The poster was put on display for the first time in 2007 at the Museum of Contemporary History (*Narodni Muzej Novejše Godovine*) which drew large crowds as well as controversy (Komelj 2012:68). During my fieldwork period (2007-2011) the display has been included in the permanent exhibit of Slovenian history at the museum.

Mladina

Mladina is a magazine that has managed to maintain high levels of independence from the state, both in Yugoslavia, and now Slovenia (Patterson 2000). As a venue for critiquing the authorities, *Mladina* made particular waves when a JNA (Yugoslav army) effort to court martial a reporter and two editors over investigations it was carrying out, citing them with leaking state military secrets (Luthar 2008:495). The subsequent investigation by the Yugoslav authorities resulted in the arrest of a journalist, two editors of *Mladina* and one Yugoslav military officer: Janez Janša,⁴⁵ David Tasić, Franci Zavrl and Sergeant Major Ivan Borštner (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:166). The ensuing court martial was conducted in Ljubljana but in Serbo-Croat, which not only violated the constitution but also enflamed nationalist sentiment to the point of galvanizing the Slovenian public resulting in mass protests and becoming the central focus of the local media for the entire six month long trial (Gow and Carmichael 2000:153, Luthar 2008: 495 Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:166).

The JNA intervention was preceded by JNA concern about the Slovenian peace movement and its anti-military stance, the pressing for a non-military option for mandatory service and a general stream of critiques aimed at the military leadership from the sources like *Mladina*. The

⁴⁵ Janša was a one-time leader of a Socialist youth group concerned with creating a public service alternative to the mandated military service (Štih et al. 2008:522) and graduate of the defense academy (Luthar 2008:494) would later become a journalist and eventually both the Minister of Defense and the Prime Minister of Slovenia. As of October 2013 he has been convicted of corruption charges and is facing two years in prison.

report leaked by Sergeant Major Ivan Borštner and eventually made public was a damning one indeed, for it was a detailed plan for the JNA to “destabilize Slovenia, declare a state of emergency and replace the liberal Slovene political leadership and press with more conservative figures, who would be markedly preferable to the JNA command” (Gow and Carmichael 2000:153). During the trial, a “Committee for the Protection of the Rights of Janez Janša” was established, and it was quickly renamed the “Committee for the Protection of Human Rights”. This organization had over 300 commissioners representing 3,000 different institutions counting over 100,000 members (Luthar 2008:496) “gaining the support of almost the whole nation in no time” (Prunk 2008:205). Thus, early on in the trial, large swaths of the Slovenian public were engaged in the trial and this committee would serve as a platform or launching pad for the creation of oppositional party groups. In February of the following year (1989) an official declaration was made from Slovenian officials and opposition parties to jointly condemn the political actions against Kosovo by Yugoslavia, and was also an indirect critique of the Yugoslavian project (currently conceived) (Prunk 2008:206). Following was the May Declaration (*Majniška Deklaracija, 1989*)⁴⁶ signed by the Writers’ Association, the Slovene Democratic Union, the Slovene Peasant Association, the Christian Democratic Movement, and the Social Democratic Party calling for a democratic and independent Slovenia (Kramberger et al. 2004:8, Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:176, Strlič 2011: 8). A month later the socialist Alliance published a similar document called the “Fundamental Charter” (*Temeljna listina*) arguing for everything the May Declaration did except asking to stay federated with other Yugoslav nations (Strlič 2011: 8, Štih et al. 2008: 537) Thus the goals of both sides eventually coalesced with the

⁴⁶ Another May Declaration (1917) had been made some seventy-two years prior, during World War One, in which thirty-three Yugoslav delegates called for the formation of an autonomous South-Slav state encompassing all Southern Slavs then residing in Austria-Hungary (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:176, Štih et al. 2008:346-348).

socialists eventually dropping any hopes of federation. The *Mladina* Affair allowed the coalescence of different activist and reformist groups, old and young alike from the local and national levels, both core and periphery to unite in a project of independence. During this period, Slovenians often publicly engaged in discourses of protest and demands for independence, even mobilizing their vehicles as political message carriers, via bumper stickers celebrating the eventual departure from Yugoslavia (Kriznar 1993). These events lead up to a brief, “Ten Day War” followed by Slovenia’s triumphal departure from Yugoslavia and serving as a catalyst for Yugoslavia’s descent into full-blown war. With the departure of the JNA, new military structures were enacted to replace old ones.

Metelkova

Youth based “practices of confrontation” fueled by the music and arts scenes and with civic concerns would eventually lead to “Metelkova City”, an area containing an abandoned military base and prison that was taken over by youth movement groups. This area was occupied by squatters in 1993, and has turned into a place of counter-hegemonic, subaltern youth activities. This area now houses a renowned prison-cum-youth hostel, the non-governmental organization *Mirovni Inštitut* (Peace Institute) as well as a recently renovated ethnographic museum. This area of Ljubljana, this place, is now imbued with narratives of resistance, and youth arts and music scenes. However, one wonders if the mere acknowledgement and acquiescence of the state and the city authorities to accept Metelkova is itself an attempt to control or mitigate the disruptive forces of radical elements.

Grb

The establishment of a new state necessarily extends into symbol creation. For example, the Slovenian *grb* or coat of arms is one of the most used identifiers of Slovenian state authority as

well as cultural identity. Much planning and consideration went into the design of such an iconic representation of identity:

Its designer, the sculptor Marko Pogačnik, described the coat-of-arms as a 'cosmogram' of the state of Slovenia, an artistic symbol that brings energy to and supports the Slovenian identity. He did not take historical messages, symbols or other signs as inspiration. To him, the coat-of-arms represents an all-encompassing representation of the space in which Slovenia exists: a natural imprint of sorts. Therefore the coat-of-arms has a precisely determined conceptual framework, in which its content is encoded. As his starting point, the designer took two works of art which signify a similar 'representation of space' to him. The first is the epic poem by France Prešeren *Krst pri Savici* (The Baptism at the Savica), including the introductory scene through which Slovenia's symbolic space was constructed by the poet: Mount Triglav above the surface of Lake Bohinj and the golden light above the mountain. The other work of art is [Blessed Virgin] Mary's column, designed by the architect Jože Plečnik, which now stands in front of Bled parish church and on which a similar image to the new Slovenian coat-of-arms, depicting Triglav below a six-pointed star, appears on Mary's cloak.

Pogačnik added other elements to this basic delineation of Slovenian space. The central system is represented by three main axes running from Mount Triglav: the axis of completeness in the direction of Istria; the axis of creativity towards Ljubljana and onwards to Bela krajina, the Kolpa River, and the village of Rosalnice; and the axis of transformation across Slovenj Gradec and Murska Sobota to the border with Hungary. These axes create three connected triangles. All the ancient elements are included in the coat-of-arms: air (the blue sky), fire (the golden stars), water (the waves) and earth (the mountain). These elements, amongst others, convey two fundamental messages: 'Slovenia is a country where the skies and the earth are interconnected and balanced,' and 'The male and the female poles of existence are both polarized and balanced, therefore, a creative tension arises between them and encourages development and transformation in the country.' From an artistic perspective, the triangles are arranged in an image that can be identified as Mount Triglav, and the stars can be interpreted as representing the stars of the Counts of Celje; this is necessary, as a national symbol calls for a historical background. However, in essence, the whole symbol represents the earth's energy field, connected to the energy field of the universe, a connection without which a country cannot survive (Strlič 2011:28-29).

The alignment of space and the marshalling of place to do “identity work” are, of course, not unique to Slovenia (see for example: Alonso 1994, Basso 1996, and Kuper 1972). However, in Slovenia we see the very explicit effort to signify a cosmological order within the very “icons” of the state. These cosmological and territorial conceptions are of course fraught with moral meanings. Consider for example the conceptualization of the “South” as morally bankrupt, dangerous, barbarous, explosive, et cetera. These moral-mythic geographies go beyond the specific “Balkanizing” of the “Other” (Todorova 1997), which is in itself very much aligned to Orientalist (Said 1979) characterizations of the “Other” (Hayden and Hayden 1992) echoed in the gaze of early Western travelers who reported on a “Wild Europe” filled with the exotic, strange or the absurd (Jezernik 2004).

Stereotyping Yugoslavians

Stereotyping a “Balkan character” to people of Former Yugoslavia is a common occurrence in Slovenia. This “Balkanizing” puts individuals into a framework of stereotypes found throughout the region (Brown and Theodossopoulos 2004). However, stereotyping is not always negatively imbued. For example, one Slovenian key informant told me that Bosniaks⁴⁷ are wickedly funny people, telling humorous tale where Bosniaks are often the brunt of the humor, but also ends up being the wisest of figures as well. She told me Slovenians don’t have a strong sense of humor like Bosniaks. However, she also noted that even in Slovenia there are stereotypes of people from various regions, for example people from Gorenjska were seen as particularly miserly. Stereotyping has hierarchical aspects to it and acts as moralizing framework. This kind of “Othering” is not only a political act but also one imbued with identity discourses. Two distinct

⁴⁷ See Vucetic 2004 for a further discussion on Bosniak Humor.

but related processes of “Othering” is specifically taking place in Slovenia. One is Islamophobia, the other an anti-southern bias⁴⁸.

Islamophobia and Ljubljana’s Mosque

In Slovenia post 9/11 concerns with Muslims and the imagined threat of violence by Muslim extremists has resulted in a spike of Islamophobia (Dragoš 2005)⁴⁹. Islam, tethered to notions of “the Turk” (see above), result in narratives of Slovenia as a bulwark. One example of this symbolic configuration of Slovenia as “March” or militarized borderland is the continued controversy over the proposed mosque for Muslim inhabitants of Ljubljana (and the nation as a whole). Resistance to the proposed mosque has been vehement and long-lasting. The quest to secure a mosque dates back to the 1969 when law changed to allow such a religious structure to be constructed, under the Tito Communist Regime. However, several attempts to secure such a building have met with official stalling, back-pedaling, obstructionism and outright refusal to grant permits, et cetera, in an effort to prevent building a mosque. In the post-9/11 world, Muslims have increasingly faced resistance to efforts to build mosques in many parts of Europe and North America. However, the resistance and reticence pre-dates these “new-found” fears in the “West”. The resistance to the mosque often evokes symbols of “foreignness” and Orientalist threat by those opposed to the Ljubljana mosque. One Slovenian who was sympathetic to the cause told me of a television advertisement that played the call to prayer and an ominously framed image of the Blue Mosque of Istanbul, emphasizing the minarets looming overhead. The voiceover asked essentially, “Do you want this as your next door neighbor?” Public discourses

⁴⁸ Cox sees the recent increase in racist rhetoric as troubling: “Most frightening of all, an upsurge in populism and right-wing politics is eroding the legacy of Slovenia’s famed “civil society,” whose members advocated ethnic and lifestyle tolerance, nonviolence, and a limitation to governmental powers” (Cox 2005:141).

⁴⁹ The politicization of Islam, as well as other religions in the region is, of course, nothing new (see Ivenkovič 2002).

about minarets marring the quintessential Slovenian skyline (Bajt 2011*b*, *fn* 25). That the mosque is for former co-nationals (Albanian Kosovars, Bosniaks) and not some distant, “alien” culture seems completely erased. The proposed mosque would serve a state with over 47,000 Muslims with over 13,000 in Ljubljana alone (POPIS 2002). In 2004, a petition spearheaded by a city-council politician, had gathered well over 11,000 signatures to prevent its construction. That politician, Michael Jarc, had this to say:

You should look back in history. Slovenes have been in this area for 20 centuries. In the middle ages our ancestors were attacked by Muslim soldiers, and they did bad things here, and this is in our historical subconscious (Smith 2004).

In 2004 the constitutional courts deemed efforts to hinder the mosque from being built as unconstitutional, and leftist parties give tacit support of the right of Muslims to build the mosque. Rightist groups still oppose it. Some ten years later, the mosque has still not begun construction. The proposed mosque site is at the far periphery of Ljubljana, by a highway and underutilized industrial space, including, I was told by one Slovenian, a municipal dump. The mosque design, approved in 2011, is also, ironically, envisioned in a modernist architectural style by a local firm, Bevk Perovic Arhitekti, and hardly suggestive of the Blue Mosque (STA November 18, 2011). Positioning Slovenians as the first line on the confrontation with the Orient, there is a valorization of those who resisted or were in conflict with the Turkish invasions and further legitimized claims to being “of the West” which was so often the shibboleth of the Independence movement of the late 1980’s and early 1990’s (Lindstrom 2003). Indeed, as Nike Pokorn illustrates, Slovenian understanding of Turkish culture is primarily through the lens of folktales and narratives surrounding the Ottoman incursions of the 16th and 17th centuries, mitigated somewhat by a few Bosnian Turkish “apologists” authors during Slovenia’s time as part of the

Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) (2013). Further, the Islam of Bosnia has been very different than the Islam of the Middle East or Central Asia (Bringa 1995).

Čefurji

Highly racist terms like *čefurji* and terms loaded with such attitudes such as *bosanci* are used to denote people from former Yugoslav countries. The terms for “southerner” like *južnjaki* and *jugoviči* are also pejorative (Bajt 2005). While the targets of such language are not ethnically Slovene, that doesn’t mean they are necessarily immigrants. It goes beyond racializing immigrants (Silverstein 2005) and extends to attitudes tied to prior histories together and recent political and military events in the region (i.e. the most recent war in the Balkans).

“They are people with only half a roof”

This common description of “Southerners” in Slovenia was ostensibly built upon the typographical particularities of Slovenian languages and Croatian and other Southern dialects that use the Latin script. The diacritical markings that denote aspiration such as changing an “c” sound to a “ch” sound is used in Croatian with a “ć” whereas in Slovenian a “č” is used. If that mark is envisioned as a roof, then the “ć” is only half there, half built compared to the Slovenian one. The other implications are of course about economic and social backwardness of the “Balkans”. The “half a roof” people are foolish to live in a house with “half a roof” and it also partly imparts a sense of laziness or incompetence. Thus, “half a roof” encodes a whole series of locally geo-political orderings and moral judgments.

The specter of intolerance is noticeable in the graffiti within Ljubljana with terms like *čefur* demanding “Southerners” go home. The slightly politer term “non-Slovenian” still has explicit primordialist, *jure sanguinis* nationalist rhetoric and symbolism implied in its use applied almost exclusively to “Southerners” (Bajt 2005). Official state policies have obfuscated certain

citizenship policies or have in many cases radically changed people's citizenship or legal standing.

Evacuees turned refugees and the “*Erasure*”

States use the “naturalization process” (consider how pregnant the very term is) for political purposes. Shortly after the outbreak of war in Bosnia, the Slovenian political elite swore to evacuate several hundred people living in Bosnia, especially Sarajevo, in order to reunite them with their motherland (Sumi 2003). Given a group visa, these individuals soon found themselves languishing in a citizenship “no man's land” where they were re-categorized from “emergency evacuees” into “refugees” by legal fiat (Sumi 2003). These people deemed to have legitimate claims to Slovenian citizenship were in turn asked to go through the typical immigration process, one which they could not qualify (for example, stable residency, long term employment, linguistic fluency) (Sumi 2003). Only reluctantly did the state eventually waive the process for those individuals it had chosen to evacuate in the first place.

Another event resulted in the removal of political identity by the state where anyone whose citizenship claims were not made by a particular deadline post- independence were immediately, un-ceremonially removed from the citizenship rolls (Blitz 2006, Fink-Hafner 2007, Jalušič and Dedec 2008, Petković 2011, Ramet 2008, Volčič 2005, Žitnik 2008, Zorn 2005). These “Erased” (*Izbrisani*) numbered around 18,300 or so (Štih et al. 2008:561-562).⁵⁰ The citizenship laws at the time of independence allowed anyone currently living and working in Slovenia to make citizenship claims (Blitz 2006, Jalušič and Dedec 2008). Thus, regardless of where you were born, if you were residing legally in Slovenia at the time of independence you could choose to become a citizen. Further, if you had a parent or grandparent from Slovenia you could as

⁵⁰ Cox estimated 30,000 were initially erased and that 5,000 to 18,000 remained so in 2005 (2005:140).

well. However, a number of individuals who might have qualified for citizenship failed to enroll in the six month timeframe. These individuals tended to have either limited documentation, had assumed their status was secured or had mitigating circumstances preventing them from complying (for example, one requirement was birth certificates that could only be obtained by going to the place of your birth, a risky prospect if you were born in a war torn part of Croatia or Bosnia, especially if you were a young man and might be conscripted) (Volčič 2005, Žitnik 2008, Zorn 2005). Through legal actions and through the actions of activists some have managed some sort of redress. As early as 2002 the Slovenian Constitutional Court deemed “the Erasure” illegal (Cox 2005:140-141). This alienation of ethnically non-Slovenians has resulted in major economic hardship as well as negative impacts on health (Lipovec Čebren 2010). Through various legal maneuvers or missteps, the matter has yet to be resolved. Among the issues surrounding the controversy from the state’s side are the concerns over the liability of the state for financial damages, seeking to limit any such claims and secondly that former JNA members who fought against Slovenia might be eligible for citizenship (Cox 2005:141). Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights Nils Muižnieks noted in an editorial dated October 21, 2013 that:

Twenty two years have passed since the erasure of more than 25 000 persons from the Slovene Register of Permanent Residents, a decision which caused serious violations of human rights and grave suffering of the individuals concerned and their families. As a result, the erased became, in effect, irregular migrants – without documents, healthcare and social security, denied the right to work, in constant fear of prosecution and subject to exploitation (Muižnieks 2013).

adding that “In 2012, Slovenia was condemned by the European Court of Human Rights and was ordered not only to compensate six plaintiffs but also set up a specific compensation scheme for

the erased by July this year” (Muižnieks 2013)⁵¹. At the time of my writing, discussions are being held by Slovenia’s parliament about a new, comprehensive law that will rectify the legal wrongs and offer remuneration as well.

As economic and political uncertainties have punctuated the Slovenian experience from 1981 on, so to have anxieties about Southerners and the media has been complicit in various anti-immigrationist discourses (Erjavec 2001, 2003, Kusmanić 1999, 2003, Pajnik and Kusmanić 2005). Popular media plays on stereotypes of Ex-Yugoslav people (Slovenes included). A popular version of the British reality Television show “Big Brother”, which has its participants live in a house together, aired in former Yugoslavia with one member from each country. As the show progressed, stereotypes regarding national character were projected onto the contestants by both the audience and the directors (Volčič and Andrejevic 2009). These images find themselves in film too. In Modern cinema, most popular Slovenian films are, as one informant characterized, fatalistic.

Let me give you an example. A typical Slovenian film might have a boy who has a dog and they grow up together and have many happy times but then the dog is lost and the boy is full of despair. Finally the boy and dog are reunited and they are happy again. Then the dog dies at the end of the film. That is a typical Slovenian film! (Laughs).
Marko, 31, Ljubljana, IT technician.

In many modern films alcohol abuse serves as a backdrop or even a character in its own right in Slovene films. Often, themes of alienation, social claustrophobia, pressure to conform, and juxtapositions or tensions of the old (Socialist) Slovenia and the new (Capitalist) Slovenia are found (See for example *Call Girl (Slovenka)* (2009), *Spare Parts (Rezervni deli)* (2003)).

⁵¹ *Kurić and Others v. Slovenia* (ECHR 2012).

Figure 12. A crowd awaits the parklji (and Sv. Miklavž too)



(Ljubljana: December 5, 2010).

Vignette: You better watch out, you better not cry...

December 5th, 2010, I walked down the street outside my apartment to be greeted by low grumblings of Gustav Holst's *Mars, Bringer of War* bellowing out from Prešeren Square. Passing Prešeren's statue, I found myself amidst a throng of people, young and old, but especially with young children, aligned along the outside of a cordoned off parade route. I had arrived at the terminus of the procession of *Sveti Miklavž*, Saint Nicholas. Holst's music, blasting from a public announcement / speaker assemblage, was to announce the arrival of the *Parklji*⁵². These furry, horned demons pranced and cavorted (and at times, just milled around) as they ran along the edges of the crowd, growling, cackling and clawing at the children. A few of the *Parklji* were performing fire-breathing, shooting out great plumes of fire into the air.

⁵² The Slovenian version of the Alpine folk figure best known by its German name, the *krampus*. These hairy, demonic figures mete out punishment to naughty children. In this way they are similar to Dutch *zwarte Piet* traditions.

Intermingled with these furry *parklji*, whose costumes looked to be of professional quality, there were other *hudiči*, devils wearing red, one piece, long sleeve unitards with tight fitting red cowls adorned with little black horns. They additionally had tails attached to their suits and their faces painted red. These seemed to be younger performers (perhaps teenagers), and their costumes reminded me of the fancy devil costumes of 1920's era United States. These performers were more likely to be the ones milling about, occasionally interacting with the crowd.

Upon the arrival of the *parklji*, an announcer announced their arrival over the P.A. system. I was uncomfortably close to said speakers and the distortion through the speakers made we give up on following the occasional narration and instead I planted myself within the crowd and watched as the next wave of procession participants arrived. These were primarily little girls dressed as angels followed by *Sveti Miklavž*, St. Nicholas. Here, his arrival causes the *parkelj* to depart. *Sveti Miklavž* (often just "*Miklavž*") proceeded to give gifts such as small packages of sweets or oranges to the children lining the way. Afterwards, he climbed up the steps of Ljubljana's most famous church along with the angelic choir, who then proceeded to sing a song. At this point the massive crowds began to wane. It was then that I ran into Marija who, over a mulled wine or two (sold all over outdoor kiosks of the city center during the Christmas season) explained to me the situation with Slovenia's three Christmas season Santa figures: *Sveti Miklavž*, *Dedek Mraz*, and *Božiček*.

Sveti Miklavž, Dedek Mraz, Božiček

During pre-WWII Slovenian Christmas seasons, *Sveti Miklavž*, St. Nicholas, was a primary Christmas-time figure, arriving in Early December, with *parklji* in procession. During the communist years, *Dedek Mraz*, "Grandfather Frost" was imported from the Soviet Union to serve as an alternative, or replacement to the Catholic one. He is dressed in heavy wool clothing and a round pillbox hat made from furs. According to one person I talked to, his home was

originally in Russia but moved to “under Mt. Triglav” after the falling out of Tito and Stalin in 1948. He is dressed in “traditional” Slovenian clothing and he utilizes other (now) national symbols such as Lipizzaner horses. He gave out gifts on New Year’s Eve as opposed to St. Nicholas’ Day, December 6th. Finally, with the continual bombardment of Western media, an Americanized Santa Claus has entered into the mix as *Božiček*, thus causing three bearded Christmas-time gift givers. And as the conflict in World War Two fell into the Left-Right political spectrum, so too do these figures sometimes find themselves mobilized as representing the “Other”. With liberalizing religious practice in Yugoslavia, and then especially post-independence, *Miklavž* (and now *Božiček*) are associated with neo-liberal economic policy. *Dedek Mraz* is sometimes mobilized as a symbol of a communist past that many long to distance themselves from. For one woman I talked to, she said she grew up with *Dedek Mraz*, and would hate to see the tradition die out. She said: “My family was not religious, why should religious children [I assume she means here, children of religious families] be the only ones who get the gifts? That was the reason they had *Dedek Mraz* anyway, not everyone is Catholic”. Another person told me that the three men are said to be friends, perhaps to protect children from the socio-political aspects of their Christmas-time traditions.

Liberalization’s Wild Ride

Slovenia has been heralded (perhaps until recently) as a post-Communist success story for both the embracing “the Market” and of democracy (Bebler 2002, Crowley and Stanojević 2011). Slovenia quickly joined NATO, the EU and the common currency (the Euro). This series of political and economic changes came with a price, though. Inflation was one part of the economic crisis that arose with independence. Slovenia experienced inflation over 1,000% per year in 1989 for example (Štih et al. 2008:537). Inflation was reduced to around 200% in 1992 down to 13.5% by the mid-1990s (Štih et al. 2008:556) with a stabilization of the state. As part

of the independence process, the economy suffered with over 100,000 people losing their jobs between 1989 and 1993 (Štih et al. 2008:556), adding up to five percent of the population being added to the unemployment numbers. The Slovenian economy stabilized and seemed to flourish by the late 1990's until the aftermath of the 2007 global economic crises. In 2013, Slovenians have taken to the streets repeatedly to protest the economic situation and the corruption in politics (Novak 2013).

Vignette: Safety nets

In June of 2007 I travelled to Slovenia for the first time. With wife and newborn daughter, barely eight weeks old, we came to visit Ljubljana so that I could make some initial contacts and survey possible field sites. The first weekend we were there, we visited the *Ljubljanski Grad*, the castle that sits in the center of the city on a high hill. The site is a premier tourist destination for the city, as well as an urban icon for the city. It includes a modern funicular, an art gallery, castle museum, viewing tower and in 2010 the *Sloveneska Zgodovina*, the Slovenian History Permanent Exhibit.

Along with a restaurant and gift shop, the museum is surrounded by paths and gardens, some quite challenging, some quite serene. The Sunday my wife and I were there, we brought our daughter and during a stroll she slipped out of the stroller and hit her head⁵³. As new parents we were terrified, quickly we went to the nearby store and had them call an ambulance. When the ambulance arrived, there was only room for one parent to ride with our daughter in back. My wife went ahead while I called a taxi and waited what felt like an eternity for it to arrive. As I arrived at the hospital I had to roam the labyrinthine hospital. There were no shining new atria or large fountains, nor sculptures or statues in a large reception. Indeed, it seemed to be mostly

⁵³ Incidentally near the peasant revolt memorial.

large plain corridors. Eventually I found the information desk and asked the older woman there who spoke only Slovenian and German for directions. From what I could cobble together of my (then) two semesters of Slovene and my high school German I gleaned the information of the location of the emergency room.

Upon my arrival, my wife had our daughter in an examination room and our daughter had quieted down from the inconsolable wailing of earlier. There my wife proceeded to tell me of the X-rays and the ride over, in which an English-speaking doctor rode in the ambulance along with EMTs. As Americans, my wife and I had certain expectations of how medical systems operate. We knew for example that we weren't citizens and therefore were not covered under a national insurance system and knew we'd have to pay. However, we weren't worried about the cost, only the child. Our daughter turned out to be fine, aside from a bump on the head and we are ever thankful of that fact.

My wife, filled with anxiety over our daughter's status, was met soon after the ambulance ride by the ambulance driver who, literally hat in hand, apologized for having to ask, but he gave a paper slip for the billing department for the ambulance ride portion of our bill. She said "it is OK" and asked in passing, "How much is it?" His response, "about 25 Euro" made her impulsively laugh out loud. This ambulance, complete with two EMTs and a physician cost around \$35 dollars. Later, we were talking with a young nurse who began to ask about our maternity leave. When we described in detail the general lack of paid maternity leave and the many problems that arise out of maternity leave, coupled with the short time of the leave, the nurse was truly aghast. She was incredulous. How is it that the United States doesn't have one year paid maternity / paternity leave as Slovenia does, she asked. We continue to ask that question to this very day. When it was time to leave, I paid the bill for the ambulance ride with

doctor, two sets of x-rays and a sonogram, along with emergency room visit. The bill totaled 115 Euro, somewhere near \$140 US Dollars. This was my first encounter with the Slovenian social safety net, one continuously threatened under the guise of liberal economic reform.

The history of Slovenia is a convoluted one, as are histories of all countries. From ethnogenesis to national consciousness of the 19th century, the Slovenian past is one filled with conflict and confrontation. The Turk is vilified while the peasant is valorized. The peasant past, as you will see indexed in museum exhibits, draws upon traditions of protest as well as traditional ties to the soil and place. It is this tradition of protest which complicates traditional “top-down” nationalist imagining. Finally, Slovenia’s intelligentsia and its creative class, writers, poets, artists, architects, et cetera) are afforded much reverence and those said individuals have had a large influence on Slovenia’s formation. Additionally, the participation of youth was also key in civic engagement with the then current regime. Finally, we must not dismiss the power of traumatic pasts in shaping the discourses of today. In the next chapter you will see how I began to bring those salient points of the past that I mentioned in this chapter to the surface when exploring this question of Slovenian identity.

Chapter Five:
Affect and Slovenian identity:

Industriousness, neighborliness, envy, smallness, nostalgia and insecurity

*“100% PONOŠEN
100% SLOVENEČ”*

--Ljubljana graffiti, Tabor neighborhood

Translation:
100% PROUD, 100% SLOVENIAN

Or, alternately:
100% SHABBY, 100% SLOVENIAN

Over a few *Union*™ beers, I had a conversation with an artist at a café along the Ljubljanca River, in the capital's center. He and I were discussing the graffiti in the city (particularly in the pedestrian underpasses that link Tivoli Park with the city center). He was distinguishing artistically and politically important graffiti with vandalism and vulgarity that some graffiti “artists” create. Our conversation eventually landed on our Saturday and Sunday plans. He said he would like to get to his family's *Vikend* (Weekend country home or cabin). When I asked him about it, he said it is beautiful but that settlements encroach on the area as Ljubljana's suburbs continue to expand. Lighting another cigarette he explains that some of his fondest memories are of his time as a boy going to the *Vikend* or to the seaside. He explained that the Slovenian seaside is nothing compared to Croatian Istria and Dalmatia. “In the old days, before the [Yugoslav] war, all the families I knew would go to the seaside. We always packed in our little [Zastava] *Fičko*. That was such a wonderful little car. Sometimes I think about finding one and fixing it up but I don't have any place to store it in the city”.

From admiration to contempt, contentment to encroachment, from nostalgia to resignation, Peter traversed the terrain of daily, quotidian emotions in our conversation. These emotional aspects are important when considering the nature of social identity.

Emotion and sentiment as dimensions of identity

One aspect of national identity discourse is its reliance on emotional resonance of imagery, symbols and acts of national identity. Responses to flags and other symbols of national identity can invoke powerful, visceral responses. The emotional component of the individual (and thus the group) is therefore of keen interest in understanding the national identity (re)production. But how is emotion to be understood not simply on the individual level but at the group level? Is salience given to particular emotions in Slovenia? And how do these emotions manifest in quotidian, everyday affairs? How are they involved in the identity work of the state?

William Lyons (1985, *passim*) suggests an overarching general categorization of approaches to emotion in Western scholarship as being either “Feeling”, “Behaviorist”, or “Psychoanalytic” in nature. Lyons begins by examining Descartes and his thoughts on emotion, then goes on to include Hume and William James within this category of “feeling” approaches, namely experiential explanations (1985:1-17).

According to Lyons, the “behaviorist” approach includes such behaviorist scholars as J. B. Watson and B. F. Skinner (1985:18). Watson defined emotion as a “hereditary ‘pattern-reaction’” that affects the “visceral and glandular systems” (Lyons 1985:18, cited from Watson 1919:195). The behaviorist model discounts the non-observable internal states, instead privileging observable behavior. The Psychoanalytic approach of course includes Sigmund Freud, Carl Jung and others. In Early Psychoanalytic theory, Sigmund Freud tied emotion often to sexual desire and an individual’s attempts to control their sexual desire; however emotion was

a complex construct for Freud, consisting of physiological realities as well as being experienced psychologically, rooted at least somewhat at an instinctual level (Hillman 1992:54-65).

William James and Danish Physician Care Lange, independently came to similar models of emotion in which emotions arouse from specific physiological stimuli (Lyons 1985:16). Later scholars such as Walter Cannon and Philip Bard argued the inverse relationship between emotion and physiological sensations, to wit, emotional states cause physiological sensations (Lyons 1985:16). In the 1960's Stanley Schachter and Jerome Singer argued that emotion is both cognitive and physiological in nature (1962). Richard Lazarus argued that emotions are the result of cognitive acts of "appraisal" of specific events (1991). Silvan Tomkins argued that affect (which he defines as the outwardly observable physiological emotional responses) falls into one of nine different manifestations, depending on the emotion that caused it (Tomkins 1963).

Scholars have long accepted the supposition that emotion is intimately tied to notions of the "self", and therefore to identity. Social Interactionists argue that it is a process of roles and interactions between those social roles and emotions (also results of social roles) that identity is created (Stryker 2004). However, roles are not actors, individuals are. Even Marx acknowledged this point in his conception of the individual. Marx's "*Gattungswesen*" or "species-being" followed then current Hegelian modes of thought, and modeled human nature as in essence a social being capable of self-reflection and self-construction and at the root of such construction is freedom to utilize one's own labor (Basso 1996:23-36, Skempton 2011).

Anthropology of Emotion

The anthropological inquiry of emotion can be characterized by several theoretical orientations (Lutz and White 1986). One approach is that of examining emotion from an

evolutionary perspective. Charles Darwin himself was quite interested in emotion, publishing *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* in 1872. Following Darwin, several scholars have attempted to approach emotion on evolutionary grounds, (e.g. Lazarus 1991, Ekman 1993, 1999). Evolutionary arguments in anthropology also tend to be universalist ones both as efforts to argue the universality of emotions in “common sense” approaches and more analytically framed approaches (See Lutz and White 1986). However, contra those approaches are those of social constructionists whose particularist views argue that the pervasive, persuasive influence of society and the social setting heavily shapes the nature and character of emotions and that they manifest in a given social milieu. An intermediate position is one which argues the existence of an underlying set of emotion states but that manifest them in a variety of locally realized emotional constructs. For example, some scholars liken emotion to the “principles and perimeters” of Chomskyan “Universal Grammar”, and follow the linguistic analogy suggest “emotional dialects” (Elfenbein and Ambady 2002). Other scholars have looked at the changing frequency of emotion terms within literature, both fiction and non-fiction and mapped the different frequencies and trends within a language (Acerbi et al. 2013).

The theoretical position I espouse is one that holds that there are a series of evolutionarily determined base-line emotion states, rooted physiologically, that may manifest differently depending on societal and social-interactive contexts. Further, this may give rise to important locally realized emotion states, beyond Ekman’s seven basic emotions (anger, contempt, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, and surprise) (1983, 1999). Indeed while there may be a finite number of universal emotion-states, ethnographic evidence suggests that humanity has a much richer tapestry of emotional expression and realization.

One key to approaching the question of emotion is the acknowledgement that emotion is bound up in a complex series of emotion-states, emotion transactions, emotion interactions and various emotional expressions. An emotion such as “anger” is not only a physiological experience, or a cognitive model of emotional “feeling” and emotional “behavior” but it also one that is highly social. This social context of emotion includes external cues and stimuli, interactions with other emotions (of the self and other), as well as social pressures and restrictions on the realization and experience of those emotions upon the self and the group. Geertz argues that ideas as well as emotions “are cultural artifacts” (1973:81).

Thus, here I will sidestep the thorny issue of whether emotion is evolutionarily adaptive or a socially constructed model of behavior to instead focus on locally realized emotional states and the societal values surrounding them. Regarding emotions, it is in the context of the *social* that I will focus upon because my broader inquiry is how societal institutions shape conceptions and perceptions of one’s own national identity.

The rest of this chapter will explore five culturally/societally shaped emotions: envy, neighborliness, industriousness, nostalgia and insecurity. I focus on these as a result of finding them strongly represented in the conversations and national narratives I encountered while in Slovenia. While I use the most basic of English translations here, I will unpack the Slovenian terms/concepts more fully below.

While emotions are, in part, internal mental states, constructs or actions, it is important to also note how emotions are also locally conceptualized. In Slovene, to feel (*občutiti*) emotions etymologically hints toward a surrounding or encircling suggesting an implicit spatial component to how emotions might be experienced (Będkowska-Kopczyk 2012). Many emotion states are semantically linked to the “around-ness”, “surrounding” prefix of o-/ob-. A few are such

emotions as: *Obzalovati* (to regret, to be sorry), *ozalostiti* (to sadden), *oplasiti* (to frighten) *oznevoljiti* (to irritate), *obzidati* (to surround), *osreciti* (to make happy), *ogorciti* (to outrage) *obozevati* (to worship, adore), *obcudovati* (to admire), *osramotiti se* (to disgrace oneself) (Będkowska-Kopczyk 2012, Lečič 2005). This is important to shedding insight into folk models of emotion construction, as they suggest not only semantic constructions but also relationships to metaphorical constructions of emotion (Lakoff 1987, Kovecses 2003). These verbs of “feeling” certain emotions suggest a folk model of emotion based on the notion of encasement of personhood within emotions. This suggests as a “cultural category” (Lutz 1986) or model, that emotions are conceptually, somehow (at least partly) external to the self.

Priden / Industriousness

Slovenian farmers are nothing if not pridni, a word which means industrious, diligent, hard-working. Priden, I have learned early and repeatedly, is the most favored of all Slovenian adjectives. It perfectly expresses the aspect of the Slovenian soul that yearns for the north, for Teutonic efficiency, for all that is Habsburgian, conservative, bourgeois, orderly. Its flipside, of course, is the wild primitive south. Babies who sleep through the night are pridni. Women who don't scream while giving birth are pridne. Men who take out the garbage are pridni. Housewives who hang out their laundry to dry, or put out a pot of geraniums on the balcony rail, are pridne. Foreign students who master the six cases of Slovenian language are pridni. The only people in this industrious society who are not pridni, as far as I can tell, are the southern laborers working twelve-hour days on all the construction sites around the country: the new gastarbeiter of Slovenia. They, I am often told, are lazy (Debeljak 2009:126).

The day I learned the word *priden* was when a Slovenian language instructor commended my use of a particular case on a homework assignment. When I asked her what *priden* meant, she looked a bit taken aback, as if I had asked her what the color of grass was. A momentary confusion at the question flashed across her face before defining it to me in a perfunctory way, as “hard-working” or “diligent”. At the realization of the complement I felt a bit embarrassed, as she smiled at me in a most approving way. This was my first encounter with *priden*.

As Debaljak explains above, *priden* is a word used to describe others, however what she fails to note is that it rarely is used to describe one's own behavior. It is something conveyed from outside of the self, from others. It is a complement for behavior that implies strong moral forthrightness that underlies or motivates those actions that are being commended. It goes beyond a simple acknowledgement of "doing a good job", it has moral implications as well, and it is tied to emotional sensations of gratitude, a feeling of accomplishment, etc. Acknowledgement of industriousness is therefore, in part, a statement of a person's value in the community at large and by one's neighbors.

Sosedstvo / Neighborliness

The new good neighbor referendum was voted down because the way it was talked about in the media, like they wanted to make being a good neighbor illegal or something. Really it was about stopping contractors from avoiding taxes. It would happen that inspectors would come to construction sites where people were building onto their homes. In communist times in Slovenia people were always building on their houses because of lack of concrete or bricks and so on, people were always building on their houses and neighbors helped each other. Even today Slovenes are always working on their houses. It is what Slovenians do...that and working in their garden plots. So inspectors would come and see that it wasn't builders working, just neighbors helping each other. Now, inspectors will go and the house owner will say the same thing but he points to a bunch of Bosniaks, Albanians and Macedonians and say "my neighbors are helping me" even though they can't speak Slovenian. They are working for a carpenter and are not neighbors. Janez 37, owner of automotive supply business, Ljubljana.

In 2011 a Sunday "super" referendum (*superreferendumska nedelja*) was held on regarding a number of potential laws. Among them were reforms of the pension system, a change in access to state security archives and reforms on illicit labor via agro-tourism reforms and reforming what Janez characterized as so-called "good neighbor" laws. All three were soundly defeated (Državna Volilna Komisija 2013). Janez had expressed frustration over the manipulation of public perception of the "good neighbor" law debates. He also expressed concern over illegal labor and illegal immigration and of the exploitation of laws meant to allow neighbors to help

each other. Slavko Kremensek, writing of Zelena Jama, a community on the outer limits of Ljubljana noted:

Throughout the period between the two wars the settlement of Zelena jama still preserved a few traits demonstrating the close mutual relations of the inhabitants. Thus the women, especially the older ones, used to meet and chat in front of their houses. In the evenings a smaller or bigger group often met for choral singing. Whenever an inhabitant died, a representative of almost every house took part in the funeral. Reciprocal help either with work or money was not rare. People helped each other at work to enable their neighbor “to make it cheaper.” Further, they added: “In case of need, you’ll help too!” (Kremensek 1970:294).

This communitarian mutual support that was still in place in the 1920’s and 1930’s was part of an older pattern of community interdependence in Slovenia; one whose dissolution has not gone by unnoticed. It is one associated with rural communities but even there the nature of “mutual help” has become restricted to strictly agricultural endeavors (Barbič 1998:262). As Filipovič notes: “almost all (92%) respondents state that good relations with their neighbors are important, a high share (61%) know the majority of their neighbors and are friends with some of them, and more than half (54%) feel attached to their neighborhoods” (Filipovič 2008:724). And yet “[t]he share of people who trust their neighbors is less than half (44%); however, compared to generalized trust it is significantly higher (the share of people who trust people in general is 15%)” (Filipovič 2008:724). The 2008 European Values Survey gives the levels of societal trust a bit differently with 24.2% saying they felt that most people can be trusted while 75.8% said that one can’t be too careful (EVS 2011).

Zavist / Envy

*Wrath is cruel, and anger is outrageous;
but who is able to stand before envy? Proverbs 27:4.*

The concept of neighborliness is further complicated by the dominant discourses of envy. It is a national stereotype that Slovenes are envious and that this was believed to be common

knowledge (Gronold 2010:278). Janez, quoted above also told me a joke “*a farmer found a lamp and a genie appeared and said ‘I will grant one wish, but whatever I give you, your neighbor gets twice as much. The farmer new exactly what he would wish for; ‘I wish for me to have ½ a stroke’*”. This sort of black humor is rooted in Slovenian notions of envy, “*zavist*”.

In a recent conversation with a Slovenian academic, I mentioned I was pondering the role of *zavist* in Slovenian society. His response was “It is a goldmine”, meaning it was a topic that had a depth of importance that would yield much. He added, “[envy] is as common in Slovenia as are consonants”.

Figure 13. "What is Slovenia's national sport?"



Companion booklet to a Summer Design course who did a project and brief museum display about Slovenian Identity in 2011 (Vogelsang and Fras 2011). The answer to the question “What is the Slovenian national sport?” is “envy”.

Envy has been a matter of some interest to Western philosophers. Aristotle defined envy as the:

“Pain at apparent prosperity...and in the case of equals, not because the envier wants the thing but because the other has it. Envy will be felt by those who have, or seem to have, [been] equals. By ‘equals’ I mean equals in birth, by kinship, in age, in moral state, in reputation, in possessions. They will envy, too, those who just fall short of having everything. Hence men of great deeds or fortunes are envious; for they think all men are robbing them. So are they that are signally honored, especially for wisdom or prosperity” (Ross 1952:95).

Later, Kant observed:

Envy (livor) is a propensity to view the well-being of others with distress, even though it does not detract from one's own. When it breaks forth into action (to diminish well-being) it is called envy proper; otherwise it is merely jealousy (invidentia). Yet envy is only an indirectly malevolent disposition, namely a reluctance to see our own well-being overshadowed by another's because the standard we use to see how well off we are is not the intrinsic worth of our own well-being but how it compares with that of others... Movements of envy are therefore present in human nature and only when they break out do they constitute the abominable vice of sullen passion that tortures oneself aims, at least in terms of one's wishes, at destroying others' good fortune. The vice is therefore contrary to one's duties to oneself and others. (Kant 1996:206).

Rawls, writing about the nature of justice echoed Kant's conception of envy as “the propensity to view with hostility the greater good of others even though their being more fortunate than we are does not detract from our advantages”(1971:532). Smith and Kim define envy as “reasonably defined as an unpleasant, often painful emotion characterized by feelings of inferiority, hostility, and resentment caused by an awareness of a desired attribute enjoyed by another person or group of persons” (2007). Whereas Parrott and Smith delineate jealousy from envy: “Envy was characterized by feelings of inferiority, longing, resentment, and disapproval of the emotion. Jealousy was characterized by fear of loss, distrust, anxiety, and anger” (1993).

As Varian points out, envy is tied to notions of fairness and equitability (1974). Envy implies a kind of symmetry (or an expectation of symmetry) in relationships (Varian 1974). Similarity of the person experiencing envy and the target of that envy is also a factor according to Smith

and Kim (2007). It is something that Foster frames as potentially dangerous to the society or community as a whole (1972).

Zavist, or envy, was historically speaking, a source of tremendous danger in Slovenia.

Miriam Mencej points out that envy could become supernaturally charged:

“The witch is supposed to have used several magical techniques or other methods of causing harm which originate from various degrees of intent, control or lack of control over the destructive power of envy. ... those ways of doing harm to other people on which witches are supposed to unleash their envy through various parts of their body (evil eye, evil tongue/speech, evil touch and perhaps evil gift– as it is given from the hand)” (Mencej 2007).

And:

“...it is possible to cause harm just by giving intentional praise – especially of small children or animals. All praise which occurs in a milieu where it is generally known to be forbidden is naturally received with suspicion. Harm done through direct threats which are supposed in the majority of cases to be effected [sic] soon after they are expressed was very rarely encountered. Both of these methods of doing harm could be included in the category of ‘evil speech’. Envy can also work through an ‘evil look’, which is also referred to here as ‘hurtful eyes’ or ‘damaging eyes’ (i.e. the ‘evil eye’). This method of doing harm seems to be limited only to a certain number of individuals who have such powers as evil speech, and does harm mainly to small children and animals. More rarely we encountered evildoing through an ‘evil gift’, i.e. a gift which is supposed to have harmful effects on an individual, or through an ‘evil touch’, the consequence of which is the illness or death of animals” (Mencej 2008).

Thus, in the peasant histories of Slovenian villages, envy was viewed as a primary and primal disruptive force. Mencej notes “[t]he line separating an envious neighbor and a village witch is not always easy to determine” (2008). This would suggest that the subtle manifestations of ordinary, quotidian envy may mirror the supernatural variety and that an envious neighbor is thus a dangerous one. Envy, of course, has been noted elsewhere as motivation for witchcraft accusations and the power of sorcery as well (Stein 1974, Evans-Pritchard 1976: xvii, 33–53).

Envy can rear its head in popular recreational activities such as Salsa dancing in Slovenia (Pušnik and Sicherl 2010:119) or in the attitudes of the police (Lobnikar and Pagon 2004), or with personal possessions. While interviewing independent documentarian and film maker Maja Senekovič (who also goes by Haidy Kancler)⁵⁴ she began to discuss the changes in Slovenia in recent years:

“I think now Slovenia is becoming a car culture. A lot of people I talk to are obsessed with cars and some people envy someone who has a nice, new one”.

Envy even appears in the earliest of Slovenian language texts. The earliest known written Slovenian text, the *Brižinski spomeniki*, dates to about 1000 A.D. and it discusses the envy that the Devil felt toward mankind (Klemenčič 2005:125-126).

One example of *zavist* (envy) is the decision that its inclusion was warranted for a locally produced “fact book” about Slovenia, meant for tourists (Chvatal 2003). Another example of the centrality of *zavist* (envy) within Slovenian media is a program on RTV Slovenia, a nighttime talk show *Polnočni Klub* (Midnight Club) recently aired (January 13th, 2013) with a panel including a psychologist, a life coach, a professional athlete, and a former politician who was also a recent judge on the European court of Human Rights, along with the host-journalists. The name of the episode was “*Zavist Gori*”⁵⁵ (Burning Envy) and they discussed envy in Slovenia.

Within the political sphere, in an editorial within the Slovenian Times, Jaka Terpinc observed of a turn within recent political campaigns:

⁵⁴ In 2010 she made a short film for RTV Slovenija about how non-Slovenians (generally Western European, British and American) residents of Slovenia perceive Slovenians (Senekovič 2010).

⁵⁵ *Zavist Gori* can also be translated as Envy Mountain, suggesting perhaps both the immensity and gravity of the subject as well as the centrality to Slovenia, as mountains (especially the various Alps) are heralded as having a huge impact on the “national identity” of Slovenians.

It all began with the revelation that candidate Zoran Jakovič owns more property than he has declared to the media. The reason for the outrage was not so much in the fishy elements of Jakovič's story, but in the fact that he owns more than just a house in Ljubljana and a meadow in the countryside. Being one of Slovenia's most successful and most highly paid manager doesn't make him an exception to the rule that owning more than an average citizen is the mortal political sin. It became clear that the notorious Slovenian envy has broken loose and the campaign has turned into a competition in humbleness (Terpinc 2011).

Thus, notions of envy (“*notorious Slovenian envy*” as Terpinc describes it) also enter into discussions of political campaigns if not the campaigns itself. The public protests of 2012 and early 2013 over allegations of corruption, cronyism and incompetence as well as the economic pressures and moves toward austerity measures, have at their core a question of “fairness” and “symmetry” of relationships, but I think few of those on the street would characterize their protests against the government and banking sectors as being a matter of envy (although some bankers or other economic elites might beg to differ)⁵⁶. That a large number of “old elites” transitioned and held onto their positions as elites during and after the democratic transition (Iglič and Rus 2000) also suggests an economic and political order which may have failed to live up to the promises of DEMOS and the reformers, often former members of the Communist Party (Prunk 2008:211-214, Štih et al. 2008:540).

Shifting images of Slovenian emotion

Peter Stanković examined Slovenian Partisan films (films with stories that take place during World War Two, involving Partisans) from the 1950's on and discussed its role in the construction of Slovenianness (2008). In early films, pan-Slavic themes are often found. Slovenians are presented as empathetic, emotional people and the Austrians, Germans or Italians

⁵⁶ However, there is some suggestion that envy, if comparable to American notions of envy, may be psychosocially and cognitively “beneficial” for the individual. In a series of experiments, Hill, et al. (2011) demonstrated heightened memory recall in cases where envy was evoked.

are presented as not only cruel, but cool, detached, and unemotional (Stanković 2008). By the 1960's Slovenians began being portrayed as calm, rational, detached, stoic and unemotional whereas other South Slavs were portrayed as fiery, eruptive, passionate, and irrational (Stanković 2008).

Majhnost / Smallness

One of the most enduring, dominant narratives in Slovenian public and private discourses is the issue of national size. It has been expressed in terms of political insecurity in the face of the European Union and it was portrayed to me as also a matter of social limitation. One Slovenian I talked to explained that the country induced in him a kind of social claustrophobia.

There is no place you can go and be anonymous. Everywhere you go there are people who know who you are and know all your personal business too. I think it must be wonderful to be in America where it is so big you can go and be somewhere where not everyone knows all of your 'dirty laundry' –Jan, 34 year old office manager.

This smallness is both a point of derision by the Slovenians I talked to, and yet such a small place is replete with intraregional variation (see chapter three) but also ecological and topological diversity including mountains, river valleys and lakes, coastal territory, karst, et cetera.

Nostalgija / Nostalgia

What is Old is New: Yugo-nostalgia, Tito-nostalgia

The transformation of Slovenia into a modern European society, liberal both politically and economically, has not been without its detractors. Slovenia is not only a new country, it is also a young one. Just as elsewhere in Eastern Europe (e.g. Germany (Berdahl 1999), there has been a trend of romanticization of prior political order and the nature of Communist or Socialist society in the past. This nostalgia is multi-dimensional. On one level, it is the realm of touristic kitsch; the

realm of (often ironic) fetishizing of the images and symbols of the past. On another level it is the realm of grandparents and pensioners who long for either their youth or the social safety of the past. There are also those whose political ideologies align closely to past regimes and finally there are those who mobilize this nostalgia as commentary on the current condition of society. Štih et al. note the shifting attitudes directed toward the Communist past:

In the second half of the 1990s, opinion polls began to show that the primarily negative view of Communist Yugoslavia that had prevailed during the early post-independence years was gradually changing, as more and more of those polled said that they had relatively good memories of it (Štih et al. 2008:561).

Boym (2001) explores the concept of nostalgia in the “East and West”, and its evolution from medical condition to commercialized product. She suggests two types of nostalgia, restorative and reflective (Boym 2001). Restorative nostalgia is one that seeks a return to a purer, glorious, yesteryear whereas reflective nostalgia is expressed by individuals through the partial rejection of (post)modern demands of the regimentation of time, instead using trappings of the past in the present in a post-modern reinterpretation of the present (Boym 2001). These nostalgiacs are aware of the ironic, fragmentary longing for the past and it is precisely this longing, not the object that is longed for, which is central to this second kind of nostalgia.

Mitja Velikonja (2008a, 2008b) attempts to examine specific brands of nostalgia within Slovenia, mainly Jugo-nostalgia and Tito-nostalgia which both fall within a broader “Red-nostalgia” of Eastern Europe (Bonfiglioli 2011). Whereas Boym suggested restorative and reflective motivations, Velikonja is more interested in the discursive aspects of nostalgia. These discursive acts fall into two general categories, a “top-down” hegemonic set of nostalgic discourses and a “bottom-up” discursive expressions that are considered “social facts” (Velikonja 2008a). Nostalgia is then a:

complex, multi-layered, changing, strongly emotionally charged, personal or collective, (un)instrumental narrative which in a binary way celebrates and at the same time mourns romanticized lost people, places, objects, and sensations in sharp contrast with inferior present ones, and at the same time regrets their irreversible loss. It is not (only) something intimate, like an innocent tale that fulfills itself; it can be also a powerful social, cultural, and political force with practical effects in its environment (Velikonja 2008a:135).

Velikonja readily points out that the “top-down” and “bottom-up” nostalgia discourses are interconnected and occasionally congruent, however, the distinction is still a useful heuristic (Velikonja 2008a:136 *fn* 2). To Velikonja, the key difference that “red-nostalgia” has with types of nostalgia experienced in other parts of the world is that “red-nostalgia” (and thus “Jugo-nostalgia” and “Tito-Nostalgia” discussed below) are inherently linked to the political system (Velikonja 2008a:136). “Yugo-nostalgia has taken on the role of a counter-discourse to the respective dominant public discourse” (Palmberger 2008:357). Consider too, that Yugo-nostalgia is widely held across different countries in the region, ones with decidedly different experiences of the breakup of Yugoslavia, suggesting it is something beyond the immediate violent traumas of the war that fuel the discourse (Palmberger 2008).

After WWII, a massive monument building campaign begun and the “[t]hree of the giants of the period were offered up to eternity in bronze and marble in the city: Boris Kidric (1912–53), Edvard Kardelj (1910–79) and Josip Broz Tito (1892–1980). Bronze and marble may be ‘eternal’ materials, but their use-by-date was much shorter than had been envisaged” (Jezernik 2008). As Jezernik wryly notes, the shelf-life of a monument is often far shorter than the monument builders would hope. With the independence of Slovenia, a project of “de-Titoization” occurred across the nation, with the removal of statues, busts and figures of Tito along with the changing of public squares and streets. Very few towns continue to have a Titov trg compared to thirty years ago. It became a

politically charged topic where in 1996, 81.5% of those polled wanted the monuments to stay where they were (Jezernik 2008).

“Yugo-nostalgia” is found in Slovenian popular or counter cultural circles (Velikonka 2008a, 2008b, Volčič 2007b, Stankovič 2001). A subset of the “Yugo-nostalgia” is a “Tito-nostalgia” (Seil 2010, Velikonka 2008a, 2008b). Indeed, his image has even been used to market alcoholic beverages as well as automobiles (Velikonka 2008a, 2008b). A “Yugo-nostalgia” themed bar operates in Ljubljana’s center and flea markets and antique market days in Ljubljana are invariably populated with various badges, pins and other Yugoslavian era ephemera for sale. As the topic of the marketization of “Yugo-nostalgia” is not the core of my project, I cannot comment on the frequency or volume of such consumption in the market, but instinctually one would assume the market vendors or corporate advertising agencies would not pursue such products or utilize such imagery if it did not in fact sell.

Aside from nostalgia of political figures and images, there are cultural signifiers or symbols of Yugoslavia in the 1950’s and 1960’s such as the local cola brand *Cockta*™ which have on occasion referenced their ties to the past with old commercial images and slogans such as “The beverage of our and your youth!” (Velikonja 2008a).

Further, a somewhat competing, romanticization occurs within the realm of “folk” music, based primarily on the northern regions of Slovenia. Television channels such as “*Golica TV*” carry hours and hours of music videos of music bands that are generally composed by young people. Aside from the technical and stylistic innovations that appear in the music, they generally display similar symbols and themes at some level fetishizing the rural character of Slovenia’s past as “*kmeta*” (farmers). In these music videos, the musicians are often in outdoor settings for a large portion of the video, invariably in a rural or semi-rural setting. They often consume alcohol at the “*gostilna*”, a

traditional rural inn or restaurant. Themes explored by these videos range from simple love songs to songs laden with imagery that suggests the lacking qualities of successful Slovenians (those who not only are successful in the capitalist market, but flaunt it). Additionally, these videos may highlight or honor occupations such as (female) bartenders or (male) fire fighters. These music videos, often highlight ethnic and nationalist symbols such as Mt. Triglav, Lakes Bohinj and Bled, hay racks (*kozolec*) or noise makers that are placed in fields to scare away birds (*klopotec*). Even ecological rarities such as the “human fish”, *človeška ribica* (*Proteus anguinus*) are mobilized for national branding. Romantic imagery mirrors that of German nationalist romanticism of the 19th century, which should not be surprising considering Slovenia’s historical location within the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian political spheres. However, I am in no way suggesting an inauthenticity or insincerity on the part of the consumers and performers. Talking to several Slovenian musicians and a music store owner, all corroborated that for most musicians it wasn’t a matter of manufacturing product for consumption but it was instead something they believed in and liked to do. Indeed, Slovenia’s musical industry is similar to its literary one in this way, as very few individuals make a living at writing or performing music. According to four individuals I interviewed an overwhelming percentage of performers, including “successful” top acts, have “day jobs” to support themselves. This mirrors the history of performers during the 19th century and early 20th century, where (often less well-to-do) farmers and craftsmen would also be performers (Cvetko 2007:20-21).

Nostalgia takes on physical, material form in the collection of items emblazoned with Yugoslavian and/or Socialist symbols, as well as objects emblematic of 19th century agrarian existence. These bric-a-brac, knickknacks, whimsies, etc. are tied to notions of identity and sometimes supernatural conceptions such as luck (Parish 2007). Breda Luthar observed that in Slovenia, women who were nostalgic were so more for products of the Yugoslavian era of the

1960's and 1970's more so than men, in part because traditionally shopping was the domain of women (2006). Luthar, quotes one man recalling shopping trips from Slovenia to Trieste:

"I used to buy technical stuff, things you needed but couldn't get here, or things that were cheaper there – like a radio, bike, later on tires, tools, car parts; and women, you know, they were buying clothes and bric-à-brac. There was lots of it in Trieste" (2006).

Shopping was seen as work for men and presented as both work and leisure for women (Luthar 2006). Even in 2008 and 2009, in my bus rides on the Koper to Trst (Trieste) route the passengers were overwhelmingly women.

The context of these nostalgic acts is a complex one. These acts occur within prevailing gender norms and within political and social structures of authority. With the anxieties of new state independence, coupled with a rapid adoption of more capitalistic social and economic patterns, as well as continuing urbanization, a Yugo-nostalgia has grown within certain segments of the Slovenian public. However, coupled with the "allure" of nostalgia (Boym 2001, *passim*) these discursive threads were often infused with pan-Slavic remembering which challenged growing anti-Yugoslavian, anti-"Southern" discourse found in media, government and other, more quotidian discourse arenas, often redeploying the concept quite differently (Stankovič 2001). This is important due to the negative attitudes towards Croats, Bosniaks, Serbs, Albanians and Montenegrins that continue to plague Slovenia (Žitnik 2008, Pajnik 2007, Zorn 2005, Kusmanić 2003, 1999). This strain of the Yugo-nostalgia focuses on the peaceful multiethnic past and is downplaying any of the actual ethno-national tensions that existed in Yugoslavia.

"I do not know why it was before where we were all one people with different languages but now distrusting everybody who is from the South. In this way maybe Yugoslavia was right. I see too much blaming of Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats, [and] Albanians, all for Slovenia's problems. It is not good." Rok, Ljubljana, Slovenian student, 20.

Roman, a man in his forties added:

“Different languages, yes but we also understood each other” Roman, Ljubljana, 40’s, IT specialist.

Some musicians have embraced Yugoslavian themes, such as Robert Pešut, aka Magnifico, who has blended “Balkan”, disco, pop, electronica, retro styling to create his own genre of music. Not Turbo-folk by any measure, Magnifico often offers up biting criticism about Slovenian bigotry toward “Southerners” and homosexuals, amongst other social critiques.⁵⁷ Portis-Winner notes of her field site, “[i]n Žerovnica nostalgia has a strong hold on everyday life. The sounds of threshing may remind villagers of an earlier atmosphere of collective activities, for example. Earlier times are often described as celebratory and gay, inscribed with greater autonomy and solidarity” (2002:154).

The longing for a Socialist past and its social safety net is what Herzfeld and others might call a “Structural Nostalgia” (Herzfeld 1997, Wolfe 2000, citing from Sampson 1999). I would expand the definition in the Yugoslavian case to include a nostalgia for a period (of admittedly somewhat coerced) ethnic and religious tolerance. As it was supposedly a requirement by the federalist system, it too would be “structural” as well.

“Kmetija-nostalgija”

Another form of nostalgia I hinted at earlier is what I call “*Kmetija*-nostalgia”. While agriculture was poorly managed in other parts of Yugoslavia, Slovenia “had an effective system of agricultural cooperatives, which helped peasants gain access to modern equipment and supplied them with farming information and loans” (Cox 2005:34). The *kmet*, a “peasant” or “farmer”⁵⁸, was a central part of the rural, agrarian peasant lifestyle until the 1960’s when

⁵⁷ For example Magnifico’s 2007 hit “Land of Champions”, a paean to Yugoslavia. The song integrates images from American Westerns of the early 1960’s with Balkan back-beats and brass, coupled with early 1960’s American electric guitar riffs.

⁵⁸ To my knowledge there is no linguistic distinguishing between peasant “*kmet*” and farmer “*kmet*”. *Kmetija* is a farm.

Slovenia went through a rapid transformation to more industrially centered economies (for example, see Minnich 1979). For example, in 1931, 58% to 60% of the population was engaged directly in agriculture⁵⁹ (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:13-14, Štih et al. 2008:362). Even today there is a higher number of workers in the agriculture sector than most of the EU, estimates averaging 7% percent in 1996 and 3% today⁶⁰ (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:13, *Statistični letopis Republike Slovenije 2012*). In the twelve year period from 2000 to 2012, the AWU (annual work units, a measure of full time individual labor input into an industry) fell from 107,809 to 77,012, a nearly 29% drop in labor units involved in agriculture (the use of machinery has declined somewhat as well) and total area of land allotted to agriculture has fallen 50% since 1971 (*Statistični letopis Republike Slovenije 2012*).

This yearning for an agrarian past is nothing new, indeed it is a classic trait of Germanic-style romanticism and is experienced in Europe as well as the United States. Exposure to the iconography of a “nostalgized” agrarian past are present in public fairs, events, traditional music performances, market days, tourist shops, and to themed restaurants for tourists. They are ubiquitous, from the center of Ljubljana to out of the way, back road *gostilnas*, rural wineries, and remote agro-tourist farms. These images are traded upon in official memory institutions as well. It is with some irony considering the long held tradition of land tenure by primogeniture which limited who could inherit land (Minnich 1979). While this tradition eroded, particularly in the 19th century and early 20th centuries, it continued to rely on extended family structures and residence patterns (Minnich 1979).

⁵⁹ Cox estimates 79% in 1921 and 75% just before WWII (2005:34).

⁶⁰ The number vary due to choices by the authors on whether to count seasonal help, help from fellow householders, and whether or not to include forestry into calculations of statistics on Slovenian agriculture.

Agro-tourism

Since independence, Slovenia has experienced a marked increase in agro-tourism (Bojnec 2004, Turk et al. 2005). Since the 1980's the number has more than doubled (Bojnec 2004). However, there has also been a history of agro-tourism or farm-tourism in Slovenia dating back to the 1930's (Bojnec 2004). These working farms take in tourists who can enjoy the rural setting, be surrounded by nature and partake of things like horse-back riding, hiking, mountain climbing, boating and kayaking. Additionally they enjoy the rustic meals served by the tourist farm. The appeal of such tourism may have to do with proximity to Austria, where such farms are also increasingly popular, however the tourism is highly localized with sixty percent (60%) of tourists coming from Slovenia itself (Turk et al. 2005). Portis-Winner notes that her field site, Žerovnica, turned to *turistčna kmetija* (farm tourism) in part to address shifting economic exigencies (2002:95-98). The appeal of agro-tourism is based in part on romantic notions of an agrarian past and desires to be outdoors, away from urban settings (Bojnec 2004).

Products of the farm, field, forest and hive

Identity is also enacted or realized through consumptive acts (Comaroff and Comaroff 1999, Handler 1984, Paulson 2006, Wolff 2004). In Slovenia there is generally a high premium placed on farm fresh products, with larger settlements playing host to outdoor farmer's markets. These markets will also often include vendors who sell imported fruits and vegetables, but those of Slovenian origin are seen as qualitatively superior. Additionally, there is an active tradition of harvesting wild fruits and mushrooms. One Gallery Guard and I discussed his passion for collecting such things, especially mushrooms. When I told him that my family used to go hunting for Morel mushrooms his interest was piqued.

One of the most emblematic of Slovenia's agriculture is that of bee-keeping which has a long history in Slovenia.⁶¹ Museums in such cities as Medvode and Radovljica are focused on this industry and tourist maps occasionally have "apitourism" sites marked. One detailed map I own is the 2010 Next Exit Tourist Map of Slovenia (Slovenian Tourist Board 2010) which shows at least 30 apitourism sites. One of the hallmark folk crafts of Slovenia, sold in every tourist center, shopping center or large bookstore are replicas of bee-hive panels, be they refrigerator magnets or full sized replicas, or something in between. The traditional bee-hive panel (*panjske končnice*) portrayed various subject matters such as folk tales, old sayings, religious and quasi-religious themed stories, supernatural elements, anthropomorphized animals, et cetera. The subject matter was usually treated humorously. According to the Slovenian Beekeeper's Association (czs.si 2014) there are over seven thousand beekeepers in the country which averages out to roughly 1 beekeeper per 257 persons⁶². In the United States the number averages out to be one beekeeper per 1,165 individuals (Hoff and Phillips 1989). Slovenia is the only European country to protect its indigenous bee, the Carniolan bee (*Apis mellifera carnica* Pollmann)⁶³. Also, since 2009, Slovenian honey is protected as a European geographical indicator trademark, akin to Champagne or Parmigiano-Reggiano cheese food products. The Carniolan bee sits alongside the Lippizaner horse as the two animals that are held up as emblematic of Slovenian identity.

⁶¹ Bee-keeping in Slovenia dates back to Anton Jansa (1734-1773) who the first to teach in Vienna's new apiculture school (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:28).

⁶² This number is an increase of 300 additional beekeepers from their 1995 numbers (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:28).

⁶³ Elsewhere I have seen the bee referred to as *Apis mellifera carniolica* (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:28, Kompan 2008).

Vikend

Several Slovenians I talked to either personally owned a *vikend*, their family did, or they were keen to own one. Going to the countryside is a major pastime in Slovenia. While “weekend home” ownership would be considered a marker of upper middle class (or higher) socio-economic status in the United States, in Slovenia, it is less so. As Slovenians became urbanized only two to three generations ago there are still considerable ties to rural existence (grandparents for example) who may reside in rural areas. Thus these nostalgic discourses “because of the divergence of experience and expectation generated by modernity” (Pickering and Keightley 2006:937) rooted in a disconnect that “is manifest in an ambiguous relation to the past and present” (Pickering and Keightley 2006:936).

Nostalgia “Rx”

Nostalgia had been recently explored for therapeutic purposes (Routledge et al. 2012, Wildschut et al. 2008). It is thought to have potential benefits in surrounding dementia patients with items from their youth or from their time as a young adult for example. A program is being implemented in over 60 various care facilities to help patients with dementia by providing quiet rooms decorated with objects and furniture like those typically found in homes from the 1950’s and 1960’s (BBC News Wales October 29, 2013). These “Rem Pods” are the product of a designer/entrepreneur and was presented to potential backers on a reality/game show-like program called Dragon’s Den on BBC2 in 2009, gaining the backing of 100,000 pounds for the project (Reilly 2013). Routledge et al. (2012) have done experiments which suggest indexing nostalgic feelings increases the “presence of meaning” in the participant and that nostalgic memories can mitigate “threats to meaning”. Thus nostalgia has gone from a *pathology* of the 17th to mid-19th century to become a *palliative* in the 21st century.

Priden, Zavist and Nostalgija as sources/symptoms of anxiety and insecurity

Priden, *Zavist* and *Nostalgija* are all involved with anxieties expressed both within the individual as well as the society as a whole. *Priden* is so universally valued, and treated as the ultimate of compliments, that an expectation of performance is maintained. To be lazy is to shirk responsibility and the social contract of cooperation within the public sphere. Individuals are placed in a seemingly contradictory position within society with its Western, capitalistically fueled emphases on the individual and the collective communitarian demands as members of society.

Zavist is grounded in anxiety in the perceived unbalancing of equality, the equilibrium of the communal. While Slovenia was economically successful during its tenure within Yugoslavia, post-independence has seen periods of financial instability. These anxieties are reflected in Yugo-nostalgia. Županov (1970) illustrated that the value of egalitarian distribution of social as well as material rewards, regardless of such conditions as differential skill levels and prevailing social order served as an impediment to adapting to capitalistic economic models of the West. Antončič (1993) some twenty-odd years later still observed a nearly universal concern for equality in Slovenia, however it is not perceived among Slovenians uniformly.

Insecurity

“I think we jumped into the EU too soon. We went from Yugoslavia under the control of Beograd [Belgrade] to being under the control of Brussels. It was because we were insecure” (Gregor, Ljubljana, Retiree age 67).

On a sweltering summer afternoon, during a bus ride to the outskirts of Ljubljana, Gregor, a retiree confided in me the opinion that Slovenia rushed into European Union membership less out of economic and political calculations than of nervousness. Before moving on to the topic of Tito, in which he discussed a conspiracy theory he had read regarding the replacement of Tito by

a proxy, or some sort of Soviet doppelganger by Stalin immediately after the war, Gregor bemoaned the fact that there was very little in the way of public debate over entering the European Union. The decision to join the European Union came fast on the heels of “Rejoining the West” and during the ongoing wars to the South.

This “Euro-skepticism” is rooted in part by discourses of external intrusion into national, regional, village and personal life. As I noted earlier, pile sort experiments showed marked skepticism regarding Slovenia’s position within the European Union. This anxiety is in part rooted in the insecurity of the current political and economic environment. Ceplak (2006) observed that Slovenian students displayed considerable concern over their insecurity. Serricchio et al. have noted a considerable increase in Euroskepticism across the Common Market due to the ongoing global financial crises (2013). The concerns over the process of Europeanization were evident in 2008 from both my ethnographic investigations as well as the European Values Survey (EVS 2011). Consider some of these statistics regarding the economy and the process of Europeanization feared by the survey respondents:

- 68.4 % of Slovenians sampled were somewhat to seriously worried about loss of social security, with 27.9% saying they were seriously worried.
- 51% expressed some to high levels of worry over loss of national identity or culture because of the European Union (with 21.2% very afraid).
- 74.3% were afraid it would mean a loss of jobs in Slovenia (very much afraid 41.9%).
- 58.6% feel poverty is either the result of societal injustice (40.6%) or as an inevitable part of progress 18%).
- 58.9% expressed lack of confidence in the government, with 53.4% lacking confidence in Parliament.
- 24.2% felt that “most people can be trusted” while 75.8% said that “one can’t be too careful” (EVS 2011).

Kobal Grum and Kolenc (2008), comparing Serbia, Spain and Slovenia in a series of psychological surveys determined that Slovenian “self-concept” was considerably lower, the implication that some aspect in Slovenian culture influenced “self-concept”. “Self-concept” is what a person thinks of him/herself and those aspects that individual wants to present to others (Kobal Grum and Kolenc 2008). Musek (1994, 2004) showed that Slovenians score much more highly than British respondents on the matter of introversion, a psychological orientation considered by psychologists as an asocial behavior. Kobal Grum and Kolenc suggested that Slovenians might flourish in the competition of the European Market, in part due to their understated “self-concept” (2008). However, others have noted that competition is not emphasized in primary school education (Smart et al. 2005). Instead, there is a heavy emphasis of “cooperation” within the classroom, with ample group projects during which students are encouraged to learn from each other (Smart et al. 2005).

Fowler identified the rise in popularity of heritage and nostalgia as part of collective coping strategy in the face of radical socio-economic and technological change (1992). As access to the past increased, memory institutions such as museums, archaeological sites, commemorative sites and historic homes rapidly increase in number (Fowler 1992). Thus we see the confluence of economic realities and acts of memory, such as nostalgia and also institutional acts of remembering with emotional constructs. Acts of nostalgia are then ways to draw into relief or contrast, prevailing social order, norms and predicaments with former ones, real or perceived. Nostalgia then acts as a discourse of contestation, of protestation of the modern. Therefore, images, artifacts, and narratives of the past may be repurposed by the viewer in a number of ways. A person may view them with any mixture of nostalgia for the halcyon days, curiosity about the past, amusement, bemusement, and gratitude for the modern. Thus historical and

ethnographic museums act as one locus for encountering the past and for constructing the self and an arena for confronting or fostering anxieties over perceptions of current social order.

Slovenian psychologist Janek Musek, attempted to approach the “national character” question while trying to avoid some of the classic pitfalls of essentialism and gross over-generalization characteristic of anthropology of the culture and personality school and of mid-century cross-cultural psychological studies (2004). Musek’s method was to look at statistical aggregates and speak of tendencies and not absolutes. While there are, in my estimation, some methodological concerns and conclusions regarding value hierarchies, he does come to some interesting assertions regarding the character of Slovenian psychology. Mursek, examined personality aspects gleaned by using a series of survey instruments used internationally such as the Freiburg Personality Inventory (2004). The scores indicated that Slovenians scored highly on dimensions of “Introversion” as well as “Psychoticism”, further evidenced by high suicide rates, depression, alcoholism, and car accidents (Mursek 2004). Whether Slovenians as a demographic / biological / social / cultural group has a propensity for “Introversion” and “Psychoticism” is of course beyond the scope of this dissertation. Besides, these notions of mental health and wellness are socially and culturally constructed as well as economically shaped. These definitions (Psychoticism and Introversion) are themselves laden with value and moral judgments and as such I am loathe to rely on such findings, other than to say that anxiety could be seen as a trait in both psychological categories. What is most interesting though, is that although Mursek states that the causes of such tendencies are impossible to currently know, he suggests:

“Slovenia is a small nation, which has been for the major time in history controlled by more numerous neighboring nations. Despite this, Slovenians have been permanently struggling for independence. Unsuccessful in these attempts, that could form a self-picture of being victims of mighty opponents, forcing them in the role of submissiveness. A submissive person would probably not complain if he would be held in a submissive position for this would be in accordance with the very nature of this person. But a dominant person would complain and rebel in this position, and if not successful, he or she would develop a resenting attitude of being an innocent and submissive victim of his aggressive oppressors” (Mursek 2004).

Even Mursek sees resentment developing in his nationalistically framed narrative of potential Slovenian personality profiles.

The anxieties surrounding one’s industriousness, and one’s acceptance by others is rooted in part in the homogenizing force of post-independence state and elite rhetoric and political action about Slovenian identity. These interface with anxieties about economic security and livelihood and are also reflected to some degree in a general lack of trust in the society. Also, Slovenia has been a place of frequently shifting political borders over the past one hundred years which can also induce considerable familial, social and economic hardships (Minnich 1989:164). When one considers the role of historical and ethnographic museums as places of knowledge and learning, as crucibles of identity creation, one must also acknowledge that emotional responses are part of that process. In the next chapter, I look at museums more closely and I illustrate those aspects of specific exhibits which index a communality that is perceived as being threatened.

Chapter 6: Museums

The government will not give any money to us and our museum has major problems with the mechanical system. Our collections can't handle the humidity, but what can we do? --
Marko 27, Maribor, Museum Employee⁶⁴

Introduction

One purpose of this work is to examine Slovenian museums as “*Lieux de Memiore*” (Nora 1989) in an effort to better understand the process of national and ethnic identity formation and maintenance. Having said that, we must examine the experiences of the museum-goer and the discourses of identity they are exposed to at the museum and whether these do, in fact, affect the museum goer. The historical and the ethnographic museum, as conceived of today, are not sepulchers of the past, but are seen as vehicles of education and public engagement (Friedman 2008; Illeris 2006, Kohl 1998, Trskan 2012). As such, these museums are actively as well as passively interested in influencing the museum-goer⁶⁵. This occurs at even the most basic level of simply reaffirming the societal and personal value of museums in and of themselves. If we accept that museums, as institutions, do aim to influence the visitor, then the museum’s efficacy at doing so is a legitimate question.

Thus, I ask: do museums, as memory institutions, “work”, acting as sites of collective remembering and identity creation? Certainly in “a global context in where collective identity is increasingly represented by having a culture (a distinctive way of life, tradition, form of art, or craft) museums make sense” (Clifford 1997: 218) because historical and ethnographic museums

⁶⁴ We compared the funding issues of Slovenian museums and American ones. He was quite surprised to find out how little state-level (i.e. federal) support is given to most American museums (the largest ones excluded of course). He was also surprised to find out how big a role charitable donations play in the American system.

⁶⁵ Of course individual museums are rarely monolithic in their discursive positions or even the content of those discourses of politics, place and peoplehood, however one can attempt to examine the outcome of exposure to those possibly competing discourses that a given museum may house.

are often conceived of as sites of identity formation and civic engagement (Friedman 2008; Kohl 1998), but these models assume that memory institutions “work”. How can such a process be gauged? While this dissertation is, in part, an effort to address the first question, this chapter deals with the second one. After examining the “critical” turn in museology and briefly discussing the nature of the questionnaire used in this study, I will approach the question of museum discourses by sketching the general history of each museum in my study and then discussing the exhibits of each museum. I will focus on a few key exhibits and then examine some of the identity discourses in each. Finally, I will use survey data to examine whether these discourses have resonated with visitors. This study administered before and after questionnaires (surveys) of attendees and this is one possible measurement of attitudes and whether there was a change in those attitudes before and after exposure to specific discourses (see Chapter Two for a detailed description of the methodology).

Museums, New Museology and the Critical Turn

The 1970’s and 1980’s saw a “Critical” turn in the Humanities and Social Sciences.

Theoretical and applied museological practices also experienced this “Critical” turn.

James Clifford challenged museums to move away from authoritative curating of the past to that of acting as “a borderland between different worlds, histories and cosmologies” (1997:22).

Often called “new museology”, many of its social concerns are not necessarily new, “new museology actually follows the tradition among museum people dating back to the nineteenth century of considering the museum as an educational institution in the service of society” (Hauenschild 1998:1). A “new” museum is “defined by its socially relevant objectives and basic principles. Its work as an educational institution is directed toward making a population aware of its identity, strengthening that identity, and instilling confidence in a population’s potential for development” (Hauenschild 1998:3). New museology has at its core a development-oriented

directive, aiming to improve the museum's community through educational and economic development (Davis 2007, Ross 2004). Slovenia, too, has gone through these processes of critical re-evaluation in an effort to "humanize" the museum and give museums a more local, community-based orientation (Hudales 2007). In Slovenia, many of the "new museum practices" were first innovated by small, regional museums (Hudales 2007). Part of this re-imagining of a more "democratically" aligned museum has been the considerable amount of scholarship within museum studies that explores the question of whether museums engage in national identity construction and the quality or content of national identity discourses (Crang and Tolia-Kelly 2010, Dean and Rider 2005, Fladmark 2000, Macdonald 2003, Mason 2005, McAleavey 2009, Mclean 1998, Mclean Cooke 2003, Newman and Mclean 2006, Selmeczi 1983). These identity discourses are necessarily influenced by wider political and economic patterns.

Cents and sensibility

Fiscal concerns are a major challenge to the museum, as an institution, with an ever diversifying set of tools used to support the museum (Frey and Meyer 2006). However, Ross (2004) points to these economic concerns and the commodification of visitors in museums as being a significant factor in this process as well. He suggests that shrinking public and governmental support factored into re-conceptualizing citizens into consumers and that the museum is a competitor of a saturated market of entertainment (Ross 2004). The political economy of museums is invariably tied up in the larger economic and political concerns of a society and as such the narratives of museums are also thusly affected. However, Ross (2004) does point out that the museum as an institution and curators as professionals, are often slow to change thus mitigating the realization of such external economic pressures.

Museum objects

An expectation that is (I suspect) global in nature, is the expectation that museums house and exhibit *things*; paintings, sculptures, statues, artefacts, objects of some kind or another. The museum object is in essence what defines the museum (Kaplan 1994, *passim*). Foucault viewed the museum as a *heterotopia*, an institutionalized space where temporal disjunctions (items from different eras) exist in one place (Lord 2006). The arrangement of such items is an important source of meaning making. A number of important things to consider for an exhibition are space, lighting, typography, color, sound, layout, and how to display objects. These objects are selected for a number of reasons within an exhibit, including their purported authenticity, historical status, spiritual importance, representational quality (as a “typical” object), and as backdrops for other objects or texts. These objects are organized to construct narratives about the past (Kohl 1998).

One example from the Slovenian Ethnographic Museum included a section of an exhibit discussing the changing of state identity for a person over time. Envelopes postmarked from a period spanning most of the twentieth century from addresses that change over time from Austro-Hungarian, becoming from the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, through German occupation, on through Yugoslavian times until finally postmarked as from Slovenia. These objects are meant to impart the notion of changing external political realities (what is the state’s name) versus the personal reality (the same person is sending or receiving these letters over time). It is not the objects, per se, that are as significant as the juxtaposition of political changes over time in one place, essentially the same unchanged address.

Objects can be emphasized or de-emphasized using a number of lighting and other staging techniques (Barański 2008). Such objects have “social lives” (Appadurai 1996, Jones 1993); they have trajectories influenced by the realm of the social, they are manufactured, chosen,

saved, preserved, et cetera. Thus, even the most benign or quotidian object has undergone a considerable amount of social “accretion” or are burdened with a patina of years of social interaction and “[a]s active agents in the construction of knowledge, museum displays are increasingly being recognized as discrete interpretive documents” (Moser 2010:22). The objects within the museum go through a “re-socialization” (Bennett 2005) where the objects are re-ordered, re-interpreted or otherwise re-represented to deliver this new message in order to be effective at delivering a particular meaning to the visitor. These objects deliver meaning.

These objects may have previously acquired or acquire a sacred quality (Stier 2010), an object may be repurposed in the “accretion” of historical happenstance to become powerfully symbolic objects. Even everyday objects can become imbued with significance (van Dijk 2004). Some museums serve a double function as museum and as memorial. These memorials are places to specifically remember the past, usually a terrible one, viewed as an honoring of the dead as well as envisioning the memorial as a preventative measure, so that such a tragedy may never happen again (Crownshaw 2007, Stier 2010, White 1997, White 2006, Young 1993). Some of that is in the very contextualization that takes place within the museum, whether its mere presence in the museum or due to intentional (and possibly unintentional) staging choices, narrative displays or other curatorial choices.

Museum Labeling/ Placarding

The main ways that historical museums convey information is through written text or recorded audio or video. “The language of museum texts *actively constructs* meanings across each of the communication frameworks...and ...museums themselves are a kind of ‘text’” (Ravelli 2006:119, italics in the original). It is through a printed medium that the curator’s (and/or museum’s) voice can be most clearly heard. As we have seen, objects and photographs play a key role in constructing the exhibit and the choice of which objects to display heavily

involves a curator's professional skill and knowledge. And as such the object acts as a basis of the exhibit. Visitors are more likely to view an object before reading a placard, if they decide to read one at all.

One problem that presents itself to modern curators is the danger of "overly" authoritative language in the placarding. This concern comes from that "critical" turn in museology and the reflexivity that characterizes much post-modern and deconstructionist social science and humanities. This impulse can work against to the efforts of the museum, as a memory institution, that feels its mission is to represent the past, truthfully. However, there have been efforts to alleviate some of the controversy around object or exhibit by the use of counter-labeling (Strong 1997) which provides alternative interpretations to contrast with those "official" ones. Consideration for such alternative labeling systems is important due to the number of controversies that may surround traumatic events of the past (Zolberg 1996, Frykman and Hjemdahl 2011). Further, allowing the public to comment is also valuable (see for example Noy 2008). Often these efforts are driven by hopes or philosophies of "heritage as therapy" (Meskell and Scheermeyer 2008, Prager 2008). These ideas of "heritage as therapy" are built on assumptions about the healing power of narrative at some level or another.

[A]ll narratives, through dialogue, action, and reflection, expose narrators and listener/readers to life's potentialities for unanticipated pain and joy. Herein lies the spiritual and therapeutic function of narrative activity. Artists and healers alike use narrative to confront audiences with unanticipated potentialities, by either (a) laying bare the incommensurabilities of a particular lived situation, (b) luring the audience into an imaginary, even shocking, realm where prevailing moral sentiments do not apply, or (c) improvising a form of narrative expression that unsettles status quo principles of a genre (Ochs and Capps 1996:29).

However, museums as sites of memory construction often become sites of contestation, conflict or multiple interpretations and different museums catering to different nationalist or

other political narratives. One example is explored by Maruša Pušnik (2008) who examined how one historical event was represented in two historical museums very differently⁶⁶.

Museums have approached defusing controversy over cultural and historical interpretations of their exhibits in a number of ways. Some museums have not attempted to address possible concerns. Other museums have sought active involvement with their “stakeholders” by creating advisory panels, community outreach events and other methods of trying to accommodate the diversity of perspectives regarding the past as well as having external specialists inspect the exhibits (for example see Dean and Rider 2005). However, such encounters regarding potentially volatile political topics may in fact be contrary to the desires of the museum. Further, some suggests that weakening the authoritative voice of nineteenth century museum representation also steers museology toward the dangerous territory within certain corners of post-modern scholarship which is nihilistic and so insistent on decentering the authority of historical narratives as to render them discussing history untenable and present interpretations of the past which are based on facts that are blatantly false.

The Role of Curator

I asked five Slovenian curators at historical and ethnographic museums their opinions regarding the role of museums and of curators⁶⁷ (see Appendix K). When I asked them, why

⁶⁶ On December 10th, 1920 there was a plebiscite in Carinthia, a span of territory that was within the Austro-Hungarian Empire until the end of the Great War forced a realignment of territorial demarcations. The plebiscite was a vote to determine whether Carinthia would be Austrian or as part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. It was a plebiscite “was preceded by violent and intense election campaigns in both states” (Pušnik 2008). It is still considered an important event that acts as a touchstone for ethno-national identity discourses as well as catering to nationalist ideologies of their own state location (Pušnik 2008). Carinthia: *“was divided into a southern Zone A and a northern Zone B and since the plebiscite in Zone A already decided that Carinthia should become part of the then German Austria, with 22,025 (59%) votes for Austria and 15,278 (41%) votes for the then Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenians, the plebiscite in Zone B did not even take place. In 1920, Carinthia officially became a part of Austria and despite the fact that Carinthian Slovenians were granted the status of an official minority; the construction of the Austrian nation triggered the national struggle and nationalisation [sic] of all Austrian citizens”* (Pušnik 2008).

⁶⁷ For a history of museology and conservation in Slovenia, see Hazler (2009).

museums are important in society, their conceptualization of a museum's centrality to civil society is clear:

"Museums, collectors and custodians of heritage, which is always interpreted and knowledge to the public. They are the keepers of memory and identity, the very basis of human society. As such, the basic institutions for the identification of man and his environment."

Another curator said:

"They are more important than we are sometimes aware of. They preserve history of the national or local past, which should be a part of everyone's identity. You have to know past if you want to look forward to the future. But this is not so easy: the museum employees should try to explain this in a way for everyone to understand".

Another commented:

"They are mirrors to society, they communicate knowledge, values, history, they educate about heritage, they raise questions, they connect people, they give place for exploring and also place to contemplate".

Regarding what the role of the government should be in museums, one curator said to me:

"In the first place it is necessary that the government sit by people who understand the importance of heritage, museums and culture in general. Then it is just possible [to support] the activity of museums including financial support".

The result of conversations with these curators made me appreciate the demand for continuing professionalization of the curatorial profession (Veselko 2011) along with a belief in the double mission of museums as places of the past and places of both the present and the future.

"Learning by visiting, discovering, studying and researching museums in Slovenia helps to develop a positive and respectful attitude towards local history and cultural heritage" (Trskan 2012:5). This heritage is defined by the Republic of Slovenia as follows:

The term 'heritage' shall mean resources inherited from the past which Slovenes, members of the Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities, and of the Romani community, as well as other nationals of the Republic of Slovenia, determine to reflect and express their values, identities, religious and other beliefs, knowledge and traditions. The concept of heritage shall be taken to include those features of the environment which have been shaped over time by the interaction between people and place (Cultural Heritage Protection Act Article 1, 2008).

Dominant Ideology Revisited

The curators of these museums experience a number of external pressures regarding the content of the exhibit. Some are implicit, unnoticed and unmarked while others are highly contentious such as those that are political pressures. Funding for museums in Slovenia are primarily obtained through local governing bodies or through the state government with a heavy reliance on funding from the republic itself (Čopič and Tomc 1998:155). In Yugoslavia, a shift during the 1960's resulted in the financial obligations of supporting museums falling onto local municipalities (Čopič and Tomc 1998:151). "Museums found themselves on the verge of financial collapse" (Čopič and Tomc 1998: 151) Čopič and Tomc further note that eventually a governmental agency called the Cultural Community of Slovenia, began to fill the void, eventually requiring local governing bodies to contribute fifty percent of the costs (1998:151). This was short-lived however, and during the transitional period in 1989, the Cultural Community of Slovenia took over all budgetary decisions because of failures by municipal governments to handle cost-sharing negotiations and obligations effectively (Čopič and Tomc 1998:151).

The core governmental funds are primarily earmarked for covering wage and salary obligations of the museums (Čopič and Tomc 1998:153). State funding is required because "funds generated by entry fees, rent, museum shops and sponsorships rarely exceed 10 per cent of the museum's overall needs" (Culture.si 2014). While primary collections are supposed to

receive budgetary priority (Čopič and Tomc 1998:153) they are instead not the primary expenditure for exhibitions. “It is evident that considerable funds are being ear-marked for one-off exhibitions, while the basic working conditions and the level of technological equipment are far worse” (Čopič and Tomc 1998:153). This may in part be due to a number of factors. First, the Ministry of Culture attempts to help fill the void caused by under-funding (being unable to fund all the museums completely) by having competitive funding opportunities, but these competitions are open to all Slovenian museums and are therefore highly competitive (Čopič and Tomc 1998:151). These competitions favor applications for funding of new, one-off exhibits which also often require expensive, highly designed, elaborate exhibit catalogs which are costly to produce (Čopič and Tomc 1998:153). Finally, funding for building maintenance is funded through a small budget set aside to care for monuments (Čopič and Tomc 1998:153).

While there have been corporate partnerships and sponsorships, they tend to be quite rare (Culture.si 2014). But there have been a few corporate partnerships with exhibits such as the one taking place during my fieldwork in 2011 where Air Adria (Slovenia’s commercial airline) partnered with the *Narodni Muzej Novejše Zgodovine* (The National Museum of Contemporary History) to commemorate the company’s 50th anniversary. Therefore the funding for museums is a precarious matter, one filled with competition and uncertainty. This alone may act to possibly inhibit certain exhibition-types due to either the lack of popularity, lack of importance to the country (as deemed by the Ministry of Culture) or possibly ones that might “bite the hand that feeds” as the old aphorism goes. Additionally, employment at state museums, especially museum management positions, can be fraught with political influences. The departure of controversial director Jože Dežman. Dežman who was appointed director by President Janez Jansa shortly after independence, has increasingly become more conservative in his politics and

has often worked to incorporate (and critics would claim, champion) the positions and concerns of ant-partisans and their descendants. One curator who requested anonymity said filling the position was one that the new-ish left leaning government would take considerable interest, so the entire process would receive disproportional attention of the ruling political party.

The politicization of the museum space also took place from the grass-roots level as well. At the very same museum for example, a museum official told me that certain docents would be chosen to guide children through the exhibits depending on what town or region of Slovenia they were from. This way they could tailor interpretations to cater to the political opinions (about World War Two and the role of the partisans, and anti-partisans) of the children's parents. Certain regions were partisan hot-beds and certain areas were anti-partisan territories. This decision by the museum's leadership was in response to angry letters and phone calls from parents who disapproved of the interpretation their child had received. Thus there is also political pressure from ordinary citizens.

Visitors

But what is the interaction between heritage and the citizen? What about the museum's visitors and both their positions and their interactions with exhibits? Fyfe and Ross (1996) examined the role of social class on motivations of museum attendance. Their findings suggest notions that "museums are good to think with" (Fyfe and Ross 1996:148) as the families they interviewed had parents keen on imparting a thirst for knowledge and curiosity to their children, thus reproducing a kind of identity in the attendees. But, beyond choices to attend, how is the museum experienced?

Museum visitors do not catalogue visual memories of objects and labels in academic, conceptual schemes, but assimilate events and observations in mental categories of personal significance and character, determined by events in their lives before and after the museum visit (Falk and Dierking 1992:123).

To Falk and Dierking, museum visitation is by its nature a social activity (1992:5). “Not only do many visitors come to the museum in pairs or as part of a small group, but they also continue their visit as a shared experience with at least some members of their group” (Coffee 2007). Additionally, Museum visitations result in learning that lasts well beyond a particular visit to the museum (Falk and Dierking 1992). Indeed, a recent, extensive study found remarkable increases in student performance after visiting a museum, suggesting longer term cognitive improvements as well. (Greene et al. 2014, Kisida et al. 2013). While the cognitive improvements are compelling, they do not address identity creation per se. That is where the museum surveys fit in.

Discourse transmission mechanisms

To operationalize discourse “apperception” in the museum I turn to two distinctive but overlapping approaches to semiotics; those of Saussure and Pierce. I posit that discourses are composed of ‘*signs*’. As Hall notes, as “cultural objects convey meaning and depend on meaning, they must make use of signs” (Hall 1997, quoted in Berger 2010:17). Peirce better teases apart the intricacies of the *sign* beyond the duality of *signifier* and *signified* conceived of by Saussure (1966) as such I will rely on him here, even though his terminology is cumbersome at best. For both Saussure and Pierce, the *sign* was a process of signification. For Pierce though, there are three types of *sign*, or perhaps more accurately, modes the *signs* have to that which they “stand in for”, and these three types are the *icon*, the *symbol* and the *index* (Chandler 2007:36-37, Turner Strong 1997). The *icon* is a *sign* that mimics the thing it is representing in appearance or some other distinguishing quality. Its efficacy lay in part due to its similarity to that which is being referred to. For example, in the film *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977), the character played by Richard Dreyfuss keeps creating sculptures (first in mashed potatoes, later in

mud) of the Devil's Tower rock formation in Wyoming. These sculptures are *icons*, representing by its appearance *as* the thing. The *index* is a *sign* that specifically indexes, it points to something directly; for example, a person's pulse is indexing the pumping of his or her heart. The *symbol* on the other hand has no apparent relationship with the thing it refers to. A *symbol* is something arbitrary or dictated by convention but has no connection to that being represented. For example a road sign in Slovenia that is blue, round and edged with a red border and red line diagonally crossing it has no indication of what it could possibly mean, if you haven't been taught it.⁶⁸ What is most important to understand though is that this is a rough classification, as *signs* can operate at two or all three modes at the same time.

Following his fondness of trilogy, Charles Sanders Pierce had at his core conception of a *sign* as a triadic process. In this model of a semiotic process (or *semiosis*), a *sign* is tripartite. The *sign* has as its parts, the *representamen*, the *object*, and finally the *interpretant* (Pierce 1932:228). The *representamen* is that thing which is the carrier of meaning, be it transmitted visually, aurally, et cetera. Thus it is a thing that carries a semantic load that goes beyond its own form. It roughly corresponds with Saussure's *signifier* (Saussure 1966). To Pierce the *object*, which is the thing being referred to, aligns with Saussure's *signified* (1966). Interacting with that *representamen* (Saussure's *signifier*), generates in the mind of the beholder a version of that *representamen*, and it is that individually held conception of that aspect of the *sign* that Pierce called the *interpretant* (Peirce 1932:228).

I will use as an illustration of Pierce's *sign*, a photograph, in order to elucidate his model. In my hypothetical example, a photograph (the *representamen*) is of Mount Triglav. To my

⁶⁸ No Parking.

young daughter for example, it would be a picture of a mountain. Her *interpretant* component of the sign would be very different assessment than, say, a Slovenian child of comparable age.

The photograph of Mt. Triglav as a *sign* acts in multiple ways. It is *iconic* in that it represents a mountain, it is *iconic* because it also refers to a specific mountain. It *indexes* a specific geography and topography where the *object* exists. It is also *symbolic*, representing Slovenian ethnic and national identity, or as home of wintertime figure of *Dedek Mraz* (Grandfather Frost). Its *interpretant* component is contingent on whether it is *symbolic*.

In the museum, we have myriad signs conveying information for the beholder. The museum placards or labels:

employ the symbolic and iconic modes liberally (in text, on the one hand, and in diagrams, maps logos and tropes on the other), the meaning of labels is crucially affected by their placement; that is, by how they are juxtaposed to particular displayed objects, display cases, entranceways, ancillary material, other labels, and — crucially — viewers' gazes (Porter Turner 1997:43).

They are *indexical* due to their positioning next to display items according to Porter Turner (1997). However, I would argue that the very system of labeling is one that is *symbolically* grounded. There is no inherent reason that one would expect a label were it not part of museological convention.

Imperfect transmission

The lighting, sound, design and contents of an exhibit are a constellation of signs interacting with one another. A museum visitor is inundated with various significations, and this process of regarding the signs is not a perfect one. It is unreasonable to expect a museum visitor to absorb the entirety of a museum's various exhibitions, artefacts, spatial designs, colors, sounds, and so on. And in this regard, the replication of museum *representamens* (*signifiers*) into the minds of museum visitors is piecemeal, at best.

Additionally, there is the matter of mis-signifying. If a curator chooses a representational artefact or other design choice poorly, the result may convey unintended meaning (or possibly no meaning at all). However, curators are professionals very much concerned with the effective transmission of ideas, and as such, in the hands of capable curators, like the ones I encountered in Slovenia, mitigate such “mis-significations”.

Finally, following Pierce’s love of threes, the third complication to effective replication of the *representamen* (*signifier*) into the minds of the beholder, into an *interpretant* that duplicates the *representamen* (*signifier*) is the fact that once beheld, the transmission and the transformation of the *representamen* into the *interpretant* of the museum visitor, it enters into the webs of interpretations of these processes of signification in that person’s head. The *interpretant*, that is to say, that interpretation of the *representamen* (*signifier*) is placed within an individual’s own constellation of other *interpretants* within the mind of that beholder. That series of ever shifting constellations of *interpretants* could in some ways be considered a person’s *Umwelt* (Sustrup 2001). Thus, in my daughter’s case, the photograph of Mt. Triglav has no “extra” ‘semantic load’. She is unaware and not enculturated to understand this sign *as a symbol*. This is key. Different individuals will regard the *representamen* that are present in the museum *differently*. Thus, a poster from the *Osvobodilna Fronta*, the Partisans of World War II, will index and symbolize different things to different people. In Slovenia’s case, those differences can be quite radical/reactionary. Thus the ‘meaning’ of the *representamen* (*signifier*), namely the *object* (*signified*) is prone to reinterpretation. The communicative goals of museums then must necessarily be to transmit approximate ‘meanings’. These ‘meanings’ or their assemblage into larger clumps or clusters of ‘meanings’ are the discourses present within the museum.

Museum Surveys

Since I was interested in the effects (if any) of museum discourses on national identity, I visited several museums and gave surveys to patrons at four museums. 123 responses were collected. I divided the patrons into two groups; the first group answered surveys before they went into the museum exhibits, the second group were given the survey as they left the exhibit. No person filled out more than one survey (i.e. no one did both before and after survey responses). Further discussions on methodology can be found in Chapter Two. I performed the survey to measure any differences in responses between the “before” and “after” museum attendee groups.

The survey questions were generated in response to a number of different, mainly qualitative, sources: ethnographic, pile sorts, examination of museum texts and general theory more broadly. I constructed the survey also to see if there were interrelationships between the responses and to elaborate on these “factors” by using Exploratory Factor Analysis. “Factors” are clusters or structures in the data in which correlations of survey answering patterns are calculated and charted, demonstrating underpinning the responses to questions about Slovenian identity. The basis of Factor Analysis is grounded in the work of Charles Spearman and his efforts to explain correlations in student exam scores across disciplines (Bernard 2006:552). Bernard suggests that the idea that correlation reflects shared underlying variable is both “simple and compelling” and is “one of the most important development in all the social sciences” (2006:552). Further refinement of Factor Analysis has allowed scholars across a wide range of social sciences to examine a variety of social and psychological phenomena.

The data was collected at four different museums. This design cannot gauge a specific individual’s attitudes both before and after, the comparison of before and after survey responses

instead provides ways of “mapping” of semiotic relationships regarding Slovenian identity. Making sense of the survey responses requires also examining the content of the museums in question. It is important to note that I approach the narratives within the museums in both discursive and semiotic terms. Each object and photograph and each example of artwork used within the design of the exhibit acts as a sign, a signifier and a symbol. The text, as another discursive “channel” will receive attention as well. In the following sections I will describe each museum and its context before examining the statistical and the Factor Analysis results.

The Museums

To consider the role of museums in identity discourse transmission, I chose four museums. Of these, I spent the most time at the *Slovenski Etnografski Muzej*, followed by the *Narodni Muzej Novejše Zgodovine*, *Kobariški Muzej* and finally, *Partisanska Bolnica Franja*. The *Slovenski Etnografski Muzej* is of particular interest due to a recent addition to their permanent exhibitions that deals explicitly with identity. As such, I will take time to discuss that exhibit in more detail than the others, either at the *Slovenski Etnografski Muzej*, or at the others.

Narodni Muzej Novejše Zgodovine

The National Museum of Contemporary History is one of Slovenia’s most controversial museums as it deals with the recent past (spanning primarily the 20th century). This museum’s political controversy also stems from its genesis. It was originally a “Red Museum” meant to glorify the sacrifices of the Partisans and to promote an official Communist Yugoslav narrative. While this museum has made several efforts to shrug off the controversial association with former regime relationships, it now finds itself constantly challenged or mired in political debates. The previous museum director, Jože Dežman, was an outspoken public academic who challenged a number of current dominant historical narratives. He also served as the chair on the *Commission on Concealed Mass Graves in Slovenia (Komisija za reševanje vprašanj prikritih*

grobišč v Sloveniji) (see Chapter Four). He left the museum in 2010. (The current director is Dr. Širok Kaja). In March 2012, Dragan Matić, former state archivist was replaced by Dežman, a choice that Matić characterized as overtly political, remarking it was the first time that a non-archivist was given the position (RTV Slovenia 2012). Thus there has been a politicization of the museum from practically its founding. I was told by staff at the museum that the politicization of the museum's exhibits often lead to tailored tours by specific docents who would present a more acceptable narrative to the particular school group depending on what part of Slovenia they came from. It is also the site of recent civic engagement; a tank from the "10 Day War" stands outside the museum and in March of 2012 the entire tank was painted pink by vandals, museum director Kaja Širok contacted police, stating that "this is a serious matter, because we don't know how to return the tank to its original state" as the pink didn't wash off and she noted it might have been linked to an ongoing exhibit called "Slovenian Women in the Modern Age" (*Slovenian Times*, March 9th 2012).

While discussing my interest in museums with Marija, a woman who worked for the cellular company *Mobitel*, she told me that the National Museum of Contemporary History often alienates one side or the other in any given exhibition and that public sentiment results in the side who considers itself aggrieved by whichever current exhibition often refuses to visit the museum, personally boycotting it. She said she didn't go there but liked the other museums in the capital.

When I first visited the *Narodni Muzej Novejše Zgodovine* in 2007, a large hall on the second floor contained part of their permanent exhibit on the "Ten Day War". When I returned in 2011 the display had been reduced, perhaps to allow new museum exhibitions or content. At the end of the hall, there was a large screen playing a documentary about the war with news footage of the conflict. It continued, showing the various state rituals enacted by the political elites at the

time of independence and highly symbolic raising of flags over the capitol and on top of Mt. Triglav. The film ended with a kaleidoscope of images swirling against a cosmic, starry background. The images included Lipizzaner horses, Mt. Triglav, traditional costume, Idrijan lace, and other typical national symbols.

In the last few years, the museum has expanded to include exhibits regarding many different topics from gender (see the pink tank, above) to ethnic identity. For example, for two months (June and July of 2011) the museum displayed an installation by students in a summer design course held by the Academy of Design of the University of Ljubljana⁶⁹. One of the instructors, Alex Vogelsang, was a Swiss professor, teaching there for the summer. The decision to make an exhibition using visual and textual means to explore the question “What does it mean to be Slovenian?” They interviewed a few people on the street and recorded it with video. The questions they asked were: “How old do you think Slovenia is? What is a typical Slovenian? What is Slovenian Identity? What is your nationality? Are you proud to be that nationality? Why are you proud?” The idea came from the first days of the class, when the students were thinking about an interesting topic for their project (Vogelsang and Fras 2011). The results of the project were an exhibition, booklet and two films of Slovenians, young and old, discussing such topics as what typifies a Slovenian, Slovenia’s age, and what symbolizes Slovenia. It was surprising (and a little bit of a relief) that it had in many ways duplicated some of my findings from my work in 2008, namely the Free-listing and Pile-sorting exercises.

Kobariški Musej

Kobarid and the Isonzo Front (Soča Front) are in the Northwest corner of Slovenia in territory once controlled by Austria but the area was primarily ethnically Slovenian. The Kobarid

⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the website associated with the project is no longer active (Slovenianidentity.org) however, the videos are hosted at vimeo.com (<http://vimeo.com/user1965131/videos>).

Museum, opened in 1990, is an internationally celebrated museum, having won numerous awards including the European Museum of the Year Award in 1993 for the exhibits that pertain to the Isonzo Front (Soča Front) of World War One (Plut-Pregelj and Rogel 1996:140). This front was made famous in the English speaking world (particularly the American world) due to Ernest Hemingway's "*A Farewell to Arms*". The series of battles fought here between Italy and Austria-Hungary were grueling and bloody.⁷⁰ The museum has several floors of artifacts, photographs, audio clips and several large three dimensional displays of the mountains and the various skirmish and battle sites. The museum also hosts popular hikes across the terrain of the Front.

The director, stated that in no small part the museum has been heralded as successful as a war museum because it does not seek to glorify war but to reveal its inhumanity (2011, *personal communication*). One room in particular, the "Black Room" recounts the history of surgery and grievous wounds from the battles. It is a macabre part of the exhibit, but was not expressed in a voyeuristic or titillating manner. Instead, it presents the personal effects of the war on the human body explicitly. The museum is popular with both Slovenian and international tourists (especially Italians, Austrians and Germans but also Croats and those further abroad). The museum is well prepared for the international nature of its clientele with signage in Italian, German and English.

One factor that helps de-politicize the war is the intentional down-playing of nationalist rhetoric within the museum. The museum could have focused on the costs to Slovenians and to Slovenian lands. Instead, it attempted to emphasize the international component of the war,

⁷⁰ While this is an internationally recognized museum and the war itself was hugely influential for the fate of Slovenia, one scholar notes that World War One, in general, is scarcely represented in Slovenian collective identity narratives (Kranc 2009).

especially the Austro-Hungarian soldiery. I noticed only one corner of one room that explicitly looked at Slovenian troops and their experiences.

However, this de-emphasis on the specific ethnic components of the war is not entirely effective. One, the fact of having Hungarian, Czech and other groups fighting for the Austrians underscores its nature of an Empire at a time when empires were collapsing and crumbling under nationalist pressures. The First World War is often considered the end of the age of empires. Further, hidden linguistic cues are imbedded within the texts themselves, primarily through the names of the soldiers themselves. A soldier named Novak for example is unlikely to have been Austrian, but of a Slavic ethnicity. Therefore, while there are those who may not note these linguistic cues (for example, an Italian may not know if a name is primarily Austrian, Hungarian or Slovenian) others will immediately note these differences. I mentioned that it was interesting that the Slovenian nationality was downplayed to my research assistant Eva who directed me to the names themselves as underlining the ethnicities and nationalities of the combatants themselves. I had noticed several of the Slovenian names but my knowledge of the corpus of common Slovenian names is limited. This information is the kind of quotidian linguistic identity information that is found in the commerce of everyday life in every community across the globe. Thus while the museum as an institution and the curators as museum professionals have been very effective at de-politicizing the war and its ethnic and national components, the realities of the banal nationalisms (Billig 1995) of person and place names still inculcate the museum texts.

Additionally, this war was fought by Slovenian soldiers at the behest of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Not only were there large Slovenian casualties on the Russian Front at the beginning of the war, Austro-Hungarian ethno-national tensions were exacerbated during World War One

leading to “rebellions of Slovenian soldiers serving in the Austrian army [that] were among the most notable ones throughout the state” (Švajncer 2001:71).

Partisanska Bolnica Franja

Unique among the Partisan experiences of Yugoslavia are the field hospitals that operated in Slovenian territory. These field hospitals cared for the wounded and were often well hidden. The Franja Partisan Hospital was perhaps the most famous. It was never discovered by the German or Italian forces or their local proxies. The hospital was located in a very narrow ravine and all equipment (including an X-ray machine) was carried by hand into and out of the ravine. All wounded were also carried along winding narrow paths along the ravine into the hospital.

The hospital had numerous doctors and nurses, including an Italian, Dr. Antonio Ciccarelli, whom the hospital workers trusted completely. The museum was founded by Dr. Viktor Volčjak and was eventually named after a beloved Partisan doctor and administrator of the field hospital, Franja Bojc Bidovec. The museum cared for a number of soldiers including several allied forces (including an American soldier⁷¹), Partisans, Italians and at least one German soldier who upon recovery stayed to work in the hospital for the rest of the war (Volčjak 2004). In all, the hospital treated over 578 locally and well over three hundred more in mobile units, and the hospital's success rate was quite high (Volčjak 2004).

One key informant told me that the museum was popular up into the 1990's as a place for families to visit. It is an outdoor museum with several buildings, some precariously dangling over a stream some twenty to thirty feet below. When I visited the museum, parts of the back portion of the complex was closed due to falling debris from the cliff faces. Unfortunately a disaster on September 17, 2007 (*Mestni Muzej Idrija* 2013) occurred at the museum, caused by

⁷¹ Airman Harold Adams

severe flooding; nearly the entire museum was washed away. This was viewed a national heritage disaster (Praprotnik 2007) and it was deemed important to rebuild the museum, even if most of the artifacts and buildings were lost or destroyed. Thus, as the museum now stands, very little of it consists of the original structures or contents.

On May 22, 2010 the museum officially re-opened with new buildings and period artifacts to replace some of those lost. The re-opening ceremony involved Partisan veterans, museum officials, local politicians and primary school students. One decision the museum and curators made in the restoration of the museum was the decision not to try to make the buildings appear old. There was no attempt to “antique” the appearance of the buildings in order to appear authentic. Instead they constructed duplicates and painted them as they were, but there was no particular effort to use aged wood or other such methods of attempting to appear “authentic”.

Slovenski Etnografski Muzej

The *Slovenski Etnografski Muzej* (Slovenian Ethnographic Museum) is often referred to by its acronym, SEM⁷². This museum is a site ripe for (to repurpose Foucault’s phrase) an “archaeology of knowledge” production. If one examines the original permanent exhibits and those that accrued later, a clear shifting from the older forms of the ethnographic museum as site of the exoticized Other is evident, along with a shifting from the folkloric museum which not only documents a people’s past, primarily the peasant, agrarian past, in lock step with German

⁷² I point this out due to the meaning of the acronym. In Slovenian, all nouns, verbs, et cetera, modify their endings in agreement with grammatical case and number. While there is some repeated forms (for example in the nominative plural male animate person or animal noun, the ending “-a” is added. This is also the female singular suffix) and this occurs within verb conjugation (for example in the Dual present tend to have identical the second and third person like “to give” is “dasta” so to say the two of you males give something would be “vidva dasta”. Saying the two males in the third person give would be “onadva daste”). This linguistic system allows for personal pronouns to be often elided in spoken Slovene as frequently the semantic meaning is clear. For example, in Slovenian if I say “dam” it is understood that I am saying “I give”. The acronym SEM is also the first person singular present tense form of the verb “to be”. Thus, their acronym (in capitals no less) states unequivocally “I am”.

Romantic notions of *Volk* and *Kultur*. You see the shift to new ways of envisioning the museum as more than a place of the past, or of distant otherness, but of recasting itself as a contemporary place of meaning making.

The Slovenian Ethnographic Museum was founded in 1923 as the Royal Ethnographic Museum, but the core ethnographic and folkloric collection originally was the Provincial Museum of Carniola, established in 1821. Additional ethnographic material was included from the National Museum of Slovenia in 1923. The museum relocated to its current site in the quiet Tabor neighborhood which houses the city's hospital at its western edge. It also abuts an area now called *Metelkova*. This *Metelkova* site sits within the formerly Yugoslav military zone of Ljubljana. It is a neighborhood that is situated as a site of resistance, counter-culture and the youth social scene. After its vacancy, young people, artists and activists soon became squatters, occupiers, etc. One building, the jail, was converted in a renowned youth hostel (*Hostel Celica*). The *Mirovni Institut* (The peace institute) also is located here. The area is replete with wall murals and graffiti. As it sits in the north-central part of Ljubljana, within walking distance to the center and to the train and bus station, it has become both popular with youth and also a matter of concern for the city (with some confrontations in the early days with squatters). This museum site is now being repositioned as a hub of several museums and heritage institutions located within *Metelkova*, including the INDOK Cultural Heritage Centre, the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, The Museum of Contemporary Art, The Slovenian Cinema and the National Museum of Slovenia –*Metelkova*. The recent arrival of these institutions is part of the Ljubljana city and Slovenian national government policies to create a new cultural heritage zone within the city. All of these institutions fall under the purview of the Ministry of Culture.

Along with a bright, sunny courtyard, the position of the museum allows visitors to catch glimpses of the Alps looming off to the North. The courtyard is used for occasional open air craft and art fairs. Within the museum building itself is a large, friendly café that is always humming with activity. Since cafés are central to much social activity in Slovenia (along with the *trgovina*, the *lokal*, and the frequent festivals, concerts and other public events), it plays a key role in anchoring the museum to the surrounding neighborhood.

The museum's mission statement is as follows:

The Slovene Ethnographic Museum is a museum "about people, for people", a museum of cultural identities, the link between the past and the present, between our own and other cultures, between the natural world and civilization. The central museum of ethnology, with Slovene and equally important non-European collections in the field of material, social and spiritual culture, which the museum preserves, documents, researches and presents (SEM 2012).

A curator states:

One of the principal missions of SEM is to popularise the cultural heritage enshrined in our collections. In our attitude to the visitors, in communicating with them through exhibitions and events, we endeavour not to be merely an institution of an informative nature, but we strive to create a museum environment and atmosphere in which the visitors develop a positive, sensitive attitude to the cultural heritage and wish to understand it (Smerdel 2006:112).

The museum has a number of rotating exhibits, often dealing with a social issue (homelessness in Slovenia *Življenje na ulici: o brezdomstvu na Slovenskem* (Life on the street: Homelessness in Slovenia)), exhibits oriented toward a particular brand or commodity (e.g. Cockta™, Italian espresso machines), hosting numerous art exhibits and films (e.g. a French animator's works *Folimage des origines*), special exhibits built or based in part on collections within the museum (a "Sudanese Mission" from the mid 1800's exhibit) as well as visiting exhibits (Brazilian rainforest people, *Orinoco*). These exhibits can be expansive, taking up an

entire floor or be small, placed within a wing or room of the main or first floors. More recent exhibits have included an exhibit on Roma culture, a women's folk costume exhibit from Slovenian areas near Trieste, and an international exhibit about Carnival in Europe (in Slovene, the holiday is called *Pušti*),

The Permanent exhibits within the museum during my time there was the Folkloric collection *Med naravo in kulturo* (Between Nature and Culture), the children's section *Etno Abecedaž* (Ethno Alphabet), a selection of non-European ethnographic objects, and in 2010 the museum added *Jaz, mi in drugi: Podobe mojega sveta* (I, We and Others: Images of Our World) exhibit which deals explicitly with identity. The museum routinely has primary school students visiting throughout the year, as well as occasional special tours.

The children's section uses everyday objects and folkloric pieces that are arranged alphabetically to explore different concepts of Slovenian culture including both concrete examples like *Sveti Miklavž* (St. Nicholas, one of two (or three) Santa Claus-like figures in Slovenia, see Chapter Four) to more abstract concepts such as "play" and "time".

Examining an Exhibit's Discourse(s)

Within the Slovenian Ethnographic Museum (SEM) there are a few permanent exhibits. The most recent permanent exhibit added to the museum is *Jaz, mi in drugi: Podobe mojega sveta* in 2010 and is a collaborative project involving several of the museum's curators in an effort to contextualize what being a human being means while also incidentally highlighting particular curatorial specialties and interests. The exhibit is loosely framed on a novel by *Jože Dular's* "*Krka pa teče naprej*", "*And the Krka Flows Onwards*" (SEM 2010). In this exhibit, the visitor enters the gallery through a darkened area, with philosophical and scientific statements regarding the universe and ourselves. Central to this room is the illuminated image of a human fetus. The exit is obscured by dark curtains and one must search somewhat to find the exit and pass through

the barrier to the social world, organized by several themes. Leaving the darkened antechamber, the visitor is greeted with:

*Mozaiči podopisveta,
Med bližnjim in doljnjim,
Med preteklim in prihodnjim
med znanim in neznanim, med stvarnim in namišljenim ...
iščem svoje mesto.*

*In the mosaic of the world, between the near and the far,
between the past and the present, between the known and the unknown,
between the real and the imaginary...
I search for my place⁷³ (SEM 2010).*

As this exhibit is explicitly about identity, there are a number of written prompts that grace the walls, and these prompts either make declarative statements (as above) or ask questions such as “*Od kod si pa ti doma?*” (Where are you at home?) Or “*Kateri ljudje so mi blizu?*” (Which people are close to me?). By placing these questions as internally propositioned (in the first person, nominative case) as opposed to an externally framed question (e.g. which people are close to you?) the prompts elide the inherently external nature of those questions (coming from the curator by way of the exhibit). This attempt to integrate the visitor into the exhibit through direct engagement is a hallmark of the critical turn in museology. But this raises a number of questions about the nature of this exhibit. While this exhibit is ostensibly about identity, its attempts of blurring the distinction between visitor and curator, of simultaneously stressing commonality while concomitantly exhibiting specific life-ways and traditions seems to be at odds with each other. While one could argue that this is reflective of a general tension in the social and behavioral sciences between the nomothetic and idiographic, it also presents a choice

⁷³ The translation into English provided here was *in situ*. The translation and multiple meaning of “*mesto*” is interesting to note. “*Mesto*” is also Slovenian for “city”, such as Novo Mesto, or “new city” built on the border near Trieste after the 1947-1954 partition as a result of the Italian Peace Treaty, post-WWII.

to the visitor to either recognize those images and artifacts as representing their own identity or to act as a contrast to their own lived experiences. How does that impact the visitor's conception of identity? Does the process of identifying with the specific identity narratives in turn cause the visitor to objectify and externalize his or her past, memories or understandings of self? The thematic organization from womb to family, hearth and home expands into broadening social spheres, into the village, church, the state and finally as emigrants in other countries (primarily the United States, Canada, Argentina, Australia and Egypt⁷⁴). It therefore attempts to portray aspects of identity that are nested, within ever larger concentric circles of identity.

Among the first themes within the exhibit are themes of family and hearth. After passing a wall of photographs meant to represent families from societies across the globe, the hearth (*ognjišče*) forms a cozy corner within this room with several images meant to evoke certain remembrances around a cooking hearth or stove. The visual and aural stimulus includes recorded sounds of the fire, a large pot and images of the traditional tiled stove used to heat homes⁷⁵. From the home one follows the exhibit to an area that represents the village. In this section there is a focus on communal activities in the past and present.

Vaško skupnost kot eno od oblik lokalne skupnosti sestavljajo vsi prebivalci neke vasi. Njenim članom so bili do srede 20. stoletja skupni relativno podobni načini preživljanja (poljedelstvo, živinoreja, obrt...) in bivanja (bivalne razmere, prehrana, načini oblačenja ...). Med ljudmi je bila izoblikovana zavest o medčloveški pripadnosti in so navzven delovali kot celota. V preteklosti so bile znotraj vaške skupnosti zelo pomembne sorodstvene in botrske vezi, bližina doma pa je pogojevala medsosedske odnose. Mlajše generacije so se pove-zovale v fantovske in dekliške skupnosti, starejši prebivalci so skrbeli za ohranjanje tradicionalnih vrednot. Znotraj vaške skupnosti so bili posamezniki, med njimi tudi tujci, ki so imeli poseben ugled in pomen, tako npr. župnik, župan, učitelj, gostilničar, trgovec, zdravilec pa vaški posebneži in tisti s socialnega in ekonomskega dna (npr. berači).

⁷⁴ The exhibit spends a considerable amount of space highlighting the lives of several Slovenian women who lived in Egypt in the first half of the 20th century.

⁷⁵ The traditional tiled stove was always a matter of display for any house I visited with one. The owner (or any Slovenian visitors that accompanied me) would always draw attention to it. Most modern flats and houses lack this type of heating.

Village community as a form of local community consists of all the inhabitants of a village. Until the mid-20th century its members had been of relatively similar livelihoods (agriculture, livestock farming, crafts ...) and living (housing, food, modes of dress ...). Among the people was an awareness of interpersonal affiliation and outwardly worked as a whole. In the past, within the village community, is very important and *botrske*⁷⁶ kinship ties, proximity to home is conditional on neighborhood relations. While the younger generation is increased in the boys 'and girls' communities, older people cared for the preservation of traditional values. Within the village community were individuals, including foreigners, who had special status and importance, e.g. parish priest, mayor, teacher, innkeeper, merchant, healers, and village characters of the social and economic base (e.g. beggars). (SEM 2011, [my translation]).

Regarding the interaction between individuals within their local community and between “insiders” and “outsiders”:

“To the Individual, not only his family is Important, but also his direct ties with the people from the narrow environment in which he was born and lives. Co-existing with other people makes survival easier and better, and from the environment which we live we adopt accepted values and views on life, which accompany us later and in new environments.

A local community comprises a certain territory and the inhabitants that live within it. The members of a community identify themselves to some extent with their common living location and they live in similar living conditions. They share the local history, common interests, and a common celebration of feast days.

Through mutual relationships, the transfer of knowledge, social control, and the preservation of traditions, the Vocal community has an important impact on the Individual's life and continues the process of socialization started in the family. It takes care of the safety of its members and stands at their side in joy and grief [sic], work and leisure, at birth and death. On the outside, the local community may seem quite uniform” (SEM 2010).

The exhibit discusses traditional village professions. One important to the social life of villages (as noted in exhibit as well as ethnographically observed) is that of the *gostilna* and the *gostilničar*. The exhibit had an iconic *gostilna* metal sign from the early 20th century along with photographs of interiors of “typical” *gostilnas*.

Gostilničarstvo se je v preteklosti pogosto podedovalo skupaj s kmetijo. Velika posest, gostilna in v nekaterih primerih tudi druge obrti, kot so trgovina, mesarija, mlinarstvo, žagarstvo..., so gostilničarju zagotavljale dober ekonomski položaj in z njim povezan

⁷⁶ This institution is a system of godparenting and sponsorship (*botrovati*: to act as a godparent).

ugled. Do 30. let 20. stoletja je sodil med najpomembnejše osebe v vaški skupnosti in bil poleg učitelja in župnika pomemben sooblikovalec gospodarskega in kulturnega življenja. Pogosto je opravljal razne funkcije (npr. županske). Prepoznaven je bil tudi po značilnem oblačilnem videzu. Zaradi dobrega ekonomskega položaja so bili gostilničarji zaželeni kot birmanski botri (SEM 2010).

Translation:

In the past, Innkeepers often inherited inns together with the farm. A large property may in some cases include other crafts, such as a shop, butcher's shop, a mill, or a sawmill ...the innkeeper had both a good economic situation and the associated reputation. In to the 1930's they were the most important person in the village community and was also a teacher and an advisor that greatly influenced and shaped the economic and cultural life. He often carried out various functions (e.g. mayor) and was also recognizable by his distinctive clothing. Due to good economic situation innkeepers were desired as godparents (My translation).

And,

Gostilna je poleg cerkve in šole sodila med najpomembnejše vaške objekte in ustanove. Kot objekt je bila prepoznavna po stavbnem tipu in po oznakah (izveski in napisi) na fasadi. Gostilna je pomembno vplivala na življenje vaške skupnosti, ...pa so biti pomembni tudi za širšo okolico. Vaške gostilne lokalnega pomena so bile med tednom slabo obiskane, zato so bile nekatere odprte le ob sobotah, nedeljah in praznikih. Več obiska je bilo ob vaškem žegnanju, pustu in na velikonočni ponedeljek, ko je bila marsikje tudi živa glasba. (SEM 2010).

The inn, next to the church and the school, was among the most important of village facilities and institutions. The building is recognizable by building type and markings (signs and symbols) on the facade. The inn had a significant impact on the lives of rural communities... and was also important to the wider community. Village inns of only local importance were poorly attended during the week, so some were open only on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. More people visited during agricultural fairs, Halloween and Easter Monday, when there was often live music (My Translation).

The museum exhibit, continues by examining the nature of authority, or rather, noting that such authorities existed in the past. Both priest and politician were given a large space in the exhibit, with life sized wire frames dressed in the clothes of priest and attorney or politician from the time period of the end of the 19th century. This priestly authoritative figure coupled seamlessly with the other religious images and themes within this exhibit. Several images of

churches and church items fill the exhibit as well. The exhibit also included pilgrimages, the ever important church steeple, and other religious festivals and fairs. The politics and the political leader however, were not often discussed until the gallery room where both priest and politician occupied most the room. Here we see a narrative shift in the exhibit. On the outer wall the cases are filled with fashions from the late 1800's on. Eventually, the outer wall discusses the political realities of nationalist politics. It included letters from different times, flags, coat of arms, colors from the various states that were at one time or another in possession or incorporating Slovenia within its midst. Audio buttons allowed you to play Nationalist songs such as "*Slovenec Sem*" and the Slovenian National Anthem: "*Zdravljica*" ("The Toast"). The national anthems of several of the former states (e.g. Austria-Hungary, Yugoslavia) were also available. Here too national symbols were on display in objects and photographs of Mt. Triglav, the Lipa (Linden) tree, the Lipizzaner horse, and the *Proteus Anguinis*.

Uporaba in izraba simbolov

Narodni simboli so mnogokrat predmet folklorizacije. Ki se manifestira ob različnih dogodkih oziroma prireditvah gospodarskega, kulturnega ali političnega značaja. Da bi utrjevali narodno zavest, predvsem pa iz promocijskih in komercialnih namenov, različne turistične organizacije in društva, vladni uradi in Gospodarsko-Obrtna združenja In posamezniki aplicirajo narodne in tudi državne simbole na različne uporabne in okrasne (spominske) predmete, Tl naj bi predstaviti prepoznavnost slovenskega prostora, kulture in narodne identitete in jih »ponesli« v svet, hkrati pa naj bi simboli dajali predmetom izvirnost in večjo vrednost (SEM 2010).

The application and use of symbols

National symbols are often a folkloric matter which manifests itself at different events or performances economic, cultural or political nature. In order to consolidate the national consciousness, especially in promotional and commercial purposes, various tourism organizations and associations, government agencies and economic-craft associations and individuals are administered by national and state symbols as a variety of useful and ornamental (memory) objects, It presents visibility to Slovenian territory, culture and national identity and "brings it" to the world, giving these symbol's subjects originality and greater value. (My translation).

Thus the author/curator here suggests that national symbols are used to “consolidate national consciousness” and to act as icons, as branding useful images for advertising and commerce, international identification and tourism. This position explicitly suggests authoritarian, top-down manipulation and manufacture of national symbols for economic and societal motives. It is a hegemonic, top-down inscription of national symbolism (Foucault 1972, 1980, Hobsbawm 1983).

If this display is attempting to reveal those commonalities that underpin all human experience (and not simply Slovenian), then this statement is challenging all national symbols as little more than “folkloric” artifacts and iconographic and marketing devices. Interestingly, the exhibit did not attempt to “unpack” any of these Slovenian symbols. It would have been a useful exercise to illustrate the point. For example, the Lipizzaner horse (*Lipicanec*) was a breed used by Austrian nobility, originally of Moorish, Iberian stock (Kavar et al. 2002, Pracek 1999)⁷⁷. By positioning it within a larger geo-political, historical and economic grounding, a discussion about national symbolism and “invented tradition” (Hobsbawm 1983) it would have exposed the truly tentative and ephemeral qualities of national identity by exposing the constructed nature of the symbols used to define one’s self.

However, such a critical approach to Slovenian national symbols is altogether absent from the museum. The very assumption of the exhibit is that there are some underlying factors that demark Slovenians from other populations, even though all the while confirming the communalities that Slovenians have with the rest of humanity. Tucked on the inner wall behind

⁷⁷ The horse was bred by Hapsburg nobility establishing a riding school in Lipizza (Slovenian: *Lipica*) in 1580 (Kavar, et al. 2002, Pracek 1999, Štih et al. 2008:189). With adoption of the Euro, a controversy erupted surrounding Slovenia’s choice of including a Lipizzaner horse on one of its new Euro coins. Some Austrians claimed that it was an Austrian symbol, not a Slovenian one. In 2011 a new museum dedicated to the *Lipicanec*, called the *Lipikum muzej*, opened.

the large display of the priest and politician, lay a small section about counter-hegemonic protests, graffiti such as “*Pozor Država ubija!*” (Caution, the State kills!), youth culture scenes, et cetera, and how they too are important to the experiences of the state and its people. Its position is situated lower than most other exhibit item clusters, and is even more hierarchically inverse when you consider the two mannequins that possess so much gallery room territory are actually a little elevated, juxtaposing the size and might of the centralized political power.

Later, the visitor is asked to consider stereotyping:

Stereotipi:

Vsak narod oblikuje in goji o sebi in o drugih narodih ustaljene predstave - narodnostne stereotipe. Ti so skupek pojmov in ocen, ki temeljijo na poenostavljanju posploševanju, pretiravanju, neznanju in predsodkih. Stereotipi o lastnem narodu so največkrat pozitivno naravnani in so predmet povečevanja in idealiziranja. Stereotipne predstave o drugih in drugačnih pa povečini poudarjajo karikirane ali negativne lastnosti, ki so vir posmeha in podcenjevanja. Stereotipne predstave o drugih so tudi odraz narodove etnične, nacionalne, verske in rasne nestrpnosti (SEM 2010).

Stereotypes:

Each nation establishes and grows ethnic stereotypes about themselves and other nations. These are sets of concepts and estimates that are based on simplifying generalizations, exaggeration, ignorance and prejudice. Stereotypes about their own nation are mostly positive and are the subject of glorification and idealization. Stereotypical images of those who are different are mostly caricatured and stress negative attributes, which are a source of ridicule and underestimation. Stereotypical images of others are also a reflection of the nation's ethnic, national, religious and racial intolerance (My translation).

Here the museum visitor is instructed on the nature of ethnic intolerance or stereotyping that is prevalent throughout human societies. However, note that there is again, the assumption that inwardly directed stereotypes are always positive. In Slovenia, I found quite the contrary (see Chapter Three). Throughout the exhibit several displays were couched in personal accounts, autobiographical remembrances by individuals (such as the Slovenian ladies living in Egypt) as

well as authoritative museum text, along with poetry, snippets of literature and music, et cetera. While practitioners frame this as embracing multimedia displays, hoping to captivate or better narrate the exhibit, it also created a heteroglossic context or environment (Bakhtin 1984). This indexes personal experiences which in turn makes material more accessible, appreciable or otherwise digestible.

Survey Results

In order to come up with some sort of model of dimensions of identity discourse, I used a modified “before and after” approach to the surveys. The goal was to find distinct differences in before and after results. I also wanted to see any underlying patterns that might exist to explain the data. These underlying factors would be “higher order” identity factors which influence “lower order” ones. Using objects of national symbolism and history as well as questions about authoritative voices of the past and of identity, I constructed a questionnaire. Due to the exigencies of fieldwork, the samples at both *Narodni Muzej Novejše Zgodovine* and *Partisanska Bolnica Franja* were small, as such they yielded no statistically significant differences. However they are included in the aggregate before and after calculations. I will primarily focus here on the *Kobariški Muzej* and the *Slovenski Etnografski Muzej* before discussing the aggregate results.

Kobariški Muzej

At *Kobariški Muzej* (Kobarid Museum) the statistically significant increases in scores were regarding the importance of museums (*before* \bar{x} 5.36 *sd* 0.93 to *after* \bar{x} 6.13 *sd* 1.06 t-test $p=0.045$) and regarding whether their family is more or less Slovenian than the respondent (*before* \bar{x} 1.72 *sd* 0.467 versus *after* \bar{x} 2.14 *sd* 0.36, t-test $p=.025$). The only decrease in score was regarding the importance of a single dialect of Slovenian taught in primary school (*before* 6.23 *sd* 0.92 versus *after* \bar{x} 5.29 *sd* 1.13, t-test $p=.026$). Thus, a strengthening of national-ethnic

identification and the importance of local linguistic identity (or the possible reaction to larger, hegemonic forces of empire) are suggested by these results.

Slovenski Etnografski Muzej

The *Slovenski Etnografski Muzej* (Slovenian Ethnographic Museum) before and after results (t-test) yielded the following: Regarding the importance of museums to the attendant (museums are important to me) the scores increased after viewing the museum (before \bar{x} 5.22 sd 1.15 compared to after \bar{x} 6.20 sd 0.77, t-test $p=0.001$). Additionally, the statement about state level support for museums (states should support museums more) scores increased as well (before \bar{x} 5.09 sd 1.23 versus after \bar{x} 6.00, sd 0.91, t-test $p=0.011$). Both of these statistically significant results suggest a change in opinions and attitudes. Thus, the visitor clearly had an already high opinion of museums (and self-selected by visiting one) but their appreciation of the museum as an institution increased after visiting the museum. This reinforcement of the museum support is echoed in the subsequent question regarding state support of the museum. As might be expected, museum goers value their experiences at museums and their calls for state support intensify after attendance.

At this museum there were some other key suggestions of a re-enforcement of Slovenian identity. The statement “most of my friends are Slovenian” found a statistically significant increase in agreement (before \bar{x} 4.667 sd 1.99 compared to after \bar{x} 6.09 sd 0.91, t-test $p=0.002$). Additionally, there were statistically significant differences in the responses regarding the importance of teaching Slovenian customs and habits to children (before \bar{x} 5.87 sd 1.01 versus after \bar{x} 6.45 sd 0.72, t-test $p=0.024$).

Finally there was a statistically significant, stronger response regarding the importance of Slovenian religious history after attending the museum (*before* \bar{x} 5.18 sd 1.53 versus *after* \bar{x} 6.06 sd 0.723, t-test $p=0.02$). This increased support likely has to do with the ample religious

iconography in both the folkloric collection and the *Jaz, mi in drugi: Podobe mojega sveta* exhibit. These include pictures of churches and church steeples, images and statues of saints, videos of pilgrimages, as well as crosses and a traditional crèche used at Christmas time⁷⁸.

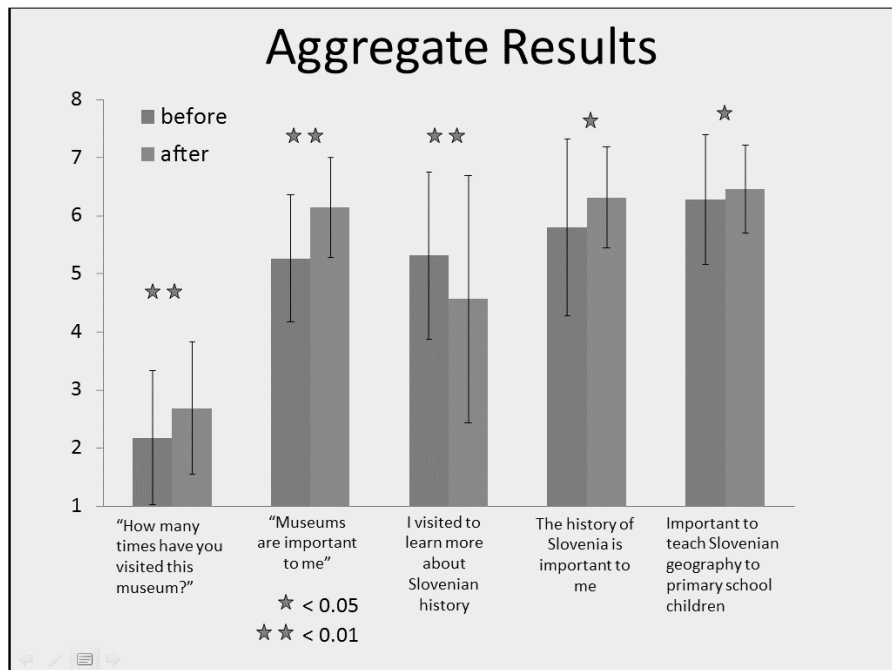
Aggregate results

First I compared the before and after scores in aggregate (across all museum survey sites) using t-tests of the means of the answers. The t-tests (two-sample unequal variance (heteroscedastic)) comparing before and after (museum visit) survey responses reveal the following (only those answers with a t-test p value of no greater than $p=.05$ are included here for discussion). The first question was “*How many times have you visited this museum?*” with a $p=.008$ (*before* \bar{x} 2.17 sd 1.15 versus *after* \bar{x} 2.68 sd 1.13, t-test $p=0.008$). This should be expected as “after” survey respondents have just visited the museum whereas the “before” respondents have yet to. The second question: “Museums are important to me” (*before* \bar{x} 5.62 sd 1.09 versus *after* \bar{x} 6.14 sd 0.86, t-test $p=.003$) demonstrates that the already high valuation of museums to visitors only increased upon exposure to museums. The results for the responses to “*Today I visited the museum to learn more about Slovenian identity and history*” was (*before* \bar{x} 5.31 sd 1.44 versus *after* \bar{x} 4.57 sd 2.13, t-test $p=.03$), a noticeable decrease in visitors appraisals of their motivation for visiting the museum as being a desire to know about Slovenian identity and history. However their regard for Slovenian history increased. The statement “*The history of Slovenia is important to me*” saw a significant increase (*before* \bar{x} 5.80 sd 1.52 versus *after* \bar{x} 6.31 sd 0.86, t-test $p=.03$). Finally, the importance of teaching Slovenian geography to primary

⁷⁸ One curator bemoaned the fact that every Christmas holiday season the staff of the museum are invariably bombarded with questions of whether they will have the Christmas crèche exhibit that they had a number of years ago. The curator reacted with disdain to my suggestion that maybe they should do it again since people clearly liked it immensely. The curator seemed to be more concerned with presenting new, intellectually stimulating exhibits as opposed to recycling the folk collection of crèches. I personally would think more traffic to the museum would be desired by the curator, and I am sure it is, however there are obviously limits to one’s patience in repetitious exhibitions.

school children, already deemed important, increased (*before* \bar{x} 6.28 *sd* 1.11 versus *after* \bar{x} 6.46 *sd* 0.75, t-test $p=.05$). In each museum Slovenian geography was often discussed, either in abstract terms of shifting borders (*Slovenski Etnografski Muzej* and *Narodni Muzej Novejše Zgodovine*) or in large scale models of mountain war fronts and the occasionally hosted “Peace Walks” through the mountainous front lines (*Kobarški Muzej*) or by actually hiking into the gorges and ravines, encountering the hidden geography of *OF* resistance (*Partisanska Bolnica Franja*). These all suggest the signification of Slovenianness is occurring. In the case of the significant decline in motivation, that may be because of a general reappraisal of why the visitor came to the museum once they had beheld the discourses on history and identity. If they value it more and yet say they came less because of it perhaps the exposure is assuaging their anxieties about the past and as such, thus revise their prior motivations, now more secure in their persons about the past. (There were also three questions that approached $p=.05$, such as “the state should fund museums more” at $p=.086$, Primary school students should learn about both the *Freising Manuscripts* $p=.078$ and EU history $p=.077$).

Figure 14. Aggregate results



Factor analysis

Seeing that attitudinal differences arising from exposure to museum discourses is demonstrated, I'd like to examine the "factors" or underlying variables which the survey examines. In crafting the survey, I had in mind to examine responses to acceptance of hierarchical power structures to define identity and history. I also sought to examine willingness to accept aspects of national symbolism as part of "imagining" Slovenian-ness. I wanted to explore values of Slovenians as articulated by examining what children should learn about themselves (as Slovenians) and about the world around them. I also want to create a measure nationalist versus cosmopolitan attitudes. Finally, I wanted some sort of gauge of how much they considered themselves and those around them as "authentic" Slovenians.

The use of Exploratory Factor Analysis allowed me to ascertain whether certain underlying patterns existed in the response data. Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) and Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) has been used in a number of social and behavioral sciences, such as

psychology (Fabrigar et al. 1999) and anthropology (Rocha 2005; Ambroz 2008). EFA is useful for finding underlying patterns within the data, but does not offer an explanation of those patterns. In order to accomplish that, a qualitative examination of the contents of the survey questions and responses must inform the answers to the question of what those factor(s) are about (Fabrigar et al. 1999; Costello and Osborne 2005; Decoster and Hall 1998).

The results of the exploratory factor analysis revealed three (3) underlying factors that accounted in aggregate of 53.9 percent of the variation in responses. I arrived at three factors (as opposed to four, five, et cetera) by using a Scree test, finding the last eigenvalue before the “bottoming out” of the scree plot. This is one standard method of factor number determination (Decoster and Hall 1998, DeCoster 1998, Ledesma et al. 2007).

From the historical evidence and theoretical grounding, I began to see three possible fonts of ethnic and national identity. These three interconnected and interwoven identity “source waters” or dimensions are described below. I then examine the factors as they appear or fail to appear within the survey responses of Slovenian museum patrons.

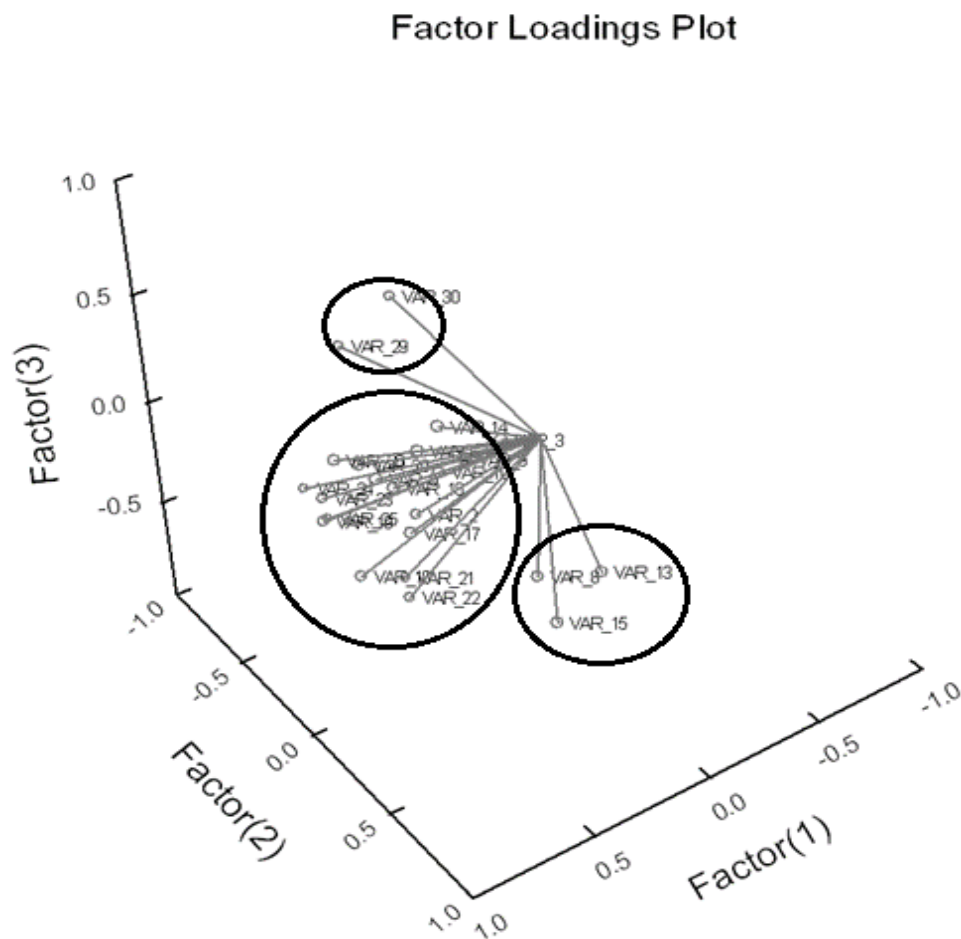
Interpreting the results

Looking at the aggregate of all four museum samples, it becomes clear that particular factors heavily influenced responses to certain questions as demonstrated in the graph below (figure 15).

The first and largest factor is one with the following questions (in the order they appeared on the questionnaire) are: 2) Museums are important to me, 5) the history of Slovenia is important to me, 6) Museums are the best way to preserve and protect cultural heritage. 9) I feel Slovenian, 14) Slovenes have a long history, 10) Most of my friends are Slovenians. Additionally, the following questions in this factor were also included and were responses to: “how important is it that Slovenian primary school students learn about:” 19) Primoža Trubarja, 18) Freising Manuscripts, 26) Slovenian customs and habits, 23) Slovenian geography, 20) National Anthem

toast, 17) Prince's stone (*Knezhji Komen*), 24) geography of Europe, 16) Slovenian independence, 25) world geography, 22) Panslavism, 21) EU history.⁷⁹ The second factor included three questions: 8) Politicians accurately portrays Slovenian history, 13) the politicians should have more influence on the exhibition and 15) Slovenian media accurately reflect the Slovenians / Slovenian history. The third factor included 29), “how important is it that Slovenian primary school students learn about: The DUAL Tense” and 30) “how important is it that Slovenian primary school students learn about: One Slovenian dialect?”

Figure 15. Factor loading plot



⁷⁹ For information on these national symbols see Chapter Four.

Figure 16. Component loadings

Component Loadings	1	2	3
VAR_19 Primoža Trubarja	0.791	-0.16	-0.135
VAR_5 The history of Slovenia is important to me	0.775	0.17	0.27
VAR_18 Freising manuscripts	0.771	0.034	-0.278
VAR_26 Slovenian customs and habits	0.754	-0.123	0.159
VAR_23 Slovenian geography	0.727	-0.268	-0.126
VAR_20 National Anthem toast	0.697	-0.061	0.15
VAR_17 Prince's stone (Knezhji Komen)	0.68	0.215	0.008
VAR_24 geography of Europe	0.672	-0.495	-0.253
VAR_16 Slovenian independence	0.671	0.107	0.142
VAR_25 world geography	0.635	-0.409	-0.365
VAR_6 Museums are the best way to preserve and protect cultural heritage.	0.603	0.154	0.306
VAR_22 Panslavism	0.593	0.05	-0.463
VAR_9 I feel Slovenian.	0.582	0.398	0.417
VAR_21 EU history	0.526	-0.083	-0.492
VAR_14 Slovenes have a long history.	0.52	0.15	0.377
VAR_10 Most of my friends are Slovenians.	0.502	0.122	0.143
VAR_2 Museums are important to me	0.5	-0.033	-0.157
VAR_15 Slovenian media accurately reflect the Slovenians / Slovenian history	0.385	0.626	-0.281
VAR_13 The politicians should have more influence on the exhibition.	0.191	0.608	-0.15
VAR_8 Politicians accurately portrays Slovenian history.	0.347	0.462	-0.195
VAR_29 The DUAL Grammatical Number	0.466	-0.538	0.311
VAR_30 One Slovenian dialect	0.272	-0.502	0.481
VAR_3 Today I visited to learn more about Slovenian identity or history	0.37	0.296	0.341

Factors of national and ethnic identity: Linguistic, Political-Authoritative and Temporal-Topographical

Naming the Factors

Looking at the clusters of answers, I examined each question and asked what commonalities existed within each grouping that would best describe the factor. They are the Linguistic, the Political-(anti)authoritative and the Temporal-Topographic described below.

Linguistic

While the responses to the two obvious language questions (numbers 29 and 30) are clustered together, less obvious but still significant Slovenian linguistic historical items from the

questionnaire were not included. They included both 19) Primož Trubar and 18) Freising manuscripts. That may hint at a fundamental split between the historical over the linguistic in terms of categorization. The Freising manuscripts, considered the oldest example of the Slovenian Language are only somewhat intelligible to speakers of Modern Slovenian. Second, Primož Trubar dates to the 1600's and although his *Abecedarium* is the foundation of Modern Slovenian, it is also too historically distant perhaps to be directly associated with modern speech. That is not to say that these are not important. Indeed, this historical linguistic events and persons are part of a core narrative of literary nationalism and national identity creation and maintenance.

However, another interpretation could be that these two language-based subjects in questions (18) and (19) have an implicit authoritative and centralizing aspect to them. In some parts of the country the dual has been in decline and as noted earlier Slovenia has forty-six dialects, some of which— I was routinely told— are mutually incomprehensible. The notion of adopting the Standard Slovene in primary schools, a new form constructed from three (more or less regionally) central dialects⁸⁰ does suggest the abandonment of local ways of speaking. These two responses may have been placed closely together due to the hierarchical or centralizing implications of the questions themselves. However, whether this clustering had to do with either positive or negative view of central management of language does not detract from the fact that these language related questions clustered together to form a factor. Thus, the component of language and language ideology is at play within the responses to the questionnaire. The

⁸⁰ The Standard Slovenian is not based on the dialect of their capitol city (and largest urban center). This isn't that surprising when one considers that historically Ljubljana was a thoroughly German speaking town and seat of local Hapsburg power well into the 1800's and that much of the early linguistic work was done by early Protestants who were often at odds with dominant power structures. The Ljubljana dialect is called *Ljubljančan* and I routinely heard disparaging remarks about the dialect. Some of this was friendly teasing, but some of it may have had subtle rural-urban or center-periphery tensions implied.

political and elite literary discourses of the Slovene language's precarious state on the world stage (Klemenčič 2004) may run counter to desires of local identity expression in Slovenia. The question of linguistic homogenization is a current one. Consider the recent article by Mihaela Knez (2012) for example asking "How many varieties of Slovene can we accommodate in our schools?" While the crux of her article examines the question of educating immigrant children in Slovene, - and that the vernacular and the official language are often at variance with each other.

Political-Anti-authoritative

The ordering of identity in service to the application of power (or as an effect of it) at both overt political and authoritative levels as well as those at the quotidian level have already been discussed (Billig 1995, Foucault 1972, 1980, Bourdieu 1977, 1991). In this ordering of identity are structural realities which imbue authority within the state, church or other hierarchy with de facto legitimacy. The level of trust of politicians was particularly low during my time in Slovenia. The respondents to the questionnaire also placed little trust in the capabilities of politicians, as well as the media, to accurately portray what Slovenian-ness is or means. The mistrust of political figures and authoritative figures both secular and religious however does not reflect on the effectiveness of such a covert exercise of power on Slovenian national identity, but it does suggest additional caution when assumptions about identity formation are made, particularly notions of dominant ideology. Whether the attitudes engendered are in response to authoritative, totalitarian regime images such as pictures of Tito or the Yugoslav coat of arms or whether images of the reformers of the 1980's and 1990's induce distrust for the state is unclear. However, comparing the before and after results we find that in the aggregate support for state funding increases in a statistically significant amount: (*before* \bar{x} 5.49, *sd* 1.26 compared to *after* \bar{x} 5.93, *sd* 1.20, t-test $p=.03$). Regarding whether "*The politicians should have more influence on the exhibition*" general sentiment remained low and decreased, *before* \bar{x} 3.39, *sd* 2.09 versus

after \bar{x} 3.10, sd 2.13, t -test $p=.490$) although not statistically significant, there was considerable variation with the highest variation (standard deviation) of the entire questionnaire, nearly three times the variation of many other questions. This large disagreement regarding the authority of the state and politicians over “memory institutions” *seemingly* contrasts with the expectation of the economic support of that state. However, politicians were deemed to be highly *inaccurate* portrayers of Slovenian history for example “*Politicians accurately portrays Slovenian history*” (before \bar{x} 3.82, sd 1.97 versus after \bar{x} 3.54, sd 1.50, t -test $p=.0420$). Also, when asked to rank the order of most to least accurate display of Slovenian history, politicians fared the worst.

Temporal-Topographic-Traditional

When composing my survey, I had originally suspected there would be a factor I would characterize as “mytho-historical”, one with several nationalist symbols on the survey clustered together. This idea was heavily influenced in the academic literature discussed earlier. Further, I suspected that the “traditional” symbols of Slovenian Identity would cluster together. What I found though was that most of these were merged into the much larger factor which included geography, both national and international, and historical events and sentiments about history. This broader factor is by far the largest of the survey, influencing seventeen different question responses.

The first group of questions in this last group to consider is the group of ones which, due to their associated nature, might incline a closer correlation with the each other. The fifteen questions sought responses about the importance of primary school children learning about different historical facts. Thus, a potential valuing (or devaluing) of education might skew the results of the questions. Out of the fifteen (15) primary school questions there were eleven (11) (73.33 percent) included in this factor, but this factor also included six (6) additional questions not explicitly about education of children (for a total of seventeen (17) questions). Thus 64.7

percent of the questions of this factor consisted of the education related questions while 36.3 percent did not. If one considers that 26.67% of the education questions fall outside the category, and the presence of six (6) additional questions, it becomes clear that education does account as the defining aspect of this factor. However, I designed these questions in order to garner information on the values that Slovenian citizens consider important for the maintenance of Slovenian identity in the aggregate, and the values and beliefs that are most important in educating Slovenian children. It is thus a forward looking set of questions that asks what current students *should* learn in order to be successfully educated by the school system.

This factor requires some additional “unpacking” to illustrate the dimensions of this aspect of national identity. In chapter Four, I examined specific discourses around particular historical periods and aspects about Slovenia’s past.

Factors of ethno-national identity in Slovenian museum-goers

Comparing the factor analysis to the pile sort exercises I performed two years prior reveals thematic continuity as would be expected if both gauged Slovenian national/ethnic identity. The “Slovenian” trait list result from the multi-dimensional scaling is shown below (figure 17).

Language is represented as a factor (labeled “Linguistic”) using Exploratory Factor Analysis and is also represented in the Free-listing and pile sorting. Further, The Temporal-Topographic-Traditional, finds a resonance in the pile sort terms such as “Traditional, Country/Peasant foods”, “Triglav”, “Servant/Hostler” and “Humble”. This suggests that this “factor” is a valid representation of underlying symbols of ethnic/national identity or representatives of ethnic national identity discourses in Slovenia.

Figure 17. Slovenian pile sort

English Translation	Slovenian Term or Phrase
HOSTLER	<i>Hlapec</i>
DRINKS TOO MUCH	<i>Preveč pije</i>
FEELINGS OF INFERIORITY	<i>Občutek manjvrednosti</i>
SMALL	<i>Majhen</i>
HUMBLE	<i>Skromen/Ponižen</i>
TRADITIONAL/COUNTRY/PEASANT FOODS	<i>Tradicionalen/Podeželski/ Kmečka Hrana</i>
DUAL [GRAMMATICAL]	<i>Dvojina</i>
MULTICULTUAL/INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE	<i>Multikulturnost/Medkulturni dialog</i>
TRIGLAV	<i>Triglav</i>
SUICIDAL	<i>Samomor</i>
SELF-CENTERED	<i>Egocentričen</i>
SPORTY	<i>Športen</i>
BEAUTIFUL NATURE	<i>Naravne lepote</i>
IMPOSSIBLE	<i>Nemogoče</i>
FLEXIBLE	<i>Prilagodljiv</i>
ENVOIOUS	<i>Zavist</i>

Summation

Closely examining four historical and ethnographic museums in Slovenia has illuminated several key points to consider regarding the nature of national identity formation and maintenance. First, each museum delivers not only its own unique discourse on identity, but also hosts multiple contradictory discourses or claims. In the Slovenian Ethnographic Museum, it can emphasize universalist claims but it also houses a large folkloric collection that signals particularism, for example. Second, it is evident that the museum, as an institution, is still valued by its guests and these museums reaffirm that belief through the museum visit itself. Third, while it is important to remember that there is naturally a broad range of individual perspective

represented in the population of Slovenian historical museum visitors, they do exhibit some commonalities in terms of attitudes regarding politics and education for example.

Further, these visitors are all exposed, although at admittedly different levels, to various national and ethnic identity narratives or discourses throughout their visit to the museums (as well as beyond). These factors that underlie the questionnaire responses suggest that particular dimensions of national identity are being engaged or mobilized in these historical museums. These factors are the Linguistic, the Political-Authoritative and the Temporal-Topographical. The museums seem to engage these factors more than ones such as models of kinship or notions of *jus sanguinus*, implicit with the interest in territoriality would suggest models of *jus soli*. However, notions of Slovenian membership contain both naturalizing impulses. The mistrust of political and religious leaders is inevitably tied to the last two hundred years, however as we have seen in the heavy emphasis of agrarian folk heroes⁸¹ who defy authority, there seems to be “fertile ground” (pardon the pun) from which to draw these traditions. Ironically, the nationalists who presented narratives of counter-hegemonic heroes ultimately must find a way to tame those heroes in today’s setting so they do not threaten the “new” political order. Finally, the linguistic component cannot be overemphasized and one must consider the somewhat softer version of linguistic relativism to discuss some dominant “cultural” aspects to Slovenian identity. These “factors” are aspects of identity engaged by the museums in question via transmission, imperfect as it may be, of discourses through semiotic means.

⁸¹ See Chapter Four’s discussion of the Agrarian revolts and the Folk hero Martin Krpan.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

Dobrodošli Doma!

(Welcome Home!)

Slovenian tourist program welcoming the return of Slovenian Immigrants and their descendants in 2011 on the twenty year anniversary of Slovenian Independence.

This dissertation began with several questions. These questions were about the nature of national identity and whether national identity is somehow transmitted by historical and ethnographic museums. As I have attempted to illustrate here, the questions are complex ones as historical, linguistic, political and economic contexts impact the outcomes of identity formation discourses. This project addressed four questions specifically:

(1) If museums are conduits for societal “memory work”, “place making” and identity building, how is national identity transmitted by such “memory institutions”?

Through the conceptualizing of national identity discourses as semiotically orchestrated, I have attempted to operationalize the process of discourse transmission, pointing out its potential imprecision in that transmission. Visitors surveyed at the museum came away from the museum with a greater appreciation of museums in general. This suggests that the visitors value you the museum at a broader, societal level, as a social good. Also, visitors valued Slovenian history more. Additionally, visitors left the museums feeling more strongly that school children should learn about Slovenian geography. Thus, valuing local geographic, geologic, and topographic space seems to be at work.

The Euro-skepticism discourses at play in Slovenia were generally absent in the museums, instead, indexing different types of identities or including discourses of cosmopolitanism (which were present to some degree at all four museums). Finally, visitors were less likely to report that

they came to the museum to learn more about Slovenian history and about Slovenian identity. I suggest it is possibly due to the reduction in the unease surrounding identity that came from authoritative identity discourses. These visitors seemed to have had anxieties about Slovenian history or identity slackened by the process of visiting the museum. It is a civic act to partake in the pedagogy of the museum, and further, the museums contain discourses of Slovenian-ness that the visitor can actively engage with. Indeed, there were hundreds of identity signifiers at the museums, and the visitor had opportunities to engage with many of them. Perhaps then, secured in their identity, they reflected back on their visit less as an exercise in identity strengthening but instead engaging the museum for some other reason. Understanding the ways that the *signs* of identity interact in the Slovenian identities of the visitors, I suggest that the results of the factor analysis illustrate different *sign* constellations or clusters. Thus we have an actual modelling of semantic networks held by the museum-goer.

(2) What are the implications of a conflicting valorization of the past with the cynicism of the present on national identity?

The truly ironic results of elite, nationalist valorization of Slovenia's agricultural past is in the realities of long, historical traditions of resistance, protest and revolt. Often these peasants fought with foreign elites to enforce perceived social contractual obligations (*stara pravda*) that weren't being maintained. Thus, romantic notions of a peasant past also conjure up rich notions of civic engagement and challenges to authority. This of course meshes with traditions from the political Left which sees itself as keenly represented by the peasant. Rok, one man I talked to, told me that the cronyism, graft, and corruption is as bad as it was in Tito's day... "*except its different now, it's hard for me to explain, in the old days everyone had to accept the corruption to survive, now the corruption is by very powerful people only, like bankers, and it is for pure*

greediness”. The corrupt powerful elites are to be targeted for their systematic dismantling of social support systems, all in the name of profit. Current economic and political crises rock Slovenia, and of course, Slovenians. The symbolic power of the peasant revolt looms behind every public protest or civic engagement in Slovenia. Those historical events were forms of civic engagement that are being re-inacted and re-performed today.

Slovenia’s recent rounds of protest in 2012 and 2013 echo those of the 1960’s and those of the 1980’s and 1990’s. The “revolting peasant figure” offers its interpreters multiple potential narratives. Are they throwing off their shackles and protesting incoming inequality? Are they farmers and traders protesting punitive taxes meted out by a hulking state bureaucracy? Are they peace activists, demanding an end to the repeated wars that decimate their countryside? Are they ‘Northerners’ demanding their leaders expel the Turk (read: čefur, a ‘Southerner’)? The historically distant peasant, completely divorced from today’s political context is nonetheless an effective symbol for whatever ongoing political conflict is at hand, especially considering Slovenia’s now somewhat marginal status in new European political orderings.

The resurfacing and political use of the massacres at the end of World War Two is part of a process of contestation as well as addressing human rights violations of a previous regime. Beyond the worthy goal of addressing the atrocities that accompanied the end of the war, there are those who mobilize these instead to create a competing set of narratives about who authentic Slovenians are. Within these are auxiliary discourses about the moral weakness, brutality, and backwardness of the “South” which was once part of Yugoslavia, further distancing themselves from a shared past.

The Partisan, valorized for a half century, now is challenged. A rift continues to develop, roughly mapped onto distinctions of politically Left versus Right. The Partisans and Home

Guard are mobilized as symbolic representations of the political “Other”, replete with the selective narratives of valor, bravery and sacrifice on one hand and murder and villainy on the other.

(3) How does the treatment of “traumatic history” in national remembering affect national identity?

The traumatic rift of World War Two as documented here, underlies deep rifts within Slovenian society at large. These prior tragedies of occupation, collaboration, liberation, and massacre are being re-imagined into modern political and economic discourse, surrounding everything from the demises of Communism and Yugoslavia to the current local and global economic crises of modern-day Capitalism.

The reasons these World War Two traumas are mobilized in discourse are twofold: First, one dominant discourse (the “Partisans as liberators” discourse) had existed for nearly forty years before the details of the massacres at the war’s end began to become publicly known. From growing awareness of the brutality of Partisan leadership circa 1945, coupled with general discontent with the prevailing regime lead to a subaltern discourse of the “not collaborating, just anti-Communist victims” emerging.

The airing of such past traumas placed pro-Partisans on the defensive, having to defend the actions of the leadership of the *OF* while those more sympathetic to the massacre victims and collaborators (or simply those who were anti-Communist) had to defend the allegiances of the collaborators. Further, it has revived and transmitted narratives of victimhood, trauma and defiance to a new generation of Slovenians. This “secondary witnessing” (Crownshaw 2007) for some people is akin to secondhand trauma, transmitted through cascading narratives of loss, suffering, and hardship (*cf.* Azarian-Ceccato 2010). In this particular case, the trauma is clearly a societal one, not merely the realm of individual tragedies. By this I mean it is not only a large

number of people collectively but also the collective itself (Alexander 2004). However, beyond the skirmishes over the recent past, this re-imagining of the collaborator is in itself a broader process of re-writing the Slovenian past, from the point of ethnogenesis until today. It is inherently a political maneuvering of politically right-wing individuals who are rewriting the past into a new narrative of democratic capitalism, and an effort to erase political claims contra the current economic-political structural ordering of the state. This cynical politically motivated weaponizing of a past trauma does little to help the actual victims of either side of the conflict though, instead, various vested interests vie for the past. As the old saying goes, “It is the victor who writes the history books”.

(4) Do locally specific cognitive-emotional patterns serve as catalysts or “reagents” for national identity construction?

The historical context that has influenced Slovenian national and ethnic identity formation is one tied to constructions of a purported ancientness, longstanding control by Austria and Austria-Hungary, of one as the European “bulwark” that held back the Ottoman Turkish spread and one of troubled times throughout both World Wars as well as a member of Yugoslavia. As such, the narratives of “European-ness” are also tied to notions of “embattlement”, of “sieges” and of “vigilance”.

Particular linguistic patterns have in part emphasized “paired-ness” through the dual tense. Further, the Slovenian reverence for the artistry of written, spoken, sung and recited word has been tied intimately with nation-making. Additionally, language serves as a de facto marker of Slovenian identity. A language that has been peripheral until the 20th century increasingly grew to be centralized and standardized, which is challenging considering the 50-plus dialects that exist. However, such pressures to homogenize the language have been an imperfect one at best,

as people of all socio-economic classes still use their dialect in business and day-to-day life. These dialects are tied to place, and the emphasis on the local is only accentuated by contact to non-dialect speakers.

The transformation from borderland to independent state and to one whose political and economic woes now marginalize it, has been long and complicated, but with relatively little violence (when compared to many of its neighbors). However, internally, social mobility, so valued by Western society, has proved somewhat difficult when you consider not only the economic situation but also the political one. Many of the same political elites are “reproduced” or re-minted into social elites and/or economic ones (Iglič and Rus 2000). Particularly, graft, greed and corruption are held by many Slovenians to be rampant, and a violation of personal and social ethics, morals and values. For example, Janez Janša, the journalist who was at the center of the *Mladina* Trials that were an immediate catalyst to the independence of the Republic of Slovenia, the same man who would become Minister of Defense, holding that position during the “Ten Day War” of independence and twice was Prime Minister of Slovenia is now in prison for corruption. Dobovšek and Meško (2008) note the continued prevalence of so-called “informal networks” that are used by individuals outside official channels. This parallel system may be a vestige of Communist-era corruption, but it continues to exist today. These networks, not necessarily, criminal or illegal in any way, offer Slovenians alternatives to convoluted bureaucracies for example, or they could be little more than, say, finding a couch to sleep on when visiting a different town for a concert.

Economically, the long standing marginality of the region has resulted in, during the age of empire, under-development and over reliance on agrarianism based on old models of social order built upon peasant farm labor. Indeed, this only began to significantly change around the time of

World War Two. With the second foundation of Yugoslavia, the region prospered again as a “buffer” or “contact” region, this time as an area of contact with the political and economic forces of Western Europe. Here, we find the accumulation of wealth in the region for the first time. No longer a remote backwater, Slovenes now found their region’s economic largesse again being appropriated by a distant, semi-foreign capital. The prosperity which facilitated eventual independence, entrance into NATO, the European Union, and the “common currency” found itself now beholden to powerful externalities that have proven, in part, to be detrimental to the Slovenian economy. Finally, economic disparity has begun to increase, with an erosion of social safety nets installed throughout the Yugoslavian years due to the austerity projects of the government.

These contexts have generated a number of discourses about what it means to be Slovenian as well as what Slovenian-ness in general means. Many cross-cutting discourses around the economic, social and emotional insecurity create a “discursive assemblage” that addresses this notion of identity through such remembrance activities as nostalgia. The varieties of nostalgia are wide and varied, and should be conceived of as a structurally coherent pattern of memories, thoughts, interpretations, feelings, images, behaviors and consumptive habits. These nostalgias are tied into notions of place and space, with conceptions of sacred, national, and ethnic locales and loss of those places (especially “wild places”, natural formations and geographical oddities or specific traits). Further, the local (as well as the *lokal*⁸²) serves as an “early order” identity level within the nesting of multiple identities.

These discursive acts would seem to cut against any typical nationalistic efforts to “imagine” a community, or state efforts to direct a hierarchically ordered “top down” identification of

⁸² *Lokal*: Slovenian for the neighborhood bar.

“Slovene first, *Goriškan*⁸³ or *Ljubljčan*⁸⁴ second”, however the stereotypical romanticism of the nationalist discourse does resonate on a “natural world” symbolic level. Veneration of mountains, rivers, caves and hills have in essence reinforced “bottom up” nostalgia (Velikonja 2008a, 2008b) by emphasizing places which are, by their nature, localized. This has resulted in reinforcing the highly particularized character of identity in Slovenia.

Additionally, the typical nationalist tropes of ancientness are tied to legends (be they true or false) of princely *noblesse oblige* and reciprocal relationships with the peasantry upon which his authority rested. This relationship, often heralded a founding moment of a proto-Slovenia portrays a social order again built upon agrarian, communitarian, and democratic ideals. Ideals which were continuously contested, challenged and threatened from the earliest days of a notable Slovenian ethnic and political presence until emerging from Yugoslavia and are now also increasingly being threatened or undermined by local, state, super-regional, continental and increasingly global social and economic orders. By pointing to a putative democratic origin of Slovenia, reinforced by an actual democratic public referendum on Slovenian independence, typical Slovenian nationalist discourse inadvertently indexes social systems which challenge the very homogenizing narratives and goals of a nationalist agenda. Indexing peasant rebels and the uprisings they led, subservient rulers, and highly localized identities may in fact be working at cross-purposes for establishment of authority and cohesive identity narratives. Nostalgia then becomes a potent tool for rejecting prevailing political tendencies or events as it can be strategically mobilized by subalterns to critique the state and cultural elites (Mitchell 1998).

Further, indexing agricultural themes, possibly reminds the egalitarian, lack of economic disparity in the earliest years under Communism, before the failure of state farming and the

⁸³ *Goriškan*: some one from the *Goriška* region of Slovenia.

⁸⁴ *Ljubljčan*: someone from *Ljubljana*.

success of small personal farming lead to agricultural policy changes that lead to re-privatization and the eventual consolidation of land into the ownership of a limited few.

Current historical and ethnographic museums exist within this broader context. When those nationalistic discursive elements do arise in museum settings, settings meant to be educational and productive (and meant to “build up”, educate and “improve” the visitor and/or citizenry) they may conflict with the curator’s voice, the administration’s voice, the Ministry of Culture’s current political goals, and/or prevailing attitudes among the public. Or, they may be from those same sources. Efforts to reinforce a Slovenian identity may or may not have been the goal of a given exhibit, however, exhibiting the past which is often contested, may make an exhibit unwittingly a “vector” (Wood 1999) for identity discourse.

They may also mirror the sentiments held across wide swaths of the Slovenian populace. While some may go to a museum to be challenged, others go for edification. Museum exhibits must sometimes walk very careful terrain and do a balancing act in order to avoid alienating their clientele. This is a point of some concern and stress for curators and administrators. One curator told me, off the record, that the political system routinely interjects itself into the museum. The curator wanted to avoid the political dangers of mentioning the political dangers themselves.

For Slovenians today, at least the ones I talked too, an underlying anxiety or unease exists. It is one that is extremely concerned with the economic aspects of living in an increasingly globalized and ever quickening, market. It is an anxiety tied to the moral aspects of the economy. Concerns about indolence, sloth, laziness are geographically imagined on a North-South axis. It is a moral concern about self-worth as well as a set of attitudes towards “Southerners”. It is also a societal moral concern, conjuring up themes of state responsibility and social contract, with fears of an ever eroding social safety net.

The importance of geography and of landscape is part of a broader process of transformations in relationships to property that comes not only with post-communism (Verdery 1998) but in the Slovenian case in a series of political and economic re-alignments spanning from before World War One until today (Hann 2002). This shifting relationship with the land, in some ways, an alienation from it, is echoed in modern and contemporary art (Zabel 1993).

The discourses of Euroskepticism are on the whole reactions to the past (as a former member of a federation) and to the present (economic instability and re-ordering of social welfare). Even in the free market, Slovenians are skeptical of most foreign products that have Slovenian counterparts:

Research in Slovenia shows that 62.5 percent of people agree with the statement that ‘for foreign markets, multinational corporations use ingredients of a lower quality than those used for their own markets’. Consequently, if given a choice between the same product of a domestic and foreign brand producer, 93 percent would put their trust in the domestic product. While this last figure may speak of a certain naïveté invested in the national ‘captains of production’, read together with the previous one, it conveys an important message about the value put on consumer equality and democratic treatment of consumers’ desires (Vidmar-Horvat 2010:37).

Historical narratives that are indexed by typical European “romantic” notions of *Volk* may in other countries act as a homogenizing element, valorizing peasant ancestors and having moral and spiritual strength tied to their relationship with the soil. However, in Slovenia, if nationalistic projects were to index those same peasant histories, they would be met with a whole series of counter-hegemonic, anti-authoritarian myths and histories of resistance, democratic ideals, subservient authorities and stories of wily folk (anti)heroes who openly and covertly defy authority. The mistrust for authority is not too surprising given a history of occupation and of Communist rule, and of corruption in recent years.

This mistrust is coupled with psychological aspects of anxiety and uneasiness regarding the troubling economy and the eroding social safety net. External market forces have encouraged changes, some minor, others radical, in the social lives of Slovenians. This insecurity also has moral components of envy and industriousness. However, this heterogeneity of highly localized Slovenian identity is something that is observable about “Slovenian culture” and indexing (intentionally or not) the peasant past and periods of resistance, also point to a *shared* past. Thus, in a way, museum exhibits which talk about a peasant past do reinforce conceptions of Slovenian identity, but not in a “classic” romantic nationalistic route. Indeed the very strong pressure to conform in Slovenia, a complaint I heard several times, is in turn, resisted in protest and in another dimension I have observed of Slovenia, its heavy emphasis on all forms of artistic expression. Perhaps the most well-known Slovenian around the world today is controversial philosopher and social/cultural critic, Slavoj Žižek. He captures the recursive character of these discourses of identity and hegemony and counter-hegemony when he explains the nature of narratives:

[T]he answer to the question ‘why do we tell stories?’ is that narrative as such emerges in order to resolve some fundamental antagonism by rearranging its terms into a temporal succession. It is thus the very form of narrative which bears witness to some repressed antagonism (Žižek 1997:10-11).

National identity (and nationalist) narratives in Slovenia certainly do reflect repressed antagonisms. How these manifest or are apprehended by Slovenians draws us to the question of identity construction at the individual level.

Returning to the importance of folklore in nationalist construction of identity, consider the saliency of folk tales to this day. Children, as a process of enculturation, inevitably learn these

folk tales, these national heroes with which to identify⁸⁵. The act of telling these folk stories orally, as well as in written form, lives on as well. Monika Kropej was involved with a folklore display/presentation surrounding a particular mountain and afterwards elders of the community confided to her that the old stories are still talked about locally (Kropej 2007). One confided:

People swap stories after their daily chores are done, after work, during supper, while playing cards, when they shell nuts or beans, during the winter. They tell each other scary stories about witches, dwarves, and creatures with supernatural powers, and stories about folk heroes such as Peter Klepec and Martin Krpan. They also recount legends, for instance the one about the Virgin Mary who crossed the ocean, and anecdotes about Hungarian soldiers and local characters (Kropej 2007:6).

These stories imbue the commercial realms as well, through the marketing of products via folklore (Boskar 2003, Gradišnik 2010, Klaus 2010, 2012, Kropej 2005, 2007). Supernatural folkloric elements such as good fairies may be mobilized in a witty commercial selling national lottery tickets for example (Klaus 2010) or in branding with familiar figures (Boskar 2003). Gradišnik notes how, post-independence “the general circumstances and atmosphere had changed people’s awareness about how to make use of folklore in the capitalist market”, further noting that this inadvertently spurred new interest and support for folklore and folklore preservation among the populace (2010)⁸⁶. This market commodification of local, regional and national folklore and mythology fuels continued interest in these traditions, often reinterpreted through “glocal” lenses (Gradišnik 2010). This is due to the globalizing flows of those (and others’) folkloric subjects (Golež Kaučič 2009).

⁸⁵ However, noted Slovenian children’s author, Anja Štefan notes in a survey she did of third graders that folk stories are not read as much as they once were (Štefan n.d.). However, Štefan herself relies heavily on folkloric elements in her children’s book and is often compared to another Slovenian author: Ela Peroci (1922-2001), a beloved classic children’s author (Maličev 2011).

⁸⁶ Another example is of the *zlatorog*. One of the two main bear manufacturers, *Laško*, sports the *zlatorog* on its logo and labels. The *zlatorog* is a magical golden mountain goat and numerous stories surround it (Kropej 2003:134-135). In 1931 the first feature length film shot in Slovenia was called “*V kraljestvu Zlatorog*”, “In the Realm of Goldenhorn” (Stanković 2012).

And yet, even as shared experiences such as folklore consumption may encourage a fostering of a collective, if mythic, past, it is the political actions of the state wherein citizenship is, *de jure*, codified as tied to participation in the territory of Slovenia, yet has been *de facto* codified a matter of ethnic identity. The targeting of “Southerners” thus becomes a broader program of homogenization of the state (Bajt 2010). These acts are contra Slovenian democratic ideals as expressed in their constitution but also mirrors other exclusionary acts by state actors (Gehrig 2003).

As demonstrated in this dissertation, national identity is part of a “geopolitical belonging” cultural domain and the work of differentiating “Others” (Yuval-Davis 2006). Within this broad domain are the subdomains of transregional, national and local identities. While I have discussed the contents of these domains and suggested routes of transmission for the domain content, I have not yet elaborated a model of interaction between individual and discourse. Linde for example, illustrated how narratives are often mobilized by non-participants as well as active participants in the act of recounting a narrative (2000). How can narratives such as identity discourses be more elaborately, effectively modelled? For this, I turned to various semiotic models. Within anthropology there have been several attempts to integrate semiotic approaches as an interpretive framework within the field (see Mertz 2007).

A model of discourse transmission:

To understand how the contents of a museum, say, impact the individual, we must re-conceptualize the processes by which visitors experience the museum. By using the museum as the locus of this exercise, I hope to elaborate a way forward to broader, societal models.

I maintain that the inscription of *meaning* on a *sign* is inherently dialogical (and at times, dialectical). If an item is selected for an exhibit on, say, household containers like firewood boxes (*kolnkišta*), not only is the quality of the object considered by the curator, but also the

significance of an object, namely its historical, ethnographical (ethnological), representative, and artistic qualities, but also the reasons for its display. Is the display one about “typical” Slovenian kitchens of the past? Is it about the changing nature of fuel consumption and technologies? Is it a display to discuss folk art and craftsmanship? Each of these is positioned within a broader assemblage of potential *meanings* available in the society. These meanings exist in endless, shifting constellations with each other within a broader, structurally influenced, series of flows or currents of said *meanings*. Thus it acts as a kind of ever shifting infrastructural phenomenon. Keller, evoking Foucault’s notion of *disapartif*, eloquently describes these realms of discourse transmission:

Discourses lead to inner-worldly consequences ... They [are] (occasionally) created in *dispositifs* or apparatuses of world intervention. This describes infrastructural interconnections between personnel (agents), institutional-organizational processes, artefacts, and discursive or non-discursive practices that are identified through research and which process the discursively constituted problematizations through time, space, and social collectivities and arenas although such devices are rather seldom generated quasi from nothing out of a discourse. “Creation” here is always entangled or has to cope with existing institutional organizational infrastructures (Keller 2011:60).

In some ways this mirrors Althusser’s “*Idéologie et appareils idéologiques d’État*” or “Ideological State Apparatuses”. However, in my semiotically based model, it is the individual as the ultimate source of all ideological production, thus human agency is not blotted out but is instead the very motor of discourse transmission. While the *signs* of national identity are *interpellations* (viz Althusser), they are individually contextualized in the minds of the beholder (the *interpretant* viz Peirce). This very process of meaning-making does not create perfect replicas in the minds of the *sign*’s beholder. Indeed, the construct held within the mind of the individual will in turn be interpreted in an idiosyncratic way to arrive at individual meanings.

These meanings are not only the product of the context of the symbolic universe the person resides in, but also through an exercise in individual agency.

These *signs*, sometimes enduring, sometimes fleeting, are not held in perfect replication. A society's symbolic library is heterogeneously understood. *Signs* have different meanings to different people. A World War Two era Partisan poster means different things to different people. These *signs* are created discursively. These loci of public and private social interaction are discursive fields that are "social arenas, constituting themselves around contested issues, controversies, problematizations, and truth claims in which discourses are in reciprocal competition with one another" (Keller 2011). It is the beliefs and behaviors of those individuals who have participated in these discourses and competing truth claims who are the ones who then shape the local and the state.

In Slovenia, identity discourses are intimately tied to the stories and beliefs held about the past and how the past is handled has an influence on the reception of identity messages; how those messages are presented by museums is important to understand not only the process of such *signaling* but also the results of such *signaling*.

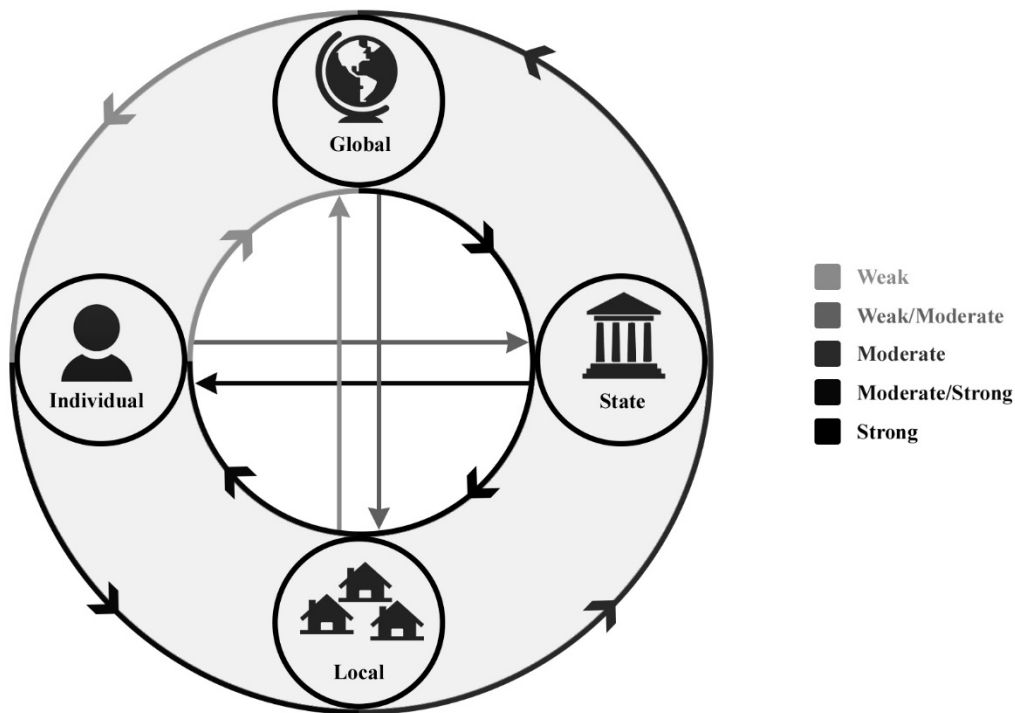
As I have intimated, the flows of identity discourses are influenced by structural concerns, be they brute facts such as geography and locality, to more complex ones such as economic and/or political influences, however they are also generated by locals and individuals themselves. These flows can be conceived as differentially positioned due to power dynamics, structural factors, or by other influences. These "*discourse channels*" are the routes by which discourse can be conceived of as flowing to and from individuals, localities, collectives, institutions, et cetera.

The dominant identity narratives in Slovenia are constructed with such metaphors such as "smallness", the natural world and of personal creativity. This "smallness" for example imbued

discourses around fears surrounding territorial integrity, linguistic integrity (Roter 2003) and demographic anxieties (Kerzan 2003) as well as being illustrated in local notions of geographical distances (Polic and Repovš 2004). The natural world is mobilized to demarcate space and imbue meaning. The social/cultural/historical context of Slovenia is the topography of discourse transmission in three sets (of three) “*discourse channels*”. One is a generally hegemonic “top down” set of discursive claims backed by power and authority, the second is from the individual and the third is from the community (however defined). These three interact/react and influence each other in elaborate ways. However, this begs the question of global flows of information. As such the model is expanded to include a necessarily vague “global” category. Below is a diagram illustrating the interactions of these *discursive channels*. I have expanded this diagram to include discourses external to the state, labeled “global” but it certainly could be regionally defined or even other, foreign, state actors. Slovenia is a part of local, regional, international and global discursive flows as well, spurred on by the ever increasing pace of globalization. Therefore, innumerable networks of other discursive channels possibly interact as well.

In this model I suggest conceptualizing the discursive flows between the individual to larger political collectives. The category “local” serves as a gloss for anything from the family, local community, village, town, collective, et cetera. In some ways these are nested notions, but a “nesting” model, like the proverbial Russian *Matryoshka* doll, actually encloses and incorporates all of the smaller units and is therefore of limited metaphorical usefulness. I suggest, and I must emphasize it is a mere supposition, that one could attempt to measure the efficacy or influence of *discourse channels*, by examining the results. In the diagram below, one might expect to find the following in Slovenia, however, this modeling of *discursive channels* requires further development.

Figure 18. A discursive channel model



The implication of this *discursive channel* model is particularly important if one is concerned with the dissemination of political discourse, such as Human Rights doctrine. I suggest that “mapping” and understanding the nature of a place’s *discourse channels* may help to fine tune Human Rights discourse delivery from NGOs, external actors, et cetera. Depending on the specifics of a particular location, it may be advisable to work primarily at the “state” actor level, or it may be more effective to target localities, institutions, or even targeting individuals themselves. Which one would be the most effective route of Human Rights “vernacularization” (Goodale and Merry 2007, Merry 2006a, 2006b)? The model may help us understand how international law tribunals are best covered in media, or otherwise broadcast, or leading to an understanding of the legacies of such tribunals and the processes of legitimation of said tribunals (Tošić 2007, Wilson 2005, 2011) and their local and societal implications. Additional

applications could be in such activities as public health campaigns and other public service projects.

By using free lists, pile sorts, questionnaires, and ethnographic fieldwork, I have managed to find underlying national and ethnic identity themes broadly experienced in Slovenia. These elements of egalitarianism, moralization (and valorization) of industriousness, historical proximity to agrarian lifestyles, strong linkages to the strikingly beautiful landscape and highly localized identities can be linked to the Slovenian language (broadly conceived) to arrive at the very question of national identity in Slovenia.

While national historic and ethnographic museums foster Slovenian identity discourses, they must compete with possibly countervailing exigencies of economy, the economically driven (pseudo)cosmopolitanism of the EU and other globalizing forces. Additionally, national identity discourses must contend with highly localized identity narratives. Additionally, the role of the “Turk” in the Slovenian past imbues their discourses about “the South” and “Southerners” today. These conflicts and convergences result in a layered, possibly fractured model of identity. The cognitive structural model of the cultural domain of identity in Slovenia suggests three component clusters. First, language as a driver of “imagining community”, is a key cluster. However, it is important to remember that there exists a tension between regional and nationalizing dialects in Slovenia. Second, a large concern over the historical content of Slovenia, is important. Finally, a general distrust of authority acts as a counter to unifying national narratives that seem dictated from “on high”. Additionally, Slovenia finds itself haunted by the Second World War and its aftermath, with constant efforts to represent the past in politically modern ways. In a sense, the past is used as a weapon in the present in an effort to control the future. This rift in Slovenian society, coupled with shifting political boundaries and

demographic flows have also resulted in increased examples of intolerance. Amongst all this, is the legacy of the loss of ties to the land, one that has resulted in a keen appreciation of the local, natural world, and the rural places of Slovenia by the Slovenes, themselves. As such, symbols of Slovenia's natural treasures, carry a bitter-sweet meaning, one of love and one of loss in a social world charged with *zavist* and *priden*.

Appendix A: Zdravljica by France Prešeren

(Translated by Janko Lavrin, *n.d.*, Bold included to denote seventh stanza)

Prijatljí! odrodíle,
so trte vince nam sladkó,
ki nam oživlja žíle,
srce razjásni in oko,
ki utopi
vse skrbi,
v potrtih prsih up budi!

Komú narpred veselo
zdravico, bratje! čmo zapét'?
Bog našo nam deželo,
Bog živi ves slovenski svet,
brate vse,
kar nas je
sinov sloveče matere!

V sovražnike 'z oblakov
rodú naj naš'ga trešči gróm,
prost, ko je bil očakov,
naprej naj bo Slovincov dom;
naj zdrobé
njih roké
si sponé, ki jim še težé!

Edinost, sreča, sprava
k nam naj nazaj se vrnejo;
otrók, kar ima Slava,
vsi naj si v róke sežejo,
de oblast
in z njo čast,
ko préd, spet naša bode last!

Bog živi vas Slovenke,
prelepe, žlahtne rožice;
ni take je mladenke,
ko naše je krvi dekle;
naj sinóv
zarod nov
iz vas bo strah sovražnikov!

Mladenči, zdaj se pije
zdravica vaša, vi naš up;
ljubezni domačije
noben naj vam ne usmíti strup;
ker po nas
bode vas
jo srčno bránit klical čas!

**Živé naj vsi naródi,
ki hrepené dočakat dan,
da, koder sonce hodi,
prepír iz svéta bo pregnan,
da rojak 'Who long to see
prost bo vsak, That all men free,
ne vrag, le sosed bo mejak!**

Nazadnje še, prijatljí,
kozarce zase vzdignimo,
ki smo zato se zbrat'li,
ker dobro v srcu mislimo;
dókaj dni
naj žíví
vsak, kar nas dobrih je ljudi!

The Vintage, friends, is over,
And here sweet wine makes, once again,
Sad eyes and hearts recover,
Puts fire into every vein.
Drowns dull care
Everywhere
And summons hope out of despair.

To whom with acclamation
And song shall we our first toast give?
God save our land and nation
And all Slovenes where'er they live,
Who own the same
Blood and name,
And who one glorious Mother claim.

Let thunder out of heaven
Strike down and smite our wanton foe!
Now, as it once had thriven,
May our dear realm in freedom grow.
May fall the last
Chains of the past
Which bind us still and hold us fast!

Let peace, glad conciliation,
Come back to us throughout the land!
Towards their destination
Let Slavs henceforth go hand-in-hand!
Thus again
Will honour reign
To justice pledged in our domain.

To you, our pride past measure,
Our girls! Your beauty, charm and grace!
There surely is no treasure
To equal maidens of such race.
Sons you'll bear,
Who will dare
Defy our foe no matter where.

Our hope now, our to-morrow -
The youths - we toast and toast with joy.
No poisonous blight or sorrow
Your love of homeland shall destroy.
With us indeed
You're called to heed
Its summons in this hour of need.

**God's blessing on all nations,
Who long and work for that bright day,
When o'er earth's habitations
No war, no strife shall hold its sway;
Who long to see
That all men free
No more shall foes, but neighbours be.**

At last to our reunion -
To us the toast! Let it resound,
Since in this gay communion
By thoughts of brotherhood we're bound
May joyful cheer
Ne'er disappear
From all good hearts now gathered here.

Appendix B: “Slovenia” freelists

Age	Gender	Nationality	Phrases and words listed
22	F	Slovene	Small (geographically and mentally), humble, reserved, neurotic, critical, adjustable, flexible
38	F	Slovene	small nation, unique language, somewhat xenophobic, drink a lot, high number of suicides & serious car accidents (drunk driving), imitate western countries
26	F	Slovene	Diligent, kind, green, honest, envious, ambitious, happy, sportsman/woman, educated, drinkers, selfish
25	F	Slovene	Accordion , small country, very different regional identity, good wine, a developing country, good coffee!, nice people
21	F	Serbian	Smallness and richness, potica, polka, Austrian influence on mentality, inferiority complex because of its smallness
29	M	Slovene	Smallness, »beef« music, Triglav, poliglots, Balkan, envy, natural beauty, unexperience [sic], closeness, diversity in smallness, xenophobia, being well-informed
24	F	Slovene	small nation, unique language, somewhat xenophobic, drink a lot, high number of suicides & serious car accidents (drunk driving), imitate western countries
22	M	Slovene (from Trieste)	Mitteleuropa, Triglav, accordion, kozolci (hay drying racks), Karst, caves, a loaf of bread, country tourism, fields of hop, mountain-climbing, choirs, soup, sausages and sauerkraut, potato, earthen stove
31	M	Slovene	Drinking, small, suicide, mountains, rivers, forests, honey, not much else really
19	F	Slovene	Small, independent, boring, bread, caves
20	F	Slovene	Besides the language, I would say the natural places and umm... homogeneous, small, drinking of course!
37	F	Slovene	Slovenian Language, Trubar, Preseren, Poetry, mountains, rivers and sea, good wines and good prsut (dried ham)
25	M	Slovene	Traditional music, wine, caves, sporty, but too small—you can't go anywhere without people knowing who you are
19	F	Slovene	Slovene language
20	F	Slovene citizenship	Still developing, is founded on artificial claims, quite obstinate, negative, even inside the family sometimes exceeds the limits of necessity, in contemporary society causes more harm than benefits, is the cause for not solving political disputes

“Europe” Freelist results

Age	Gender	Nationality	Phrases and words listed
23	M	Slovene	Unity, brotherhood, inflation, multiculturalism, all equal all different, intercultural dialog
22	F	Slovene	not there/here yet, forced, inconceivable, artificially produced, feeling of superiority, counterpoint of American identity, copies American identity, fusion of cultures
23	M	Slovene	member of EU, freely crossing state borders, student and work mobility, competition with USA in all fields, European sport events
26	M	Slovene	colonialism, self-centered, small nations, actually not much really
34	M	Slovene	No borders, opportunity, France and Germany, strong, long histories
20	F	Slovene	Diversity of languages and cultures, membership in European Union, getting jobs in other European countries, opportunity for studying at foreign universities inside exchange programmes like Erasmus
36	F	Slovene	The Euro, new bureaucracy, unity, can compete with the US
25	F	Slovene	Common identity of so many different nations – impossible trait, political connotation – suggests identification with EU politics, accepting European identity only when geographically defining oneself overseas (on other continents)
23	F	Slovene	being a part of a colorful history and culture, feels like as a European one learned to be independent throughout the ages of experience, Europeans are strong in a way and every nation so different from the other, we could almost say- recognizable
54	M	Slovene	EU is a waste of time, not good, wants to be like USA, hurts Slovenia, forced on us
38	F	Slovene	Opportunities for work, lots of politicians, many languages
19	M	Slovene	Italy, Germany, France, Spain, Euro, many old countries and I guess some new ones too.
47	F	Slovene	Slow, strong, experienced, common currency, many different countries / cultures
22	F	Slovene	Euro, many languages, takes away some of a countries power, important though
24	M	Slovene	Competitive, good for some big businesses, Euro, acts as competitor of America, Northern Europe
25	M	Slovene	Ireland, Netherlands, France, Lisbona agreement, Brussels, Dimitrij Rupel, Jose Manuel Barroso; About being European: you can't hide anymore from the big American and European plans About my own identity as an European: there is really nothing I could think of about that

Appendix C: Final Free List Frequency and Saliency

Word	Count	Smith's S
SMALL	14	0.52
BEAUTIFUL NATURE	12	0.44
DRINKS TOO MUCH	9	0.32
EUROPEAN UNION	9	0.32
NEGATIVE	9	0.32
FEELINGS OF INFERIORITY	8	0.28
HOSTLER	8	0.28
SUICIDAL	8	0.28
TRADITIONAL/COUNTRY/PEASANT FOODS	8	0.28
TRIGLAV	7	0.24
COMPETITIVE	6	0.2
FORCED	6	0.2
LARGE	6	0.2
FUSION OF CULTURES	5	0.16
POLYGLOT	5	0.16
SPECIAL LANGUAGE	5	0.16
SPORTY	5	0.16
ARTIFICIAL	4	0.12
DUAL [GRAMMATICAL]	4	0.12
ENVIOUS	4	0.12
HARMFUL	4	0.12
MULTICULTUAL/INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE	4	0.12
INEXPERIENCED	4	0.12
STRONG	4	0.12
FEELINGS OF SUPERIORITY	4	0.12
UNITY	4	0.12
XENOPHOBIA	4	0.12
EXCESSIVE	3	0.08
EXPERIENCED	3	0.08
IMPOSSIBLE	3	0.08
POLKA/BEEF MUSIC	3	0.08
STILL BECOMING/DEVELOPING	3	0.08
STUBBORN	3	0.08
COPIES AMERICA	2	0.04
COLORFUL HISTORY	2	0.04
COLONIALIST	2	0.04
COUNTERPOINT TO AMERICA	2	0.04
EQUALITY	2	0.04
FLEXIBLE	2	0.04
HUMBLE	2	0.04
INDEPENDENT	2	0.04
RESERVED	2	0.04
SELF-CENTERED	2	0.04
UNAVOIDABLE	2	0.04
UNIQUE	2	0.04

*Smith's *S* is a calculation of saliency (number of mentions -1 / number of participants) (see Smith 1993).

Appendix D: Pile Sort Alphabetical Listing by Code

<u>C #</u>	<u>CODE</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>SLOVENE</u>
22	ART	ARTIFICIAL	UMETNO
3	BEA	BEAUTIFUL NATURE	NARAVNE LEPOTE
24	CAM	COPIES AMERICA	KOPIRA AMERIKO
8	COH	COLORFUL HISTORY	PESTRA ZGODOVINA
34	COL	COLONIALIST	KOLONIALISTIČEN
10	COM	COMPETITIVE	TEKMOVALNOSTI
31	CTA	COUNTERPOINT TO AMERICA	NASPROTJE AMERIKI
42	DTM	DRINKS TOO MUCH	PREVEČ PIJE
28	DUA	DUAL [GRAMMATICAL]	DVOJINA
20	ENV	ENVOUS	ZAVIST
13	EQU	EQUALITY	ENAKOST
9	EU	EUROPEAN UNION	EU
36	EXC	EXCESSIVE	PRETIRAN
16	EXP	EXPERIENCED	IZKUŠEN
18	FLX	FLEXIBLE	PRILAGODLJIV
5	FOC	FUSION OF CULTURES	ZLITJE KULTUR
39	FOI	FEELINGS OF INFERIORITY	OBČUTEK MANJVREDNOSTI
35	FRC	FORCED	VSILJEN
45	HOS	HOSTLER	HLAPEC
11	HRM	HARMFUL	ŠKODLJIV
37	HUM	HUMBLE	SKROMEN/PONIŽEN
2	IMP	IMPOSSIBLE	NEMOGOČE
17	IND	INDEPENDENT	SAMOSTOJNOST
19	LRG	LARGE	VELIK
23	MID	MULTICULTUAL/INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE	MULTIKULTURNOST/MEDKULTURNI DIALOG
29	NEG	NEGATIVE	NEGATIVEN
30	NXP	INEXPERIENCED	NEIZKUŠEN
40	PBM	POLKA/BEEF MUSIC	POLKA/GOVEJA GLASBA
41	PLY	POLYGLOT	POLIGLOT
44	RES	RESERVED	ZADRŽAN/ZAPRT
43	SBD	STILL BECOMING/DEVELOPING	V NASTAJANJU/V RAZVOJU
6	SEC	SELF-CENTERED	EGOCENTRIČEN
38	SML	SMALL	MAJHEN
4	SPL	SPECIAL LANGUAGE	POSEBEN JEZIK
25	SPO	SPORTY	ŠPORTEN
7	STR	STRONG	MOČAN
14	STU	STUBBORN	TRMAST
27	SUI	SUICIDAL	SAMOMOR
1	SUP	FEELINGS OF SUPERIORITY	OBČUTEK VEČVREDNOSTI
32	TCP	TRADITIONAL/COUNTRY/ PEASANT FOODS	TRADICIONALEN/PODEŽELSKI/ KMEČKA HRANA
21	TRI	TRIGLAV	TRIGLAV
26	UNA	UNAVOIDABLE	NEIZOGIBNO
12	UNI	UNITY	ENOTNOST
15	UNQ	UNIQUE	EDINSTVEN
33	XEN	XENOPHOBIA	KSENOFOBIJA

Appendix E: Pile Sort Responses

Person 1: 21/F/Prefer not to answer

NEITHER	1, 5, 8, 13, 15, 19, 26, 30, 31, 33, 41, 43
EU	7, 9, 10, 12, 17, 22, 24, 36, 40
SLO	2,3,6,18,20,21,23,25,27,28,32,37,38,39,42,45
BOTH	4,11,14,29,34,35,44

Person 2 29/M/Slovene

NEITHER	34,2,23,12,15,16,13,14,31
EU	22,29,35,1,5,6,9,10,7,11,41,19,26
SLO	17,27,28,40,30,32,37,38,44,39,42,3,18,20,21,4,43
BOTH	24,36,45,25,8,33

Person 3 32/F/Slovene

NEITHER	26,41,6,1,35,29,4,20,37,40,14,12,15,2,36,34
EU	19,11,7,5,22,31,13,16,23,8
SLO	43,10,21,3,42,39,44,38,32,30,28,27,17,45,25
BOTH	9,18,33,24

Person 4 31/F/Slovene-Dalmatian

NEITHER	11,13,16,1,29,37,2,36,34,33
EU	19,7,22,23,9,24,10,32,25,6,35,4,12
SLO	5,31,18,43,21,3,42,39,44,38,28,27,17,45,41,20,40
BOTH	8,30,26,14,15

Person 5: 55/F/Slovene

NEITHER	33,34,36,2,6,30,29,11,35,24
EU	43,15,26,1,13,5,22,31,12,9,23,7,19
SLO	37,40,41,45,17,27,28,38,44,39,21,18,32,4,14
BOTH	20,3,25,16,42,8,10

Person 6 25/F/Slovene

NEITHER	18,13,31,12,2,19,17
EU	22,1,7,34,36,11,35,24
SLO	38,44,39,21,32,43,15,33,30,29,3,25,16,42,10,40,45,28
BOTH	4,14,26,5,6,9,23,20,8,37,41,27

Person 7 39/F/refused to define

NEITHER	13,19,34,11,35,16,25,7,2,12
EU	31,22,41,36,24,8,23,9,5,26
SLO	18,17,4,14,1,27,37,28,45,40,10,42,3,29,30,33,15,32,21,39,44,38,20,6
BOTH	/

Person 8 44/M/Slovene

NEITHER	13,19,25,7,2,12,41,36,32,9,5,26,17,4,14,10,42,15,32
EU	34,11,35,16,31,22,24,8,27,33
SLO	18,43,1,37,28,45,40,3,29,30,21,39,44,38,20,6
BOTH	/

Person 9 21/M/Slovene

NEITHER	2,12,26,29,30,31,33,36,45
EU	1,5,7,8,13,19,22,23,35,41
SLO	3,4,9,10,11,14,15,16,17,20,21,25,27,28,32,37,38,39,40,42,43,44

BOTH	6,18,24,34
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Person 10

60/M/Istrian

NEITHER	18,34,10,37,2,12
EU	7,19,35,16,25,44,31,36,6
SLO	24,8,22,23,41,1,3,4,14,15,17,20,21,27,28,32,38,39,40,26,43,30,33,45
BOTH	5,13,9,11,42,29

Person 11

20/F/Slovene

NEITHER	32,15,31,25,13,2,12
EU	10,34,43,26,17,1,41,23,22,24,6,16,19,7,5
SLO	18,45,33,30,40,39,38,28,27,21,4,3,8,36,44,35,37
BOTH	20,14,29,42,11,9

Person 12:

59/M/European

NEITHER	14,26,43,37,35,36,39,40,30,45,12,2,13,31,15
EU	9,11,5,24,23,18
SLO	42,20,19,6,41,44,4,21,27,28,38,33,32
BOTH	29,7,16,22,1,17,34,10,8,3,25

Person 13:

57/F/Yugoslav

NEITHER	16,7,34,5,37,39,45,12,13
EU	22,29,9,11,31,15,41
SLO	1,17,10,25,24,23,18,43,14,35,36,40,30,42,20,44,4,21,27,28,38,33,32
BOTH	8,3,26,2,19,6

Person 14:

21/F/Slovene

NEITHER	4,2,26,23,18,34,37,39,12,13,45,31,15,41,16,44,35
EU	7,22,36,19,24,43,5,9,11,6
SLO	28,38,33,32,40,42,20,21,27,10,3,25,14,1,17,30
BOTH	29,8

Person 15:

20/M/Bosnian

NEITHER	16,45,13,12,39,37,34,4,32,33,28,15,44
EU	18,23,26,17,14,25,3,10,8,29,41,31,6,11,24,19,36,7,35
SLO	2,30,27,21,20,40,38,43,22
BOTH	1,42,9,5

Person 16:

38/M/Croatian

NEITHER	43,15,12,13,16,5,7,19,24,31,10,25,14,17,26,23
EU	22,2,33,34,9,1,35,6,41,29,8
SLO	38,40,20,21,27,44,32,4,37,39,45,3,18
BOTH	30,28,42,36,11

Person 17:

31/F/Alien

NEITHER	14,25,31,19,7,5,16,13,12,15,43,28,30,18,4,41
EU	24,11,9,34,23
SLO	26,17,10,36,42,3,45,39,37,32,44,27,21,20,40,38,8,29,6,35,1,33,2,22
BOTH	/

Person 18:

36/F/Slovene

NEITHER	26,2,14,25,7,16,13,12,15,30,18,24,11,34
EU	10,36,6,35,1,33,22,31,19,5,43,41,9,23
SLO	17,42,3,45,39,37,32,44,27,21,20,40,38,8,29,28,4

BOTH	/
------	---

Person 19: 34/M/Slovene

NEITHER	29,27,32,11,12,13,2,23,5,31,22,6,36,10
EU	16,7,14,9,41,43,19,1
SLO	4,28,38,40,21,37,39,45,18,30
BOTH	8,20,44,3,42,17,34,24,15,33,25,26,35

Person 20: 34/M/Slovene

NEITHER	22,11,34,26,6,35,2,39,45
EU	5,8,19,15,12,36
SLO	18,16,17,14,29,30,27,32,20,44,24,33,3,25,42,28,38,40,21,37
BOTH	31,10,7,9,41,43,1,4,13,23

Person 21: 47/F/Slovene

NEITHER	2,29,27,13,12,30
EU	22,31,43,34,35,5,36,9,1,19,23,26,11,8,15
SLO	18,16,17,14,20,24,37,7,10,6,33,32,3,25,38,40,4,39,45,42,28,21,44
BOTH	41

Person 22: 47/M/Slovene

NEITHER	37,7,3,34,19,26,11,15,2
EU	24,10,41,22,31,43,35,36,9,8,13
SLO	18,17,14,20,6,33,32,40,4,39,45,42,28,21,1,44,27,30
BOTH	16,25,38,5,23,29,12

Person 23: 56/F/Slovene

NEITHER	18,14,31,36,35,29,34,26,2,11
EU	6,1,16,7,19
SLO	20,33,32,40,4,39,45,42,21,44,27,30,41,25,38,37
BOTH	17,28,24,22,10,43,13,15,8,9,5,23,12,3

Person 24: 23/F/Slovene

NEITHER	11,31,19,7,16,12,13
EU	26,34,35,25,33,1,23,5,9,43,10,22,24
SLO	2,14,18,37,38,41,27,21,45,39,4,40,32,20,8,15,28,17
BOTH	29,36,30,44,42,6,3

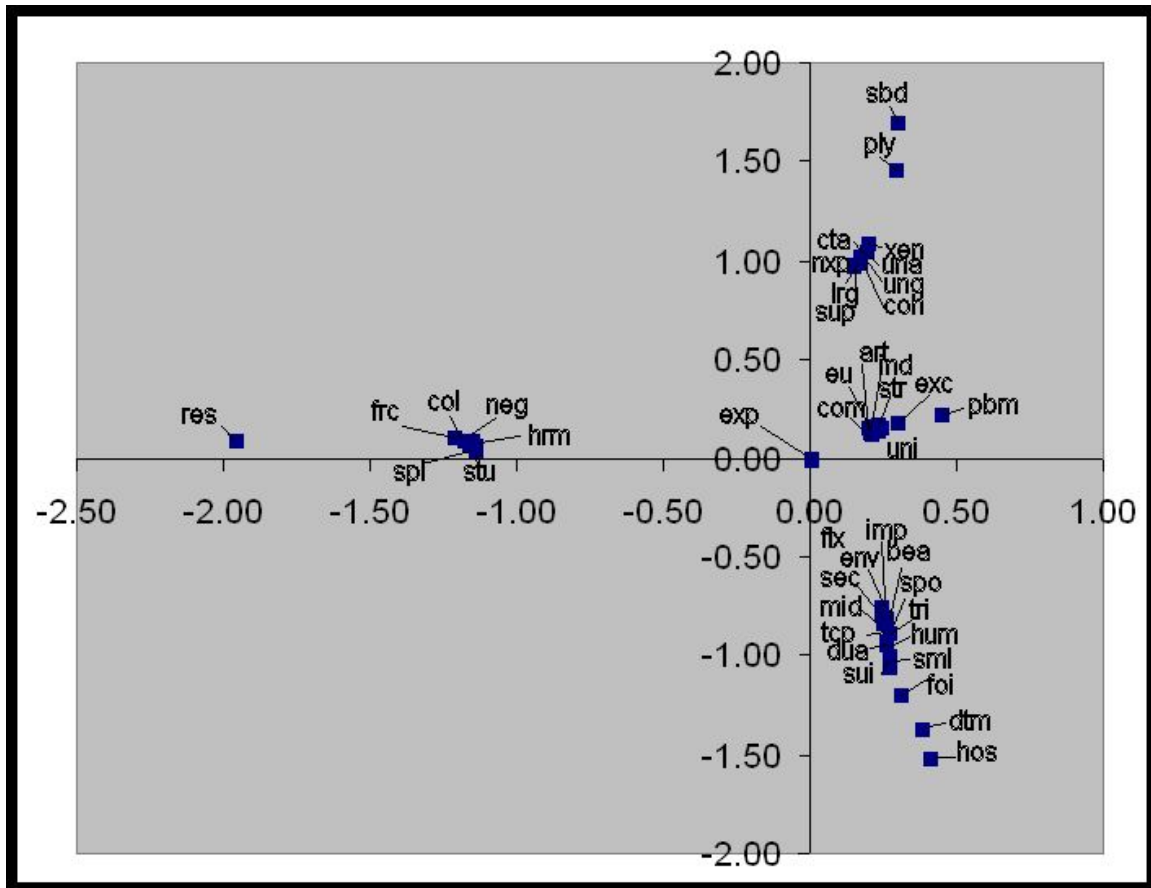
Person 25: 21/F/Slovene

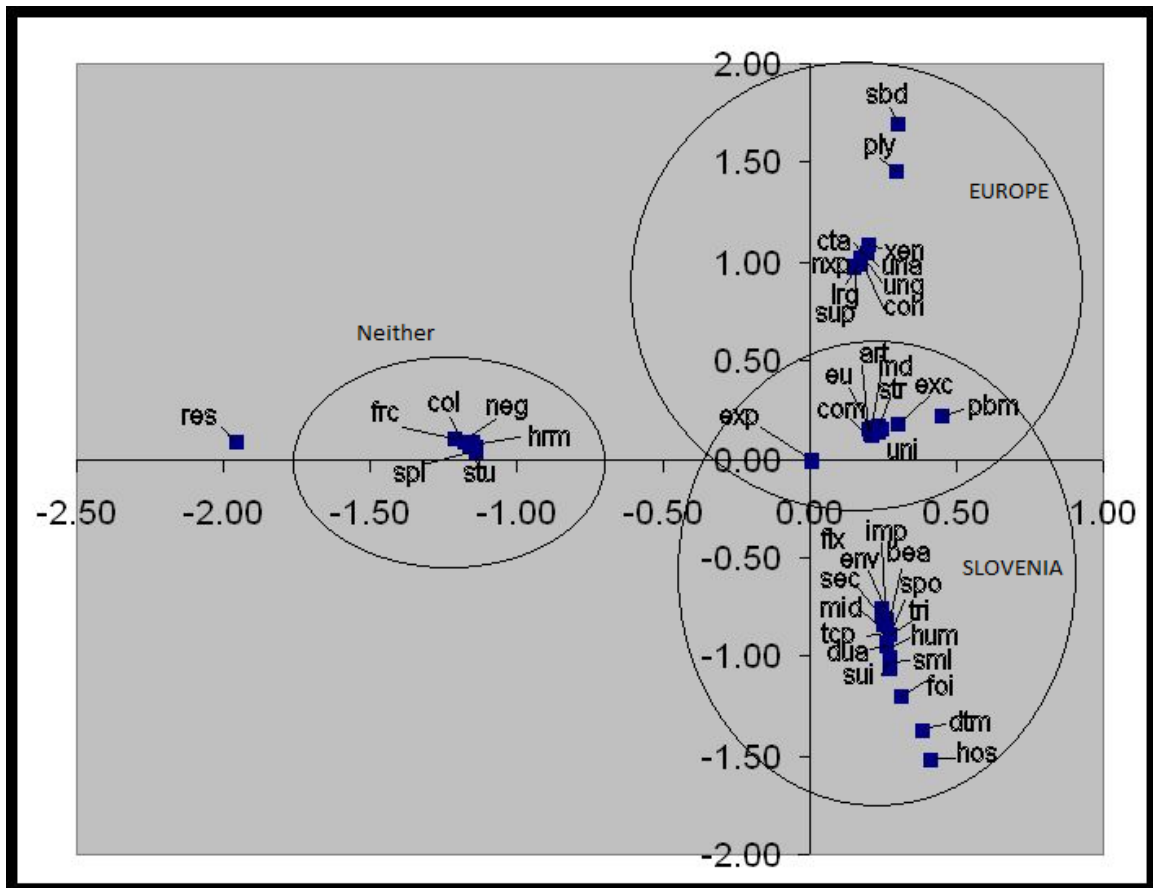
NEITHER	16,36,29,1,33,25,34,26,31,11,39,37,14,2,13,12
EU	6,22,10,43,9,5,23,35,7,19
SLO	28,15,3,20,32,40,42,4,45,21,27,41,38,18,17,8
BOTH	44,30,24

Appendix F: Pile Sort Coordinates

<u>Card#</u>	<u>Label</u>	<u>X</u>	<u>Y</u>
1	SUP	0.15	0.97
2	IMP	0.24	-0.77
3	BEA	0.24	-0.78
4	SPL	-1.15	0.09
5	FOC	0.15	0.97
6	SEC	0.25	-0.80
7	STR	0.20	0.15
8	COH	0.15	0.98
9	EU	0.21	0.13
10	COM	0.21	0.12
11	HRM	-1.14	0.04
12	UNI	0.24	0.15
13	EQU	0.15	0.98
14	STU	-1.14	0.06
15	UNQ	0.17	0.99
16	EXP	0.00	0.00
17	IND	0.23	0.14
18	FLX	0.24	-0.76
19	LRG	0.17	1.00
20	ENV	0.24	-0.75
21	TRI	0.25	-0.83
22	ART	0.22	0.16
23	MID	0.27	-0.88
24	CAM	0.23	0.17
25	SPO	0.24	-0.79
26	UNA	0.19	1.05
27	SUI	0.26	-0.81
28	DUA	0.26	-0.92
29	NEG	-1.16	0.07
30	NXP	0.17	1.01
31	CTA	0.17	1.02
32	TCP	0.26	-0.94
33	XEN	0.20	1.09
34	COL	-1.18	0.09
35	FRC	-1.21	0.10
36	EXC	0.30	0.18
37	HUM	0.27	-1.00
38	SML	0.27	-1.06
39	FOI	0.31	-1.20
40	PBM	0.45	0.22
41	PLY	0.29	1.46
42	DTM	0.38	-1.37
43	SBD	0.30	1.70
44	RES	-1.96	0.09
45	HOS	0.41	-1.52

Appendix G: Pile Sort Results





Appendix H: Slovenian Political Timeline 1918-2013
(Adapted from BBC News Europe 2013)

1918 - After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Slovenia joins the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

1929 - The kingdom becomes known as Yugoslavia.

1941 - Slovenia is occupied by Nazi Germany, Hungary and Italy during World War II.

1945 - At the end of the war, Slovenia becomes a constituent republic of socialist Yugoslavia.

1989 - Slovene parliament confirms the right of the country to secede from the Yugoslav federation.

1990 - First multi-party elections. Milan Kucan becomes president. Overwhelming majority of Slovenes vote for independence in a referendum.

1991 - Slovenia, along with Croatia, declares its independence. The Yugoslav federal army intervenes. Slovene forces defend the country. About 100 people killed. The EU brokers a ceasefire. The Yugoslav army withdraws. Thousands of nationals of other former Yugoslav republics deprived of rights of residence, property ownership, education, health and welfare services.

1992 - The EU recognises Slovenia's independence, followed by the US. Slovenia joins the United Nations. First parliamentary and presidential elections in the newly independent country. Milan Kucan re-elected president. Janez Drnovsek becomes prime minister.

1993 - Slovenia joins the International Monetary Fund.

1996 - Slovenia signs an association agreement with the EU.

1997 - Janez Drnovsek re-elected prime minister, Milan Kucan re-elected president. The EU opens full membership talks with Slovenia.

1999 - Slovenia, a member of NATO's Partnership for Peace programme, allows NATO to use its airspace during the bombing of Kosovo and Serbia. President Clinton visits in June and says Slovenia is a strong candidate for full NATO membership.

2000 - Janez Drnovsek loses a confidence vote in April; Andrej Bajuk of the centre-right Social Democratic party becomes prime minister. Elections in October see Drnovsek regain power at the head of a four-party coalition.

2002 November - Slovenia 1 of 7 countries formally invited to join NATO at Prague summit.

2002 December - Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek wins presidential elections. EU summit in Copenhagen formally invites Slovenia to join in 2004.

2003 March - Referendum vote backs both EU and NATO membership.

2003 October - Slovenia objects after Croatian parliament votes to create ecological zone in eastern Adriatic.

2004 February - Parliament introduces law restoring residence and other rights removed from thousands of nationals of other former Yugoslav republics after independence.

2004 March - Slovenia admitted to NATO.

2004 April - Right-wing sponsored referendum rejects law restoring rights removed from nationals of other former Yugoslav republics after independence.

2004 1 May - Slovenia is one of 10 new states to join the EU.

2004 October - Centre-right Slovenian Democratic Party tops poll in general elections. Party leader Janez Janša sets about forming coalition government.

2005 February - Parliament ratifies EU constitution.

2005 October - Slovene parliament declares ecological zone in the Adriatic with rights to protect and use sea bed. President Drnovsek calls for independence for Kosovo. Belgrade cancels arrangements for him to visit.

2005 November - Thousands attend rally in Ljubljana in protest at government plans to cut benefits and introduce flat tax rate.

2007 January - Slovenia becomes the first former communist state to adopt the single European currency, the euro.

2007 November - Leftist former diplomat Danilo Turk is elected president.

2008 January - Slovenia becomes the first former communist state to assume the EU presidency.

2008 September - Opposition Social Democrats narrowly come out ahead of PM Janez Janša's Slovenian Democratic Party in parliamentary elections, but fall well short of an absolute majority.

2008 November - Social Democratic leader Borut Pahor becomes prime minister at the head of a centre-left coalition comprising three other parties.

2009 March - Slovenia becomes last NATO member to ratify Croatia's membership in the alliance, setting aside a dispute over the sea border at Piran Bay.

2010 December - Voters in a referendum reject plans to reform public TV.

2011 May - Slovenia and Croatia officially submit their Piran Bay border dispute to UN arbitration.

2011 June - Voters reject pension reform in a referendum, triggering months of political uncertainty.

2011 September - PM Borut Pahor's centre-left coalition collapses after losing confidence vote in parliament. It remains in office as a caretaker government.

2011 December - Newly-formed Positive Slovenia party scores surprise win in parliamentary elections. However, parliament rejects its leader - Ljubljana mayor Zoran Jankovic - as prime minister.

2012 February - Parliament approves new and mainly centre-right government led by Prime Minister Janez Janša. Anger at corruption and austerity prompted a wave of protest in 2012 and early 2013.

2012 April - Civil servants go on strike to protest against the government's austerity measures.

2012 November-December - Thousands of people take part in anti-austerity protests in Ljubljana and Slovenia's second city, Maribor.

2012 December - Centre-left former PM Borut Pahor wins presidential election at run-off vote, defeating incumbent Danilo Turk.

2013 January - Slovenia's anti-corruption watchdog finds that Prime Minister Janez Janša and Ljubljana mayor Zoran Jankovic "systematically and repeatedly" broke the law by failing to make a full declaration of their assets. Both men deny any wrongdoing.

2013 March - The Janša coalition collapses over disputes about austerity measures and corruption allegations. Liberal opposition leader Alenka Bratusek becomes prime minister.

2013 April - European Commission warns that urgent policy action is needed to tackle the problems of Slovenia's banks. PM Bratusek says that her government is working "day and night" to save the country's banking system. Ratings agency Moody's cuts Slovenia's bonds to "junk" status, increasing likelihood that country will have to ask eurozone partners for bailout.

2013 May - Government unveils package of measures aimed at staving off EU bailout.

2013 June - Former Prime Minister Janez Janša is convicted of corruption and sentenced to two years in prison. He says he will appeal.

Appendix I: Questionnaire
Raziskava o muzejih in identitete

Danes bom / sem obiskal muzej

DA

NE

Ali ste že kdaj obiskali muzej

a) nikoli

b) enkrat c) 2 - 4 krat

d) več kot 5 krat

Opreделите se do izjav

	Sploh se ne strinjam	Se ne strinjam	Deloma se ne strinjam	Brez mnenja	Deloma se strinjam	Se strinjam	Zelo se strinjam
Muzeji so pomembni zame.							
Danes sem obiskal muzej, da bi izvedel več o identiteti / zgodovini Slovencev.							
Na splošno se mi zdijo muzeji zabavni.							
Zgodovina Slovenije je pomembna zame.							
Muzeji so najboljši način za ohranitev in zaščito kulturne dediščine.							
Prebral sem večino tekstov, ki spremljajo razstave.							
Politika slovensko zgodovino prikazuje natančno.							
Počutim se Slovenec.							
Večina mojih prijateljev je Slovencev.							
Država bi morala bolj financirati muzeje.							
Slovenci poznajo svojo preteklost.							
Politika bi morala imeti več vpliva na muzejske razstave.							
Slovenci imajo dolgo zgodovino.							
Slovenski mediji natančno prikazujejo slovence/slovensko zgodovino							

(Modified from the original A4 landscape to 8.5 X 11 inches, portrait)

Opredelite se: Pomembno je, da slovenski osnovnošolci spoznajo

	Sploh se ne strinjam	Se ne strinjam	Deloma se ne strinjam	Brez mnenja	Deloma se strinjam	Se strinjam	Zelo se strinjam
Osamosvojitve Slovenije							
Knežji kamen							
Bržišinske spomenike							
Primoža Trubarja							
Zdravljico							
Zgodovino EU							
Panslavizem							
Geografijo Slovenije							
Geografijo Evrope							
Geografijo sveta							
Slovenske šege in navade							
Slovensko versko zgodovino							
Doktrine krščanstva							
Uporabo dvojine							
Eno slovensko narečje							

Če se strinjate z zadnjo trditvijo katero narečje naj to bo? _____

Čutim se bolj/manj kot moji družinski člani

bolj	enako	manj	Sploh ne
------	-------	------	----------

Slovenec
domoljuben

Čutim se bolj/manj kot moji prijatelji

Slovenec
domoljuben

Čutim se bolj /manj kot moji kolegi

Slovenec
domoljuben

močnej še	enako	manjše	Sploh ne

V primerjavi z javnostmi je moje razumevanje slovenskosti

S številkami od 1 – 4 ocenite, natančnost prikazovanja zgodovine. Uporabite vsako številko samo enkrat. (1=najmanj, 4=največ):

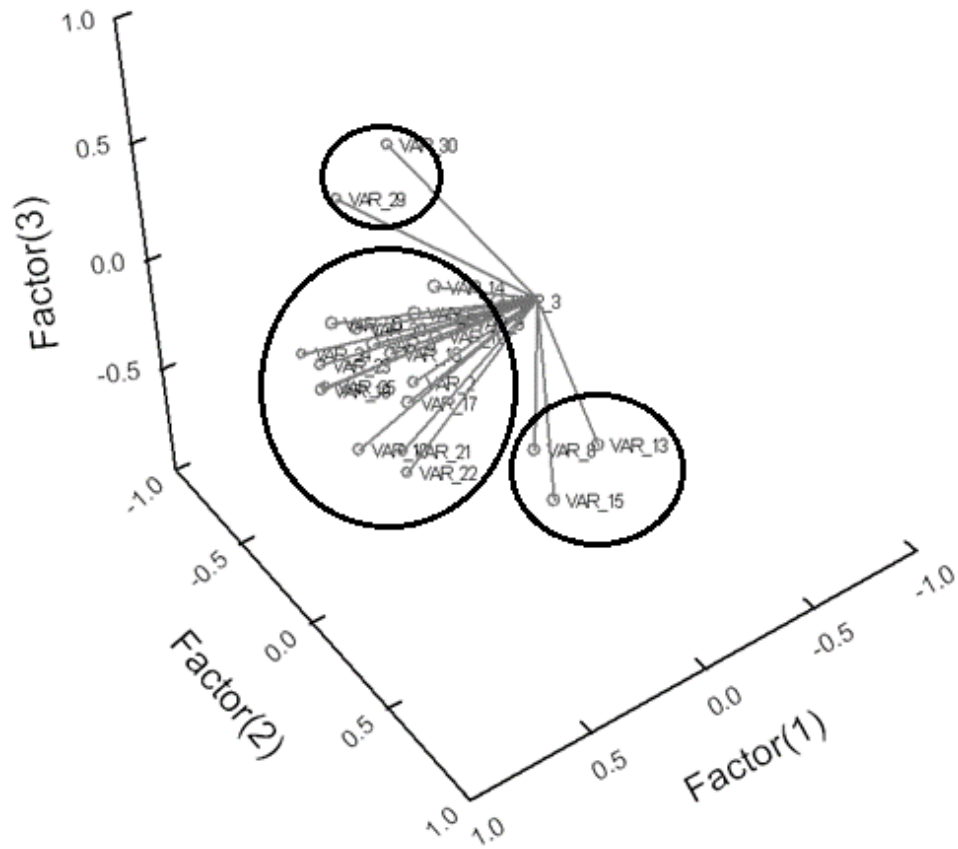
Muzeji _____ TV _____ Govori politikov _____ v književnosti _____

Appendix J: Factor Analysis

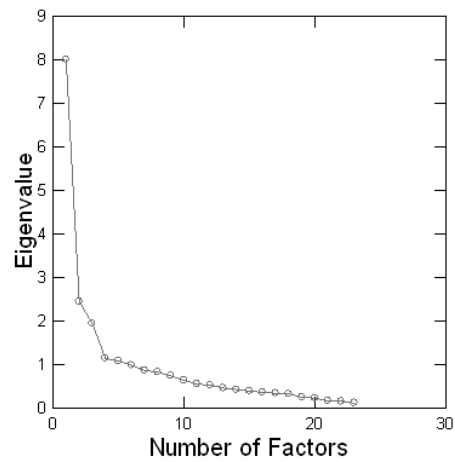
Component Loadings

	1	2	3
VAR_19 PrimožaTrubarja	0.791	-0.16	-0.135
VAR_5 The history of Slovenia is important to me	0.775	0.17	0.27
VAR_18 Freising manuscripts	0.771	0.034	-0.278
VAR_26 Slovenian customs and habits	0.754	-0.123	0.159
VAR_23 Slovenian geography	0.727	-0.268	-0.126
VAR_20 National Anthem toast	0.697	-0.061	0.15
VAR_17 Prince's stone (Knezhji Komen)	0.68	0.215	0.008
VAR_24 geography of Europe	0.672	-0.495	-0.253
VAR_16 Slovenian independence	0.671	0.107	0.142
VAR_25 world geography	0.635	-0.409	-0.365
VAR_6 Museums are the best way to preserve and protect cultural heritage.	0.603	0.154	0.306
VAR_22 Panslavism	0.593	0.05	-0.463
VAR_9 I feel Slovenian.	0.582	0.398	0.417
VAR_21 EU history	0.526	-0.083	-0.492
VAR_14 Slovenes have a long history.	0.52	0.15	0.377
VAR_10 Most of my friends are Slovenians.	0.502	0.122	0.143
VAR_2 Museums are important to me	0.5	-0.033	-0.157
VAR_15 Slovenian media accurately reflect the Slovenians / Slovenian history	0.385	0.626	-0.281
VAR_13 The politicians should have more influence on the exhibition.	0.191	0.608	-0.15
VAR_8 Politicians accurately portrays Slovenian history.	0.347	0.462	-0.195
VAR_29 The DUAL Tense	0.466	-0.538	0.311
VAR_30 One Slovenian dialect	0.272	-0.502	0.481
VAR_3 Today I visited to learn more about Slovenian identity or history	0.37	0.296	0.341

Factor Loadings Plot



Scree Plot



Appendix K: Museum Employee Questionnaire

1. What is your position title? / *Naziv vaše zaposlitve?*
2. Why are museums important to society? / *Zakaj so muzeji za družbo pomembni?*
3. Why did you decide to work in a museum? / *Zakaj ste se odločili za delo v muzeju?*
4. What can governments do to help museums? / *Kaj lahko po vašem mnenju stori vlada, da bi pomagala muzejem?*
5. gender / *spol*
6. Do Slovenian adults who visit museums differ in some way from Slovenians who do not visit museums? / *V čem (če sploh) se po vašem mnenju odrasli Slovenci, ki obiskujejo muzeje, razlikujejo od tistih, ki tega ne počnejo?*
7. In what ways has your museum, or museums in general, changed since the dissolution of Yugoslavia? / *Kako in na kakšen način se je vaš muzej (oz. muzeji v Sloveniji na splošno) spremenil od razpada Jugoslavije dalje?*
8. If you work as a curator, what are the biggest obstacles to you expressing your curatorial "voice" or "vision" in exhibits you plan? / *Če delate kot kurator – katere so po vašem mnenju največje ovire pri izražanju vaše kuratorske vizije pri razstavah, ki jih načrtujete?*
9. Where do you rank yourself politically on a scale from political LEFT to political RIGHT? / *Kam na politični lestvici od leve proti desni bi postavili sebe?*
10. Should corporations have a bigger role in supporting museums? Why or Why not? / *Bi po vašem mnenju korporacije morale igrati pomembnejšo vlogo pri podpori muzejem? Zakaj da oz. zakaj ne?*
11. If you work as a curator, what are the biggest obstacles to you expressing your curatorial "voice" or "vision" in exhibits you plan? / *Če delate kot kurator – katere so po vašem mnenju največje ovire pri izražanju vaše kuratorske vizije pri razstavah, ki jih načrtujete?*
12. Has the economic reforms that came with independence in 1991 helped or harmed (or both) Slovenians and Slovenian museums? How? / *So po vašem mnenju ekonomske spremembe po osamosvojitvi leta 1991 pomagale ali ovirale (morda oboje?) Slovencem in slovenskim muzejem? Kako?*
13. Where do you rank yourself politically on a scale from political LEFT (1) to political RIGHT (7)? / *Kam na politični lestvici od leve (1) proti desni (7) bi postavili sebe?*

14. Should corporations have a bigger role in supporting museums? Why or Why not? / *Bi po vašem mnenju korporacije morale igrati pomembnejšo vlogo pri podpori muzejem? Zakaj da oz. zakaj ne?*
15. Has the economic reforms that came with independence in 1991 helped or harmed (or both) Slovenians and Slovenian museums? How? / *So po vašem mnenju ekonomske spremembe po osamosvojitvi leta 1991 pomagale ali ovirale (morda oboje?) Slovencem in slovenskim muzejem? Kako?*
16. How has European Union membership and the Euro affected Slovenian society? / *Kako sta članstvo v Evropski Uniji in uvedba Evra vplivala na slovensko družbo?*
17. What is your age? / *Vaša starost je?*
18. Government or political party influence on museum exhibits and programs is: / *Vpliv vlade in političnih strank na muzejske razstave in programe je po vašem mnenju:*
19. I consider myself / *Sebe uvrščam med:*
20. Additional comments / *dodatne pripombe:*

Appendix L: Survey Questions, English Translation

- 0 Howmany times have you visited before?
- 1 Museums are important to me
- 2 Today I visited to learn more about Slovenian identity or history
- 3 In general I find museums fun
- 4 The history of Slovenia is important to me
Museums are the best way to preserve and protect cultural
- 5 heritage.
- 6 I have read most of the texts accompanying the exhibition.
- 7 Politicians accurately portray Slovenian history.
- 8 I feel Slovenian.
- 9 Most of my friends are Slovenians.
- 10 The state should fund museums more.
- 11 Slovenians know their history.
- 12 The politicians should have more influence on the exhibition.
- 13 Slovenes have a long history.
Slovenian media accurately reflect the Slovenians / Slovenian
- 14 history
How important is it that primary school students learn the
following:
- 15 Slovenian independence
- 16 Prince's stone (Knezhji Komen)
- 17 Freising manuscripts
- 18 PrimožaTrubarja
- 19 National Anthem toast
- 20 EU history
- 21 Panslavism
- 22 Slovenian geography
- 23 geography of Europe
- 24 world geography
- 25 Slovenian customs and habits
- 26 Slovenian Religious History
- 27 Christian doctrine
- 28 The DUAL Tense
- 29 One Slovenian dialect
- 30 I feel more / less than my family members: Slovenian
I feel more / less than my family members: patriotic (love
- 31 homeland)
- 32 I feel more / less than my friends: Slovenian
- 33 I feel More/Less than Friends: patriotic (love homeland)
- 34 I feel more / less than my colleagues: Slovenian
- 35 I feel more /less than my colleagues: Patriotic (love homeland)
- 36 The public's understanding of slovenianness is:

Appendix M: Aggregate survey results

	Total		SEM				Kobard				Frانيا				History					
	Before N=55		After N=68		Before N=24		After N=34		Before N=14		After N=15		Before N=6		After N=10		Before N=11		After N=9	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
0	2.17	1.15	2.68	1.13	2.09	1.15	2.78	1.21	2.45	1.29	2.58	1.08	1.50	0.55	2.86	1.07	2.44	1.24	2.88	1.13
1	5.62	1.09	6.14	0.86	5.23	1.15	6.21	0.77	5.36	0.93	6.13	1.06	6.50	0.84	5.90	0.99	6.30	0.67	6.44	0.73
2	5.31	1.44	4.57	2.13	4.81	1.54	3.88	2.16	6.21	1.37	6.14	1.56	5.00	1.10	5.40	1.43	5.30	0.95	3.89	2.09
3	5.18	1.42	5.02	1.36	4.88	1.51	5.09	1.31	5.43	1.50	4.47	1.68	5.50	0.55	5.78	0.67	5.36	1.43	5.22	1.20
4	5.80	1.52	6.31	0.86	5.58	1.61	6.26	0.90	6.57	0.51	6.60	0.63	5.17	2.40	6.10	0.88	5.64	1.43	6.11	1.05
5	5.91	1.39	6.10	0.85	5.68	1.36	6.06	0.95	6.57	0.65	6.53	0.64	4.83	2.64	6.20	0.63	6.00	0.89	5.78	0.83
6	5.04	1.40	5.28	1.46	4.76	1.34	5.44	1.40	5.43	1.50	5.80	1.47	5.33	1.63	5.40	1.51	4.91	1.30	4.50	1.51
7	3.75	1.95	3.38	1.48	3.71	1.85	3.42	1.48	4.07	2.13	3.64	1.55	3.17	1.83	2.90	1.29	3.73	2.15	3.78	1.64
8	5.96	1.71	6.02	1.40	6.04	1.73	6.24	1.30	6.71	0.61	6.20	1.21	4.67	2.34	5.30	1.77	5.55	1.92	5.56	1.51
9	5.40	1.67	5.84	1.37	4.67	1.99	6.09	0.91	6.71	0.47	6.00	1.51	4.67	0.82	4.80	1.81	5.73	1.10	5.56	1.67
10	5.45	1.23	5.76	1.19	5.09	1.23	6.00	1.30	5.93	1.14	5.73	1.03	5.83	0.98	5.30	1.06	5.36	1.36	6.00	1.12
11	3.84	1.65	4.16	1.35	4.46	1.28	4.39	1.46	3.36	1.78	4.33	1.40	3.67	1.75	4.20	0.92	3.18	1.89	3.78	1.39
12	3.24	2.03	2.98	2.08	3.33	1.95	2.76	2.18	4.29	2.20	3.60	1.96	2.00	0.63	2.90	1.79	2.36	1.91	3.56	2.24
13	5.48	1.76	5.72	1.23	5.26	1.68	5.85	1.05	6.43	0.76	6.27	0.80	4.33	1.51	5.20	1.62	5.36	1.86	5.33	1.73
14	3.81	1.58	3.81	1.70	3.78	1.48	3.65	1.77	4.36	1.69	4.80	1.32	3.33	1.86	3.30	1.49	3.45	1.51	3.00	1.66
15	6.35	1.07	6.30	0.68	6.25	1.29	6.28	0.73	6.77	0.44	6.57	0.51	6.33	1.03	6.10	0.74	6.09	1.04	6.11	0.60
16	5.83	1.28	6.04	1.11	5.67	1.49	6.25	0.76	6.31	1.03	6.21	1.37	5.67	1.51	5.50	1.84	5.73	0.90	6.11	0.33
17	6.06	1.07	6.33	0.80	5.88	1.33	6.34	0.97	6.38	0.87	6.50	0.52	6.17	0.98	6.20	0.79	6.00	0.63	6.44	0.53
18	6.28	1.11	6.46	0.75	6.25	1.42	6.69	0.47	6.38	0.96	6.43	1.09	6.17	0.98	5.90	0.88	6.27	0.47	6.44	0.53
19	6.43	0.93	6.40	0.81	6.52	0.90	6.56	0.67	6.46	1.13	6.36	1.15	6.17	0.98	6.20	0.92	6.36	0.81	6.22	0.44
20	5.43	1.37	5.79	1.16	5.46	1.32	5.88	1.01	5.62	1.71	6.36	0.63	5.67	0.82	5.20	1.81	5.00	1.34	5.67	1.22
21	5.20	1.39	5.33	1.25	5.13	1.42	5.55	1.21	5.92	1.04	5.43	1.09	4.50	1.87	5.00	1.63	4.91	1.22	5.50	1.31
22	6.30	1.14	6.63	0.55	6.08	1.35	6.66	0.55	6.77	0.44	6.79	0.43	6.33	1.03	6.60	0.52	6.18	1.25	6.33	0.71
23	6.23	0.89	6.39	0.72	6.09	0.85	6.44	0.67	6.62	0.65	6.64	0.63	6.67	0.52	6.10	1.10	5.82	1.17	6.22	0.44
24	6.23	1.07	6.25	0.91	5.92	1.38	6.31	0.82	6.62	0.51	6.43	0.65	6.83	0.41	6.00	1.56	6.10	0.74	6.11	0.60
25	6.11	0.91	6.21	0.93	5.87	1.01	6.45	0.72	6.77	0.44	6.29	1.07	5.83	0.98	6.00	1.15	6.00	0.77	5.78	0.97
26	5.27	1.63	5.45	1.27	5.18	1.53	6.06	0.81	6.15	0.99	5.64	1.08	4.67	2.07	4.50	2.01	4.73	1.10	4.78	0.83
27	4.69	1.52	4.55	1.50	4.63	1.38	5.22	1.16	5.46	1.66	4.86	1.56	4.33	1.75	3.33	1.87	4.09	1.30	3.67	0.87
28	6.36	1.15	6.39	0.83	6.42	1.28	6.56	0.56	6.31	1.18	6.50	0.65	6.50	0.84	6.10	1.20	6.20	1.03	6.00	1.22
29	5.50	1.56	5.25	1.45	5.04	1.88	5.50	1.55	6.23	0.93	5.29	1.14	5.67	1.51	5.60	1.07	5.55	1.21	4.22	1.64
30	2.00	0.70	2.02	0.49	2.00	0.53	1.94	0.36	1.73	0.47	2.14	0.36	2.67	1.03	2.10	0.57	1.91	0.83	2.00	0.87
31	2.06	0.74	2.04	0.57	2.04	0.64	1.94	0.44	1.70	0.48	2.00	0.41	2.67	1.03	2.10	0.57	2.09	0.83	2.33	1.00
32	1.92	0.74	1.88	0.57	1.87	0.55	1.87	0.50	1.67	0.49	1.79	0.58	2.83	0.98	2.00	0.47	1.82	0.87	2.00	0.87
33	1.90	0.80	1.98	0.62	1.87	0.69	1.84	0.58	1.56	0.53	2.00	0.58	2.67	1.03	2.20	0.42	1.82	0.87	2.11	0.93
34	1.92	0.74	1.93	0.56	1.87	0.55	1.87	0.50	1.58	0.51	1.86	0.53	2.83	0.98	2.10	0.32	1.91	0.83	2.11	0.93
35	1.92	0.82	1.96	0.66	1.87	0.63	1.84	0.64	1.67	0.50	1.92	0.64	2.67	1.03	2.10	0.32	1.82	0.98	2.22	0.97
36	1.80	0.73	1.75	0.69	1.71	0.72	1.52	0.57	1.75	0.45	1.69	0.63	2.33	1.37	2.22	0.83	1.73	0.47	2.00	0.76

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