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AND OUTGROUP ATTITUDES
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**PATTERNS OF INGROUP IDENTIFICATION
AND OUTGROUP ATTITUDES
ON THE ITALO-SLOVENE BORDERLAND**

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*“At times our own light goes out and is rekindled by a spark from another person.
Each of us has cause to think with deep gratitude
of those who have lighted the flame within us.”*
Albert Schweitzer

*“It seems to me shallow and arrogant for any man in these times
to claim he is completely self-made,
that he owes all his success to his own unaided efforts.
Many hands and hearts and minds
generally contribute to anyone’s notable achievements.”*
Walt Disney

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ABSTRACT (563 words)

The dissertation explored the themes of multiple identities and out-group attitudes among minority (autochthonous and immigrant) and majority groups on the Italo-Slovene borderland, considered a “natural laboratory” to study the effects of the entrance of Slovenia in European Union and in the Schengen area on ethnic and national identification, territorial attachments, intergroup dynamics and social integration processes.

These issues were approached combining quantitative (415 questionnaires) and qualitative (56 interviews) measures. The research was grounded in the conceptual models developed in the field of social psychology, using as main theoretical frameworks the Social Identity Theory and the Self-Categorization Theory (Tajfel, 1982; Horsey & Hogg, 2000) and Social Identity Complexity Theory (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

It aimed to determine whether complex (vs. simple) ingroup identification in minority and majority members is related to outgroup orientation. Individuals with high social identity complexity were expected to be more inclusive and to show more outgroup acceptance (Brewer & Pierce, 2005).

Furthermore, the study tested a new measure created to measure social identity complexity by assessing inclusion of others in the self.

We argued that people who are exposed to more groups coexisting in a multicultural and plurilingual geographic region or who have been socialized in two cultures at the same time are more likely to exhibit a more complex social identity structure (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Berry, 2003; Miller, Brewer & Arbuckle, 2009).

This was confirmed with our sample: mainly minority members, but also some majority respondents expressed a high level of social identity complexity. Slovene minority members frequently saw themselves as something else and more than merely “Slovenian” or “Italian”, for instance, used more than one ethno-cultural label and self-categorization with different degrees of overlapping components, showing an effective integration expressed in combined ethnic and national identification (Berry, 2006) or showed hybrid identities.

Following Bhabha's perspective (1996), it was suggested that hybrid identifications and other complex identity structures may have the potential to mediate similarities and differences between groups, transcending the binary oppositional positioning of “us” and “them”, fostering inclusion and collaboration between groups.

When ethnic identity and social comparison were primed, Slovene minority members of our sample expressed higher degrees of ethnic identification than majority members. Since they tended to adopt complex identification self-descriptions, it appeared clear that these forms of self-definition are strategies that help reducing uncertainty and maintaining the optimal level of distinctivity (Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001). They also expressed higher attachments to local territorial units rather than national ones.

The results further revealed aspects of situational ethnicity among Slovene minority members. All the groups considered language and culture as the most important national identity markers and a requirement for acculturation.

Most of the participants stated they did not perceive any significant effect of the socio-political changes of the last decades on their ethnic and national sense of self or on intergroup attitudes. Among the positive aspects mentioned there were pride and confidence related to one's sense of belonging, strengthened awareness of European citizenship, increased attachment to Slovenia, more opportunities for intergroup contact and cooperation fostering mutual knowledge.

The data suggested that perceived similarity with target group and complex identity structure are associated with lower social distance, higher percentage of intergroup contacts and more positive outgroup orientation. We concluded with some reflections on limitations of the study and potentials of complex multiple social identifications in intergroup bias reduction strategies.

List of Abbreviations

SIT	Social Identity Theory
SCT	Self-Categorization Theory
EU	European Union
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
IG	Ingroup
OG	Outgroup
SIC	Social Identity Complexity
IPA	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
EIOGA	Ethnic Identity and Outgroup Attitudes

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Concept map of the thesis.....	9
Figure 2: Concept map of personal and social identity.....	13
Figure 3: Identity as a set of overlapping, intersectional and hierarchical circles (core-periphery, thick-thin lines, degree of overlap, inclusion in other circles).....	19
Figure 4: Group mobility strategies.....	30
Figure 5: Concept map of ingroup bias.....	35
Figure 6: Slovene minority in Italy and Italian minority in Slovenia	38
Figure 7: Map of Friuli Venezia Giulia region.....	42
Figure 8: Students attending Slovene schools in Italy – school years 2007-2009.....	42
Figure 9: List of municipalities where the Slovene minority is historically present.....	46
Figure 10: Župančič: Ethnic structure of Slovenia and Slovenes in Neighbouring countries.....	47
Figure 11: Dissolution of the Former Eastern Bloc.....	53
Figures 12/13/14: Piazza Transalpina-Europa, a plaque marking the border between Italy and Slovenia (Gorizia-Nova Gorica).	56
Figure 15: Schengen countries in 2008.....	57
Figure 16: Venn diagrams for “Inclusion of others in the self” (simple vs. complex ethnic identity).....	86
Figure 17: Sample distribution of groups.....	96
Figure 18: Regions' denominations in Slovenia	97
Figure 19/20/21: Participants' place of residence per group.....	97
Figures 22/23/24: Frequencies distribution per group of the first self-description.....	104
Figures 25/26/27: Circles choice (Inclusion of others in the Self) per group.....	107
Figures 28/29/30: Responses chosen per group in Inclusion of Others in self (%)	112
Figure 31: Percentage of frequencies for “Italians as Ingroup” per group.....	118
Figure 32: Percentage of frequencies for “Slovenians as Ingroup” per group.....	118
Figures 33/34: Means of “Italians vs. Slovenians as ingroup” per group for low and high identifiers.....	119
Figure 35: Importance of citizenship as national marker.....	122
Figures 36: Importance of the place of birth as national marker (%).....	122
Figure 37: Importance of permanent residence in (country) as national marker (%).....	123
Figure 38: Importance of language as national marker (%).....	123
Figure 39: Importance of Catholic religion as national marker (%).....	124
Figure 40: Importance of respecting national laws as national marker (%).....	125
Figure 41: Importance of feeling (Italian or Slovenian) as national marker (%).....	125
Figure 42: Importance of at least one parent's belonging as national marker (%).....	125
Figure 43: Importance of respecting national culture, customs and traditions.....	126

as national marker (%).....	126
Figure 44/45/46: Achieved and Ascribed identity per low-high identifiers for each group.....	137
Figure 47: Attachment to the country of birth per group (%).....	139
Figure 48: Attachment to Northern Italy (%).....	141
Figure 49: Attachment to Italy (%).....	142
Figure 50: Attachment to Slovenia (%).....	142
Figure 51: Attachment to the European Union (%).....	144
Figure 52: Attachment to the World (%).....	145
Figure 53: Attachment to local territorial units (%).....	146
Figure 54: Perceived similarity to a typical Italian (%).....	167
Figure 55: Perceived similarity to a typical member of the Slovene minority (%).....	168
Figure 56: Perceived similarity to a typical Slovenian (%).....	168
Figure 57: Perceived similarity to a typical Catholic (%).....	169
Figure 58: Social distance toward Slovenians (%).....	171
Figure 59: Social distance toward Slovene minority members (%).....	171
Figure 60: Social distance toward Italians (%).....	172
Figure 61: Social distance toward Muslims (%).....	172

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Berry's integration model.....	31
Table 2: Recognized municipalities with Slovene citizens.....	48
Table 3: List of interviews codes.....	80
Table 4: Inter-item correlations of MEIM.....	114
Table 5: Items of MEIM loadings on Factor1.....	115
Table 6: Means and standard deviations per group for ethnic identification and ethnic identity strength.....	116
Table 7: Percentages of respondents by group rating each national identity marker as important.....	127
Table 8: Rotated Component Matrix of the Factor Analysis of items measuring National identity markers	129
Table 9: Rotated Factor Matrix for Territorial attachment.....	130
Table 10: Reliability Statistics per group of the factor “ascribed identity”1.....	131
Table 11: Reliability Statistics per group of the factor “ascribed identity” 2.....	131
Table 12: Inter-Item correlation matrix for “ascribed identity” national markers.....	132
Table 13: Reliability Item-Total statistics for factor “ascribed identity”.....	133
Table 14: Number of self-descriptive labels used*Group Crosstabulation.....	259
Table 15: I am selfdescription1*Group Crosstabulation.....	260
Table 16: Circles choice1*Group Crosstabulation.....	261
Table 17: Strength of ethnic belonging Crosstabulation.....	262
Table 18: Happiness to be ethnic member Crosstabulation	263
Table 19: Clarity about ethnic background meaning Crosstabulation.....	264
Table 20: Effects of group membership Crosstabulation.....	265
Table 21: Understanding group membership meaning Crosstabulation.....	266
Table 22: Feeling about cultural/ethnic background Crosstabulation.....	267
Table 23: Pride in ethnic group Crosstabulation.....	268
Table 24: Univariate tests: ethnic identity strength and MEIM.....	269
Table 25: Univariate test for Slovenians as IG.....	271
Table 26: Multiple comparisons for Slovenians as IG.....	272
Table 27: Multivariate tests on achieved/ascribed identity.....	273
Table 28: ANOVA Achieved/Ascribed Identity.....	273
Table 29: Between Subjects Effects on Achieved Identity.....	273
Table 30: Ethnic Identity Strength and Achieved Identity.....	274
Table 31: Means Per Group for Achieved Identity.....	274
Table 32: Multiple comparisons Achieved Identity.....	275
Table 33: Territorial Attachment to Country of Birth.....	275
Table 34: Territorial Attachment Municipality.....	276
Table 35: Territorial Attachment Province/Region.....	277
Table 36: Territorial Attachment to Northern Italy.....	277
Table 37: Territorial Attachment to Italy.....	278
Table 38: Territorial Attachment to Slovenia.....	279

Table 39: Territorial Attachment to EU.....	279
Table 40: Territorial Attachment to the World.....	280
Table 41: Territorial local attachment (municipality, province).....	280
Table 42: Cosmopolitan attachment (EU, world).....	281
Table 43: Local attachment (municipality, province)	
*Territorial Attachment to Slovenia Crosstabulation.....	281
Table 44: Territorial Attachment to Northern Italy	
*Territorial local attachment (municipality, province) Crosstabulation.....	282
Table 45: Inter-item Correlations for National Markers.....	283
Table 46: National Identity Markers Correlations.....	284
Table 47: Regression Analysis National Markers & Territorial Attachment Italy.....	287
Table 48: Perceived similarity to a typical Italian.....	287
Table 49: Perceived similarity to a typical member of the Slovene minority in Italy....	288
Table 50: Perceived similarity to a typical Slovenian from Slovenia.....	288
Table 51: Perceived similarity to typical Muslim.....	289
Table 52: Perceived similarity to a typical Catholic.....	289
Table 53: Social Distance to Slovenes from Slovenia.....	290
Table 54: Social Distance to Slovene Minority in Italy.....	291
Table 55: Social Distance to Italians.....	292
Table 56: Social Distance to Muslims.....	293

Contents

Acknowledgments	v
ABSTRACT	viii
List of Abbreviations	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
CONTENTS	xv
Introduction	1
State of the art and research questions.....	1
Outline of the thesis.....	6
<u>Chapter 1: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK</u>	10
1.1 IDENTITY IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY.....	10
1.1.1 Who am I? The Self and the Other.....	10
1.1.2 Personal and social identities.....	11
1.2 SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY.....	14
1.3 SELF CATEGORIZATION THEORY.....	15
1.4 MOTIVATIONAL ASPECTS OF IDENTIFICATION.....	16
1.5 TYPES OF SOCIAL IDENTITIES.....	18
1.5.1 ETHNIC IDENTITY.....	20
1.5.2 Ethnic identity components.....	22
1.5.3 Measuring ethnic identity with MEIM.....	25
1.5.4 Ethnic identity achievement and personal wellbeing.....	27
1.5.5 External and internal changes and ethnic identity.....	28
1.6 MULTIPLE GROUP MEMBERSHIP and INTEGRATION.....	31
1.6.1 Integration and acculturation.....	31
1.6.2 Social identity complexity.....	32
1.7 OUTGROUP ATTITUDES.....	33
1.7.1 Intergroup and ingroup bias.....	34
1.8 Intergroup CONTACT.....	35
<u>Chapter 2: TERRITORY and POPULATION</u>	38
2.1 RESEARCH TERRITORY and POPULATION.....	38
2.1.1 Autochthonous (old) and allochthonous (new) minorities.....	39
a) Italian minority in Slovenia.....	39
b) Slovene minority in Italy.....	40
c) allochthonous minorities in selected cities.....	43
2.2 ITALO-SLOVENE BORDER TRANSFORMATIONS IN TIME.....	49
2.3 MINORITY – MAJORITY RELATIONS.....	53
2.3.1 The Italo-Slovene cross-border area as a contact area.....	58

The Upper Adriatic cross-border area.....	59
2.3.2 CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION.....	61
<u>Chapter 3: HYPOTHESES</u>	63
3.1 IDENTIFICATION LABELS and MULTIPLE COMPLEX IDENTITIES.....	63
3.2 ETHNIC and NATIONAL IDENTITY SALIENCE IN MULTIPLE CATEGORIZATIONS.....	64
3.3 ETHNIC and TERRITORIAL IDENTIFICATION.....	67
3.4 NATIONAL/ ETHNIC IDENTITY MARKERS.....	69
3.5 SITUATIONAL ETHNICITY.....	69
3.6 EFFECTS of SOCIOPOLITICAL CHANGES on IDENTITY and INTERGROUP RELATIONS	70
3.7 PERCEIVED SIMILARITY/DIFFERENCE TO IG and OG.....	71
3.8 SIMILARITY and FRIENDSHIP.....	72
3.9 INTERGROUP CONTACT.....	73
3.10 INTERGROUP BIAS.....	74
<u>Chapter 4: DATA and METHODOLOGY</u>	77
4.1 QUALITATIVE DATA.....	77
4.1.1 Informants.....	78
4.1.2 Procedure and analysis.....	78
4.1.3 Guide for the interviews	79
4.2 QUANTITATIVE DATA.....	81
4.2.1 Respondents.....	81
4.2.2 Procedure.....	81
4.2.3 Variables	82
<u>Chapter 5 – RESULTS</u>	92
5.1 PROCEDURE of analysis	92
5.2 SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS.....	93
5.2.1 Sample size.....	93
5.2.2 Gender.....	94
5.2.3 Age.....	94
5.2.4 Level of education.....	95
5.2.5 Profession	95
5.2.6 Marital status.....	96
5.2.7 Residence	96
5.2.8 Place of birth of respondents and their parents.....	98
5.2.9 Abroad living.....	98
5.2.10 Cooperation with NGOs.....	99
5.2.11 Religious denomination.....	99
5.3 RESULTS 1 (INGROUP IDENTIFICATION)	
5.3.1 Self-categorization.....	100
Multiple categorisations/identities.....	101
5.3.2 First salient self-designation (I AM).....	102

5.3.3 Ethnic and national labels as first self-description.....	103
5.3.4 Regional and local labels	103
5.3.5 Cosmopolitan labels.....	105
5.3.6 Minority ingroup self-identification.....	105
5.3.7 Graphical representation: Inclusion of others in the Self.....	107
5.3.8 Ethnic identification and ethnic identity strength.....	113
5.3.9 Italians or Slovenians as Ingroup or Outgroup.....	117
5.3.10 National identity markers	120
5.3.11 Territorial attachment and sense of belonging.....	137
5.3.12 The effects of socio-political changes on national identity	148
5.3.13 Being a minority member	151
5.3.14 Optimal distinctiveness.....	165
5.3.15 Perceived intra- and inter-group similarities.....	166
5.4 RESULTS 2 (OUTGROUP ATTITUDES).....	170
5.4.1 Social distance toward in-group and out-group.....	170
5.4.2 Attitude toward mixed marriages.....	174
5.4.3 Intra- and inter-group contact.....	176
5.4.4 Perceived effect of Slovenia's entrance in EU on intergroup relations	177
5.4.5 Attitude toward new minorities.....	183
5.4.6 Perceived out-group heterogeneity.....	185
5.4.7 Interviews on outgroup attitudes.....	190
SUMMARY and CONCLUSIONS	216
LIMITATIONS	230
Bibliography	235
Appendix 1 (tables)	259
Appendix 2 (Slovene and Italian EIOGA questionnaires)	294
Curriculum Vitae	326

Introduction

State of the art and research questions

This thesis explores the theme of multiple identities and outgroup attitudes on the Italo-Slovene borderland.

Towns on international borders of the European Union are considered natural “laboratories” for studying European integration, due to the fact that cross-border interactions in these areas are more intense and further stimulated by Euroregions initiatives to promote cooperation in different fields in order to foster economic and social integration.

Since the entrance of Slovenia in European Union (in 2004) and in the Schengen area (in 2007) the Italo-Slovene cross-border region offers the opportunity to act as one of such “natural laboratories” to study identity issues, intergroup dynamics and integration processes.

Several programmes and projects for transborder cooperation between Italy and Slovenia are sponsored every year by the European Union, focused on territory promotion, economic and institutional cooperation, tourism, environmental safeguard, transportation, social and cultural cooperation and integration.

Social integration can be defined as a two-way process of acceptance, recognition, respect, appreciation and inclusion of diversity between some host dominant group (the majority group) and minority groups, be them autochthonous minorities or new minorities of immigrants, based on interactions of people.

Experimental research in social psychology shows that typically people tend to cooperate more with members of their own group rather than with members of another group (Brewer, 1979), except when both or all the groups involved can

have a win-win situation with mutual benefits and added advantages of working together.

Within the frame of Contact Hypothesis Theory, it is well documented that intergroup relations can be improved if the minority and majority groups can be regularly in equal status contact pursuing some common goal, involving grassroots leaders and representatives of formal institutions as well that can provide information about the communities' needs and also resources for the initiatives. These conditions are present in the cross-border region.

We can say that social integration, positive or improved intergroup attitudes indirectly help also the economical aspects, stimulating different groups to engage in interactions and joint common tasks that can allow the possibility to better know each other.

In a pluralistic society active tolerant attitudes (supporting integration rather than assimilation, viewing minorities as enriching and positively influencing the society) are those to be facilitated and that can create the most effective ground for a peaceful co-existence and efficient cooperation where all the groups involved can have some benefits.

Many studies in past tended to focus on minority groups in comparison with the dominant majority groups "emphasizing their deficits, rather than their adaptive strengths or their place in the larger society" (McGoldrick, Giordano, & Garcia-Preto 2005: 2). On the contrary, recently several scholars pinpoint the significant role played by the presence of ethnic and linguistic minorities in the contact area of a border region, having a strategic function in transborder cooperation (Klemenčič & Bufon, 1994; Del Bianco 2008).

Recent transnational dynamics related to Europeanization and globalisation does not only open borders and improve intergroup contacts, but also challenge identities of border regions' inhabitants (Tschofen, 2009) giving rise to more complex social identity structures.

Studying the Bodensee (lake Constance) region, which is geographically divided by national borders between Austria, Switzerland, and Germany, Tschofen observed that interregional identity contains more differences than similarities. He highlighted that border regions are historically constructed social spaces that tend to exhibit overlapping and changing delineations. According to him, this particular feature offers us insights into the relationships between people and their nation-state and on how competing loyalties and multiple identities can coexist in everyday life of those who live in border regions since they experience simultaneously difference and coherence (Haller & Donnan 2000:8, in Tschofen, 2009).

Similarly, Asher (2005), researching the urban area of Frankfurt an-der-Oder (Germany) and Słubice (Poland), found that residents of this border region used different forms of ethnic, national and transnational identities, negotiating their being European by means of their cross-border practices and interactions.

Moreover, some researchers remarked that reducing intergroup differentiation and group distinctiveness, like it happens in mergers, can heighten ingroup bias of the merged group (Cunningham, 2006; Crisp & Beck, 2005).

Keeping all this in mind, the present research aims to explore how boundaries opening with the admission of Slovenia in the European Union (in 2004) and the previous socio-political change, associated with Slovenia's independence from Yugoslavia (in 1991), affected ethnic/national identification and intergroup relations of those living more or less close to the border area.

Can we observe any process of change?

Are there any differences in ethnic and national identity strength across minority and majority members on both sides of the border?

What are the national identity markers that define membership in a national or ethnic group?

Is the opening of the border improving intergroup attitudes and diminishing the mutual stereotypes?

Are individuals' territorial attachments to local, national and broader units changing and differing across groups?

Furthermore, there is a void of empirical research on Slovene minority attitudes toward immigration. This study therefore fills this gap by asking, who among minority and majority members of the borderland is more or less tolerant of immigration and why, contributing to research on immigration attitudes and intergroup relations.

How are multiple identities of minority and majority members related to their attitudes toward diversity in general and other minorities, like for instance toward immigrants?

Are citizens who have a strong identification with the national state or with local territorial units more negatively oriented toward diversity and minorities?

What are the strategies that people with multiple identities use to negotiate their sense of self with others and to resolve the internal uncertainty of who they are?

Many local studies have focused on linguistic identity and behaviours (the use of mother tongue or dominant language at home and elsewhere) of minority members living in the Italo-Slovene borderland, on socialization, on crossborder relations between Italian and Slovenian members related to the motivations of going on the other side of the border or the fruition of facilities here and there. In these surveys the tendency is to assume a simple social identity structure to describe one's identification.

On the contrary, we argue that people who have been exposed to two groups and socialized in two cultures at the same time (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002), such is the situation in the territory we study, are also more likely to exhibit a more complex social identity structure, to see themselves as something

else and more than merely this or that, either “Slovenian” or “Italian”, for instance.

People with multiple identities are generally ethnic and national minorities, but may be also economic migrants, expatriates who study, work and live abroad, mixed-ethnic individuals who have parents of different ethnic background, those who are involved in an interethnic relationship and whoever uses more than one ethno-cultural label and self-categorization (Berry, 2003; Padilla, 2003).

As far as I am aware of, there is no other research addressing these issues in this context, neither at local level nor in broader contexts.

An exception can be the projective test developed by Pertot (2002) to measure the perceived closeness to the “I”, the core of the person's self-identification, with other members of the in-group or the out-groups. She administered this test to Slovene minority high school students, having as target groups in the labels local territorial identities, Slovene and Italian residents of the selected city and Slovenians from Slovenia.

I used the same test for my undergraduate thesis with adolescent population of Slovenian and Italian majority and Slovene minority members, finding it an expensive measure, complicated to administer and with little efficiency.

The second issue is that almost none of the mainly sociological surveys done by local uses standardized measures of identification or outgroup attitudes as developed in the field of social psychology, making it difficult or rather impossible to compare any findings or discuss them in terms of leading theoretical frameworks.

This prompted me, *inter alia*, to translate and use in Slovenian and Italian the standardized Phinney's Multigroup Ethnic Identification and Out-group Orientation Measures for the purposes of my undergraduate thesis (Kosic, 2004). I also created a new measure, comprised of a series of Venn diagrams, to assess

complex social identity structures, inspired by the theoretical framework developed by Roccas and Brewer (2002).

I approached these issues combining and integrating the quantitative and qualitative perspectives.

Outline of the thesis

The first chapter provides an overview of the main theoretical frameworks guiding the research that is grounded in the conceptual models developed in the field of social psychology. The main notions of the Social Identity Theory (SIT), the Self-Categorization Theory (SCT) are given, focusing more in detail on the intergroup bias occurring in social categorization, together with its implications for intergroup attitudes and one's self-view. The concept of social identity, and ethnic identity in particular, is examined on this basis, presenting the most relevant discussions about dual and multiple identities. Furthermore, it explores possible perceived threats to social identities. The chapter is concluded presenting the Contact Hypothesis Theory (CHT).

The second chapter comprises a socio-demographic overview of the ethnic and national groups in Italy and Slovenia. The concepts of autochthonous and allochthonous minorities are discussed, applied to describe the Slovene minority group in Italy and the new minority group of immigrants. The themes of assimilation and integration are developed in order to shed light on the issues involved in ethnic and national minorities members'. The Acculturation model is further addressed. Moreover, the territorial focus of the Gorizia (Italy)/Nova Gorica (Slovenia) is presented alongside the concept of the common Slovene area following Slovenia's joining the European Union.

The third chapter presents the rationale for the present study. The aim of the research was to contribute to the knowledge in the field of intergroup bias related to minorities' possible dual and multiple identification, thus investigating the relationships between (simple vs. complex) ingroup identification and out-group

attitudes in minority and majority members within the border context between Italy and Slovenia. The goal of my research is to determine whether ingroup identification is related to outgroup orientation, and, if so, whether the relation is different for majority and minority members exhibiting complex social identity structures. In achieving such goal, we attempted to fill the existing gaps in the research literature on multiple identity and especially among the minorities in the Italian context, with real groups in a specific border area in Friuli-Venezia Giulia region, considered by many a natural laboratory where to study identity and intergroup dynamics. More specifically, our objective is to determine whether minority members high identifiers would have more positive out-group attitudes (for instance, towards immigrants) compared to majority members. Furthermore, it wanted to assess the construct validity of a new measure we develop to test Inclusion of others in the self (social identity complexity). Predictions stemmed from the main theoretical frameworks presented in the first chapter. First, the relevant studies on the topic in the literature are summarized and the main questions defined. Then the hypotheses which guided the research reported in this thesis are stated.

The fourth chapter describes the methodological approach: the data collection, the measures used, participants recruited (56 interviews and 415 respondents to the questionnaire, among whom there were members of the Slovene minority in Italy, Italian and Slovenian majority, respectively from Italy and from Slovenia, other minorities in Italy and Slovenia) and procedure. The Ethnic Identity and Out-group Attitudes (EIOGA 2008 MK) questionnaire that was constructed for the purposes of this dissertation is presented in details with the assessed variables.

The fifth chapter includes the presentation of the results of the data analysis, listing the confirmed hypotheses and examining the main findings in the light of the theoretical interpretations, focusing on the dynamics of managing positive social identities. Results are discussed in terms of how minority group members construct group identities in response to the intergroup context, intergroup

comparisons and perceived discrimination or negative attitude from the dominant majority. Effects of the entrance of Slovenia in the European Union on minority identification and intergroup attitudes are questioned.

Finally, we present the summative conclusions and discuss the limitations of the present study and possible suggestions for further research work. Reflections on some practical implications of these themes are discussed.

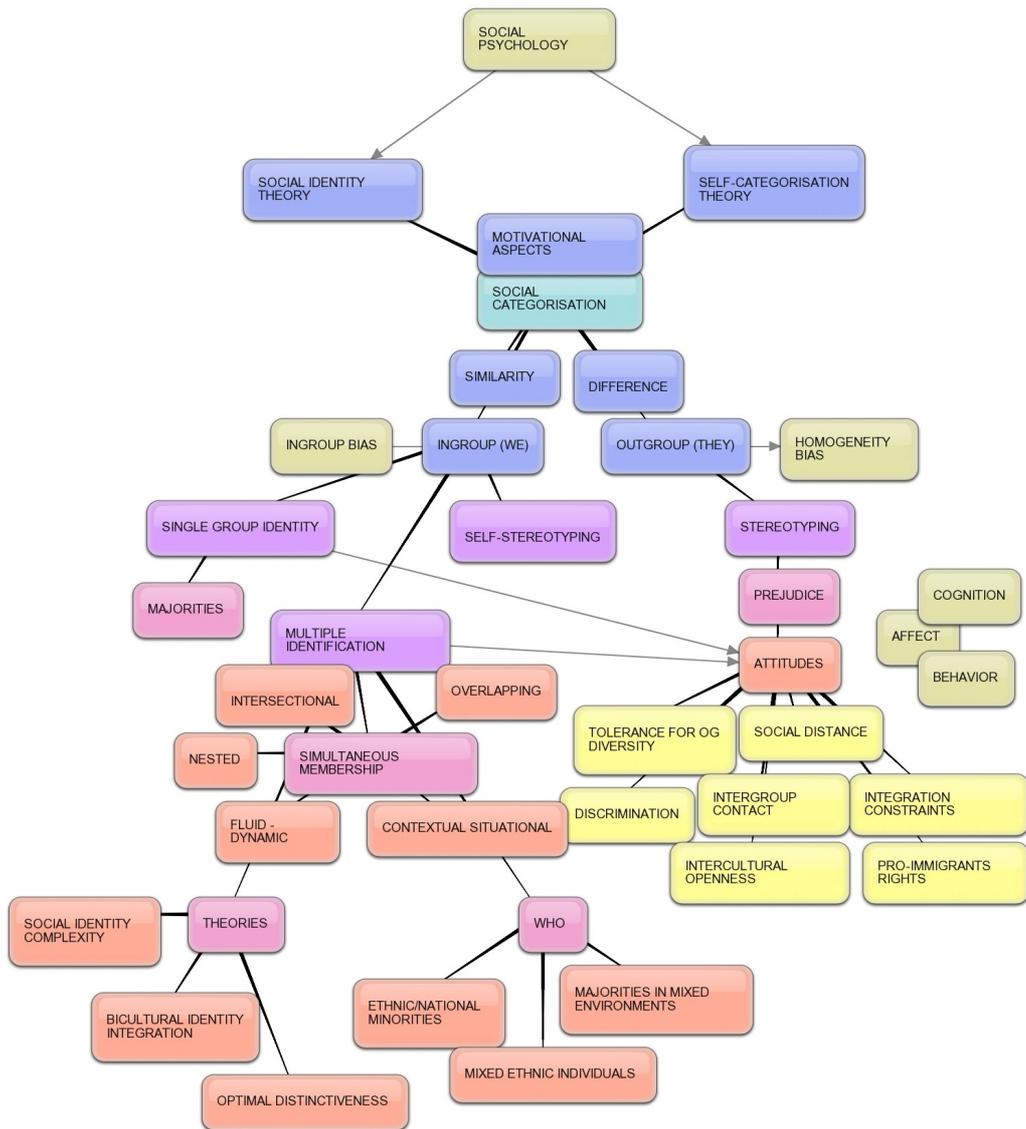


Figure 1: Concept map of the thesis

Chapter 1: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1 IDENTITY IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

1.1.1 Who am I? The Self and the Other

The words “identity”, “self-identity” and “self” are often regarded as synonymous to define the features that make someone authentic and unique or that can be shared with others with common characteristics, such as ancestry (Schwartz, 2005; Bautista & Boone, 2005).

The cognitive and affective representations that denote one’s self/identity, are embodied in the replies to the question “Who am I?” (Gordon, 1968). Having a way to describe ourselves (me/us) and others (not me/not us/you/them) helps organizing the world within or around us and starting to engage in interaction with others (Rogers, 2003).

Looking for the world identity in the online dictionary we find the following entry:

- *“The collective aspect of the set of characteristics by which a thing is definitively recognizable or known.*
- *The set of behavioural or personal characteristics by which an individual is recognizable as a member of a group.*
- *The quality or condition of being the same as something else.*
- *The distinct personality of an individual regarded as a persisting entity; individuality.”*

Retrieved October 25, 2008, from

<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/identity>

The definition is helpful to illustrate this umbrella term and the two main subdivisions of identity made in social psychology: the personal and the social identity.

1.1.2 Personal and social identities

Personal identity covers many possible idiosyncratic attributes and ways of describing ourselves. It incorporates all the elements that make us a unique individual separate entity. Describing myself as shy, for instance, implies conveying an information that describes an aspect of my personality, a specific trait of my distinct individuality in comparison to other persons.

Quoting again from the Free Dictionary:

“Personal identity:

- *the distinct personality of an individual regarded as a persisting entity; individuality*
- *personality - the complex of all the attributes--behavioral, temperamental, emotional and mental—that characterize a unique individual; (...)*
- *identification - the attribution to yourself (consciously or unconsciously) of the characteristics of another person (or group of persons)*
- *personhood- being a person; (...)*”

Retrieved October 25, 2008 from

<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/personal+identity>

Since we are social beings, we are inclined to form social identities beside personal identities. Social identity refers to an individuals' self definition in the context of relationships within a community with which the person identifies,

including the variety of social roles a person can play (e.g. in a family relationship a woman can play the roles of mother, daughter, wife, sister, etc.).

When social identity becomes salient, the perception of self and others gets depersonalized and “I versus you” becomes “we versus them”, comparing the collectivities rather than single persons. Yet, despite regarding group memberships, social identities constitute part of our individual self repertoire as each of us belongs to several groups (e.g. to the nation, ethnicity, subculture...).

Being social identity the core concept of the research, in the next subchapter I will present the two main theories that refer to this concept.

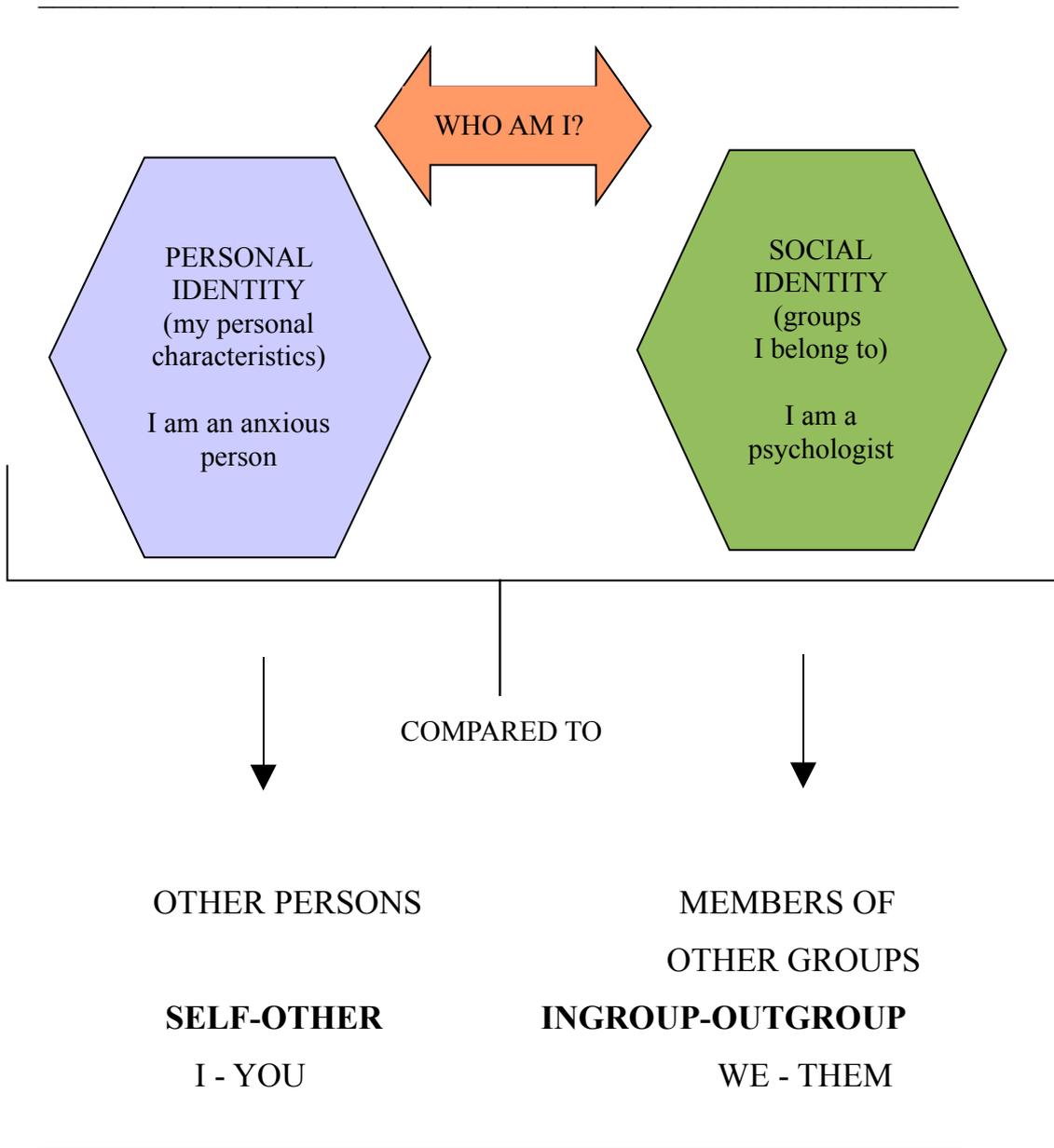


Figure 2: Concept map of personal and social identity

1.2 SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

The Social Identity Theory, originally developed by Tajfel (1979) and further elaborated by Turner and colleagues (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) with the Self Categorization Theory, has been extensively used in the fields of social psychology, sociology and political science (Sanchez-Mazas & Klein, 2003).

It tries to identify the conditions under which identities tend to emerge and become apparent.

Tajfel defined social identity as “*the individual’s knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of this group membership*” (Tajfel, 1972: 32). It is the self-concept that we derive from perceiving ourselves as members of social groups.

Social identity is essentially made of three components:

- 1) Categorization,
- 2) Identification,
- 3) Comparison.

We have a strong innate cognitive tendency to mentally organize things and people into categories to provide some order in the otherwise chaos of stimuli (Tajfel, 1978). According to Allport (1954), categorisation into groups is necessary for adaptive functioning: it reduces the complexity of the social world. Whenever we associate ourselves with some other people, we create a social identity, a more or less important aspect of how we define ourselves in contrast to others. We do this based on perceived similarities and differences and attributing some prototypical features to the categories (stereotyping).

1.3 SELF CATEGORIZATION THEORY

*“... a man has as many social selves
as there are individuals who recognize him
and carry an image of him in their mind.”
William James*

Within the Self-categorization Theory this process is called **metacontrast principle** (Turner et al., 1987), consisting in the subjective accentuation - maximization of differences between categories (i.e. more intergroup differences, between we/ingroup – them/outgroup) and the attenuation of differences between elements within categories (i.e. less intra-group differences, more intra-group similarities, between self and ingroup). We, therefore, identify with someone on the basis of (stereotyped) observable elements of similarity and, at the same time, the differentiation from someone else who do not share such characteristics (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

Another important principle that applies to categorization in making a specific social identity salient is the **normative fit principle**: the objective differences between groups must match the normative expectations of what these groups are like. As Berger and Luckman pointed out from an interactionist point of view, identity is formed through a process of **social construction** (1966). How we are regarded and recognized by others affects our social identities as well.

Essentially this means that the process of construction of self depends on continuous dynamics between self definition and definition by others within a hierarchical structure in the social context where generally there is a power difference between a dominant group like a majority that represents the norm and other minority groups that differ from it (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004).

After being categorized/ascribed as a member of a group or through self-categorization people form a group identity (Ashmore, Deaux & Laughlin-Volpe, 2004). Individuals can actively accept or reject these categorisations for themselves and negotiate the same with others in communication if image of the category is not consistent with their self-image (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998).

The comparative nature of social identities provides a way of positioning one's group in social systems, comparing how much power a group has, relative to others, how legitimate and stable status differences are.

Abrams and Hogg (1990) noted that individuals often compare themselves with similar others or those that are perceived to be better on relevant dimensions desiring to be included in the same category. To explain this tendency, we are going to look at the motivational aspects of identifying with social groups.

1.4 MOTIVATIONAL ASPECTS OF IDENTIFICATION

Both “psychological” and “sociological” social psychology scholars have attempted to address the question of the psychological reasons that motivate the person to adopt a group identity. Research has shown that social group identity can serve a variety of functions.

Following the psychological perspective, researchers posit that identification with an ethnic group provides the person with a sense of **security** (Aydingün, 2002: 191).

Looking from an evolutionary perspective, the basic human need to establish bonds with others and belong to a community has developed in order to increase their chances of survival, making the body and one's resources safe from threats and providing a sense of **protection** (Baumeister & Bushman, 2008).

Secondly, people wish to have a sense of belonging to a collective entity out of universal and basic human needs to create **positive interpersonal relationships** (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). According to Burger (2004), who follows Maslow's

Hierarchy of Needs, the gregarious instinct is also prompted/induced by finer psychological **needs of belongingness**, love, friendship, acceptance, confidence, respect from others and self-esteem (Burger, 2004).

This is in line with the Social Identity Theory which states that the main purpose of an identity is to maintain and enhance personal **self-esteem**, alias a positive self-value (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Haslam, 2004). To the extent that we identify with groups that are valued, we maintain a positive feeling about ourselves, a sense of pride and self-respect (Taylor & Brown, 1988; Davis 1999).

Self-Categorization Theory and other scholars (Turner et al., 1987, Hogg, 2000; Kruglanski, 2006) further suggest that the primary motive forces for categorizing and identifying oneself as a member of a particular group are the **uncertainty reduction and need for closure** rather than self-esteem.

Erikson (1980) talked about “persistent sameness with oneself”. Despite developmental changes, the person strives to maintain subjective **continuity**.

An alternative explanation mentions social identity as an instrument to manage stress and fear of death, a **buffer against existential terror** (Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997). By identifying with groups, people would obtain symbolic immortality (Hohman & Rivera, 2009).

According to the “**self-efficacy principle**”, the person seeks an identity structure characterised by competence and control in order not to feel alienated and helpless (Bandura, 1989).

Following Brewer’s optimal **distinctivity** theory (1991), instead, people create social identities in a way to optimize the balance between inclusion and uniqueness. They want to be sufficiently different and similar to the others.

These motives are not mutually exclusive and vary across individuals and groups.

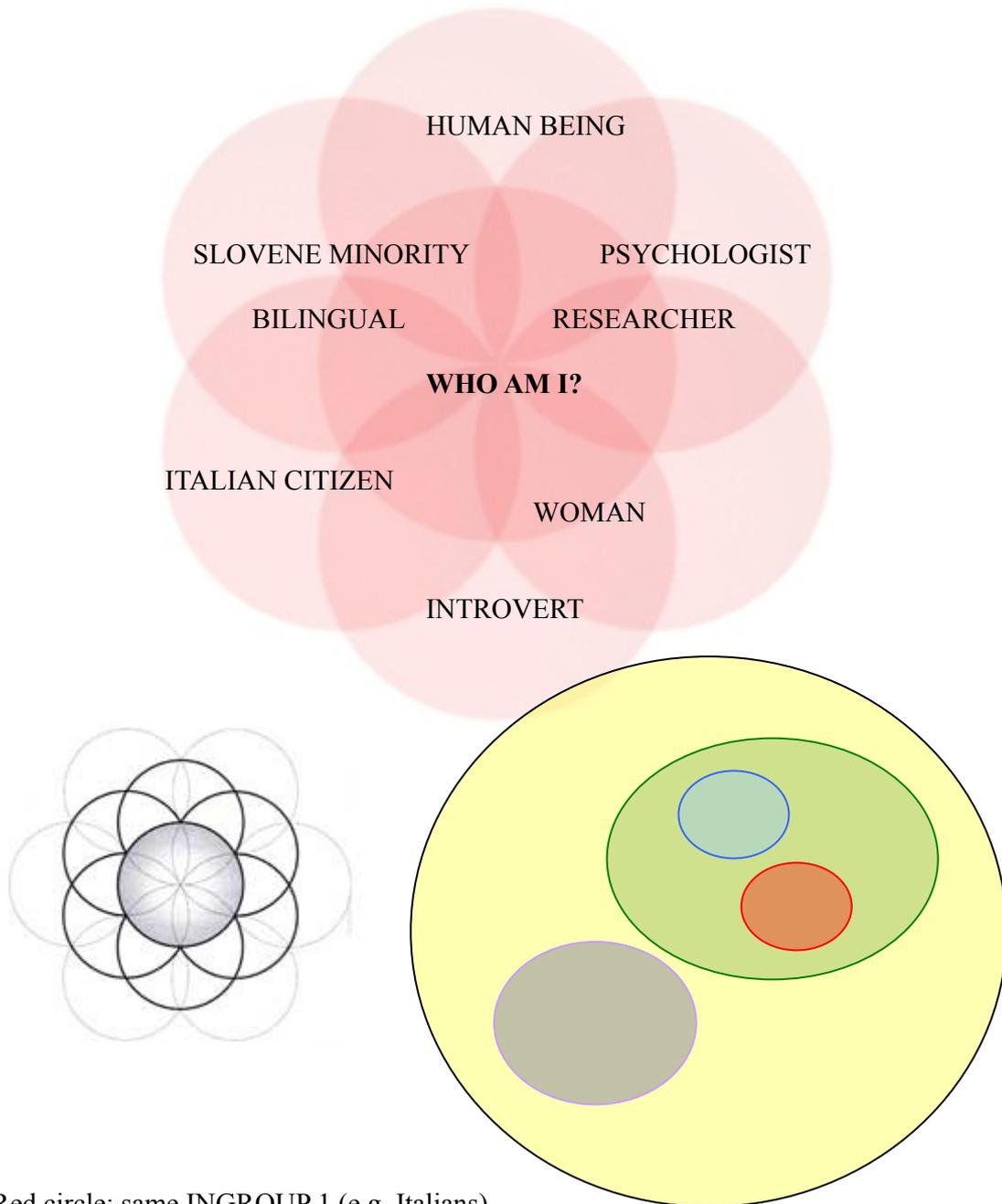
1.5 TYPES OF SOCIAL IDENTITIES

We can have different types of social identities (e.g. racial, cultural, religious, linguistic, national, territorial, etc.) which are not separate entities, but overlapping and intersecting parts of who we are. This is valid both on personal level (for individuals) and social level (for groups).

Social identities define us in terms of collective shared similarities with members of certain groups and can include those that are ascribed by birth (e.g. gender) or those that are subject to individual choice (e.g. religion).

They have a hierarchical nature with more specific elements included in more inclusive higher order/superordinate elements (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman & Rust, 1993).

Figure 3: Identity as a set of overlapping, intersectional and hierarchical circles (core-periphery, thick-thin lines, degree of overlap, inclusion in other circles)



- Red circle: same INGROUP 1 (e.g. Italians)
- Blue circle: OUTGROUP 1 (e.g. German)
- Green circle: More inclusive COMMON INGROUP 2 (e.g. Europeans)
- Purple circle: OUTRGROUP 2 (e.g. Non-European member)
- Yellow circle: More abstract COMMON INGROUP 3 (e.g. Humans)

1.5.1 ETHNIC IDENTITY

Ethnic identity is an aspect or a specific form of social identity (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) that is comprised of several dimensions, including self-categorization, self-identification, perceived degree of affiliation and belonging, commitment and attachment, exploration - the degree of clarity or confusion about one's ethnicity, behavioural involvement, in-group attitudes, ethnic values and beliefs, importance or salience of group membership (Ting-Toomey, Yee-Jung, Shapiro, Garcia, Wright & Oetzel, 2002; Ashmore et al., 2004).

Nevertheless, the social construction of ethnic communalities that define membership maintains the problem of boundaries. Beside similarities and differences that categorise someone as insider or outsider of a certain group, it is not possible to set clear distinctions where does one group, defined by cultural and social factors, begin and another end (Miles & Brown, 2003).

Ethnic identity, as other social identities, is, in fact, always constructed as a narrative in relation to the context. People make sense of themselves and others in a process of differentiation, where the view of the other is also meaningful beside the self-conscious sense of belonging (Anthias, 2001).

Due to the complex multifaceted nature of ethnic identity, terms of ethnic identity, racial identity, cultural identity, national identity and ethnicity have frequently been used as synonyms, making it sometimes difficult to separate the concepts. Let us try to make some due clarifications.

Ethnic identity is different from race, in that race refers to specific physical traits of a person, while ethnicity is characterized by a distinct social and cultural heritage shared by a group, such as language, common ancestry, geographic origins, religion and traditions.

It differs from nationality in its relation to the state, ethnic identity implying self-definition, and nationality being associated to one's ascribed belonging to the state (Hutchinson, 2000).

Ethnicity is defined by the cultural distinctions one's ethnic group, such as language, dress, food, holidays, customs, values, and beliefs (Jeffres, 2000), mostly determined by parent's ethnic heritage (Phinney, 1992). According to McGoldrick, Giordano, & Garcia-Preto (2005), it refers to a group's commonality of ancestry and history, through which people have evolved shared values and customs. Others include also shared symbols of peoplehood (Cornell, & Hartmann, in Kibria, 2000).

Ethnic identity is the self identification of one's ethnicity or a sense of belonging to one's chosen ethnic label (Phinney, 1992). It is a complex and dynamic process that can affect our sense of well-being within the social environment we are in, and also our psychological and physical health (McGoldrick, Giordano & Garcia-Preto, 2005).

Nieto describes culture as *"the ever-changing values, tradition, social and political relationships and worldview created and shared by a group of people bound together by a combination of factors that can include a common history, geographic location, language, social class, and/or religion, and how these are transformed by those who share them"* (p.138). (...) *Culture is dynamic; multifaceted; embedded in context; influenced by social, economic, and political factors; created and socially constructed; learned; and dialectical"* (Nieto, 1999: 49).

To summarize with a definition by Tropp and Kim (2009), found in the Encyclopedia of Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, "both race and ethnicity involve a sense of shared genealogy, yet race focuses more on inherited genetic and physical characteristics, whereas ethnicity encompasses both a shared genealogy and the cultural, linguistic, and religious practices that may be transmitted across generations within a community. Similarly, both culture and ethni-

city can involve shared cultural, linguistic, and religious practices and behaviours. Typically, however, culture refers to a broad range of practices and behaviours that can be shared among all people who live within a particular context, whereas ethnicity refers more specifically to those that are shared among people who have a common ancestry or heritage.”

1.5.2 Ethnic identity components

We define ethnic identity as a dynamic and complex entity that encompasses different components.

- **Self-categorization with labels and self-identification**

It has been well-documented that individuals use different labels at different times to describe themselves and identify with a particular group (Phinney, 1992; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Ethnic labels are an important basis of social identity that acquire salience and meaning in adolescence (Bernal, Knight, Ocampo, Garza & Cota, 1993).

- **Strength of ethnic identification**

Beside ethnic labels used to describe oneself, people differ also in the strength of ethnic identification, thus the two aspects can be analyzed separately (Fuligni, Witkow & Garcia, 2005).

- **Closeness in values and beliefs**

Shared values are important indicators of one's closeness to the group. However, they are limited in that there is not always group consensus on what values and beliefs should be included in a scale for a particular group.

- **Importance and salience**

Generally members of ethnic minority groups attribute more importance to their own ethnic identity in comparison to members of majority groups, but the same importance can vary a lot across individuals (Phinney & Alipuria, 1990).

Salience of ethnic identity can also change in time with high identifiers showing a higher and more stable daily salience than low identifiers who do not have a clear and secure sense of their ethnic identity (Yip & Fuligni, 2002).

Abrams, O'Connor and Giles (2002: 225) say that in intergroup interactions, "ethnic identity is likely to be salient, given that group distinctions are often evoked." Phinney (1991: 194) contends that ethnic identity salience can be placed in a continuum from strong to weak. Individuals with strong ethnic identity salience identify with their group, evaluate their group positively, are involved in ethnic practices, and are "interested in, knowledgeable about, and committed to the group."

- **Ethnic Identity and National Identity**

National identity is constituted by a sense of communion linked with a certain historical geographical territory, a population sharing common national myths, customs and traditions (Smith, 1991; Smith, 2000).

Research demonstrated that children normally self-categorize themselves as member of their national group around the age of 6 years (Barrett, Wilson & Lyons, 2003), but the importance and knowledge about national identity develops only later during adolescence (Bennett, Lyons, Sani & Barrett, 1998).

- **Commitment and attachment to the group**

Attachment strength or the affective commitment and sense of belonging to an ethnic group is considered by many social psychologists one of the main elements of ethnic identity (Ashmore, Deaux & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004;

Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1999), though it is not enough alone to provide a confident and mature achievement of identity (Phinney, 1989). According to the development models, the latter can be reached only with acquiring a clear understanding of the meaning and implications of one's ethnic group belonging, which it becomes possible through the process of exploration.

- **Exploration**

Exploration involves seeking information, like for instance reading and talking to other people about one's ethnicity or learning cultural practices of the ingroup. It takes place mainly during adolescence, but it continues further as an on-going life process (Phinney, 2006).

Self-designation, sense of affiliation and pride in one's group are reinforced through practices of a common religion, shared language and culture (Phinney, 1992).

- **Ethnic Behaviours**

Ethnic behaviours, such as ethnic or cultural practices, knowledge and use of the language, eating the food typical for the ingroup and interactions with members of one's group have been initially included in ethnic identity measures for specific groups (Phinney, 1992; Felix-Ortiz, Newcomb & Myers, 1994).

On the other hand, ethnic behaviours have been considered also as an aspect of acculturation (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006), which is a separate construct, leading the authors to caution about its use in measures studying ethnic identity.

- **Evaluation and In-group Attitudes**

In-group attitudes and evaluation seem to be a distinct aspect from ethnic identity achievement, commitment and exploration (Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjian & Bamaca-Gomez, 2004).

Phinney (1989) noted that members of most minority groups tend to desire to belong to the dominant group as they might experience discrimination which can in turn lead to negative in-group attitudes, having negative and uncomfortable feelings about one's group membership, rather than positive in-group attitudes, such as pride and being happy to be a member of a certain group, regardless of the sense of belonging and commitment to the group (Ellemers, Kortekaas & Ouwerkerk, 1999, Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley & Chavous, 1998; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Nevertheless, it is suggested that an achieved ethnic identity can buffer negative views of others related to one's ethnicity and bring forth positive evaluation of group identity (Cross & Fhagen-Smith, 2001).

1.5.3 Measuring ethnic identity with MEIM

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM: Phinney, 1992) originated from the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and the development model proposed by Marcia (1980) and Erikson. The purpose of its creation was to assess ethnic identity with one group only, but across diverse ethnic groups, thus called "multigroup". It is comprised of 14 items measuring the main components of ethnic identity that are common to all groups:

1. sense of attachment or belonging (based on Social Identity Theory; Tajfel & Turner, 1986),
2. the developmental concept of an achieved identity (based on the empirical work of Marcia, 1980),
3. and involvement in ethnic practices.

Six items assessing orientation to other groups were added to the measure to provide a contrast to the ethnic identity items, but the construct of other-group orientation was later assumed to be independent from ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992). Results of an exploratory factor analysis suggested in fact that the 14

items of the MEIM constituted a single factor of ethnic identity, distinct from the other-group orientation scale. A number of other studies of the 14-item MEIM have indicated a similar single-factor structure (Ponterotto, Gretchen, Utsey, Stracuzzi & Saya, 2003; Worrell, 2000).

A more recent study of the MEIM measure (MEIM-R) was conducted by Phinney (Phinney, & Ong, 2007). The two behavioral items (being active in ethnic organizations and participating in cultural practices) were deleted as being conceptually distinct from ethnic identity. Some other exploration items negatively worded were reworded to make them applicable for both the present and the past. It also excluded items about positive in-group attitudes assessing pride and feeling good about one's group.

In these last rielaboration the measure was made of 12 items, that could be divided in two main factors: 5 items representing an exploration factor and 7 items representing the commitment factor (Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts & Romero, 1999). The two factors are closely related. The more one is attached to a group, the more likely s/he will be interested in exploring ethnicity. And also, the more one explores his/her ethnicity, the more likely is to become committed. Nevertheless, these aspects were shown to correlate differently with self-esteem and perceived discrimination (Romero & Roberts, 1998, 2003), thus being considered two distinct constructs (French, Seidman, Allen & Aber, 2006) that can be used as a combined scale in research interested only in overall strength of ethnic identity or the degree it has been achieved (Phinney, 1992).

1.5.4 Ethnic identity achievement and personal wellbeing

Erikson (1968) postulates that identity formation is not something that is established once forever but continues to change and develop throughout a person's life.

Nevertheless, an unsuccessful attainment of a secure identity has negative psychological consequences. On the contrary, an achieved ethnic identity in the

form of a secure and clear sense of self is the optimal result/outcome of the identity formation process in adolescence (Erikson, 1968).

In the literature ethnic identity achievement has been significantly related to several positive outcomes. It has been demonstrated that a strong ethnic identity may act as a buffer against stress (Mossakowski, 2003) and that by addressing the component of ethnic labeling, for instance, promoting youth' ethnic identity exploration and advancement to the stage of ethnic identity achievement, adolescents may become equipped with coping skills that enable them to deal with multiple environmental stressors, improving academic, social and mental health outcomes (Holcomb-McCoy, 2005; Quintana, 2007).

When identification with an ethnic group increases positive feelings about oneself, it contributes to a positive psychosocial adjustment, lower youth aggression, pro-social attitudes (Phinney & Chavira, 1992; Verkuyten, & Masson 1995; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind & Vedder, 2001; Schwartz, Zamboanga & Jarvis, 2007), higher self esteem and personal confidence (Phinney 1991, Bracey, Bamaca, & Umana-Taylor, 2004; Umana-Taylor & Updegraff, 2007), educational achievement and engagement (Ong, Phinney & Dennis, 2006; Shin, Daly & Vera, 2007).

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1.5.5 External and internal changes and ethnic identity

*“No man ever steps in the same river twice,
for it's not the same river and he's not the same man.”*

Heraclitus

As every social identity, ethnic identities are complex, fluid, context related (depending on social situations) processed that are formed, reinforced, challenged and negotiated through communication (Hedge, 2002; Yep, 2002).

A growing body of studies shows that our multiple social identities change over time (Jetten, O'Brien & Trindall, 2002; Kessler & Mummendey, 2002; Cervone, 2005).

Drawing from social identity and self-categorization theories, contextual change that increases the salience of a particular identity may lead to an increase in in-group identification (Emler & Hopkins, 1990).

Moreover, both external and internal forces influence ethnic identity (Aydingün, 2002). Among external factors there are socio-political changes of the environment, while internal factors consist in personal changes in group belonging and individual social positioning.

There can be either short-term situational changes or to long-term structural changes (Smith, 1996; Abrams & Hogg, 2001; Bennett & Sani, 2004). Most of the research focus on studying short-term, situational changes of social identity, that is how they vary depending on social contexts, but the long-term changes are often left aside. Yet, external changes, such as socio-political changes in the context can trigger changes in social identities within the individual further and deeper than situational changes (Phinney, 1993).

Ethnic group membership is also influenced by the perceived permeability of group boundaries, intergroup comparisons, socialization process and distinctiveness (Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bjaki, 1989).

If comparisons with relevant out-groups are negative, one is more likely to develop negative feelings about being member of the in-group. As we have seen previously, a threat to one's group identity can be represented by "challenging continuity, distinctiveness or self-esteem" (Breakwell, 1986: 51) as it breaks down the perceived inner stability (Erikson, 1968; Korf & Malan, 2002), the positive value of one's uniqueness and difference (Korf & Malan, 2002) and one's sense of self-worth (Tajfel, 1978).

Since feeling negative about one's membership is perceived as a threat to self-esteem, the person can react in several ways and can also try to leave the unsatisfactory membership to join another group or to make his/her social

identity more distinct. This will be possible only in the case group boundaries are permeable and easily allow the passage from one to another.

In the opposite case, where individual mobility is limited, the individual will have to enact different coping strategies, such as changing comparison groups or dimensions of comparison, changing the meaning of one's identity or increasing identification with one's group and be in antagonism with the other group, leading to negative intergroup attitudes.

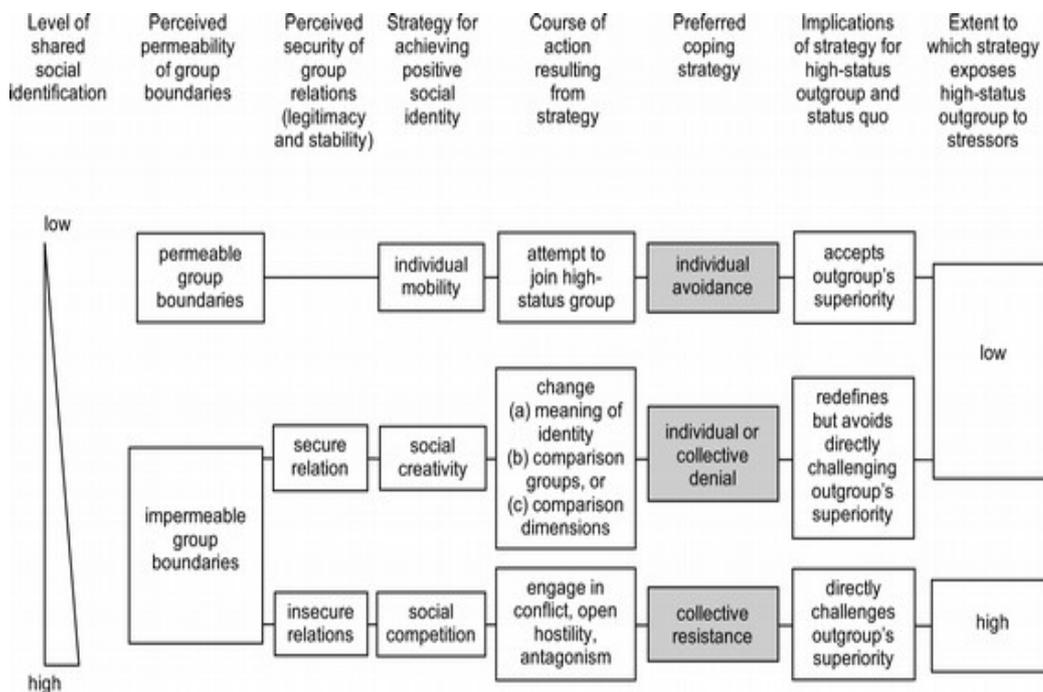


Figure 4: Group mobility strategies

Source: http://psycnet.apa.org/journals/apl/91/5/images/apl_91_5_1037_fig1a.gif

1.6 MULTIPLE GROUP MEMBERSHIP and INTEGRATION

Minority members vary in the degree they identify with their ethnic and national groups, nevertheless both are possible and auspicious. Dual group membership, the individual's relationship to the majority group and the degree of ethnic identification to the minority group have relevant effects on psychological, social and physical well-being (Eyou, Dair & Dixon, 2000).

1.6.1 Integration and acculturation

Berry (2003) proposed a model of four possibilities for identification with ethnic and national groups:

- 1) integration/bicultural identity;
- 2) marginal identity;
- 3) separated identity;
- 4) assimilated identity.

	IDENTIFICATION WITH MINORITY	IDENTIFICATION WITH MAJORITY
INTEGRATED ID.	YES	YES
MARGINAL ID.	NO	NO
SEPARATED ID.	YES	NO
ASSIMILATED ID.	NO	YES

Table 1: Berry's integration model

Integration is the most preferable outcome and it involves a bicultural identity, alias high levels of identification with the ethnic minority group and with the majority group.

Marginal identity means neither a high identification with the minority nor with the majority. The person shows low identifications with both.

Separated identity consists in high identification with one's ethnic group but a low identity with the majority culture.

Assimilated identity is the one with high identity with the majority culture but a low identity with one's ethnic group, due to pressure from the dominant group or when there is a volunteer denial and disconnection of one's roots and ethnicity. This situation can result in anger, depression, self-hatred, and violence (Gerity 2000; Phinney et al., 2001; McGoldrick, Giordano & Garcia-Preto 2005).

On the other hand, "if people are secure in their own identity, they can act with greater freedom, flexibility and openness to others of different cultural backgrounds" (McGoldrick, Giordano & Garcia-Preto, 2005).

1.6.2 Social identity complexity

Social identity complexity refers to people's subjective representations of their multiple identities (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). In case of complex social identifications, those who are considered ingroup members on some dimensions, are simultaneously outgroup members on another dimension of categorization, because the overlap is only partial. The social context and the circumstances may emphasize one dimension or another of the identification, influencing the perception of others as ingroup or outgroup members.

The authors propose that people with low social identity complexity have highly overlapping ingroups, while those with high complexity have different ingroups distinct and crosscutting.

Minority members are a good example of different possible combinations of multiple identities. An immigrant, for instance, can show bicultural adaptation by adopting a hyphenated blended bicultural identity, seeing as ingroup members those who share both ethnic heritage and residence in host society. A more complex identity would, instead, consist in an intercultural identity that combines and integrates simultaneously several cultural identities of two or more groups

together with a more inclusive group identity that considers ingroup members “all fellow countrymen (regardless of their ethnic identity) and all members of the same ethnic group (regardless of the country in which they reside)” (Brewer, 2009).

“Research on social identity complexity indicates that high complexity is associated with liberal ideology, universalistic values, openness, and experience with diversity. Further, stress and threat influence social identity complexity. Under conditions of felt threat, individuals tend to reduce complexity and see their multiple ingroups as more convergent.” (Brewer, 2009).

Moreover, it was demonstrated (Brewer, 2009) that the degree of perceived overlap of multiple ingroups is significantly correlated with attitudes toward affirmative action, multiculturalism, and feelings toward ethnic and religious outgroups.

1.7 OUTGROUP ATTITUDES

Attitudes are learned predispositions to respond in a favourable or unfavourable manner to a particular person, behaviour, belief, or thing (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993).

They can be explicit or implicit. Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz (1998) define explicit attitudes and beliefs as those that are directly expressed or publicly stated, such as in self-report questionnaires. Implicit attitudes and beliefs, instead, refer to attitudes that are hidden from public expression and even from conscious awareness or control (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995).

Explicit and implicit attitudes may not correspond. A person may not be willing to sincerely report some attitudes or may be unable to do so.

1.7.1 Intergroup and ingroup bias

Striving to protect and maintain a positive image of the ingroup and thus a positive self-view, as proposed and demonstrated by Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner 1988), people can engage in social competition and discrimination (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; see also Amiot & Bourhis, 2005), being inclined to favour the ingroup and negatively evaluate or even derogate the outgroups (Branscombe & Wann 1994; Devine, 1996). This propensity to positively evaluate and prefer the in-group over the outgroup based on assumptions that are beyond the objective evidences was termed ingroup bias (Hewstone, Rubin & Wills, 2002). Bias can be in form of discrimination (behaviour), prejudice (attitude), and stereotyping (cognition) (Baumeister & Bushman, 2008).

As soon as identification takes place, we can observe that in intergroup situations there is the general tendency to create a polarization between US and THEM, highlighting “our” good things and de-emphasizing our bad things, and also emphasizing “their” bad things and de-emphasizing their good things (Van Dijk, 2005). This way the categorization process at the basis of identification can also lead to ethnocentrism, the belief that one's group (the ingroup) is superior to other groups (the outgroups).

Such intergroup bias was proved to occur even when categorization is arbitrary, in the so called “minimal group paradigm”. Randomly assigning subjects to one of two different groups seems to be enough to induce them to have more favourable expectations and show more cooperative and prosocial behaviours toward ingroup members rather than toward the out-group.

THEM THE OTHER

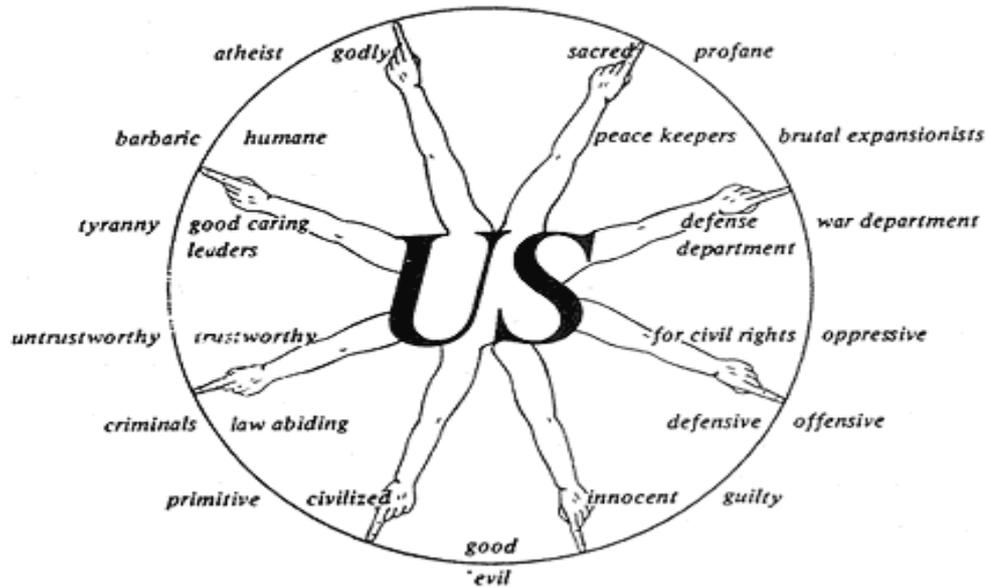


Figure 5: Concept map of ingroup bias (source:unknown, from the Internet)

There is a large body of evidences that threats to self-esteem and in general to one's group may encourage intergroup bias, and discrimination (Jordan, Spencer & Zanna, 2005; Shah, Kruglanski & Thompson, 1998), as well as derogation of out-group members, especially for those who are highly identified with their ethnic group.

1.8 Intergroup CONTACT

*"Since wars begin in the minds of men,
it is in the minds of men
that the defences of peace must be constructed."
From the preamble of UNESCO's Constitution*

Different alternative theories have been proposed for prejudice reduction in order to improve intergroup attitudes.

The contact hypothesis, developed by Allport in 1954, was proposed as a pragmatic remedy to counteract negative intergroup attitudes. It argues that

greater interaction between individuals provides opportunities to discover in the out-group more similarities rather than differences (Kanter 1977; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Greater knowledge through interaction and communication in turn encourages mutual understanding, liking, and acceptance of dissimilar others, lessening negative prejudice by means of adjusting the previously made generalizations and oversimplifications, and enhancing friendship relationships (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Turner, Hewstone & Voci, 2007).

Several inter-related conditions were shown to be crucial in order to make the intergroup contact successful in facilitating positive outcomes (Pettigrew 1998):

1. equal status of the groups members;
2. intergroup cooperation and interdependency in achieving a common goal together;
3. a sufficiently intimate and stable personal contact;
4. institutional support, a social climate and groups authorities supporting intergroup contact.

Several contradictory results raised doubts regarding the efficacy of contact to significantly shift cognitive, affective and behavioural attitudes among groups.

Questions of generalizations of the effect, from the direct contact experience with some representatives of a certain group to other members of that outgroup, also emerged, as well as the generalization from the interpersonal change of attitude to the broader, collective – intergroup relations.

Nevertheless, several scholars found significant positive effects.

When direct contact is not possible, indirect contact can also be beneficial. According to the extended contact hypothesis, knowing that a relative, a friend or an other ingroup member has a close relationship with an outgroup member can vicariously improve one's own attitudes towards the outgroup (Wright, Aron,

McLaughlin-Volpe & Ropp, 1997). This works through the development of positive attitudinal ingroup norms, similarity to self and reduced anxiety in both children (Cameron, Rutland, Brown & Douch, 2006) and adults (Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns & Voci, 2004; Turner et al., 2008).

Recently it was also demonstrated that even just imagined intergroup contact, using mental simulation of positive interactions with members of the outgroup as intervention strategy, can be reflected in more positive attitudes towards others (Crisp, Stathi, Turner & Husnu 2008; Crisp & Turner 2009, 2010) or at least prepare people to be willing to engage in interaction with members of outgroup with a more open mind.

Among other models proposed to foster attitude change, there is the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) which proposes to encourage a more inclusive re-categorization of ingroup boundaries, including previously separate groups of others to a higher order common group.

The Mutual Ingroup Differentiation Model (Brown & Hewstone, 2005) suggests that for intergroup prejudice to be reduced, it is important to allow people from different groups working together cooperatively toward a common goal to retain their distinct ingroup identity.

Each model has its own limitations, in that it either proves effective only in certain conditions or it fails to consider well enough the need for group distinctiveness. As some researchers found, in fact, too weak intergroup boundaries may be perceived as threatening and lead to a stronger intergroup bias (Jetten, Spears, Hogg & Manstead, 2000). The proponents of the Common Ingroup Identity Model, anyway, noted that the strategy to be successful in improving intergroup attitudes does not require people to completely abandon their original ingroup identities.

Chapter 2: TERRITORY and POPULATION



Figure 6: Slovene minority in Italy and Italian minority in Slovenian and Croatian Istria (source: www.slori.org/mima)

2.1 RESEARCH TERRITORY and POPULATION

Territory is a space of constant territorialization and deterritorialization, in between stability and destabilization, a space of encounter and struggle over meanings, identities and power relations that vary across individual's perceptions and historical contingencies (Deleuze-Guattari 1983, 1987).

Our research focus on the territory of the Italo-Slovene borderland which is the meeting-point of four historic ethno-linguistic groups that cohabit here: Friulians, Italians, Slovenians and Germans. Historically and culturally it is a very diversified area that is often defined a "cultural crossroad".

2.1.1 Autochthonous (old) and allochthonous (new) minorities

Capotorti (1985), in a 'Study on the rights of persons belonging to ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities' gives the following definition:

"minority is a group which is numerically inferior to the rest of the population in a State, and in a non-dominant position, whose members possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics which differ from those of the rest of the population and who, if only implicitly, maintain a sense of solidarity towards preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language"

The term 'historical minority' is used to distinguish between the autochthonous (old) minority populations that were part of a national or multinational state since its creation and thus historically present on the territory, from the minority groups that are 'allochthonous' or 'new', the outcome of international migration flows.

Two autochthonous minorities on the Italo-Slovene borderland

a) Italian minority in Slovenia

Regarding the Italian presence in Slovenia, instead, according to a 2002 census, there were around 3500 Italophones living in Slovenia as Slovenian citizens (1.5% of the population). As Klemencic (2006) notices,

"the majority of the Italians in Slovenia and Croatia are partially an autochthonous and partially a subsequently resettled population that arrived between 1918-1943, when Primorska and Istria, Rijeka/Fiume, part of Dalmatia/Dalmazia, and the islands of Kres/ Cherso, Krk/Veglia, Lastovo/Lagosta, and Palagruža/Pelagosa became part of Italy".

b) Slovene minority in Italy

The Italian state recognizes twelve linguistic minorities that are historically present in Italy. Art 2 of the law no.482/1999 states: “In concordance with the article 6 of the Constitution and the general principles adopted by the European entities the State preserves the language and the culture of the Albanian, Greek, Catalan, German, Slovene, French.”

In case of minorities, “special rights” are nowadays applied in order to overcome the marginal position of minorities and to arrive to the actual equality of minority’s members with the rest of the citizens of the state (Jesih 2007: 35-36).

Bilingual documents (identity cards, passports, driving licenses, etc) are so available in the ethnically mixed areas, irrespectively of ethnic affiliation of the requester. Bilingual procedures for judiciary and other administrative procedures are also in theory possible.

According to the available data (from Jordi Magrinyà i Domingo, 2006), the percentages of the four ethno- linguistic historical minorities resulted as follows a decade ago:

Stranj’s data (1999: 18)

Italians: 500,000 approx. (50%)

Friulians: 600,000 approx. (60%)

Slovenians: 100,000 approx. (10%)

Germans: no data

Data (referred to year 1997) of Laval University

Italians: 635,000 (53,5%).

Friulians: 531,000 (43,0%).

Slovenians: 56,000 (4,7%)

Germans: 0.4 %

The figures on the number of people in each community do not always coincide (Kaučič-Baša 2004: 2). Official estimations of the Slovenian presence in Friuli-Venezia Giulia region, however, vary between 60,000 and 100,000 people, amounting to 7-8% of the population.

The Slovenian-speaking area in Italy covers a belt of approximately 30 km wide area along the Italian and the Slovenian border and stretches from the Austrian border to the Adriatic Sea (Komac 2003a: 19). This belt has a surface of 1524 km² (Kaučič-Baša 2004: 2). It is condensed mostly in the Autonomous Region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia (in Slovenian: Furlanija-Juljska krajina). They are present within 36 municipalities, in the Provinces of Trieste, Gorizia and Udine.

Generally the Slovenian community in this territory can be divided into four groups (Rigo & Favretto, 2007):

- a) the Slavia Friulana in the Province of Udine, a mountain area across the valleys of the Natisone and the Canale valleys;
- b) The Collio area in the Province of Gorizia: a rural/mountain;
- c) the Carso area in the Province of Trieste;
- d) the urban agglomerates of Trieste and Gorizia where Slovenophones represent 10-12% of the total population.

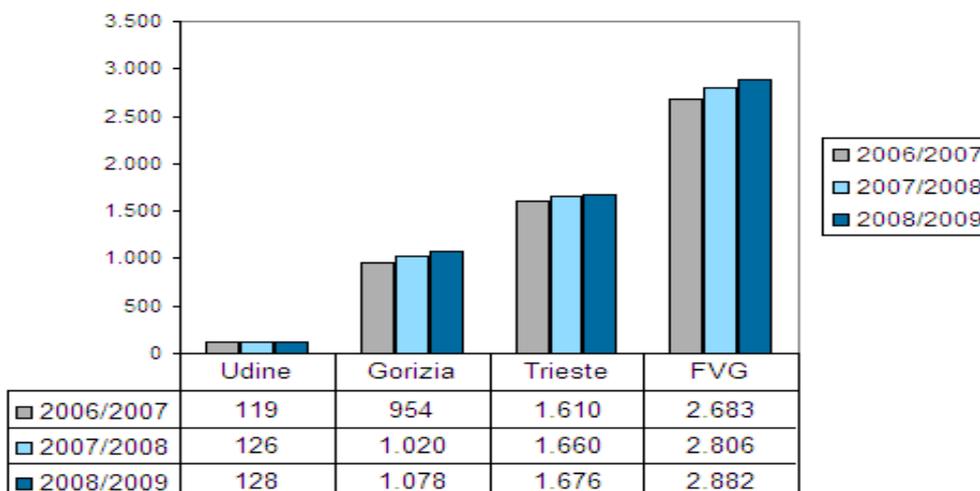


Figure 7: Map of the autonomous region Friuli Venezia Giulia

Source: <http://www.italymap.it/italy-map-regioni-italia/map-pages-regioni-italia/images-regioni-italia/6-friuli-venezia-giulia.jpg>

Figure 8 : Students attending Slovene schools in Italy – school years 2007-2009

Source (<http://gorizia.provincia.it>; Ufficio scolastico regionale - Ufficio per l'istruzione in lingua slovena, Trieste; Direzione Didattica statale con insegnamento bilingue sloveno-italiano, S. Pietro al Natisone)



*“In the Region (FVG),
all citizens shall receive equal treatment,
irrespective of the language group
to which they belong,
and therefore their ethnic and cultural
characteristics shall be preserved.”*

*Article of the regional
Special Statute for
Autonomous Regions of Italy*

c) allochthonous minorities in selected cities

In the whole Italian territory there were 3 million and 891,295 regular immigrants at the beginning of 2009 (Source: ISTAT, 01.01.2009). In the same year there were 519 thousands babies born in Italy from parents of foreign origins, representing a significant proportion of the foreign population. The total amount of the “second generation immigrants”, who did not immigrated themselves, but have foreign citizenship, was 562 thousands. Most of the foreign students attending Italian schools (6.4 % of the total scholastic population in 2008/2009) are in fact born in Italy as second generation and share with their peers the same language, interests, and experiences (source: www.museonazionaleemigrazione.it).

Trieste (Italy)

Trieste (236,552 inhabitants) was since the beginning a cosmopolitan port city, inhabited by a multiethnic and in many cases hybrid population, comprising Italians, Slovenes, Germans, Greeks and Jews, maintaining its legacy of the

multiethnic mosaic in the Habsburg and Ottoman territories with their language and religious differences (Brubaker 1996). During the Fascism period, though, Trieste became 'the most Fascist of Italian cities', a perception that persisted to the present day (Pizzi, 2007).

At the end of 2008 (source: ISTAT) there were 15,795 residents of foreign nationality in Trieste. Among these there were mostly people from Serbia (5741), Romania (1457), Croatia (1368), Albania (899), China (886), Bosnia (550), Ukraine (352), Slovenia (277), Macedonia (247), Moldova (245) and other nationalities.

Gorizia (Italy)

The Province of Gorizia has 142,451 inhabitants (31.12.2008) and, according to the municipality census¹, at the end of 2008 the foreign population living here accounted to 8360 (Source: ISTAT). Among these there were mostly people from

Bangladesh (1380), Bosnia (1085), Croatia (920), Serbia (876), Romania (827), Macedonia (810), Slovenia (513), Albania (403), Ukraine (290), Morocco (283), China (251), Poland (162) and several other less represented nationalities.

¹Source: http://opps.provincia.gorizia.it/provgo/opps/index.php?folder_id=11

Nova Gorica (Slovenia)

Nova Gorica (Slovene for "New Gorizia") was built in 1948, when after the World War II the new border between Yugoslavia and Italy was established with the Paris Peace Treaty.

It is the main urban center of the Goriška region in the Slovenian Coastal region (Primorska) and it has a population of 31,000 (municipality), distributed as 13,852 living in town and 21,082 in its suburbs.

The region comprises the municipalities of Bovec, Kobarid, Tolmin, Cerklje, Idrija, Kanal ob Soči, Brda, Nova Gorica, Šempeter Vrtojba, Renče-Vogrsko, Miren, Kostanjevica, Ajdovščina and Vipava. The municipalities of Komen and Sežana also used to be part of the Goriška region, but are now usually considered part of the Littoral-Kras statistical region.

Minorities in Slovenia

Regarding immigrant population in Slovenia, according to a census of 2002², approximately 15% of the population stated their nationality was other than Slovenian. The largest autochthonous minorities, the Italian and the Hungarian ones, constituted around 0.5% of the population. 0.17% was the share of the Roma population. The number of first generation immigrants settled in Slovenia before 2002 was 169,605 (around 9% of the population), 150,763 of whom came from former Yugoslavian republics, mainly as economic migrants (Čopič and Tomc, 1996: 187). The largest groups were the Serbs, the Croats, the *Bošnjaki*, the Muslims and the Bosnians.

²Source: www.stat.si/popis2002

I comuni in cui è presente la minoranza slovena in Italia nell'area di confine orientale del Friuli-Venezia Giulia



- 1 Provincia di Pordenone
- 2 Provincia di Udine
- 3 Provincia di Gorizia
- 4 Provincia di Trieste

Legenda:

- Confine politico
- Confine provinciale
- Area di insediamento storico degli sloveni
- Confine comunale
- Centri urbani maggiori
- Centri urbani intermedi
- Centri urbani minori
- Centri comunali

ELENCO DEI COMUNI IN CUI LA POPOLAZIONE SLOVENA È STORICAMENTE PRESENTE

- 1 Pontebba / Tablja
- 2 Malborghetta - Valbruna / Naborjet - Oviča vas
- 3 Tarvisio / Trbiž
- 4 Resia / Rezija
- 5 Lusevera / Bardo
- 6 Montenaro / Gorjani *
- 7 Taipana / Tipana
- 8 Tarcento / Centa
- 9 Nimis / Neme
- 10 Attimis / Ahten
- 11 Faedis / Fojda
- 12 Torreano / Tavorjana
- 13 Pulfero / Podbošec
- 14 Savogna / Sovodnje
- 15 Grimacco / Grmek
- 16 Drenchia / Dreka
- 17 S. Pietro al Natissone / Špeter
- 18 S. Leonardo / Sv. Lenart
- 19 Stregna / Srednje
- 20 Cividale del Friuli / Čedad
- 21 Prepotto / Prapotno
- 22 Dolegna del Collio / Dolenje
- 23 Cormons / Krmin
- 24 S. Floriano del Collio / Števerjan
- 25 Gorizia / Gorica
- 26 Savogna d' Isonzo / Sovodnje
- 27 Doberdo del Lago / Doberdob
- 28 Ronchi dei Legionari / Ronke
- 29 Manfalcone / Tržič
- 30 Quina - Aurisina / Devin - Nabrežina
- 31 Sgonico / Žgonik
- 32 Marrupina / Repentabor
- 33 Trieste / Trst
- 34 S. Dorligo della Valle / Dolina
- 35 Muggia / Milje

Figure 9 : List of municipalities where the Slovene minority is historically present

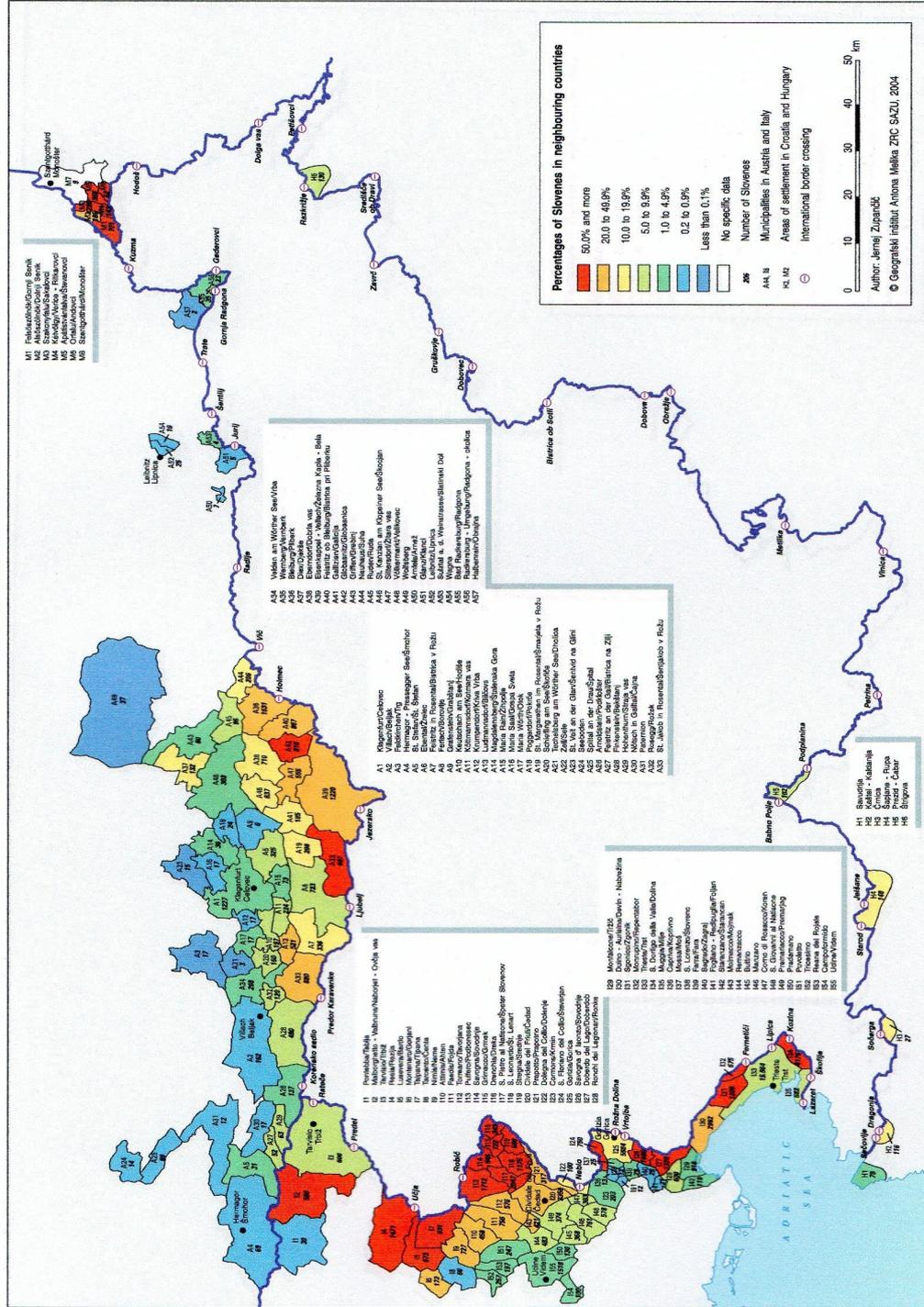


Figure 10: Župančič: Ethnic structure of Slovenia and Slovenes in neighbouring countries

Table 2: Recognized municipalities with Slovene citizens (Italian and Slovenian names)

UDINE PROVINCE

ATTIMIS	Ahten
CIVIDALE DEL FRIULI	Čedad
DRENCHIA	Dreka
FAEDIS	Fojda
GRIMACCO	Grmek
LUSEVERA	Bardo
MALBORGHETTO - VALBRUNA	Naborjet - Ovčja vas
NIMIS	Neme
PREPOTTO	Praprotno
PULFERO	Podbonesec
RESIA	Rezija
S. LEONARDO	Sv. Lenart
S. PIETRO AL NATISONE	Špeter
STREGNA	Srednje
SAVOGNA	Sovodnje
TAIPANA	Tipana
TARVISIO	Trbiž
TORREANO	Tavorjana

GORIZIA PROVINCE

GORIZIA	Gorica
CORMONS	Krmin
DOBERDÒ DEL LAGO	Doberdob
MONFALCONE	Tržič
RONCHI DEI LEGIONARI	Ronke
S. FLORIANO DEL COLLIO	Števerjan
SAVOGNA D'ISONZO	Sovodnje
SAGRADO	Zagraj

TRIESTE PROVINCE

TRIESTE	Trst
DUINO AURISINA	Devin Nabrežina
SGONICO	Zgonik
MONRUPINO	Repentabor
S.DORLIGO DELLA VALLE	Dolina
MUGGIA	Milje

2.2 Italo-Slovene border transformations in time

*The Border is...
“a tangible artefact
imposed upon the human populations
and the natural geography”
“an intercultural world unto itself”
Gloria Anzaldua (1987)*

*“A border is a dividing line,
a narrow strip along a steep edge....
A borderland is a vague
and undetermined place
created by the emotional residue
of an unnatural boundary...
...the Borderlands are physically present
wherever two or more cultures edge each other,
where people of different races occupy the same territory,
where under, lower, middle and upper classes touch,
where the space between two individuals
shrinks with intimacy...”
Anzaldua G.
Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza, 1987*

Territoriality, defined as the use of bordered geographical space, is a powerful social organization of control, management and administration that can be frequently over-simplified and competitively contested without considering the social realities at the borders, arbitrarily equating physical space with social space.

Cities at a border area have both the potential to be a space of mixing and sharing and the inherent risk of conflict. They are subject to negotiating conflicts and pressures to assert urban spaces over state and ethnic territorialities.

The territory of the Italo-Slovene borderland was subject to a long history of disputes over political demarcations and continuous radical revisions, with

frequent groups' manipulations of facts in service of self-interests. The border frequently moved, leaving minorities on both sides.

With the end of World War One, Italy acquired in accordance with the secret Treaty of London (1915) extensive territories of western Slovenia, including the Primorska region, Istria, and parts of Dalmatia in what is today Croatia, but was obliged to give up these territories after World War Two.

After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, in 1919, the new kingdom of Yugoslavia was created. The Treaty of Saint Germain established the annexation of one third of the current Slovenian territory to Italy. Hence, the new territorial distribution left about 350,000 Slovenes on the North-eastern Italian side, "on the other side of the border". Therefore, parts of numerous ethnic groups lived as national minorities outside the boundaries of their homelands.

Between 1918 and 1921 the city of Trieste, the Slovene Karst, Istria, Fiume and Dalmatia passed under Italian sovereignty, and a process of "Italianization" started.

The years of Italian fascist regime meant a further and deeper oppression of Slovenes in Italy, including prohibition to use Slovenian in public and in press, banning Slovene place and personal names, closure of Slovenian schools, migration of between 20,000 and 30,000 Slovenians of Italy. Large groups of Slovenes were forcibly relocated to other Italian cities to prevent them to maintain their cultural and linguistic identity. Many were also deported to concentration camps, sentenced to death and executed. Between the 1920s and 1930s fascist policies aimed to eradicate any residual cosmopolitanism through enforced 'Italianization'. As Wohinz and Troha (2001:136) remarked, "*the most lasting effect of the fascist policy was that it has instilled the idea into the minds of the Slovenes that Italy stands for Fascism and [...] made them reject almost everything that seemed to be Italian*". The prohibition to give Slovene names to newborns remained in force until 1966 when it was replaced by law 935 of 3/1/1966 which allowed the right to give children foreign names.

The revenge against fascist repression later on took the form of throwing Italians into the “foibe”, a particular kind of cave present in the Karst region.

Following the World War II the situation at the frontier territory further degenerated, mainly due to the impossibility of dividing it along ethnic lines (Gross, 1978, from Rigo & Favretto, 2007).

As described by Repe (2004),

“The new border in places where it did not exist before, led to a series of tragicomic situations: in the village Miren near Gorica, for example, the border divided the local cemetery into two halves. When a burial took place the relatives took leave of the deceased in the presence of the border guards by pushing the coffin from one state into the other.”

Moreover, the Iron Curtain cutting across the Julian landscapes contributed to negative stereotypes of “Italo-fascists” and “Slavo-Communists” as contrapposed enemy categories present in duplicates on both sides of the Italo-Yugoslavian border (Thomassen, 2006).

In 1947 with the Treaty of Paris and other international agreements, the Republic of Italy and the Yugoslavian Federation finally recognized certain linguistic rights to Slovenes.

Later on, in 1954, the Istrian peninsula began to be part of Yugoslavia, while Trieste and its surrounding were part of Italy. The majority of Italians from Istria moved to the province of Trieste, while Slovenians living there remained a minority.

The dispute over the border ended only in 1975 with the signing of the Osimo Treaty, an agreement with which Italy committed itself to minority protection in the provinces of Trieste and Gorizia (but less in Videmska pokrajina, which was acknowledged some rights only in 2000 with the Act 482 recognizing some

rights of the Slovene community of Kanalska dolina): the right to education in Slovene language at the nursery, primary, lower- and upper-secondary levels, the right to address the local and provincial public administration in Slovenian, bilingual identity cards, and bilingual toponymical signs in the municipalities inhabited by Slovenophones.

Nevertheless, the protective law was ratified and implemented only in February 2001 (Law N. 38 issued on 23-2-2001, *Norme a tutela della minoranza linguistica slovena della regione Friuli-Venezia Giulia*), because the rightwing party that was dominant at the time disputed the geographical area on which minority protection should be applied. In fact, Italian Law 38 of 2001 officially recognised the presence of the Slovene community only in 32 municipalities (see also Act 482/1999 for norms on the protection of historical linguistic minorities).

*“All citizens possess an equal social status
and are equal before the law,
without distinction as to sex, race, language,
religion, political opinions, and personal or social conditions.”*

Constitution of the Italian Republic (1947) Article 3 (1)

*"Each ethnic minority has the sovereign right
to freely use its own language and script,
to foster its own culture,
to establish organizations for this purpose,
and to enjoy other constitutionally guaranteed rights"*

Yugoslav federal constitution (1974) Article 274

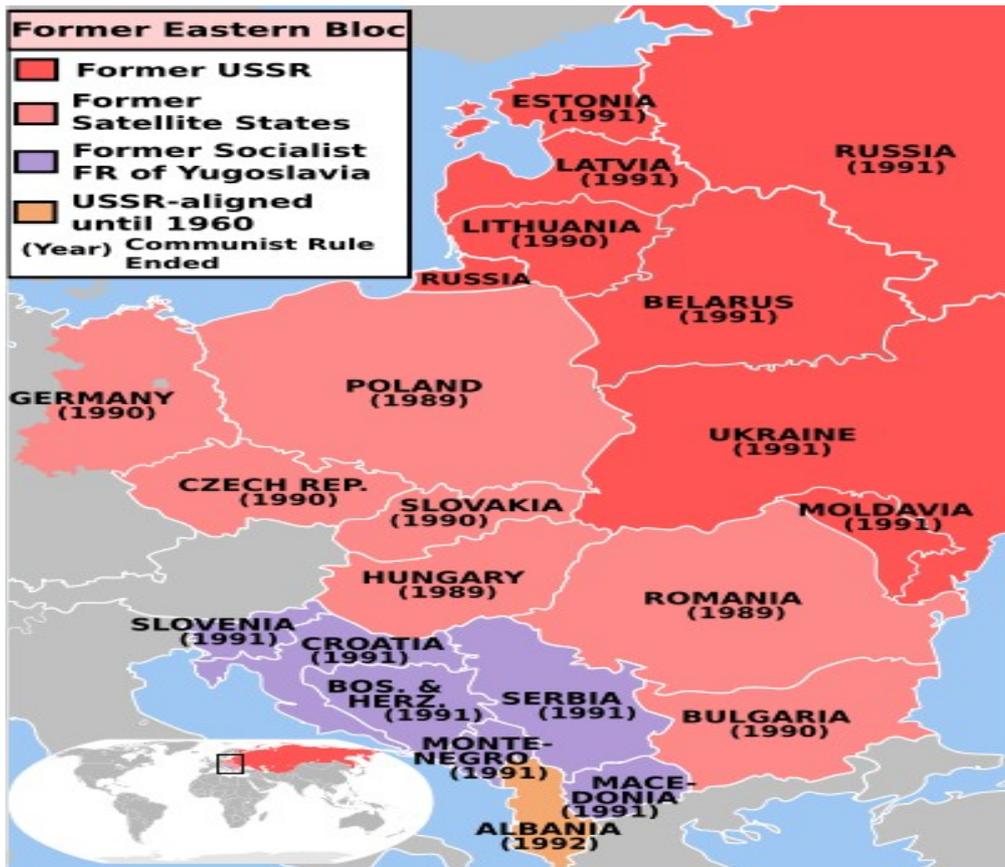


Figure 11: Dissolution of the Former Eastern Bloc
 (source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:EasternBloc_PostDissolution2008.svg)

2.3 Minority - majority relations

In 1999, Stranj (Stranj 1999:15) wrote that there was some kind of interethnic opposition and confrontation between the Italian dominant community and other communities, with the most accentuated tensions being between Slovenians and Italians.

As Stranj puts it, the Italian community was not afraid of disappearing due to minorities, but rather aimed at maintaining class privileges, while the Slovene minority population feared assimilation and defensively strived for its rights (Stranj 1999: 19).

The historical background of the region briefly summarized above has certainly played a crucial role in shaping majority/minority relations at the Italo-Slovene border. The memories of the past are still present as one of the underlying causes of reciprocal distrust in the communities, related to what they suffered during Fascism or due to the “foibe”.

When considering the self-perception of identity and identification changes, it is important to take into consideration several socio-political and historical transformations, related to the collapse of the Yugoslav federation, the creation of the independent state of Slovenia in 1991 and the accession of Slovenia into the European Union in 2004 as well beside majority/minority relations (Erjavec, 2003).

The main city of the province of Gorizia/Gorica became more symbolically attached to the Slovenian city of Nova Gorica since the entrance of Slovenia in the European Union on 1st May 2004.

It's popular to say that border between Yugoslavia and Italy was a part of the Iron Curtain. As Braun (2009³) notices, “the fall of the Iron Curtain should have united two towns, but Italian Gorizia and Slovenia's Nova Gorica continue to snub one another with great distinction”. In his article he further comments about the name for the joint city square that is located half in Italy and half in Slovenia:

“...the Piazza Transalpina. In the old days the border fence ran right across the piazza. This is where the big party kicked off on 1 May 2004 to celebrate the EU's eastward enlargement, with then EU Commission President Romano Prodi as star guest. But Gorizia and Nova Gorica can't even get it together here: on the Italian side the square is still called “Piazza Transalpina” – while the Slovenes have rechristened their half “United Europe Square”” (Braun, 2009).

³<http://www.presseurop.eu/en/content/article/27781-sister-towns-sibling-rivalry>

Slovenia entered the European Union in 2004. Nevertheless, the borders between the two states were definitely removed only when Slovenia joined the Schengen area (on 21 December 2007).

*“Anxious to strengthen the solidarity between their peoples
by removing the obstacles to free movement [...]
the Parties shall endeavour
to abolish checks at common borders
and transfer them to their external borders.”*

(1985 Schengen Agreement; Preamble and Article 17)



Figure12/13/14: Piazza Transalpina-Europa, a plaque marking the border between Italy and Slovenia (Gorizia-Nova Gorica).

(Sources: Sister towns, sibling rivalry, June 15 2009, DIE TAGESZEITUNG, <http://presseurop.eu/en/content/article/27781-sister-towns-sibling-rivalry>, www.ilsegnalibro.com)

SCHENGEN COUNTRIES



Figure 15: Schengen countries (2008)

As Rigo and Favretto Rahola (2007) put it, “in the specific case of the Italo-Slovene border area, it is difficult to evaluate the European integration process as an autonomous factor influencing minority conditions.”

“...prior to the 1990s majority/minority relations within Italy (and in FVG) were deeply affected by the Cold War. The discrimination suffered by Slovenophones was not only connected to their Slav identity, but also to the depiction of this minority as a pro-communist community. As a consequence, the counter-mobilization process of the minority was not simply centred on cultural and ethnic issues. With the collapse of the Yugoslav federation and Slovenia’s independence, the negative representation of the minority as pro-communist has decreased. This has also induced a shift toward a redefinition of majority/minority relations

along ethnic/cultural lines.”

They acknowledge that the transition from Yugoslavia to Slovenia had a varying effect on the Slovene minority, as part of them was always distinguishing the two affiliations, while others felt belonging to Yugoslavia in general.

2.3.1 The Italo-Slovene cross-border area as a contact area

*“A border is
an imaginary line between
two nations, separating the
imaginary rights of one
from the imaginary rights
of another”
Ambrose Bierce*

A border is an elastic geocultural landscape between two countries, two cultures, two ways of life, two infrastructures, a meeting place that has inherent inequalities and opportunities.

A crossborder area goes beyond such borders. Bufon defines it as a relatively complex bordering region characterized by high level of mutual connections and complementarities between the local communities, constituted according to the principle of functionality (the local communities across the border adapt to the situation) and by the principle of homogeneity as both parts share the same cultural landscape (Bufon 1995: 16).

He also explains the “*apparently paradoxical fact that those border areas which have experienced the greatest problems relative to the splitting of previously unified administrative, culture, and functional space in the recent past also have the greatest possibilities for developing into border regions*” (Bufon 2004), mainly because of the “*socio-cultural bindings, originating from the need of people living next to the border to preserve the cultural spaces of their origin*” (Bufon, 2004 p. 236). Communities in border regions in fact very likely share a common regional sense of belonging or a similar ethnic and linguistic structure

that can well serve as optimal transition zone in establishing transborder and international relations (Bufon, 1992).

The cross-border area is seen as a contact area up to 25 km from the border line, that has the potentiality to foster development of intercultural dialogue, ethnic coexistence and multilingual practices. Within this, the presence of ethnic minorities and local communities on the territory is acknowledged as having a crucial additional function of integrators and connecting elements, especially when there is the need to reconstruct a functional area that were once common (Klemencic & Bufon, 1994; Bufon, 1998, 2008), such as the case of Gorizia-Nova Gorica region. It does not fit administrative and political delimitations, but rather matches historical cultural areas (Bufon, 2008).

The process remains dynamic with constant tendencies both towards convergence (social and economic cooperation and partnership) and divergence (social and cultural differentiation) (Bufon, 2000).

“In this sense, border areas and the cross-border relations developing in them have great significance not only in the field of social and economic integration at the inter-state and inter-regional levels but also in the preservation of cultural characteristics and the strengthening of inter-ethnic coexistence and links” (Bufon, 2002).

He concludes that

“Slovenia, considering its size and its properties as European contact territory, might be a very suitable and handle “laboratory” for studying integration processes in conditions of preserving cultural diversity as well as for its spatial and social influences on the “new” and “old” border areas of Central Europe” (Bufon, 2002).

The Upper Adriatic cross-border area

The Upper Adriatic borderland, covering about 100 kilometers from the Carnian and Julian Alps to the Gulf of Trieste, has become an ideal laboratory to study the effects of the socio-political and geographical changes of the border on its territory and its population, since it was affected by several conflicts and wars that reshaped the political borders, the social and ethnic construction of the territory (Bufon & Minghi, 2000).

According to Bufon, even though the borders changed several times, people and their cultures in the Italo-Slovene border region remained mainly unchanged, unlike in other realities, as for instance in western Poland or in Sudetenland, the western region of Czechoslovakia that is inhabited mostly by ethnic Germans (Bufon, 2003).

Nowadays the Upper Adriatic region is considered a unique multicultural contact area on the periphery of the current European Union where transnational cultural communities coexist and cooperate at the cross-border level. As Bufon notices, it is in fact the only part of Europe that offers the opportunity for the three major European historic civilisations and ethno-linguistic groups, the Romance, the Germanic and the Slavic, to meet, interact and develop inter-ethnic relations. The focus has thus moved from a conflict area to an integration area that tries *“to overcome the conflicts that were caused by the division of traditionally homogeneous spaces as local level political and ideological hindrances disappear”* (Bufon, 2000). Such border are supposed to have a big potential for a successful socio-economic and socio-cultural integration.

2.3.2 Cross-border cooperation

In the beginning of the 1960s, with the growing importance of tourism, ethnic minorities at both sides of the frontier started to be considered a connecting element, allowing more economic and cultural relations between the Slovene minority in Italy and Slovenia/Yugoslavia. This led to the development of the first Slovenian association, the Slovensko kulturno gospodarska zveza (SKGZ, 'Slovene cultural-economic union'), and, in the 1970s, Italy's first Slovene political party, the Catholic/Liberal Slovenska skupnost (SSk, 'Slovene Union') (Bratina 1997:130).

Nevertheless, official inter-regional trans-frontier collaboration in this area started in 1965 with the Trigon arrangement made by Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Austrian Carinthia, and Slovenia, which later in 1978 became the Alpe-Adria Working Community.

Later on such cross-border cooperation continued, supported by European Union funds. The European Union's Phare external assistance programme began operating in Slovenia in 1992, and a cross-border cooperation component within it started in 1994.

Interreg II between Italy-Slovenia was approved in 1997, while both regions participated in Interreg III (2000-2006).

In Interreg IIIA (2000-2006 programming period), the Italo-Slovene border has been defined as both a land and a maritime border, including the provinces of Udine, Gorizia, and Trieste (region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia), the province of Venice (region of the Veneto) in Italy and the regions of Obalno-kraska and Goriska, as well as the municipality of Kranjska Gora in Slovenia. "*The 232 km-long land border connects 24 Italian municipalities with 13 Slovenian ones; the maritime border, meanwhile, connects Venice with Slovenia's Italoophone municipalities*" (Rigo & Favretto 2007).

Anagnostou (2007) writes:

“European integration extends to minority-inhabited areas through processes of regional development change, implementation of structural funds, cross border co-operation, and in CESE (Central-East and Southeast Europe) pre-accession funds. It furthermore affects minorities through human rights norms and minority protection conditions, a regime that has developed over the past fifteen years in conjunction with the Council of Europe (CoE).”

These programmes are supposed to indirectly influence the *“ways in which local minorities and majorities view their identification with a national or ethnic community, their rights and obligations as citizens of a state, as well as how they conceptualise 'Europe'”*

Nevertheless, as Rigo and Favretto (2007) pointed out in their research on the impact of European integration on minority mobilization, Interreg projects *“have simply ratified the already existing network of relations without inducing any real change in minority’s opportunities”*. According to the authors, however, their main contribution was that they *“have had a considerable impact in enhancing cross-border relations between the Italophone community in Slovenia and the Slovenophone community in Italy”* (see also Šabec 2006).

Chapter 3: HYPOTHESES

3.1 IDENTIFICATION LABELS and MULTIPLE COMPLEX IDENTITIES

In most studies ethnic groups are generally regarded as homogenous and mutually exclusive categories (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Runnymede Trust 2003) From the individual point of view, especially if we consider bicultural and minority people, clear and distinct categorizations into this or that category, accompanied with the obligation to choose one single ethnic identification label, may not fit individual self-representation sufficiently well.

The theoretical premise adopted in this study is that people hold multiple social identities, including ethnic identities (Deaux, Reid, Mizrahi & Ethier, 1995; Brewer & Gardner, 1996).

Multiple identifications can allow the person different degrees of overlap between the parts that constitute the Self. This enables the switching between different identities according to the circumstance and in response to the cues from the outside (Hong, Morris, Chiu & Benet-Martínez, 2000).

The effect of having dual or multiple identities remains ambiguous in the research literature and seems to vary across people, in that it can represent either a beneficial resource providing flexibility to accommodate to different social contexts or an element of confusion and ambivalence (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006).

As we have outlined in the theoretical part of the dissertation, optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991, 1993) suggests that people need an adequate distinctive group membership, which can be provided by the balance between assimilation and differentiation. Subjective uncertainty reduction theory (Hogg & Abrams, 1993, in Hewstone, Rubin & Wills, 2002), instead, suggests

that individuals are motivated to reduce subjective uncertainty by seeking a social identity which provides clear definitions of the self. The authors proposed that subjective uncertainty reduces as ingroup identification increases.

H 1: (Slovene) Minority members, compared to majority members (Slovenians and Italians), will use more labels to define themselves, showing multiple identities to a greater extent.

H 2: (Slovene) Minority members will exhibit a more complex social (ethnic) identity structure in order to achieve an optimal level of distinctiveness and a clearer sense of self.

These tendencies will be reflected in the choice of self-identification labels.

3.2 ETHNIC and NATIONAL IDENTITY SALIENCE IN MULTIPLE CATEGORIZATIONS

In the literature the relationship between ethnic and national identity is still debated, with scholars arguing the type of correlation between them, if they are independent or not related at all (Berry, 2003, 2006).

The most recent research (Berry et al., 2006) that studied the two identities on a sample of 5000 immigrant adolescents, demonstrated the independency of these aspects across countries and across individuals. This perspective fits well with the view of cross-cutting multiple categorizations (Crisp & Hewstone, 2000; Crisp, Hewstone & Rubin, 2001).

Other scholars, instead, propose the model of “nested identities” (Brewer, 1999; Lawler, 1992) where national identity is seen as a higher order identity in which ethnic identity can be nested as a lower order identity, but encompassed in the other one. The higher order identity is further seen to respond to the need to be securely included in a collective group, while the subgroup identity nested in it, is supposed to respond to the need for distinctiveness (Brewer, 1999).

Scholars have demonstrated that especially minority members, immigrants in particular, vary in national identification and adopt different degrees of complexity in how they represent their multiple identities (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Verkuyten, 2005; Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

They can opt for several solutions:

- a hyphenated identity in which they combine their ethnic identity with the national identity (Deaux, 2008),
- two identities with different position and value, one subordinated and the other dominant (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007),
- multiple overlapped identities that are compartmentalized and context specific,
- overlapping multiple identities that can exist simultaneously with a higher order identification integrating all of the others.

According to the acculturation models, integration resulting in the most successful adaptation would require both a strong ethnic and a strong national identity.

Inspired by these premises, we created a new measure comprised by several Venn diagrams assessing the inclusion of others in the self. It is designed to allow the possibility of different patterns of multiple identification with varying degrees of overlap between ingroup identities, as suggested by Social Identity Complexity Theory (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). These circles may reflect different possibilities of identifying with ethnic and national terms (see Chapter 4 for a description of the measure).

Mc Guire and colleagues (Mc Guire, Mc Guire, Child, & Fujioko, 1987) argued that numeric minority members tend to spontaneously mention their ethnic identity more often than majority members, being their ethnic identity more salient. Conducting their studies in a multiethnic school setting, they observed

that children's ethnic saliency tended to diminish when the proportion of ethnic group members in the classroom augmented.

Similarly, Moghaddam (1992) found that immigrants living in suburbs with a lesser percentage of ethnic minority members were more likely to use their ethnic membership as ground for social comparison.

Moreover, Barrett (2000) demonstrated that ethnic identity can be more salient when the nation state is relatively young, like Slovenia in our case. On the other hand, several studies made us notice that recently the importance of national identity has diminished due to globalization processes (Ben-Rafael, 2001; Ben-Rafael & Sternberg, 2001; Brettell, 2000; Grillo, 1998).

H 3: Ethnic and national identity salience will differ across minority and majority groups.

H 4: a) We expect Venn diagram circles "Inclusion of others in the self" (our newly designed measure) to reflect group memberships.

b) Selection choices will vary across individuals and groups, with minority members expressing graphically higher degrees of identities overlap (more complex ethnic identity structures).

3.3 ETHNIC and TERRITORIAL IDENTIFICATION

Ethnic identity is at the same time a personal and a group identification, but it is agreed that it is better to measure its strength and salience at the individual level (Davis, 1999; Abdelal et al. 2005; Shearer, 2003).

At a local level, Sussi and Boileau (1973) examined ethnic and territorial belonging of 272 Italians, 200 Slovene minority members and 141 Friulians, finding that members of the Slovene minority had the most high frequency of replying they felt their belonging to their own group very strongly (79%), followed by the minority of Friulians (75%), with a significant difference with the members of the Italian majority (50%).

In a research on Slovene minority children attending middle schools in Trieste and Gorizia, Strukelj and Sussi (1981) documented that almost half of them said the sense of ethnic belonging was very important to them. Later on (1989, 1994) the results were re-confirmed with other subjects, showing that Slovene minority members exhibited higher ethnic identification rather than their peers from the majority group. What it also emerged was a strong attachment to Slovenia beside the bond to local territories from Slovene minority members, while Italians were more attached to Italy and less attached to their local place of residence. Regarding territorial sense of belonging, we can also mention the sociological study made by Strassoldo and Tessarin (1992), who documented that with growing age, the territorial attachment and sense of belonging grow, while it diminishes with higher levels of education.

A different set of results regarding territorial attachment was found by Pertot (2002). Studying national and territorial identity of Slovene minority students attending middle and high school with projective tests, she found that they considered their ingroup as “Slovenes from Trieste”, while “Slovenes from Slovenia” was regarded more as an outgroup to keep at a greater distance from their concept of self. Similarly they perceived local attachments to Trieste more

strongly than others like Italy or Slovenia. The timeline comparison of the two researches she conducted showed an increased distancing from Slovenia and Slovenians (Pertot, 2002).

Interesting is also Armstrong's (1998) point of view. He posits that in nowadays Europe where frontiers are gradually disappearing, people tend to identify primarily with their local or regional identities rather than with the State. These more local identities are in his reasoning especially significant and more highly accessible for minority members and those living in more peripheral zones at border areas, where co-existing identities are more likely to occur.

H 5: Minority members are expected to have higher degrees of ethnic identity than majority members.

H 6: Minority and majority members will differ regarding territorial attachments.

3.4 NATIONAL/ ETHNIC IDENTITY MARKERS

Ethnic identity is a multifaceted construct with several inter-correlated dimensions (Romero & Roberts, 2003; Ashmore, Deaux & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Lee & Yoo, 2004).

Likewise, different ascribed (e.g. place of birth, country of residence) and voluntarist elements (e.g., feeling, cultural practices) can be regarded as markers that function as requirements to be considered an ingroup member.

H 7: There will be differences concerning the importance of different national identity markers across groups.

3.5 SITUATIONAL ETHNICITY

Different identifications can be hierarchically ordered (Stryker, 1980). For some people their ethnicity is a crucial part of their identity and a meaningful experience, while for others it is a superficial facet of the self-concept that becomes important only in specific situations. Some identities can be strengthened at some time, some others hidden or diminished in importance in some other time or situation.

Some scholars, for instance, studying the acculturation model, found that young Dutch immigrants preferred cultural maintenance and separation in the private domain, but favoured getting in contact with Dutch culture and integration outside home (Phalet, Lotringen & Entzinger, 2000; Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2003).

We primed ethnic identity putting participants in a situation where social comparison with target outgroups was made salient. At the same time we stressed the possibility of multiple identities. We expect participants to express the most frequently used ethnic identity labels. From the qualitative interviews

we expect to gain insight on possible switching between identities associated with context changes.

H 8: Respondents will show evidence of situational ethnicity.

3. 6 EFFECTS of SOCIOPOLITICAL CHANGES on IDENTITY and INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Beside short term situational changes, changes in historical, social and political context have also a significant impact in shaping a person's social identity (Fu, Lee Chiu & Hong 1999; Brewer, 1999; Liu, Wilson, McClure & Higgins 1999), yet the issue of how ethnic identity is maintained, changed or renegotiated in time after similar long term changes is understudied (Abrams et al., 2000).

Changes and novelties may have the potential to transform ourselves and our relationship to the world (Meyerson, 2000). Albert, Schneeweis and Knobbe (2005) argued that historical and political events may make salient different facets of ethnic or cultural identity and affect the individual identification with a particular group.

H 9: Socio-political changes associated with the independence of Slovenia and its joining the Schengen area of the European Union, will be (subjectively) perceived as having had an impact on one's ethnic and national identifications, especially for Slovenians and Slovene minority members.

H 10: Socio-political changes associated with the independence of Slovenia and its joining the Schengen area of the European Union, will be (subjectively) perceived as having had an impact on intergroup relations between communities living in the borderland.

3.7 PERCEIVED SIMILARITY/DIFFERENCE TO IG and OG

Numerous research have shown that similarity and closeness or physical proximity are crucial factors to engage in interaction with others beside familiarity, exposure and other variables (Carrarini, Jackson & Pin, 2007; Mc Pherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001).

Perceived similarities and differences with members of the ingroup and those of the outgroup are relevant for two main reasons.

Firstly, considered at an individual level, comparing subjective perception of similarity between the self and a typical member of an ingroup vs outgroup, it can give us an indication whether the subject is more inclined to be in the interpersonal or in the intergroup end of the continuum.

Secondly, it can be considered a measure of who we are (similar to) and who we are not.

H 11: All the group members will perceive themselves more similar to a typical member of the ingroup rather than of the outgroups.

H 12: (Slovene) Minority members will perceive greater similarities toward target outgroups (Italians, Slovenians) that are potentially their in-groups (at varying degrees of overlap).

3.8 SIMILARITY and FRIENDSHIP

Preference for similar others can affect the structure of social interactions such as friendship (Mc Pherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001).

On one hand, some theories suggest that similarity results in attraction (Taylor & Mogghadam, 1994; Mogghaddam, 2002).

On the other hand, others propose that similarity leads to distancing. The issue was mostly studied concerning horizontal hostility between similar minority groups.

According to the distinctiveness approach to social identity and social networks, minority members display a tendency to select friends from their own distinctive group and are unlike to have many connections/social ties to members outside their group, that is in the more numerous majority group (Ibarra, 1993, from Leonard, 2007). Leonard (2007), studying this issue in an organizational setting, emphasized numerical distinctiveness is a determinant of perceptual salience, along with social desirability and personal needs (Mc Guire, Padawer-Singer, 1976). Mehra and colleagues (1998), instead, acknowledged that this effect (the stronger tendency of minority members to have friends within group) could be due to relative lower social status of the minority and exclusionary pressures related to it (minority members relegated to the margins of informal networks). This would be in line with previous findings that state that members of underrepresented groups often retreat into self-imposed isolation (Denby, 1997, in Leonard, 2007).

As Leonard (2007) noted, the relative proportion of majority and minority ethnic group members may be significant to identify the level at which groups enhance the preference for similar others, but this still needs to be inquired further.

It is still not clear if numeric distinctiveness has more influence on behaviours towards similarity or those dissimilar to self.

Following the theoretical approaches of Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), however, it can be suggested that minority group members will try to distinguish and distance themselves from similar minority groups, motivated to achieve a positively valued social identity. With this premises, a similar group can be considered a threat to one's distinctiveness (Tajfel, 1982). Therefore, horizontal hostility would arise from perceived threat to distinctiveness without being correlated with perceived similarity (Langer, White).

H 13: Minority and majority members will have different patterns of intergroup friendships.

3.9 INTERGROUP CONTACT

Stathi and Crisp (2008), reviewing literature relevant to ground their imagined contact theories, summarized their literature review saying that “minority group members react differently to contact experiences compared to majority group members” (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005, Stathi & Crisp, 2008), probably because “minority groups tend to be more suspicious of majorities” (Pinel, 2002) and “experience more anxiety at the thought of intergroup contact” (Plant & Devine, 2003, in Stathi & Crisp, 2008).

Moreover they found that contact was more successful at improving attitudes for participants who did not identify strongly with their national ingroup.

H 14: We predict that individuals with more cross-group friendships and interaction opportunities with outgroup members will have more positive attitudes towards them.

3.10 INTERGROUP BIAS

High ingroup identification can go hand in hand with intergroup bias (Brown, Maras, Masser, Vivian & Hewstone, 2001). The higher people identify with their ingroup, the more they tend to differentiate themselves from the outgroups (Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 2002), even under conditions designed to promote common goals and a sense of shared identity (Crisp, Stone & Hall, 2006).

Beside ethnic identification strength, structure of social identity may also be a crucial factor to consider. Roccas and Brewer (2002) have demonstrated that people with higher degrees of social identity complexity, like minorities generally are, tend to be more positively oriented toward outgroups.

Similarly, Verkuyten, studying Dutch and Turkish participants in the Netherlands, demonstrated that members of minority groups are more likely than majority group members to support multiculturalism rather than assimilationist thinking. Furthermore, he proposed that the more minority members identified with their ethnic ingroup and positively valued it, the more they favour multiculturalism. For majority group members, instead, the opposite was true: a lower level of ingroup identification in them was related to stronger endorsement of multiculturalism and diminished assimilationism, while a higher level of ingroup identification was associated to more assimilationism and more negative evaluation of the outgroup.

The intergroup differentiation principle has been derived from the social identity theory, but scholars have not agreed on its universality and consistency yet. According to some researchers (Brown, 2000) people who are more strongly identified with their ingroup, perceive more differences between their ingroup and relevant outgroups. Others, instead argue that the hypothesis cannot stem from social identity theories and that it shows up only under certain conditions, like when identity is made salient (Turner, 1999; McGarty, 2001; Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1999).

Lalonde (2002) conducted a correlational study of the relationship between social identity and intergroup differentiation in the context of Canadian national identity. As Lalonde (2002) noted, group salience and identification reflect/are the result of the developmental history of interactions between personal and group level factors (e.g. repeated exposure to intergroup conflict) in salient group experiences that is frequently associated with a particular outgroup.

On a slightly different end, a large body of research shows instead that are the members of relatively smaller size groups (minorities) those who exhibit more ingroup bias and discriminate more than larger groups members (majorities). (Brewer, Manzi & Shaw, 1993; Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001).

Several authors (Branscombe, Schmitt & Harvey, 1999) propose that it is an effect of belonging to a smaller group which in turns accentuates the saliency of identification. On one hand, Ellemers, Doosje, van Knippenberg and Wilke (1992) explain it might be a protective measure enacted to compensate the insecurity that minority members experience being categorized in a relatively disadvantaged and less valued group.

On the other hand, optimal distinctiveness theory has an opposite prediction, stating that identifying with a minority that provides sufficient inclusiveness with the ingroup as well as sufficient differentiation from the outgroup, can generate a positive social identity and stimulate satisfied individuals to identify with their ingroup more strongly.

There is empirical evidence that minority group members show stronger identification with their groups than majority members (Ellemers & van Rijswijk, 1997). Higher levels of ingroup identification has been shown also for stigmatized social groups in comparison to higher status groups (Simon, Hastedt, & Aufderheide, 1997).

The issues therefore are far from being straightforward and clear. We test them in our study with the following hypothesis:

H 15: Majority members high identifiers with a lower social identity structure will show greater intergroup differentiation (will perceive more differences between ingroup and target outgroups).

H 16: Outgroup attitudes will be different in minority and majority members. Minority status and social identity complexity will have a significant effect as predictors on measures of outgroup attitude.

H 17: High identifiers across groups will exhibit greater ingroup bias (positively evaluating the ingroup over the target outgroups).

H 18: Perceived threat to social identity will be a mediating factor in between identification and outgroup attitudes.

Chapter 4: DATA and METHODOLOGY

To elucidate the research questions, I chose to conduct both a quantitative survey consisting of questionnaires with mainly fixed response categories and a number of semi-structured qualitative interviews.

The objective is to gain in-depth information about processes of ethnic identification within the theoretical framework of complex social (ethnic) multiple identities that has not been sufficiently explored before in the local context.

4.1 QUALITATIVE DATA

Beside the quantitative analysis of the questionnaires, several open-ended questions were administered in the format of a semi-structured in-depth interview.

Qualitative research is useful to obtain in-depth information because it strives to explore and represent an issue without reducing and simplifying it to only numbers and categories as in traditional research, but trying to understand it using language to communicate a complex truth (Finley & Knowles, 1995).

This research therefore uses qualitative analysis as a way to capture the richness and complexity of the data, assuming that in communication interesting things can emerge to confirm data obtained by quantitative analysis or to understand the research theme with new insights, exploring the direct experience of the informants.

Starting in 1990s and increasingly since 2000 qualitative research gained some acknowledgement and legitimacy in Italian empirical sociology as a valid way to produce scientific knowledge beside the dominant survey research (Gobo & Bruni, 2005).

4.1.1 Informants

We gathered in total 56 interviews that lasted from 15 to 45 minutes and were conducted either in Italian or in Slovenian.

4.1.2 Procedure and analysis

When possible, upon obtaining the permission of the informant, interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed, and then translated into English. The quotes from interviews are cited in the text in italics and are my translation. Informants' personal information have been replaced with codes to protect anonymity. The programme Express Scribe was used as help in the accuracy of verbatim transcriptions. Seven of the interviews were unusable due to inaudible or corrupted files. Similarly, a number of the written open questions sent by the informants through the online site, were not accessible.

Data analysis was guided by principles of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Smith, 2004), a qualitative idiographic approach that aims to study small groups of participants (typically five to ten) identifying conceptual themes that describe and capture the essence of an experience emerging from a transcript to link them to other themes. The secondary advantage of IPA is that sampling is generally unconcerned with saturation (Brocki & Wearden, 2006).

The process of obtaining informed consent consisted of an e-mail invitation and explanation of the research, the telephone conversation. At each stage the researcher emphasized the voluntary nature of participation. Participants were reminded before the interview of their right to decline to answer any question, to change topics, to request a break, or to withdraw from the interview at any point as they felt compelled to do.

4.1.3 Guide for the interviews

- How do you identify yourself? What labels do you use when you talk about yourself?
- In which situations do you use these labels? Can you think of times or situations when you chose not to use certain labels?
- What does it mean to you to be (Slovenian/Italian, a minority in (country))?
- What do you think about immigration in your local environment?
- How do you think the socio-political changes related to Slovenia's independence and entrance in the EU affected your national identity? Did you perceive any effect?
- How did the socio-political changes related to Slovenia's independence and entrance in the EU affected relationships between the communities living in the borderland in your opinion?
- What relationship do you have with Slovenia/Italy and its inhabitants (majority population)?
- Do you have any contact with people of different ethnicity? With what nationalities?
- Have you ever experienced discrimination on the ground of your ethnicity in your life?

Table 3: List of interviews codes

ITALIAN INFORMANTS

1. INM1
2. INE2
3. INS773
4. IND744
5. INEPS5
6. INFG6
7. INFGB7
8. INFP8
9. INTE9
10. INF10
11. ING11
12. INSI12
13. INR13
14. INSR14
15. INCL15
16. INF16
17. INT17
18. INT18
19. INT6019
20. INT6920
21. INT21
22. INT8822
23. INM6323
24. INTG24
25. INR8225
26. INTMB26
27. INTMD27

OTHER MINORITIES

1. INSW1
2. INST2
3. INM633
4. INM4

SLOVENE MINORITY IN ITALY

4. ING1
5. INMI2
6. INAR3
7. INED794
8. INNT5
9. IND866
10. INO617
11. INGO8
12. INGO9
13. INMM5310

SLOVENIAN INFORMANTS

1. INPRV831
2. INP742
3. INPLO653
4. INN814
5. INL825
6. INNG6
7. INCL847
8. INB828
9. INO839
10. INL8410
11. INI8611
12. INA8612
13. INK8713
14. INM7014
15. INP8315
16. INRO16
17. INIGB7217
18. INLV7018
19. INMI19
20. INII20

ITALIAN MINORITY IN SLOVENIA

1. INA1
2. INR2
3. INB3
4. INMS4
5. INC805

4.2 QUANTITATIVE DATA

4.2.1 Respondents

In the present research we recruited respondents from five groups: Italians, Slovenians, Slovene minority in Italy, Italian minority in Slovenia and other minorities (immigrants) living in Slovenian or Italy.

The groups from Italy came mainly from the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region (Gorizia, Trieste). There were in total 415 participants and their age ranged from 15 to 74 years. The samples will be described more in details in Chapter 5.

4.2.2 Procedure

The survey was comprised of a series of self-report measures administered through the paper version and the online version of a questionnaire, labeled Ethnic Identity and Outgroup Attitudes (<http://eioga.webs.com>, see Appendix 2). The questionnaire has been available online since November 2008, through a form costing nine dollars per month. The obtained data were coded, scored, and analyzed by the researcher with the statistical programme SPSS.18. All the information provided was anonymous.

Participants were recruited through lists posted on online boards in several groups dedicated to minority issues, at the university and using the snow ball technique. For the online survey they were invited via an e-mail message and via the shared link to the website. As a reward for their voluntary participation to the survey and the time spent to answer the 13-pages questionnaire, participants were given the possibility to participate for free to one of the sessions of an intercultural activity to be held in winter 2008 and/or spring 2009. The workshops did not take place, due to insufficient number of participants for each age group and ethnicity.

Respondents were also given the name and e-mail address of the investigator in case they desired to contact her for more information or had questions. The

participants could quit the survey at any time, save the online responses to complete the questionnaire in more than one session and they were allowed to skip over any single questions they did not wish to answer. The required obligatory questions were just a few demographic data such as gender, year of birth and a question asking about belonging to a minority or to a majority in the country of residence.

The researcher offered to share a description of the results to the interested people upon completion of the dissertation.

4.2.3 Procedure and variables

The literature in the field of social psychology shows methodologically different ways of how ethnic identity is studied and operationalized.

To ground our own studies, as well as to contribute to the field, we conducted a review of the main conceptual frameworks being used in empirical studies and constructed, on the basis of our previous research, the Ethnic Identity and Outgroup Attitudes Questionnaire (EIOGA_MK2008), pretesting it several times in summer 2007 and spring 2008 before the final version that was administered since winter 2008, vis-à-vis, by e-mail and through an online form shared by a link to the website mentioned above. The average time of completion of the questionnaire was 40 minutes. The highest percentage of respondents was with the self-report semi-structured questionnaire administered in an online version, comprising in total 207 possible questions. All the four samples had the same questionnaire, though there were some conditioned questions triggered by certain answers only (i.e. being member of a minority, for instance, triggered a set of questions on acculturation stress). The questionnaire could be answered in English, Italian and Slovenian language.

VARIABLES

GENDER: A dichotomous variable (males '1', females '2').

AGE: The respondents' age (in years) at the time of the compilation of the questionnaire was calculated based on their year of birth.

URBANIZATION/PLACE OF RESIDENCE: Respondents who lived in a city were compared with those living in villages/in the hinterland of the city. Moreover, those living closer to the border area Gorizia/Nova Gorica were compared with those living further and elsewhere in Italy or Slovenia.

MULTICULTURAL SETTING/NEIGHBOURHOOD: Participants were asked to describe the perceived variety of their place of residence, saying if it was 'an area with mostly or exclusively Italians' (or Slovenians), 'a mixed environment, with a lot of people of different cultural or ethnic hinterland' or 'an area with predominant presence of people with cultural or ethnic hinterland other than Italians' (or Slovenians for respondents from Slovenia). They were also instructed to indicate the most numerous groups in their neighbourhood.

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN ITALY: Respondents with an immigrant background were asked to report the duration (in years) of permanence in Italy.

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL: The educational level of the respondent was measured as the highest educational level with completion or about to be completed during the current year. The type of education received (school attended and university) was also asked.

PROFESSION: Participants were asked to indicate their current profession and employment status.

NGO MEMBERSHIP: Members of some non-governmental organization or intercultural association were compared to others who were not members of any organizations.

RELATIONSHIP STATUS: Respondents who were in a stable relationship or married were compared with those who were single and/or divorced.

ETHNIC BACKGROUND: The ethnic origin or background of the respondents was defined according to country of birth and that of the respondent's parents. This is the non chosen, ascriptive part of one's identity.

GROUP SELF-DESIGNATION: Participants were instructed, 'We are all part of different groups (i.e. ethnic, national, regional, religious, etc.). Some are more important to us than others when we think of ourselves. When you think about your identity, what label(s) describe(s) best what you feel to be?' They could list in an open-ended reply format four completions of the sentence 'I am...'. Two of the online 'I am' fields prompted the respondent about the possibility to include the religious identity and to mention the ethnic or national minority one was member of. The strength of identification with the written labels was ranging from 1 ('not at all') to 10 ('definitely').

The perceived importance or salience of being member of each label chosen for group identification, of the religious affiliation (i.e., Catholic, Muslim, etc.) and of national identity (Italian or Slovenian) ranged from 1 ('not important at all') to 10 ('extremely important').

Participants were also asked to indicate whether they are always seen by others in society as they perceive themselves and if they ever presented themselves differently than usual. This way we took into consideration the possibility of switching between identities in some contexts and of different perceptions associated with category labels and classifications of the ingroup and outgroup members, linked to the main questions 'Who am I?' and 'Who do the others think I am?'.

ETHNIC IDENTITY : I AM.... (self-descriptive label)

Self-identification (self-label, self reported ethnic identity) was used as an indicator of the affective component of ethnic identity and the sign of its salience.

MEIM

Additionally it was examined with seven items selected from the standardized Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure - MEIM (Phinney, 1992). The original 14-item measure comprises two main factors: Exploration and Active Involvement in Ethnic Group, Affirmation, Belonging, and Identity Commitment. The subscales of the measure assess ethnic pride, feeling comfortable about one's background, being happy with one's group membership, feelings of belonging and attachment to the group (e.g., 'I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to'), as well as clarity about one's place in society, the influence of ethnicity in life and also ethnic identity related behaviours, that is how an active member a particular person is in his or her ethnic group. (e.g., 'I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music or customs').

I had translated the English version of MEIM in Slovenian and Italian for the purposes of my undergraduate thesis in 2003. Reliability and validity indicators for the Slovene and the Italian versions of the MEIM were calculated separately.

Participants responded to the items on a four-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (4). Higher scores on the measure reflect ethnic identity achievement, whereas lower scores reflect identity diffusion or confusion.

ETHNIC (SOCIAL) IDENTITY COMPLEXITY

INCLUSION OF OTHERS IN THE SELF

An additional scale created ad hoc to measure the degree of overlap between multiple identifications with respondents' own group and with the broader national group or target outgroup. Participants were instructed to chose one of 8 possible representations (labeled with letters from 'a' to 'h') that was closer to their sense of self. The measure is a personal mixture and variation of the classical Venn diagram as in the figure below. It represent the affiliative or

chosen component of one's identity self view and it is suitable to assess simple and complex identities.

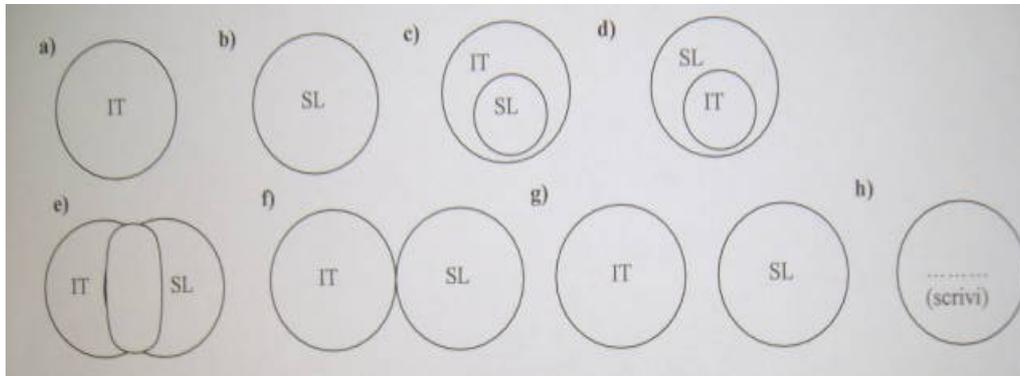


Figure 16: Venn diagrams for “Inclusion of others in the self” (simple vs. complex ethnic identity)

Moreover, Slovene minority members were asked to choose how they would define themselves in occasion of a national census if obliged to use a fixed choice between Slovenian and Italian.

RELIGIOUS IDENTITY: Religious identity was measured with 13 items. Seven items mirrored those used to measure ethnic identity with the MEIM. Examples of the items were: ‘I am committed to behave accordingly to my religious identity as (Catholic, Muslim...)', ‘I have a clear and confident sense of my religious identity’ and ‘Religion is very important in my life’. The reply format was from 1 (‘not at all true’) to 10 (‘definitely true’).

Frequency of prayer, attendance to places of worship and study of religious texts was measure on a 6-point Likert scale from 1 (‘never’) to 6 (‘several times a day’).

KNOWLEDGE and UNDERSTANDING of ISLAM: Self-assessed knowledge and understanding of Islam was measured using a 4-point response format from 1 (‘very little, insufficient’) to 4 (‘very good’).

TERRITORIAL ATTACHMENT: Territorial attachment was assessed asking respondents to rate their level of attachment to 8 places (i.e., the place of birth,

the place of residence, Italy, Slovenia, northern Italy, the Province of residence, the European Union, the world) on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 for 'not at all attached' to 5 'very much attached'.

PERCEIVED GROUP SOCIAL STATUS: Participants were asked to put 3 groups (Italians, Slovenes from Slovenia and Slovenes from Italy) in a social hierarchy ladder according to the perceived group social status, so that at the top would be the group having the perceived higher status and more dominant position and at the bottom the group with the least advantaged social status.

Moreover, with 3 items they were asked how much in their opinion the entrance of Slovenia in the European Union influenced the social status of the majority and minority Slovene groups.

NATIONAL IDENTITY MARKERS: Participants read the instructions: 'Some people say the following things are important for being truly Italian. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?' and had to rate the level of attributed importance (from 1 for 'not important at all' to 4 for 'very important') for 8 characteristics (i.e., 'to have been born in Italy (Slovenia for Slovenian respondents)', 'to have Italian citizenship', 'to have residence in Italy', 'to be able to speak Italian', 'to feel Italian', 'to have at least one parent Italian').

INTERGROUP SIMILARITIES/DIFFERENCES: Degree of perceived similarity between the respondent and a typical member of each of the target groups was assessed.

Moreover, respondents had to rate the perceived similarity (difference) between Muslims and non-Muslims in several aspects (i.e., norms of behaviour, fundamental values, way of life, mentality, religiosity, individual freedoms, children education, family system).

PERCEIVED OUTGROUP HOMOGENEITY/HETEROGENEITY:

Participants rated how much in their opinion were similar (or different) Muslims among themselves in several aspects (i.e. religious practices, cultural customs, clothing, individual freedoms, mentality, religiosity, children education, family system). This set of items was used as manipulation to raise awareness on diversity and heterogeneity within the selected target group.

INGROUP and OUTGROUP CONTACTS: We controlled for the interethnic (personal relationships with members of different ethnic groups, outgroups) and intraethnic relationships (personal relationships with members of the same ethnic group, ingroup) the respondent had.

With a closed ended question participants were first asked with whom did they associate with in the community, neighborhood or district they lived in. The possible answers were: ‘almost exclusively Italians (or Slovenians for respondents from Slovenia), ‘almost exclusively non-Italians’, ‘mostly Italians’, ‘about equally Italians and non-Italians’, ‘mostly non-Italians’. They were then asked to name the non-Italians groups they had closer contacts with.

Beside friendship relationships, other contacts (like acquaintances, schoolmates or work colleagues) were taken into consideration. Number of friends, quantity (frequency measured from ‘daily contact’ to ‘less often than once a year’) and quality of contact (measured with a list of 10 pairs of adjectives in a differential scale, i.e. ranging from ‘unpleasant’ to ‘pleasant’, from ‘cold’ to ‘warm’, from ‘satisfying’ to ‘unsatisfying’) were assessed for ingroup and outgroup relationships.

THREATS TO SOCIAL IDENTITY: 7 possible perceived threats to social identity were assessed, measured on a 5-point frequency scale from 1 (‘never’) to 5 (‘very often’). Examples of items were: ‘In the contact with people from a group different than my own... I feel that my religious identity is significantly perturbed’, ... ‘my own worldview is perturbed’, ‘norms and standards of my group are threatened’.

OTHER GROUP ORIENTATION: The Other Group Orientation scale was developed by Phinney (1992) to assess intergroup relations. It contains six items (e.g. ‘I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own’, ‘I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn’t try to mix together’). The respondents are asked to rate their agreement of the statements on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (definitely disagree) to 5 (definitely agree). A score is derived by reversing negative items, summing across the items and obtaining a mean. A higher score indicates more positive attitudes toward other groups in general. The scale does not mention any target groups.

ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS: The respondents were asked whether they agreed with 7 statements derived from the Eurobarometer and the European Social Survey (i.e.: ‘Immigrants should be encouraged to preserve their cultural heritage and customs and their language’, ‘Immigrants are more often involved in criminality than average’, and ‘The majority of immigrants living here comes from a different culture which is very difficult to integrate with Italian culture’). The answers were requested on a 5- point Likert scale, from ‘1’ for ‘definitely disagree’ to ‘5’ for ‘definitely agree’. The average scores of agreement on the statements were calculated, and a continuous scale was constructed. Some statements were reverse coded so that higher scores on the scale indicate a more negative attitude towards orientation.

Respondents were asked to name the groups they think of when immigrants are mentioned and to list the group(s) they like the least.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS RELIGIOUS GROUPS: Attitudes towards 3 religious denominations (Catholics, Muslims and atheists) were assessed via the feeling thermometer, receiving the following instructions: ‘Use the feeling thermometer to indicate whether you have positive or negative feelings about the following religious groups living in Italy. You may mark any degree between 0 and 100. Fifty degrees represents neutral feelings. Markings above 50 degrees

indicate positive or warm feelings, and markings below 50 degrees indicate cold or negative feelings’.

After that they had to state their level of agreement or disagreement with 5 items (i.e. ‘People with very strong religious beliefs are often too intolerant of others’, ‘All religious groups in Italy should have equal rights’, ‘Churches and religious organizations in Italy have too much power’).

SOCIAL DISTANCE: Social distance was operationalized by the question: ‘Which relationships would you personally accept with a member of the () group?’ Possible answers were: ‘none’, ‘school companions or colleague’, ‘friends’, ‘would marry one of them’. Target groups were: Italians, Slovenes from Slovenia, members of the Slovene minority in Italy, Muslims. Marital relation was the highest point of accepted relationship, thus the least social distance and considered the less negative outgroup orientation.

The social distance was assessed also without mentioning the target group and towards a third person with 2 items (‘I would not mind if a relative would marry someone of a different ethnic group’ and ‘I would be happy to have a neighbour from a different religious background’).

PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION: First, the concept of discrimination was described and introduced briefly. Secondly, perceived discrimination was assessed asking respondents how often they felt discriminated on the basis of their cultural background, religion or spirituality, nationality, gender, skin colour, status (minority, foreigner, immigrant without citizenship), lack of sufficient knowledge of Italian language.

After that, 19 more items assessed frequency of episodes of discrimination occurred on the ground of ethnic or religious affiliation in the last five years. Items included (selected from several empirical studies, like Brown et al., 2000) were, inter alia, asking about ‘unfair or rude treatment in public or social services’, ‘abusive behaviors, physical violence, aggression’, ‘being ridiculed,

insulted or called names', 'verbal aggression, threats, intimidations', 'being ignored or excluded', 'failure to accommodate religious needs', 'damage to property, including places of worship, vandalism', 'fearful avoidance', 'racist threatening and insulting graffiti'

EMOTIONAL REACTION TO ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION: After completing the perceived discrimination scale, respondents were inquired about their emotional reactions to the experiences of discrimination, rating how often they felt 'angry', 'scared', 'rejected', 'humiliated', 'ashamed', 'lonely', 'helpless', etc (14 emotions in total).

MINORITIES' ACCULTURATIVE STRESS: Acculturative stress was assessed for minority members using 9 items (some selected from cultural shock measure developed by Taft in 1977) to rate on a 5-point scale. People were, for instance, asked about how often they have felt 'strain, stress or pressure from the effort to adapt to the dominant culture', 'accepted by the local people', 'shocked or disgusted by things in the environment they are presently in', 'anxious or awkward when meeting local people of the majority group'.

LIFE SATISFACTION: Respondents were asked to rate their general satisfaction with their life in Italy (or Slovenia) on a ten-point scale that ranged from '1' for 'not satisfied at all' to '10' for 'extremely satisfied'.

Chapter 5 – RESULTS

*“In theory
there is no difference
between theory and practice.
But, in practice,
there is.”*
Yogi Berra

5.1 PROCEDURE of analysis

For the main variables of interest, we first presented in graphs the proportion of agreement responses on each item across groups.

Secondly, statistical comparisons on each scale were made by MANOVAs (with gender, level of education, marital status, age, place and type of living, collaboration with any NGO as between-subject factors for each group separately and the target dependent variables), followed by ANOVAs for each scale and group (when testing the effect of other predictors beside group).

Post-hoc tests (the Bonferroni correction was used when the equality of variances assumption holds, and the Games Howell correction was used otherwise) followed in case a significant effect was detected.

Parametric analysis of ordinary averages of Likert scale data is justifiable by the Central Limit Theorem. It is a general rule that analysis of variance can be applied only when more than 5 Likert questions are summed, but in certain cases we summed also only three or two variables, following what other surveys did with the same questions/items grouped in factors.

In case of important deviations of the model assumptions, a Kruskal-Wallis test with post-hoc Mann-Whitney U tests with the Bonferroni correction was performed. Other ordinal variables and those scales that were recoded into two levels were analyzed separately with a non-parametric chi-square analysis.

In-depth interviews follow in order to triangulate the findings. Only in these sections, replies of other ethnic minorities living in Italy and Slovenia, were included since the number of informants were sufficient to do intergroup qualitative comparisons.

5.2 SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

5.2.1 Sample size

We gathered overall 468 responses, but some questionnaires had more than 50% of missing values and were excluded from the database. Moreover, there were 33 respondents who were classified as belonging to other minorities in Italy or Slovenia, non-Italian and non-Slovenian. Being the sample too small to compare it with the other three groups, I decided to exclude those responses for the analysis described in this thesis and to analyze them separately, upon adding more cases to the dataset.

The remaining part of the sample (N=415) that was included in the analysis is presented in Figure 17.

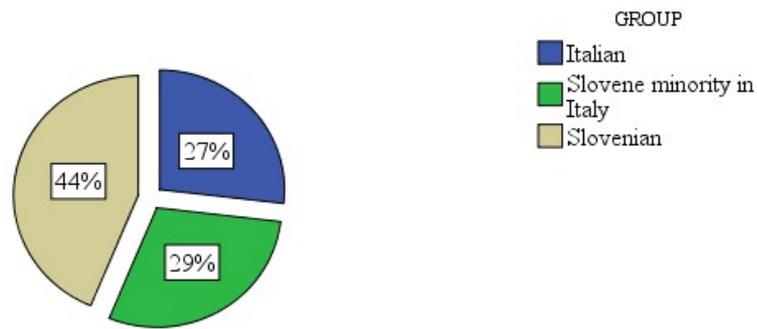


Figure 17: Sample distribution in groups

There were several socio-demographic differences between the groups comprising our sample.

5.2.2 Gender

No difference in the distribution of gender between groups was detected, $\chi^2 (2, N = 415) = .34, p > .05$.

Of the Slovene minority respondents there were 55 males (41%) and 78 females (59%). Similarly within the Italian group, there were 40% males (35) and 60% females. In the Slovenian sample 43% were males and 57% (110) females.

5.2.3 Age

The groups varied regarding group ages.

The most numerous age subgroup in the Italian sample were respondents aged 41 to 75 (42%), followed by those aged 31 to 40 (31%) and 20 to 30 (25%). There were only 2 high school students aged 15-19.

In the minority sample the relative majority are high school students instead (38%). One respondent every five is in the other three subcategories.

The majority of Slovenian respondents is between 20 and 30 years old (70%).

5.2.4 Level of education

The groups were not equally sampled regarding level of education, $\chi^2 (10, N = 415) = 45.66, p > .05$.

In terms of educational qualifications, 37% of Slovene minority participants had only middle professional education. 35% of the same group indicated secondary school as the highest qualification already achieved or about to be completed, compared with 49% of Italians and 47% of Slovenians.

Approximately 44% of Italian respondents, 39% of Slovenians and 28% of Slovene minority respondents stated post secondary diplomas as the highest level, with

- 15% of Italian respondents, 10% of Slovenians and 3% of Slovene minority respondents reporting having at least a bachelor's degree or a first level master degree,
- 22% of Italian respondents, 26% of Slovenians and 20% of Slovene minority respondents having a second level master degree or a postgraduate diploma,
- and 7% of Italian respondents, 3% of Slovenians and 5% of Slovene minority respondents having a doctoral degree.

5.2.5 Profession

48% of our Slovene minority respondents were students, compared to 60% of Slovenians and only 18% of Italians.

30% of our Italian respondents were secretaries, another 10% (14% in the Slovenian group) were employed in economic field.

Around 8% of respondents in each group are teachers or professors.

7% of Slovene minority respondents also work as journalists.

8% of Italians, 6% of Slovene minority members and 3% of Slovenian respondents work in health sector as doctors, nurses, counselors or therapists.

The other mentioned jobs were shop assistants, housewives, researchers, those working in touristic sector, those working in technology sector, artists, lawyers, import-export/customs functionaries.

5.2.6 Marital status

There differences between groups regarding their civil status, $\chi^2(4, N = 412) = 18.74, p < .01$.

5.2.7 Residence

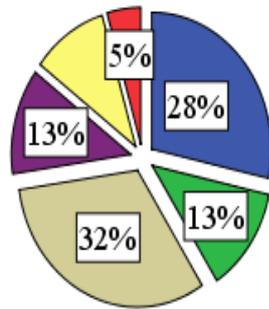
There was a significant difference between groups regarding the type of place where they lived, $\chi^2(4, N = 415) = 29.30, p < .001$.

64% of our Italian sample lives in a city and 26% in a village, compared to 34% Slovene minority members residing in urban places and 56% living in rural areas. Most of the Slovenians of our sample also live in a city (58%)



Figure 18: Regions' denominations in Slovenia

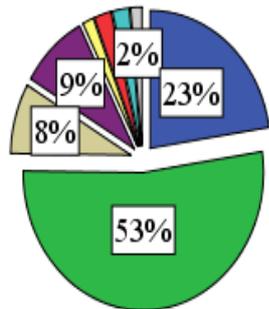
GROUP: Italian



Province/Region of Living

- Gorizia city
- Other municipalities in Gorizia Province
- Trieste city
- Other municipalities in Trieste Province
- Udine Province
- Pordenone Province

GROUP: Slovene minority in Italy

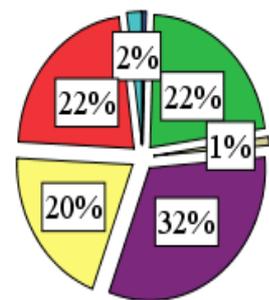


Province/Region of Living

- Gorizia city
- Other municipalities in Gorizia Province
- Trieste city
- Other municipalities in Trieste Province
- Nova Gorica city
- Other municipalities in Goriska region

...

GROUP: Slovenian



Province/Region of Living

- Other municipalities in Trieste Province
- Nova Gorica city
- Nova Gorica outskirts
- Other municipalities in Goriska region
- Obalno-Kraska region
- osrednjeslovenska region
- gorenjska region

Figure 19: Province/Region of residents per group

5.2.8 Place of birth of respondents and their parents

94% of Italians and 86% of our Slovene minority respondents were born in Italy. Two Italian cases and 18 of the Slovene minority (14%) were born in Slovenia or another former Yugoslavian country.

All the Slovenians of our sample were born in Slovenia or in another country of former Yugoslavia.

Only few respondents of the three groups were born in a different EU or non-EU country.

86% of Italian respondents' parents and 72% of the Slovene minority ones were also born in Italy. Parents of two Slovenian respondents were born in Italy they said. Controlling their place of residence and sense of belonging, we discovered that those two were in fact Istrians, thus Slovenian citizens of Italian descent. Nevertheless, they did not identify as Italian minority in Slovenia, but merely as Slovenians, one of them as Istrian as second label too.

8% of Italian respondents, 26% of Slovene minority members and 8% of Slovenians have one parent being born in one country and another one from a different country, either one in Italy and the other one in Slovenia (in 20% of the cases for the Slovene minority respondents), one in Italy and the other one in another country or one in Slovenia and the second one elsewhere.

5.2.9 Abroad living

No statistically significant difference between groups ($\chi^2 (2, N = 415) = 1.14, p > .05$) was there upon asking how many respondents did live abroad for more than one month up to a year or more. It was so for 15% of Italian respondents, 18% of Slovenians and 21% of Slovene minority members.

5.2.10 Cooperation with NGOs

All the respondents of our sample were equally involved in cooperation with NGOs or different humanitarian associations, $\chi^2(2, N = 415) = 2.02, p > .05$.

16% of Italians (14/88), 17% (23/133) of Slovene minority members and 22% (43/194) of Slovenians that replied to our questionnaire stated they are active members of some NGO or humanitar associations.

5.2.11 Religious denomination

81% of our Italian respondents (58/72 that replied to this question) defined themselves as Christian Catholic, compared to 72% of Slovene minority members (44/61 that replied to this question) and 46% of Slovenians (52/111 that replied to this question).

49% (54/111 that replied to this question) of Slovenians, 21% (13/61 that replied to this question) of Slovene minority respondents and 10% of Italians (7/72 that replied to this question) described themselves as atheists or agnostics.

Around half of the respondents of the Slovenian sample did not reply to this question.

The total number of respondents agreeing to write their religious affiliation was 244 out of 415 (72/88 of Italians, 61/133 of Slovene minority members and 111/192 of Slovenians).

29% of the Slovene minority members and 27% of Italians declared they have a strong sense of belonging to their religious group (versus 21% of Slovenians), while 68% clearly stated they do not.

About 40% of the Italian respondents of our sample were highly committed to behave accordingly to their religious identity compared to 26% of Slovenians and 28% of the Slovene minority respondents. 34% also think a lot about how

their life will be affected by their religious affiliation in contrast with the 25% of Slovenians and Slovene minority.

5.3 INGROUP IDENTIFICATION

5.3.1 Self-categorization

Respondents were categorized in groups according to their replies to the following questions:

- Are you a member of a national, ethnic or linguistic minority in (depending on the country of residence: Italy/Slovenia)?
- Which national, ethnic or linguistic minority in (Italy/Slovenia) you belong to? (conditioned question for those who replied affirmatively to the previous question)
- I am... (three self-descriptive labels)

Multiple categorisations/identities

***H 1:** (Slovene) Minority members, compared to majority members (Slovenians and Italians), will use more labels to define themselves, showing multiple identities to a greater extent.*

Compared to the Slovene and Italian majority members, the members of the Slovene minority group exhibited multiple identifications to a greater extent. They used more labels to define themselves, confirming the first hypothesis. The difference across groups was statistically highly significant, $\chi^2(4, N = 415) = 54.17, p < .001$

49% of Italian respondents used only one label to self-define themselves, compared to 36% of Slovenians and 26% of Slovene minority respondents.

46% of Slovenians used two labels to describe their sense of belonging, compared to 28% of Italians and 22% of Slovene minority respondents.

52% of Slovene minority respondents used all three free self-descriptive spaces to define themselves, compared to 23% of Italians and 18% of Slovenians.

5.3.2 First salient self-designation (I AM ...)

Self-identification through the use of labels is an important components of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992).

We expect the respondents to provide the most salient ethnic identifications in hierarchical order in the three open-ended questions “I am...”.

No closed categories or checklists were provided. The respondents were required to write their answers in their own words. Those written self-designations were then coded and quantified.

From the variety of responses given, five types of self-descriptions became apparent.

They were classified as follows:

- national labels (Italian or Slovenian);
- ethnic labels (e.g. Slovene minority, Friulian, other nationalities);
- local or regional identity labels (e.g. Istrian, inhabitant of () village/town)
- cosmopolitan identity labels (e.g. human being);
- other labels (e.g. gender, profession).

Minority respondents used different ways to describe their ingroup. These labels were considered as separate categories in order to compare the frequencies within the group of people adopting each specific way of designating their sense of belonging.

5.3.3 Ethnic and national labels as first self-description

H 3: Ethnic and national identity salience will differ across minority and majority groups.

National labels accounted for 57% of the first chosen answer for the Italian group and 74% for the Slovenians. For these two groups ethnic and national labels are one and the same.

For the Slovene minority member the highest percentage (40%) of the first chosen answer is the ethnic label (Slovenian) and what we can consider the national label in traditional terms accounts for 7% of respondents.

Respondents were free to choose the order of writing their chosen labels, but the previous question prompted those who replied they were a member of an ethnic, national or linguistic minority in the country of residence to report to which one they belonged to in one of the three spaces provided. It is quite likely this is the main reason why ethnic labels are mostly listed as first choice for minority respondents and that we would obtain different variations of answers if the question did not have any compulsory field (the subjects were obliged to fill in at least one self-description in this questionnaire) and if they were not previously prompted to define ethnic belonging.

This way we manipulated ethnic identity salience: first by providing space to list multiple identities, and secondly, stressing intergroup differentiation and focusing on ethnic and regional identities as distinct from national ones. The results show that Slovene minority members spontaneously filled in more than one self-description, including their national belonging.

According to the acculturation models, in fact, the integration model that reflects the most successful adaptation requires both a strong ethnic and national identity.

5.3.4 Regional and local labels

After the national and ethnic labels, the most typically used label was the label to design local or regional identities. 23% of Italians, 18% of Slovenians and 11% of Slovene minority members chose these labels as first descriptors.

5.3.5 Cosmopolitan labels

Several studies made us notice that recently the importance of national identity has diminished due to globalization processes (Ben-Rafael, 2001; Ben-Rafael & Sternberg, 2001; Brettell, 2000), but in our sample this does not seem the case. We had only 9% of Italian respondents, 5% of Slovene minority members and 6% of Slovenian respondents endorsing a more inclusive collective identity, that is a cosmopolitan one, as first chosen label before the national or ethnic one.

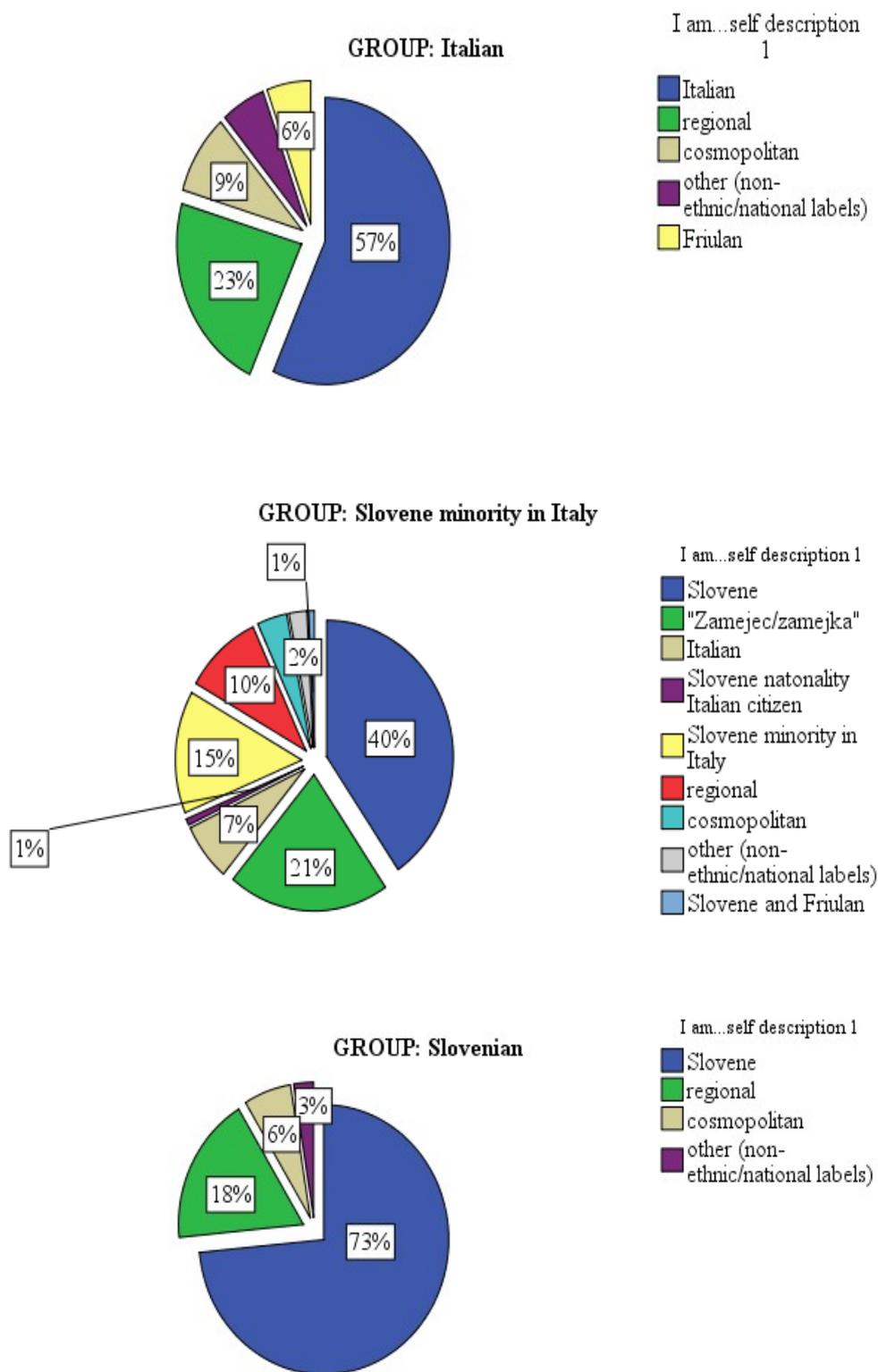


Figure 22/23/24: Frequencies distribution per group of the first self-description

5.3. 6 Minority ingroup self-identification

*“We define our identity
always in dialogue with,
sometimes in struggle against,
the things that significant
others want to see in us...
The monological ideal
seriously underestimates
the place of the dialogical
in human life.”
Charles Taylor*

***H 2:** (Slovene) Minority members will exhibit a more complex social (ethnic) identity structure in order to achieve an optimal level of distinctiveness and a clearer sense of self.*

***H 4:** a) We expect Venn diagram circles “Inclusion of others in the self” (our newly designed measure) to reflect group memberships.*

b) Selection choices will vary across individuals and groups, with minority members expressing graphically higher degrees of identities overlap (more complex ethnic identity structures).

As a result of migration and integration, many people have multiple affiliations and more complex ethnic identities (Castles & Miller, 1993).

Beside national (Italian) and clear ethnic labels (Slovenian), minority members adopted several ways to describe their minority position (“zamejec/zamejka” in 20% of cases, Slovene minority in Italy - 14%, Slovene national and Italian citizen, Slovenian and Friulian in few cases).

The variety of ways they chose to describe their sense of self together with the number of self-descriptive labels used confirm the theoretical models of multiple identities.

Breakwell (1986) argues that an identity can be threatened by its devaluation. Following the explanation given by other researchers, who explored this term usage in the local context before, the self-label “zamejci” (meaning “those at the other side of the border” in Slovene language) can be interpreted as a coping

strategy, conscious or unintentional, to eliminate the perceived threats to one's social identity. People would be trying to renegotiate the threatened identity of being either just Slovenian or Italian, by apportioning changes to the denomination, in order to avoid the negative stereotypes attributed by Italians to Slovenians in general and the negative stereotypes attributed by Slovenians to Italians in general, projecting the bad parts to the others and introjecting only the good elements in a new category in between (Pertot, 2002).

Alternatively, they presented themselves as being members of the “*Slovene minority in Italy*”, stressing the minority position together with the place of living, or “*being of Slovene nationality and having Italian citizenship*”, underlying again the difference between the two. Some who agreed to be interviewed also adopted the hyphenated identity “*Italo-Slovenes*” that includes equally both the parts when asked to identify themselves ethnically.

Our results so far, confirmed also, as predicted from our hypotheses based on the Distinctiveness Theory (Brewer, 1999), that minority members adopted patterns of ethnic identity that provided them with the optimal level of inclusiveness and uniqueness at the same time. It is our understanding that the emerging identity constructions serves both the need for group cohesion and positive self-image. We will further explore this findings in the subsequent subchapters.

Another interesting example is by a case who reported being Slovenian, Italian and Istrian and, based on his living in Slovenia and self-defining as a majority member and not a minority, was categorized as Slovene majority member and not as Italian minority in Slovenia. We have to do with a clear example of multiple identity where national, ethnic and regional identities intertwine, but where for the respondent the national identification is the most salient one at the time of responding. Other cases with similar multiple identities, instead, alias those who were put in the category “*Italian minority in Slovenia*”, reported their regional identities as Istrians first, followed by the ethnic identity as Italians and European, putting the label Slovenians, when exceptionally used, as last one. It

shows that degrees of overlap and salience vary across individuals. Using a single question for identification, this would not emerge at all.

Jahn (1999) claimed after the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the independence of Slovenia, the linguistic behaviours in the Upper Adriatic region also changed rapidly, especially in Istria where the majority of people speak two or three languages (Italian, Slovenian and/or Croatian, beside other non standard languages). He noted, inter alia, that in the Croatian (mainly) and Slovenian parts of Istria, there was an evident shift in self-identification, with an increasing number of people self-identifying as Italians or adopting a regional identification as Istrian rather than Croatian or Slovenian, decreasing the identification with the general label Yugoslavian adopted before. The author views this rising of a regional identity as a “border identity” emerging in a region that has been since always through history multiethnic and plurilingual.

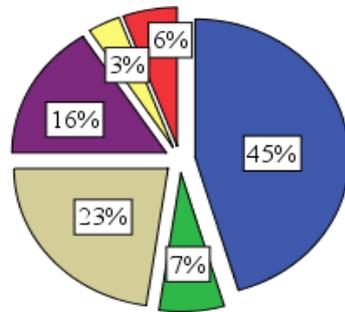
5.3.7 Graphical representation: Inclusion of others in the Self

As we have already mentioned, scholars have demonstrated that especially minority members and immigrants vary in national identification and adopt different degrees of complexity in how they represent their multiple identities (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Verkuyten, 2005; Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

From the Venn-like diagrams we developed, it appears clearly that most of the Slovene minority respondents preferred to choose a graphic representation where both or more parts of the identity would be expressed rather than one only. Beside the “third space in between the Italian and Slovenian”, the most preferred choices were for the two nested identities (either “mostly Italian, with a smaller core of Slovenian identity” or the “mostly Slovenian identity, with a nested smaller core of Italian identity within”). It should be noticed that even in this measure, the respondents gave priority to descriptions that could somehow make clear and acknowledge both their citizenship and their nationality and the predominance of local attachments.

Figures 25/26/27: Circle choices per group

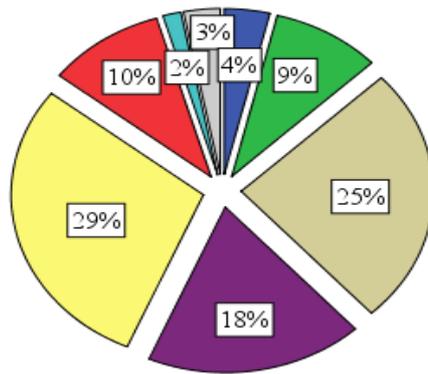
GROUP: Italian



Circles choice 1

- a) Italian
- c) nested circle (bigger Italian, smaller core Slovenian)
- e) Third space in between Italian and Slovenian
- f) Italian near Slovenian in contact
- g) Italian / Slovenian separate
- h) other (free description)

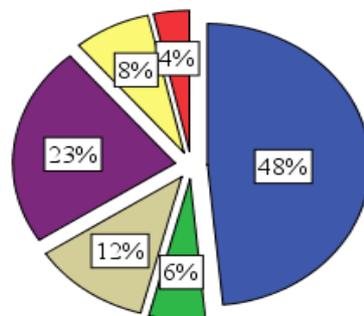
GROUP: Slovene minority in Italy



Circles choice 1

- a) Italian
- b) Slovenian
- c) nested circle (bigger Slovenian, smaller core Italian)
- d) nested circle (bigger Italian, smaller core Slovenian)
- e) Third space in between Italian and Slovenian
- f) Italian near Slovenian in contact
- g) Italian / Slovenian separate
- h) other (free description)

GROUP: Slovenian



Circles choice 1

- b) Slovenian
- d) nested circle (bigger Slovenian, smaller core Italian)
- e) Third space in between Italian and Slovenian
- f) Italian near Slovenian in contact
- g) Italian / Slovenian separate
- h) other (free description)

Chi square

The Chi-Square for the crosstabulation of the variables with Venn diagrams labeled “circles choice” and “group” was significant, $\chi^2 (14, N = 415) = 302.29$, $p < .001$, suggesting that the two variables are not independent.

The exact test could not be computed due to insufficient memory of the system, but the Chi-Square can be considered reliable and appropriate since only around 8% of the cells had an expected count less than 5, that is less than the general 20% tolerated amount.

In the table in appendix I put in bold and underlined the standardized residuals with the highest absolute value of the cells that mostly contributed to the significance of the test.

The Circles representation variable was able to draw the majority of Italian respondents (46%) to choose circle **a) Italian** to graphically represent their Italian sense of belonging. None of the Slovene respondents chose this label, suggesting they did not feel to include the term Italian only in their sense of self. Only 4% of the minority members opted for this choice, most likely referring to their citizenship and national identity as the most salient to them.

The second significant result is related to the choice of circle: **b) Slovenian**. The majority of the Slovenian respondents (49%) selected this circle, while none of the Italians. If the choice of circles and the group variables were independent, under the null hypothesis we would expect similar counts in all the cells. 10% of the Slovene minority respondents chose this label, which does not surprise neither, since it is their ethnic sense of belonging.

The next interesting result is the third graphical representation that consists of a **smaller circle, labeled “SLO”** as possibly “Slovenian”, **nested** in a bigger circle, labeled “IT” as “Italian”. Significantly more Slovene minority members

(25%) chose this option, compared to the other two groups (7% of the Italian respondents and none of the Slovene ones). It is likely that the minority respondents referred to their being Italian citizens having a Slovene nationality, or to their dual sense of belonging, Italians and Slovenes with different degrees of identification or salience of each element.

On the other hand, Italian respondents could have in mind the social distribution of the environment they live in, inhabited by the Italian majority and including the Slovene minority. It might also be possible that some of the (self-identified) Italian subjects were in fact members of the Slovene minority more or less assimilated or people with Slovene ancestry, recognizing in themselves a smaller Slovene part.

Similar possibilities can be assumed for the Slovene respondents (6%) that chose circle d), a **smaller “Italian” nested circle** within a bigger “Slovenian one”. As there is the Slovene minority in Italy, so there is the Italian minority in Slovenia. Those respondents who self-identified as Italian minority in Slovenia were considered in a separate group, not discussed here though.

18% of the Slovene minority members opted for this solution, suggesting they feel mainly Slovenian, but partially Italian too or that the most salient and predominant over two identities is the ethnic Slovene one.

Graphical representation **e) a third space in between Italian and Slovenian** was the selected choice of 29% of the Slovene minority members.

Again, the respondents, included the 23% of Italians who chose this circles and the other two versions, with two circles, **f) Slovenian and Italian one close one to another** vs. **a bit distant and separated from each other, yet present, in circles g)**, might had in mind the local territory and community characteristics to represent their local sense of self, including the significant other in their representation.

The concept of **poly-ethnicity** fits these possibilities. It indicates the close proximity of people from different ethnic backgrounds co-existing in a geographic region. It also refers to the ability and willingness to identify with multiple ethnicities.

Homi Bhabha's theory of cultural difference provides us with the conceptual vocabulary of **hybridity and the third space** (Rutherford 1990; Bhabha 1994; Bhabha 1996). Bhabha defines hybridity as an ambivalent space in between two or more entities, termed the third space, which has the intrinsic potential to aid the conjunction of cultures, negotiating and mediating the similarity (affinity) and difference (Bhabha 1996), and which enables other possible positions and new forms of being to emerge, blurring the limitations of provided identity categorisations. The third hybrid space transcends the dual oppositional positioning of "us" and "them" (Law 1997), providing space for inclusion rather than exclusion that "initiates new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration and contestation." (Bhabha 1994: 1)

No significant difference is there between subject for the last chosen options, as neither for the free circle choice, where people could write any other label or replace one of the previous circles' label with something else. Those who chose h) option revealed cosmopolitan identifications (being a human being, a European), regional and local ones ("Goriziano") or other nationalities.

The next graphs show the frequencies distribution of selected circles for each group, connecting with lines the highest percentage for each choice to improve visibility of differences.

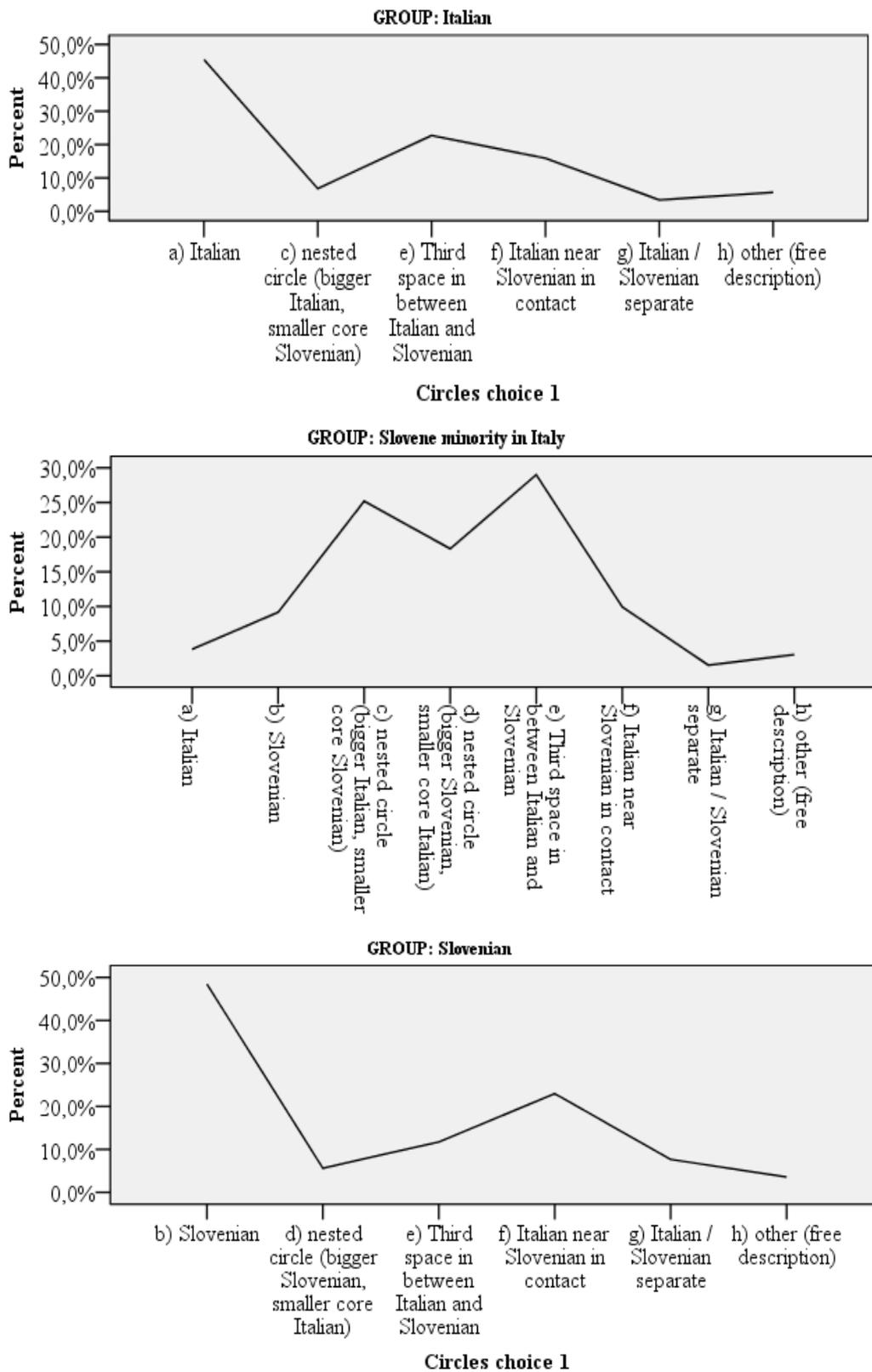


Figure 28/29/30: Responses chosen per group in Inclusion of Others in self (%) connected with lines

5.3.8 Ethnic identification and ethnic identity strength

H 5: Minority members are expected to have higher degrees of ethnic identity than majority members.

To measure ethnic identification we used selected items (4-points Likert scale) from the standardized Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992).

Ethnic identity strength was, instead, measured on a scale from 1 to 10 (maximum).

Looking at the frequencies distribution of replies for each item, we see that 80% of Slovene minority members and 77% of the Slovenians say they have a strong sense of belonging to their own ethnic group, compared to 51% of Italian respondents.

85% of the Slovene minority living in Italy and 87% of Slovenians is happy to be a member of the group they belong to, while only about 66% of the Italian respondents in our sample is happy to be Italian.

79% of Slovene minority members, 81% of Slovenians and 76% of Italians have a clear sense of their ethnic and cultural background. Around three quarters of Italian respondents and 90% of the Slovene majority and minority groups understands pretty well what their ethnic group membership means for them. The target groups provided pretty similar responses to these questions.

51% of Italians, 43% of the Slovenians and 56% of Slovene minority respondents think a lot about how their life will be affected by their ethnic group membership.

20% of Italian, 17% of Slovenians and 12% of the Slovene minority respondents said they do not feel good about their cultural or ethnic background. The highest discomfort is shown by Italian respondents and not by minority members as it would be expected.

At the same time, nevertheless, about 55% of other Italians expressed they have a lot of pride in their ethnic group, while another half (46%) feel the opposite. Slovene minority respondents and Slovenians being proud of their ethnic group rises to 86%.

Table 4: Inter-item correlation of MEIM

The variables of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure were consistently highly correlated among each other.

Correlation Matrix

	EI1)	EI 2)	EI 3)	EI 4)	EI 5)	EI 6)
EI 1) I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	1,00					
EI 2) I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.	,720	1,00				
EI 3) I have a clear sense of my ethnic and cultural background and what it means for me.	,505	,495	1,00			
EI 4) I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.	,498	,542	,467	1,00		
EI 5) I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.	,458	,485	,595	,505	1,00	
EI 6) I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.	,661	,733	,498	,571	,538	1,00

Factor Analysis

The factor analysis, with Principal Axis factoring and Varimax rotation, retained one factor with all the items loading high on it. The extracted factor, labeled “**Ethnic Identification**” explained 56% of the variance of the original items.

The scale obtained was highly reliable for all the groups and obtained a general Cronbach's Alpha score of .881.

MEIM Factor Matrix^a

I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.	,831
I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.	,825
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	,778
I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.	,682
I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.	,674
I have a clear sense of my ethnic and cultural background and what it means for me.	,668

Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

a. 1 factor extracted. 5 iterations required.

Table 5: Items of MEIM loadings on Factor 1

There was evidently a significant difference between groups on these measures. The multivariate tests had a P-value < .001. The analysis of variance indicated there was an effect of the group of belonging on both the measures of ethnic ingroup identity: Ethnic Identification ($F(2, 415) = 17.50, p < .001$) and Ethnic Identity Strength ($F(2, 415) = 13.33, p < .001$).

Italian respondents of our sample reported in average lower level of Ethnic Identification and Ethnic Ingroup Strength than the other two groups. The mean differences between Italians and Slovene minority members and Italians and Slovenians were significant for both the dependent variables ($p < .001$). No significant difference was detected between the minority and the Slovene group. The other socio-demographic variables describing our sample were not significant predictors of ethnic identification neither. Means and standard deviations for Ethnic identification and Ethnic Identity strength are shown in the following table.

	GROUP	Std.		
		Mean	Deviation	N
MEIM (6 items) Ethnic Identification Measure (rounded mean)	Italian	14,403	2,760	88
	Slovene minority	16,454	3,068	133
	Slovenian	16,054	2,952	194
	Total	16,054	3,066	415
I am... ethnic (strength of identification)	Italian	7,340	2,343	88
	Slovene minority	8,293	2,124	133
	Slovenian	8,670	1,734	194
	Total	8,267	2,062	415

Table 6: Means and standard deviations per group for ethnic identification and ethnic identity strength

These data seem to support the theory that minority group members show stronger identification with their groups than majority members, at least for the comparison between the Slovene minority respondents and the Italian majority (Abrams, 1994; Brewer & Weber, 1994; Ellemers & van Rijswijk, 1997).

Moreover, Barrett (2000) demonstrated that ethnic/national identity can be more salient when the nation state is relatively young, which fits the data of our Slovenian sample.

5.3.9 Italians or Slovenians as Ingroup or Outgroup

Given that minority members can identify with both Slovenians and Italians at different degrees and include them in the representation of the self with varying levels of overlap and cross-section, as demonstrated with the previous measures, we asked our respondents to rate how much they considered “Italians” and “Slovenians” as “them” (outgroup) or “us” (ingroup) on a scale going from 1 (considered outgroup) to 10 (accepted as ingroup at the highest degree).

As expected there were significant differences in respondents' rating of Italians as “we” ($F(2, 415) = 195.03, p < .001$) and/or Slovenians as ingroup ($F(2, 415) = 195.98, p < .001$) depending on the group of belonging.

Pairwise comparisons revealed that Italian respondents tended not to consider Slovenians within a shared group ($M=3.27, SD=2.27, p<.001$). Slovene minority members identified the label “Slovenians” as “we” more than Italians ($M=7.4, SD=2.7$), but significantly less than Slovenians from Slovenia ($M=8.99, SD=1.87$).

Similarly, Italians identified more with their national label than both the other groups. In the middle between Italians ($M=8.09, SD=2.27$) and Slovenians ($M=2.30, SD=1.99$) there are again the means of the Slovene minority ($M=4.96, SD=2.83$).

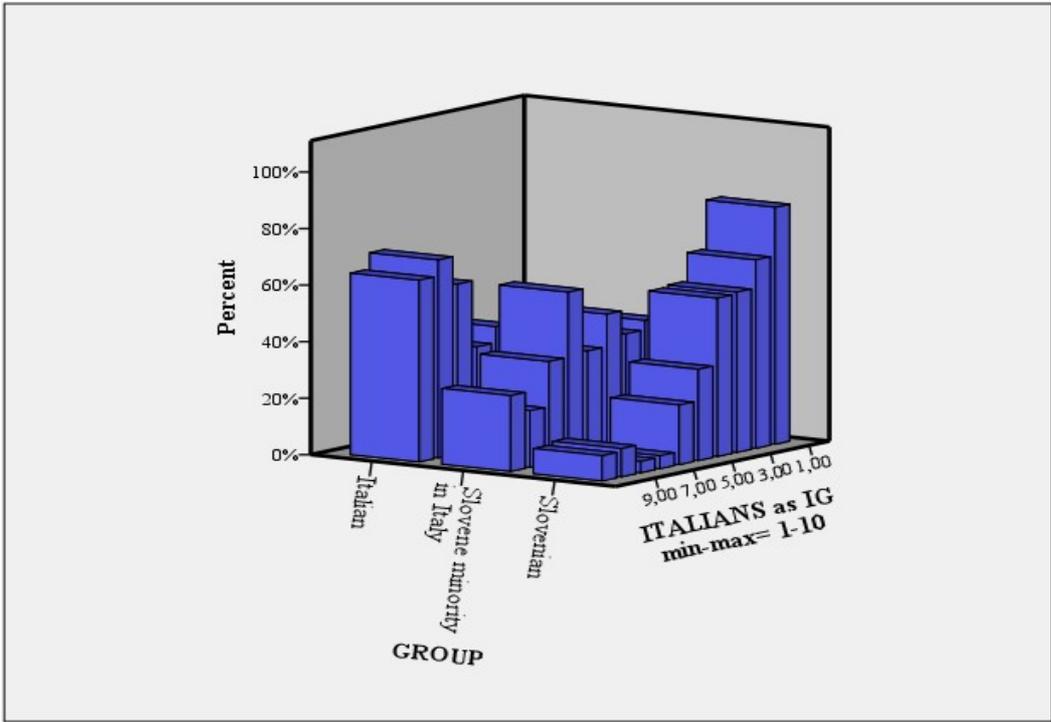


Figure 31: Percentage of frequencies for “Italians as Ingroup” per group.

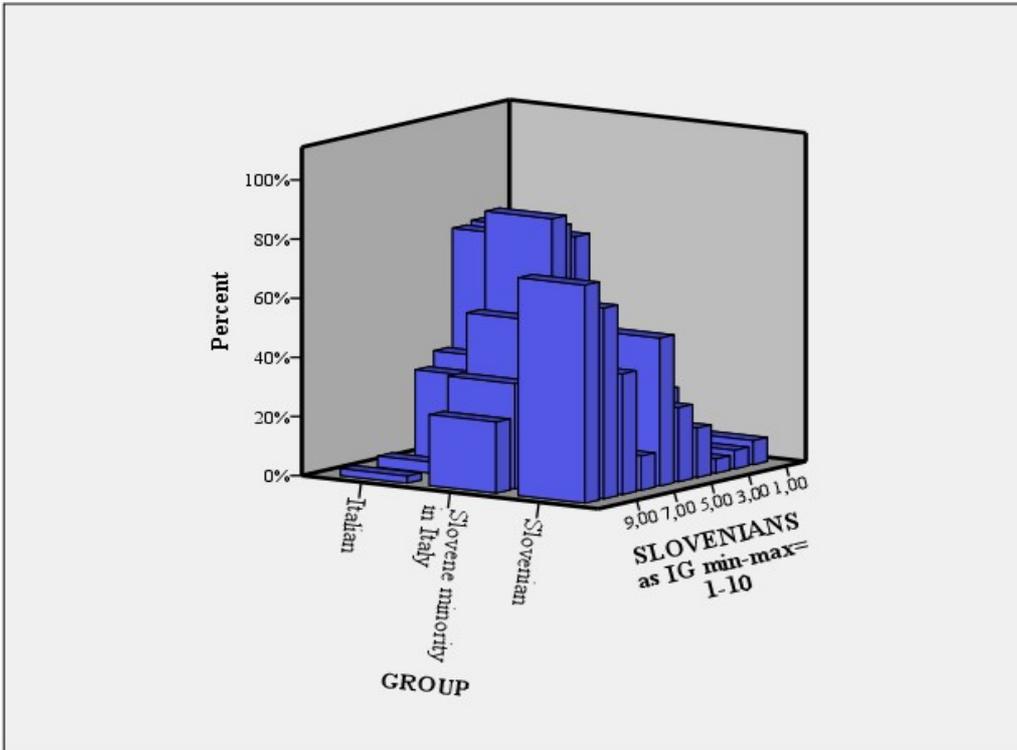
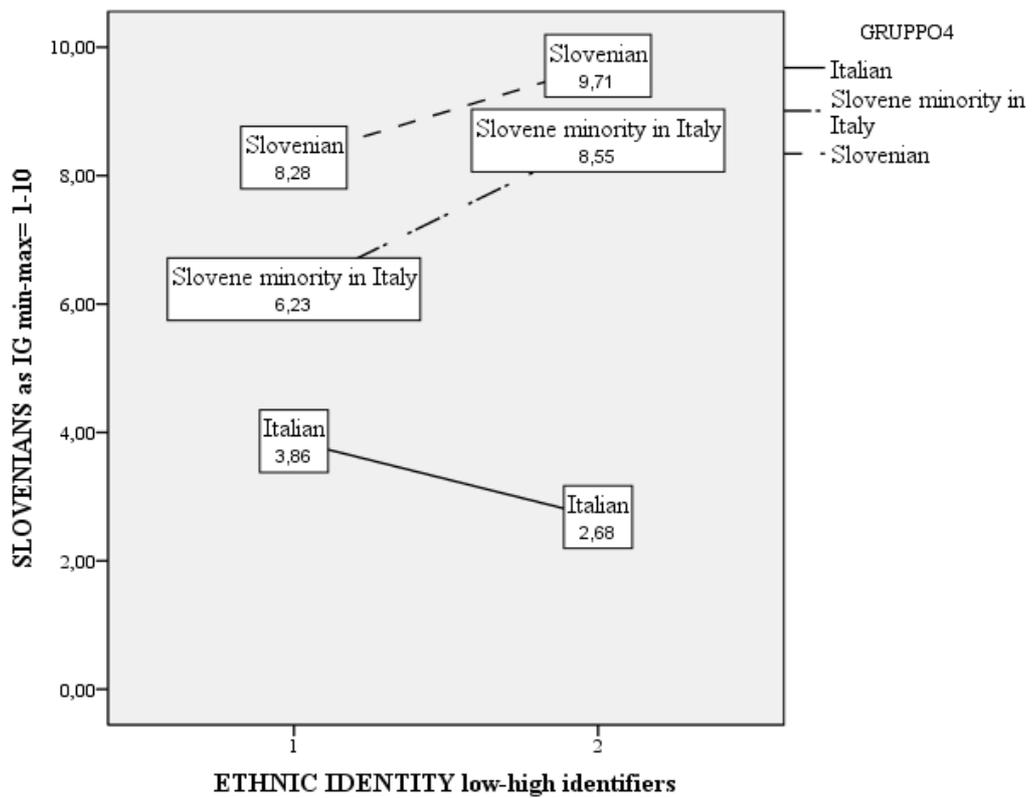
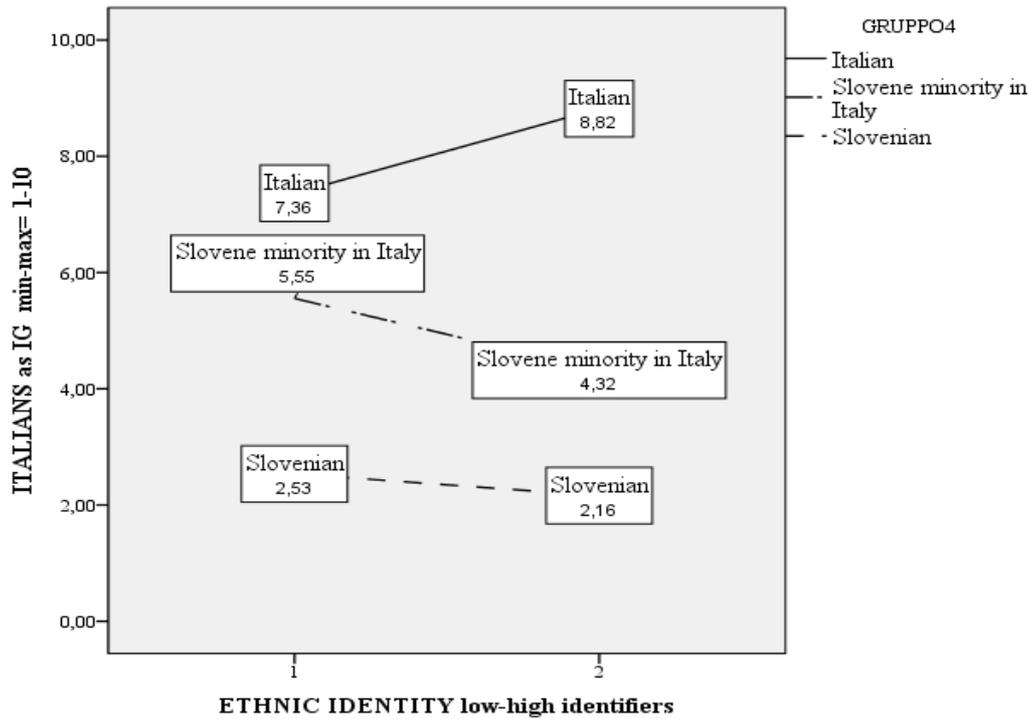


Figure 32: Percentage of frequencies for “Slovenians as Ingroup” per group.



Figures 33/34: Means of "Italians vs. Slovenians as ingroup" per group for low and high identifiers.

From the previous graphs we notice that within the Italian group, seeing “Italians as ingroup” rises as one has a higher degree of identification. For the Slovene minority members, instead, high ethnic identification is associated with a decreased rating of Italians as ingroup.

Vice versa, when considering “Slovenians as ingroup”, rating for both Slovene minority members and Slovenians increases as the degree of ethnic identification, measured by MEIM, raises. For the Italian respondents, instead, the same rating lowers as one highly identifies with the ethnic/national group of belonging.

5.3.10 National identity markers

H 7: There will be differences concerning the importance of different national identity markers across groups.

Identity markers are those characteristics presented to others to support a claim to a national identity (Kiely et. al. 2001).

To assess the ideal-typical conceptions of (ethnic and) national identity markers we used the items from the ISSP 1995, reformulating slightly with shortened labels the response format (as reported in brackets). The question read as follows:

“Some people say the following things are important for being truly (national). Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is:

- to have been born in (R’s country)? (place of birth)*
- to have (R’s country) citizenship?(citizenship)*
- to have lived in (R’s country) most of one’s life? (permanent residence)*
- to be able to speak ((R’s country dominant language(s))?) (language knowledge)*

- *to be a (R's country dominant religion or denomination)? (Catholic religion)*
- *to respect (R's country's) political institutions and laws? (respecting country laws)*
- *to feel (R's country nationality)? (to feel Italian/Slovenian)*
- *(to have at least one parent Italian/Slovenian)."*

Respondents answered with a 4-point Likert scale (not important at all – very important).

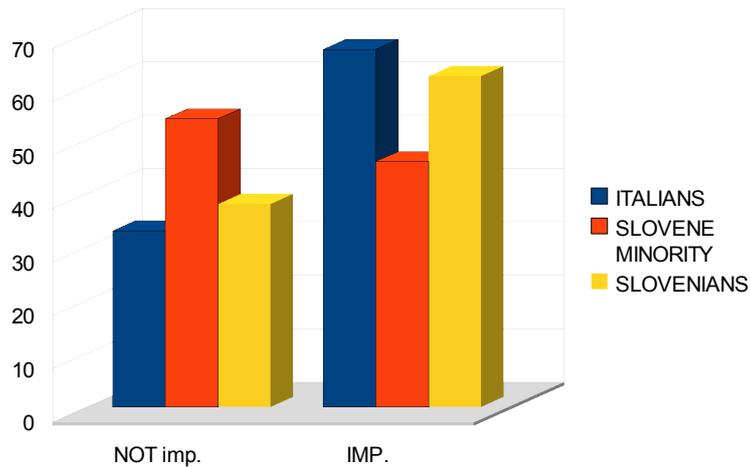
Chi-square

A series of Chi-square tests were calculated to see whether any group perceived some of the listed national identity criteria more than others.

For this purpose, I recoded the original four-level variables into two levels: none or low and high perceived importance of each aspect.

- There was a **significant** relationship between **groups** and whether they perceived **citizenship** as an important marker of national belonging or not, $\chi^2 (2, N = 415) = 12.52, p = <0.01$.

Slovene minority respondents were more likely to rate citizenship as a non important aspect (54%) than the other two groups, though a high 46% of them also acknowledged its importance. A high percentage of Italians (67%) and Slovenians (62%) said to be a citizen of the country is an important marker of national identity. The effect size was .174.



Importance of CITIZENSHIP as national marker

Figure 35: Frequencies distributions of “importance of citizenship as national marker (%)

- There was a **significant** relationship between **groups** and wheter they perceived **place of birth** as an important marker of national belonging or not, $\chi^2(2, N = 415) = 17.50, p = <0.001$.

Slovene respondents were more likely to report that having been born in Slovenia (Italy) is not an important aspect of national belonging (64%) compared to Italians (42%) and Slovene minority respondents (44%). The effect size was .205.

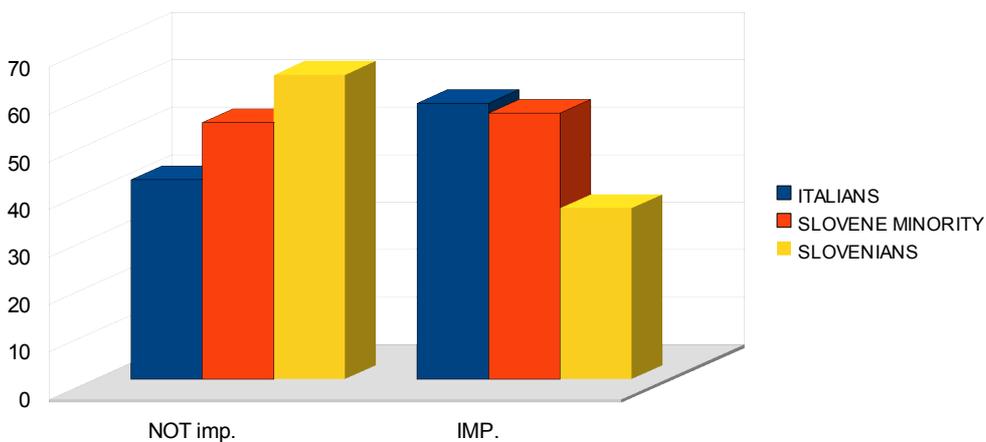


Figure 36: Importance of the place of birth as national marker (%)

- There was **no** significant relationship between groups and whether they perceived **permanent residence** in the country as an important aspect to belong to a national community or not. In all three groups respondents split in half of them saying yes and the other half saying no.

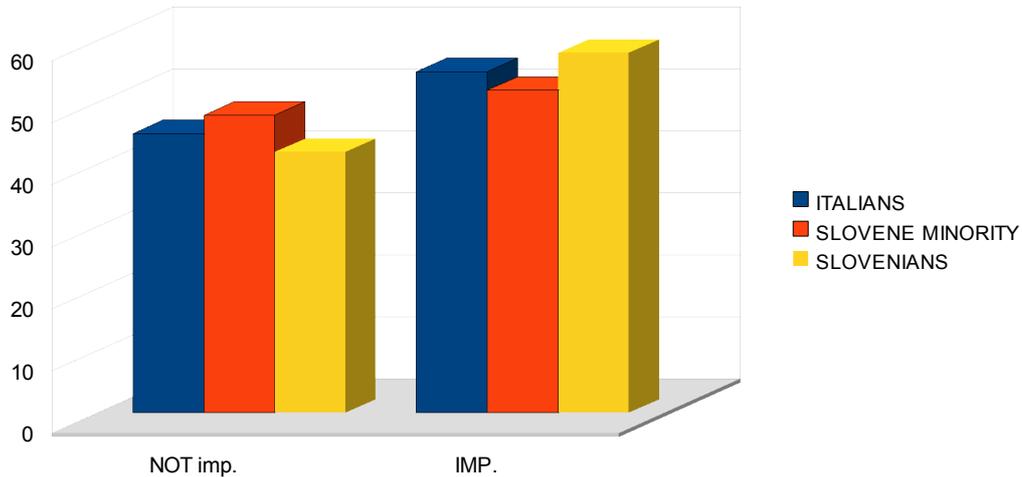


Figure 37: Importance of permanent residence in () as national marker (%)

- There was **no** significant relationship between groups and whether they perceived the ability to speak the **language** of the country as an important aspect to belong to a national community or not. All groups had high percentages of respondents saying it is a relevant aspect (89% of Italians, 96% of Slovene minority members, 94% of Slovenians).

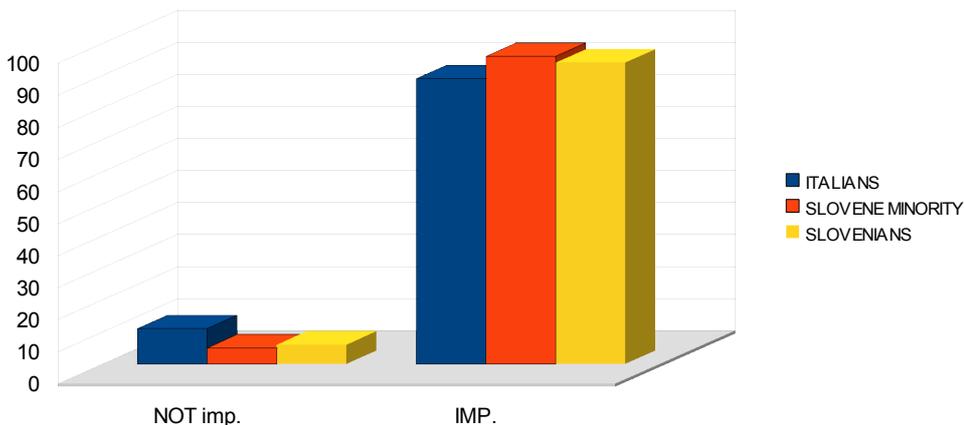


Figure 38: Importance of language as national marker (%)

- There was a **significant** relationship between **groups** and whether they perceived **Catholic religion** as an important marker of national belonging or not, $\chi^2 (2, N = 415) = 19.15, p = <0.001$. Most of the respondents across groups rated it as not important (74% of Italians, 87% of Slovene minority members and 93% of Slovenes), with a less than expected percentage of Slovenians (7%) and more than expected Italians (26%) saying it is important. The effect size was .215.

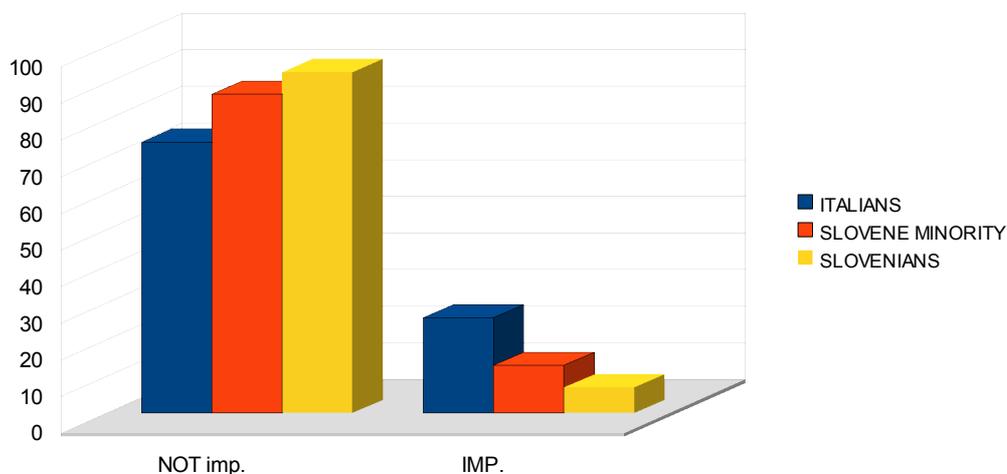


Figure 39: Importance of Catholic religion as national marker (%)

- There was a **significant** relationship between **groups** and whether they perceived **respecting national laws** as an important aspect of national belonging or not, $\chi^2 (2, N = 415) = 13.70, p = <0.01$. A greater percentage of Italians rated this criteria as important (82% vs. 66% of the Slovene minority members and 64% of the Slovenians) rather than not important. The effect size was .182.

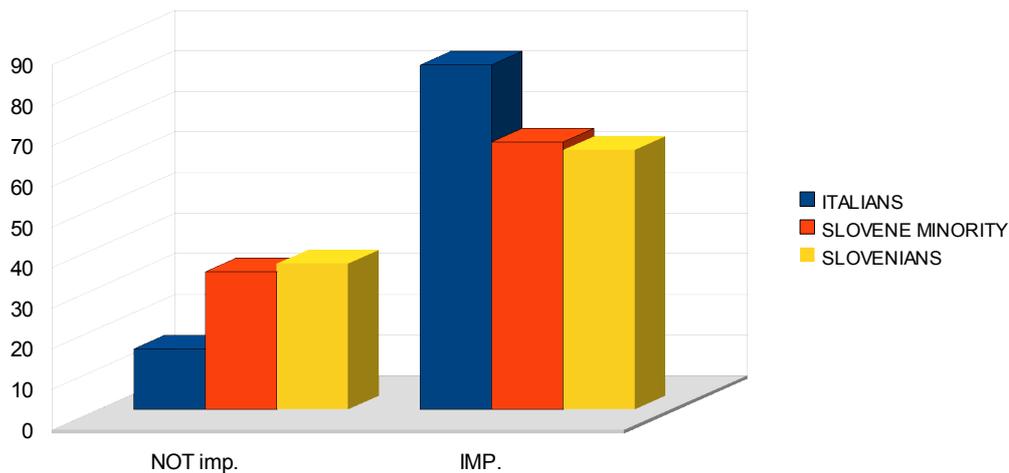


Figure 40: Importance of respecting national laws as national marker (%)

- There was **no** significant relationship between groups and whether they perceived to **feel Italian or Slovenian** as an important aspect to belong to a national community or not. All groups had high percentages of respondents saying it is a relevant aspect (73% of Italians, 83% of Slovene minority members, 84% of Slovenians).

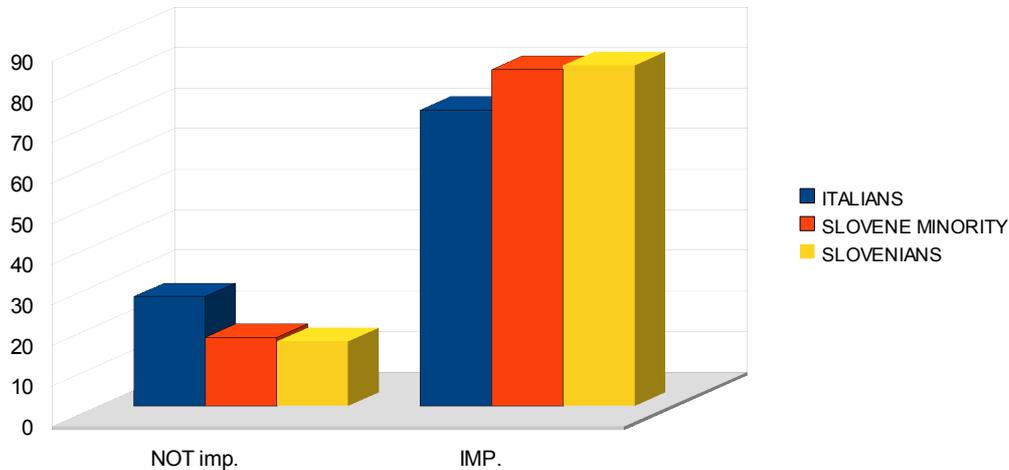


Figure 41: Importance of feeling (Italian or Slovenian) as national marker (%)

- There was a **significant** relationship between **groups** and whether they perceived **having at least one parent belonging to the national group** as an important aspect of someone's national belonging or not, $\chi^2(2, N = 415) = 7.73, p = <0.05$. A greater percentage of Italians rated this criteria

as not important (42% vs. 26% of the Slovene minority members and 28% of the Slovenians). The effect size was .137.

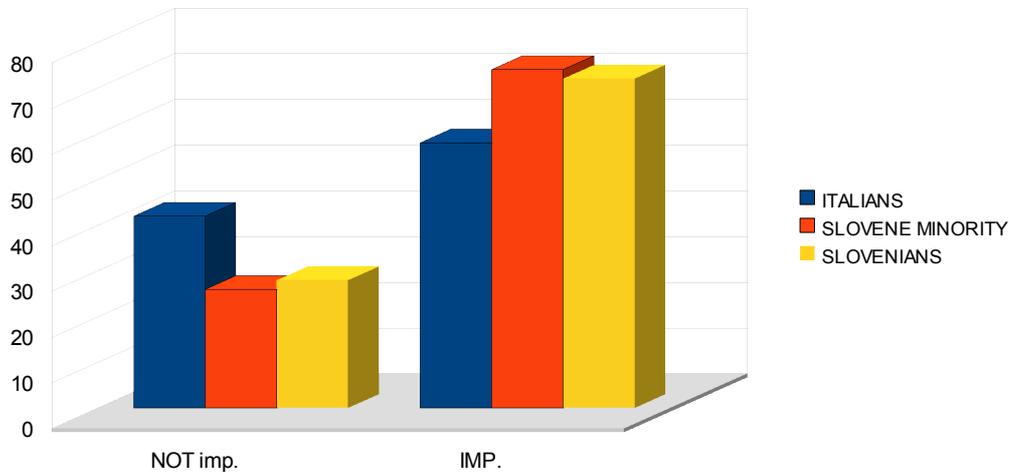


Figure 42: Importance of at least one parent's belonging as national marker (%)

- There was **no** significant relationship between **groups** and whether they perceived **respecting national culture, customs and traditions** as an important aspect to belong to a national community or not. All groups had high percentages of respondents saying it is a relevant aspect (around 87% for each group).

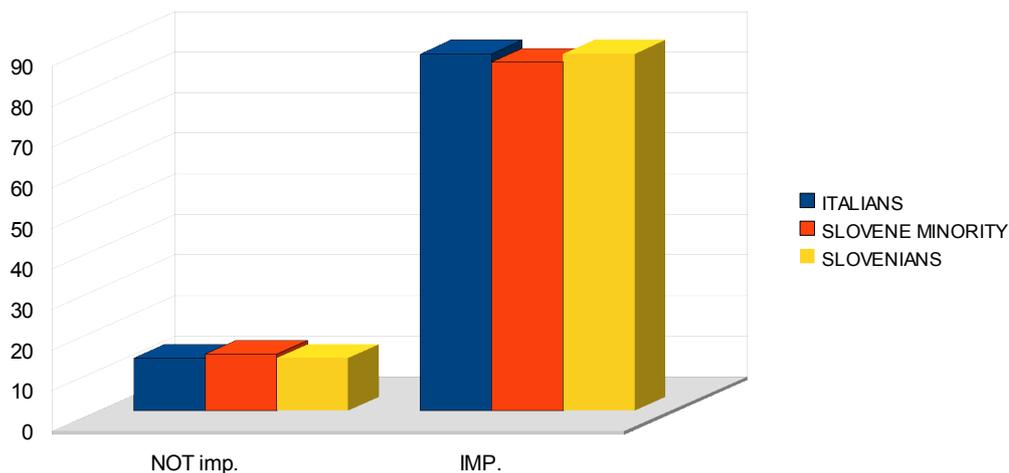


Figure 43: Importance of respecting national culture, customs and traditions as national marker (%)

The data of the 2009 fieldwork reconfirmed the data previously gathered in 2003. In my undergraduate survey, studying 412 adolescents aged 14-18, I found (Kosic, 2004, 2006) that among Slovene, Italian and Slovene minority high school students in Italy the first two most relevant elements perceived as required in order to be recognized and feel as a member of a certain national or ethnic group were language and, secondly, the observance of culture, traditions and customs. Lower positions were attributed to parental descent and birthplace.

Same results were demonstrated by Asher in the Polish-German border region in Frankfurt (Oder)/Ślubice cross-border space (Asher, 2005). Like in that area, language remains a significant marker of difference and membership in a group in the Italo-Slovene cross-border space as well.

Tables 7: Percentages of respondents by group rating each national identity marker as important.

To be (Italian) it is important to...	ITALIANS
1) ... speak (Italian)	89%
2) ... respect (Italian) culture, customs and traditions	88%
3) ... respect (Italian) laws	85%
4) ... to feel (Italian)	73%
5) ... to have (Italian) citizenship	67%
6) ... having been born in (Italy)	58%
7) ... to have at least one parent (Italian)	58%
8) ... to have permanent residence in Italy	55%
9) ... be Catholic	26%

To be (Italian/Slovenian) it is important to...	SLOVENE MINORITY
1) ... speak (Italian/Slovenian)	96%
2) ... respect () culture, customs and traditions	86%
3) ... to feel (Italian/Slovenian)	83%
4) ... to have at least one parent (Italian/Slovenian)	75%
5) ... respect (Italian/Slovenian) laws	66%
6) ... having been born in (Italy/Slovenia)	56%
7) ... to have permanent residence in Italy/Slovenia	51%
8) ... to have (Italian/Slovenian) citizenship	46%
9) ... be Catholic	13%

To be Slovenian it is important to...	SLOVENIANS
1) ... speak (Slovenian)	94%
2) ... respect (Slovenian) culture, customs and traditions	87%
3) ... to feel (Slovenian)	83%
4) ... to have at least one parent (Slovenian)	72%
5) ... respect (Slovenian) laws	64%
6) ... to have (Slovenian) citizenship	62%
7) ... to have permanent residence in Slovenia	58%
8) ... having been born in (Slovenia)	36%
9) ... be Catholic	7%

Factor analysis

I also wanted to test whether it was possible to reproduce the classical ascribed vs. volunteer distinction of national identity markers, with the appropriate items grouping into each category.

Factor analysis, using the principal components analysis as method of extraction and varimax rotation, revealed three factors emerging from the nine target items. Table 8 presents the rotated component matrix of the factor analysis displaying how each variable loads on each factor. Table _ shows the variance explained by the extracted factors.

Table 8: Rotated Component Matrix of the Factor Analysis of Items measuring National/Ethnic Identity markers.

	Component		
	1	2	3
Belonging_importance of permanent residence in country	,783		
Belonging_importance of citizenship	,773		
Belonging_importance of place of birth	,693	,314	
Belonging_importance of Catholic religion	,375		,223
Belonging_importance of feeling (Italian/Slovenian)		,813	,164
Belonging_importance of belonging of at least one parent	,282	,774	
Belonging_importance of respecting country laws	,186	-,23	,802
Belonging_importance of respecting culture, customs, traditions		,269	,774
Belonging_importance of language knowledge	,282	,340	,365

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 4 iterations.

57% of the total variability can be accounted for by the three factors. Factor 1 alone accounts for 23% of the variability in all 9 variables, the second one for 18% and the third one for 16%.

Some variables had loadings lower than .4 on each rotated factor, indicating a not very high correlation with the factor.

Not every item was included in these dimensions. After forcing only two factors to be selected, the item “Belonging_importance of belonging of at least one parent” was grouped under the first factor (26% of explained variance). Checking the scale reliability of the four items combined, the overall Alpha lowered from .677 to .671 (three-item index), which is anyway a bit lower than commonly accepted. On the other hand, this increased the interpretability of results and the desired distinction between ascribed, volunteer and achieved identity markers. The loadings of the other variables remained more or less slightly lower than .4 and present on both dimensions. I decided to consider them in separate between-groups comparisons. Therefore, only the variables that loaded higher than .4 on the retained 2-factors were included in the creation of separate indices, calculated combining the items with a rounded mean.

Table 9: Rotated Factor Matrix for Territorial attachment

	Component	
	1	2
Belonging_importance of <u>place of birth</u>	,755	
Belonging_importance of <u>permanent residence in country</u>	,695	
Belonging_importance of <u>belonging of at least one parent</u>	,654	
Belonging_importance of <u>citizenship</u>	,633	
Belonging_importance of language knowledge	,399	,397
Belonging_importance of feeling (Italian/Slovenian)	,398	,240
Belonging_importance of Catholic religion	,352	,233
Belonging_importance of respecting culture, customs, traditions		,796
Belonging_importance of respecting country laws		,777

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

The first factor, which combined four items with a rounded mean, was labeled “**Ascribed dimension of national identity**”, since it included ascriptive criteria

of belonging, that is such elements over which a person has no control, like for example family origins or country of birth. Moreover, the factor has been generally called so in the literature.

“Ascribed national identity dimension” = $(\text{RND}(((\text{BEL_citizenship} + \text{BEL_PoB} + \text{BEL_permRES} + \text{BEL_bel1parent})/4) * 2))/2$.

Table 10: Reliability Statistics per group of the factor “ascribed identity” 1

GROUP	Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Standardized Items	Alpha Based on N of Items
Italian	,671	,671	3
Slovene minority	,755	,755	3
Slovenian	,642	,642	3

Scale Statistics

GROUP	Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
Italian	8,0455	5,193	2,27888	3
Slovene minority in Italy	7,3893	5,193	2,27891	3
Slovenian	7,5714	4,636	2,15311	3

Table 11: Reliability Statistics per group of the factor “ascribed identity” with 4 items

GROUP	Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Standardized Items	Alpha Based on N of Items
Italian	,759	,758	4
Slovene minority	,712	,707	4
Slovenian	,615	,610	4

Scale Statistics

GROUP	Mean	Variance	Std. Deviation	N of Items
Italian	10,5909	9,003	3,00052	4
Slovene minority in Italy	10,2824	7,035	2,65236	4
Slovenian	10,3878	6,249	2,49977	4

Table 12: Inter-Item correlation matrix for “ascribed identity” national markers

Inter-Item Correlation Matrix					
GROUP		1)	2)	3)	4)
Italian	1) citizenship	1			
	2) place of birth	,440	1		
	3) residence in country	,285	,488	1	
	4) belonging of at least one parent	,351	,624	,445	1
Slovene minority	1) citizenship	1			
	2) place of birth	,477	1		
	3) residence in country	,531	,511	1	
	4) belonging of at least one parent	,203	,244	,292	1
Slovenian	1) citizenship	1			
	2) place of birth	,332	1		
	3) residence in country	,428	,361	1	
	4) belonging of at least one parent	,112	,305	,146	1

Table 13: Reliability Item-Total statistics for factor “ascribed identity”

		Item-Total Statistics				
GROUP		Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item- Total Correlatio n	Squared Multiple Correlatio n	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
<u>Italian</u>	citizenship	7,77	5,87	,438	,207	,766
	place of birth	7,89	4,87	,684	,486	,627
	residence in country	8,05	5,93	,505	,274	,729
	belonging of at least one parent	8,04	5,19	,612	,421	,671
<u>Slovene minority</u>	citizenship	7,90	4,13	,544	,340	,621
	place of birth	7,71	4,17	,554	,327	,616
	residence in country	7,83	3,84	,610	,387	,576
	belonging of at least one parent	7,38	5,19	,301	,098	,755
<u>Slovenian</u>	citizenship	7,73	3,85	,413	,220	,530
	place of birth	8,09	3,63	,476	,229	,480
	residence in country	7,76	3,74	,448	,238	,503
	belonging of at least one parent	7,57	4,63	,247	,095	,642

The table above indicates that the reliability of the index would increase if the item about citizenship as marker would be deleted only for the Italian group, while for the Slovene minority and Slovenian groups the deletion of the same variable would diminish the Alpha. For these two groups reliability would be higher if the item “belonging of at least one parent” would be deleted.

I decided to retain all four items for all the three groups, sacrificing partially the reliability, since the models with three and four-item factor did not produce substantial differences in the subsequent analysis.

The second dimension, which I called “**Achieved identity dimension**”, was created by combining the two items with high loadings in Factor 2, “importance of respecting culture, customs, traditions” and “importance of respecting country laws”, which are generally considered as voluntarist or civic dimensions of national identity (Jones & Smith, 2001, from Vezzoni, 2007). Correlation between the two variables was significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), supporting the combination into a single factor.

I labeled this dimension “achieved” rather than “voluntarist”, having in mind the acculturative integration process that requires the adaptation to the customs, norms, values, lifestyle patterns and customs of the dominant culture. It involves learning and acquiring some elements during the prolonged contact between cultures. It is somehow chosen and self-directed, but it might be also pushed for from the dominant group.

Vezzoni (2007), examining the results from the ISSP 1995/2003 and the Eurobarometer, notices that in some countries language and religion are often present in this dimension as well. In our analysis those items had low loadings, but were indeed present in both factors. The researcher also pointed out the importance of the question format. He claims that formulating the question concerning national identity asking about the features that are important to be truly national vs. asking what is subjectively important to the respondent to belong to the national community may trigger differences in the choice of ascribed vs. voluntarist elements of national identity. Our question format prompted for the subjective importance of different characteristics in order to feel belongingness to the target national/ethnic identity (i.e. to be Italian/Slovenian) as in the ISSP 1995.

In the ISSP 1995, which included also data for Italy, the first high loading for the same factor was “law”, followed by “feelings”. Since the findings regarding the first element were the same in our sample, it suggests that the tendency remains unvariated.

The indicator, however, obtained an alpha reliability score of .661 for the Italian group, .532 for the Slovene minority sample and .378 for the Slovenian group. The last two are below the .60 cutoff level generally accepted.

Moreover, Tukey's test of non-additivity was significant ($< .05$) for two of the three groups, indicating there was a multiplicative interaction between the cases and the items for the Slovene minority and the Slovene group.

Analysis of variance:

national identity dimensions and socio-demographic characteristics

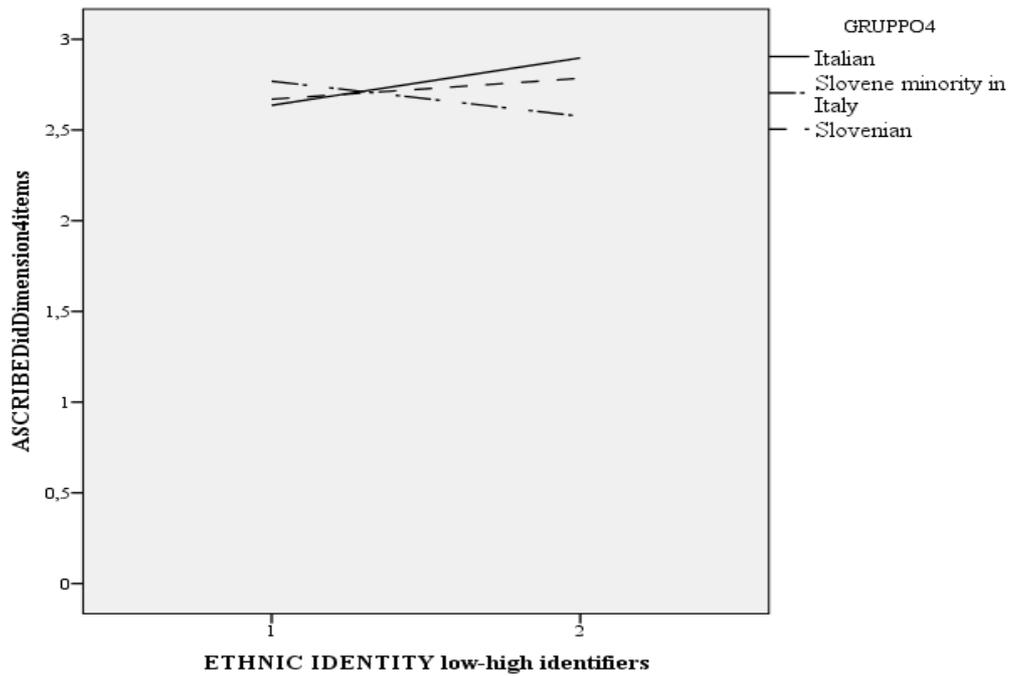
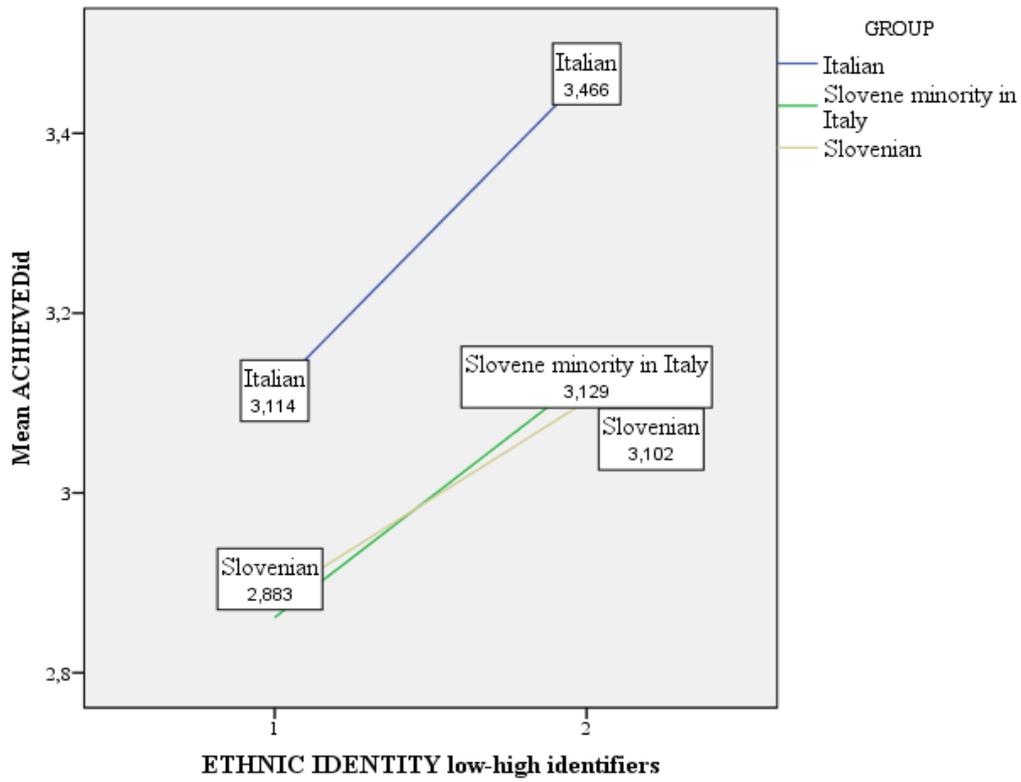
With the following analysis I explored the relationship between national identity dimensions found with the factor analysis and the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents.

No significant effect emerged from the analysis, considering gender, age, type of place where one is living (urban or village), educational level, marital status, cooperation with NGOs, time spent living abroad, place of birth.

The variable that seemed to explain the difference in the two dimension was group. Multivariate tests indicated a significant main effect for group, $F(2, 415) = 6.39, p < 0.001$ on achieved identity dimensions of national identity, and ethnic identification (MEIM) ($F(2, 415) = 15.27, p < 0.001$), but not for their interaction.

We used the dichotomized MEIM (low vs high identifiers) as predictor. Post-hoc multiple comparisons showed that the Italian group (low identifiers $M=3.11, SD=.10$; high identifiers $M=3.47, SD=.10$) had higher means for achieved identity dimension than the Slovene minority (low identifiers $M=2.87, SD=.08$, high identifiers $M=3.14, SD=.08$) and Slovenian groups (low identifiers $M=2.87, SD=.07$, high identifiers $M=3.10, SD=.07$).

Initially there appeared to be also an effect of the interaction of group and ethnic identification (high and low identifiers measured by MEIM) for the ascribed dimension of national identity, $F(2, 415) = 3.38, p < 0.05$, but the subsequent analysis were not significant.



Figures 44/46: Achieved and Ascribed identity per low-high identifiers for each group

5.3.11 Territorial attachment and sense of belonging

H 6: Minority and majority members will differ regarding territorial attachments.

The data distribution per group for the scale measuring the level of attachment with different territorial areas (8 items: country of birth, municipality of residence, province/region, northern Italy, Italy, Slovenia, European Union, world) is given in the figures that follow.

For each item replies could range from 1 (no attachment at all) to 5 (high attachment). The original five-level variables were recoded into three levels: low (replies 1 and 2), medium (3) and high (4-5) attachment to each territorial unit.

In the original dataset there were 6 missing values for the Italian group, 9 for the Slovene minority group and 22 for the Slovenian group. They were replaced with the mean value given by the group of belonging in that item.

Chi-square

A series of Chi-square tests were calculated to see whether any group showed a different pattern of attachment to the territorial units listed.

- There was a **significant** relationship between **groups** and **attachment to the country of birth**, $\chi^2 (4, N = 415) = 18.18, p = <0.001$. More Slovene minority members are less attached to their country of birth.

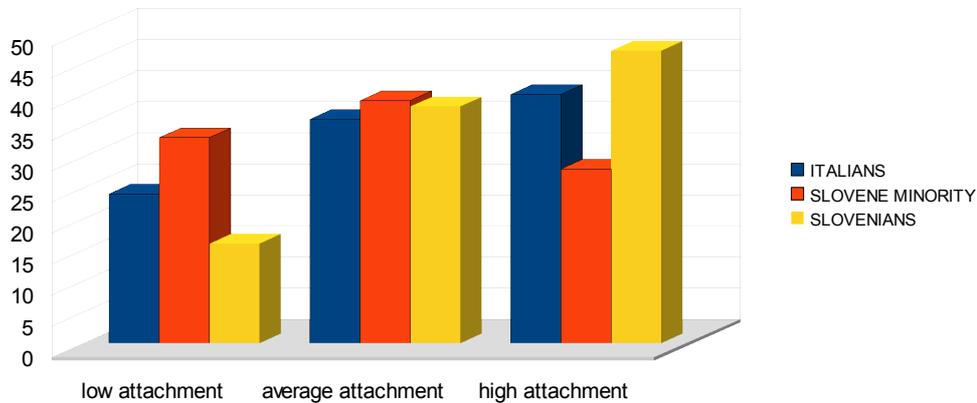


Figure 47: Attachment to the country of birth per group (%)

- There was a **significant** relationship between **groups** and **attachment to municipality**, $\chi^2 (4, N = 415) = 12.63, p = <0.05$.

The cell of the Slovene minority members showing low attachment to the municipality where they live was under-represented (14% vs. 31% of the Italians and 30% of the Slovenians).

52% of the Slovene respondents are highly emotionally attached to the place where they live, municipality or town, followed by Italians (41%) and Slovenians (38%).

- There was a **significant** relationship between **groups** and **attachment to the province of residence**, $\chi^2 (4, N = 415) = 26.77, p = <0.001$.

There were more Slovene minority members (41%) and less than expected Slovenians (20%) showing higher (medium) attachment to the province where they live. Similarly, the cell with Slovene minority members who had low attachment with the province was under-represented (18% vs. 40% of the Italians and 33% of the Slovenians).

- There was a **significant** relationship between **groups** and **attachment to Italy**, $\chi^2(4, N = 415) = 141.70, p = <0.001$.

There were more Italians (39% strongly attached, 43% with average high bond) and Slovene minority members (36%) with a strong attachment to Italy and less Slovenians attached to it (and similarly, less than expected Italians, 18%, and minority members, 46%, with low attachment and higher percentage of Slovenians, 87%, in this cell), compared to what it would be expected if there was no relation at all between the variables.

39% of Italian respondents express strong attachment to Italy, while 88% of Slovenians report little or no emotional bond to it. 18% of the Slovene minority respondents say they are attached to Italy, 47% of them feel indifferent to this bond.

What appears more surprising and unexpected is the high percentage (43%) of Italians and Slovene minority members reporting little or no feeling of attachment to Northern Italy, $\chi^2(4, N = 415) = 94.13, p = <0.001$.

We may try to explain this finding for the Italian respondents, considering the fact that a significant proportion of them were people coming to live to these places from elsewhere, mainly for work and study reasons. This reasoning is likely to be confirmed by comparing attachment to Northern Italy and Italy in general where the same Italian respondents have higher ratings.

A similar differentiation in attachment between people who were born in the region and those born in another region emerged from the research made in 2006

and 2008 by Segatti (2008: 69) with a sample of 1657 (in 2006) and 2501 (in 2008) residents of Friuli Venezia Giulia region: the first group of residents showed high levels of attachment to all territorial units (Italy 84%, municipality of residence 82%, Province 80%, region 84%, Europe 75%), while the second group expressed high degrees of attachment only to Italy (93%) and Europe (69%), and less attachment to the region (30%), the municipality (27%) and Province of living (36%).

In the same research respondents whose mother tongue was Slovenian showed high levels of attachment to Italy (61% in 2006 and 73% in 2008), unlike in our sample.

Our results, nevertheless, go in the direction of an older research (Boileau & Sussi, 1981), where it was found that Slovene minority members in Italy were more attached to local territorial units and showed low attachments to Italy.

Nevertheless, as noticed by Segatti (2008), in the research of Boileau and Sussi, the question format contained only the word “State” and not Italy, making the replies of Slovene respondents potentially ambiguous since they may identify differently with nation and state.

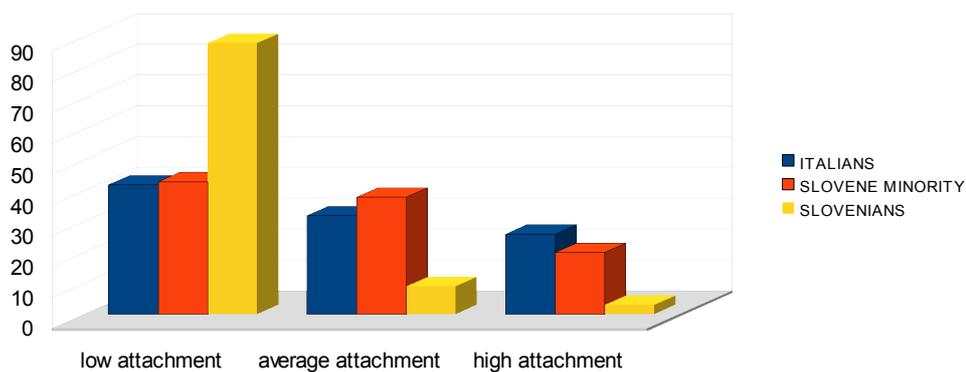


Figure 48: Attachment to Northern Italy (%)

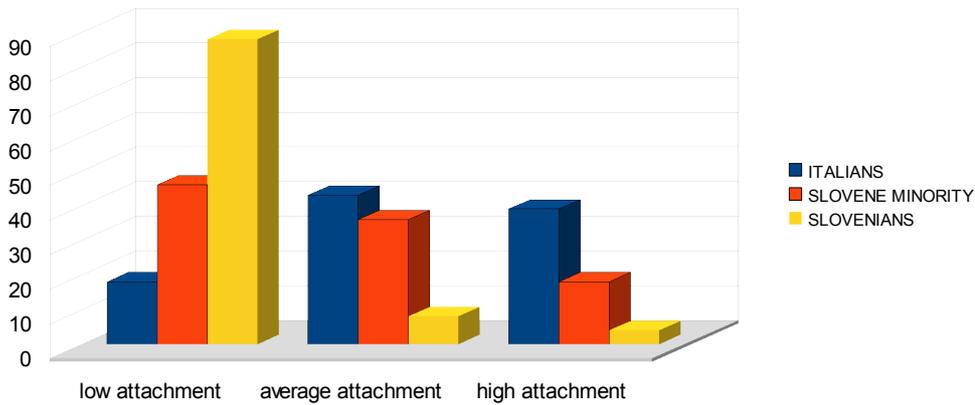


Figure 49: Attachment to Italy (%)

- There was a **significant** relationship between **groups** and **attachment to Slovenia**, $\chi^2(4, N = 415) = 181.81, p = <0.001$.

There were many Italians not feeling close to this country (88%). Cells with the percentage of Italians and Slovene minority members with strong attachment to Slovenia (1% and 26% respectively) were significantly lower than those of Slovene respondents (66%).

Respondents of the Slovene minority are distributed between no or little attachment (38%), medium (36%) and high attachment (26%).

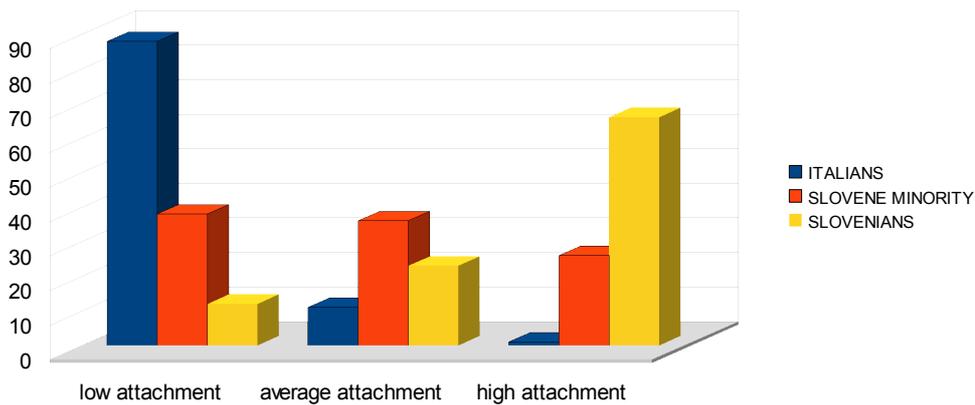


Figure 50: Attachment to Slovenia (%)

In an interview a member of the Slovene minority in Italy expresses her attachment to Slovenia with these words:

“Slovenia represents the “affective” homeland to me, in which I have lived (for my studies and work), nevertheless I do not idealize it. (...) I do not feel much belongingness to the “mother” homeland (to Slovenia). Of course we do have the same roots and a lot of common history, but there are also many differences. To me “zamejska” and “primorska” cultures (the one of the Slovenes of this side of the border- that is in Italy, and the coastal regional culture) mean a lot. My homeland is the Goriška region and partly also the Tržaška region (of Trieste).⁴”(INO617)

⁴“Slovenija mi pomeni “čustveno” domovino, v kateri sem nekaj let tudi živela (študijsko, službeno), kljub temu pa je ne idealiziram. (...) Ne čutim velike pripadnosti “matični” domovini (Sloveniji). Seveda imamo iste korenine in precej skupne zgodovine, toda veliko je tudi razlik. Veliko mi pomeni “zamejska” oz. “primorska” kultura. Moja domovina je Goriška in delno tudi Tržaška.”

- There was a **significant** relationship between **groups** and **attachment to the European Union**, $\chi^2 (4, N = 415) = 20.90, p = <0.001$.

More than expected Italians (38%) and fewer Slovenians (17%) showed a strong attachment to the European Union vs. 30% of the Slovene minority. Slovenian group shows the highest percentage of those who do not feel this bond very strongly.

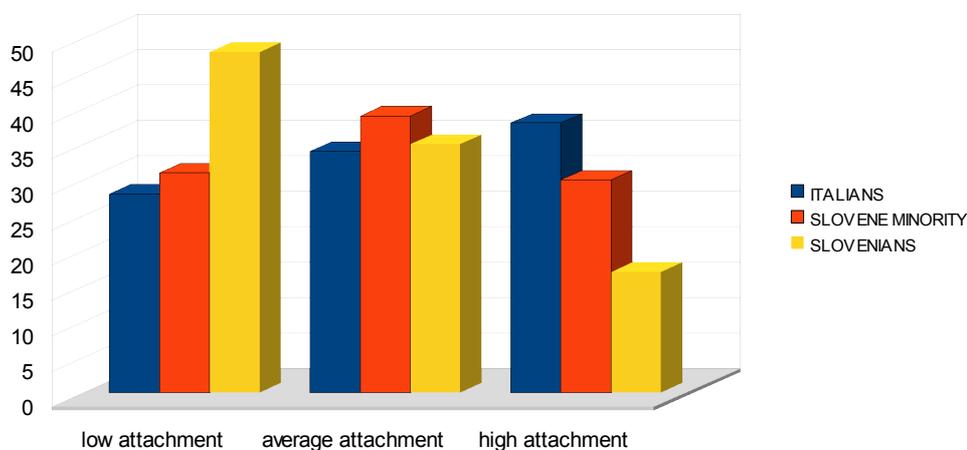


Figure 51: Attachment to the European Union (%)

Different positions exist regarding the importance of the transnational identity and emerging “Europeanness”, with some positing that the European identity is secondary and weaker than the national identity (Lepsius, 1998), while others arguing that this aspect is instead progressively strengthening and replacing national identities (Eder, 1998). Our data tend to go in the first direction, at least when considering the territorial attachment, which, in turn, can reflect the sense of belonging at the identification level.

“Slovenia isn't so recognizable after joining the European Union as it was promised at first, because too often they confuse us with

other states of former Yugoslavia or with other Eastern countries.⁵”(Slovenian informant)

- There was a **significant** relationship between **groups** and **attachment to the world**, $\chi^2(4, N = 415) = 16.62, p = <0.05$.

More Italians (66%) indicated a strong attachment to the world as a whole, showing a significantly more cosmopolitan sense of belonging and attachment than the other two groups (44% and 40%).

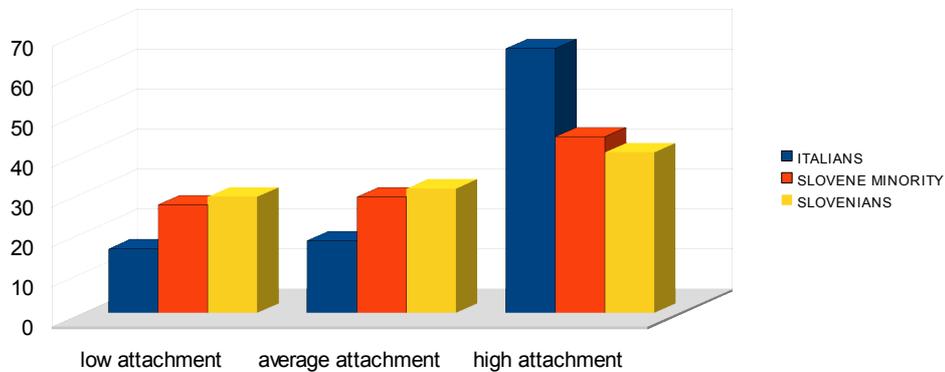


Figure 52: Attachment to the World (%)

⁵“Dejstvo je tudi, da z vstopom v EU Slovenija niti ni tako prepoznavna, kot je bilo sprva obljubljeno, saj nas prepogosto zamenjujejo z drugimi državami nekdanje Jugoslavije in drugimi nekdanjega Vzhodnega bloka. Upam tudi, da se bo ta narodna zaveste še okrepila in sčasoma postavila zadeve na mesto, ker bomo sicer spet služili komu drugemu!”

- Overall there was a **significant** relationship between **groups** and **local attachments**, $\chi^2 (2, N = 415) = 17.94, p = <0.001$ More Italians indicated a strong attachment to the world as a whole. In our sample there were less Slovene minority members (20%) who feel distant and non-attached from local places, such as the municipality or the province and region where they live, in comparison to Italians (36%) and Slovenians (43%) who showed low local attachments. 80% of them, in fact, rated their attachment to these territorial units as high.

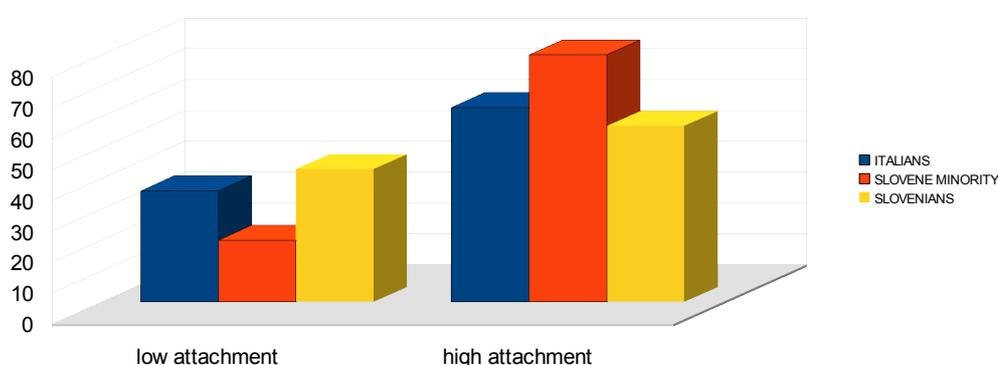


Figure 53: Attachment to local territorial units (%)

Slovene minority members are more attached than other groups to local places where they live.

The results confirm the hypothesis made by Gross (1978, from Segatti, 2008) that in a linguistically plural territory there can be multiple identities (local, regional and national), and that among these local identifications are the predominant ones, because they are the ones which survived pressures of homogeneization that state nationalism perpetuated among lingustical communities historically rooted in a territory.

Next, I tried to see whether those who felt stronger attachments to local territorial units, felt also higher levels of attachments to national units. Broader

national research, in fact, found that national and more local attachments are generally not in conflict, but coexisting.

A significant Chi-square emerged for the Slovene group only, $\chi^2 (2, N = 194) = 14.06, p = <0.001$. Those who showed lower attachment to local places expressed also more frequently low attachment to the nation, that is Slovenia.

Significant differences emerged for the other two groups when considering only Northern Italy rather than Italy.

For the Italian group, $\chi^2 (2, N = 88) = 27.32, p = <0.001$, those who were poorly attached to local places where they live (14%), are also less attached to Northern Italy. 38% had high scores of attachment in both, 6% scored low in local attachment but high in national attachment.

For the Slovene minority group, $\chi^2 (2, N = 133) = 7.50, p = <0.05$, those who were less attached to local places were also less attached to Northern Italy (59%).

Furthermore, in order to further explore how these identities relate to each other the correlations among them were examined.

For the Italian group there was a high correlation between attachment to the municipality and province of living (Kendall's tau-b $r = .72, p < .01$, 2-tailed), place of living (municipality) and attachment to Northern Italy (Kendall's tau-b $r = .41, p < .01$), and lower correlations among other aspects, included place of birth.

For Slovene minority members attachment to Northern Italy was highly correlated with attachment to country of birth (Kendall's tau-b $r = .50, p < .001$, 2-tailed), inter alia.

Regression analysis

I conducted a series of regression analysis with the variables that were enough

normally distributed for each group.

Ascribed national identity markers ($b = .40, p < .01$), achieved dimension of national identity ($b = .440, p < .01$) and ethnic identification ($b = .09, p < .05$) as predictors explained a proportion of variance in national attachment scores for the Italian group, $R^2 = .36, F(3, 87) = 15.79, p < .05$.

Similar results were obtained for the Slovenian group as well, considering attachment to Slovenia as dependent variable.

5.3.12 The effects of socio-political changes on national identity

***H 9:** Socio-political changes associated with the independence of Slovenia and its joining the Schengen area of the European Union, will be (subjectively) perceived as having had an impact on one's ethnic and national identifications, especially for Slovenians and Slovene minority members.*

Even though the majority of the respondents did not perceive consciously significant effects of the socio-political changes related to Slovenia's independence and its joining European Union on their identity, some did acknowledge them, even if the effects appeared to be weak.

Examples of replies from Slovene minority respondents:

“Perhaps I am a bit more proud of independent Slovenia. I have never felt Yugoslavian!”⁶ (ING08)

“... since Slovenia's independence we “zamejci” slowly, not all at once, see Slovenia as more ours. Now I am more interested in following what's happening in Slovenia too. The fact that I can say we also have our own country has influenced a little bit my national consciousness...”⁷ (INMI2)

⁶“Morda sem nekoliko bolj ponosen na samostojno Slovenijo. Nikoli se nisem čutil Jugoslovana!”

⁷“se mi zdi, da predvsem po osamosvojitvi, počasi, ne pa kar naenkrat, imamo zamejci Slovenijo malo bolj za svojo. Jaz se sedaj malo bolj zanimam, kaj se dogaja tudi v Sloveniji. Malo je to vplivalo na

Some Slovenian respondents mentioned several times the gain of European citizenship and broadening opportunities in several aspects.

“I still accept with pride my roots, but I am also a proud European now. If I look back in history, we people have mixed so much among each other, that it is useless to determine any nationality based on blood. In my opinion, nationality is determined by the culture we were raised into and that we accept. Despite this, the events in the last years lead me to more and more criticism of Slovenian thought and actions.”⁸”

“I personally do not remember how it was before independence and it would be difficult to compare with such a distanced period. Nevertheless, the entry of Slovenia in EU has changed a lot of things for me, as a lot of new opportunities to travel and study abroad have opened. I tell proudly that I am from Slovenia which has been rewarded many times for its economic position, with the acceptance of euro and the first presidency of the EU. I think this way the entry in the EU has contributed to an increased value of our own achievements and stimulated national awareness.”⁹”
(Slovenian, INL8410)

Similarly, members of the Slovene minority in Italy report:

“No, it doesn't affect me much, even though I am a proud European citizen.”¹⁰” (INGO9)

“I appreciate how much easier and more convenient it is to move”¹¹” (INAI)

“These events did not have any effect on my national identity and consciousness. When Slovenia got independence I was still too young to

mojo narodno zavest, to da lahko rečem, da imamo tudi mi lastno državo.”

8 “Še vedno s ponosom sprejemam izvor mojih korenin, sem pa tudi ponosna Evropejka sedaj. Če pogledamo dlje v zgodovino, smo se ljudje že toliko pomešali med seboj, da je določanje neke narodnosti na podlagi krvi nesmiselno, narodnost po mojem mnenju določa kultura, v kateri smo bili vzgojeni in katero sprejemamo. Kljub temu me dogajanja v zadnjih par letih nagibajo k vse večji kritičnosti slovenskega razmišljanja in delovanja..”

9 “Osebnostno se ne spomnim, kako je bilo pred osamosvojitvijo in bi težko primerjala s tako oddaljenim obdobjem, je pa vstop v EU veliko spremenil, vsaj zame, saj so se odprle nove možnosti potovanja, študija, ipd. Poleg tega s ponosom povem, da sem iz Slovenije, ki je bila v EU večkrat nagrajena za svoj dober gospodarski položaj, s sprejemom evra in prvim predsedovanjem Svetu EU med novimi državami članicami. Morda je na ta način sprejem v EU pripomogel k večjemu vrednotenju lastnih dosežkov in tako spodbudil narodno zavest.”

10 “Ne, ne vpliva veliko, čeprav sem ponosen evropski državljan”

11 “apprezzo la maggiore comodità negli spostamenti.”

understand its meaning. I think the entrance of Slovenia in EU and Schengen is primarily of economic significance and only secondarily of social significance. At the beginning they tried to convince us that we are citizens of the EU with several different leaflets. I had European awareness much before the entrance of Slovenia in the economic community, as Slovenia of course is in Europe, geographically speaking. Nobody will neither convince me about being a citizen of the EU, since in all my documents something else is written under citizenship.¹²” (Slovenian informant, INA8612)

Some of the respondents believe their sense of belonging and national consciousness changed in time and is still changing, gaining in pride and strength, but not due to socio-political changes.

“It didn't affect my identity much, in my opinion. At the time Slovenia gained independence I was still very young (7-8 years old), so that I consider this as a matter of course. I feel we are a fully equal European nation with a rich culture and history. Schengen is something very welcome, since borders were separating an area where there never were borders. But I am afraid that Slovenian youngsters and young adults have a too weak national awareness and identity. They can obtain this only in family, from their parents and grandparents.¹³” (Slovenian respondent, INPRV831)

“My national awareness is much older than the birth of my country and it did not change because of a formal reconstruction of the country's territory. Nevertheless, it is true that it is increasing in years and I am becoming more proud to be here, in this nice little country of Trubar.¹⁴”

12“Omenjena dogajanja niti najmanj niso vplivala na mojo nacionalno identiteto niti na narodno zavest. Ob osamosvojitvi Slovenije sem bila še premlada, da bi se zavedala razsežnosti in pomena samostojnosti. Vstop Slovenije v EU in v Schengen sta pa predvsem gospodarskega pomena in šele sekundarno socialnega pomena. Ob vstopu v EU so nas z različnimi brošurami želeli prepričati, da smo državljani Evropske Unije. Pojavljati se je začela besedna zveza “Evropska zavest”. Evropsko zavest imam od nekdanj in ne od vstopa Slovenije v omenjeno gospodarsko skupnost, saj, očitno, Slovenija leži v Evropi. Nihče me tudi ne bo prepričal v “državljanke Evropske unije”, saj na vseh mojih dokumentih v rubriki državljanstvo piše nekaj drugega.”

13“Mislim, da ne bistveno. Ob osamosvajanju sem bil še majhen (7-8 let), tako da se mi zdi samostojna Slovenija nekaj samoumevnega. Čutim, da smo povsem enakopraven evropski narod, z bogato kulturo in zgodovino. Schengen je nekaj zelo dobrodošlega, saj so meje umetno ločevale prostor, ki prej ni imel meja (pod Habsburžani). Se pa bojim, da ima večina mladih in mlajših odraslih Slovencev prešibko narodno zavest in identiteto. To lahko dobijo le v družini, od staršev, starih staršev...”

14“Moja narodna zavest je veliko starejša od rojstva moje države in se ni spremenila zaradi formalne rekonstrukcije državnega ozemlja, res pa je, da je z leti čedalje večja in sem ponosna, da sem tu, v tej lepi deželici Trubarjevi.”

5.3.13 Being a minority member

The data of the interviews confirm the quantitative analysis of the results emerging from the data of the questionnaires regarding national identity markers.

The multifaceted nature of ethnic identity is particularly clear in children of parents with different ethnic backgrounds (Eriksen 2002: 62-63).

An Italian of Chinese origins shared with us what it means to him being an ethnic minority due to his origin but feeling a national member as other Italians:

“(to be a member of a minority) to me means to have a history of origins different from the Italian one, to have an adopted language to make coexist with my mother tongue, Italian. It also means having Chinese somatic traits but mostly Italian culture and language.

(...) If you are born with more cultures, it should be something to be proud of: at school you see a lot of students attending classical or linguistic gymnasium. If they are born already prepared and they learn different languages with easy playing in childhood, that's all saved time.

(...) If I have to choose, I define myself as Italian of Chinese origins. I attended kindergarten, elementary, middle, high school and university all in Italy. I used to watch Italian cartoons Bim Bum Bam and I have grown up exactly as any of my peers. Nothing has missed to me during my upbringing. To live in the normality of every day life in close contact with an Italian makes you look like them. Then at home food and language give you an extra bit of originality.¹⁰”(non-Slovenian respondent, INSW1)

Language is often regarded as a strong marker of a person's ethnic identity and a criterion for membership in a group that can surpass inherited somatic

¹⁰“Significa avere una storia d'origine diversa da quella italiana, avere una lingua d'adozione da far coesistere con la mia lingua madre, l'italiano. Significa anche smentire le mie spoglie, ovvero tratti somatici cinesi ma cultura e lingua prevalentemente italiana.

(...) Se nasci con più culture, dovrebbe essere un vanto: a scuola si vedono tanti di quegli studenti che vanno nei licei e istituti linguistici. Se nascono già preparati e imparano varie lingue giocando nella prima infanzia, è tutto tempo risparmiato.

(...) Se devo scegliere, mi definisco italiano di origine cinese. Ho fatto materne, elementari, medie, superiori e università tutte in Italia. Ho guardato i cartoni animati di Bim Bum Bam e fatto la maggior parte delle tappe di un giovane mio coetaneo. Non mi è mancato nulla durante la mia crescita. Vivere nella normalità a stretto contatto con un italiano ti fa sembrare come loro. Poi a casa cibo e lingua ti danno un tocco in più di originalità.”

characteristics (Giles & Coupland, 1991). As our respondent shared, his mother tongue and primary language of use is Italian, even though his somatic features reveal his Chinese ancestral origins. He acknowledges his roots as an element of originality that equips him with the ability to know at least one more language and to attain from different cultural elements, the one he was socialized into since childhood in Italy and the one of his relatives. Being proficient in both languages naturally and without the effort to gain this ability, due to the fact of being bilingual since childhood and having two cultures as his own, is considered something enriching and to be proud of.

Similarly, a young member of the Italian minority in Slovenia tells us:

“To me it means cultural, identity and linguistic enrichment. To belong to a minority means to feel “at home” both in the host country and in the mother country.¹⁵” (Italian minority in Slovenia, INC805)

Likewise, a member of the Slovene minority in Italy:

“Belonging... to be Slovenian to me means my language, my culture... this is independent from the country where you live or where you migrated... it's what remains always the same... to me the main point is not feeling to be a member of a narrow group... but rather my personal thing, natural... that I speak Slovenian...¹⁶” (Slovene minority in Italy, INNT5)

Language and culture are the elements that remain constant even when moving from one country to another or when nation-states' political demarcations change.

As we have seen in the theoretical part, we always define our identity, who we are, in a relation, in comparison to others who are different in some characteristics. At times self-categorisation can be a difficult task to negotiate with others who categorize us, especially when the way others see us or expect us to be does not correspond to the way we see ourselves.

¹⁵“Vuol dire per me arricchimento culturale, identitario e linguistico. Appartenere ad una minoranza vuol dire altresì sentirsi “a casa” sia nello stato ospitante sia nella madre patria.”

¹⁶“Pripadnost kot Slovenec mi pomeni moj jezik, kulturo... to je neodvisno od države, v kateri živiš ali kamor se preseliš... to je, kar ostane vedno isto... meni ni glavno, da se počutim član ene ožje skupine.. je bolj moja zasebna stvar, naravna... da govorim slovensko...”

“then there are also others who categorise you. It is not that you only self-define...¹⁷” (Slovene minority in Italy, INMI2)

“It has happened and still happens (that people defined me differently than I do and see myself). I find it very stimulating, because it leads you to ask yourself how others see you, what image of ourselves we give. Whatever stimulates questions is positive. Questions are important, answers not always.¹⁸” (Italian minority in Slovenia, INR2)

“This is also interesting: personally I have always felt to be Slovenian (I was born in Slovenia, have been raised here... even though my father is Croatian (he has only Slovenian citizenship), we still have relatives in Croatia, and my brother who received the same education as I did... in sport events he is a fan of Croatia. If the situation in Croatia would be better, he would immediately move there. Just an example of how difficult it is to say something general about national identity.¹⁹” (Slovenian informant, INN814)

This last excerpt clearly shows the importance of one's feeling and subjective perception or preference rather than mere objective elements in identification.

Growing up people have the freedom to choose to what degree maintain the cultural heritage passed down by their parents and sometimes the issue may include the mere sense of belonging to a group.

Ethnic identity does not only change over time, but also across contexts (Phinney, 2003). Individuals may have different ways of perceiving themselves that can get activated depending on situations. Different circumstances will trigger different identifications and lead to a correspondent set of behaviours and attitudes.

¹⁷“potem so tudi ostali, ki te kategorizirajo. Ni samo, da se ti sam opredeliš...”

¹⁸“E' accaduto ed accade ancora. La trovo stimolante in quanto porta a chiedersi come ci vedono gli altri, quale immagine diamo di noi stessi. Tutto ciò che stimola domande è positivo. Le domande sono importanti, le risposte non sempre.”

¹⁹“Zanimivo je tudi naslednje: sam sem se vedno imel za Slovenca... bil rojen v Sloveniji, odraščal tle... čeprav je moj oče Hrvat po rodu (ima samo slovensko državljanstvo), še vedno imamo sorodnike na Hrvaškem, moj brat ob enaki vzgoji pa npr. pri športnih dogodkih vedno navija za Hrvaško. Če bi bila situacija na Hrvaškem boljša, bi se takoj preselil v Zagreb. Samo primer, kako težko je pavšalno reči nekaj v zvezi z nacionalno identiteto.”

Gresky, TenEyck, Lord and McIntyre (2005) tried to apply Social Identity Complexity Theory to their research and found that perceived ingroup (stereotype) threat may decrease social identity complexity and increase the potential salience of a single threatened in-group, resulting in lower tolerance of the outgroup.

In our case, a complex ethnic identity would be considered the identity of those who perceive they are Italian, Slovenian and “zamejci”, Friulian, Istrian or whatever else, so that members of one of their ingroups are also considered members of another of their identity groups. Different overlaps reflect different degrees of similarity and differences among ingroup members, but also the relative identification with a part at a given time.

“Belonging to the Italian minority (in Slovenia) is without doubts important to me... it defines my identity in relation to the territory where I live. Undoubtedly, it is a suffered belonging, not easy to manage in every situation. Sometimes it is source of embarrassment for me and for others and sometimes of surprise. The distinguishing elements are: language, family, I mean, the nationality of my parents, having attended schools in Italian language.”²⁰ (Italian minority in Slovenia, INB3)

“... for reasons related to my family's origins (I used to be defined differently from others than I do myself). I wasn't reacting positively to this... I didn't consider as a positive thing at all their associating me to a different identity. And being in adolescence, such situations make you feel you are excluded from the group and this is something that at that age you generally cannot accept.”²¹ (Italian with Istrian ancestry, INT18)

²⁰“L'appartenere alla minoranza italiana è indubbiamente importante in quanto va a definire la mia identità in rapporto al territorio in cui vivo. Indubbiamente, si tratta di un'appartenenza “sofferta” non semplice da gestire in ogni situazione. A volte questa è fonte di imbarazzo per me e per gli altri e qualche volta di stupore. Gli elementi distintivi sono: la lingua, la famiglia, ovvero la nazionalità dei miei genitori, l'aver frequentato le scuole con lingua di insegnamento italiana.”

²¹“...per ragioni di origine della mia famiglia (venivo etichettato diversamente da come mi definisco io). Non reagivo bene, per ragioni culturali tali che non consideravo per niente una cosa positiva il fatto che mi associassero ad una identità diversa. E parlando di un'età adolescenziale queste sono situazioni che ti fanno pensare di sentirti escluso dal gruppo, che a quell'età non puoi accettare, generalmente.”

The last except is an example of “**categorization threat**” (Ellemers, 2009), a threat evoked when a person is seen as a member of a certain group but the person does not see this as desirable or appropriate to one’s own self-definition.

At the same time, it represented for the person an “**exclusion threat**” (Ellemers, 2009), providing fear and feelings that one’s preferred self-identification is not accepted and respected by significant others. This situation is generally common among second generation immigrants, when they feel and see themselves as national citizens, but in the eyes of others are not seen as fully ingroup members.

Frequently non-matching categorizations are explained as lack of knowledge regarding the existence of the minority, be it in Italy or Slovenia and confront the person with negative emotions. A way to cope with this stress is to switch among identities or to try strategies to improve the value of one's ingroup or, alternatively, to go towards adopting a more positive identification, including the mainstream one of the majority group. This strategy would also defend the person from experiencing discrimination to which s/he might be exposed to as minority member.

“... yes, frequently I have been mistakenly seen as Italian from Italy. Every time the usual explanation about the facts that brought to the formation of an Italian national minority in Slovenia followed. I have noticed such lack of knowledge not only in many Italians from Italy, with whom I was in relationship, included those who live in the nearby Trieste... but also from the Slovenian side... in the native territory I have noticed the same problem. Just like Italians from Italy, they (Slovenians) did not know about the existence of the Italian minority in Slovenia. On the other hand, Slovenians do know well about Slovene minorities at the other side of the border. This is mainly due to a lack of information, at the scholastic level as well... lacking information about the Italian community in Slovenian history books. At the Italian side neither there is mention about those who remained.”²² (Italian minority in Slovenia, INB3)

22“... spesso sono stato scambiato per italiano d’Italia. Ogni volta è seguita la solita spiegazione su i fatti che hanno portato alla formazione di una minoranza nazionale italiana in Slovenia. Ho riscontrato tale deficit conoscitivo non solo in buona parte degli italiani d’Italia, con cui ho avuto delle relazioni, compresi quelli residenti nella vicina Trieste. Da parte slovena anche sul proprio territorio natio ho riscontrato spesso lo stesso problema, che riguardava anche gli sloveni provenienti dalle altre regioni slovene, i quali alla pari degli italiani d’Italia ignorano l’esistenza stessa della minoranza italiana in Slovenia. Gli sloveni però conoscono bene le minoranze slovene d’oltreconfine.

Being asked about the positive and the negative aspects of belonging to a minority, the same respondent explains them very concisely:

“The little possibility of speaking and listening to one's own language in public and private contexts, the bad translations that offend and mistreat the language itself and the dignity of those who speak it, the situation of relational ghetto and the marginalisation in social life where the use of Italian is often interned, that is, to the domestic home environment and if someone is lucky to work in Italian schools and at the RTV (radio, TV) in Capodistria/Koper; the lack of a true identity of the Italian community, the financial and economic weakness that often obliges the national Italian community to depend from the political will in power at the moment... these are the problems that negatively affect one's sense of belonging. Regarding the things that positively influence national belonging, instead, there is the awareness of the richness and beauty of Italian culture and art, and some internationally known Italian brands and products.”²³ (Italian minority in Slovenia, INB3)

Beside language issues in Istra, though, Miklavcic (2006) noted a tendency of negation of diversity also in the city of Trieste, conveyed by several discourses of exclusion against both historical and new minorities' rights. She observes:

“The Slovene minority has been the target of hatred by right-wing Italian groups who see the use of Slovene language as endangering the Italianness of this border area; their longstanding slogan “Bilingualism never” has been present in a variety of settings from wall graffiti, to political rallies, to the soccer stadium. (...)”

“(...)The graffiti, Basta sciavi [Enough with Slavs] is one such example.

Questo fatto è principalmente dovuto ad una mancanza d'informazione, anche a livello scolastico, qui mi riferisco principalmente all'omissione di qualsiasi riferimento alla Comunità Italiana nei testi di storia sloveni. Per la parte italiana i manuali menzionano da poco la giornata del ricordo, nessun riferimento è invece riscontrabile sui rimasti.”

23 “La scarsa possibilità di parlare o di ascoltare la propria lingua in contesti pubblici e privati, le traduzioni improbabili che offendono e maltrattano la lingua stessa e la dignità di chi la parla, la situazione di ghetto relazionale e di marginalizzazione della vita sociale in cui spesso è confinato l'uso dell'italiano, ovvero in ambito domestico e per chi ha la fortuna di lavorare nelle scuole italiane e nella RTV di Capodistria, la mancanza di una soggettività vera della Comunità Italiana, la debolezza finanziaria ed economica che spesso mette al palo numerose iniziative della Comunità nazionale italiana e la costringe a dipendere dalla volontà del politico di turno, sono problemi che agiscono negativamente sul senso di appartenenza. Per quanto riguarda le cose che influenzano positivamente l'appartenenza nazionale vi è la consapevolezza della ricchezza e bellezza della cultura e dell'arte italiana nonché la riconoscibilità a livello internazionale di alcuni prodotti o marchi italiani.”

Sciavi is a derogatory term used to define Slovenes and other Slavs in general(...) The message, or more precisely, the threat, is directed against both the Slovene minority and the new immigrants who come from the former Yugoslavia. Another revealing example is the graffiti: Basta Immigrati [Enough with Immigrants].” (Miklavcic, 2006²⁴)

Similarly, Segatti’s research (2008: 87) documented that from 20 to 26% of Italophone respondents (N=1122) interviewed in 2008 felt negative emotions, such as anger or bother when hearing a conversation in Slovenian in public spaces such as in a bus, at a post office or at the municipality in Trieste or Gorizia. The same reaction was shown by 8-14% of Slovenian respondents (N=742) of the coastal region when hearing an Italian conversation in same situations. Positive feelings of pride and satisfaction accounted for 12% of Italophones in Italy and 40% of Slovenophones in Slovenia. The author posits that those who are more bothered by the linguistic diversity and bilingualism witnessed in institutional situations are more likely those who exhibit high national identifications (with Italy), since in this border area language most often reflects a different national belonging.

Many of our informants perceive the recent socio-political changes contribute to increase general knowledge about Slovenia and its more positive evaluation, compared to the past, when the territory was under Yugoslavia. This, in turn, makes the person more proud to assert his or her national identity.

As Velikonja (2002) puts it, in the political, cultural and media discourses terms like “Yugoslavia” and “the Balkans” were commonly associated with communism and socialism with negative connotations, often seen as synonyms for backwardness, disorder, wildness, poverty, etc. On the contrary, Europe was seen as synonym for developed world, prosperity, democracy, freedom, etc.

“I am half Italian, half Slovenian. Things are changing. In past for those Slovenians who were from Yugoslavia this was almost a shame at the western side. They were considered as deserving pity for their living in a country with no freedom, where there was poverty, etc. Today, instead, if you say you are from Slovenia, those who know it, usually praise its beauty

²⁴Source: <http://www.theslovenian.com/articles/2008/miklavcic.pdf>

and in this sense nowadays national identification is easier, an element of pride.²⁵”(Slovenian, INM7014)

Minorities in general, however, both national minorities and immigrants, are more vulnerable to assimilation pressures from the majority group, which has more demographic strength, prestige and institutional power. Minority members, are therefore, more likely to be influenced by the perceived tolerance and acceptance of dominant groups.

“I define myself as Slovenian. Self-designation of course can change according to situations, often under different types of pressures, hardly ever consciously and completely freely.²⁶”(Slovene minority in Italy, INO617)

Several respondents link their sense of belonging to Slovenia for their cultural roots and mother tongue and to Italian fellow citizens at the same time, because they share with them ways of life and mentality, confirming that, beside group membership in terms of ethnic and national identities, certain group features may be shared with non-members and not shared, instead, with groups who could be considered members living in a different geographic area (Cohen & Horenczyk, 1999).

“To be a minority member to me means to feel similarly to other members of the Slovenophone group who live in Italy, on the western side of the Slovene country that used to be one of the Yugoslavian republics, and thus with their language, culture, thinking, way of life, considering also the fact that my thinking is very close to those I interact with - co-citizens that are members of the majority group.²⁷”(Slovene minority in Italy, INO617)

25 “Sem pol Italijan, pol Slovenec. Mislim, da se spreminja. Nekoč, za tiste Slovence, ki so bili prav iz Jugoslavije, je na zahodu bila to skoraj sramota. Vsekakor so bili pomilovanja vredni, ker so živeli v državi, kjer ni bilo svobode, je bila revščina itd. Danes, če rečeš, da si iz Slovenije, tisti ki to vedo, običajno hvalijo lepoto te dežele in v tem smislu, je danes narodna istovetnost lažje povezana s ponosom.”

26 “Opredeljujem se kot Slovenka. Samoopredelitev posameznika se seveda lahko spremeni glede na okoliščine, običajno pod različnimi tipi pritiska, težje zavestno in popolnoma svobodno.

27 “Pomeni mi sorodno čutenje s skupino slovensko govorečih ljudi, ki živijo v Italiji, ob zahodni meji slovenske države (prej ene izmed republik SFRJ), torej z njihovim jezikom, kulturo, razmišljanjem, načinom življenja, ob upoštevanju dejstva, da lahko zelo blizu svojemu razmišljanju najdem in interagiram s sodržavljanji-člani večinskega naroda.”

The relationship of the identity with the local territory and its characteristics was often stressed.

“I always introduce myself as Slovenian and explain that I am from Trieste. In fact you must adapt the description depending on the person you talk to, but only in the sense that I stress something...”²⁸ (Slovene minority in Italy, INNT5)

The importance of adapting malleably to the context and the local cultural communities also emerged from several interviews, especially in some forms of identification that we previously defined as regional and specific (as “zamejci”).

“Sense of belonging in my opinion is something compound that cannot be limited to two or three concepts such as language and place of birth. A typical example is the “Istrianness”, multiform and compound in its becoming and capable of modeling itself to situations, places, very diverse socio-politic and institutional contexts. It is a common way of feeling, living, a way of life that originates from culture – literature, direct experiences, symbols, places... and is translated into the ability to adapt without losing one's essence and one's own ideals and values. It is important, in my opinion, to avoid transforming everything into an ideology and going from a harmonic mixture and cultural intermingling to a situation of contrast.”²⁹ (Italian minority in Slovenia, INB3)

In opposition to those who feel their ethnic identity at high levels using simple labels, there are those who tend to feel either more cosmopolitan, without negating their roots and affiliations to certain groups, but finding a common denomination for all the categories they feel equally belonging to, or those who identify with more creative self-labels in order to include within one term the essence of what they feel, a blend of different aspects.

²⁸ “Vedno se predstavim kot Slovenec in pojasnim, da sem s Trsta. Predstavitev sicer moraš menjat odvisno s kom govoriš, a le v smislu, da poudarim nekaj...”

²⁹ “Il senso di appartenenza è qualcosa di composito che secondo me non va racchiuso in un ambito di due o tre concetti tipo: lingua-luogo di nascita. Un classico esempio è l'istriannità, multiforme e composita nel suo divenire e capace di modellarsi in situazioni, luoghi, contesti socio-politici e istituzionali tra i più disparati. E' un comune modo di sentire, di vivere, un “way of life” che trae origine dalla cultura - letteraria, di esperienze dirette, di simboli e luoghi e si traduce in capacità di adattamento senza snaturare o perdere i propri valori e ideali. L'importante, secondo me, è evitare di trasformare il tutto in ideologia e passare quindi da una situazione di commistione armonica e di mescolanza culturale, ad una di contrapposizione.”

“I am very proud of what I am... I think I am a kind of merge of Friulian and Slovenian cultures that were always present in this territory.³⁰” (Slovene minority in Italy, INGO9)

“To be a member of a minority doesn't mean anything to me, in the sense that I have always felt a human being with my roots that are not exclusively Slovenian... Without significant differences... I cannot (ethnically define myself)... I am a son of this land, Goričan (inhabitant of Gorizia). Half Slovenian, half Friulian, but neither I can say I am not Italian. A human being is and has the right to be what s/he feels, based on national values that s/he received in infancy or that were discovered later in life.³¹” (Slovene minority in Italy, INGO8)

In this interview the difficulty of choosing a single label for groups categorisations is evident: its adoption would not fit the subjective sense of belonging which is clearly multiple, a mixture of ethnic, national and local elements.

Moreover, the voluntarist element of “feeling” is mentioned as a central discriminant element that everybody should be entitled to in deciding who one is. The second issue raised concerns socialization and acculturation taking place throughout one's life, more passively accepted and enforced in childhood, and an active choice or a rediscovery in adulthood.

“Honestly, I am not very favourable toward the concept of national sense of belonging, at least not in its traditional meaning as exclusion of and from other realities. I feel a sort of “hybrid”, happy to be it for the fact of fitting well in whatever geographic or relational/social context. I believe this national non-belongingness is a richness. Thanks to this way of perceiving oneself, I think, one can appreciate better the many components of belongingness, because it is an inclusive and not an exclusive belongingness.³²” (Italian minority in Slovenia, INR2)

30“Jaz sem zelo ponosen na to, kar sem. Mislim, da sem nekaka sinteza med furlansko in slovensko kulturo, ki sta bili vedno prisotni na tem ozemlju.”

31“Biti pripadnik manjšine mi ne pomeni nič, v smislu da sem se vedno čutil človek s svojimi koreninami, ki niso izključno slovenske... Brez bistvenih razlik... Ne morem... Sem sin domače zemlje, Goričan. Pol Slovenec, pol Furlan, pa tudi ne morem reči, da sploh nisem Italijan. Človek je in ima pravico biti to, kar se čuti, na podlagi narodnih vrednot, ki jih je dobil v zibelki ali ki jih je kasneje odkril.”

Very often informants explain their multiple identities are stable and self-confident, but their self-presentations do change depending on the situation.

“I have a strong, stable and self-confident identity: I am Slovenian and Friulian. I try to become day by day more open toward others, but I think I will always remain what I am. The environment will not change my ethnic-national identity, even though I present myself differently in different situations. For instance, if I introduce myself to an Italian, I tell him/her that I am Slovenian and Friulan and of course an Italian citizen, while if I introduce myself to a foreigner, I first of all say that I come from Italy and that I have Italian citizenship, afterwards I explain him/her my identity.”³³ (Slovene minority in Italy, INGO9)

As we can notice, in both cases, when introducing himself to an Italian or to someone of another nationality, the respondent stresses his Italian citizenship as a common identification element or as a national - territorial identity marker. Secondly, he endeavors in explaining the peculiarities of his sense of belonging as Slovenian and Friulian. The perception of the self gains in richness, providing the person with a complex multifaceted identity that integrates a variety of historical and cultural roots (McGoldrick, Giordano & Garcia-Preto, 2005) that a simple linguistic label cannot always reflect.

In some cases the tendency to introduce oneself differently to various people is a means of simplification. In other cases it serves to define with more clarity and particularization one's sense of self that would otherwise be lost in generalizations of those who do not know minority realities.

On the other hand, similar behaviours are often subject to criticism from Slovenians.

32 *“Sinceramente il senso di appartenenza nazionale è un concetto che non mi trova molto favorevole, almeno nella sua accezione più classica (appartenenza etnico/nazionale = esclusione di e da altre realtà). Mi sento una sorta di “bastardo”, felice di esserlo, per il fatto di trovarmi bene in qualunque contesto geografico o relazionale/sociale. Ritengo tutto ciò (la non-appartenenza nazionale) una ricchezza. In virtù di tale modo di sentirsi, credo che si riescano ad apprezzare meglio le tante componenti dell'appartenenza proprio perchè si tratta di un'appartenenza inclusiva e non esclusiva. Non rinnego nessun aspetto culturale, paesaggistico, sociale o anche emotivo.”*

33 *“Imam visoko samozavest in ustaljeno identiteto: sem Slovenec in Furlan. Skušam postajati čim bolj odprt do ostalih, toda mislim, da bom vedno ostal to, kar sem. Okolje ne bo spremenilo moje etnične-nacionalne identitete, čeprav se v različnih okoliščinah različno predstavim. Na primer... če se predstavim Italijanu, mu bom povedal, da sem Slovenec in Furlan in seveda italijanski državljan, če pa se predstavim tujcu, mu bom najprej povedal, da prihajam iz Italije in da imam italijansko državljanstvo, potem pa mu bom pojasnil svojo identiteto.”*

“The issue of minorities is a fairly folk concept nowadays. Hand on heart, every Slovenian in Italy can feel as much Slovenian as his/her heart wishes to. S/he has Slovene schools available there and if those are not enough in Italy, then they can access the ones in Slovenia. Nobody would hit you if you speak Slovenian, information of all sorts is broadly available through the net and other media so that you are notified all the time (of events, etc...). But I would emphasize something else: the attitude of “zamejci”.

We perceive you as drinking from the sink which is closest to you in a given moment and accordingly you adapt to it everything, from language to thought. You, zamejci, have since always expected a lot from the mother country: money for the most various activities...

You are and will be a world on your own, and we, at this side, will never understand you nor approve. A Slovenian proudly says “no, thanks” when s/he feels s/he is being bought. This is not so for you at all. A typical “zamejec” will speak Italian in a Slovenian restaurant in order to be better served, same like in Croatia, while in Italy it will depend on whom you are talking with. In short, a lot of manipulations for one's own interest.

I cannot actually overgeneralize, but in general this is so. And how can one then talk about sensitivity towards diversity and minorities? You, minorities, have exactly the position that matches the goal you want to achieve. Otherwise I have a positive attitude towards diversity, when it does not pretend to be something else according to the benefits of the moment or of the situation.³⁴” (Slovenian respondent, INNG6)

The examples mentioned by this respondent and found in other interviews do not refer just to self-presentation, but to the switching of one's ethnic identity according to the self-interest of the moment. Significantly, this thread of discourse is the most frequent criticism directed at Slovene minority in Italy by the informants from Slovenia.

³⁴“Mislim, da so manjšine precej folkloren pojem v današnji dobi. Vsak od Slovencev v Italiji je, roko na srce, lahko Slovenec toliko, kot mu srce poželi. Na razpolago ima slovenske šole, če ne zadoščajo tiste v Italiji, so na razpolago in dostopne tudi te v Sloveniji, nihče te ne kresne po glavi, če govoriš slovensko, informacijska mreža je danes dovolj razvita, da ste o vsem pravočasno obveščeni... predvsem bi izpostavila nekaj drugega: zamejsko držo. Čutimo vas kot dvoživke v tem smislu, da se napajate pri tistem koritu, ki vam je trenutno bližje in temu prilagodite vse, od jezika do miselnosti. Zamejci ste od nekdaj pričakovali od svoje matice nemogoče: denar za najrazličnejše dejavnosti, ki so sila sama sebi namen. Ste in boste svet zase, ki ga na tej strani ne bomo nikoli ne razumeli ne odobraval. Slovenec s ponosom reče “ne, hvala”, ko začuti, da ga nekdo kupuje. Pri vas pa tega kar ni in ni zaznati. Tipičen Slovenec v Italiji bo v slovenski gostilni govoril italijansko, ker bo tako bolje postrežen, prav tako na Hrvaškem, v Italiji pa zavisi od tega, s kom se pogovarja. Skratka, še in še manipulacij za lasten interes. Ne morem sicer posploševati, a večinoma kar drži. In kako naj človek po tem dejstvu govori o občutljivosti za položaj manjšin? Manjšinci imate točno tak položaj, kot ga narekuje cilj. Do drugačnosti pa imam sicer zelo pozitiven odnos takrat, ko se ne pretvarja in se ne drugači v skladu s trenutno koristjo.”

The concept of invoking and claiming membership in different ethnic groups based on convenience is described as “**situational ethnicity**”.

The motivations behind this behaviour can be various.

First, if we consider ethnic identity contextual, then we reasonably expect that a person can feel a particular group membership in a certain situation, but not in another one and/or in a different time frame. People have flexible and dynamic social identities and tend to behave according to the identity that is salient at the time in a certain context (Onorato & Tumer, 2004).

Secondly, switching ethnic identities can improve access to resources, including both state and other material resources (economic, political) and social capital resources.

“The issue of self-labeling is very delicate, because it is something that can be manipulated for non-personal aims...³⁵” (Italian minority in Slovenia, INR2)

“Such situations (of switching between identities situationally) happen every day and give us an idea about others' perceptions and especially about how this perception conditions our social relations at every level (personal, relational, professional). There are those who live with several identities to use depending on situations or who one is talking to, just like the purse full of different types of credit cards... Undoubtedly there are some advantages in doing this. For my nature I tend not to behave in such a way, paying the consequences in terms of material gains and social acceptance. But I cannot exclude any of my identities to focus on one only in particular.³⁶” (Italian minority in Slovenia, INR2)

“Istrian regional identity is for sure an identity that allows you to feel part of the territory where you live, more at the Croatian side than at the Slovenian one, even though it is a weak identity compared to other

³⁵“La questione dell'autoetichettamento è molto delicata, perchè è uno strumento che può essere manipolato per fini assolutamente non personali.”

³⁶“Sono situazioni che accadono quotidianamente e che ci danno l'idea di quale sia la percezione altrui e soprattutto di come tale percezione condiziona le nostre relazioni sociali a qualsiasi livello (personale, sentimentale, professionale). C'è chi vive con un carnet di identità da utilizzare a seconda della situazione o dell'interlocutore, come il portafogli ricolmo di carte di credito di ogni tipo.... Ci sono indubbiamente dei vantaggi. Per mia natura tendo a non comportarmi in questo modo, pagandone le conseguenze in termini di vantaggi materiali ed accettazione sociale. Ma preferisco essere “bastardo” fino in fondo. Nel senso che non riesco ad escludere nessuna delle mie identità o a focalizzarmi su una in particolare.”

national identities contending sense of ethnic belonging in the territory. The Italian one is still seen by the majority as something foreign, imported. To state one's own identity, in a context of big fluidity of ethnic borders in Istria, is more and more an expression of advantages in specific relational situations that are directly reflected in socio-economic and occupational opportunities, which lead the individual to assert or not one's own ethnic distinctivity. For example, in public institutions in Capodistria the use of Italian is often source of useless complications for employees and, thus, such attitude discourages language use. Thus, it is not surprising the gap between acquired rights and the implementation of them has not been reduced yet with the switching from a multinational federative state which was socialistically oriented to a mono-national democratic one.³⁷” (Italian minority in Slovenia, INB3)

People can gain from business partnerships with others (Ooka & Wellman 2003), but can also invoke different identities in order to strengthen and broaden their social network both with other community members and with the majority group. Having support and good relationships with both groups facilitates their adjustment.

Beside self-interest, however, identity changes that are reflected in language switching can also indicate a weakening ethnic (minority) identity and the desire to switch from one group to another by acquiring a good language performance of the dominant group and losing the minority language.

As we have seen, in fact, language is an important marker for moving from “they” to “us”.

37 “L’identità regionale istriana è sicuramente un’identità che ti permette di sentirti parte del territorio in cui vivi, di più nella parte croata che in quella slovena, pur nella sua forma di identità debole rispetto le altre identità nazionali che si contendono l’appartenenza etnica sul territorio. Quella italiana è tuttora vista dalla gran parte della maggioranza come qualcosa di estraneo, d’importato. Dichiarare la propria identità, in un contesto di grande fluidità dei confini etnici in Istria, è sempre di più espressione di convenienza in rapporto a specifiche situazioni relazionali, con dei diretti riflessi sulle possibilità socio-economiche ed occupazionali, che spingono il singolo a far valere o meno la propria distinctività etnica. Ad es. se nelle istituzioni pubbliche del Capodistriano l’uso dell’italiano è spesso fonte di inutili complicazioni per gli impiegati comunali e, pertanto, tale atteggiamento disincentiva l’uso della lingua. Con questa premessa, pertanto, non è da stupirsi se la forbice esistente tra diritti acquisiti e versante applicativo non sia stata né ridotta né colmata nel trapasso da uno stato federativo multinazionale di stampo socialista ad uno stato mono-nazionale democratico.”

According to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978), if one group membership cannot provide a positive social identity, the person may try to leave the group and join the other one who is seen having a better position (social mobility) or seek new ways of intergroup comparison that would favor one's own group (social creativity).

5.3.14 Optimal distinctiveness

Minority members often stress differences and similarities with the majority groups.

A reoccurring observation is summarized by a young representative of the Slovene minority:

“...to be “zamejski Slovenec” (a Slovenian from the other side of the border) doesn't mean to be a “slovenski Slovenec” (Slovene Slovenian). We are different, even though we have the same roots.³⁸”(IND866)

Very often Slovene minority members try to distinguish themselves from both Italians and Slovenians. This can be explained by the Optimal Distinctiveness Theory that we adopted.

The label “zamejci” itself allows Slovene minority members to define themselves “with flexible, malleable and dynamic boundaries, feeling varying degrees of 'closeness' and 'distance' in perceived (dis)similarity and identification with Slovenes in the 'mother nation' and the Italian majority” (Kosic, forthcoming).

³⁸“...biti zamejski slovenec ne pomeni biti slovenski Slovenec. Smo drugačni, čeprav imamo iste korenine.”

5.3.15 Perceived intra- and inter-group similarities

H 11: All the group members will perceive themselves more similar to a typical member of the in-group rather than of the out-group.

H 12: (Slovene) Minority members will perceive greater similarities toward target outgroups (Italians, Slovenians) that are potentially their in-groups (at varying degrees of overlap).

H 15: Majority members high identifiers with a less complex social identity structure will show greater intergroup differentiation (i.e. they will perceive more differences between in-group and target outgroups).

The concept of identity implies two possible parameters of comparison in interpersonal relations: similarity and difference (Wodak 2009: 13).

First, we rated perceived similarity between the subject and a typical member of their in-group vs. the two target out groups.

- There was a significant difference between groups regarding **perceived similarity to a typical Italian**, $\chi^2(4, N = 415) = 138.50, p = < 0.001$.

Italian respondents were those who rated similarities with their in-group at the highest level, while Slovenians, for whom Italians are considered out-group, were more likely to see none or little similarity with the target group (75%).

44% of the Italian respondents perceive themselves a lot or completely similar to a typical Italian (in-group), the relative majority of them (48%) feel so only somewhat.

For the other two target groups, the perceived similarity to Italians (out-group) at the highest levels is for 20% of the Slovene minority members (45% with average perceived similarity) and 5% of the Slovenes (20% somewhat similar).

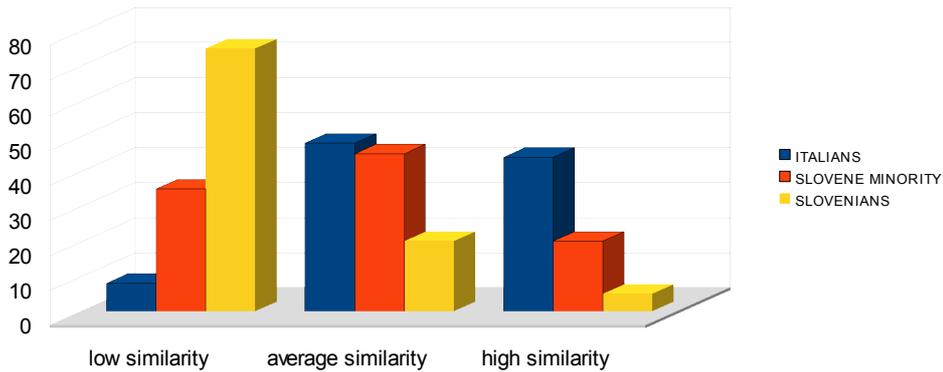


Figure 54: Perceived similarity to a typical Italian (%)

- There was a significant difference between groups regarding **perceived similarity to a typical member of the Slovene minority in Italy**, $\chi^2 (4, N = 415) = 66.77, p = <0.001$.

Slovene minority members perceive the utmost similarity with a typical member of their in-group in 42% of the cases.

For the other two groups Slovene minority are out groups. Italians perceive themselves not at all or a little similar to a typical member of the Slovene minority in around 60% of the cases, and only 5% very much or completely similar. Similarly, only 15% of Slovenians from Slovenia feel high degrees of similarity with the target minority, while 39% perceives almost no similarity.

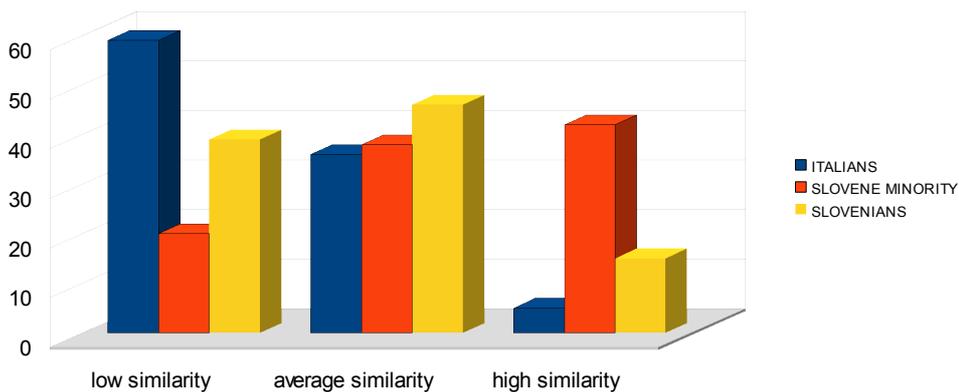


Figure 55: Perceived similarity to a typical member of the Slovene minority (%)

- There was a significant difference between groups regarding **perceived similarity to a typical Slovenian**, $\chi^2(4, N = 415) = 135.16, p = <0.001$.

72% of Italian respondents in our sample feel none or little similarity with a typical Slovenian from Slovenia, while only 3% of them express high rates of affinity.

Interestingly, among the Slovene minority members, only 14% of them perceive huge or complete similarity with typical Slovenians from Slovenia (vs. 53% of the Slovenians that feel completely similar to a typical member of their in-group), 38% say they are somewhat similar, the rest (49%) notices little or none similarity with the target group.

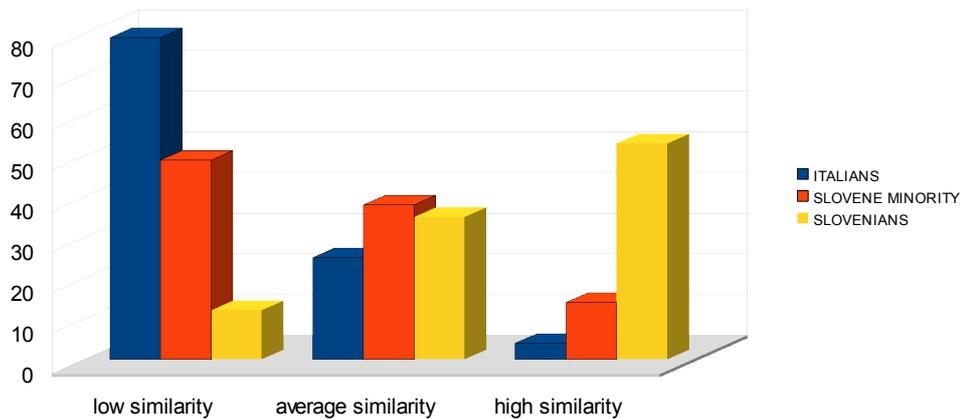


Figure 56: Perceived similarity to a typical Slovenian (%)

- There was no significant difference between groups regarding **perceived similarity to a typical Muslim**.

All the respondents across groups perceived themselves different from a typical Muslim (90% of Italians, 93% of Slovene minority members and 92% of Slovenians). None of the Italians and only two cases for each of the Slovenophone groups express high levels of similarities with the target group.

- There was a significant difference between groups regarding **perceived similarity to a typical Catholic**, $\chi^2(4, N = 415) = 14.27, p = 0.01$.

There were more respondents in the Italian group (25%) feeling higher degrees of similarities with a typical Catholic than in the Slovene minority (18%) and Slovenian samples (12%).

The least similarity is perceived by the Slovenians (64%), compared to 53% of minority respondents and 41% of the Italian sample.

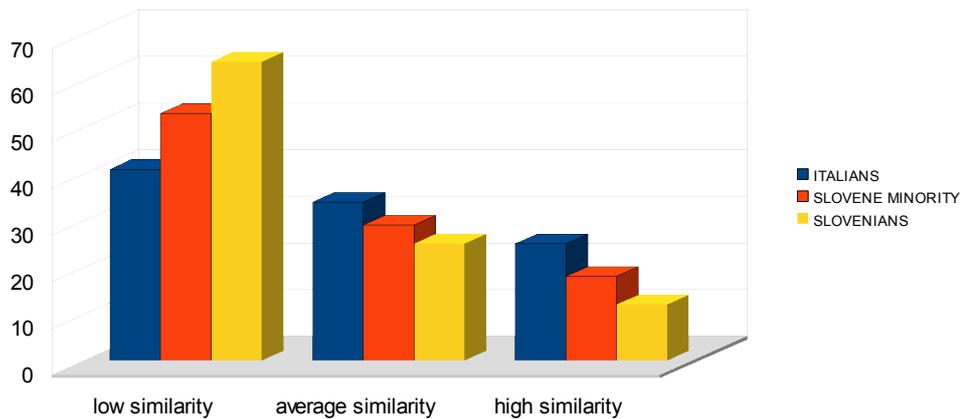


Figure 57: Perceived similarity to a typical Catholic (%)

5.4 OUTGROUP ATTITUDES

5.4.1 Social distance toward in-group and out-group

H16: Outgroup attitudes will be different in minority and majority members. Minority status and social identity complexity will have a significant effect as predictors on measures of outgroup attitude.

The next set of findings reconfirmed that, as predicted by the similarity-attraction hypothesis (Osbeck, Mogghaddam & Perreault, 1997), people are more willing to associate with a target group as perceived similarity with that outgroup increases (Kosic & Caudek, 2005).

The disparity hypothesis (Bahk, Woesti & Cushing, 2003) suggests that the greater the perceived difference (less perceived similarities) with outgroup members, the lower the inclination to get involved in intergroup interactions with them.

Nevertheless, in general all the groups of our sample showed quite an open attitude toward other outgroups in the questionnaire responses, with no significant differences among them, unlike in previous data (Kosic, 2004; Kosic & Caudek, 2005).

- There was a significant difference between groups regarding **social distance toward Slovenians**, $\chi^2 (6, N = 415) = 73.37, p = 0.001$.

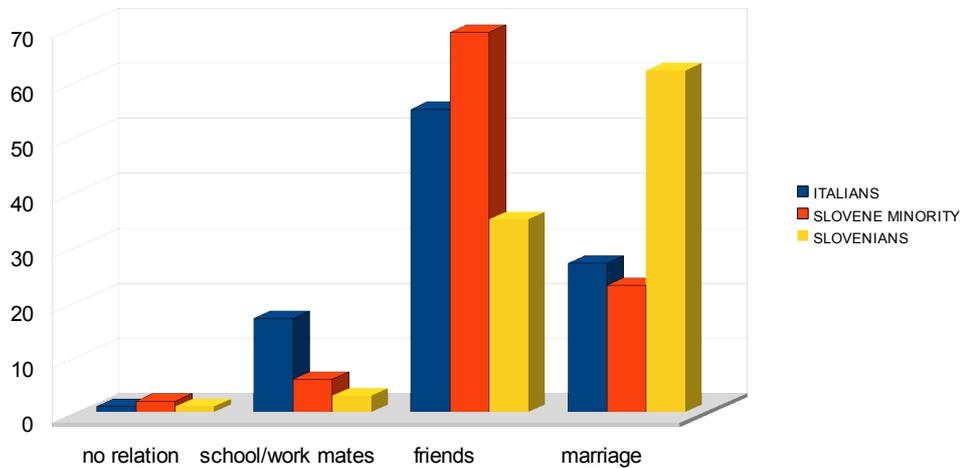


Figure 58: Social distance toward Slovenians (%)

- There was a significant difference between groups regarding **social distance toward Slovene minority members**, $\chi^2 (6, N = 415) = 17.55, p = 0.01$.

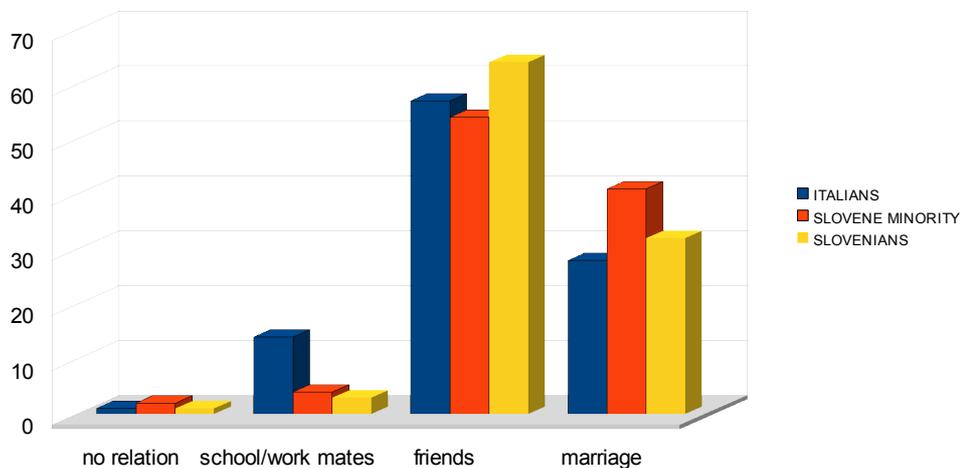


Figure 59: Social distance toward Slovene minority members (%)

- There was a significant difference between groups regarding **social distance toward Italians**, $\chi^2 (6, N = 415) = 54.91, p = 0.01$.

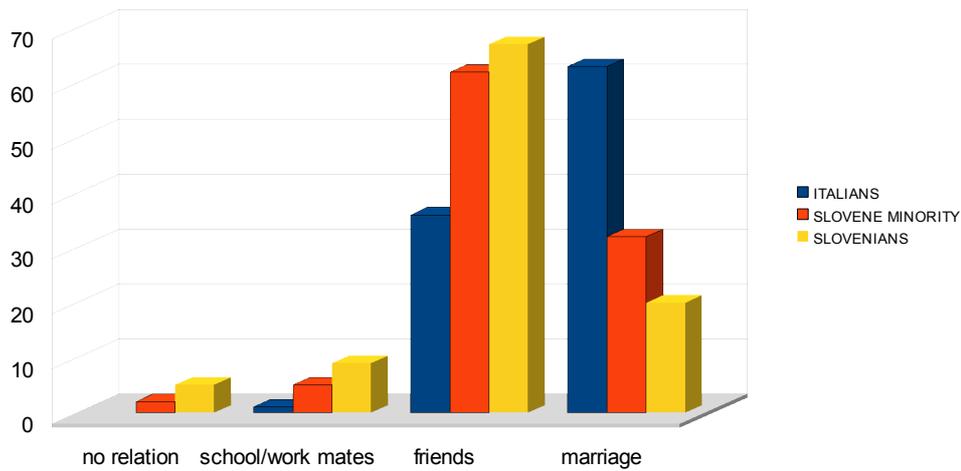


Figure 60: Social distance toward Italians (%)

- There was no significant difference between groups regarding **social distance toward Muslims.**

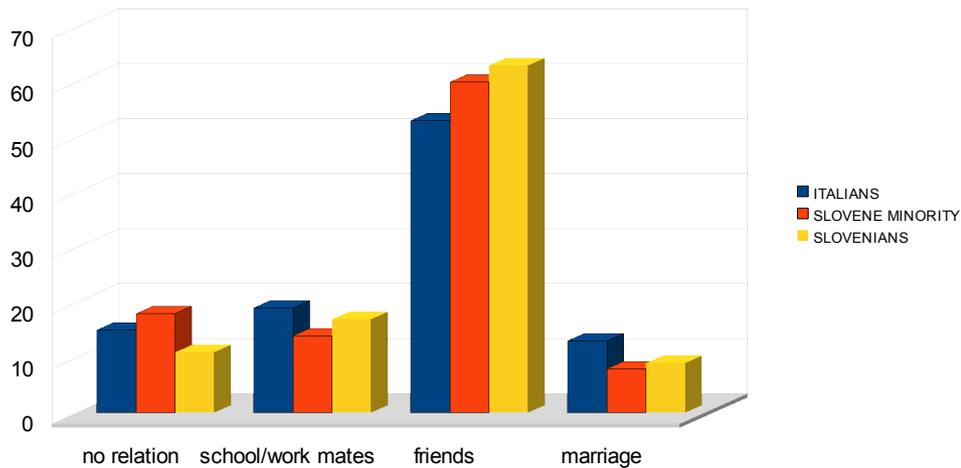


Figure 61: Social distance toward Muslims (%)

From the responses similar patterns of behaviour emerge toward each target group. The higher is the perceived similarity with the target group, the closer the relationship one is willing to engage into with a member of the in-group or out-group, particularly when dealing with marriage.

This may be explained by the religio-cultural value homophily, defined as the "principle that a contact between similar people occurs at a higher rate than

among dissimilar people" (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001:416-419). People love to interact and establish bonds with similar others, similar in terms of ethnicity, religious beliefs, values, cultural traditions, spoken language, education, etc. According to Mc Pherson and other researchers (2001), of the different sociodemographic variables that support homophily in social networks, race and ethnicity are the most salient.

Our data appear to confirm that similarity results in attraction. Perception of intergroup differences affects general out-group contacts, friendship relations and social distance toward members of outgroups (Moghaddam, 2002). Primary relations of friendships and marriage tend to remain ethnically homogeneous.

People seem to distance from those who are perceived more different from their ingroup. Avoidance of intergroup contact can stem from prejudices related to a certain group or from unfamiliarity and related anxiety, beside other factors.

An effective way to reduce prejudices and stereotypes, bringing people from different cultures closer to each other, would be to educate them about similarities and differences in a more systematic way, since information and increased sense of familiarity would then contribute to a better mutual understanding.

5.4.2 Attitude toward mixed marriages

A section of the in-depth interviews dealt with attitude toward mixed marriages.

The question was general and did not mention any specific ethnic groups, but the first thought in most of the respondents went to mixed marriages between partners of different cultural-religious backgrounds. The respondents showing this line of thought were generally those who did not have direct experiences of mixed marriages and knew no friends who married someone from a different culture or religion.

“I am not against (mixed marriages), but there need to be anyway balance and respect for the diversities of each other beyond cultural or religious differences, without imposing only one...”³⁹ (Italian informant,)

“they are normal: if a man and a woman like each other, why shouldn't they marry? I think within a couple the fact of being of different cultures is not an obstacle at all. It is for others, first of all for one's parents.”⁴⁰ (non-Slovenian minority in Italy, INSW1)

“Mixed marriages depend on nationality and religious diversity. In my opinion impositive religions like the one of Muslim cannot anyhow coexist in a marriage with any other religion. There are already multiple cultural and social differences between the North and South of Italy, you can imagine how many would be there with Muslims!⁴¹” (Italian respondent, INMI)

“Personally I am against marriages with persons of different cultures. It's already difficult to keep alive a relationship between persons that live the same culture, can't imagine in a more complicated and diverse situation!⁴²” (Italian, INT6019)

³⁹“Non sono contraria, ma bisogna comunque cercare un equilibrio e rispettare le diversità l'uno dell'altro al di là delle differenze culturali o religiose senza imporre solo una...”

⁴⁰“...sono normali, se un uomo e una donna si piacciono, perché non si devono sposare? Penso che all'interno della coppia il fatto di essere di culture diverse non sia affatto un ostacolo. Lo sono per gli altri, in primis i genitori.”

⁴¹“Penso che dipenda dalla nazionalità e dalla diversità religiosa. Reputo che religioni impositive come quella dei musulmani non possano in alcun modo coesistere in un matrimonio con nessun'altra. Ci sono già molteplici differenze culturali/sociali tra nord e sud dell'Italia, figuriamoci con i musulmani!”

In rare cases the negative experience of the informant influenced their view on mixed marriages.

“I have been married for 10 years with an Arab man, because I have never seen any difference between races, but the difference is there for those who do not want to evolve and believe that passing the border of their country allows them also to go beyond respecting not only laws, but morality also. I still feel disgust for Arab people, but I also had positive experiences with some of them, when they liberated themselves from preconceived ideas and limits as I did.⁴³” (Italian respondent, INF16)

In some other cases, instead, respondents had a first hand experience of a mixed marriage between Italians and Slovenians. These interviewees were clearly more positive oriented toward such experiences with diversity that contributed, inter alia, to their own national awareness.

“with time then you discover that there are different habits between you... soup for lunch on Sundays that is typical for Slovenians... definitely not in Italy... or “gnocchi” with plums... the experience of “taborniki” (non-Catholic scouts) of entire generations... a deeply felt and rooted cultural identity... the common knowledge of ballroom dancing... small differences through which I realized my Italianness... in the relationship with my husband who is Slovenian... because you become aware of certain behaviours, habits, attitudes, mentality, traditions that you have... religious also... that only in comparison with something different can emerge clearly...⁴⁴” (Italian respondent, INEPS5)

42“Personalmente sono contraria a matrimoni con persone di culture diverse. E’ già difficile mantenere vivo il rapporto tra persone che vivono la stessa cultura, figuriamoci una situazione diversa e ancora più ingarbugliata.”

43“Sono stata sposata 10 anni con un uomo arabo, perché non ho mai visto nessuna differenza tra razze, eppure la differenza c’è per chi non si vuole evolvere e crede di attraversare il confine del proprio Paese gli permette anche di evadere al rispetto non solo delle leggi ma della morale. Io tuttora ho un grande ribrezzo per i popoli arabi, ciò non toglie che ho avuto anche belle esperienze con alcuni di loro in quando si sono liberati da preconcetti e dai limiti come lo ho fatto io. Io tuttora ho un grande ribrezzo per i popoli arabi, ciò non toglie che ho avuto anche belle esperienze con alcuni di loro in quando si sono liberati da preconcetti e dai limiti come lo ho fatto io.”

44“... col tempo scopri che ci sono abitudini diverse... il brodo a pranzo la domenica tipico degli sloveni... in Italia decisamente non te la darà nessuno... mi sconvolge tutte le volte... o gli gnocchi con i susini... l’esperienza da “taborniki” di intrere generazioni... un’identità culturale molto sentita, radicata... la conoscenza diffusa del ballo liscio... piccole differenze attraverso le quali ho preso anche coscienza della mia italianità... nel rapporto con mio marito che è sloveno... perchè ti rendi conto di certi tuoi comportamenti, abitudini, atteggiamenti, mentalità, tradizioni... che solo nel confronto con la diversità possono emergere chiaramente...”

5.4.3 Intra- and inter-group contact

H 13: Minority and majority members will have different patterns of intergroup friendships.

H 14: We predict that individuals with more cross-group friendships and interaction opportunities with out-group members will have more positive attitudes towards them.

Preference for similar others can affect friendship networks as well (Mc Pherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001).

Asking participants whom do they associate mostly with in the community, neighborhood or district where they live, 57% of the Slovene minority respondents report to associate equally both with Slovenians and Italians.

The two majority groups associate mainly with in-group members (76% of Italians, 72% of Slovenians). 11% of Italians and 28% of Slovenians say they interact equally with members of their own and other groups. Furthermore, 14% of Italians report to associate almost exclusively with non-Italians.

Most of the respondents, especially the majority members, have friendship bonds and contact almost exclusively with other members of their own groups and do not have many connections and social ties to members outside their group.

If they know someone of a different ethnic or cultural background, they still say they do not have “friends” with whom they socialize, yet they have some acquaintances - made through work, or through various activities.

Out-group contacts mentioned by Italians were with: Slovenians (22%), Bosnians, Romanians, Croatians (8%), Serbians (5%), Albanians (2%), Kossovars, Bulgarians, Americans and English people, Spanish, people from Cuba, Paraguay, Sri Lanka, Macedonians, Polish people, Africans, Austrian, Chinese, Muslims.

26% of Italian respondents did not mention any outgroup contact or friendship.

For the Slovenian respondents outgroup contacts were with Slovene minority members, Italians, Croatians, Bosnians, Serbians, Austrians, Macedonians, Albanians, Kossovars, French people, German, Dutch, Indians, Muslims, Roma people, Czech, Slovaks, the Swiss.

For the Slovene minority respondents out-group contact mentioned were with Slovenians, Italians, Croatians, Africans, Chinese, Romanians, Albanians, Polish, Indians, Pakistani, English and American people, German people, Austrian, Russians, and several others mentioned only once.

5.4.4 Perceived effect of Slovenia's entrance in EU on intergroup relations

H 10: Socio-political changes associated with the independence of Slovenia and its joining the Schengen area of the European Union, will be (subjectively) perceived as having had an impact on intergroup relations between communities living in the borderland.

The data gathered partially disconfirmed this prediction, as most of the respondents were split in two halves: one half being more positively oriented and optimistic than the other half.

“No, the attitude of the Italian population towards the Slovene minority didn't change at all! They are still considered something not needed/not wanted, a “foreign body among autochthonous inhabitants”, although the “indigenous Italians” were till recently a minority themselves in the land they now rule. The European Union also treats Slovenia and its minorities in a biased way, otherwise the rights of the Slovene minority in Italy would have been implemented by law since long! Italians have their television in Slovenia, while Slovenes in Udine Province don't get neither the signal of the Slovene national television. We really cannot talk about equality!⁴⁵”

⁴⁵“Ne, odnos italijanskega prebivalstva se do manjšine sploh ni spremenil! Še vedno so “nebodigatreba”, “tujek med avtohtonimi prebivalci”, čeravno so “avtohtoni Italijani”, na območju, kjer zdaj gospodarijo, bili še do nedavnega manjšina. Tudi sama EU se do Slovenije in njenih manšin obnaša pristransko, sicer bi pravice manjšine v Italiji že zdavnaj bile uzakonjene! Italijani v Sloveniji imajo svojo televizijo, Slovenci v Videmski pokrajini pa niti signala slovenske nacionalne televizije ne sprejemajo. Za polurno informiranje skrbi zasebna postaja iz Šempetra, ki za to ne prejme niti evra! Torej le ne moremo govoriti o enakosti in enakovrednosti!”

“We “zamejci” are still too much closed and withdrawn in our own world and this is also the reason why Italians do not attend much our initiatives. They do not want to understand that if they would broaden their horizon they could learn a lot, get to know a new culture and habits. Slovenians from Slovenia instead do not care about us.”⁴⁶(Slovene minority, IND866)

A second example from a Slovenian informant:

“I think that Italians are tolerant towards the Slovenians (Slovene minority members) who assimilated and practically speak Italian and attend Italian institutions and organisations. They do not tolerate much the historical Slovene territory where the Slovene minority lives nor the activities run by the minority to keep its culture. Toward Slovenians in general, instead, I think they have the same attitude as towards other nationalities, who are of course perceived inferior to them. I do not believe the entrance of Slovenia in EU had much effect on this, though probably it changed a little bit after Slovenia got independent.”⁴⁷(Slovenian informant, INB828)

“Italians still have the old nationalistic concept of national country in which there is no place for other nationalities, even though you are autochthonous there. They have a sense of superiority and see Slovene culture and similar as inferior, because they think of themselves as a big nation. These are historical facts. At the same time it is also true that Italians are very united in these things. Even the most uneducated “Southern Italian” will be ready at any moment to fight for his homeland, which is not true for us. Perhaps the (intergroup) relation is changing slowly, but overall it remains the same. I dare to say also that the majority of Slovenians downgrades Italians. We know too little of each other, we do not consider each other equally. Neither now that we are both in European Union – Italians are one of those establishing the EU and thus they feel advantaged.”⁴⁸(Slovenian respondent, INPRV831)

⁴⁶*“Zamejci smo še vedno preveč zaprti v naš svet in Italijani tudi zato se ne udeležijo naših pobud. Italijani pa nočejo razumeti, da če bi odprli njihova obzorja bi lahko se tudi več naučili (spoznali novo kulturo in navade). Slovencem iz Slovenije ni mar za nas”*

⁴⁷*“Mislim, da so Italijani strpni do Slovencev, ki so se asimilirali in praktično govorijo italijansko ter obiskujejo italijanske institucije. Ne tolerirajo najbolje pa preteklega slovenskega ozemlja, kjer živi slovenska manjšina, niti aktivnosti, ki jih slovenska manjšina izvaja za ohranitev svoje kulture. Do Slovencev pa mislim, da imajo enako mnenje kot do drugih narodov, ki pa je seveda nižje od mnenja o njih samih. Njihovo mnenje se je po osamosvojitvi verjetno nekoliko spremenilo, vstop v EU pa verjetno ni imel bistvenega vpliva na njihovo mnenje o Slovencih.”*

⁴⁸*“Italijani imajo še vedno zastarel nacionalistično zasnovan koncept nacionalne države, v kateri ni prostora za druge narode, tudi če so ti tam avtohtoni. Imajo občutek večvrednosti, nadvlade, manjvrednosti slovenske kulture in podobnih, ker se sami imajo za velik narod. To so zgodovinska dejstva. Hkrati je tudi res, da so Italijani v teh stvareh zelo enotni. Tudi najbolj neizobražen “Južnjak” se bo pripravljnjen v vsakem trenutku boriti za domovino, kar pri nas ne drži. Morda se ta odnos počasi spreminja, a načeloma ostaja isti. Upam pa si trditi, da tudi večina Slovencev prezira Italijane. Drug o drugem premalo vemo, se premalo poznamo, se nimamo za enakovredne. Tudi v*

“I do not believe it has contributed to an improvement of transborder relations, at least for now; even if there is no physical border anymore, the cultural separation is still tangible.”⁴⁹ (Italian minority in Slovenia, INR2)

“They will always perceive us – Slovenians- as inferior. Perhaps this has changed a little bit with the economic development, but the core remained almost unchanged. On the other hand, we Slovenians in the mother country have also a rejecting attitude toward Italians, generally it is so for us at the coastal side. It is sad that also Slovenians from Italy look at us as inferior. Border can be changed as they wish, but no matter what, we do feel it and the blood for it is not and will not be forgotten. Most of all, as Ciril Zlobec said, the border is not only an obstacle, but mainly a defence...⁵⁰” (Slovenian informant, INNG6)

On the other hand, several respondents felt some positive change.

“The opening of the border was for me a moment of great joy and liberation. I do not love borders and limitations in general, they are enforcements that one does to himself and others. Undoubtedly it is a moment of greater closeness and brotherhood, being all together in the world.⁵¹” (Italian informant, INT6019)

“the border needs to fall in people's head, otherwise the practical effects will be little. Economy is gaining advantages for sure, but it could be better. Anyway, cultural exchanges and also professional ones have definitely improved since the fall of the border and the entrance of Slovenia in EU.⁵²” (Italian respondent, INT17)

Evropi ne – Italijani so eni izmed ustanoviteljev EU in se čutijo zato privilegirane.”

49“Non ritengo abbia contribuito ad un miglioramento nei rapporti transfrontalieri,almeno per ora;anche se non c'è più un confine fisico, la separazione culturale è ancora tangibile.”

50“O nas, Slovencih, pa ne bi mogla reči drugega kot to, da so nas in nas bodo vedno imeli za manjvredne. Morda se je to z ekonomskim razvojem Slovenije nekoliko spremenilo, vendar v kali ne spremeni veliko. Sploh pa imamo zelo odklonilen odnos do Italijanov tudi Slovenci v matični deželi, nasploh to velja za Primorje. Žalostno je, da na ponužujoč način gledajo na nas tudi Slovenci v Italiji. Mejo lahko brišejo, kot jim paše, a jo kljub vsemu čutimo in kri zanjo ni in ne bo pozabljena. Predvsem pa, kot je rekel akademik Ciril Zlobec, meja ni samo ovira, meja je predvsem obramba ...”

51“L'apertura del confine con la Slovenia è stato per me un momento di grande gioia e di liberazione. Non amo i confini e i limiti in genere, sono delle costrizioni che l'uomo fa a se stesso o agli altri. Sicuramente è un momento di maggior vicinanza e fratellanza, un essere tutti insieme nel mondo.”

52“il confine deve più cadere nella testa delle persone altrimenti gli effetti pratici saranno bassi. L'economia ne sta sicuramente guadagnando, ma potrebbe essere migliore. In ogni caso gli interscambi culturali e anche professionali, da quel che so, sono sicuramente migliorati dalla caduta del confine o comunque dall'entrata della Slovenia nell'UE.”

“It is difficult to generalize, but it seems Italians show quite a lot of curiosity toward the Slovenian world, both towards the Slovene minority and to inhabitants of Slovenia. The relationship has improved in years. The formation of the new country (Slovenia) and its becoming recognized internationally have significantly contributed to this.⁵³” (Slovene minority in Italy, INO617)

“I think that Italians in the border region are more negatively oriented toward Slovenians while the further they are from the border, the less they are or even the opposite, they are interested in knowing more about Slovenia and Slovenians. Perhaps after the independence they started perceiving us as neighbours and at least know that we do exist.⁵⁴” (Slovenian informant, INO839)

“After independence, I think the attitude toward Slovenians is somehow better, if not out of authentic feelings, at least for possible advantages.⁵⁵” (Slovenian informant, INM7014)

“I know there are many initiatives to encourage the development of mutual knowledge of diverse cultural and linguistic realities in the region, European projects that aim to make the situation of the minority known, to allow minorities in Slovenia, Italy and Austria to cooperate beyond borders, also between majority and minority, through encounters, language courses, different kinds of cooperation... I think they work, considering the number of those who attend classes of Slovenian language... perhaps these European financial aids do help and something is changing at the level of mental walls....⁵⁶” (Italian informant, INTE9)

Others assume positions in-between yes and no.

“Without any doubt for some of the inhabitants of both the sides of the border area things are so (the opening of the border is contributing to

53 *“Teško je posploševati, vendar se mi zdi, da kažejo Italijani precej radovednosti do slovenskega sveta, tako do manjšine kot do prebivalcev Slovenije. Odnos se je v letih spremenil v boljše, bistveno je pripomogla k temu nova država (SLO) in njena mednarodna uveljavitev.”*

54 *“Menim, da so Italijani v obmejnem pasu bolj sovražno nastrojeni, bolj kot se oddaljujemo od meje, pa vse manj, celo nasprotno: zanima jih vedeti več o Sloveniji, Slovencih. Mogoče nas po osamosvojitvi sploh dojemajo kot sosede, sploh vedo, da obstajamo.”*

55 *“Po osamosvojitvi, se mi zdi, da je odnos do Slovencev nekoliko boljši. Če že ne iz srca vsaj zaradi morebitne koristi.”*

56 *“So che ci sono tante iniziative per incoraggiare lo sviluppo della reciproca conoscenza delle diverse realtà culturali e linguistiche della regione, progetti europei che mirano a far conoscere la situazione della minoranza, permettere alle minoranze in Slovenia, in Italia e in Austria di collaborare al di là del confine, anche tra maggioranza e minoranza, con incontri, corsi di lingua, collaborazioni varie... credo che funzionino a giudicare dal numero di iscritti ai corsi di lingua slovena... forse questi finanziamenti europei aiutano e qualcosa sta cambiando a livello di muri mentali...”*

improve mutual knowledge and contacts). For others things were so already before. Coexistence is a consolidated thing here. For other people again coexistence will never be a positive concept. This is due to the biggest problem here (at both sides): preconceived ideological ideas and sedimented stereotypes.⁵⁷”(Italian minority in Slovenia, INR2)

“For sure it is an important event, but it still has just symbolic effects on the territory. Integration between the two sides is still far. Despite the fall of the border they continue to function as two non-communicating systems. Let's for instance consider that there is no public transportation connecting Capodistria and Trieste in the weekend, while such connections are present within each local reality, both Slovenian and Italian, in the weekends.⁵⁸”(Italian minority in Slovenia, INB3)

“They are important acts that need to be supported by institutions and civil society. To think that merely the opening of a border can change socio-economic relations and relationships between two sides... it is quite unlikely to happen. The opening of the border is the needed condition and goes in the direction of promoting knowing each other, but it has to be supported by common wills and intentions in order to achieve these aims. The contribution of minorities as knowing linguistic and cultural realities of the border region still needs to find its place in the promotion of a more harmonious interaction between the parts. The Italian minority especially has to find the economic means to make its role of promoter of transborder bonds acknowledged by the majority.⁵⁹”(Italian minority in Slovenia, INB3)

57“Senza dubbio per una percentuale reciproca di abitanti della zona confinaria le cose stanno così. Per molti altri lo erano già prima, nel senso che la coesistenza è cosa consolidata in queste terre. Così come per altri ancora, la coesistenza non sarà mai un concetto positivo. Ma questo è il problema di uno zoccolo duro (di qua e di là), che mantiene posizioni oltranziste a causa di preconcetti ideologici e stereotipi sedimentati”.

58“Sicuramente un atto importante, ma con delle ricadute ancora simboliche sul territorio. E' ancora in alto mare l'aspetto integrativo tra le due parti, che nonostante la caduta del confine continuano a funzionare come due sistemi non comunicanti. A tal proposito basti pensare che non vi è alcun trasporto pubblico che colleghi Capodistria a Trieste e viceversa nel fine settimana, mentre tali collegamenti sono presenti all'interno di ogni realtà locale sia slovena che italiana durante i weekend.”

59“(...) sono atti importanti i quali però devono essere sostenuti dalle istituzioni e dalla società civile. Pensare che unicamente l'apertura di un confine possa cambiare i rapporti socio-economici e di relazione tra le due parti è alquanto aleatorio. L'apertura del confine è la condizione necessaria e si muove nella direzione della promozione della conoscenza reciproca, però deve essere sostenuta da una volontà d'intenti comune volta al raggiungimento di queste finalità. Il contributo delle minoranze come fattore conoscitivo delle realtà linguistiche e culturali della zona confinaria deve ancora trovare un proprio spazio, nella promozione di una più armoniosa conoscenza tra le parti. In particolare la minoranza italiana deve trovare gli strumenti economici per far pesare il suo ruolo all'interno della società maggioritaria, diventando un soggetto riconoscibile e fruibile sul territorio, proprio nella promozione dei legami transfrontalieri.”

More general comments about the relationships between the Italian and Slovenian communities in Italy are reflected in this excerpt:

“the Slovene minority is slowly opening more and mixing with others, not only on formal levels. In cities, communities are still rather separated, but in villages they are more open. I think the communities are getting closer one to another.

Nevertheless, those Italians who did not have any prejudices neither before, continue this way... to show interest for us, while the others continue with prejudices, so I do not know, whether there is some real situation change. Some still do not know about us. On the other hand, I met people that I would never imagine they could know about us and they did and were informed... It all depends on our personal relationships, on our attitude toward the other... I think we can divide Italians in several groups. Those who live outside the territory where there are Slovenians, have a neutral attitude toward us, mainly because they do not know us... When they come to know, the relationship is good and without criticism. Then, there is the group who comes to live to our places from other cities and did not know anything about us before and about the conflicts that are present here. Information circulating in the environment is mainly anti-Slovenian, so, for instance... If they come in contact with a Slovenian in a shop and they feel closeness... because Slovenians tend to withdraw in themselves and close as hedgehogs in front of Italians.. out of a kind of defence mechanism... this can be felt... this tension... And for this reason it might be more likely the Italian would form a negative opinion... If, instead, s/he comes in contact with someone at the Slovene theatre with Italian subtitles... or in some sport association... and gains also something positive from the relationship, then the attitude will be favourable...⁶⁰” (Slovene minority, INMI2)

60 “slovenska manjšina se v zadnjih letih počasi počasi bolj odpira in meša tudi z drugimi, ne samo na formalnem nivoju. V mestu so skupnosti bolj ločene, a v vaseh je že bolj odprto, se mi zdi, da se skupnosti zblížujejo. Vsekakor, tisti Italijani, ki že prej niso imeli predsodkov, nadaljujejo kazati za nas zanimanje, ostali nadaljujejo s predsodki, torej ne vem, koliko se je spremenilo stanje. Nekateri še vedno sploh ne vedo za nas. Po drugi strani sem srečal ljudi, za katere bi si nikoli ne predstavljal, da lahko vejo o nas in so bili informirani... Je vse posledica naših osebnih odnosov, od tega, kako se mi postavljamo do drugih... Mislim, da lahko ločimo Italijane na več skupin. Tisti, ki živijo izven okolja, kjer so Slovenci, imajo nevtralen odnos do nas, večinoma zaradi tega, ker ne poznajo... Ko spoznajo, je odnos zelo dober, brez kritičnosti. Nato je skupina, ki se preseli v naše kraje iz drugih mest in ni prej ničesar vedela o nas in trenjih, ki so tukaj. Informacije, ki krožijo v okolju so večinoma protislovenske, zato če recimo pridejo v trgovini v odnos s Slovencem in čutijo zaprtje z njegove strani... ker Slovenci se zaprejo kot jež pred Italijani kot nek obrambni mehanizem... to občutiš.. to napetost... in zaradi tega je bolj verjetno, da si ustvari negativno mnenje... Če pa spozna koga, recimo v gledališču z italijanskimi podnapisi ali športnih krožkih in prejme tudi nekaj pozitivnega od slovenske družbe, potem bo odnos dober...”

As mentioned in the theoretical part of this thesis, relations between the Italian majority and the Slovene minority are often tensed, in part due to traumatic experiences of the past (Fonda, 2005).

When interacting with outgroup members, people may feel anxious, uncomfortable and nervous for different reasons (i.e., past negative experiences or no previous contact with the outgroup, fear of negative evaluations, being harmed, rejected or taken advantage of). With high levels of anxiety, people are more likely to adopt cognitive heuristics in processing information and interpreting others' behaviour (Renfro & Stephan, 2009). Therefore, if their previous experience with the outgroup was negative, they will tend to be more anxious and perceive the outgroup as more homogeneous and in a stereotyped manner. This typically results in more negative and aggressive behaviours or to a tendency to avoid interactions with outgroup members. On the other hand, contact hypothesis suggests that people who have friendships in other groups and more frequent opportunities of intergroup contact report less intergroup anxiety. Fostering positive intergroup experiences through contact, can therefore promote better intergroup relations, when certain conditions are satisfied (e.g., equal status, cooperative activity toward a common goal, prolonged interaction, institutional support).

5.4.5 Attitude toward new minorities

When thinking about new minorities (immigrants), our respondents thought of the following nationalities/categories:

Italian sample: Africans (not specified), Asians (not specified), Bengali, Albanians, Eastern Europeans (not specified), Croatians, Moroccans, Muslims (not specified), Chinese, Bosnians, Lebanese, Senegalese, Tunisians, Somali, Roma, people from the south, Filipinos, Hindus, Serbs, Polish people, Russians, Slovenes, economic migrants, war refugees, researchers.

Slovene minority sample: Africans (not specified), people from former Yugoslavian countries (not specified), Eastern Europeans (not specified), Istrians, Italians from the South, refugees and asylum seekers, Libyans, all those who come from outside EU (not specified), Bengali, Romanians, Chinese, Albanians, Croatians, Kurds, Arabs, Indians, Muslims (not specified), Filipinos, Roma, Serbs, Moroccans, economic migrants, Ukrainians, Kurds, Pakistanis, Moroccans, Somali, Senegalese, Tunisians, Italians from the South, people from Gana, Austrians, Germans, Bulgarians, Mongolians, South Americans, Polish people, Moldavians, Sudanese, those who land on the Lampedusa island (not specified).

Slovenian sample: Africans (not specified), people from former Yugoslavian countries (not specified), Albanians, Croatians, Bosnians, Macedonians, Asians (not specified), Roma, political and economic migrants, refugees, Turks, Syrians, Americans, Chinese, eastern Europeans, Polish people, Arabs, Iranians, people from Gana, Senegalese, people from the South, Slovenians in Canada and Australia, “zamejci” (Slovenians in Italy).

Among the less liked group mentioned there were:

For the Italian sample: Albanians, Romanians, Macedonians, Bosnians, Croatians, Bengali, Chinese, Arabs, Africans, criminals, religious and political extremists, Moroccans.

For the Slovene minority sample: Albanians, southern Italians, Croatians, Istrians, Muslims, Bengali, Roma, Chinese, Moroccans.

For the Slovenian sample: Albanians, Roma, Macedonians, Bosnians, Serbs, Croatians, Muslims, Africans, Italians, Arabs, Catholics, Chinese, criminals.

Very few respondents replied to the question about the most liked groups.

It is worth mentioning that in every group of our sample there was around a quarter of respondents commenting that they do not have a most or least liked group since they could not generalize to a whole group what they like or do not like in persons that are members of a certain group, showing a high awareness of groups heterogeneity. Recognizing groups heterogeneity implies that every mindless overgeneralization based on predicting and making incorrect presumptions of behaviour out of someone's group membership that was broadly categorized without the appropriate differentiation is a simplistic tendency (Langer & Moldovenau, 2000; Bennett & Bennett, 2004).

5.4.6 Perceived out-group heterogeneity

A set of eight questions (*how different are Muslims among each other in cultural customs, mentality, religious practices, clothing styles, family life system, children education, individual freedoms, religiosity*) provided a measure of perceived out-group heterogeneity (scores from a minimum of 1 for complete homogeneity to a maximum heterogeneity of 10).

The out-group homogeneity effect suggests that out-group members are seen as being different from the in-group, but also being more similar in their characteristics within their own group, more “all alike”, interchangeable with each other.

Factor analysis confirmed all the items were strongly correlated among each other and loaded highly on a single dimension. These items rating the perceived intragroup heterogeneity of Muslims were then used to create a single additive variable. The reliability analysis showed the scale was highly reliable ($\alpha = .952$).

The choice of “Muslims” as target outgroup for this section was dictated by the fact that a report of the Open Society Institute (2002) indicated that members of this minority are among the least accepted in society. They noted that “*as a result of insufficient awareness of the extraordinary diversity of Muslim*

communities in Italy, the majority population generally does not distinguish between different Muslim groups in their attitudes towards Islam.”

We wanted to test whether the minority and majority homogenizing tendency would differ.

From the analysis of variance no significant difference between the groups we sampled emerged ($F(2, 412) = 1.91, p > .05$). All respondents, regardless of their group membership, rated the perceived internal differentiation of the Muslim group in average terms.

	GROUP	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
OGheterogeneityScale	Italian	5,41	2,068	88
	Slovene minority in Italy	5,91	1,947	133
	Slovenian	5,58	1,877	194
	Total	5,65	1,945	415

There can be many reasons why individuals and groups in general are in favour or against immigration. They can include economic self-interests, idealtypical subjective beliefs about national identity and intergroup affinities, personal experiences, conditioning by mass media coverage and public discourse, inter alia.

Research has shown that with higher levels of education immigrant attitudes tend to be more favorable and liberal (Hjerm, 2001).

Variables measuring attitudes toward diversity and in particular toward immigrants were grouped into scales as suggested by the factor analysis computed.

Intercultural openness

The scale originally comprised 5 items (4-point Likert scale) taken from the General Out-group Orientation Scale (Phinney, 1992):

- 1) I participate to activities that include people from different ethnic groups.*
- 2) I like meeting and getting to know people from ethnic groups other than my own.*
- 3) I am happy to be among people from ethnic groups other than my own.*
- 4) I sometimes feel it would be better if different ethnic groups didn't try to mix together.*
- 5) I often spend some time with people from ethnic groups other than my own.*

After factor analysis, we removed the fourth item and decided to label the retained dimension “intercultural openness”.

Inter-item correlation was high, and the scale reliability was good as well ($\alpha = .829$).

From the analysis of variance a significant difference between the groups emerged ($F(2, 412) = 3.33, p < .05$), however subsequent post-hoc comparisons did not confirm any significant difference across the three groups. We can, therefore, say that all the groups sampled showed almost equal levels of intercultural openness.

Pro-immigrants' cultural rights

Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

*"In those States in which ethnic,
religious or linguistic minorities exist,
persons belonging to such minorities
shall not be denied the right,
in community with the other members of the group,
to enjoy their own culture,
to profess and practice their own religion,
or to use their own language".*

The next set of questions measured how much in favour or against immigrants' cultural rights were the respondents. Higher scores of the scale used ($\alpha = .803$) indicated a more favorable attitude, that is willingness to encourage and support immigrant's retaining their culture.

Examples of items included were:

- *Immigrants should be encouraged to preserve their cultural heritage and customs.*
- *Immigrants should be encouraged to preserve their language.*
- *Immigrants should be encouraged to preserve their religious customs.*

From the analysis of variance a significant difference between the groups emerged ($F(2, 412) = 11.42, p < .001$). Post-hoc comparisons revealed that Slovene minority respondents ($M = 2.93, SD = .65$) had higher scores than Slovenians ($M = 2.56, SD = .67$) and Italians ($M=2.69, SD = .77$).

If we look closer to the responses to each item, we see that while 73% of Slovenophones in Italy and 69% of Italians agree to encourage immigrants to maintain their cultural customs, only half of the Slovenian respondents does so (49%).

86% of Slovene minority respondents, 71% of Slovenians and 67% of Italians agree it is immigrants' right to preserve their language.

Similarly, 69% of the respondents from Italy (both the minority and the majority respondents) and 61% of Slovenians say immigrants should be encouraged to preserve their religious traditions.

Integration constraints

Of the remaining items, only two were grouped together.

- *The majority of immigrants living here comes from a different culture which is very difficult to integrate with (country of residence) culture.*
- *To become fully accepted members of the Italian society, immigrants must give up such parts of their religious and cultural customs which may be in conflict with this country's law.*

The other variables were dropped from the analysis.

- *Immigrants make (country of residence) more open to new ideas and cultures.*
- *Immigrants are more often involved in criminality than average.*
- *The majority of immigrants living here comes from a different culture which is very difficult to integrate with (country of residence) culture.*
- *Immigrants are more often involved in criminality than average.*

There was no significant difference between the groups for this dependent variable with group as predicting variable ($F(2, 412) = .28, p > .05$).

5.4.7 INTERVIEWS on OUTGROUP ATTITUDES

The qualitative analysis of the interviews revealed a general similarity in the replies across the groups concerning respondents' attitude towards immigration. Most respondents from all groups mentioned immigration as an increasing phenomenon that stems from international geopolitical factors and that “*was and is historically present in the close and further environment*” (ING1).

Several topics were tackled in conversations. We will try to summarize them, adding for each emerging topic an excerpt for each group.

- **State behaviour**

Some respondents reflected on what the State and the international arena are doing or not doing and what it should do in order to better manage issues related to immigration.

“Immigration is constantly increasing and this is a fact, but it should be regularized with more controls... also for reasons concerning health services... and compared with the real economic opportunities of the host country.”⁶¹ (Slovene minority in Italy, INED794)

“Immigration is a big problem, for which it is difficult to find the correct solution to manage it. It causes fear and worry (...) The problem stems from big differences between the rich part of the world and the others, poorer ones... The problem is not in immigrants, as we cannot criminalize and blame those who go abroad in search for food and basic needs. Differences that are the cause of emigration should be reduced...”⁶² (Slovene minority, INMI2)

“... it is happening since ages, only origins and destinations change. The consequence is the movement of people generally from poorer areas to richer ones. It is an inevitable thing that needs to be accepted rather than

⁶¹“Il fenomeno dell'immigrazione è in costante aumento e questo è un dato di fatto, ma dovrebbe essere regolarizzato con maggiori controlli... anche per un discorso di Sanita' Pubblica... e confrontato con le reali opportunità economiche che possiede il Paese ospitante.”

⁶²“priseljenstvo je velik problem, za katerega je težko dobiti pravo rešitev, da bi to stvar uredili. Povzroča strah in zaskrbljenost... (...) Problem izhaja iz velike razlike med bogatim delom sveta in drugimi, revnejšimi... Problem ni v priseljencih, saj ne moremo kriminalizirati kogar gre s trebuhom za kruhom. Treba bi bilo zmanjšati razlike, ki so vzrok izseljevanja...”

fought. Foreigners that come to the place where I live don't impose their culture on others as some preconceived ideas would make you think... on the contrary, their culture is enriching and at the moment we are still free to get acquainted with it or not, so I see only positive factors. Of course they move in a period of crisis that affects badly my area, but their presence have null consequences on jobs, for instance, either because they are more attracted to other areas of Italy, or because they do jobs that generally Italians would not do anymore.⁶³”(Italian respondent, INT17)

The respondents are aware of the deep gap created by the new economy in terms of the living standards between rich countries that require inexpensive work force to sustain themselves and poor, less developed countries (Haralambos and Holborn, 2001: 726). The thesis goes that if countries were more equal in economic terms, there would be less economic migration as well and more equal social distribution.

Frequently our informants also mentioned the stereotyped images associated with immigrant realities they know or as they are portrayed by mass media. They compared the situation immigrants are most likely to face in host country with the one they had in their home countries, observing that they often do have underpaid jobs, yet contributing with remittances to their relatives abroad, that they live in poor conditions, yet slightly better than in their previous situation.

A significant proportion of our respondents believes a special attention needs to be put to such generalizations and stereotyped images.

63“... è qualcosa che si verifica da secoli, cambiano solo le provenienze e le destinazioni, ed è ha come conseguenza lo spostamento di persone generalmente da aree più povere ad aree più ricche. In questo senso è quindi da considerarsi un qualcosa di inevitabile per cui piuttosto accettato invece che lottato. Gli stranieri che arrivano nelle mie zone non impongono la loro cultura come alcuni luoghi comuni fanno pensare ma semmai la loro cultura dà ricchezza e al momento siamo ancora liberi di conoscerla oppure no per cui vedo solo fattori positivi in questo. Certo, si muovono in un momento di crisi che la mia zona risente pesantemente ma la loro presenza ha risvolti quasi nulli dal punto di vista lavorativo sia perché altre zone d'Italia (per forza di cose) sono più attraenti per loro, sia perché come da altre parti per la maggior parte svolgono lavori che generalmente gli italiani non fanno più.”

“People come to Europe, because they think here it is better... from Africa for instance... in order to obtain a better position, a higher standard... even though they come here and live in four or eight in an apartment where we would live in maximum two people... for some of them it is already a higher standard compared to the condition they were in before... let's take the example of Chinese people... we create certain opinions about them, stereotypes... that they work 10 hours per day, that there are many of them in a small apartment, that they are exploited.... it is true, but if we look where they come from.. even if for our points of view they live here in misery and with lots of hardships, it is all very relative... we could work on this level... on our stereotypes...⁶⁴” (Slovene minority, INNMI2)

“In other countries, like in France or England, they have a longer history of immigration, thus they are more open toward immigrants, they already have some solutions... in Italy it is all still relatively new... I do not have a lot of personal experiences, but I have lived for 10 years in (...) immigrants there all lived in one district of the town, where the rate of criminality was also high.... the problem is in the stereotypes that we create... (...) Italy as country and as society still needs to mature and manage, understand how to integrate them in society...⁶⁵” (Slovene minority informant, INNNT5)

“I also live as a foreigner outside of Italy and I know from my own experience what it means to be discriminated. (...) there are laws in Italy, in Germany and elsewhere that protect the affluence of (immigrants from outside the EU – extracomunitari) and allow those who can enter a more dignitous life. I believe in Italy there should be clearer laws. I saw some reportages where they showed how some families lived in terrible conditions in camps. What do you think these families are doing for a living? They go to steal, beg, prostitute. I am not allowed neither here, nor in Germany, nor in England to remain without a job, and neither I was

64 *“Ljudje prihajajo v Evropo, ker mislijo, da je tukaj boljše... iz Afrike na primer, da bi prišli na boljši položaj, višji standard... tudi če pridejo k nam in živijo v štirih ali osmih v stanovanju, kjer bi mi živeli največ v dveh... je za nekatere že višji standard napram položaja, v katerem so bili prej... Vzemimo primer Kitajcev: mi si ustvarimo določena mnenja, stereotipe... da delajo 10 ur na dan, da jih je dosti v majhni sobi, da jih izkoriščajo... je že res, a če pogledamo od kod pridejo... tudi če za naše pojme živijo tu zelo revno in s težavami, je vse zelo relativno... lahko bi že na tem nivoju delali...na naših stereotipih...”*

65 *“v drugih državah, Franciji in Angliji na primer, imajo daljšo zgodovino priseljenstva, zato so tudi bolj odprti do priseljencev, imajo že določene rešitve... so glavne probleme že preboleli... v Italiji je še vse sorazmerno novo... nimam veliko osebnih izkušenj, a živel sem precej let v (...) tam so vsi živeli v enem področju mesta, kjer je bilo tudi precej kriminala... problem je v stereotipih, ki si jih ustvariš... (...)Italija kot država in družba mora še dozoret in uredit, razumet, kako jih vklopit v družbo...”*

ever allowed to live without proper documents⁶⁶” (Italian informant, INF10)

Comparisons with other local situations in Italy/Slovenia or other countries were frequently used, as well as critic of the slow bureaucratic system that makes it difficult to validate foreign diplomas and thus formal recognition of highly educated and professionally specialized migrants.

“I believe integration of immigrants in Trieste is good, because the number of immigrants is not so big as in other bigger cities where the realities are different. In my opinion there is not enough done at governmental level to regularize immigrant people, to help them to find a job... a lot of burocracy, but little concrete help.⁶⁷” (Italian, INT6019)

“immigrants often have less paid and humble jobs, not because they have lower education or skills... simply because coming from another country their certificates are not recognized immediately... and the burocracy in Italy is too long...⁶⁸” (Non-Slovenian minority in Italy, INST2)

“I see immigration as a positive phenomenon, because it gives you the possibility to grow amidst diversity and to understand the diversity in culture, religion, etc... People become stronger with mixing. Mixed races are more intelligent, they are better in learning languages... In () where I live many immigrants are in difficulty because they have poor language proficiency, for instance, but I do not perceive true racism here. They find jobs... they are given jobs, but they are the discriminated part of society... they do works which are paid less... They do not have the educational certificates from their home countries (valid in Italy)... or because they do not have the possibility to receive education in their country of origin... many reasons... if you are a citizen of the country where you are born you are more protected than a foreigner.⁶⁹” (Croatian minority in Italy, INM633)

⁶⁶“Io anche vivo da straniera fuori dall'Italia e so in prima persona cosa vuol dire essere discriminata. (...) ci sono leggi sia in Italia che in Germania e altrove che proteggono l'afflusso di extracomunitari e permettono a quelli che possono entrare una vita più dignitosa. Credo che in Italia ci dovrebbero essere delle leggi più chiare. Ho visto alcuni reportages dove facevano vedere famiglie in condizioni pessime vivere in baracche. Cosa pensi che facciano queste famiglie per vivere? Vanno a rubare, mendicare, prostituirsi. A me non è mai stato permesso ne quà, nè in Germania, nè in Inghilterra di rimanere senza avere un lavoro, ne mi è stato dato il permesso di vivere abusivamente.” (Italian respondent)

⁶⁷“Ritengo che a Trieste ci sia una buona integrazione anche perché il numero degli immigrati non è così alto come in altre realtà cittadine più grandi. Ritengo che non si faccia, a livello governativo, uno sforzo adeguato per mettere in regola le persone immigrate, per aiutarle nel trovare un lavoro... molta burocrazia, ma poco aiuto concreto.”

⁶⁸“gli immigrati spesso hanno lavori più umili e meno pagati, non perchè abbiano meno capacità o un'educazione inferiore... semplicemente perchè proveniendo da un altro Paese. I loro certificati non sono validi subito... e la burocrazia in Italia è troppo lunga”

The last except refers to the perceived situation in Italy, yet similar issues emerge from studies of the Slovenian situation as well, especially regarding the differences in terms of implemented rights for those who are entitled citizens and those who are not recognized as such.

In 1992, for instance, after Slovenia's independence, long time residents of Slovenia from former Yugoslavian countries were obliged to re-apply for Slovenian citizenship. Thousands of them failed to gain this status or to apply on time, becoming "new minorities", Serbs, Croats, Bosnian Muslims, Albanian Kosovars and Roma who were "erased" from official records and subsequently denied access to employment, housing, social and medical benefits.

Moreover, according to the data of the Ministry of work, family and social affairs, at the end of 2008 there were 88,557 regular migrant workers, the majority of whom were semi-qualified workers with an education level lower than high school, mostly employed in the construction area. Most of them came from underdeveloped regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and central Serbia, where they had little chance to attain proper education (Čepin Čeplak, 2008).

69 "Vedo l'immigrazione come un fenomeno positivo, perché da alla persona la possibilità di crescere nella diversità e comprendere la diversità a livello culturale, della religione, ecc. Le persone si rafforzano col mescolarsi. Le razze meticce sono più intelligenti, hanno più possibilità di apprendere bene le lingue... A Monfalcone dove abito molti immigrati si trovano in difficoltà, per poca conoscenza della lingua per esempio, però non percepisco razzismo vero e proprio. Trovano lavoro... gli danno lavoro, ma sono la parte discriminata della società... fanno lavori meno pagati, meno classificati... Non hanno certificati scolastici dai loro Paesi, hanno poca possibilità di essere istruiti nei loro Paesi d'origine... varie cause...se sei nel Paese dove sei nato lo stesso cittadino è più protetto dello straniero."

Immigrants' expected behaviour: acculturation requirements and obstacles

- **language proficiency**

Moving from how the State is expected to behave, the majority of respondents focused on the behaviours expected from the immigrants. They stressed that in order to be accepted in the society, immigrants need to adapt to the host environment. Among the features requested as a positive sign of respect and socio-cultural integration into the local reality, language proficiency was the one most frequently mentioned as the condition sine qua non for an appropriate acculturation, followed by respect of local culture and national laws.

From an Italian respondent's point of view:

“some are truly ignorant and can hardly speak Italian... can't imagine how they can integrate! The result is that their children are not able to integrate, have serious learning difficulties and at the end they end up getting benefits of taxes that are detracted from my salary, already low... (hey obtain benefits) in the form of social assistance or unemployment benefits.”⁷⁰ (Italian respondent, INFG7)

Through language proficiency, learning the language of the host country, a person also gains the means to learn about its culture and laws. It also provides the gateway to establish contacts and broaden one's social network.

- **respect, knowledge and adoption of national culture, laws and way of life**

A comment of a Slovene minority member:

⁷⁰“alcuni sono veramente ignoranti ma a livello pietoso, sanno a malapena parlare l'italiano, pensa un pó se sia possibile per loro integrarsi! Il risultato é che i loro figli non riescono ad integrarsi, hanno a scuola seria difficoltà di apprendimento e alla fine finiscono per usufruire le tasse che vengo tolte alla mia paga, già abbastanza ridotta, sotto forma di assistenza sociale o disoccupazione.”

"I have nothing against immigration, but acculturation is needed: immigrants have their rights, but they also have the duty to respect local laws, rules and culture."⁷¹ (Slovene minority, INGO8)

Same emphasis is put by Slovenian respondents:

"... people who migrate and come to a foreign country (and even gain a new citizenship) out of their own will and interests should learn the host country language and customs and behave according to them at least in public. But now it is happening that this third generation of immigrants (who are officially citizens of Slovenia)... since they live in ghettos, they cannot speak Slovenian and do not know Slovene customs and traditions."⁷² (Slovenian informant, INRO16)

The creation of immigrant ghettos is especially common in some cities and shows a strong division between immigrants and the rest of the population.

Slovenian integration policy adopted in 1999 and confirmed by the Migration policy resolution in 2002 fosters in theory a pluralistic (multicultural) model of integration policy, enabling equal integration of immigrants into Slovenian society, as well as preservation of their cultural identity, granting immigrants the right to free expression of their ethnic origin, culture and the use of mother tongue. Nevertheless, as in most western societies, there is in practice a "collective dispositional bias", which often blames immigrants "for not sufficiently or successfully adapting to the culture, habits, and values of the receiving society" (Bourhis & El-Geledi, 2009).

"I am very curious to know how many "autochthonous" Slovenes of Muslim religion are there to whom the non-existence of a mosque in Slovenia is an existential problem... but don't misunderstand me... I am an atheist and I have no prejudice against Muslims or Christians or against the building of a mosque, but the only thing that I notice and feel is that this raises in the population a lot of hatred, intolerance and aggressive

⁷¹ "Nimam nič proti, potrebna pa je inkulturacija: priseljenci imajo svoje pravice, so pa tudi dolžni spoštovati lokalne zakone, pravila in kulturo."

⁷² "Na podlagi tega lahko zaključim, da sem mnenja, da bi se morali ljudje, ki se zaradi lastnih interesov preselijo v tujo državo (in celo pridobijo novo državljanstvo) naučiti njihovega jezika in običajev in se vsaj v javnosti ravnati po njih. Sedaj pa se dogaja, da žal že tretja generacija priseljencev (uradno državljanov Republike Slovenije), zaradi prebivanja v "getih", ne zna govoriti slovensko in ne pozna slovenskih običajev."

actions, which I do not like at all. And then you ask yourself: is this really needed?!?!⁷³" (Slovenian, INLL847)

"In principle I accept all newly immigrated, as long as they do not affect the quality of my life. Currently there is a big wave of immigrants from Albania and other Balkan countries for need of work forces. It bothers me a lot, because they have brought their habits to our quiet environments instead of being them the one to adapt.⁷⁴" (Slovenian informant, INCL847)

"I also have a very low threshold of sensitivity for enforcement of one's customs to the others, but this is valid in general and not only for immigrants (for instance, I cannot stand hearing willy-nilly neighbour's music on Sunday or the bells of the nearby church). I wished in Slovenia there were a more diverse society that would accept all kinds of diversities and be open to immigrants, and in general to all people.⁷⁵" (Slovenian respondent, INL8410)

Despite claiming to desire a plural society, several interviews failed to reflect the positive aspects associated with it, as well as resistance and unwillingness to change in order to adapt with acceptance to the new features in the local reality.

In the words of a Slovenian male:

"Immigrants do not bother me, as long as they respect the culture and moral principles of the country in which they come. Since I was a child I had contacts with people of different nationalities so I see them as equal to myself. In the last years, however, I notice that immigrants force their own way of life and thinking. And slowly and quietly I also myself change becoming moderately intolerant! When I go to foreign countries, I try not to treat other cultures aggressively or disrespectfully, while foreigners in Slovenia disregard this. Regardless of

⁷³"Prav zanima me, koliko je "avtohtonih" Slovencev, ki so muslimanske vere in jim neobstoje džamije v Sloveniji predstavlja eksistencialističen problem.. pa da ne bo pomote... sam sem ateist in nimam nobenih predsodkov do muslimanov ali do kristijanov in do izgradnje džamije, edino kar pa opažam in čutim pa je, da to vzbuja v populaciji dosti sovraštva, nestrpnosti in agresivnih dejanj, kar pa mi niti približno ni všeč. In potem se človek logično vpraša: a je tega treba?!?"

⁷⁴"Načeloma sprejemam vse novo priseljene, dokler ne vplivajo na kvaliteto mojega življenja. Trenutno je velik val priseljevanja predvsem Albancev, prav tako pa tudi drugih balkanskih narodov za potrebe dela. Zelo me moti, ker so prinesli svoje navade v naše mirno okolje, namesto da bi se oni prilagodili."

⁷⁵"Imam tudi zelo nizek prag občutljivosti za vsiljevanje svojih običajev drugim, ampak to ne velja le za priseljence (tudi poslušanje sosedove narodno-zabavne glasbe ob nedeljah in zvonjenje zvonov iz bližnje cerkve mi ni po pogodu). V Sloveniji nasploh bi si želela bolj narodnostno mešano družbo, ki bi preko tega verjetneje sprejemala tudi druge vrste drugačnosti in bila bolj odprta nasploh do ljudi, prišlecev ali domačih."

this, whatever they are... Croatsians, Italians, French, Serbs, Gypsies or something else – they simply think that “in the name of tourism” or “in the name of coexistence” we should adapt to their demands and needs, but this isn't the way to go!!!!⁷⁶”(Slovenian respondent, INCL847)

“Immigrants do not bother me, as my father was also one 30 years and more ago, when he arrived to Slovenia from Croatia, that was a common state at that time. Anyway... I'm a bit disturbed by the fact that immigrants from the former (Yugoslavian) common country do not learn Slovenian language. But they have lived here since more than 30 years. Probably it bothers me, because my father speaks Slovenian without an accent. (...)”⁷⁷” (Slovenian respondent, INN814)

The informant shows an initial neutral attitude towards immigrants, identifying his father as such and thus understanding immigration experience by reminding his personal experience, but then this element of comparison serves to justify his negative attitude toward some aspects that he sees as crucial, namely learning the language of the host country and respect for its laws, culture and way of life. He acknowledges the shift from perceiving the immigrants with respect and as fully equal to himself into a “moderate intolerance” happened in the last years, witnessing some bothering instances in every day life. The discourse goes on putting into contrast the good and the bad example of acculturation, comparing and distancing his father from them, and, implicitly and indirectly, a “we” from “they”, stating that his father (and he himself as the next generation) learned and speaks Slovenian without an accent, while they do not.

⁷⁶“Priseljenci me ne motijo, dokler spoštujejo kulturo in moralna načela države, v katero so pripotovali. Že od majhnih nog sem imel stike z drugimi narodi, zato sem jih jemal kot sebi enake. Vendar pa v zadnjih letih opažam, da priseljenci vsiljujejo svoj način življenja in razmišljanja. In počasi in potihoma se tudi sam spreminjam v zmerno nestrpnega! Ko se sam odpravim v tuje dežele, se trudim, da se ne obnašam agresivno ali nespoštljivo do druge kulture, tujci v Sloveniji pa se za to ne zmenijo. Ne glede na to, ali so Hrvatje, Italijani, Francozi, Srbi, Romi ali kdo drug – enostavno menijo, da bi se morali “v imenu turizma” ali “v imenu sožitja” morali prilagoditi njihovim zahtevam in potrebam, a to ne gre!!!!”

⁷⁷“Priseljenci me ne motijo, saj je tudi moj oče pred več kot 30 leti prišel v Slovenijo s Hrvaške, takrat je to bila sicer skupna država. Pa vendar. Malenkost me moti to, da se priseljenci iz držav, ki so tvorile bivšo skupno državo ne naučijo slovenskega jezika. Pa živijo tu tudi več kot 30 let. Verjetno je to zato, ker moj oče govori slovensko brez naglasa.”

Throughout the discourse the arguments are often introduced with the sentence “Immigrants do not bother me, but...” or a similar one (“I do not mind them, as long as....”).

Respondents often appeared to be initially quite cautious to reveal their opinions. A strategy they commonly adopted was to express both what social desirability would demand them to say, and the discrepancy between the theoretical, frequently defined utopic, way to live the diversity brought by immigrants as enriching and positive, contrasted with their recurrent negative experiences in practice.

In the words of a Slovenian informant:

“I tell you in full honesty: overall immigrants do not bother me in principle... and since the so called “European culture” is in the air nowadays... I have to agree that the variety is enriching, that mixing of different cultures brings positive aspects – at least in theory it sounds a logical conclusion. But, my personal experiences show negative aspects of it every day, and I do not see nor feel the positive aspects at all.⁷⁸”
(Slovenian respondent)

Similar are the positions of some Italian informants:

“If we return to talk about immigrants... in my opinion the world is not made only of nice but not realistic ideals... unfortunately... things are in reality harder, tougher...⁷⁹”(Italian, INFGB7)

As we have discussed previously, Slovenian respondents most commonly mentioned immigrants from former Yugoslavian countries as war refugees and Roma minority. On the other hand, Italian respondents most typically thought of

⁷⁸“Takole bom čisto iskreno povedal: načeloma me priseljenci nič ne motijo in v duhu sedaj tako splošno opevane, zaradi pestrosti bogate, “evropske kulture”, se moram strinjati, da mešanje različnih kultur prinaša pozitiven aspekt – vsaj v teoriji se mi zdi to logičen zaključek. Ampak moje osebne izkušnje pa mi vsakodnevno kažejo negativne plati, prej omenjenih, pozitivnih, pa niti ne vidim, kaj šele, da bi jih občutil!”

⁷⁹“Tornando agli immigrati... secondo me il mondo non è fatto di ideali belli ma non realistici purtroppo... le cose sono in realtà più crude, forti e cruente...”

Romanian, Albanian, Bengali or in general Muslim immigrants. Regardless of the group considered, the rhetorical device of contrasting “us” and “them” is used when reporting with a sense of unfairness either the different individual attitude of nationals vs. them, the others, or the differential treatment they are entitled to, having “*more rights than normal Slovenian citizens*” or Italian ones, formally or just in practice, out of the way things are.

“In Nova Gorica, where I live, under the previous political system we were used to immigrants from former Yugoslavian countries. Most of them came here for survival, they were mainly workers... I remember the attitude toward them was quite negative most of the times. They were defined as “čefurji”. Personally I never looked at them this way, but the truth is also, that there were never closer interactions between me and them. The second category of immigrants were customs officers and military men of that time. The bad thing of these, who later remained here, is that the majority of them till today have not yet learned Slovenian language.⁸⁰” (Slovenian respondent, INNG6)

The term “čefurji” is used in Slovenia with a pejorative meaning to indicate “people from the South” or from other countries of former Yugoslavia, like Bosnia or Serbia. They are commonly portrayed as thieves, dirty, violent and dishonest people, among whom there are higher rates of criminal actions.

“...I have only bad experiences with “čefurji” ... violence, cheat, drugs... they are violent toward our women, they rape, steal, always seek fighting... some excetion are really nice people, but 90% of them have the same nature...⁸¹” (Slovenian respondent, INLV7018)

80 “V Novi Gorici, kjer živim, smo bili v bivšem sistemu vajeni predvsem priseljencev iz bivših jugoslovanskih republik. Ker je večina od njih prišla sem zaradi preživetja, bili so to večinoma fizični delavci... se spomnim, da je bil odnos do njih največkrat kar slabšalen. Označeni so bili z vzdevkom “čefurji”. Sama nanje nikdar nisem gledala na ta način, res pa je tudi, da nismo prihajali v tesnejše stike. Druga kategorija priseljencev so bili uniformirane narave, cariniki in takratna vojska. Slabost le-teh, ki so kasneje tudi ostali tu, pa je, da se večina od njih še do danes ni naučila slovenskega jezika.”

81 “Jaz imam s čefurji same slabe izkušnje... nasilje, goljufije, mamila...pretepajo naše ženske, posiljujejo, kradejo, vedno iščejo fajte... nekaj izjem je zelo v redu, a 90% čefurjev ima isto naravo...”

The other group which is target of negative attitudes from Slovenian respondents is the Romani group.

“I am also very little tolerant towards “cigani” (Roma people) who are very numerous where I live. In general they do not want to adapt at all and they are positively discriminated. They have more rights than normal Slovenian citizens. In shops they can steal up to 50€ and nobody will do anything to them. Not to talk about social help and extra money for children they receive.⁸²” (Slovenian respondent, INN814)

Similar attitudes toward local immigrants emerge in the replies of Italian respondents.

“Poor Italians don't take their children to practice sport because they don't have money, while foreigners they do (send them) and simply they don't pay... some of them beg money for clothes or food, and then at home they have a big new flat television... In short... they have a different culture and they have no intention to integrate... their children always finish successfully the school year and are made to move up, while Italians fail even if they are better than them, and this unfortunately it's true!⁸³” (Italian respondent, INFGB7)

“In my opinion a person is a person regardless of race, colour, political or religious affiliation, neither man nor woman, but simply a person with all rights, but that has to comply also to a whole list of obligations. Thus, it is not a belonging that creates problems, but the unfairness, both towards minorities, but also from minorities towards the majorities. Sometimes minorities instrumentalize their situation and this recrimination or crying bothers me...the street vendors, “vu cumprà”, bother me when they come to beg, I get irritated by those who come to our country thinking to find easy

82 “Imam pa tudi zelo malo tolerance do ciganov, ki so v mojem okolju kar številčni. Oni se pa sploh ne želijo prilagoditi in so pozitivno diskriminirani. Imajo več pravic kot navadni državljani Slovenije. V trgovini lahko ukradejo do 50€, pa jim nihče nič ne more. Da o otroških dodatkih in socialni pomoči ne govorim.”

83 “Gli italiani poveri non mandano i figli a sport perchè non hanno soldi, gli stranieri invece sì e semplicemente non pagano... alcuni elemosinano vestiti e da mangiare, e poi in casa hanno il mega televisore piatto nuovo... insomma... in sunto... hanno un'altra cultura e non hanno alcuna intenzione di integrarsi... i loro figli sono promossi sempre anche alle superiori, mentre gli italiani vengono bocciati anche se sono molto meglio di loro, e questo purtroppo è vero!”

money and ending in not very legal activities.⁸⁴”(Italian respondent, INT6019)

There seems to be a distinction between old (autochthonous) minorities and new ones (immigrants), with the later one being significantly less welcome than the former ones. It is well explained by these informants:

“let me stress that my opinion does not apply to minorities, such as the Italian or Hungarian one, to people who live on the territory of Slovenia since ages because of political circumstances and artificial establishments of borders rather than their own will to migrate to Slovenia. Towards them I have no objection, as it is not their “fault” if now there is Slovenia where there used to be something else before – to them all rights to maintain their own culture should belong and be respected and implemented diligently). People who migrated here mainly from the South, instead, hoping for a better life, have brought with them their culture (language, religion, customs) and this they now – in my opinion – almost aggressively propagate in “our” environment. They migrate all together in southern neighbourhoods, where ghettoisation is occurring.⁸⁵” (Slovenian respondent, INCL847)

"In those (ghettos in the south) Slovenian is most often neither the colloquial nor the official language... there the criminality rate is also statistically strongly increased and these neighborhoods constitute cores that then spread to much broader areas. In spite of the fact that "on paper" Slovene people are the majority there, concretely they do not know Slovenian language, and even less they know Slovenian culture and customs. Shop assistants there speak a kind of Slovenian or in fast food

84 *“Sono dell’opinione che una persona è una persona... di qualsiasi razza, colore, appartenenza politica o religiosa, né uomo, né donna, semplicemente una persona con tutti i suoi diritti, ma che deve anche rispettare tutta una serie di doveri. Quindi personalmente non è un’appartenenza che mi crea dei problemi, quanto le ingiustizie, sia verso le minoranze, ma anche delle minoranze verso le maggioranze. A volte queste ultime strumentalizzano la loro situazione e questo recriminare o piangersi addosso mi infastidisce... mi infastidiscono i “vu cumprà” che vengono ad elemosinare, mi irritano quelli che vengono nel nostro paese pensando di trovare soldi facili e alla fine si buttano in attività poco lecite.”*

85 *“... posebej naj poudarim: moje mnenje se ne nanaša na manjšine, italijansko, madžarsko... Se pravi ljudi, ki živijo na ozemlju Slovenije “od nekdaj” zaradi političnih okoliščin – umetne določitve državne meje in ne zaradi lastnega vzgiba, da bi se priselili v Slovenijo... Do tujih manjšin v Sloveniji nimam nikakršnih pomislekov, saj oni niso “krivi”, da je zdaj tam Slovenija, kjer je bilo včasih nekaj drugega – se pravi pripadajo jim vse pravice, ki jim omogočajo ohranjanje njihove kulture... ki se morajo tudi vestno izvajati in spoštovati. Enako pa bi si želel tudi za slovenske manjšine v tujini... Ljudje pa, ki so se priselili predvsem iz juga... priselili k nam zaradi obetov po boljšem življenju so s sabo prinesli svojo kulturo -jezik, vero, običaje- in to sedaj – po mojem mnenju – skoraj nasilno propagirajo v “našem” okolju. Selijo se skupaj v “južne soseske”, kjer prihaja do nekakšne getoizacije.”*

shops they do not even show an effort to speak Slovenian...⁸⁶” (Slovenian respondent, INCL847)

As Velikonja (2002) reports, *“in recent years, this cultural distance towards the non-Slovenes (Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, Montenegrins, Macedonians, and Albanians) has also developed in the mainstream of Slovenian popular-culture¹¹. In TV serials, shows, and movies, a stereotyped figure of the uneducated, untidy non-Slovene, who speaks poor Slovenian, is symptomatically tied to low-valued, poorly-paid or criminal activities.”*

The interviews confirmed the tendency popped out in the research on Slovenian public opinion done in 1992 (SJM 92/3, from Toš, 1999, 17, 203). 60% of the respondents thought that the immigrants from other (ex-)Yugoslav republics *should learn Slovenian language and adapt to the Slovenian conditions, but they should use their language and foster their culture among themselves or that the education in their language and the fostering of their culture must be rendered possible, but at the same time they should adapt to the Slovenian conditions* (9%).

Again, similar points of view are uttered by Italian informants referring to the situation in Italy.

The attitude towards the Slovene autochthon minority appears positive from the Italians that chose to reply to our questionnaire, significantly different than the attitude toward other ethnic minorities.

In Segatti's research (2008: 82, 83), 56% of Italian respondents living in Gorizia and Trieste in 2006 and 52% of Italians in the fieldwork done in 2008 thought a member of a national minority is a citizen just as one who lives in the capital city, because s/he is fully an Italian citizen, while 30% of them agreed with such

⁸⁶ ... v njih ne samo da ni slovenščina pogovorni jezik, tudi uradni pogosto ne... tam je tudi statistično močno povečana kriminaliteta in te soseske tvorijo jedra, iz katerih se le ta širi na mnogo večja območja. Kljub temu, da je “na papirju” večinsko prebivalstvo tam slovensko, jih večina sploh ne zna govoriti slovenščine, kaj šele, da bi poznali slovensko kulturo in običaje. Tam uslužbenci v trgovinah govorijo kvazi slovensko, v prodajalnah s hitro hrano se niti ne trudijo ...”

sentence but stressing that the integration is conditional, depending on minority members themselves, on their willingness to integrate. Similar reflections emerged from our interviews:

“If we speak of the Slovenians as a minority, then I don't have questions (objections), because for me they are Italians who have all the rights to maintain their cultural roots alive as they are not that much different from ours. The problem is the difficulty accepting immigrants who want to enforce their rules and refuse to accept ours and those who are not pacific communities, but aggressive ones and who undermine the community where they come in.”⁸⁷ (Italian, INM1)

A lot of emphasis is put on immigrants' adaptation to the host environment in all the responses and on perceived incompatibility of some behaviors and habits.

“Foreigners that came to Italy, I wished a minority of them, are reluctant to accept our everyday way of life and habits, be it only for the Cross in classroom...”⁸⁸ (Italian informant, INFG7)

“I believe there are too many foreigners. It is all right to help them, but first of all we have to help our people. Where I live there are many Bengali immigrants. They have their communities. The city does a lot to come towards them... for instance, at school they serve their food, there are Italian language courses, sanitary-hygienic education, support in hospitals, etc... Some more, some less they are respectful towards local population, but there are evident diversities... In their houses a lot of people live, apartments are overpopulated... they get married at a very young age, they have particular habits, such as spitting, not wearing the underwear, etc...”⁸⁹ (Italian, INS773)

⁸⁷“Se per minoranza intendiamo ad esempio gli sloveni, non mi pongo nemmeno domande, perché per me sono italiani che hanno il pieno diritto di mantenere vive le loro radici culturali che non sono diverse più di tanto dalle nostre. Il problema è la difficoltà ad accettare immigrati che desiderano imporre le loro regole e si rifiutano di accettare le nostre e che non sono comunità pacifiche, ma, al contrario, aggressive e che minano la comunità dove si insediano.”

⁸⁸“gli stranieri venuti in Italia, vorrei sperare la minima parte, sono riluttanti ad accettare la nostre usanze e quotidiani modi di vivere, fosse solo anche il crocefisso in classe...”

⁸⁹“Ritengo che ci siano troppe persone straniere. E' giusto aiutarle, ma prima dobbiamo aiutare i nostri. Nella zona in cui abito ci sono molti Bengalesi. Hanno le loro comunità. La città fa molto per cercare di venir loro incontro... ad esempio fanno i loro menù nelle scuole, hanno corsi di lingua italiana, educazione igienico-sanitaria, supporto negli ospedali... Chi più chi meno è rispettoso nei confronti della popolazione locale, ma ci sono evidenti diversità... Nelle loro case vivono in tanti, si sposano giovanissimi, hanno usanze particolari... sputano, non portano le mutande...”

ACCULTURATION VS. ASSIMILATION

Minority members appeared to be more aware of the treat of assimilation when speaking about acculturation requirements.

“Those (immigrants) with whom I am in contact are pretty much integrated, because they live since long here, they have a job... Integration to me means that an immigrant brings his/her culture and at the same time is able to fit a different environment, that s/he is able to live also in different conditions without assimilating fully...”⁹⁰ (Slovene minority, INNT5)

“concretely the situation creates two blocks: on one side there is the group of autochthonous population saying “I don't want to loose my identity” and expecting those others to adapt in everything, because they are those who came... and so of course. it is normal that the others are against this... the problem is to what degree should they accept adaptation... because it is not only a matter of language and culture, but also of a different organization of life, perception of time, relationships... some cultures for instance have a different perception of time than us... the fact is that we also have to allow and enable a part of their culture to remain... But I do not know where to put the optimal line, because I haven't reflected much about this...”⁹¹ (Slovene minority, INMI2)

The informants acknowledged integration needs to be in two ways, rather than merely expecting to bring and assimilate the minority in the majority culture.

When reflecting about the degree of integration of the immigrants in their local realities, several of our respondents listed examples of unsuccessful adaptation to the way of living and being of the majority population. The reasons are seen in the differences between behaviors and habits the groups have, creating gaps between them. Mutual tolerance and respect appear to be lacking, especially

⁹⁰“tisti, s katerimi imam stike so precej integrirani, ker živijo že dalj časa tukaj, imajo delo... Integracija mi pomeni, da priseljenc prinese s sabo svojo kulturo in se obenem znajde tudi v drugem okolju, da je sposoben živeti tudi v drugih pogojih, ne da bi se popolnoma asimiliral...”

⁹¹“dejansko nastaneta dva bloka: na eni strani skupina avtohtonih prebivalcev reče “Jaz nočem izgubiti svoje identitete” in čaka, da se oni drugi adaptirajo v vsem, ker so oni prišli... zato normalno...logično, da oni drugi grejo proti temu... torej problem je, do katere stopnje naj oni sprejmejo adaptacijo... ker ni samo stvar jezika in kulture, a tudi stvar organizacije življenja, dojemanja časa, odnosov... nekatere kulture na primer imajo drugačno dojetje časa kot mi... dejstvo je, da moramo tudi mi pustiti in omogočati, da se del njihove kulture ohrani... kam postaviti optimalno linijo pa sam ne vem, ker nisem posebno o tem razmišljal...”

when dealing with sensitive issues related to cultural - religious beliefs, needs and requirements.

Certain communities, like the Bengali and the Chinese ones, are, according to the informants from Italy, the most isolated and segregated, not willing to move toward integration. On the other hand, some respondents do not see them as possessing enough common identity markers to be included in a common in-group as nationals, excluding and separating them.

“Where I live and work now (in Trieste) I see immigration mostly as the result of a historical and cultural process of the town. Except for the Chinese, who, beside Bengali people, are not integrated and do not belong to the community. In my hometown in (), instead, the phenomenon is more brutal, because it is not controlled... people are scared, and the Muslims, Chinese and others are not included... because the Muslims want to impose themselves, while the others create their own separate communities that have little to do with the State.”⁹²(Italian informant, INMI)

Open Society Institute (2002) indicated that Muslim minorities are among the least accepted in society. As an effect of the insufficient awareness of the intragroup diversity of Muslim communities, people generally do not distinguish between their attitude toward Muslim groups and their attitude toward Islam. According to the research, negative attitudes such as Islamophobia and rejecting Muslims at all may result in strengthening Muslim sense of ethnic – religious identification and exclusion from the majority society, instead of leading toward integration.

Both among Italian and Slovenian respondents, a separate group is made of those respondents who are more positively oriented toward migrants in general. They refuse the stereotyped perceptions conveyed and influenced by the public discourses, pinpointing the individual responsibility of actions rather than (ethnic) group membership or status.

⁹²“Nella zona dove sono domiciliata, lavoro e vivo a () vedo buona parte dell’immigrazione come un risultato del percorso storico culturale della città. Questo a parte i cinesi che per esempio insieme ai bengalesi non sono integrati e non appartengono alla comunità. Nella zona dove risiedo e ho vissuto molti anni il fenomeno è molto più brutale, perché non è controllato... la gente ha paura e i musulmani, i cinesi e altri non sono inseriti... perché i primi vogliono imporsi (i musulmani), il resto crea delle comunità a sé che poco o niente hanno a che vedere con il Paese.”

Several possible discriminant factors seem to explain the difference in attitudes toward immigrants in our sample.

- **information, (intercultural) education, (de)generalization**

“undoubtedly the education I received from my family and at school...”⁹³ (Italian minority in Slovenia, INC805)

*“I belong to the Chinese minority, and so having been born in between two cultures, I know what it means on my own skin. My attitude (toward immigration) is moderately flexible, even though my lack of knowledge of other cultures is an obstacle in understanding some facts: sometimes just by reading newspapers I hardly understand certain behaviors. For this reason (to gain more knowledge and detailed information) I read the weekly magazine *The International*.⁹⁴” (non-Slovenian minority in Italy, INSWI)*

Those who try to acquire more objective and indepth information and those who avoid generalizations based on group memberships (individualists) appear more positively oriented, confirming the idea that decategorization, seeing people in individuated and personalized way rather than as members of a certain group, can reduce intergroup bias (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2009).

“Data of the Ministry of Internal Affairs demonstrate that only 1% of regular foreigners commit some crime, compared to 7% of Italians. Obviously in every nationality there are delinquents and good people, but the only distinction that I make is this one: if you are a good person, my door is open, if you are a delinquent and I do not mind whether you are Italian or a foreigner, you go to prison and remain there!⁹⁵” (Italian respondent, INFG6)

It is interesting to notice that, unlike in the open questions of the questionnaire, very few of the interviewees mentioned researchers or people from other countries as immigrants. The typical image of an immigrant was associated with

⁹³ “Indubbiamente l’educazione-istruzione familiare e scolastica...”

⁹⁴ “Io appartengo alla minoranza cinese, quindi sono già nato tra due culture e so cosa vuol dire sulla mia pelle. Il mio atteggiamento è moderatamente flessibile, anche se la mia non conoscenza verso altre cultura ostacola molto la mia lettura dei fatti: anche solo guardando il giornale, faccio a fatica a capire certi comportamenti. Per questo leggo il settimanale *Internazionale*.”

⁹⁵ “I dati del Ministero degli Interni dimostrano che solo l’1% degli stranieri regolari si macchia di reati contro il 7% degli italiani. E’ ovvio che tra qualsiasi nazionalità ci siano delinquenti e brave persone ma questa è l’unica distinzione che io faccio: se sei una brava persona la mia porta è aperta, se sei un delinquente e me ne frego che tu sia italiano o straniero te ne vai in galera e ci resti!”

the main challenges witnessed in the local realities. The immigrant would be often associated with poverty, low language proficiency, poor education, criminality, dirt, etc., probably influenced by mass media portrayal of them and continuous stressing of these elements.

“(...) concerning Muslims I believe many – too many problems stem from the lack of knowledge about each other and from the lack of tolerance, and that the extremists, the mad and the desperate ones have always existed in every culture and historic eras, unfortunately!”⁹⁶ (Italian respondent, INF10)

Ethnic groups are heterogeneous and therefore simplistic generalisations based on group memberships are essentially wrong and to be avoided (Bennett & Bennett 2004). Nevertheless, they are more likely to occur when there is little mutual knowledge and contact between groups. In such situations people automatically and mindlessly rely on the use of wide categories of culture and ethnicity to predict someone's behaviour (Langer 1989: 154; Langer & Moldovenau 2000: 2). This is common also in cases when people are assumed to be typical members of their group (Gudykunst & Kim 1997: 173-175).

“(...) the general uneasiness in my opinion is very dangerous... it is just a matter of time... also because some people come from war zones and for them violence is normal... they do not respect neither their own relatives...”⁹⁷ (Italian respondent, INFGB7)

Many of the respondents reported feelings of fear and perceived threat associated with immigration, as a consequence of negative experiences or as effect of negative stereotypes.

- ***perceived threat, positive vs. negative experiences and stereotypes***

"Practically speaking, this means that you are tensed and scared when you walk at night along there, and (...) to leave a car or bike there for longer

⁹⁶“(...) Per quanto riguarda i mussulmani io credo che molti – troppi problemi nascano dalla non conoscenza reciproca e dalla mancanza di tolleranza, e che gli estremisti, i folli ed i disperati siano sempre esistiti in ogni cultura ed epoca storica, purtroppo!”

⁹⁷“(...) il malessere generale secondo me è molto pericoloso... è solo questione di tempo... anche perchè certe persone vengono da Paesi di guerra e per loro è normale la violenza e non hanno rispetto neppure per i propri famigliari...” (Italian respondent)

periods, but not because you have prejudices, but because you have more personal negative experiences and same they do have your Slovenian friends and Southern Slovenians. I do not like such effects of cultural mixing. And unfortunately I do not see positive ones.⁹⁸ (Slovenian respondent, INB828)

As Jalušič (2002:70) puts it, the actual denial of intolerance and racism is one of the basic characteristics of hate speech nowadays, involving self-legitimization and denying that an action against different others is xenophobic or racist, presenting it as acting out of self-defensive needs.

Nevertheless, prejudice was also supported by some negative traumatic experiences, such as that of an informant's experience when someone was violent toward her.

“my sensitivity to these issues originates since the time I was a student... at high school and later at university, when I was coming in contact with these groups especially in trains. They spoke Balkan languages, mainly they were swearing and behaving aggressively and with such behaviors invaded my personal space. Once, for example, an adolescent of their group “boxed” through me against the window for one hour in the train, while his colleagues were laughing. This was a very tough psychological experience.⁹⁹ (Slovenian, INB828)

- **working with migrant minorities and having direct contacts**

“I work in assistance services and mainly with foreigners, I know very well Italian laws and those of the rest of Europe and I assure you that Germany, France and Spain have immigration laws much stricter than we do and they have a higher number of immigrants... the difference is in the severity of laws that concern crimes, committed by whoever: in Italy it is easier to obtain reductions of the punishment/sentence or to have alternative measures, but even these are more used by Italians who can pay lawyers rather than by immigrants...¹⁰⁰ (Italian respondent, INFG6)

98"Praktično pa to pomeni, da ti je ponoči tesno, ko hodiš peš tam mimo in bog ne daj, da bi pustil tam, za dalj časa, svoje kolo oziroma avto (pa ne zato ker imaš predsodke, ampak ker imaš več lastnih negativnih izkušenj in prav tako tudi tvoji prijatelji Slovenci in “južni Slovenci”). – Takšni učinki mešanja kultur mi vsekakor niso všeč. Pozitivnih pa tukaj žal ne vidim.”

99 “Občutljivost izhaja iz srednje šole in kasneje fakultete, ko sem srečevala te skupine predvsem na vlaku in v podhodih. Govorili so balkanske jezike, predvsem preklinjali ter se agresivno obnašali, s čimer so posegli v moj osebni prostor. Za primer naj navedem, da je najstnik njihove skupine eno uro preko mene boksal v okno na vlaku, kolegi pa so se mu smejeli. To je bila težka psihična preizkušnja.”

“... having travelled a lot improved my attitude toward diversity¹⁰¹”
(Italian informant, INT6920)

“... I have good relationships with the immigrants that I know¹⁰²” (Italian informant, INT21)

“My sensitivity toward minorities stems from living near the border and from the fact that I have many relatives and friends on the other side of the border (among “zamejci”)¹⁰³” (Slovenian respondent, INPRV831)

“... from the fact that you live in an area where minority is present or in its immediate closeness or because you know people who are minority members...¹⁰⁴” (Slovenian informant, INO839)

● **diversity as enriching element**

“(...) in my son's classroom there are several children born elsewhere, but this will make him a more open adult, curious and informed, definitely not more ignorant.¹⁰⁵” (Italian respondent, INF10)

“... their daughter speaks since always three languages... Slovenian, Italian and English... now she's older and she is learning also German and Friulian... this is great¹⁰⁶” (Slovene minority respondent, INNT5)

“Being a member of a minority, the Slovene one in Italy, but also knowing people of different ethnicities, I cannot go without having a positive

100 *“Io lavoro nell'assistenza e lavoro soprattutto con stranieri, conosco molto bene le leggi italiane e quelle del resto dell' Europa e ti assicuro che la Germania, la Francia e la Spagna hanno delle leggi sull' immigrazione di gran lunga più severe ed hanno un numero di immigrati molto più alto del nostro... quello che è diverso è la severità delle leggi che riguardano i reati, chiunque li compia: in Italia siamo più garantisti e quindi è più facile ottenere degli sconti di pena o delle misure alternative, ma anche in questo ne usufruiscono più gli italiani che si possono pagare gli avvocati che non gli stranieri. (...)”*

101 *“... l'aver viaggiato molto ha influenzato il mio atteggiamento nei confronti della diversità”*

102 *“... ho buoni rapporti con gli immigrati che ho conosciuto”*

103 *“Moja občutljivost izhaja iz bivanja ob meji in dejstva, da imam v zamejstvu številne sorodnike in prijatelje.”*

104 *“...iz dejstva, da živiš v prostoru, kjer je prisotna manjšina ali v njeni neposredni bližini ali poznaš ljudi, ki so del manjšine.”*

105 *“(...) mio figlio in classe ha diversi bambini nati altrove ma questo lo renderà un adulto più aperto, curioso ed informato, certo non più ignorante.”*

106 *“... njihova punčka govori tri jezike od vedno... slovenščino, italijanščino in angleščino... zdaj je večja in se uči še nemško in furlansko... to je super”*

attitude towards whatever minority or diversity; I believe it is a source of cultural enrichment.¹⁰⁷” (Slovene minority respondent, INGO9)

“Several factors have influenced my attitude toward minorities. Among these there is for sure the willingness to know and the need to be open to comparison, to understand what's like in someone else's skin, the possibility to constantly modify and complete our points of view.¹⁰⁸” (Italian minority in Slovenia, INB3)

● cosmopolitan views and relativism

In line with an Australian research that demonstrated that those who identified more strongly with being a "human" than with the national label exhibited more positive attitudes toward asylum seekers (Nickerson & Louis 2008), our respondents who showed more cosmopolitan views were more positively oriented toward immigrants.

“Having understood that I am a citizen of the world rather than of any particular area, not seeing anymore the other as necessarily an enemy and more generally a bigger mental openness due to the end of the cold war and the falling of the borders...¹⁰⁹” (Italian informant, INT17)

“this homeland is not my home, I am a citizen of the world and whoever is honest is my conational, whoever needs my help, foreigner or Italian, blond or dark haired, can knock at my door and I will do what I can...¹¹⁰” (Italian respondent, INF10)

“we are all just energy, beyond our origins, race, language, gender, possessions...¹¹¹” (Italian informant, INT21)

107 *“Facendo parte di una minoranza, quella slovena in Italia, ma anche conoscendo persone di etnie diverse non posso che avere un atteggiamento positivo nei confronti di qualsiasi minoranza o diversità; credo sia una fonte di arricchimento culturale.”*

108 *“Numerosi sono i fattori che muovono o hanno mosso il mio atteggiamento nei confronti delle minoranze, tra i principali sono sicuramente la voglia di conoscenza e la necessità di aprirsi al confronto, di calarsi nella pelle dell'altro nonché la possibilità, spesso insita nella diversità, di modificare, completare, rivedere i propri punti di vista.”*

109 *“Aver capito di essere più un cittadino del mondo che di una particolare area, non vedere più il diverso come necessariamente un nemico e in generale una maggiore apertura mentale dovuta anche alla fine della guerra fredda e la caduta dei confini...”*

110 *“questa patria non è casa mia, io sono cittadina del mondo e chiunque onesto è mio connazionale, chiunque ha bisogno di un mio aiuto, straniero o italiano, biondo o bruno potrà bussare alla mia porta e farò quello che posso...”*

111 *“... siamo tutti semplicemente energia, al di là delle nostre origini, razza, lingua, genere, averi...”*

“I always thought that the concept of minorities is in fact universal, in the sense that we are all a minority compared to someone, as someone else is a minority compared to us... a bit the same discourse about the contraposition of north and south: Sicilians are for us our southerners, and we are the southerners for Germans and so on...¹¹²” (Italian minority in Slovenia, INR2)

- **religious/spiritual views**

“My life and that of my children is in the hands of God: He gave it to me, He will accompany me elsewhere when the time will be right, because nothing happens that is not His will and I have faith in His Grace. The other, the foreigner, the diverse, the mad are just like me, expression of the Divine will and love... I cannot hate, I can defend myself, but definitely not hate or reject (...) Are we all children of God or not? Or does someone believe God will ask residence permit for Paradise??¹¹³” (Italian respondent, INF10)

“As a minority member I am of course sensitive to these issues, but I think it is due to the sense of humanness and from Christianity. The small and the weak need to be respected and helped always.¹¹⁴” (Slovene minority informant, INGO5710)

- **empathic identification and understanding**

Intergroup empathy occurs when members of one group identify with the emotions or perspectives of members of another social group (Mealy & Stephan, 2009). It has a positive effect on intergroup relations because it fosters mutual understanding of groups with different worldviews and histories, helping in reducing prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination.

112 *“Ho sempre pensato che in realtà il concetto di minoranza sia universale, nel senso che tutti siamo minoranza nei confronti di qualcuno, così come qualcuno lo è per noi... un po' il medesimo discorso relativo alla contrapposizione nord-sud: i siciliani sono i ns. meridionali, noi siamo i meridionali dei tedeschi e così via...”*

113 *“La mia vita e quella dei miei figli è nelle mani di Dio: lui me la data, lui mi accompagnerà altrove quando sarà il momento, perchè niente accade che Lui non voglia ed io confido nella Sua Grazia. L'altro, lo straniero, il diverso, il matto sono come me, espressione della Divina volontà ed amore... non riesco ad odiare, posso difendermi, ma odiare e respingere proprio no! (...) Ma siamo o non siamo tutti figli di Dio o qualcuno crede che Dio chiederà il Permesso di soggiorno per il Paradiso???”*

114 *“Kot pripadnik manjšine sem seveda občutljiv na te teme, a mislim, da izhaja občutek za manjšine iz človečnosti, humanizma in seveda iz krščanstva. Majhnega, nemočnega je treba vedno spoštovati, mu pomagati.”*

Cognitive empathy is the ability to see the world from the perspective of an outgroup member and it is useful in gaining knowledge about the cultural practices, norms, values and beliefs of the outgroup. It can reduce cognitive biases in perception, increasing seeing others in a more humanized and individualized way.

Behavioural empathy involves showing concern in words and deeds for another's suffering.

Research documented that activation of empathy, which can be created with intergroup contact, relations training or acquiring knowledge of the outgroup, leads to more favourable outgroup attitudes and results in increased prosocial altruistic behaviour and better intergroup relations (Mealy & Stephan 2009).

“Maybe it's because I know too well the pain and traumas of the travels of those who come to our country that I know the effort and difficulty of those who need to integrate, the homesickness of those who cannot return to their own country... I might be naïve, but I am not afraid of foreigners, of criminals yes, but of every nationality! And moreover we Italians went with our suitcases to all the countries in the world, sometimes, we were mainly honest people, but other times we had broken laws and exported mafia...¹¹⁵!”(Italian respondent, INFG6)

“it is something unavoidable. These people went abroad in search of food and basic needs, and we have the duty to help them as we can¹¹⁶”(Slovenian respondent, INPRV831)

“I understand that people are exasperated, that life is difficult for everybody, but I think we need to see the world as one big family with black sheeps, dramas, happiness and pain, hard workers and those cunning ones, as in every family.¹¹⁷”(Italian respondent, INFP8)

115“Sarà che conosco troppo bene il dolore ed i traumi dei viaggi di chi arriva nel nostro paese, che conosco la fatica di chi deve integrarsi, la nostalgia di chi non può tornare al proprio paese, sarò una ingenua ma non ho paura degli stranieri, dei delinquenti sì, ma di tutte le nazionalità! E poi noi siamo gli italiani che con valige di cartone sono andati in tutti i Paesi del mondo, a volte, la maggior parte siamo stati persone oneste, altre abbiamo infranto leggi ed esportato mafia....!”

116“je nekaj neizbežnega. Ti ljudje so šli s trehuhom za kruhom, mi pa smo jih dolžni velikodušno sprejeti in jim po svojih močeh pomagati.”

117“Capisco che gli animi siano esasperati, che la vita sia difficile per tutti, ma credo che sia necessario guardare al mondo come ad una grande ed unica famiglia con pecore nere, drammi, felicità e dolore, bravi lavoratori e furbetti del quartierino, così come in ogni famiglia accade.”

- **being a minority member**

“we as minority members understand better all these issues related with diversity... what it means to be diverse, to be a member of a disadvantaged subordinated group... because it is related to our own cultural existence... because we experienced all these on our own skin, then you gain greater sensitivity toward cultural and social aspects... but we also have, I think, greater sensitivity and awareness about what is happening at the political level... when there was war in Iraq... if on TV they said America is going to Iraq for democracy... it is more difficult to convince with such stories a Slovenian... a “zamejec” I mean.. a member of the minority... rather than someone else from, let's say, Rome or Paris or New York... because there were so many conflicts and discords here between Slovenia/Yugoslavia and Italy on political level... “I promise you this” and then in reality things go differently... so many of such plays, that we now have a greater sensitivity and awareness...”¹¹⁸ (Slovene minority informant, INNT5)

The ability of critical thinking beside possessing personal experiences is recurrently mentioned as a crucial capacity in order to resist being influenced by mass media conditionings.

“We as minority members have more openness not only toward ethnic minorities, but also toward people of other nationalities in general... “zamejci” more easily come in contact and interact with other nationalities that speak different languages with easy, because we are more flexible in switching from one language to another one, even if we don't know it... we can go without problems to any journey or conference... or to visit a black neighborhood where others would be scared to go... as something normal... we are facilitated, because we easily switch to a different system and way of life. Even though it is probably quite tough for us here in Italy, and we might not like the relationship we have with the Italian world, it is nevertheless easier when you go into a different environment, which is neutral and where there are not our issues... if there are other minorities there, you can easily understand their issues and you can relate with one side or the other one... you understand when the other withdraws and why... you have instruments that a member of the majority does not have, because s/he doesn't have these personal experiences. Of

118 *“mi kot pripadniki manjsine razumemo bolje vse te tematike, ki so vezane na različnost... kaj pomeni biti različni, biti član skupine, ki je zapostavljena... ker je to vezano na naš sam kulturni obstoj... ker smo od malega to doživljali na lastni kozi, zato pridobiš večjo senzibilnost, do kulturnih in socialnih vidikov... a imamo, mislim, tudi večjo sensibilitnost in ozaveščenost tega, kar se dogaja na politični ravni... ko je bila na primer vojna v Iraku... ce so po TV rekli, da gre Amerika v Irak za demokracijo... je težje, da prepričaš s to zgodbico Slovenca...zamejca pravim...pripadnika manjšine..kot nekoga drugega, ki živi v Rimu, recimo, ali Parizu ali New Yorku... zato ker je bilo pri nas toliko trenja med Slovenijo/Jugoslavijo/Italijo na politični ravni... “ti obljubim to”... in potem gre na drugi nacin... toliko the igric, da imamo sedaj večjo občutljivost, ozaveščenost...”*

course then it depends on the person and the character of each individual...¹¹⁹” (Slovene minority respondent, INMI2)

Several minority members interviewed expressed the viewpoint that for them it is easier to pass flexibly many kinds of borders: physical ones, when travelling without fearing exaggeratedly the other, the diverse and the unknown in a new environment, linguistical, mental and cultural ones due to the ability to switch from one communication code to another and the naturality of having multicultural resources and lifestyle patterns, psychological borders, for the facilitation in identifying empathically and with understanding with situations that resemble those lived firsthand. They seem to acknowledge borders and divisions are arbitrary and subject to change.

On the other hand, we cannot yet generalize this finding taking it as an objective evidence. We must keep in mind that these claimed openness may be a positive stereotype that individuals are willing to identify with. It is, in fact, a typical characteristic of self-stereotyping, which is associated with in-group bias, to ascribe more positive features to oneself and one's own group in order to evaluate belonging to it as more valuable. There was no hostility or sense of superiority toward the majority, yet the acknowledgement and admiration of one's own group possessing such qualities was noticeable in the majority of respondents.

*If one Essence is the human race,
Thusly has Creation put the Base;
One Limb impacted is sufficient,
For all Others to feel the Mace.*

~Saadi (persian poet) -1258

119“pripadniki manjšine imamo večjo odprtost ne samo za etnične manjšine, a tudi za druge narode nasploh... zamejci lažje stopijo v kontakt z drugimi narodi, ki govorijo druge jezike, prav zaradi tega, ker smo bolj fleksibilni v preklapljanju iz enega jezika v drugi, tudi če ga ne poznaš... že to, da lahko brez problemov gremo na katerokoli potovanje, konferenco... ali da greš pogledat črnsko četrt, kamor bi se drugi bali it... kot nekaj normalnega... smo olajšani v tem, da se lažje preklapljammo na drugi sistem in način življenja. Čeprav nam je tu v Italiji morda nerodno težko in nam mogoče ni všeč odnos z italijanskim svetom, je pa lažje ko greš v drugo okolje, ki je nevtralnno in kjer ni nase problematike... če so druge manjšine tam, lažje razumeš njihove problematike in lahko greš v stik z enim ali drugim...lažje razumeš, kdaj se oseba zapre sama vase in zakaj... imas instrumente, ki jih pripadnik večinskega naroda nima, ker nima teh doživetij in osebnih izkušenj. Seveda potem odvisi od osebe, od karakterja posameznika...”

SUMMARY and CONCLUSIONS

This survey and the interpretation of the results in it were inspired and guided by Social Identity Theory, Self Categorization Theory, Optimal Distinctiveness Theory and Social Identity Complexity Theory, outlined in the first chapter, where I also discussed several aspects of social identities and ethnic identity in particular, beside concepts of intergroup and ingroup bias.

According to Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorization Theory (Tajfel, 1982; Horsey & Hogg, 2000) people engage in social comparisons, strive to obtain and maintain a positive self esteem. This process involves categorization and evaluations, both of self and of others.

Categorization, in turn, implies designations of ingroups and outgroups. How people label, categorize and identify themselves and other people in ethnic and national terms has implications on an individual's well-being (Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004) and it may have important effects on general society as well (Berry, 1998).

When a person achieves a secure and positive sense of identity, in fact, s/he is better psychologically adapted, capable of greater productivity and achievement at school or at work, less aggressive, tensed or depressed, s/he has more harmonious interpersonal relations, etc. (Schwartz, Montgomery & Briones, 2006). Understanding individuals' and groups' categorizations and identifications is, thus, a research theme that has also significant implications in everyday life.

Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001) evidenced that people in their identification processes try to maintain an optimal balance between the need for assimilation and the need for differentiation.

Basically, it is suggested that being too similar or too different to other groups will give rise to psychological discomforts for in-group members. According to

this theory, ingroup bias may be induced by an affirmation motive, to affirm the identification with an optimally distinct group, and by a differentiation motive, to fulfill the need for intergroup differentiation. The researchers found that in optimally distinct groups there was a positive relationship between ingroup satisfaction and ingroup bias, while the opposite was true for groups that did not provide good enough distinctivity.

Roccas and Brewer (2002) noticed that identity structure is subject to situational motivations and that levels of social identity complexity are influenced by social environments. When socialized in small local environments, people tend to perceive ingroups with greater perceived similarity and almost total overlap of ingroup identities. They display a simple social identity, because they are surrounded mostly with similar others with whom to interact and identify.

In multicultural environments, instead, people more likely develop complex social identities. Miller, Brewer and Arbuckle (2009) reported that in such settings people's ingroup members have also the potential of being outgroup members. In this model (Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Miller et al., 2009), when the overlap between multiple ingroups is perceived to be high, the individual have a relatively simplified identity structure and a single ingroup identification. When the overlap is lower, instead, social identity complexity increases. Individuals with high social identity complexity are more inclusive and therefore they are expected to show more out-group tolerance and acceptance (Brewer & Pierce, 2005). A member of the outgroup in some aspects, may, in fact, be a member of the ingroup in some other aspects.

Deriving from these constations, the theory predicts that intergroup attitudes may be influenced by how one's multiple social group membership are combined to form ingroup identification.

More specifically, it was suggested (Roccas & Brewer, 2002) that people with high social identity complexity are more likely to favor multiculturalism and affirmative action policies, show values of universalism and openness to change.

I adopted these perspectives to explore identity dynamics and out-group attitudes in the Italo-Slovene borderland, which is considered by many a natural laboratory to study similar issues. The research population and territory were described in the second chapter, while the research questions and hypotheses were discussed in the third chapter.

The primary goal of this thesis was to offer arguments for the use of multiple identity concepts by providing new insights into borderland identity and intergroup dynamics. It was our aim to achieve a better understanding of the ways minority and majority members think about their single or multiple group membership and to explore how these group identities affect outgroup orientation.

It was argued that in the borderland majority members, as well as minority members, may have multiple ethnic identities too and different degrees of overlapping components.

The research also aimed to explore how boundaries opening with the admission of Slovenia in the European Union (in 2004) and the previous socio-political change, associated with Slovenia's independence from Yugoslavia (in 1991), affected ethnic/national identification and intergroup relations of those living more or less close to the border area, exploring, inter alia, how social identity complexity affects outgroup orientations.

The methodological aspects of the survey were described in Chapter four. The research combined qualitative and quantitative methods, being an exploratory research to develop new measurement scales and address future studies on multiple identities.

The data corpus for this thesis comprised in total 415 questionnaires (88 Italian respondents, 133 Slovene minority respondents and 194 Slovenian ones) and 56 interviews (27 Italian informants, 20 Slovenian informants, 10 representatives of the Slovene minority members living in Italy, 5 representative members of the

Italian minority in Slovenia and 4 other representatives of non-Italian minorities in Italy). Several questionnaires were received beyond the deadline due for the present analysis. They will be added to the database in a subsequent moment, upon broadening the sample.

The qualitative analysis of the interviews attempted to summarize and somehow reconstruct individuals' and groups' experiences and opinions, allowing both the researcher and the respondents to further explore and uncover their stances. The transcripts were extensively used in such a way to recognize the plurality of subgroups that constitute each group, their positions and representations.

Several translated standardized measures assessing in-group ethnic identification (MEIM, Phinney, 1992) and out-group attitudes were adopted (see Chapter four).

An innovating element was the creation of a simple new measure of social identity complexity. In this survey ethnic identity complexity was measured by first using three open questions to stimulate respondent's multiple self-designation and then using Venn-like diagrams, a graphical representation of Inclusion of others in the Self, that aimed to ascertain with a visual impact individual's potential overlapping and nested identities. This way we had different self-labels, the hierarchic order in which they were important in one's self view, strength of identification with each mentioned label and a new potential measure of multiple identification that can be easily inserted in questionnaires.

Social salience of minority identities and intergroup comparisons were manipulated. Participants were unaware of the influence that the initial prompts to list more of their self-categorizations had on their judgment. In light of this criterion, any effects of our social-identity salience manipulation on subsequent responses can be considered implicit (Banaji & Greenwald, 1994).

Findings were discussed in Chapter five.

H 1: *(Slovene) Minority members, compared to majority members (Slovenians and Italians), will use more labels to define themselves, showing multiple identities to a greater extent.*

H 2: *(Slovene) Minority members will exhibit a more complex social (ethnic) identity structure in order to achieve an optimal level of distinctiveness and a clearer sense of self.*

H 3: *Ethnic and national identity salience will differ across minority and majority groups.*

H 4: *a) We expect Venn diagram circles “Inclusion of others in the self” (our newly designed measure) to reflect group memberships.*

b) Selection choices will vary across individuals and groups, with minority members expressing graphically higher degrees of identities overlap (more complex ethnic identity structures).

H 5: *Minority members are expected to have higher degrees of ethnic identity than majority members.*

The hypotheses were confirmed with all the measures (I am – multiple self descriptors, Inclusions of others in the self – Venn diagrams, MEIM).

When ethnic identity and social comparison were primed, Slovene minority members of our sample expressed higher degrees of ethnic identification than majority members. At the same time, self-categorizations as “Slovene and Italian” were common ways to reflect one's dual and multiple identity, as well as showing identification with ethnic and national groups.

This is positive as having a strong ethnic identity and integrating to the mainstream community, is the most effective form of integration (Berry, 2006).

The most typical response was still the use of the label “zamejci” or the third space in between two simple overlapping social identities, representing hybrid

identity and different degrees of overlap of in-group identifications. Being group identification flexible and subject to change, group boundaries can be established as gradual area of transition or demarcation between different groups, resulting in strategically adapting or redefining one's expressed identity.

Following Uncertainty Reduction Theory, we also understand that those showing a hybrid identity as "zamejci" have a chance to significantly reduce the subjective uncertainty of who they are, increasing their identification with the use of this label, as it provides clearer fit to their perceived sense of self. As suggested by the Optimal Distinctiveness Theory, it does, in fact, provide the best level of distinctiveness, an optimal balance between similarity and difference.

The label allows to stress affinities and disparities with both in-groups/outgroups. Some traits and behaviors that apply to a given group, in fact, may be shared with non-members and not shared with members living in a different geographic area (Cohen & Horenczyk, 1999). For those who are identified with a third space in between, this explanation fits as well. Nevertheless, the label is becoming obsolete, since the opening of the border. It will be, thus, interesting, to follow changes in self-labeling in the next years.

Optimal distinctiveness theory explains also the finding that identification and ingroup attachment are relatively higher for members of minority groups than for majority group members. People prefer to be associated with their smaller, more distinctive group memberships rather than larger, majority ingroups, regardless of other status differentials between ingroup and outgroup.

Graphical representations that are expression of complex social identities were not used only by minority members, but also by some majority members. We argued that people living in borderlands where intermingling of different communities is common, the inclusion of others in the self is more likely, especially for people who may have had in their ancestry different ethnicities.

Allowing more than one self-designation we were able to trace some potentially assimilated minority members in both the Slovenian and Italian group. It might be useful to consider it in further research.

H 6: Minority and majority members will differ regarding territorial attachments.

H 7: There will be differences concerning the importance of different national identity markers across groups.

H 8: Respondents will show evidence of situational ethnicity.

Minority members expressed higher attachments to local territorial units rather than national ones. Among the Italian respondents there was a higher than expected percentage of cosmopolitan identifiers, while in Slovenian sample the most surprising finding was the low level of attachment to the European Union.

Minority members also showed evidence of situational ethnicity. Most often this was in the form of linguistic switching and differential self-description according to situations, reported by outgroup members' observations.

According to Social Identity Theory, strategic identity expression and switching are likely to occur when people perceive their group as less valued by others. Research showed that when seen as members of a negatively stereotyped group, people can be affected by such stereotype threat, underperforming in certain tasks and being unable to present a positive self-image, therefore prompting the person to choose a different self-presentation.

Gresky, Ten Eyck, Lord and McIntyre (2005) found that high social identity complexity can act as a buffer from experiencing stereotype threat helping individuals to confront threats to the status of any single ingroup membership. Thus, when fearing of being ascribed negative stereotypes to themselves and one of their identities/parts, people may focus and enact a different identity or reverting to a less complex social identity (as Italian or as Slovenian), remaining

unaffected by the threat to the social identity. This self-protecting mechanism would explain the occasional situational identity and switching noticed in Slovene minority members and often criticized by Slovenians, who are bothered by the minorities' tendency to switch language according to the interest of the moment.

To summarize, the reasons of switching languages and, implicitly, identities that came out in the dialogue with our informants are manyfold. Switching for them can be:

- an automatic and natural occurrence dictated more or less consciously by the contextual salience of a certain identity at a given time in the presence of particular others;
- a conscious behaviour enacted by the person in order to gain some benefits from the identity that is most likely to be favourable and advantageous in a specific context at a certain time;
- an unconscious behaviour reflecting an unstable and insecurely achieved identity that is fluctuating, as the person seeks to establish a positive sense of self, enacted especially when feeling under pressure or wishing to hide that identity, abandon it and accepting another one, better valued.

Several authors (Kalbach & Kalbach, 1999a, 1999b; Fishman 1999) argued that language may be considered one of the most important components of ethnic identity and that language shift can lead to a loss of ethnic identity (thus, assimilation), cultural fragmentation and “non-authentic” expressions of ethnicity (Smolicz, 1992: 291). Confirming the perceived importance of language as ethnic and identity marker, our respondents across the three groups identified it as the most important aspect of belongingness, followed by culture. The same identifiers were considered a must for the integration of new minorities.

All the groups equally stressed the importance of acculturation, the process of learning and adapting to a new culture in aspects such as second language proficiency, adaptation to behaviours, attitudes, values and beliefs of the host country.

Another of the achieved identity markers of national identity that was repeatedly stressed, especially by Italian respondents, was respect of country laws, while for the other two groups aspects of feeling Italian or Slovenian were relatively more important.

H 9: Socio-political changes associated with the independence of Slovenia and its joining the Schengen area of the European Union, will be (subjectively) perceived as having had an impact on one's ethnic and national identifications, especially for Slovenians and Slovene minority members.

H 10: Socio-political changes associated with the independence of Slovenia and its joining the Schengen area of the European Union, will be (subjectively) perceived as having had an impact on intergroup relations between communities living in the borderland.

Most of the participants stated they did not perceive any evident effect of the socio-political changes of the last decades on their ethnic and national sense of self or on intergroup attitudes.

We have to keep in mind, though, that these processes of change on the macro level are slow and gradual and that it is difficult to be aware of their impact on the micro level straight away.

In the discourse, they did, in fact, after the initial negation, mention several aspects, some more directly a consequence of the events on the macro level, some others as processes that were already present and just became more pronounced and highlighted.

Many Slovenians and Slovene minority members said they are more proud and self-confident in their sense of national/ethnic belonging. For some the awareness of European citizenship strengthened, while the majority wonders about its concrete use in everyday life. Slovene minority members expressed feeling closer to Slovenia and its inhabitants after its independence, since they never felt attached to Yugoslavia.

Regarding the effects of socio-political changes on relationships between communities on both sides of the border, three main subgroups of respondents could be identified: those who see it as effectively, though slowly, improving intergroup attitudes (stimulating cooperation, mutual knowledge, contact, information); those who believe intergroup relations remain unchanged (either positive or negative), and those who are neutral.

H 11: All the group members will perceive themselves more similar to a typical member of the in-group rather than of the outgroups.

H 12: (Slovene) Minority members will perceive greater similarities toward target outgroups (Italians, Slovenians) that are potentially their in-groups (at varying degrees of overlap).

H 13: Minority and majority members will have different patterns of intergroup friendships.

H 14: We predict that individuals with more cross-group friendships and interaction opportunities with out-group members will have more positive attitudes towards them.

H 15: Majority members high identifiers with a lower social identity structure will show greater intergroup differentiation (will perceive more differences between in-group and target outgroups).

H16: Out-group attitudes will be different in minority and majority members. Minority status and social identity complexity will have a significant effect as predictors on measures of out-group attitude.

H 17: High identifiers across groups will exhibit greater in-group bias (positively evaluating the in-group over the target outgroups).

H 18: Perceived threat to social identity will be a mediating factor in between identification and out-group attitudes.

H 19: Higher levels of perceived discrimination are associated with minority group membership.

We could not test all the hypotheses that involved degree of ethnic identification and group comparisons with different predictors due to low sample size and unequal variance across groups for several independent variables.

Nevertheless, without attempting to generalize, our findings seem to confirm all the above mentioned hypotheses.

The data confirmed that perceived similarity with target group and complex identity structure are associated with lower social distance, higher percentage of intergroup contacts and more positive outgroup orientation. Different cultural conceptions regarding behavioral norms, cultural traditions, family life, gender roles, values, children education, individual freedoms and rights were emphasized regarding Muslims as out-group from all the respondents.

When the majority talked about Slovene minority members, instead, the affinities were more than differences. These regarded, beside language, dietary customs, some specific cultural traditions, and socializing activities. Data suggested people prefer to have closer relations and contacts with similar others (homophily).

From the research it emerged that minority members tend to be more aware of the need to find an optimal balance between acculturation and assimilation in

order to achieve a successful integration of old and new minorities in the society. They are aware that the process should be bidirectional and allow “parts of their culture to remain”, both in “pro-immigrants rights” scale of the questionnaire and in interviews.

On the other hand, a greater percentage of majority members have a more rigid concept of acculturation and expect minorities, especially immigrants, to fully adapt to the host culture in every aspect, assimilating and moving away from their original ethnic culture to adopt the one of the host country. This tendency particularly emerged from the interviews, while in the questionnaires the difference between groups was relatively small and not statistically significant. The result seems to reflect the trend found in most countries, encouraging assimilation strategies despite the apparent preference for integration (Van O’Donovan, Ward & Masgoret, 2006).

The analysis revealed that there was less tolerance toward new minorities present in the local territory rather than toward autochthonous minorities, both in Italy in Slovenia. Negative attitude toward new minorities was often evoked without being grounded in direct personal experiences, but rather out of a general feeling and perception of the phenomenon as commonly described in the public discourse.

Moreover, in a subgroup of informants several stereotyped images of immigrants emerged as poor, more likely to be involved in delinquency, with poor linguistic abilities, living in overpopulated apartments, not clean, rude, aggressive, having strange habits (e.g., not wearing the underwear or spitting), employed in low standard jobs or living from majority's assets, having a non-acceptable conception of gender roles, etc. The findings cannot be generalized to the whole sample, though. Another subgroup, in fact, was more positively oriented and aware of the internal differentiation of any outgroup. This second group, which in our sample was over-represented, showed more cosmopolitan views, weaker ethnic identification, a more complex social identity structure, empathic understanding of the other. In this category there were generally those who

travelled a lot, were less susceptible to mass media conditionings, had more positive experiences of personal intergroup contact, at work or in personal relationships, a religiously or spiritually driven compassion for vulnerable others and acceptance of diversity, curiosity, open-mindedness, access to information, cosmopolitan identifications.

A typical self-stereotype of minority members that comprised our sample was that minorities are equipped with additional skills compared with most of majority members. They stressed the features of minority members being bilingual and bicultural, able to switch with ease between different linguistic, cultural and mental frames. Awareness and pride of these aspects were very high, making salient the underlying question: is it an objective evidence or could these be seen as those positive aspects ascribed as stereotypes to minorities from ingroup members as well as from others that a person is happy to accept as his or her own characteristics, identifying with the minority group and with the positive ingroup bias? Our present data cannot assert one or the other possibility so far. Most likely both may be valid. Once incorporating these characteristics and skills as a positive feature of one's in-group and oneself, self-fulfilling prophecy would do the rest. Self-categorization as an ingroup member involves adopting a shared social identity, enhancing similarities with other ingroup members and the prototype of the ingroup (Lipponen & Leskinen, 2006) leading to subsequent ingroup favouritism and implementing the prototypical behaviour of the group.

Minorities have long been seen as the ideal mediators in intercultural conflict areas and communities. We argue that one of the potentially distinctive elements that facilitates more inclusive orientations toward outgroups is a complex social identity structure. If this hypothesis will get confirmed by our subsequent analysis with a larger sample, it would imply that such structure is to be encouraged in majority members as well. It would foster the recognition that there are no fixed boundaries separating most social categories (Plous, 1993), and tolerance for contradictions. Moreover, it would support the idea that dual or multiple identity approaches (i.e. ethnic, national and transnational, such as

European) that allow higher degrees of social identity complexity and distinctiveness are more effective in reducing intergroup bias than superordinate recategorizations (Dovidio, Gaertner & Validzic, 1998), when and if group members perceive that their subgroup identity (i.e. ethnic) is recognized and respected (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000).

"If I feel that you are more like me,
I might then behave to you in a different way.
We now test whether shared experiences
can make us stereotype others less,
or change our attitudes towards people
of different social groups, race or gender"

Tsakiris

LIMITATIONS

The most important limiting element of the study was the unavailability of a sufficient number of Italian respondents. The questionnaire was largely and for long distributed both in the online form with the link advertised in many forums and in the paper form, receiving a relatively low response rate.

Twenty high schools in Gorizia (Italy), Monfalcone (Italy), Trieste (Italy), Nova Gorica (Slovenia), Capodistria (Slovenia) and Piran (Slovenia) were contacted (by e-mail, formal request to the headmasters at the secretary, by personal appointment with the headmaster) asking them to cooperate and dedicate one school hour to the research, offering in exchange to present the findings at their school and a free workshop on intercultural dialogue or minority-majority relations. Five Slovene schools in Italy (in Gorizia) and two Slovenian schools (in Nova Gorica) accepted out of twenty, showing interest for the results as well. Responses from the Slovenian schools in Slovenia, however, did not come, despite being solicited three times. The other schools either refused due to lack of time to devote to this project at the time of the request or did not reply. Request for collaboration was sent maximum twice to each school. Similarly, I contacted thirty-seven associations in Italy. Response rate was unexpectedly low.

Considering the high percentage of drop out after few questions (documented in the online form), partially the reason may be found in the fact that the themes dealt with were sensitive and complex. Another element was the complexity of the measure used, the time and effort needed to complete it. In some cases its accurate compilation required from half an hour to one hour. It also contained several open questions that required more cognitive work.

Secondly, it is possible the ethnicity of the researcher inadvertently and unconsciously caused respondents' bias: more Slovenophones than Italophones people showed willingness to devote part of their time to answer the

questionnaire. Introducing my research and the questionnaire I often presented myself as a member of the Slovene minority in Italy. Researchers have observed that interviewer characteristics, such as ethnicity, can have a substantive effect on the answers that respondents give, not only in face-to-face interviews but even in telephone ones (Davis, 2006), leading to a greater proportion of noncompliant answers, such as “don’t know,” “no opinions,” or “refused” categories of response. In our case the effect popped out more with the questionnaire rather than with the interviews. The respondents might nevertheless feel reluctant to express their authentic opinion knowing my ethnicity and nationality.

Furthermore, among those who were willing to collaborate, there was a higher than normally expected percentage of people who were active members of NGOs or humanitarian associations, or that worked and had contacts with (autochthonous or immigrant) minority members. It is likely that these respondents show a specific behavioural pattern in their responses that differs from other respondents who do not have such experiences and personal characteristics, therefore not being very representative of the entire local population.

Another significant source of bias is related to the non-representative age distribution of the groups. The effect of age on opinions cannot be underestimated, as older respondents are more likely to be influenced in their opinions by events of the past and by crystallized orientations.

The qualitative interviews appeared to be a more efficient and effective way of collecting data with the Italian respondents, especially because the interpretative phenomenological analysis adopted does not require sample saturation. Some respondents appreciated more the possibility to voice their opinion freely rather than replying to close-ended questions, while many still tended to be laconic in their responses, usually saying they do not have sufficient experiences to elaborate on the issue.

It is from a comment made during an interview, that we can quote the limitation of the questionnaire itself.

“It is too drastic and the issue investigated is, instead, full of grey areas. For instance, I feel Italian mainly for the language I speak, the only one with which I am able to express myself and yet it is still the language to make me feel a foreigner because I cannot communicate (what I mean).¹²⁰” (Italian respondent, ING11)

The informant defined the questionnaire as “drastic”, referring to the fact that the response format was too rigid and could not always reflect the answer one would give, reducing subjectivity of replies and resulting irritating to the respondent.

Nevertheless, the same instrument received many words of praise and comments indicating gratefulness for the possibility given to reflect on the topic examined.

Despite being rich and informative, the extracts from the interviews were not analyzed in great depth but rather used as descriptive elements that added some value and reconfirmed or disconfirmed the quantitative part of the analysis. I did not adopt a conversational analysis of the texts, but rather paralleled the results. The reason is to be attributed in part to the fact that I am relatively novel to this methodology, and secondly to a clear choice of letting the individuals' express their perceptions without many filterings from my side.

I need, in fact, to acknowledge my co-constructive role as researcher in guiding, analysing and interpreting the data. Beside being a member of the Slovene minority myself, a human (and minority) rights activist and in favour of plural identifications (for minority and majority members), I live in the context that I study and this may have a significant impact on the way I designed the survey and interpreted the findings. I might have been biased since the initial collection of data (Etherington, 2004; Gee, 2005; Wodak, 2001; Wood & Kroger, 2000). Nevertheless, I tried to reconstruct “the discourse polyphony” (Volochinov, 1973), giving voice as much as possible to different social actors, namely those

¹²⁰“E' troppo drastico e il problema che tratta invece é pieno di sfumature. Per esempio io mi sento italiana soprattutto per la lingua che parlo, l'unica con cui sia in grado di esprimermi ed é ancora la lingua a farmi sentire straniera perché non posso comunicare (quello che voglio esprimere).”

who contribute to the dominant discourse and those who are generally marginalized (Fairclough, 1992), with equal objectivity.

Moreover, there are important variations across individuals and situations and not only across groups to consider. Due to lack of a sufficient number of respondents that would be equally distributed across groups for each discriminating variable and socio-demographic characteristic, we did not have a sample that would be sufficiently well representative of the population to obtain reliable findings.

For the same methodological problems (unequal sample size across groups, low sample size of Italians, non homogeneity of groups, respondents' bias) it is not possible neither to make any generalization of conclusions. Hatcher (1994, in Garson, 2008), for instance, recommended that the number of subjects should be larger of 5 times the number of variables, or 100 up to 300, when using factor analysis.

Construct validity of the Venn diagrams concerning Inclusion of others in the self is to be questioned. From the data collected so far it is not very clear to what degree it really completely assesses ingroup identification or rather just a part of it and a part of another construct, like attitudes toward target groups. Further correlations with other measures used for identification and attitudes will provide a clearer idea.

The research, thus, is still in its infancy. With subsequent analyses it will be interesting to explore whether there are any changes comparing the datasets from the fieldwork in 2003 and in 2009 (before and after Slovenia's entrance in EU), and to compare ethnic identity differences related to age groups (student population vs. adult population). It might also be worth it to include another comparison term to intergroup attitudes, such as the orientation shown by minority and majority members toward other local minorities, such as Friulians, for instance. Anyway, more detailed analyses need to be done upon enlarging the

dataset in order to confirm the hypotheses and contribute to the advancement of knowledge in the field.

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APPENDIX 1

Table 14: Number of self-descriptive labels used * GROUP Crosstabulation

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Number of self-descriptive labels used	1	Count	43	35	70	148
		% within GROUP	48,9%	26,3%	36,1%	35,7%
		Std. Residual	2,1	-1,8	,1	
2	Count	25	29	89	143	
	% within GROUP	28,4%	21,8%	45,9%	34,5%	
	Std. Residual	-1,0	-2,5	2,7		
3	Count	20	69	35	124	
	% within GROUP	22,7%	51,9%	18,0%	29,9%	
	Std. Residual	-1,2	4,6	-3,0		
Total	Count	88	133	194	415	
	% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	54,173 ^a	4	,000
Likelihood Ratio	52,081	4	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	,207	1	,649
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 26,29.

Table 15: I am...self description 1 * GROUP Crosstabulation

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority	Slovenian	
I am...self description 1	Slovene	Count	0	53	144	197
		% within GROUP	,0%	39,8%	74,2%	47,5%
		Std. Residual	-6,5	-1,3	5,4	
"Zamejec/zamejka"		Count	0	27	0	27
		% within GROUP	,0%	20,3%	,0%	6,5%
		Std. Residual	-2,4	6,2	-3,6	
Italian		Count	50	9	0	59
		% within GROUP	56,8%	6,8%	,0%	14,2%
		Std. Residual	10,6	-2,3	-5,3	
Slovene natonality Italian citizen		Count	0	1	0	1
		% within GROUP	,0%	,8%	,0%	,2%
		Std. Residual	-,5	1,2	-,7	
Slovene minority in Italy		Count	0	19	0	19
		% within GROUP	,0%	14,3%	,0%	4,6%
		Std. Residual	-2,0	5,2	-3,0	
regional		Count	20	14	34	68
		% within GROUP	22,7%	10,5%	17,5%	16,4%
		Std. Residual	1,5	-1,7	,4	
cosmopolitan		Count	8	6	11	25
		% within GROUP	9,1%	4,5%	5,7%	6,0%
		Std. Residual	1,2	-,7	-,2	
other (non-ethnic/national labels)		Count	5	3	5	13
		% within GROUP	5,7%	2,3%	2,6%	3,1%
		Std. Residual	1,4	-,6	-,4	
Slovene and Friulan		Count	0	1	0	1
		% within GROUP	,0%	,8%	,0%	,2%
		Std. Residual	-,5	1,2	-,7	
Friulan		Count	5	0	0	5
		% within GROUP	5,7%	,0%	,0%	1,2%
		Std. Residual	3,8	-1,3	-1,5	
Total		Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 16: Circles choice 1 * GROUP Crosstabulation

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Circles choice 1	a) Italian	Count	40	5	0	45
		% within GROUP	45,5%	3,8%	,0%	10,8%
		Std. Residual	9,9	-2,5	-4,6	
	b) Slovenian	Count	0	13	94	107
		% within GROUP	,0%	9,8%	48,5%	25,8%
		Std. Residual	-4,8	-3,6	6,2	
	c) nested circle (bigger Italian, smaller core Slovenian)	Count	6	33	0	39
		% within GROUP	6,8%	24,8%	,0%	9,4%
		Std. Residual	-,8	5,8	-4,3	
	d) nested circle (bigger Slovenian, smaller core Italian)	Count	0	24	11	35
		% within GROUP	,0%	18,0%	5,7%	8,4%
		Std. Residual	-2,7	3,8	-1,3	
	e) Third space in between Italian and Slovenian	Count	20	38	23	81
		% within GROUP	22,7%	28,6%	11,9%	19,5%
		Std. Residual	,7	2,4	-2,4	
	f) Italian near Slovenian in contact	Count	14	13	45	72
		% within GROUP	15,9%	9,8%	23,2%	17,3%
		Std. Residual	-,3	-2,1	2,0	
	g) Italian / Slovenian separate	Count	3	2	15	20
		% within GROUP	3,4%	1,5%	7,7%	4,8%
		Std. Residual	-,6	-1,7	1,8	
	h) other (free description)	Count	5	5	6	16
		% within GROUP	5,7%	3,8%	3,1%	3,9%
		Std. Residual	,9	-,1	-,5	
Total		Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 17: Strength of ethnic belonging

			Crosstab			Total
			GROUP			
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
			I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	strongly disagree	Count	
% within GROUP	8,0%	7,5%			4,1%	6,0%
disagree	Std. Residual	,7		,7	-1,1	
	Count	36		17	36	89
	disagree	% within GROUP	40,9%	12,8%	18,6%	21,4%
		Std. Residual	3,9	-2,2	-,9	
	agree	Count	38	67	88	193
		% within GROUP	43,2%	50,4%	45,4%	46,5%
	agree	Std. Residual	-,5	,7	-,2	
		Count	7	39	62	108
	strongly agree	% within GROUP	8,0%	29,3%	32,0%	26,0%
		Std. Residual	-3,3	,7	1,6	
Total	Count	88	133	194	415	
	% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	
	GROUP					

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	38,070 ^a	6	,000
Likelihood Ratio	39,622	6	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	20,451	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5,30.

Table 18: happiness to be ethnic member Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.	strongly disagree	Count	7	3	6	16
		% within GROUP	8,0%	2,3%	3,1%	3,9%
		Std. Residual	2,0	-,9	-,5	
disagree	Count	23	17	20	60	
		% within GROUP	26,1%	12,8%	10,3%	14,5%
		Std. Residual	2,9	-,5	-1,5	
agree	Count	48	55	82	185	
		% within GROUP	54,5%	41,4%	42,3%	44,6%
		Std. Residual	1,4	-,6	-,5	
strongly agree	Count	10	58	86	154	
		% within GROUP	11,4%	43,6%	44,3%	37,1%
		Std. Residual	-4,0	1,2	1,7	
Total	Count	88	133	194	415	
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	38,342 ^a	6	,000
Likelihood Ratio	41,822	6	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	25,661	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 1 cells (8,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,39.

Table 19: Clarity about ethnic background meaning Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
I have a clear sense of my ethnic and cultural background and what it means for me.	strongly disagree	Count	2	4	5	11
		% within GROUP	2,3%	3,0%	2,6%	2,7%
		Std. Residual	-,2	,3	-,1	
	disagree	Count	19	24	29	72
		% within GROUP	21,6%	18,0%	14,9%	17,3%
		Std. Residual	1,0	,2	-,8	
	agree	Count	51	61	92	204
		% within GROUP	58,0%	45,9%	47,4%	49,2%
		Std. Residual	1,2	-,5	-,3	
	strongly agree	Count	16	44	68	128
		% within GROUP	18,2%	33,1%	35,1%	30,8%
		Std. Residual	-2,1	,5	1,1	
Total		Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9,411 ^a	6	,152
Likelihood Ratio	10,054	6	,122
Linear-by-Linear Association	5,024	1	,025
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 2 cells (16,7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2,33.

Table 20: Effects of group membership Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.	strongly disagree	Count	15	7	28	50
		% within GROUP	17,0%	5,3%	14,4%	12,0%
		Std. Residual	1,4	-2,3	1,0	
disagree	Count	28	54	82	164	
	% within GROUP	31,8%	40,6%	42,3%	39,5%	
	Std. Residual	-1,1	,2	,6		
agree	Count	35	53	59	147	
	% within GROUP	39,8%	39,8%	30,4%	35,4%	
	Std. Residual	,7	,9	-1,2		
strongly agree	Count	10	19	25	54	
	% within GROUP	11,4%	14,3%	12,9%	13,0%	
	Std. Residual	-,4	,4	,0		
Total	Count	88	133	194	415	
	% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12,486 ^a	6	,052
Likelihood Ratio	13,704	6	,033
Linear-by-Linear Association	,672	1	,412
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10,60.

Table 21: Understanding group membership Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.	strongly disagree	Count	4	1	3	8
		% within GROUP	4,5%	,8%	1,5%	1,9%
		Std. Residual	1,8	-1,0	-,4	
	disagree	Count	18	13	12	43
		% within GROUP	20,5%	9,8%	6,2%	10,4%
		Std. Residual	2,9	-,2	-1,8	
	agree	Count	52	59	86	197
		% within GROUP	59,1%	44,4%	44,3%	47,5%
		Std. Residual	1,6	-,5	-,6	
	strongly agree	Count	14	60	93	167
		% within GROUP	15,9%	45,1%	47,9%	40,2%
		Std. Residual	-3,6	,9	1,7	
Total		Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	35,954 ^a	6	,000
Likelihood Ratio	37,538	6	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	26,802	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 3 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,70.

Table 22: Feeling about cultural/ethnic background Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.	strongly disagree	Count	2	2	1	5
		% within GROUP	2,3%	1,5%	,5%	1,2%
		Std. Residual	,9	,3	-,9	
disagree	Count	16	13	30	59	
	% within GROUP	18,2%	9,8%	15,5%	14,2%	
	Std. Residual	1,0	-1,4	,5		
agree	Count	54	66	97	217	
	% within GROUP	61,4%	49,6%	50,0%	52,3%	
	Std. Residual	1,2	-,4	-,4		
strongly agree	Count	16	52	66	134	
	% within GROUP	18,2%	39,1%	34,0%	32,3%	
	Std. Residual	-2,3	1,4	,4		
Total	Count	88	133	194	415	
	% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14,003 ^a	6	,030
Likelihood Ratio	15,012	6	,020
Linear-by-Linear Association	3,666	1	,056
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 3 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1,06.

Table 23: Pride in ethnic group Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.	strongly disagree	Count	7	4	5	16
		% within GROUP	8,0%	3,0%	2,6%	3,9%
		Std. Residual	2,0	-,5	-,9	
disagree	Count	33	14	23	70	
	% within GROUP	37,5%	10,5%	11,9%	16,9%	
	Std. Residual	4,7	-1,8	-1,7		
agree	Count	39	55	89	183	
	% within GROUP	44,3%	41,4%	45,9%	44,1%	
	Std. Residual	,0	-,5	,4		
strongly agree	Count	9	60	77	146	
	% within GROUP	10,2%	45,1%	39,7%	35,2%	
	Std. Residual	-3,9	1,9	1,1		
Total	Count	88	133	194	415	
	% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	53,968 ^a	6	,000
Likelihood Ratio	53,983	6	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	29,534	1	,000
N of Valid Cases	415		

a. 1 cells (8,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3,39.

Table 24: Univariate tests: ethnic identity strenght and MEIM

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects						
Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	MEIM (6 items) Ethnic Identification Measure (rounded mean)	304,778 ^a	2	152,389	17,500	,000
	I am... ethnic (strenght of identification)	107,088 ^b	2	53,544	13,336	,000
Intercept	MEIM (6 items) Ethnic Identification Measure (rounded mean)	93417,961	1	93417,961	10727,663	,000
	I am... ethnic (strenght of identification)	24574,388	1	24574,388	6120,485	,000
GRUPPO4	MEIM (6 items) Ethnic Identification Measure (rounded mean)	304,778	2	152,389	17,500	,000
	I am... ethnic (strenght of identification)	107,088	2	53,544	13,336	,000
Error	MEIM (6 items) Ethnic Identification Measure (rounded mean)	3587,752	412	8,708		
	I am... ethnic (strenght of identification)	1654,223	412	4,015		
Total	MEIM (6 items) Ethnic Identification Measure (rounded mean)	110853,750	415			
	I am... ethnic (strenght of identification)	30127,000	415			
Corrected Total	MEIM (6 items) Ethnic Identification Measure (rounded mean)	3892,530	414			
	I am... ethnic (strenght of identification)	1761,311	414			

a. R Squared = ,078 (Adjusted R Squared = ,074)

b. R Squared = ,061 (Adjusted R Squared = ,056)

Table 25: Multivariate Tests

	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Pillai's trace	,103	11,162 ^a	4,000	824,000	,000
Wilks' lambda	,898	11,397 ^a	4,000	822,000	,000
Hotelling's trace	,113	11,631 ^b	4,000	820,000	,000
Roy's largest root	,109	22,385 ^b	2,000	412,000	,000

Each F tests the multivariate effect of GROUP . These tests are based on the linearly independent pairwise comparisons among the estimated marginal means.

a. Exact statistic

b. The statistic is an upper bound on F that yields a lower bound on the significance level.

Univariate Tests

Dependent Variable		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
MEIM (6 items) Ethnic Identification Measure (rounded mean)	Contrast	304,778	2	152,389	17,50	,000
	Error	3587,752	412	8,708		
I am... ethnic (strenght of identification)	Contrast	107,088	2	53,544	13,33	,000
	Error	1654,223	412	4,015		

The F tests the effect of GROUP . This test is based on the linearly independent pairwise comparisons among the estimated marginal means.

Multivariate Tests

	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Pillai's trace	,622	93,021 ^a	4,000	824,000	,000
Wilks' lambda	,395	121,329 ^a	4,000	822,000	,000
Hotelling's trace	1,485	152,222 ^b	4,000	820,000	,000
Roy's largest root	1,455	299,655 ^b	2,000	412,000	,000

Each F tests the multivariate effect of GROUP . These tests are based on the linearly independent pairwise comparisons among the estimated marginal means.

a. Exact statistic

b. The statistic is an upper bound on F that yields a lower bound on the significance level.

Table 25: Univariate Tests for Slovenians/Italians as IG

Dependent Variable		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
SLOVENIANS as IG min- max= 1-10	Contrast	1981,257	2	990,629	195,036	,000
	Error	2092,637	412	5,079		
ITALIANS as IG min-max= 1-10	Contrast	2088,785	2	1044,393	195,985	,000
	Error	2195,528	412	5,329		

The F tests the effect of GROUP . This test is based on the linearly independent pairwise comparisons among the estimated marginal means.

Table 26: Multiple Comparisons for Slovenians/Italians as IG

Dependent Variable	(I) GROUP	(J) GROUP	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval			
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
SLOVENIANS as IG min-max= 1-10	Bonferroni	Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	-4,1032*	,30969	,000	-4,8476	-3,3588	
			Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	-5,7170*	,28965	,000	-6,4132	-5,0207
			Slovene minority in Italy	Italian	4,1032*	,30969	,000	3,3588	4,8476
			Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	-1,6138*	,25371	,000	-2,2236	-1,0039
			Slovene minority in Italy	Italian	5,7170*	,28965	,000	5,0207	6,4132
			Slovene minority in Italy	Slovene minority in Italy	1,6138*	,25371	,000	1,0039	2,2236
	Games-Howell	Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	-4,1032*	,33734	,000	-4,8996	-3,3068	
			Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	-5,7170*	,27706	,000	-6,3732	-5,0608
			Slovene minority in Italy	Italian	4,1032*	,33734	,000	3,3068	4,8996
			Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	-1,6138*	,27046	,000	-2,2520	-,9755
			Slovene minority in Italy	Italian	5,7170*	,27706	,000	5,0608	6,3732
			Slovene minority in Italy	Slovene minority in Italy	1,6138*	,27046	,000	,9755	2,2520
ITALIANS as IG min-max= 1-10	Bonferroni	Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	3,1285*	,31721	,000	2,3660	3,8910	
			Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	5,7816*	,29669	,000	5,0684	6,4948
			Slovene minority in Italy	Italian	-3,1285*	,31721	,000	-3,8910	-2,3660
			Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	2,6531*	,25988	,000	2,0284	3,2778
			Slovene minority in Italy	Italian	-5,7816*	,29669	,000	-6,4948	-5,0684
			Slovene minority in Italy	Slovene minority in Italy	-2,6531*	,25988	,000	-3,2778	-2,0284
	Games-Howell	Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	3,1285*	,32861	,000	2,3530	3,9040	
			Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	5,7816*	,26077	,000	5,1649	6,3984
			Slovene minority in Italy	Italian	-3,1285*	,32861	,000	-3,9040	-2,3530
			Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	2,6531*	,28476	,000	1,9812	3,3251

Slovenian	Italian	-5,7816 [*]	,26077	,000	-6,3984	-5,1649
	Slovene minority in Italy	-2,6531 [*]	,28476	,000	-3,3251	-1,9812

Based on observed means.

The error term is Mean Square(Error) = 5,329.

*. The mean difference is significant at the ,05 level.

Table 27: Multivariate Tests for achieved /ascribed identity x group

	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Pillai's trace	,063	6,724 ^a	4,000	822,000	,000
Wilks' lambda	,937	6,812	4,000	820,000	,000
Hotelling's trace	,067	6,899 ^b	4,000	818,000	,000
Roy's largest root	,066	13,584	2,000	411,000	,000

Each F tests the multivariate effect of GROUP . These tests are based on the linearly independent pairwise comparisons among the estimated marginal means.

a. Exact statistic

b. The statistic is an upper bound on F that yields a lower bound on the significance level.

Table 28: Univariate Tests achieved/ascribed identity

Dependent Variable		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
ACHIEVEDid	Contrast	12,046	2	6,023	13,126	,000
	Error	188,593	411	,459		
ASCRIBEDidDimension4ite ms	Contrast	1,085	2	,543	1,170	,312
	Error	190,678	411	,464		

The F tests the effect of GROUP . This test is based on the linearly independent pairwise comparisons among the estimated marginal means.

Table 29: Tests of Between-Subjects Effects on Achieved Identity

Dependent Variable:ACHIEVEDid

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	13,658 ^a	5	2,732	5,719	,000
Intercept	3581,546	1	3581,546	7497,768	,000
GRUPPO4	6,112	2	3,056	6,398	,002
MEIMhigh_lowID	7,296	1	7,296	15,273	,000
GRUPPO4 * MEIMhigh_lowID	,289	2	,144	,302	,739
Error	195,372	409	,478		
Total	4080,250	415			
Corrected Total	209,030	414			

Table 30: Ethnic Identity Strenght and Achieved Identity (per group)

1. GROUP * ETHNIC IDENTITY low-high identifiers

Dependent Variable:ACHIEVEDid

GROUP	ETHNIC IDENTITY low-high identifiers		Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Italian	dimension2	1	3,114	,104	2,909	3,318
		2	3,466	,104	3,261	3,671
Slovene minority in Italy	dimension2	1	2,871	,085	2,704	3,038
		2	3,142	,084	2,976	3,308
Slovenian	dimension2	1	2,877	,068	2,743	3,012
		2	3,092	,072	2,951	3,234

Table 31: means per group for achieved identity

Dependent Variable:ACHIEVEDid

GROUP	Mean	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Italian	3,290	,074	3,145	3,435
Slovene minority in Italy	3,007	,060	2,889	3,124
Slovenian	2,985	,050	2,887	3,083

Table 32: Multiple Comparisons for Achieved Identity

ACHIEVEDid

Bonferroni

(I) GROUP	(J) GROUP	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
		*				
Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	,28	,095	,009	,05	,51
	Slovenian	,31	,089	,002	,10	,52
Slovene minority in Italy	Italian	-,28	,095	,009	-,51	-,05
	Slovenian	,03	,078	1,000	-,16	,22
Slovenian	Italian	-,31	,089	,002	-,52	-,10
	Slovene minority in Italy	-,03	,078	1,000	-,22	,16

Based on observed means.

The error term is Mean Square(Error) = ,478.

*. The mean difference is significant at the ,05 level.

Table 33: territorial attachment to country of birth Crosstab

		GROUP			Total	
		Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian		
Territorial Attachment to Country of Birth	low	Count	21	44	30	95
		% within GROUP	23,9%	33,1%	15,5%	22,9%
		Std. Residual	,2	2,5	-2,2	
medium	Count	32	52	73	157	
	% within GROUP	36,4%	39,1%	37,6%	37,8%	
	Std. Residual	-,2	,2	,0		
high	Count	35	37	91	163	
	% within GROUP	39,8%	27,8%	46,9%	39,3%	
	Std. Residual	,1	-2,1	1,7		
Total	Count	88	133	194	415	
	% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Table 34: Territorial attachment to municipality Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Territorial Attachment Municipality	low	Count	27	19	56	102
		% within GROUP	30,7%	14,3%	28,9%	24,6%
		Std. Residual	1,2	-2,4	1,2	
medium	Count	25	45	64	134	
	% within GROUP	28,4%	33,8%	33,0%	32,3%	
	Std. Residual	-,6	,3	,2		
high	Count	36	69	74	179	
	% within GROUP	40,9%	51,9%	38,1%	43,1%	
	Std. Residual	-,3	1,5	-1,1		
Total	Count	88	133	194	415	
	% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Table 35: Territorial attachment to province/region Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Territorial Attachment Province/Region	low	Count	35	24	64	123
		% within GROUP	39,8%	18,0%	33,0%	29,6%
		Std. Residual	1,7	-2,5	,9	
	medium	Count	27	54	38	119
		% within GROUP	30,7%	40,6%	19,6%	28,7%
		Std. Residual	,4	2,6	-2,4	
	high	Count	26	55	92	173
		% within GROUP	29,5%	41,4%	47,4%	41,7%
		Std. Residual	-1,8	-,1	1,2	
Total		Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 36: territorial attachment to Northern Italy Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Territorial Attachment to Northern Italy	low	Count	37	57	170	264
		% within GROUP	42,0%	42,9%	87,6%	63,6%
		Std. Residual	-2,5	-3,0	4,2	
	medium	Count	28	50	18	96
		% within GROUP	31,8%	37,6%	9,3%	23,1%
		Std. Residual	1,7	3,5	-4,0	
	high	Count	23	26	6	55
		% within GROUP	26,1%	19,5%	3,1%	13,3%
		Std. Residual	3,3	2,0	-3,9	
Total		Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 37: territorial attachment to Italy Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Territorial Attachment Italy	low	Count	16	61	170	247
		% within GROUP	18,2%	45,9%	87,6%	59,5%
		Std. Residual	-5,0	-2,0	5,1	
	medium	Count	38	48	16	102
		% within GROUP	43,2%	36,1%	8,2%	24,6%
		Std. Residual	3,5	2,7	-4,6	
	high	Count	34	24	8	66
		% within GROUP	38,6%	18,0%	4,1%	15,9%
		Std. Residual	5,3	,6	-4,1	
Total		Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 38: territorial attachment to Slovenia Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Territorial Attachment Slovenia	low	Count	77	50	23	150
		% within GROUP	87,5%	37,6%	11,9%	36,1%
		Std. Residual	8,0	,3	-5,6	
	medium	Count	10	48	44	102
		% within GROUP	11,4%	36,1%	22,7%	24,6%
		Std. Residual	-2,5	2,7	-,5	
	high	Count	1	35	127	163
		% within GROUP	1,1%	26,3%	65,5%	39,3%
		Std. Residual	-5,7	-2,4	5,8	
Total		Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 39: territorial attachment to EU Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Territorial Attachment EU	low	Count	25	41	93	159
		% within GROUP	28,4%	30,8%	47,9%	38,3%
		Std. Residual	-1,5	-1,4	2,2	
	medium	Count	30	52	68	150
		% within GROUP	34,1%	39,1%	35,1%	36,1%
		Std. Residual	-,3	,6	-,3	
	high	Count	33	40	33	106
		% within GROUP	37,5%	30,1%	17,0%	25,5%
		Std. Residual	2,2	1,0	-2,4	
Total		Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 40: territorial attachment to the world Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Territorial Attachment World	low	Count	14	36	56	106
		% within GROUP	15,9%	27,1%	28,9%	25,5%
		Std. Residual	-1,8	,3	,9	
	medium	Count	16	38	60	114
		% within GROUP	18,2%	28,6%	30,9%	27,5%
		Std. Residual	-1,7	,2	,9	
	high	Count	58	59	78	195
		% within GROUP	65,9%	44,4%	40,2%	47,0%
		Std. Residual	2,6	-,4	-1,4	
Total		Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 41: territorial local attachment Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Territorial LOCAL attachment (municipality, province)	low	Count	32	27	83	142
		% within GROUP	36,4%	20,3%	42,8%	34,2%
		Std. Residual	,3	-2,7	2,0	
	high	Count	56	106	111	273
		% within GROUP	63,6%	79,7%	57,2%	65,8%
		Std. Residual	-,2	2,0	-1,5	
Total		Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 42: Territorial cosmopolitan attachment Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Territorial COSMOPOLITAN attachment (EU, world)	low	Count	74	115	178	367
		% within GROUP	84,1%	86,5%	91,8%	88,4%
		Std. Residual	-,4	-,2	,5	
	high	Count	14	18	16	48
		% within GROUP	15,9%	13,5%	8,2%	11,6%
		Std. Residual	1,2	,7	-1,4	
Total		Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 43: Territorial LOCAL attachment (municipality, province) * Territorial Attachment Slovenia

Crosstabulation

			Territorial Attachment Slovenia			Total
			low	medium	high	
Territorial LOCAL attachment (municipality, province)	low	Count	18	19	46	83
		% within Territorial Attachment Slovenia	78,3%	43,2%	36,2%	42,8%
		Std. Residual	2,6	,0	-1,1	
	high	Count	5	25	81	111
		% within Territorial Attachment Slovenia	21,7%	56,8%	63,8%	57,2%
		Std. Residual	-2,2	,0	1,0	
Total		Count	23	44	127	194
		% within Territorial Attachment Slovenia	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 44: Territorial Attachment to Northern Italy * Territorial LOCAL attachment (municipality, province)

Crosstabulation

			Territorial LOCAL attachment (municipality, province)		Total
			low	high	
Territorial Attachment to Northern Italy	low	Count	25	12	37
		% within Territorial LOCAL attachment (municipality, province)	78,1%	21,4%	42,0%
		Std. Residual	3,1	-2,4	
	medium	Count	5	23	28
		% within Territorial LOCAL attachment (municipality, province)	15,6%	41,1%	31,8%
		Std. Residual	-1,6	1,2	
	high	Count	2	21	23
		% within Territorial LOCAL attachment (municipality, province)	6,3%	37,5%	26,1%
		Std. Residual	-2,2	1,7	
Total		Count	32	56	88
		% within Territorial LOCAL attachment (municipality, province)	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 45: Territorial Attachment to Northern Italy * Territorial LOCAL attachment (municipality, province)

Crosstabulation

			Territorial LOCAL attachment (municipality, province)		Total
			low	high	
Territorial Attachment to Northern Italy	low	Count	16	41	57
		% within Territorial LOCAL attachment (municipality, province)	59,3%	38,7%	42,9%
		Std. Residual	1,3	-,7	
medium	Count	4	46	50	
	% within Territorial LOCAL attachment (municipality, province)	14,8%	43,4%	37,6%	
	Std. Residual	-1,9	1,0		
high	Count	7	19	26	
	% within Territorial LOCAL attachment (municipality, province)	25,9%	17,9%	19,5%	
	Std. Residual	,7	-,4		
Total	Count	27	106	133	
	% within Territorial LOCAL attachment (municipality, province)	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Table 46: National identity markers Correlations

			Territorial Attachment to Country of Birth	Territorial Attachment to Municipality	Territorial Attachment to Province/ Region	Territorial Attachment to Northern Italy	Territorial Attachment to Italy	Territorial Attachment to Slovenia	Territorial Attachment to EU	Territorial Attachment to World
Kendall's tau_b	Territorial Attachment to Country of Birth	Correlation	1,000	,327**	,268**	,270**	,368**	-,033	,082	-,009
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	,000	,002	,002	,000	,728	,362	,922
		N	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88
	Territorial Attachment Municipality	Correlation	,327**	1,000	,720**	,412**	,261**	-,038	,013	-,144
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	.	,000	,000	,003	,683	,886	,106
		N	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88
	Territorial Attachment Province/Region	Correlation	,268**	,720**	1,000	,386**	,218*	,045	,119	-,141
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,002	,000	.	,000	,014	,629	,181	,112
		N	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88
	Territorial Attachment to Northern Italy	Correlation	,270**	,412**	,386**	1,000	,254**	,098	-,084	-,089
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,002	,000	,000	.	,004	,293	,341	,317
		N	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88
	Territorial Attachment Italy	Correlation	,368**	,261**	,218*	,254**	1,000	-,062	,082	-,038
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,003	,014	,004	.	,511	,364	,671
		N	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88
	Territorial Attachment Slovenia	Correlation	-,033	-,038	,045	,098	-,062	1,000	-,009	,092
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,728	,683	,629	,293	,511	.	,926	,328
		N	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88
	Territorial Attachment EU	Correlation	,082	,013	,119	-,084	,082	-,009	1,000	,070
		Sig. (2-tailed)	,362	,886	,181	,341	,364	,926	.	,433
		N	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88

Territorial Attachment World	Correlation Coefficient	-.009	-.144	-.141	-.089	-.038	.092	.070	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.922	.106	.112	.317	.671	.328	.433	.
	N	88	88	88	88	88	88	88	88

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Correlations

			Territorial Attachment to Country of Birth	Territorial Attachment to Municipality	Territorial Attachment to Province/Region	Territorial Attachment to Northern Italy	Territorial Attachment to Italy	Territorial Attachment to Slovenia	Territorial Attachment to EU	Territorial Attachment to World
Kendall's tau_b	Territorial Attachment to Country of Birth	Correlation Coefficient	1,000	.127	.228	.497	.528	.116	.183	.084
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.078	.002	.000	.000	.108	.011	.239
		N	133	133	133	133	133	133	133	133
Territorial Attachment Municipality		Correlation Coefficient	.127	1,000	.392	.059	.026	.163	.017	-.069
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.078	.	.000	.415	.720	.024	.815	.336
		N	133	133	133	133	133	133	133	133
Territorial Attachment Province/Region		Correlation Coefficient	.228	.392	1,000	.216	.177	.258	.159	.109
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.000	.	.003	.015	.000	.029	.129
		N	133	133	133	133	133	133	133	133
Territorial Attachment to Northern Italy		Correlation Coefficient	.497	.059	.216	1,000	.555	.018	.247	.156
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.415	.003	.	.000	.803	.001	.028
		N	133	133	133	133	133	133	133	133
Territorial Attachment Italy		Correlation Coefficient	.528	.026	.177	.555	1,000	-.067	.379	.144
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.720	.015	.000	.	.353	.000	.043
		N	133	133	133	133	133	133	133	133
Territorial Attachment Slovenia		Correlation Coefficient	.116	.163	.258	.018	-.067	1,000	.200	.187
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.108	.011	.029	.815	.001	.029	.000	.187
		N	133	133	133	133	133	133	133	133

	Sig. (2-tailed)	,108	,024	,000	,803	,353	.	,005	,009
	N	133	133	133	133	133	133	133	133
Territorial Attachment EU	Correlation Coefficient	,183*	,017	,159*	,247**	,379**	,200**	1,000	,476**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,011	,815	,029	,001	,000	,005	.	,000
	N	133	133	133	133	133	133	133	133
Territorial Attachment World	Correlation Coefficient	,084	-,069	,109	,156*	,144*	,187**	,476**	1,000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,239	,336	,129	,028	,043	,009	,000	.
	N	133	133	133	133	133	133	133	133

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 47: regression analysis: National markers and territorial attachment to Italy

a
Coefficients

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Coefficients		
1			Beta		
(Constant)	-,408	,554		-,737	,463
ASCRIBEDidDimension4items	,399	,126	,291	3,180	,002
ACHIEVEDid	,397	,129	,291	3,082	,003
MEIM (6 items) Ethnic Identification Measure (rounded mean)	,091	,036	,249	2,570	,012

a. Dependent Variable: Territorial Attachment Italy

Table 48: Perceived similarity to a typical Italian Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Perceived similarity to a typical Italian	low	Count	7	46	146	199
		% within GROUP	8,0%	34,6%	75,3%	48,0%
		Std. Residual	-5,4	-2,2	5,5	
medium	Count	42	60	39	141	
	% within GROUP	47,7%	45,1%	20,1%	34,0%	
	Std. Residual	2,2	2,2	-3,3		
high	Count	39	27	9	75	
	% within GROUP	44,3%	20,3%	4,6%	18,1%	
	Std. Residual	5,8	,6	-4,4		
Total	Count	88	133	194	415	
	% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Table 49: perceived similarity to a member of the Slovene minority Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Perceived similarity to a typical member of the Slovene minority in Italy	low	Count	52	26	75	153
		% within GROUP	59,1%	19,5%	38,7%	36,9%
		Std. Residual	3,4	-3,3	,4	
medium	Count	32	51	90	173	
	% within GROUP	36,4%	38,3%	46,4%	41,7%	
	Std. Residual	-,8	-,6	1,0		
high	Count	4	56	29	89	
	% within GROUP	4,5%	42,1%	14,9%	21,4%	
	Std. Residual	-3,4	5,1	-2,0		
Total	Count	88	133	194	415	
	% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Table 50: perceived similarity to a typical Slovenian Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Perceived similarity to a typical Slovenian from Slovenia	low	Count	63	65	24	152
		% within GROUP	71,6%	48,9%	12,4%	36,6%
		Std. Residual	5,4	2,3	-5,6	
medium	Count	22	50	68	140	
	% within GROUP	25,0%	37,6%	35,1%	33,7%	
	Std. Residual	-1,4	,8	,3		
high	Count	3	18	102	123	
	% within GROUP	3,4%	13,5%	52,6%	29,6%	
	Std. Residual	-4,5	-3,4	5,9		
Total	Count	88	133	194	415	
	% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Table 51: Perceived similarity to a typical Muslim Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Perceived similarity to typical Muslim	low	Count	79	123	178	380
		% within GROUP	89,8%	92,5%	91,8%	91,6%
		Std. Residual	-,2	,1	,0	
medium	medium	Count	9	8	14	31
		% within GROUP	10,2%	6,0%	7,2%	7,5%
		Std. Residual	,9	-,6	-,1	
high	high	Count	0	2	2	4
		% within GROUP	,0%	1,5%	1,0%	1,0%
		Std. Residual	-,9	,6	,1	
Total	Total	Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 52: Perceived similarity to a typical Catholic Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Perceived similarity to typical Catholic	low	Count	36	70	123	229
		% within GROUP	40,9%	52,6%	63,4%	55,2%
		Std. Residual	-1,8	-,4	1,5	
medium	medium	Count	30	39	48	117
		% within GROUP	34,1%	29,3%	24,7%	28,2%
		Std. Residual	1,0	,2	-,9	
high	high	Count	22	24	23	69
		% within GROUP	25,0%	18,0%	11,9%	16,6%
		Std. Residual	1,9	,4	-1,6	
Total	Total	Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 53: Social distance to Slovenes from Slovenia Crosstab

Social Distance to Slovenes from Slovenia			GROUP			Total
			Slovene			
			Italian	minority in Italy	Slovenian	
I would not like to have to do with them	Count	1	3	1	5	
	% within GROUP	1,1%	2,3%	,5%	1,2%	
	Std. Residual	-,1	1,1	-,9		
	I would accept them as school/work-mates	Count	15	8	6	29
		% within GROUP	17,0%	6,0%	3,1%	7,0%
		Std. Residual	3,6	-,4	-2,1	
	I would accept them as friends	Count	48	92	67	207
		% within GROUP	54,5%	69,2%	34,5%	49,9%
		Std. Residual	,6	3,2	-3,0	
I would not mind to marry one of them	Count	24	30	120	174	
	% within GROUP	27,3%	22,6%	61,9%	41,9%	
	Std. Residual	-2,1	-3,5	4,3		
Total	Count	88	133	194	415	
	% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Table 54: Social distance to Slovene minority Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Social Distance to Slovene Minority in Italy	I would not like to have to do with them	Count	1	2	2	5
		% within GROUP	1,1%	1,5%	1,0%	1,2%
		Std. Residual	-,1	,3	-,2	
	I would accept them as school/work-mates	Count	12	5	6	23
		% within GROUP	13,6%	3,8%	3,1%	5,5%
		Std. Residual	3,2	-,9	-,1,4	
	I would accept them as friends	Count	50	72	124	246
		% within GROUP	56,8%	54,1%	63,9%	59,3%
		Std. Residual	-,3	-,8	,8	
	I would not mind to marry one of them	Count	25	54	62	141
		% within GROUP	28,4%	40,6%	32,0%	34,0%
		Std. Residual	-,9	1,3	-,5	
Total		Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 55: Social distance to Italians Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Social Distance to Italians	I would not like to have to do with them	Count	0	2	9	11
		% within GROUP	,0%	1,5%	4,6%	2,7%
		Std. Residual	-1,5	-,8	1,7	
	I would accept them as school/work-mates	Count	1	7	17	25
		% within GROUP	1,1%	5,3%	8,8%	6,0%
		Std. Residual	-1,9	-,4	1,6	
	I would accept them as friends	Count	32	82	129	243
		% within GROUP	36,4%	61,7%	66,5%	58,6%
		Std. Residual	-2,7	,5	1,4	
	I would not mind to marry one of them	Count	55	42	39	136
		% within GROUP	62,5%	31,6%	20,1%	32,8%
		Std. Residual	4,9	-,2	-3,1	
Total		Count	88	133	194	415
		% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Table 56: Social distance to Muslims Crosstab

			GROUP			Total
			Italian	Slovene minority in Italy	Slovenian	
Social Distance to Muslims	I would not like to have to do with them	Count	13	24	21	58
		% within GROUP	14,8%	18,0%	10,8%	14,0%
		Std. Residual	,2	1,3	-1,2	
	I would accept them as school/work-mates	Count	17	18	32	67
		% within GROUP	19,3%	13,5%	16,5%	16,1%
		Std. Residual	,7	-,7	,1	
	I would accept them as friends	Count	47	80	123	250
		% within GROUP	53,4%	60,2%	63,4%	60,2%
		Std. Residual	-,8	,0	,6	
	I would not mind to marry one of them	Count	11	11	18	40
		% within GROUP	12,5%	8,3%	9,3%	9,6%
		Std. Residual	,9	-,5	-,2	
Total	Count	88	133	194	415	
	% within GROUP	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	

Appendix 2

1. Italian version of the EIOGA questionnaire (not numbered as order of questions in the online version varied)
2. Slovenian version of the EIOGA questionnaire (not numbered as order of questions in the online version varied)

1. EIOGA_IT_2008/2009

(utilizzo consentito solo previo consenso scritto: alcune parti sono riprese da varie fonti)

Come dottoranda di ricerca in Politiche transfrontaliere per la vita quotidiana presso l'Università di Trieste studio l'identità etnica e i rapporti intergruppi nel Friuli Venezia Giulia, ovvero nel territorio goriziano e triestino, comparandoli con le situazioni in altre città d'Italia e della Slovenia.

La ricerca coinvolge il gruppo maggioritario italiano, la minoranza slovena in Italia, altre minoranze etniche presenti sul territorio in Italia o Slovenia e gli Sloveni della Slovenia.

La compilazione del questionario richiede circa 30 minuti. Tutti i dati sono anonimi e verranno elaborati in conformità con la legge sulla tutela dei dati personali. Non ci sono risposte giuste o sbagliate, per cui si senta libero/a di rispondere sinceramente. I risultati della ricerca potranno essere presentati agli interessati orientativamente a partire da aprile 2010.

Persona da contattare per domande e chiarimenti: Marianna.Kosic@gmail.com

ISTRUZIONI: Alle domande che seguono risponda barrando con una crocetta il numero della risposta o sottolineando la risposta preferita e scrivendo la risposta per esteso, quando richiesto.

Sesso: 1) maschio 2) femmina

Anno di nascita:

Luogo di nascita: (Paese)

Luogo di nascita (Paese) dei genitori:.....

Dove abita?

Si tratta di 1) città 2) periferia della città 3) paese

L'ambiente in cui risiede è

1) esclusivamente o prevalentemente italiano

2) misto, con la stessa percentuale di italiani e persone di diverso retroterra culturale o etnico

3) un'area in cui predomina la presenza di persone di retroterra culturale o etnico non-italiano

(la comunità più numerosa:.....)

Da quanto tempo vive in Italia?.....

Quanto tempo ha vissuto in qualche altro Paese?.....

(Quale/quali paese/paesi?.....)

Collabora con qualche organizzazione non governativa (es. Amnesty International)?

1) Sì (quale?.....) 2) No

Qual è la sua professione?

Che scuola frequenta/ha frequentato?..... **Livello d'istruzione?**

Stato civile: 1) non sposato/a 2) sposato/a o convivente con compagno/a 3) in un'unione stabile

Fa parte di qualche minoranza etnica, nazionale o linguistica in Italia?

IDENTIFICAZIONE

Ognuno di noi appartiene a diversi gruppi (etnici, nazionali, regionali, religiosi, ecc.). Quando ci riferiamo a noi stessi, alcuni di questi sono per noi più importanti. Con alcuni ci identifichiamo maggiormente che con altri.

Quando si riferisce a se stesso, a quali gruppi sente d'appartenere di più? Con quale gruppo si identifica maggiormente (es. italiano, sloveno, goriziano, triestino...)?

Se fa parte di una minoranza etnica o nazionale (comprese le minoranze linguistiche e religiose) in Italia, indichi quale in uno dei riquadri (es. slovena, friulana, bengalese, musulmana...)

	Per niente									Del tutto
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Io sono.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Io sono	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Io sono	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Io sono di religione	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

L'APPARTENENZA ETNICA nella mia vita

Quanto è in accordo con le seguenti affermazioni?	Per niente d'accordo	Poco d'accordo	Molto d'accordo	Del tutto d'accordo
a) Ho un forte senso d'attaccamento al mio gruppo etnico.	1	2	3	4
b) Sono felice di essere un membro del gruppo etnico al quale appartengo.	1	2	3	4
c) Mi è chiaro quali sono le implicazioni sociali, culturali e storiche della mia appartenenza etnica e cosa ciò significhi per me.	1	2	3	4
d) Penso molto al come la mia vita sarà influenzata dall'appartenenza al mio gruppo etnico.	1	2	3	4
e) Mi sento a mio agio riguardo al mio retroterra culturale o etnico.	1	2	3	4
f) Capisco abbastanza bene cosa l'appartenenza al mio gruppo etnico significhi per me.	1	2	3	4
g) Sono orgoglioso/a del mio gruppo etnico.	1	2	3	4

La RELIGIONE nella mia vita

Quanto è in accordo con le seguenti affermazioni?	Per niente d'accordo	Poco d'accordo	Molto d'accordo	Del tutto d'accordo
a) Ho un forte senso d'attaccamento al mio gruppo religioso.	1	2	3	4
b) Cerco di comportarmi in base alla mia identità religiosa (es. come cattolico..) e agli insegnamenti religiosi.	1	2	3	4
c) Sono felice di essere membro del mio gruppo d'appartenenza religioso.	1	2	3	4
d) Mi è chiaro quali sono le implicazioni sociali, culturali e storiche della mia appartenenza religiosa e cosa ciò significhi per me.	1	2	3	4
e) Penso molto al come la mia vita sarà influenzata dalla mia appartenenza religiosa.	1	2	3	4
f) Cerco di conoscere e capire religioni diverse.	1	2	3	4
g) Sono orgoglioso/a del mio gruppo d'appartenenza religioso.	1	2	3	4

Quanto frequentemente si reca in luoghi di culto (es. chiese, ecc.)?

1 mai	2 raramente	3 almeno una volta al mese	4 almeno una volta alla settimana	5 ogni giorno
-------	-------------	----------------------------	-----------------------------------	---------------

Quanto frequentemente prega?

1 mai	2 raramente	3 almeno una volta al mese	4 almeno una volta a settimana	5 ogni giorno	6 più volte al giorno
-------	-------------	----------------------------	--------------------------------	---------------	-----------------------

Quanto frequentemente si dedica alla lettura e allo studio dei testi sacri?

1 mai	2 raramente	3 almeno una volta al mese	4 almeno una volta alla settimana	5 ogni giorno
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Quanto vi assomigliate lei e un membro tipico degli/dei... (per ogni gruppo una risposta in orizzontale)

	per niente	poco	abbastanza	molto	del tutto
a) Italiani?	1	2	3	4	5
b) Sloveni in Italia?	1	2	3	4	5
c) Sloveni in Slovenia?	1	2	3	4	5
d) musulmani?	1	2	3	4	5
d) cattolici?	1	2	3	4	5

ESSERE ITALIANI...

Le persone hanno opinioni diverse sul cosa vuol dire essere italiani/sloveni/ (altro). Di seguito sono elencati alcuni criteri d'appartenenza che per certe persone sono più importanti, per altre meno.

Secondo lei, per sentirsi Italiani, quanto importanti sono i seguenti elementi? (una risposta in orizzontale per ogni elemento)

	NON é per niente importante	Non è molto importante	Abbastanz a importante	Molto importante
a) ... cittadinanza del Paese	1	2	3	4
b) ... luogo di nascita	1	2	3	4
c) ... luogo di residenza nel Paese	1	2	3	4
d) ... conoscenza della lingua	1	2	3	4
e) ... religione cattolica	1	2	3	4
f) ... rispetto delle leggi del Paese	1	2	3	4
g) ... sentirsi Italiani	1	2	3	4
h) ...almeno un genitore (italiano)	1	2	3	4
i) ...rispetto della cultura, degli usi e dei costumi	1	2	3	4

Scelga un numero in direzione “noi” o in direzione “loro” per le seguenti due parole. Una risposta per "Italiani" e una risposta per "Sloveni".

a) SLOVENI

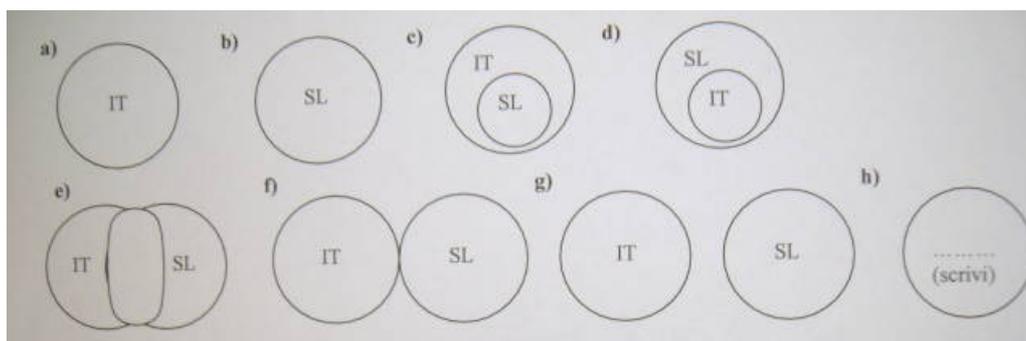
NOI 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 LORO

b) ITALIANI

NOI 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 LORO

Qui sotto ha 8 disegni (dalla a alla h). I cerchi/gli insiemi rappresentano diverse possibilità di raffigurazione dell'identità italiana (IT) e slovena (SL). Al posto di IT e SL può usare una parola diversa a sua scelta. Quale disegno si avvicina meglio al suo senso d'appartenenza etnico?

Il disegno della lettera.....(al posto di alla lettera..... uso la parola.....)



Le è mai successo di venir definito dagli altri diversamente da come definisce se stesso?

mai raramente a volte spesso molto spesso
1 2 3 4 5

Si è mai trovato nella situazione di essersi presentato/a agli altri diversamente dal solito?

mai raramente a volte spesso molto spesso
1 2 3 4 5

Posizioni sulla scala da 1 a 3 i seguenti gruppi, in modo che al primo posto ci sia il gruppo che, secondo lei, ha lo status sociale più elevato e al terzo posto il gruppo che gode di minor prestigio sociale:

a) Italiani, b) Sloveni in Italia, c) Sloveni in Slovenia.

1).....

2).....

3).....

In che misura ritiene che lo status sociale degli Sloveni sia migliorato con l'entrata della Slovenia in Unione Europea?

per niente poco abbastanza molto del tutto
1 2 3 4 5

In che misura ritiene che l'entrata della Slovenia in Unione Europea abbia apportato un miglioramento allo status sociale della minoranza slovena?

per niente poco abbastanza molto del tutto
1 2 3 4 5

Secondo lei, con l'entrata della Slovenia in Unione Europea è più facile definirsi Sloveno?

per niente poco abbastanza molto del tutto
1 2 3 4 5

Alcune persone si sentono molto legate all'area dove vivono o dove sono nate, altre sono indifferenti a questi legami. Lei, personalmente, quanto si sente legato/a al:

	per niente	poco	abbastanz a	molto	del tutto
a) Paese dove è nato?	1	2	3	4	5
b) comune dove risiede	1	2	3	4	5
c) Provincia?	1	2	3	4	5
d) Italia settentrionale?	1	2	3	4	5
e) Italia?	1	2	3	4	5
f) Slovenia?	1	2	3	4	5
g) Unione Europea?	1	2	3	4	5
h) mondo?	1	2	3	4	5

CONTATTI INTERGRUPPO

Chi frequenta nella sua comunità o nel suo vicinato?

- 1) Quasi esclusivamente Italiani
- 2) Quasi esclusivamente non-Italiani
- 3) Prevalentemente Italiani
- 4) In egual misura Italiani e non-Italiani
- 5) Prevalentemente non-Italiani
- 6)(altro)

Su una scala da 1 a 10, come descriverebbe i rapporti che ha avuto in media con gli italiani in generale?

spiacevoli	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	piacevoli
conflittuali	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	cooperativi
superficiali	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	intimi
freddi	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	caldi
insoddisfacenti	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	soddisfacenti
pieni di incomprensioni	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	pieni di comprensione

Tra i non-Italiani che di solito frequenta ci sono:

- 1..... (per la maggior parte)
- 2.....
- 3.....

Pensi adesso al primo gruppo di non-italiani che ha indicato. Su una scala da 1 a 10, come descriverebbe i rapporti che ha avuto in media con i non-italiani in generale?

spiacevoli	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	piacevoli
conflittuali	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	cooperativi
superficiali	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	intimi
freddi	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	caldi
insoddisfacenti	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	soddisfacenti
pieni di incomprensioni	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	pieni di comprensione

Quanti amici non-italiani ha? (inserisca un numero)

In media, con che frequenza incontra i suoi amici non-italiani?

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Ogni giorno | 4. almeno una volta al mese |
| 2. Un paio di volte alla settimana | 5. un paio di volte all'anno |
| 3. almeno una volta alla settimana | 6. meno frequentemente |

Con che frequenza ha contatti con persone non-italiane che non sono amici (es. conoscenti, compagni di classe/lavoro, ecc.)?

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Ogni giorno | 4. almeno una volta al mese |
| 2. Un paio di volte alla settimana | 5. un paio di volte all'anno |
| 3. almeno una volta alla settimana | 6. meno frequentemente |

Quanti amici italiani ha? (inserisca un numero)

In media, con che frequenza incontra i suoi amici italiani?

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Ogni giorno | 4. almeno una volta al mese |
| 2. Un paio di volte alla settimana | 5. un paio di volte all'anno |
| 3. almeno una volta alla settimana | 6. meno frequentemente |

Con che frequenza ha contatti con persone non-italiane che non sono amici (es. conoscenti, compagni di classe/lavoro, ecc.)?

1. Ogni giorno
2. Un paio di volte alla settimana
3. almeno una volta alla settimana
4. almeno una volta al mese
5. un paio di volte all'anno
6. meno frequentemente

In contatto con persone dal retroterra etnico o religioso diverso dal mio...	mai	raramente	a volte	spesso	molto spesso
a) ... sento che la mia identità culturale viene alterata	1	2	3	4	5
b) ... sento che la mia identità religiosa viene alterata	1	2	3	4	5
c) ... la moralità e i valori del mio gruppo vengono alterati/cambiano	1	2	3	4	5
d) ... le norme del mio gruppo vengono alterate	1	2	3	4	5
e) ... sento che il mio modo di vivere viene alterato	1	2	3	4	5
f) ... sento che la mia filosofia di vita viene alterata	1	2	3	4	5
g) ... la compattezza religiosa del mio gruppo viene minacciata	1	2	3	4	5

Quale delle seguenti affermazioni esprime meglio il suo atteggiamento nei confronti (una risposta in verticale per ognuno dei 4 gruppi):

	a) degli Sloveni della Slovenia	b) della minoranza slovena in Italia	c) degli Italiani	d) dei musulmani
Non vorrei avere niente a che fare con loro	1	1	1	1
Li accetterei come compagni di scuola/lavoro	2	2	2	2
Li accetterei come amici	3	3	3	3
Sposerei uno di loro	4	4	4	4

Esprima il suo grado di accordo con le seguenti affermazioni.

PER NIENTE d'accordo	Poco d'accordo	Molto d'accordo	DEL TUTTO d'accordo
1	2	3	4

a) Partecipo ad attività con persone di gruppi etnici diversi.	1	2	3	4
b) Mi piace incontrare e conoscere persone di altri gruppi etnici.	1	2	3	4
c) Sono felice di essere tra persone di gruppi etnici diversi dal mio.	1	2	3	4
d) A volte penso sarebbe meglio se gruppi etnici diversi non si mescolassero tra di loro.	1	2	3	4
e) Spesso passo del tempo con persone di gruppi etnici diversi dal mio.	1	2	3	4
f) La maggior parte dei musulmani italiani ha modo di vivere e valori secolari.	1	2	3	4
g) Le persone con credenze religiose molto forti sono spesso troppo intolleranti verso gli altri.				
h) Tutti i gruppi religiosi in Italia dovrebbero avere gli stessi diritti.	1	2	3	4
i) La Chiesa e le istituzioni religiose in Italia hanno troppo potere.	1	2	3	4

j) Il Cristianesimo e l'Islam possono coesistere in armonia e con successo.	1 2 3 4
k) La maggior parte degli Italiani è più rispettosa delle diversità rispetto ad altre nazionalità.	1 2 3 4
l) Gli Italiani dovrebbero accettare il fatto che la società italiana è costituita da gruppi provenienti da diverse culture.	1 2 3 4

IMMIGRAZIONE

Elenchi il/i gruppo/i a cui pensa quando si parla di immigrati:

.....

Il/i gruppo/i che le piace/piacciono di meno è/sono:

.....

Il/i gruppo/i che le piace/piacciono di più è/sono:

.....

Quanto è d'accordo con le seguenti affermazioni?

PER NIENTE d'accordo	Poco d'accordo	Molto d'accordo	DEL TUTTO d'accordo
1	2	3	4

- | | |
|--|---------|
| a) Gli immigrati vanno incoraggiati a preservare la loro cultura, i loro usi e costumi. | 1 2 3 4 |
| b) E' giusto che gli immigrati mantengano la loro lingua. | 1 2 3 4 |
| c) Con la presenza degli immigrati l'Italia sta diventando più aperta a nuove idee e culture. | 1 2 3 4 |
| d) Gli immigrati sono in media più frequentemente coinvolti in attività criminali. | 1 2 3 4 |
| e) La maggior parte degli immigrati in Italia proviene da una cultura diversa che difficilmente si integra con quella italiana. | 1 2 3 4 |
| f) La religione musulmana e cattolica hanno molte somiglianze. | 1 2 3 4 |
| g) Per diventare parte integrante e accettata della società italiana, gli immigrati dovrebbero rinunciare a quelle parti delle loro tradizioni religiose e culturali che sono in conflitto con le leggi di questo Paese. | 1 2 3 4 |

- h) Gli immigrati vanno incoraggiati a preservare le loro tradizioni religiose. 1 2 3 4
- i) Questo Paese necessita di un capo che abbia la fiducia della gente più che di leggi. 1 2 3 4
- j) Gran parte dei problemi sociali verrebbe risolta, se ci sbarazzassimo delle persone immorali. 1 2 3 4
- k) Il valore più importante che i bambini dovrebbero imparare è l'ubbidienza. 1 2 3 4

SOMIGLIANZE/DIFFERENZE INTERGRUPPO

Su una scala da 1 a 10, secondo lei, quanto si assomigliano tra di loro i musulmani e i non-musulmani in Italia in base ad ognuno dei seguenti aspetti?

	PER NIENTE simili									Del tutto SIMILI
a) norme di comportamento	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
b) valori fondamentali	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
c) stile di vita	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
d) mentalità	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
e) rispetto delle tradizioni culturali	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
f) educazione dei figli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
g) sistema familiare	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
h) libertà individuali	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
i) religiosità	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Quanto diversi sono invece i musulmani tra di loro in base a...

	PER NIENTE DIVERSI									Del tutto DIVERSI
a) ...tradizioni culturali?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
b) ...mentalità?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
c) ...pratiche religiose?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
d) ...abbigliamento?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
e) ...sistema familiare?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
f) ...educazione dei figli?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
g) ...libertà individuali?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Su una scala da 1 a 10, dove 1 rappresenta il massimo grado di differenza e 10 il massimo grado di somiglianza, quanto sono diversi o simili tra di loro i seguenti gruppi?

a) gli Italiani e gli Sloveni della Slovenia	1 diversi	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 simili
b) gli Italiani e la minoranza slovena in Italia	1 diversi	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 simili
c) la minoranza slovena in Italia e gli Sloveni della Slovenia	1 diversi	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 simili

LA DIVERSITA' RELIGIOSA in ITALIA

Utilizzando il termometro dei sentimenti, esprima quanto positive o negative sono le sue percezioni dei tre gruppi indicati. I gradi vanno da 0 a 100. 50 gradi rappresentano sentimenti neutrali, gradi sopra il 50 un atteggiamento positivo, mentre gradi inferiori al 50 rappresentano sentimenti negativi.

a) Cattolici	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
b) Musulmani	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
c) Atei	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100

La mia conoscenza dell'Islam è:

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1) molto poca,
insufficiente | 2) poca, ma
sufficiente | 3) abbastanza buona | 4) molto buona |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|----------------|

La mia comprensione dell'Islam è:

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1) molto poca,
insufficiente | 2) poca, ma
sufficiente | 3) abbastanza buona | 4) molto buona |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|----------------|

Scelga fino a 5 parole/aggettivi che secondo lei descrivono la religione musulmana:

.....
.....

Scelga fino a 5 parole/aggettivi che secondo lei descrivono la religione cattolica:

.....
.....

DISCRIMINAZIONE PERCEPITA

Di discriminazione si parla quando qualcuno offende una persona, la umilia, si comporta ingiustamente con lei sulla base della sua appartenenza nazionale, etnica, religiosa, linguistica o di altre circostanze personali.

Negli ultimi 5 anni, quanto frequentemente lei o qualcuno della sua famiglia si è sentito discriminato in base al/alla suo/a...

	mai	raramente	a volte	spesso	molto spesso
a) retroterra culturale	1	2	3	4	5
b) religione/spiritualità	1	2	3	4	5
c) appartenenza etnica o nazionale	1	2	3	4	5
d) sesso	1	2	3	4	5
e) colore della pelle	1	2	3	4	5
f) status (minoranza, straniero, immigrato senza cittadinanza...)	1	2	3	4	5
g) poca conoscenza della lingua (italiana)	1	2	3	4	5
..... (altro)	1	2	3	4	5

Negli ultimi 5 anni, quanto frequentemente lei o qualcuno della sua famiglia o la sua comunità siete stati vittime delle seguenti azioni?

	mai	raramente	a volte	spesso	molto spesso
a) comportamento ingiusto in luoghi pubblici	1	2	3	4	5
b) sospettosità	1	2	3	4	5
c) ostilità, disprezzo	1	2	3	4	5
d) comportamento derisivo, denigratorio, violenza verbale	1	2	3	4	5
e) minacce, intimidazioni	1	2	3	4	5
f) aggressione, violenza fisica	1	2	3	4	5
g) ignoramento, esclusione, marginalizzazione	1	2	3	4	5
h) mancata attenzione a richieste religiose (es. modo/tempo preghiera, cibo, ...)	1	2	3	4	5
i) scritte razziste	1	2	3	4	5
j) danneggiamento proprietà, vandalismo	1	2	3	4	5

k) posizione svantaggiata nella ricerca immobiliare	1	2	3	4	5
l) posizione svantaggiata nella ricerca del lavoro/in ambito educativo	1	2	3	4	5
m) mancanza di fiducia	1	2	3	4	5
n) evitamento per paura	1	2	3	4	5

Secondo lei, tali atti discriminatori erano in base a (più risposte possibili)

In seguito a tali atti discriminatori, quanto frequentemente si è sentito/a....

	mai	raramente	a volte	spesso	molto spesso
a) arrabiato/a	1	2	3	4	5
b) impaurito/a	1	2	3	4	5
c) non voluto/a	1	2	3	4	5
d) triste	1	2	3	4	5
e) rifiutato/a	1	2	3	4	5
f) frustrato/a	1	2	3	4	5
g) umiliato/a	1	2	3	4	5
h) confuso/a	1	2	3	4	5
i) impotente	1	2	3	4	5
j) debole	1	2	3	4	5
k) vergogna	1	2	3	4	5
l) solo/a	1	2	3	4	5
m) scoraggiato/a	1	2	3	4	5

2. EIOGA_SL_2008/2009

Nekateri deli vprašalnika so zaščiteni in prirejeni (različni viri): uporaba samo z dovoljenjem!
marianna.kosic@gmail.com

Kot mlada raziskovalka tržaške univerze, vpisana v tretji letnik doktorata iz Čezmejnih politik vsakdanjega življenja, preučujem etnično identiteto in medskupinske odnose v Furlaniji Julijski krajini, oziroma na Goriškem in Tržaškem, v primerjavi s situacijami v drugih mestih Italije in Slovenije.

Raziskava zaobjema italijansko večino v Italiji, slovensko manjšino v Italiji, druge etnične manjšine v Italiji ali Sloveniji in Slovence v Sloveniji.

Vprašalnik zahteva približno 30 minut. Vsi podatki so anonimni in bodo obdelani v skladu z zakonom o zaščiti osebnih podatkov. Ni točnih ali zgrešenih odgovorov. Rezultate raziskave bom lahko predstavila zainteresiranim okvirno od aprila 2010 dalje.

Kontaktna oseba za vprašanja: Marianna.Kosic@gmail.com

NAVODILO: Na naslednja vprašanja odgovorite tako, da prekrižate številko odgovora, podčrtate odgovor, ki vam najbolj ustreza in po potrebi prosto odgovorite.

Spol: 1) moški 2) ženski

Leto rojstva:

Kraj rojstva: (država)

Kje se je rodil vaš oče? Država:..... **In mama?**

Kje stanujete? (navedite mesto/vas ali občino)

To je 1) mesto 2) okoliš mesta 3) vas

Okolje, v katerem stanujete, je

1) izključno ali pretežno italijansko

2) mešano okolje, v katerem prebiva enak delež ljudi italijanskega in drugačnega kulturnega ali etničnega porekla

3) okolje, v katerem prevladuje prisotnost ljudi z ne-italijanskim kulturnim ali etničnim poreklom

(navedite najštevilnejšo skupnost:.....)

Ste kdaj živeli v kakšni drugi državi? (Kateri/katerih državah?.....)

Ali sodelujete s kakšno nevladno organizacijo (npr. Amnesty International)? Katero?

Kaj ste po poklicu?

Katero šolo obiskujete/ste obiskovali?.....

Koliko let šolanja ste zaključili?

Stan: 1) samski, neporočen/a 2) poročen/a ali bivajoč/a s partnerjem/ko

3) v ljubezenskem odnosu

IDENTIFIKACIJA

Vsi pripadamo različnim skupinam (npr., etničnim, nacionalnim, regionalnim, verskim, itd.). Ko razmišljamo o sebi, so nekatere za nas bolj pomembne kot druge, z nekaterimi se bolj istovetimo kot z drugimi.

Ko razmišljate o sebi, kateri/-im skupini/-am čutite, da najbolj pripadate/se najbolj istovetite? (npr. "Jaz sem Slovenec/Italijan/zamejec/Goričan..."). Navedite v spodnje prostore.

Če ste pripadnik/ica etnične ali nacionalne manjšine v (Italiji), navedite katere v enega izmed prostorov.

	nič										povsem
Jaz sem.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Jaz sem.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Jaz sem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Jaz sem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
vere											

ETNIČNA PRIPADNOST

Koliko soglašate z naslednjimi trditvami?	Odločno NE soglašam	Strinjam se zelo malo	Precej se strinjam	popolnoma SOGLAŠAM
a) Pripadnost svoji etnični skupini globoko občutim.	1	2	3	4
b) Vesel/a sem, da sem pripadnik svoje etnične skupnosti.	1	2	3	4
c) Imam jasno predstavo, kako me socialno, kulturno in zgodovinsko pogojuje moja etnična pripadnost, in kaj mi to pomeni.	1	2	3	4
č) Veliko premišljujem o tem, kako bo moja etnična pripadnost učinkovala na moje življenje.	1	2	3	4
d) Počutim se dobro z ozirom na svoj etnični ali kulturni izvor.	1	2	3	4
e) Precej dobro razumem, kaj mi pomeni moja etnična pripadnost.	1	2	3	4
f) Ponosen/na sem na svojo etnično skupino.	1	2	3	4

VERA v mojem življenju

Koliko soglašate z naslednjimi trditvami?	Odločno NE soglašam	Strinjam se zelo malo	Precej se strinjam	popolnoma SOGLAŠAM
a) Pripadnost svoji verski skupini globoko občutim.	1	2	3	4
b) Trudim se, da se obnašam v skladu s svojo versko identiteto (npr. kot katoličan, ipd.) in verskimi navki.	1	2	3	4
c) Vesel/a sem, da sem pripadnik/ca svoje verske skupnosti.	1	2	3	4
č) Imam jasno predstavo, kako me socialno, kulturno in zgodovinsko pogojuje moja verska pripadnost, in kaj mi to pomeni.	1	2	3	4
d) Veliko premišlujem o tem, kako bo moja verska pripadnost učinkovala na moje življenje.	1	2	3	4
e) Spoznavam in skušam razumeti drugačne vere.	1	2	3	4
f) Ponosen/na sem na svojo versko skupino.	1	2	3	4

Kako pogosto obiskujete kraje verskega čaščenja (npr. cerkve, ipd.)?

1 nikoli 2 redkokdaj 3 mesečno 4 tedensko 5 dnevno

Kako pogosto molite?

1 nikoli 2 občasno 3 mesečno 4 tedensko 5 dnevno 6 večkrat na dan

Kako pogosto se posvečate študiju verskih tekstov?

1 nikoli 2 občasno 3 mesečno 4 tedensko 5 dnevno

Koliko ste si podobni Vi in tipični predstavnik/ca... (za vsako skupino po en odgovor v vodoravni vrsti)

	nič	malo	precej	zelo	povsem
a) Italijanov?	1	2	3	4	5
b) Slovencev v Italiji?	1	2	3	4	5
c) Slovencev v Sloveniji?	1	2	3	4	5
č) muslimanov?	1	2	3	4	5
d) katoličanov?	1	2	3	4	5

BITI ITALIJAN/SLOVENEK/(x) ...

Ljudje imajo med seboj različna mnenja, kaj pomeni biti Italijan ali Slovenec. Nekateri kriteriji so za nekatere bolj pomembni, za druge manj. Da se nekdo počuti Italijan ali Slovenec, kako pomembne so po vašem mnenju naslednje instance (en odgovor za vsako točko v vodoravni vrsti):

	<u>Sploh NI</u> pomembna	<u>NI zelo</u> pomembna	<u>Precej</u> pomembna	<u>Zelo</u> pomembna
a) ... državljanstvo	1	2	3	4
b) ... kraj rojstva	1	2	3	4
c) ... stalno prebivališče v državi	1	2	3	4
č) ... poznavanje jezika	1	2	3	4
d) ... katoliška vera	1	2	3	4
e) ... spoštovanje državnih zakonov	1	2	3	4
f) ... počutiti se (Italijan/Slovenec/)	1	2	3	4
g) ... pripadnost vsaj enega starša	1	2	3	4
h) ... spoštovanje kulture, navad, običajev	1	2	3	4

Izberite številko v smeri Mi ali v smeri Oni za naslednja dva pojma. En odgovor za vsak pojem.

a) ITALIJANI

1 ONI 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 MI

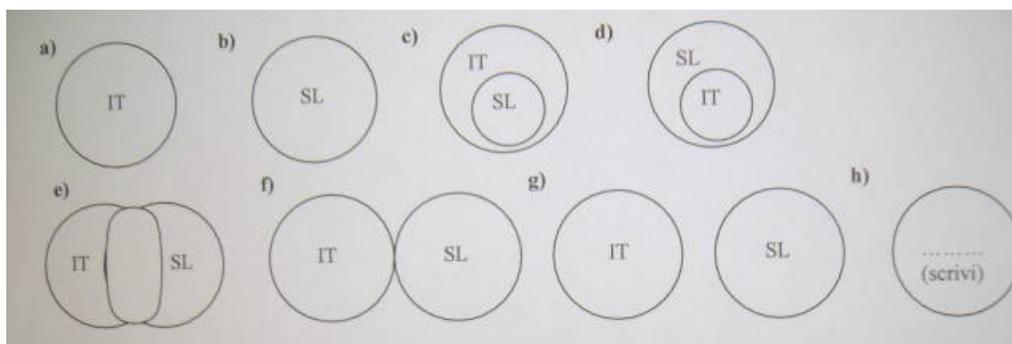
a) SLOVENC

1 ONI 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 MI

Spodaj imate 8 možnih odgovorov (od a do h). Krogi/množice predstavljajo različne možnosti italijanske (IT) in slovenske (SL) identitete. Namesto IT in SL lahko uporabite drugo besedo po izbiri.

Katera risba se najbolje približuje vašemu občutku pripadnosti?

Črka.....(namesto pri črki..... uporabim besedo.....)



Ali se vam je kdaj zgodilo, da bi vas drugi definirali drugače kot se sami (z ozirom na etnično opredelitev)?

nikoli	redkokdaj	včasih	pogosto	zelo pogosto
1	2	3	4	5

Ali ste se v kaki situaciji predstavili drugače kot ponavadi?

nikoli	redkokdaj	včasih	pogosto	zelo pogosto
1	2	3	4	5

Naslednje skupine razporedite v lestvici tako, da bo na najvišji točki (1) skupina, ki je najbolj ugledna, na najnižji točki (3) pa skupina, ki ima, po vašem mnenju, najnižji družbeni status:

a) Italijani, b) Slovenci v Italiji, c) Slovenci v Sloveniji.

1).....

2).....

3).....

V kolikšni meri menite, da se je družbeni status Slovencev z vstopom Slovenije v Evropsko unijo izboljšal?

nič	malo	precej	zelo	povsem
1	2	3	4	5

V kolikšni meri menite, da je vstop Slovenije v Evropsko unijo pripomogel k boljšemu ugledu zamejskih Slovencev?

nič	malo	precej	zelo	povsem
1	2	3	4	5

V kolikšni meri menite, da se je z vstopom Slovenije v Evropsko unijo lažje opredeliti kot Slovenec?

nič lažje	malo	precej	zelo	povsem lažje
1	2	3	4	5

Nekateri so zelo navezani na kraj, kjer živijo ali kjer so se rodili. Drugi niso navezani na noben kraj. Vi, osebno, koliko ste čustveno navezani na...

Nič malo precej zelo povsem

1 2 3 4 5

1. rojstno državo	1	2	3	4	5
2. občino, kjer bivate	1	2	3	4	5
3. Pokrajino, kjer bivate	1	2	3	4	5
4. severno Italijo	1	2	3	4	5
5. Italijo	1	2	3	4	5
6. Slovenijo	1	2	3	4	5
7. Evropsko unijo	1	2	3	4	5
8. svet	1	2	3	4	5

MEDSKUPINSKI STIKI

S kom se družite v svoji skupnosti ali soseski?

- 1) Skoraj izključno z Italijani
- 2) Skoraj izključno z ne-Italijani
- 3) Pretežno z Italijani
- 4) Skoraj v enaki meri z Italijani in ne-Italijani
- 5) Pretežno z ne-Italijani
- 6)(napiši)

Na podlagi naslednjih točk, od 1 do 10, kakšni so bili odnosi, ki ste jih imeli/a z Italijani na splošno?

neprijetni	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	prijetni
konfliktualni	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	sodelovalni
površinski	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	intimni
mrzli	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	topli
rigidni	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	prilagodljivi
nezadovoljivi	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	zadovoljivi
polni nesporazumov	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	polni razumevanja

Med ne-Italijani, s katerimi se ponavadi družim, so:

1..... (v glavnem) 2. 3.....

Pomislite na prvo navedeno skupino ne-Italijanov. Na lestvici od 1 do 10, kakšni so bili odnosi, ki ste jih imeli/a z ne-Italijani na splošno?

neprijetni	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	prijetni
konfliktualni	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	sodelovalni
površinski	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	intimni
mrzli	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	topli
rigidni	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	prilagodljivi
zadovoljivi	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	nezadovoljivi
polni nesporazumov	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	polni razumevanja
agresivni	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	neagresivni
pozitivni	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	negativni

Koliko ne-italijanskih prijateljev imate? (vpiši)

Kako pogosto se v povprečju srečujete s svojimi ne-italijanskimi prijatelji?

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. dnevno | 4. vsaj enkrat na mesec |
| 2. nekajkrat na teden | 5. nekajkrat na leto |
| 3. vsaj enkrat na teden | 6. manj pogosto |

Kako pogosto imate kakršne koli druge stike z ne-italijanskimi znanci, ki niso prijatelji (npr., na šoli, na delovnem mestu, ipd)?

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. dnevno | 4. vsaj enkrat na mesec |
| 2. nekajkrat na teden | 5. nekajkrat na leto |
| 3. vsaj enkrat na teden | 6. manj pogosto |

Koliko italijanskih prijateljev pa imate? (vpiši)

Kako pogosto se v povprečju srečujete s svojimi italijanskimi prijatelji?

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. dnevno | 4. vsaj enkrat na mesec |
| 2. nekajkrat na teden | 5. nekajkrat na leto |
| 3. vsaj enkrat na teden | 6. manj pogosto |

Kako pogosto imate kakršne koli druge stike z italijanskimi znanci, ki niso prijatelji (npr., na šoli, na delovnem mestu, ipd)?

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. dnevno | 4. vsaj enkrat na mesec |
| 2. nekajkrat na teden | 5. nekajkrat na leto |
| 3. vsaj enkrat na teden | 6. manj pogosto |

Katera izmed naslednjih trditev najbolj izraža vaš odnos do (en odgovor navpično za vsako od štirih skupin):

	a) do Slovencev iz Slovenije	b) do Slovencev iz Italije	c) do Italijanov	č) oseb muslimanskega verskega porekla
ne bi rad/a imel/a opravka z njimi	1	1	1	1
sprejel/a bi jih kot sošolce/sodelavce	2	2	2	2
sprejel/a bi jih kot prijatelje	3	3	3	3
poročil/a bi koga izmed njih	4	4	4	4

Izrazite, koliko soglašate ali ne soglašate z naslednjimi trditvami.

Odločno soglašam	NE	Stinjam se zelo malo	Precej se strinjam	Popolnoma SOGLAŠAM
1		2	3	4

a) Sodelujem v dejavnostih, kjer so tudi osebe drugih etničnih skupin.	1	2	3	4
b) Rad/a srečujem in spoznavam osebe drugih etničnih skupin.	1	2	3	4
c) Rad/a sem v družbi oseb drugih etničnih skupin.	1	2	3	4
č) Včasih menim, da bi bilo bolje, če bi se različne etnične skupine ne mešale med seboj.	1	2	3	4
d) Večkrat sem v družbi oseb drugih etničnih skupin.	1	2	3	4
e) Večina (italijanskih) muslimanov ima sekularen način življenja in vrednote.	1	2	3	4
f) Osebe z zelo močnimi verskimi prepričanji so pogosto preveč nestrpne do drugih.				
g) Vse verske skupine v (Italiji) bi morale imeti enake pravice.	1	2	3	4
h) Cerkev in verske organizacije v (Italiji) imajo preveč moči.	1	2	3	4
i) Krščanstvo in Islam lahko skladno in uspešno sobivata.	1	2	3	4

j) Večina (Italijanov) je bolj spoštljivih do različnosti kot druge narodnosti.	1 2 3 4
k) (Italijani) bi morali sprejeti dejstvo, da sestavljajo italijansko družbo skupine iz različnih kulturnih okolij.	1 2 3 4

Naštejte skupino/e, ki jo/jih imate v mislih, ko je govora o priseljenjih:

.....

Skupina/e priseljencev , ki vam je/so vam najmanj všeč:

.....

PRISELJENSTVO

Koliko soglašate z naslednjimi trditvami?

Odločno <u>NE</u> soglašam	Strinjam se zelo malo	Precej se strinjam	Popolnoma SOGLAŠAM
1	2	3	4

- | | |
|--|---------|
| a) Priseljence je treba spodbujati, da ohranijo svojo kulturo, navade in običaje. | 1 2 3 4 |
| b) Prav je, da priseljenci ohranijo svoj jezik. | 1 2 3 4 |
| c) S prisotnostjo priseljencev postaja Italija bolj odprta do novih idej in kultur. | 1 2 3 4 |
| č) Priseljenci so v povprečju pogosteje vpleteni v kriminal. | 1 2 3 4 |
| d) Večina priseljencev v Italiji izhaja iz različne kulture, ki se zelo težko integrira z italijansko. | 1 2 3 4 |
| e) Muslimanska in katoliška vera imata mnogo podobnosti. | 1 2 3 4 |
| f) Da postanejo v celoti sprejeti pripadniki italijanske družbe, se morajo priseljenci odpovedati tistim delom svojih verskih in kulturnih običajev, ki so lahko v nasprotju s pravom te države. | 1 2 3 4 |
| g) Priseljence je treba spodbujati, da ohranijo svoje verske običaje. | 1 2 3 4 |
| h) Ta država potrebuje vodjo, ki ima zaupanje ljudi, bolj kot zakone. | 1 2 3 4 |
| i) Večino naših družbenih težav bi lahko rešili, če bi se znebili nemoralnih ljudi. | 1 2 3 4 |
| j) Najpomembnejša vrlina, katere bi se otroci morali naučiti, je pokorščina. | 1 2 3 4 |

MEDSKUPINSKE PODOBNOSTI/RAZLIKE

Od 1 do 10, koliko so si po vašem mnenju podobni muslimani in ne-muslimani v Italiji v vsakem od teh vidikov?

	NIČ podobni									Povsem PODOBNI
a) norme obnašanja	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
b) temeljne vrednote	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
c) način življenja	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
č) mentaliteta	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
d) spoštovanje kulturnih tradicij	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
e) vzgoja otrok	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
f) družinski sistem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
g) svoboščine posameznika	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
h) religioznost	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Kako različni pa so si muslimani med sabo glede na...

	NIČ različni									Povsem RAZLIČNI
a) ...kulturne običaje?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
b) ...mentaliteto?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
c) ...verske prakse?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
č) ...oblačila?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
d) ...družinsko življenje?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
e) ...vzgojo otrok?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
f) ...svoboščine posameznika?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
g) ...religioznost?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Od 1 do 10, koliko so si po vašem mnenju podobne naslednje skupine?

a) Italijani in Slovenci v Sloveniji	1 nič	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 podobne
b) Italijani in Slovenci v Italiji	1 nič	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 podobne
c) Slovenci v Italiji in Slovenci v Sloveniji	1 nič	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 podobne

VERSKA RAZNOLIKOST V ITALIJI

S pomočjo termometra občutkov, izrazite, kako pozitivne ali negativne so vaše percepcije omenjenih verskih skupin v Italiji. Označite lahko stopinje od 0 do 100. Petdeset stopinj predstavlja nevtralnost, nad 50 stopinj pozitivno naravnost, pod 50 stopinj pa negativno naravnost.

a) Katoličani	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
b) Muslimani	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
c) Ateisti in neverneži	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100

ISLAM in ISLAMOFBIJA

Islam poznam:

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1) zelo malo, nezadostno | 2) malo, a zadostno | 3) precej dobro | 4) zelo dobro |
|--------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------|

Islam razumem:

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1) zelo malo, nezadostno | 2) malo, a zadostno | 3) precej dobro | 4) zelo dobro |
|--------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------|

Naštejte 5 besed/pridevnikov, ki po vašem mnenju opisujejo muslimansko vero:

.....

.....

Naštejte 5 besed/pridevnikov, ki po vašem mnenju opisujejo krščansko vero:

.....

PERCEPCIJA DISKRIMINACIJE

Do diskriminacije pride, ko nekdo žali druge ljudi, se iz njih norčuje ali jih nepravilno in neenako obravnava zaradi njihove nacionalne, etnične, jezikovne ali verske pripadnosti in drugih osebnih okoliščin.

V zadnjih petih letih, kako pogosto ste se vi ali kdo drug v vaši družini počutili diskriminirani na podlagi....

	nikoli	redkokdaj	včasih	pogosto	zelo pogosto
a) kulturnega porekla	1	2	3	4	5
b) religije/duhovnosti	1	2	3	4	5
c) etnične in nacionalne pripadnosti	1	2	3	4	5
č) spola	1	2	3	4	5
d) barve kože	1	2	3	4	5
e) status (manjšine, tujca, priseljenca brez državljanstva...)	1	2	3	4	5
f) nezadostnega poznavanja (italijanskega) jezika	1	2	3	4	5
..... (navedi)	1	2	3	4	5

V zadnjih petih letih, kako pogosto ste vi ali kdo drug v vaši družini ali vaša širša skupnost bili žrtve naslednjih dejanj zaradi etničnega ali verskega porekla?

	nikoli	redkokdaj	včasih	pogosto	zelo pogosto
a) nepravilno obnašanje v javnih prostorih	1	2	3	4	5
b) sumničavo obravnavanje	1	2	3	4	5
c) sovražnost	1	2	3	4	5
č) smešenje, žaljivo obnašanje, verbalno nasilje	1	2	3	4	5
d) ustrahovanja, grožnje	1	2	3	4	5
e) fizični napadi, nasilje	1	2	3	4	5
f) ignoriranje, izključevanje, marginalizacija	1	2	3	4	5
g) nepozornost verskim potrebam (npr. način/čas molitev, hrana, kraji čaščenja...)	1	2	3	4	5
h) rasistični napisi	1	2	3	4	5
i) oškodovanje premoženja, vandalizem	1	2	3	4	5
j) slabši položaj pri iskanju stanovanja	1	2	3	4	5
k) slabši položaj pri zaposlovanju in izobrazbi	1	2	3	4	5
l) nezaupanje	1	2	3	4	5
m) izogibanje iz strahu	1	2	3	4	5

Po vašem mnenju so bila diskriminatorna dejanja na podlagi.....(več možnih odgovorov)

Kako pogosto si se zaradi takih diskriminatornih obnašanj počutil/a

	nikoli	redkokdaj	včasih	pogosto	zelo pogosto
a) jezen/na	1	2	3	4	5
b) prestrašen/na	1	2	3	4	5
c) nezaželen/na	1	2	3	4	5
č) žalosten/na	1	2	3	4	5
d) zavrnjen/na	1	2	3	4	5
e) frustriran/a	1	2	3	4	5
f) ponižan/a	1	2	3	4	5
g) zmeden/a	1	2	3	4	5
h) nemočen/na	1	2	3	4	5
i) šibek/ka	1	2	3	4	5
j) osramočen/a	1	2	3	4	5
k) osamljen/a	1	2	3	4	5
l) brez upanja	1	2	3	4	5

Curriculum Vitae

MARIANNA KOSIC (marianna.kosic@gmail.com) has graduated in Social Psychology at the University of Trieste. As a trainer of Human Rights Education for ethnic and national minorities she is active in the promotion and implementation of Human Rights Education and education for democratic citizenship in formal and non-formal educational systems, youth work and civil society running activities based on Compass Council of Europe Programme.

Her research interests include ethnic identity, inter-group relations, bicultural identity, multiculturalism, out-group attitudes, old and new minorities, integration, immigration, contact hypothesis, implicit measures of prejudice, citizenship in enlarged EU, gender/religious/ethnic/multiple discrimination and human rights, religious conversion, social inclusion, peace psychology.