

## COSMOPOLITISM AS THE END OF PATRIOTISM AMONG SLOVENIAN YOUTH

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*The success of modern democratic societies is dependent on the spontaneous and unforced support of the members of these societies; that is, on their identification with the communities to which they belong. In order to reinforce the sense of adherence on the part of members of a modern democratic community, a certain moderate level of patriotic sentiment is required. This sentiment should be conveyed (and gained) during the process of education, and should of course also arise as a part of belonging to a reasonably successful society with which an individual shares certain common traits. In this article, we define the notion of patriotism and place it in a broader context, namely from the perspective of globalisation, a perspective from which the question of whether patriotism represents an obstacle to cosmopolitanism and successful European integration cannot be avoided. In the empirical part of this article, the emphasis, aided by the selected parameters, is on the presentation of the results of comparative studies performed in 2008 and 2010 among primary school pupils and secondary school students. This presentation enables us to analyse the degree of patriotism among the young in Slovenia.*

### I PATRIOTISM: GOOD OR EVIL?

Most often, patriotism is defined as allegiance to a state, while some authors also define it as allegiance to a nation. National identity, being one of the social identities of an individual, is understood both as identification with a nation state and as identification with a certain ethnic group or a nation that does not

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necessarily have its own nation state.<sup>2</sup> The notions of nation and state cannot simply be equated with one another, as a nation is neither a state nor an ethnic community. Furthermore, a nation is not a state, as the concept of state refers to institutional activities, whereas the concept of a nation refers to a kind of community. A nation is not an ethnic community, either, as it usually does not bear any political label and often does not include public culture and territorial dimensions. A nation has to populate its homeland for some extended period of time in order to establish itself as a nation, and also must develop its own public culture and strive for a certain degree of self-determination. Additionally, a state represents a dimension that enables the formulation of ethnic groups into nations. State formation allows nations to assert their positions as subjects of international politics, and allows their members to be regarded as political subjects with civic rights and liberties.

Due to our research needs, we deal with patriotism in the context of allegiance to a state and not in the wider sense that the very understanding of patriotism otherwise allows (i.e., allegiance to a nation). At the same time, we also intend to draw a clear distinction between patriotism and nationalism, two categories that must not be equated, even though they share the same point of departure with respect to values. Nations do exist, and the existence of one's own nation has a specific moral value for an individual; therefore, individuals show a special affinity toward the nation to which they belong. In this sense, every nationalist is most certainly a patriot as well, committed to adherence to his or her own homeland and nation; but not every patriot is a nationalist in the sense of searching for national congruence.<sup>3</sup>

In the context of democracy, patriotism reflects the love that unites the people, who are as a consequence ready to support their nation state through their actions.<sup>4</sup> Tocqueville talks of an instinctive love of one's own country, meaning that patriotism is something completely natural to them.<sup>5</sup> Hence, this is a natural tendency toward territoriality, which, together with one's family, represents the primary bond of an individual's personality with their subconsciously internalised territorial community. People become devoted to other people and places

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<sup>2</sup> Mitja Hafner Fink, "Nacionalna identiteta in evropska identiteta: Stališča Slovencev v primerjavi z drugimi Evropejci," in *Demokracija v Sloveniji*, ed. Niko Toš (Ljubljana: Faculty of Social Sciences, 2002), 194.

<sup>3</sup> Nationalism is primarily related to the concept of a nation, i.e., a constitutive nation that has achieved or has provided itself a state. Therefore it is, intentionally or unintentionally, related to the attributes of a state as well and is, as such, a more general term in relation to patriotism, which can and also does emerge in a multinational state or in a state with a majority nation, the strongest or the most influential nation. The relationship between the two notions is usually not a complementary one, but includes several sources of tension.

<sup>4</sup> Steven Kautz, *Liberalism and Community* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 136; Douglas C. Lummis, *Radical Democracy* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1997), 37.

<sup>5</sup> Steven Kautz, *Liberalism and Community* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1995), 139.

familiar to them and to the education they have been subjected to, a process that creates the root of their patriotism.<sup>6</sup> The fact that all this occurs in a given set of socio-cultural, historical, regional, and other circumstances and contexts beyond the influence of an individual should not be forgotten. Human beings are born into a certain culture and into certain behaviour patterns characteristic of all the members of a certain nation. These patterns strongly resonate with an individual during the rest of his or her life.

In terms of political context, we distinguish between authoritarian and democratic patriotism.<sup>7</sup> Authoritarian patriotism demands unambiguous loyalty without any questioning; that is, loyalty to the goal and loyalty to the principles determined exclusively by a leader or the ruling elite, as individuals are deprived of the right to choose and express their own will. This type of patriotism hence demands devotion to the ruling principles and therefore opposes differences of opinion or any kind of contradiction or conflict with the ideals of the ruling elite. The opposite of the described type of patriotism is represented by democratic patriotism, which is based on truth and loyalty, not to the ruling power, but to the principles that comprise the foundations of democracy. One of the more important principles is the right to difference in opinion. The care for quintessential values and principles is the fundamental property of democratic patriotism. However, this is not to indicate that no room is left for symbolic expression of support and solidarity. Democratic patriotism does not solely mean allegiance to a nation, its insignia, and political leaders past and future, but to every member of this nation and to the well-being of fellow citizens of the nation (see also Table 1).

TABLE 1: PATRIOTISM POLICY

	Authoritarian Patriotism	Democratic Patriotism
<b>Ideology</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- belief that my country is naturally superior to others</li> <li>- primary loyalty to the land, heritage, citizenship, and principles of government</li> <li>- loyalty without questioning</li> <li>- reflexive following and unconditional support of national leaders</li> <li>- blindness to drawbacks and social disunity</li> <li>- conformism; differing opinions seen as dangerous and destabilising</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- belief that ideals of a nation are worth admiring and respecting</li> <li>- primary loyalty to the set of principles fundamental for democracy</li> <li>- critical attitude, caution, questioning</li> <li>- care for people within a society based on principles of freedom, justice, etc.</li> <li>- warning of shortcomings, especially those within a society</li> <li>- respect for and encouragement of differing opinions</li> </ul>

Source: Adapted from Westheimer (2006).

<sup>6</sup> John H. Schaar, *Legitimacy in the Modern State* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1981), 287.

<sup>7</sup> Joel Westheimer, "Politics and patriotism in education," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 4 (2006): 608–620.

Patriotism can also be found on the list of civic virtues, namely as a derived virtue, dependent upon time and place and not on the general moral character of a person.<sup>8</sup> Gutmann agrees with this formulation as well,<sup>9</sup> as she thinks of patriotism as a feeling and not a moral expectation. As such, patriotism is one of the elements of personal identity. In spite of all this, certain philosophers and experts do not rank patriotism among civic virtues. Nussbaum and other liberals reject the idea of patriotism due to their fondness of universalism, cosmopolitanism, and other associated features and, at the same time, suggest that justice and equality shall be better served under an otherwise very old ideal of cosmopolitanism in which the primary loyalty of an individual is to the entire world community.<sup>10</sup>

Patriotism cannot be bought, ordered, or prohibited. It is to be understood as a special feeling; hence it has an important place in the hierarchy of values. To love one's own home and country in the broader context has been and will always be a noble deed, as it assists and assures the survival of both family and nation.

Patriotism, as perceived by Hegel, entails the acceptance of all the norms and policies of one's own country in addition to readiness to defend one's own interests.<sup>11</sup> Hegel's patriotism represents a completely modern virtue, which personifies and respects personal liberty and freedom of choice, two decisive characteristics of contemporary time. Patriotism, expressed as the will of citizens, is an essential prerequisite for understanding the actual form of social freedom or common freedom and, as such, represents the fundamental sense of order, whereby legitimacy must be present within a political community as well. The cohabitation of morality and freedom can only be possible in a community in which order is established on the basis of civic feeling for order and patriotism.<sup>12</sup>

Gutmann warns of a darker side of patriotism, which is represented by an uncritical loyalty of millions of people to individual states. States possess institutionalised means for killing, torturing, shaming, humiliating, and other methods for depriving other people of the most fundamental conditions for decent life. Not only do states often threaten use of these means, they have been employing some of these techniques and tactics more frequently as time has passed. Love of one's own country, often understood as 'my country, be

<sup>8</sup> Sigal Ben-Porath, "Civic virtue out of necessity - Patriotism and democratic education," *Theory and Research in Education*, 5, 1 (2007), 42.

<sup>9</sup> Amy Gutmann, *Democratic Education* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 312.

<sup>10</sup> Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and cosmopolitanism," *Boston Review*, 19, 5 (1994): 3-34.

<sup>11</sup> Rupert H. Gordon, "Modernity, freedom and the state: Hegel's concept of Patriotism," *The Review of Politics*, 62, 2 (2000), 309-310.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 320.

it wrong or right', can therefore prove extremely dangerous. A citizen can have patriotic feelings only towards their own state and not towards some state that plays no role in the order of their political community, hence patriotism always has the potential to contribute toward hatred, discrimination, and aggression directed against foreigners (that is, those who are not part of the nation).<sup>13</sup> Nussbaum<sup>14</sup> says that exaggerated emphasis and expression of patriotism should be avoided due to a potential for producing a national exclusivity whose consequences include racism, xenophobia, discrimination, war, terrorism, genocide, and ethnic (national) cleansing. Democratic education agrees with this view, as it encourages students to oppose injustices, such as slavery, ethnic cleansing, anti-Semitism, racial segregation, sexual discrimination, and all forms of nationalistic patriotism.<sup>15</sup> As far as education on civic virtues is concerned, the best choice currently is to navigate a middle ground that includes the introduction of students both to the history of their state and its governmental structure and mode of operation as well as to other cultural and historical patterns of states that can be seen as perfect antitheses to their way of living. The introduction of these different kinds of states should in no way entail that these states deserve to be the object of hostile sentiments or intimidating ways of expressing one's own patriotic feelings.

Expression of patriotism becomes an especially acute issue in times of conflict.<sup>16</sup> The stability and security of contemporary democratic societies can also be negatively affected by other social phenomena, among which the following deserve to be exposed: 'democratic deficit', increasingly frequent cases of racism in its various forms, xenophobia and other forms of discrimination and intolerance, plus growing pluralism and diversity within modern democratic societies. With an unclear or even blurred understanding of patriotism and its confusion with nationalism, the very diversity of a society becomes a basis on which, during times of internal state conflict based on asymmetric warfare, individual enclosed social communities form as cells from which armed conflicts are led. Hence, patriotism as a constructed feeling, on which national consciousness and tolerance are based, must be understood as a guarantee for the decreasing of conflict possibilities and for a greater social cohesiveness within a society in spite of its potential internal differences.

In the introductory section, we noted that certain authors regard patriotism merely as a state of primary connection or attachment to the territory and

<sup>13</sup> Ajume Wingo, "To Love your Country as your Mother - Patriotism after 9/11," *Theory and Research in Education*, 5, 1 (2007), 29.

<sup>14</sup> Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and cosmopolitanism," *Boston Review*, 19, 5 (1994): 3–34.

<sup>15</sup> Amy Gutmann, *Democratic Education* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 312.

<sup>16</sup> Typical cases are the 9/11 events (September 11, 2001) in the USA, and the related strategy of national security as set down in the *Patriot Act*.

society.<sup>17</sup> But what happens if this kind of affection is no longer a rule, when a certain neighbourhood becomes solely a matter of one's residence and not of civic identity? This problem is being faced more and more often in our modern world as we become more physically mobile. Moving to other states, even for longer periods of time, no longer presents an obstacle to us.

On the other hand, the feeling of homesickness, also related to patriotism, remains for those who emigrate. The very deprivation of one's homeland causes this emotional state. Therefore, the studying of patriotism as an ostensibly conservative principle of perceiving one's own homeland, as the homeland appears through the perspective of intensive globalism, remains appropriate and even necessary.

## 2 DOES PATRIOTISM REPRESENT AN OBSTACLE TO COSMOPOLITANISM?

In modern political theory, an increased interest in global governance and consequently in global citizenship as an alternative to national citizenship can be observed. The idea of the citizen of the world has been around for a long time as part of a visionary, utopian aspiration of Western tradition. This aspiration remains too abstract and unclear to realise, as it is difficult to understand just how individuals could actually feel fidelity and loyalty to a global government or some other form of global institution.<sup>18</sup> The obligations that a global citizen should have (e.g., showing respect for other cultures, the consequent protection of cultural diversity among nations) must be brought into question.

Cosmopolitanism<sup>19</sup> arose as a consequence of specific social changes related to the process of globalisation. Social changes manifest themselves in the erosion of national sovereignty, the emergence of a double or multiple citizenship(s), the growth of global markets, multiculturalism, cultural hybridisation, and so forth.<sup>20</sup>

In terms of the relationship between the state and the national identity, patriotism and cosmopolitanism are opposing theoretical concepts. Alasdair MacIntyre defends patriotism,<sup>21</sup> because he thinks that loyalty to a nation is moral and

<sup>17</sup> Morris Janowitz, *The Reconstruction of Patriotism: Education for Civic Consciousness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 8.

<sup>18</sup> Bryan S. Turner, "Cosmopolitan virtue, globalization and patriotism," *Theory, Culture and Society*, 19, 1–2 (2002), 45–48.

<sup>19</sup> A worldview according to which a person does not belong to an individual nation or a state, but rather to the world as a whole.

<sup>20</sup> Bryan S. Turner, "Cosmopolitan virtue, globalization and patriotism," *Theory, Culture and Society*, 19, 1–2 (2002), 58.

<sup>21</sup> Alasdair MacIntyre, *Is patriotism a virtue?* (Kansas: University of Kansas, 1984).

that, without living within a nation, one would feel no need for a moral construct of similar gravitas.<sup>22</sup> On the contrary, Martha Nussbaum<sup>23</sup> argues for the ethical superiority of cosmopolitanism over patriotism. She harshly criticizes patriotic pride, as she considers it to be morally dangerous. Nussbaum suggests that human beings should direct their alliance towards a worldwide community of people.<sup>24</sup> In her opinion, the ideal of cosmopolitanism should be capable of realising all patriotic ideas, as the former strives for faithfulness to the entire human community and not only to one's nation. In other words, for the sake of faithfulness to the moral good, one has to renounce certain national feelings. This should enable us to overcome many obstacles and divisions and to actually do good to everyone, as a cosmopolitan cannot support the belief that any nation could be superior over others.<sup>25</sup>

A cosmopolitan is therefore someone who puts justice before a state, and universal values before symbols of national identity. In this manner, the cosmopolitan perspective represents a fundamental opposition to the unification of state power and collective identity. Accordingly, when looked at from the cosmopolitan perspective, membership in a certain nation does not contain any moral value.<sup>26</sup> However, a drawback of global cosmopolitanism is its abstractness, whereas patriotism has the advantage of being based on 'living culture'.

A cosmopolitan is a citizen of the world; such a type of membership, to the world rather than to a specific nation, opens up the question of whether a cosmopolitan can also be a patriot<sup>27</sup> and whether citizenship can exist with its territorial association removed. The cosmopolitanism sceptics hold the opinion that a true democracy cannot exist without a territory, since love for a state represents a necessary precondition for expressing one's pride within a democratic community and political values are learnt by humans within a spatial context.<sup>28</sup> However, cosmopolitanism does not mean that someone does not have their own country or homeland, but rather that an individual should maintain a certain distance towards their own native country. The fundamental concept of a cosmopolitan virtue is the 'Socrates' irony', or a feigned ignorance, asserting that other cultures can only be understood and respected after

<sup>22</sup> Rupert H. Gordon, "Modernity, freedom and the state: Hegel's concept of Patriotism," *The Review of Politics*, 62, 2 (2000), 296.

<sup>23</sup> Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and cosmopolitanism," *Boston Review*, 19, 5 (1994), 3–34.

<sup>24</sup> Samuel Huntington, *Who Are We? America's Great Debate* (London: Simon & Schuster UK Ltd, 2004), 270.

<sup>25</sup> Martha Nussbaum, "Patriotism and cosmopolitanism," *Boston Review*, 19, 5 (1994), 3–34.

<sup>26</sup> Rupert H. Gordon, "Modernity, freedom and the state: Hegel's concept of patriotism," *The Review of Politics*, 62, 2 (2000), 296.

<sup>27</sup> Bryan S. Turner, "Cosmopolitan virtue, globalization and patriotism," *Theory, Culture and Society*, 19, 1–2 (2002), 55–56.

<sup>28</sup> Patrick J. Deenen, *The Odyssey of Political Theory: The Politics of Departure and Return* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).



one distances themselves from their own national culture. Cosmopolitanism expresses a set of virtues (care for other cultures, for the integrity of cultures in a hybrid world, openness for cultural criticisms) that all people should possess.<sup>29</sup> One of the attempts at defining an appropriate balance between cosmopolitanism and patriotism is the theory of so-called 'limited patriotism', which states that people understand their patriotic position in accordance with the principle that they can fulfil their patriotic obligations only in the context of a global social environment in which the needs of all people are equitably taken into account.<sup>30</sup> Reflection on global equity hence demands that we do not permit nationality to be the only factor influencing our views.

The aforementioned form of patriotism thus represents the most appropriate path for our understanding of, and development of equilibrium between, the requirements of cosmopolitanism, equity, and patriotism. We argue that cosmopolitanism and patriotism are not mutually exclusive concepts, and that patriotic connotation represents an inevitable and important attribute of every human person.

Recently, increasing attention has been paid to the relationship between the national and the European identity, which represents a somewhat narrower scope of cosmopolitanism. The relationship between a national and a supranational, global European identity has been emerging as an increasingly important question in terms of further enlargement of the European Union, as nation-states have lost a part of their sovereignty to the European Union. This new European identity is being formed within the institutional framework of the emergent supranational state (i.e., the EU), whereby state is understood as a territorial, political, economic, and social dimension of the notion of a nation.

The relation between the national and the European identities can be conceptualised in at least two ways. The first way is as a single-dimensional continuum that goes from an extremely national identification on the one side to the identification with Europe on the other, meaning that an individual cannot develop both identities to equally high levels. However, the two-dimensional model, which holds that an individual plays widely differing social roles on a daily basis, enables an individual to feature both national and European identities, each of them expressed at high levels, or whatever combination of the two without the need to sacrifice one in favour of the other. So we can say that national and European identities have a parallel existence in one's consciousness. Various components of national and European identities are not

<sup>29</sup> Bryan S. Turner, "Cosmopolitan virtue, globalization and patriotism," *Theory, Culture and Society*, 19, 1–2 (2002), 55–56.

<sup>30</sup> Tan Kok-Chor, *Justice Without Borders: Cosmopolitanism, Nationalism and Patriotism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2004), 158.



only engaged in constant mutual interaction and interdependent, but are also mixed and intertwined.<sup>31</sup>

In the aftermath of democratic transition that took place parallel to Slovenia's gaining of independence from Yugoslavia, Slovenia has become a full member of the EU. In this way the institutional framework of Slovenian national identity, only recently established, has slowly been disintegrating under European influence. However, even under such circumstances, the feeling of national affiliation nevertheless remains stronger than the feeling of adherence to Europe or the European Union. The latter is corroborated by the results of the research project entitled 'European values study',<sup>32</sup> which reveals that the fear of loss of one's national identity is present to a large extent. This fear is particularly prominent in Great Britain, where nearly 70 per cent of its citizens say they are afraid of losing their national identity. The reason for this is most likely the surge in immigration, as all citizens who come from the European Union Member States are granted fairly easy access to work permits for the whole EU and hence are able to immigrate freely. In this manner, Great Britain has been in the process of becoming a more multicultural society in which national identity is slowly being lost in a multitude of various cultures.

The fear of losing national identity can be felt in Slovenia, too, as almost 60 per cent of survey respondents say they are afraid of losing Slovenian national identity. The Bulgarians, Cypriots, and Dutch are least worried about losing their national identities and about the domination of European identity; only about one-third of individuals from these national identities was worried about this outcome.

Hereby, one should be aware that the place of patriotism on a hierarchical scale of a certain state changes in accordance with the existing situation. This is also evident from studies of patriotism among Slovenians, as the highest level of patriotism was recorded during times of severe outside pressures, especially so when the independence and sovereignty of the Slovenian state had to be defended in the early 1990s, whereas in the post-independence period, it was already possible to detect stagnation of patriotism with respect to other values on the hierarchical scale. Research results<sup>33</sup> show that patriotism is strongly

<sup>31</sup> See Thomas Risse, *An Emerging European Identity? What we know, And How to Make Sense Of It*. Paper is part of the lectures held at Helsinki University in 2003. Available at [http://www.helsinki.fi/collegium/events/european identity.pdf](http://www.helsinki.fi/collegium/events/european%20identity.pdf) (March 2011).

<sup>32</sup> See *European Values Study 4th wave*. 2004. Available at <http://zacat.gesis.org/webview/index.jsp?rightsideside=mode%3Ddocumentation%26submode%3Dcatalog%26catalog%3Dhttp%3A/zacat.gesis.org%3A80/obj/fCatalog/Catalog16&treeview=mode%3Dtreeview%26object%3Dhttp%3A/zacat.gesis.org/obj/fCatalog/Catalog16%26open%3Dhttp%3A/zacat.gesis.org%3A80/obj/fCatalog/Catalog16> (April 2011).

<sup>33</sup> Niko Toš et al, *Vrednote v prehodu III. Slovensko javno mnenje 1999–2004* (Ljubljana: Faculty of Social Sciences, 2004).

related to security. The greater degree to which a state is threatened by an outside aggressor, the higher patriotism will place on a hierarchical scale of values, and vice-versa.

Given the fairly low age of our state, it could be argued that patriotism toward one's hometown or toward the entire territory of Slovenia is higher than in states that have been independent for decades or even centuries. In Slovenia, it is also hard to speak of any attachment to Europe, as we have actually been part of the European Union since 2004 when Slovenia entered the community of European Union Member States. The latter truth is evident from the public opinion poll '*Slovensko javno mnenje*' (translates to 'Slovenian Public Opinion'), as Slovenians express the highest level of allegiance to their hometown or to the entire territory of Slovenia. In total, 94.4 per cent of survey respondents claim they are attached to the territory of Slovenia, whereas only 64.5 per cent, a much lower figure, admit they are attached to Europe.

It can be concluded that, in case of Slovenians, their territorial attachment refers to patriotism towards their own hometowns in its narrower sense and to evident expression of patriotism towards the entire territory of the Republic of Slovenia in its wider sense. The public opinion poll '*Slovensko javno mnenje*' reveals that 95.8 per cent of Slovenians claim they are proud to be citizens of Slovenia. Similar data concerning the pride of belonging to a certain nation is given by the European Values Study. Its data show that, in 2008, 93.5 per cent of survey respondents from Slovenia claimed they were proud to be citizens of Slovenia.

For all the European Union Member States included in the survey, the percentage of inhabitants who are very proud or partially proud of being members of a certain nation is higher than 70 per cent. However, the lowest level of pride is expressed by residents of Lithuania, which has the highest percentage of answers recorded for 'not proud at all' among the EU Member States included in the survey, namely 7.1 per cent; it is followed by the Germany, of which 6.3 per cent of respondents say they are not proud of their citizenship. Those most proud of their nation are the Irish, with 98.7 per cent of respondents expressing pride, followed by the Maltese (96.6 per cent) and Turks (95 per cent).

### 3 THE YOUNG AND PATRIOTISM IN SLOVENIA: EMPIRICAL ANALYSES FROM 2008 AND 2010

When speaking of patriotism, debates on values (liberty, equality, democracy, non-discrimination, tolerance, equity, solidarity, peacefulness, security, welfare, friendship, etc.) and on ideology as a plan for ameliorating society simply cannot be avoided. If conceptualised in a correct manner, patriotism becomes part of a package of civic virtues that support a democratic public sphere. Patriotic and

civic feelings are cultivated through national insignia consisting of symbols that represent the state at every moment in time and reinforce our love for it. The presence of these symbols unifies citizens and maintains a positive attitude towards the state.<sup>34</sup>

An adult who is considered a patriotic citizen should, apart from knowing the national insignia, national holidays, and the democratic institutions and their workings, know the history of the Slovenian state, respect its Constitution and laws, and regularly participate in democratic elections as well. Accordingly, they should preserve a respectful attitude towards Slovenian language.

In our research, conducted in 2008 and then repeated in 2010, we wanted to find out the degree of patriotism among the young, i.e., among primary school pupils and secondary school students, to be more precise. Comparative analysis of the degree of patriotism among Slovenian primary school pupils and secondary school students was performed on the basis of the following indicators: the knowledge of Slovenian flag, national holidays, and history of the Slovenian nation.

During the first part of our research, the young were asked about the properties that a patriotic citizen had to possess in their view. According to the opinions of primary school pupils and secondary school students, the properties that best describe an adult patriotic citizen, as expressed in both the 2008 survey and the most recent one from 2010 (see Table 2), are especially: a) *a respectful attitude towards Slovenian language*; b) *respect for the Constitution and laws*; and c) *not to be a disgrace to the homeland*. Both groups of the young seem to be quite uniform in terms of all the given characteristics, and the lowest standard deviation was recorded exactly for these three items. All the remaining characteristics (*knows the history of their state, works hard, knows the lyrics of the National Anthem and other national insignia, votes at elections, is prepared to defend their homeland, is unconditionally loyal to their homeland, takes part in activities that help all Slovenians, takes part in activities that help all the citizens, participates in activities aimed at protecting natural and cultural heritage, and so forth*) that should define a patriotic citizen can be placed into the second group and designated as moderately important for a patriotic citizen.

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<sup>34</sup> Gregor Jagodič, "Državljska vzgoja ter vloga glasbe in simbolov v šoli," in *Državljska in domovinska vzgoja*, eds. Andreja Barle Lakota, Erika Rustja and Janez Jug (Slovenska Bistrica: Beja, 2006), 184–185.

TABLE 2: PERSPECTIVES OF THE YOUNG ON PATRIOTISM AND PATRIOTIC ACTS

AN ADULT WHO IS A PATRIOTIC CITIZEN, ...	UNIMPOR- TANT	SLIGHTLY IMPORTANT	IMPORTANT	VERY IMPORTANT	AVERAGE VALUE OF ANSWERS 2010	AVERAGE VALUE OF ANSWERS 2008
	(% ANSWERS)	(% ANSWERS)	(% ANSWERS)	(% ANSWERS)		
	1	2	3	4		
<b>... respects the Constitution and laws</b>						
PRIMARY SCHOOL	4.8	6.6	19.3	62.0	<b>3.50</b>	<b>3.47</b>
SECONDARY SCHOOL	4.5	8.6	24.0	56.4	<b>3.41</b>	<b>3.54</b>
<b>... works hard</b>						
PRIMARY SCHOOL	6.5	10.8	39.2	34.2	<b>3.12</b>	<b>2.99</b>
SECONDARY SCHOOL	7.9	11.3	43.0	30.8	<b>3.04</b>	<b>2.90</b>
<b>... knows the lyrics of Slovenian National Anthem and other National Insignia</b>						
PRIMARY SCHOOL	5.1	8.4	26.1	52.0	<b>3.36</b>	<b>3.10</b>
SECONDARY SCHOOL	7.1	11.2	25.4	49.8	<b>3.26</b>	<b>3.23</b>
<b>... knows the history of our state</b>						
PRIMARY SCHOOL	7.5	15.2	44.2	25.8	<b>2.95</b>	<b>2.88</b>
SECONDARY SCHOOL	6.4	15.2	41.7	30.9	<b>3.03</b>	<b>3.13</b>
<b>... casts a vote at elections</b>						
PRIMARY SCHOOL	14.1	13.3	32.8	31.2	<b>2.89</b>	<b>2.88</b>
SECONDARY SCHOOL	10.3	15.4	30.2	36.6	<b>3.01</b>	<b>3.15</b>
<b>... is prepared to defend their homeland</b>						
PRIMARY SCHOOL	4.5	7.3	22.1	57.0	<b>3.45</b>	-
SECONDARY SCHOOL	11.3	21.1	33.5	25.9	<b>2.81</b>	-
<b>... hangs Slovenian national flag for all national holidays</b>						
PRIMARY SCHOOL	13.2	15.0	38.3	25.8	<b>2.83</b>	<b>2.54</b>
SECONDARY SCHOOL	20.3	22.8	31.0	19.1	<b>2.52</b>	<b>2.34</b>
<b>... takes part in activities helping all Slovenians</b>						
PRIMARY SCHOOL	6.8	12.9	40.0	29.9	<b>3.04</b>	<b>3.00</b>
SECONDARY SCHOOL	7.0	18.4	39.1	28.0	<b>2.95</b>	<b>2.90</b>
<b>... takes part in activities helping all the citizens</b>						
PRIMARY SCHOOL	6.6	12.8	38.9	29.7	<b>3.04</b>	<b>2.94</b>
SECONDARY SCHOOL	8.2	21.1	39.9	23.0	<b>2.84</b>	<b>2.87</b>

<b>... takes part in activities aimed at protecting natural and cultural heritage</b>						
PRIMARY SCHOOL	7.6	19.1	35.0	27.4	<b>2.92</b>	<b>2.89</b>
SECONDARY SCHOOL	9.6	21.0	37.3	23.4	<b>2.82</b>	<b>2.75</b>
<b>... is unconditionally loyal to their homeland</b>						
PRIMARY SCHOOL	7.9	13.3	32.6	32.9	<b>3.04</b>	<b>2.82</b>
SECONDARY SCHOOL	10.1	18.8	34.6	27.6	<b>2.87</b>	<b>2.81</b>
<b>... is not a disgrace to their homeland</b>						
PRIMARY SCHOOL	5.8	8.2	22.4	53.0	<b>3.37</b>	<b>3.20</b>
SECONDARY SCHOOL	5.9	9.1	25.5	50.3	<b>3.32</b>	<b>3.27</b>
<b>... has a respectful attitude towards Slovenian language</b>						
PRIMARY SCHOOL	3.4	5.1	17.5	65.8	<b>3.59</b>	<b>3.49</b>
SECONDARY SCHOOL	3.1	6.0	20.8	62.9	<b>3.55</b>	<b>3.59</b>
<b>... knows Slovenian democratic institutions and their workings</b>						
PRIMARY SCHOOL	10.8	18.5	37.1	16.8	<b>2.72</b>	<b>2.70</b>
SECONDARY SCHOOL	11.9	22.3	39.5	17.0	<b>2.68</b>	<b>2.73</b>

Source: Research Project "The Young and the EU" (Faculty of Social Sciences, 10/2010, N (prim. sch.) = 881, N (sec. sch.) = 928). Research Project "The Development of Patriotism Among the Young" (Faculty of Social Sciences, 9-10/2008, N (prim. sch.) = 516, N (sec. sch.) = 648.<sup>35</sup>

The only two properties denoted by the young as being of relatively minor importance for a patriotic citizen are *the hanging of the national flag for national holidays* (still, primary school pupils ascribed greater importance to this than did secondary school students) and *the knowledge of Slovenian democratic institutions and their workings*; the first category is of course one of the most crucial patriotic acts, so the fact that the younger generation believe it to be relatively unimportant is somewhat surprising. It is this feature that the young seem to be least unified on (and that has the highest value of standard deviation). Maybe this deviation could best be explained by the relatively short history of our own statehood and national insignia; however, such an explanation cannot be supported with certitude until further research is performed.

From the perspective of the political context of patriotism study, two properties

<sup>35</sup> Survey respondents estimated the importance of various patriotic actions of an adult citizen (importance of each of the described actions with reference to who a patriotic citizen is and what a patriotic citizen does) on a scale ranging from 1 to 4; 1 represents the answer "unimportant" and 4 represents the answer "very important". When analysing and computing the average value of answers, "don't know" responses were not taken into consideration. The greater the average value of the answers is (value in the right-hand column), the greater the extent to which citizens believe a certain type of act is an important facet of being a patriotic citizen.

are of special interest to us: *'an adult who is a patriotic citizen ... is unconditionally loyal to their homeland'* and *'an adult who is a patriotic citizen ... is not a disgrace to their homeland'*; namely, both support so-called authoritarian patriotism, especially characteristic of the socio-political reality present in the United States during the recent Republican presidency. Interestingly, both properties were estimated by the young as being more important for a patriotic citizen than was the hanging of the national flag.

In sum, patriotism of an adult citizen is explicitly related by young generations to respect for the Constitution and the laws, to a respectful attitude toward the Slovenian language, and to not causing any disgrace to one's own homeland, whereas they least relate an adult person's patriotism to the hanging of the national flag for national holidays and the knowledge of Slovenian democratic institutions and their workings.

When studying the degree of patriotism, the level of pride of living in a certain state must be subject to research as well. The question of whether they are proud to live in Slovenia (see Table 3) was answered 'yes' by 74.6 per cent of primary school pupils and 76.2 per cent of secondary school students in 2008. In the most recent survey, this percentage was even somewhat higher, as in 2010 87.0 per cent of primary school pupils and 84.8 per cent of secondary school students responded they were very or quite proud of living in Slovenia. Additionally, the share of those not very proud or not proud at all of living in Slovenia was low for both the years studied—11.6 per cent (2008) and 8.4 per cent (2010) for primary school pupils, respectively (no difference could be detected as to the environment of the school they were attending), and 11.6 per cent (2008) and 11.9 per cent (2010) for secondary school students. Among secondary school students, a slightly larger percentage of 'less proud ones' existed among students of vocational schools (20.5 per cent). We can thus conclude that a convincing majority of both pupils and students are proud to live in Slovenia.

**TABLE 3: ATTITUDE OF YOUNG PEOPLE CONCERNING SLOVENIAN IDENTITY AND LIFE IN SLOVENIA (PER CENT)**

	RESEARCH – PRIMARY SCHOOLS	RESEARCH – SECONDARY SCHOOLS	RESEARCH – PRIMARY SCHOOLS	RESEARCH – SECONDARY SCHOOLS
	2008		2010	
N=	(516)	(648)	(881)	(928)
I AM VERY PROUD OF	48.4	40.7	62.9	56.8
I AM QUITE PROUD OF	26.2	35.5	24.1	28.0
I AM NOT VERY PROUD OF	8.4	9.9	6.5	9.6

I AM NOT PROUD OF AT ALL	3.2	1.7	1.9	2.3
I DON'T KNOW, I HAVEN'T THOUGHT ABOUT IT	13.8	12.2	4.6	6.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Research Project "The Young and the EU" (Faculty of Social Sciences, 10/2010, N (prim. sch.) = 881, N (sec. sch.) = 928)<sup>36</sup>; Research Project "The Development of Patriotism Among the Young" (Faculty of Social Sciences, 9-10/2008, N (prim. sch.) = 516, N (sec. sch.) = 648.

The second part of our survey questionnaire was aimed at studying the knowledge of Slovenian national flag, national holidays (whereby we devoted special attention to those with a more patriotic connotation), and elements of civic literacy (the latter was tested by a series of questions concerning suffrage, the Slovenian Constitution and political system, fundamental human rights and freedoms, etc.). The objective of this part of the study was cognitive identification of knowledge that primary school pupils and secondary school students possessed in the fields of patriotism and civic education. For the question in which survey respondents had to recognise the Slovenian national flag from among the three pictures of different flags, the rate of correct answers was 91.9 per cent for primary school pupils and 92.6 per cent for secondary school students in 2008 survey, whereas in the most recent survey (2010) the rates were even higher, namely 97.2 and 97.3 per cent, respectively. The share of incorrect answers was by far the lowest (less than one per cent) for the incorrectly depicted national flag of the Republic of Slovenia (in a red-blue-white combination of stripes). Based on these results, we conclude that the knowledge of the national flag of the Republic of Slovenia is very high among both groups of survey respondents.

In the next question related to the topic of civic literacy, pupils and students had to connect the given names of national holidays with corresponding dates on which these holidays are celebrated. Both groups of respondents were asked an identical question; we expected somewhat fewer correct answers from schoolchildren as a result of this process, and our presumption was confirmed (see Table 4). We wanted to answer questions concerning how well pupils and students knew the two typical patriotic holidays (we chose the Statehood Day, June 25, and the Independence and Unity Day, December 26), to which we added three other well-known holidays (Christmas, Reformation Day, and Slovenian Cultural Holiday) that the general public does not *a priori* link with a patriotic context, even though the last of these days undoubtedly has a patriotic connotation. Furthermore, we also incorporated two less-

<sup>36</sup> Research Project "The Development of Patriotism among the Young" (Faculty of Social Sciences, 9-10/2008, N (prim. sch.) = 516, N (sec. sch.) = 648. Survey respondents had to answer the question: 'Are you proud of living in Slovenia?'



known holidays that were recently recognised (moreover, these two *are not free days*), Rudolf Maister's Day and the day of the Restitution of Primorska as Part of Our Mother Country, which do have explicitly patriotic connotations. Answers are presented in Table 4. A majority of students knew all the seven given holidays, whereas the recognition of holidays by primary school pupils was somewhat less encouraging—55.4 per cent of pupils did not correctly recognise the date on which Slovenia celebrates the Independence and Unity day, or they confused this date with Statehood Day and even Christmas. Even more worrisome is the lack of knowledge of Rudolf Maister's Day and the day of Restitution of Primorska as Part of Our Mother Country. Both groups most often recognised the two well-known holidays, Christmas and Slovenian Cultural Holiday, which was to be expected. Schoolchildren showed no differences in correct or incorrect responses according to the settings in which they were attending school; however, one expected correlation did manifest, as students with higher results (that is, marks or grades) in the previous school year showed exceptionally better knowledge of holidays. This latter finding is also true of secondary school students, but to a slightly lesser degree. We also observed a very strong correlation between the knowledge of holidays and the type of secondary school students were attending. Students attending secondary grammar schools had a markedly better knowledge of holidays. From these answers, we conclude that knowledge of national holidays that refer to Slovenia's gaining of independence has remained relatively poor; we observed that pupils and students frequently confused the Statehood Day and the Independence and Unity day; an even worse situation was found in the case of Rudolf Maister's Day and the day of Restitution of Primorska as Part of Our Mother Country, which were successfully recognised by only around 40 per cent of schoolchildren and just over half of secondary school students.

TABLE 4: KNOWLEDGE OF NATIONAL HOLIDAYS AMONG PRIMARY SCHOOL PUPILS AND SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

	RESEARCH – PRIMARY SCHOOLS	RESEARCH – SECONDARY SCHOOLS	RESEARCH – PRIMARY SCHOOLS	RESEARCH – SECONDARY SCHOOLS
	2008	2008	2010	2010
<b>Slovenian Cultural Holiday</b>	83.7	94.9	70.5	88.1
<b>Statehood Day</b>	64.1	63.7	50.5	60.5
<b>Restitution of Primorska as Part of Our Mother Country</b>	-	-	42.1	55.6
<b>Reformation Day</b>	70.5	83.2	57.5	69.6
<b>Rudolf Maister's Day</b>	-	-	39.9	51.8

<b>Christmas</b>	90.5	96.6	84.9	93.6
<b>Independence and Unity Day</b>	58.5	61.4	44.6	53.6

Sources: Research Project "The Young and the EU" (Faculty of Social Sciences, 10/2010, N (prim. sch.) = 881, N (sec. sch.) = 928). Research Project "The Development of Patriotism among the Young" (Faculty of Social Sciences, 9-10/2008, N (prim. sch.) = 516, N (sec. sch.) = 648. Survey respondents had to connect five/seven given dates with the names of five/seven corresponding different national holidays. Answers were considered incorrect in instances of avoiding a question, or not giving an answer for individual dates ('valid per cent' data is available in the attached statistical summaries).

The set of questions related to the analysis of civic literacy (Table 5) was used to test the respondents' knowledge of the Slovenian Constitution and political system, human rights and fundamental freedoms, democracy, and other issues of civic education. Analysis of answers reveals three qualitative levels of knowledge. The highest level of knowledge (with more than 80 per cent of respondents answering correctly on average) was displayed by both groups for the following statements: 'Elections can be attended by any citizen who is at least 18 years old,' 'President of the Republic of Slovenia is elected at elections,' 'Slovenia is a Member State of both the European Union and the NATO,' 'Slovenian Constitution was adopted after Slovenia had gained its independence,' 'Slovenian Constitution speaks of human rights as well,' and 'Slovenia was already an independent state after World War I, between 1918 and 1941'. Evidently, both primary school pupils and secondary school students exhibited a fairly high level of knowledge regarding the foundations of civic literacy. The statement 'In the Republic of Slovenia, the Catholic Church and the state are separated' was the only one where the difference between the knowledge of primary school pupils and secondary school students was significant (17.9 per cent).

Both groups showed a medium level of knowledge (with between 60 and 80 per cent of respondents answering correctly on average) in their judgement of the statement 'Slovenian Parliament consists of the National Assembly, which comprises 90 deputies, and of the National Council, which has 40 councillors'. However, a relatively low level of knowledge (with between 40 to 60 per cent of respondents answering correctly on average) was shown by both groups regarding the statements 'Our fundamental human rights are already guaranteed by international treaties and various conventions,' 'Slovenian Parliament elects the Prime Minister and ministers'; primary school pupils also exhibited a low level of knowledge for the statement 'In the Republic of Slovenia, the Catholic Church and the state are separated'. The lowest level of civic literacy was (somewhat expectedly) recorded for the otherwise false statement 'Slovenian Government passes laws', as this statement was not recognised as wrong by three quarters of respondents among schoolchildren, and by two thirds of survey respondents among secondary school students.

The results of these short civic literacy tests reveal that it would make sense, especially in primary schools but also in secondary schools, to pay more attention to the basic workings of the Slovenian state and to the relationship between the executive and the legislative branch, which is also of crucial importance for strongly performing parliamentary democracy.

**TABLE 5: KNOWLEDGE OF THE SLOVENIAN CONSTITUTION, POLITICAL SYSTEM, HUMAN RIGHTS, DEMOCRACY, AND SIMILAR TOPICS AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE (% OF CORRECT ANSWERS)**

STATEMENTS		RESEARCH – PRIMARY SCHOOLS	RESEARCH – SECONDARY SCHOOLS	RESEARCH – PRIMARY SCHOOLS	RESEARCH – SECONDARY SCHOOLS
		2007	2007	2010	2010
(N=)		(906)	(1035)	(881)	(928)
1	Slovenian Constitution was adopted after Slovenia had gained its independence.	85.5	89.0	83.4	83.5
2	Among other things, the Slovenian Constitution speaks of human rights as well.	82.3	89.5	80.3	81.5
3	Slovenian Parliament consists of the National Assembly, which comprises 90 deputies, and of the National Council, which has 40 councillors.	65.1	63.0	65.3	67.6
4	Slovenian Government passes laws.	27.3	25.4	24.3	33.4
5	Slovenian Parliament elects the Prime Minister and ministers.	63.1	59.8	51.2	47.7
6	Our fundamental human rights are already guaranteed by international treaties and various conventions.	55.2	57.7	57.4	54.0
7	Elections can be attended by any citizen who is at least 18 years old.	93.9	97.3	90.0	91.2
8	President of the Republic of Slovenia is elected at elections.	93.9	97.4	90.1	89.8
9	In the Republic of Slovenia, the Catholic Church and the state are separated.	53.4	80.7	55.8	73.7
10	Slovenia is a Member State of both the European Union and the NATO.	85.7	95.2	78.1	86.3
11	During the first half of 2010, Slovenia is going to hold the European Union Presidency.	67.5	76.0	-	-

12	<b>Slovenia was already an independent state after World War I, between 1918 and 1941.</b>	-	-	80.2	83.2
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Source: Research Project "The Young and the EU" (Faculty of Social Sciences, 10/2010, N (prim. sch.) = 881, N (sec. sch.) = 928); Research Project "Homeland and Civic Education in the Republic of Slovenia" (Faculty of Social Sciences, 11-12/2007, N (prim. sch.) = 906, N (sec. sch.) = 1035.

#### 4 CONCLUSION

Results of our comparative study show that both target groups of the young hold *the hanging of Slovenian national flag for national holidays* and *the knowledge of Slovenian democratic institutions and their workings* as the least important traits of a patriotic citizen and that they emphasise *the respect towards Slovenian language* as the most desired property of a patriotic citizen. Data acquired in the process of studying the degree of pride for individuals living in Slovenia reveal that, in 2010, our young were even more proud to live in Slovenia than they had been in 2008, which is very positive information, and delightful if you are a Slovenian who takes pride in his or her country. We should not worry that Slovenians are going to meet their demise as a nation, as the young have been increasingly explicit in their expression of love towards their state.

However, we should be at least slightly worried about the data showing the state of knowledge of Slovenian national holidays, as the level of knowledge recorded during the last survey proved to be significantly lower than that which had been found by the 2008 survey. This fact was true of both groups included in our study. Interestingly, for both years in which our survey was performed, more respondents correctly recognised the Reformation Day than the two most important (patriotic) national holidays, i.e., the Statehood Day and the Independence and Unity Day.

Considering that the young exhibited a fairly high level of knowledge about civic literacy when answering the set of questions regarding the Slovenian Constitution and political system, human rights, and fundamental freedoms, it was somewhat surprising to observe poor knowledge of national holidays.

Based on facts gathered in these patriotism surveys, a question can be posed: does it make sense to devote more attention to the feeling of patriotism? As researchers, we give an affirmative answer, and present two arguments to support this affirmation. Firstly, patriotism as a feeling will never disappear. Patriotism is not exclusively linked to a nation-state, but to a nation, which does not always achieve its own state. Therefore, we predict the further existence of patriotism, regardless of the projected evolution of nation-states toward greater integration with the international community, and the possibility of further

development of supranational political entities. Reservations by those who claim that patriotism is going to be replaced by cosmopolitanism or globalism, which herald further erosion of nation-states, are hence wrong. Secondly, patriotism is often related to and, unfortunately, too frequently confused with the term nationalism. In fact, the meanings of these words are quite different. If the former features a universally positive character, then the latter is burdened by the weight of extremism as manifested in xenophobia, chauvinism, and intolerance towards others. For exactly these reasons, nationalism is a negation of all the positive characteristics of patriotism. However, the aforementioned extreme forms of nationalism surface in times of hardship for a nation. When the state does not take care of helping engender a correct understanding of its identity, its insignia, and so forth, it passes the responsibility for this understanding on to individual interpretations, which may or may not be desirable. This trait can be recognised in Slovenian society as well, especially among the young (who were the target population in our study).

Patriotism is not an alien feeling among our young. However, great inconsistency and confusion is present with respect to the understanding of patriotism and in terms of how patriotism is shown. The reasons for this confusion are very complex and feature an array of different factors, but the following generalisations can be made: the young are especially uninformed about the understanding of patriotism, as too little is done by families, the fundamental cells of every society, to define patriotism and pass this definition on to their children; the educational system focuses on some 'more important' matters; and the state as an institution does not pay proper attention to this issue. Clearly, resources are limited, especially so in times such as those we are currently facing, yet it is true that a lot can be done in the field of patriotism without any direct financial input. So, what could be added, changed, and improved? Undoubtedly, even without any upgrade of school curricula (though segmentary changes in school curricula would, in fact, be desirable), the educational system could place more emphasis on increasing instruction related to the already present topics that are related to patriotism, and much more could be done in terms of drawing connections between individual school subject, which have not reached the pre-planned scope. Unquestionably, the unused potential with respect to this approach remains enormous. However, there is another background issue: are teachers qualified enough, and do they desire to teach the young in such a manner?

These topics urgently need to be paid more attention. Through patriotism, our young shall receive national self-esteem, which will assist them both at home and abroad. Size does not play such an important role, as, in terms of meaning, no nation is 'small'. Nations are only either more or less self-assured, and self-confidence is derived from patriotism as well. Hence, investing real effort with

respect to the conveyance of patriotism would be worthwhile.

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