

"IDENTITY" AMONG THE MINORITY SLOVENES OF CARINTHIA, AUSTRIA

Members of the Slovene-speaking minority in Carinthia, Austria, have several "identities" at their disposal, ranging from the local to the supranational and including terms reflecting citizenship and language. We asked subjects from this minority which "identity labels" they felt most comfortable with. The results were largely as expected; they show a number of distinctions according to the age and educational level of the subjects, and in particular: the younger and the better-educated the subjects, the greater the preference for the labels "Carinthian Slovene" and "Slovene" rather than "Austrian" and "Carinthian". This suggests a positive future for the maintenance of Slovene identity and language in this province.

Keywords: Minority, identity, ethnicity, age difference, educational difference

"IDENTITETA" MANJŠINSKIH SLOVENCEV NA AVSTRIJSKEM KOROŠKEM

Pripadniki slovensko govoreče manjšine na avstrijskem Koroškem imajo več "identitet" hkrati, od lokalne do nadnacionalne in drugih identitet, ki odražajo državljanstvo in jezik. Pripadnike manjšine smo vprašali, katere "identitetne oznake" so jim najbolj domače. Rezultati so bili pričakovani, saj kažejo precej razlik glede na starost in izobrazbo anketirancev. Glavna razlika: mlajši in bolj izobraženi dajejo prednost oznakama "koroški Slovenec" in "Slovenec" pred oznakama "Avstrijec" in "Korošec". To je nedvomno dobro znamenje za prihodnost ohranitve slovenske identitete in jezika v deželi.

Ključne besede: manjšina, identiteta, etničnost, starostne razlike, izobrazbene razlike

INTRODUCTION

The maintenance of a minority language depends on many factors, among them the attitudes of the speakers of the language; and one of the most important attitudes is speakers' feelings about themselves – their self-worth as minority individuals, their standing with relation to members of the majority, and so on. One large factor is their feeling of "identity" – the extent to which they identify themselves as part of, or separate from, the same community as the majority, and (in the case of Slovene-speakers in Austrian Carinthia, as of "over-the-border" minorities generally) the extent to which they identify themselves with the people who speak the same language on the other side of the border.

"Identity" is a catch-all term of our times. It is an empty vessel which can be filled with almost any content," writes the anthropologist MacClancy (1993: 84); and the term is used not only in anthropology but also, with similar unrestraint, in sociology, psychology, literary analysis, and linguistics. Although it is clear that the topic of identity is vital to the understanding of ourselves as individuals in our relationship with others around us and with our contextual environment, the definitional uncertainty shows that it is a very complex concept. Evidence for this is provided by the extensive literature encompassing various aspects of the concept of identity.

We start with Tajfel's definition of a person's overall social identity: "That part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel 1974: 255). Clément and Noels (1992) proposed a situated approach to identity based on the idea that individuals "seek to maintain a positive self-image" across situations (Clément et al. 2001: 562), i.e., that individuals not only have multiple self-representations, but also that their feelings of belonging may vary depending on the immediate context, in other words: that the concept of identity actually incorporates a variety of social identities triggered by situational factors. Especially in multilingual regions such as the one treated here, where speakers of different languages are in constant contact, these demands can be expected to vary greatly depending on the context in which the interaction or contact occurs. As explained below, the present study was a small part of a larger investigation of several factors involved in language maintenance; and it is founded on the responses to a questionnaire about the multiple identities that the respondents may have "felt" that they had. Most of these identities involve "ethnicity", and we turn our attention to "ethnic identity" next.

Helms (1994) argues that a person's present ethnic identity is the result of the blend between their ancestral group and the requirements of the culture in which they presently reside. Different aspects have been identified as the key concepts of ethnic identity: self-identification, feelings of belonging and commitment, shared

values and attitudes toward the group, and cultural aspects of ethnic identity such as language, knowledge of history and behaviour (for a review, see Phinney 1990). Many researchers share Phinney's view of ethnic identity as a "multidimensional construct, involving ethnic feelings, attitudes, knowledge, and behaviours" (1991: 193). Yip and Fuligni (2002) propose that ethnic identity is a "dynamic and interactive self-concept", for which the situational context is extremely important; similarly McDonald (1986: 333) argues that "categories of identity are constructed and come alive, not in isolation or in nature or in the mists before time, but in specific, and changing, contexts" (on diachronic changeability, see below).

Ethnic identity, specifically, is often viewed as the essential core of social identity in general (see Macdonald 1993: 8). Giles and Johnson (1981) argued that ethnic identity becomes an important aspect of one's self-definition when the boundaries between the ethnic groups are resistant, distinctions between members and non-members are obvious, the group membership is valued and has a situational relevance. If the ethnic group has the support of various institutions (schools, churches, media, etc.), it is more likely that its ethnolinguistic vitality will be stronger. This description aptly encapsulates the situation of the Slovene-speakers in Austrian Carinthia, as of many minority language speakers. The particular situation of speakers of Slovene living among Italian- and German-speakers beyond the western and northern state borders of Slovenia reflects historical factors which have intensified and aggravated their feelings about their identity: as is well-known, for as much as two decades before World War Two they lived under fascism while their fellow-Slovene-speakers in Slovenia did not; and for half a century after the war the latter lived under communism while they did not (a distinction less important in Italy, with its stronger Communist party, than in Austria). The political differences, to different degrees, made the linguistic and "ethnic" identity concepts exceptionally acute.

An interesting study in this context is Pertot (2007), who studied the transmission of the Slovene language and identity through the paternal line among the Slovene minority in Trieste, Italy. Some of the interviewees talk about their Slovene identity as being separate and different from the present day Slovenia, and much more similar and connected to the former Yugoslavian identity. Further, their ethnic identity is presented as something detached from the Italian majority ethnicity. In conclusion, Pertot argues that belonging to a Slovene minority in the current political map of Europe has changed its significance over time; and clearly the events of the last two decades, with the final inclusion of Slovenia in the European Union, are already having their effects in this respect. The recognition that ethnic identity, in particular, may change over time is important, see MacClancy (1993: 85: "ethnicity is a mutable strategy grounded in historical circumstances"), and O'Brien (1993) on the erosion of "Catalan" identity in French Catalonia. In the study described in this report we neither investigated nor unintentionally

discovered any data concerning the influence on respondents' identity perceptions of this kind of "political" factor. We recognize the importance of chronological changes in feelings of ethnic identity; unfortunately, there are few potential comparisons between our study and previous studies of feelings of ethnic identity among Slovene-speaking Austrian Carinthians (see PREVIOUS RESEARCH below).

BACKGROUND

Many factors affect the "identity feelings" of the Slovene-speaking minority in Austrian Carinthia (for further information see, e.g., Busch (2001), Priestly (1994, 2000), Zupančič (1999)). Major factors have been: the slow but (at least until recently) apparently inevitable decline of the numbers of speakers; the many reasons, social and educational and political, for so many minority members to shift over the last 150 years from unilingual Slovene-speaking through bilingualism to unilingual German-speaking; and especially the negative attitudes of minority-members towards their own identity. The latter mainly derive, of course, from the negative attitudes of the German-speaking majority towards them, including the use of the term "Windischer" (see Barker (1984) for a good historical survey, and Moritsch (1991), Priestly (1996) for details) and the regular annual celebrations of the result of the 1920 Plebiscite, as a result of which some minority members have referred to themselves as "strangers in their own homeland". This phrase came to prominence with the 1975 screening of the TV film *Fremde in der Heimat* (see Brandstaller 1976). It has been used in politics, in academic research and in poetry, e.g., by Janez Dular ("... naslov [Tujci v domovini] izraža počutje koroških Slovencev, ko je raba njihove materinščine potisnjena v družinsko okolje, medtem ko je v javnosti ... vse nemško;"¹ by Andreas Moritsch (1997); and by the poet Janko Messner, "Ich fürchte / nichts mehr sagen zu können / über die Sehnsucht / des Chors der Elenden in Nabucco / wie ich Chopin liebe / das Trommeln des Regens auf Mallorca / nichts mehr sagen zu können / über das Heimweh / des Fremden in der Heimat" (in his poem *Schatten*, in Messner 1996).

Here we deal only with those minority members who have not lost their fluency in the Slovene language, and examine how negative or positive their own attitudes are. The research was conducted after the breakdown and the subsequent break-up of Yugoslavia; the effects on minority members' attitudes and perceptions of the conversion of Slovenia from part of a Communist country to a democracy was only just beginning to become apparent. Now that Slovenia is part



1 Source: (<http://revija.ognjisce.si/leto2001/feb2001/pdf/utrip.pdf>.)

of the European Union, a repetition of this research a few years from now will in all probability produce very different results.

METHODOLOGY AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The methods engaged in research into "identity" are various, including survey-questionnaires, discourse analysis, and experimental and ethnographic methods. In this instance, we relied on an orally-administered questionnaire and report the results qualitatively. This study must be considered tentative in view of the drawbacks to the use of this approach; e.g., answers depend on extraneous factors such as respondents' moods, their readiness to speak frankly, and the identity of the interviewers (see MacDonald 1993: 18 on "reflexivity"; on methods, see also Rudmin (2003), Segall, Lonner and Berry (1998), and Van de Vijver and Leung (2001)). Nevertheless, it should be noted that that we checked the results with a number of prominent members of the community, who accepted the reliability of our results with only a few minor exceptions.

The fieldwork, which has been reported before (see Priestly (2003), McKinnie and Priestly (2004)), was carried out in 1999 and 2000. It had as its main goal the task of correlating language-use, language-attitudes and language-competence among members of the Slovene minority in this province: we wanted to show, and we did show, that (a) how much they used Slovene (dialect and standard) as opposed to German (dialect and standard), (b) what their attitudes to these language-varieties were, and (c) how well they spoke them, were interdependent; and we also discovered many details of the ways in which they are interdependent. Our lengthy "language attitudes" questionnaire was derived in great part from the work of Réal Allard and Rodrigue Landry in New Brunswick, Canada: see Allard and Landry (1986, 1994), Landry and Allard (1992). Among the many questions were those about "belongingness", i.e., about "identity". We carried out the research in six different locations: Dob/Aich, Šmihel/Sankt Michael, Sele/Zell, Bilčovs/Ludmannsdorf, Bistrica na Zilji/Feistritz an der Gail, and some hamlets close to Šmohor/Hermagor. 229 subjects were interviewed in 1999; of these, 192 were available and willing, and were re-interviewed, in 2000, and provide data for this analysis. All subjects were considered fluent in Slovene, given that none scored poorly in our Slovene-language competence tests. Our subjects were asked (in Slovene – mostly in their native dialect) nine questions, see Table 1. Question 6 varied according to the locality in question, and question 7 varied from "Podjunčan/ka" to "Rožan/ka" to "Ziljan/ka".

TABLE 1:

"Feelings of belonging" questions

Do you feel that you are...

1. an Austrian?
2. a Carinthian?
3. a European?
4. a Slovene?
5. a Windischer?
6. [a Dob person] etc.?
7. [a Zilja person] etc.?
8. a Carinthian Slovene?
9. a Slovene Carinthian?

"Čustva pripadnosti": questions

Ali se čutite, da ste ...

1. Avstrijec oz. Avstrijka?
2. Korošec oz. Korošica?
3. Evropejec oz. Evropejka?
4. Slovenec oz. Slovenka?
5. Vindišar oz. Vindišarka?
6. [Dobljan oz. Dobljanka] itd.?
7. [Ziljan oz. Ziljanka] itd.?
8. Koroški Slovenec oz. Koroška Slovenka?
9. Slovenski Korošec oz. Slovenska Korošica?

The results from questions 6, 7 and 9, though interesting, are difficult to assess and we do not discuss them here. Subjects had the option of five answers, as on Table 2, which also shows the scoring used for analysis.

TABLE 2:

"Čustva pripadnosti": responses with scores

seveda ja	5
lahko	4
tako-tako	3
lahko ne	2
sploh ne	1

"Feelings of belonging": responses with scores

yes, of course	5
I suppose so	4
so-so	3
not really	2
not at all	1

In the results below, therefore, a mean score of between 4.0 and 5.0 reflects a strong allegiance to a specific "identity" term, and a mean score below 2.0 shows that the term was rejected.

When this analysis was complete, we performed a follow-up study. A crucial question is whether the results from data from our 192 subjects are representative of the minority as a whole: Do they reflect the general attitudes of the Slovene-speaking Austrian Carinthians in general? We therefore sent the results, as summarized below, to a selection of potential respondents: minority members who are, for one reason or another, known in the community, especially politicians and members of the media; and scholars in Austria and Slovenia with an interest in this minority. The questions were sent to over 100; we received 39 replies of varying length and completeness. We asked, with respect to each of our conclusions, "Ali je ta izid za Vas nekaj pričakovanega? Ali velja po Vašem za večino slovenskogovorečih na dvojezičnem Koroškem? Ali imate kakršnekoli dodatne

pripombe?" We refer to the people who responded as "the panel of informed Carinthian Slovenes".

Attitudes to "ethnicity" in Carinthia have, to our knowledge, been studied previously on just three occasions, by Flaschberger and Reiterer (1980), by Fleissner (1998) and by Zupančič (1999). Although we mention some of the results of the last-named, we do not contrast them or the results of the other two studies with ours for two reasons: first, their sample populations were significantly different from ours; and second, the first two of these had a very different aim and a very different methodology from ours. Flaschberger and Reiterer sampled the whole population in one specific district, i.e., both German- and Slovene-speakers. The district selected includes the city of Velikovec/Völkermarkt, which was known in the late 1970s (two decades before our research was conducted) to have a tradition of strong right-wing German nationalism: the sample was therefore of a cross-section of the South Carinthian population that was probably more Germanophile and Slovenophobe than the average, and was certainly very different from ours, in which the interviewees were all Slovene-speakers. Both this study and Fleissner's of 1998, which deliberately replicated it to chart changes over time, used "polarity profiles" and studied (a) German-speaking Carinthians, (b) Carinthian Slovenes and (c) "Windischer" both separately and as an amalgamated group (a + b + c); thus, e.g., interviewers asked subjects in group (a) to rate people in group (b) on 14 scales such as "hardworking/lazy", "brave/cowardly" and "musical/unmusical". The results, while fascinating, cannot be contrasted with our elicitations of perceptions by individuals of their own ethnic identities; as Reiterer (2000) mentions, comparisons of mean polarity profiles by, in particular, group (b) subjects of themselves and of people in group (a) can indeed suggest inferences about ethnic identity feelings, and can certainly suggest reasons why such feelings are held – subjects may, e.g., consider themselves as more "Carinthian Slovene" than "Carinthian in general" because they are proud of their musicality and believe Carinthian Slovenes to be inherently more musical; but these speculations are as far as this approach can go. These methodological differences emphasize the need for many more studies, of several kinds, which may build up more multidimensional images of ethnic identity. Other essential facets of the picture, namely minority language use and minority language competence, were also involved in the studies named here; but as Reiterer himself writes (2000: 343), the results "sagen nichts über die Zugehörigkeit zur Minderheit aus".

Zupančič's subjects, on the other hand, were students at Slovene-language secondary schools in Austrian Carinthia, their parents, and Carinthian Slovene-speakers in Graz and Vienna (1999: 16, 223). Given that sending one's children to one of the Slovene-language secondary schools requires active commitment on the part of parents, that portion of his sample which excluded the Graz and Vienna subjects was therefore of Slovene-speakers who were more than normally ethnically

conscious. In our own study, we interviewed everyone in the six chosen localities who would agree to be interviewed. Interviews were initiated in Slovene and some of our local assistants were known to be “ethnically involved”, and therefore our sample probably includes more than the usual proportion of ethnically conscious Slovene-speakers. However, many of our informants did not have family members who had attended or were attending the bilingual schools, but instead attended the local secondary school where Slovene is taught merely as an option, and there is little or no teaching in the Slovene language. Our sample is therefore somewhat closer to being representative of Carinthian Slovene-speakers as a whole than is Zupančič’s. Zupančič not only investigated “subjective and objective components” of identity perceptions (1999: 180–84), but also self-assessments of identity using four of the ethnic labels that we used, namely “Slovene”, “Carinthian Slovene”, “Carinthian” and “Austrian” (1999: 185–189); in 4.1. and 4.2. below we mention those results which are comparable, but because of our strong reservations arising from the disparity in informant samples, draw no conclusions.

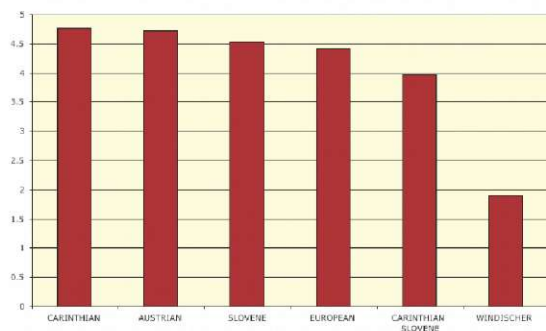
RESULTS

The responses differed according to the “identity” term in question, according to the locality, and according to the sex, the age, and the education of the informants. “Identity terms” are reported in English. We report on the more striking results only. As may be seen from Tables 3–5 in the Appendix, the between-locality differences are in some cases striking. But (with one exception, see 4.1.) are not reported for two reasons: first, the figures in the individual cells are very small; and second, and more importantly, interviews were conducted by different fieldworkers in each locality: some interviewers were well-known to respondents, others were not; some interviews were conducted in dialect, others were not. Reliable inter-locality comparisons cannot be made.

“IDENTITY”

This overall result (see Figure 1) shows that our informants feel very “Carinthian”, “Austrian”, “Slovene” and “European”; they identify themselves a little less with the combination label “Carinthian Slovene”; and they do not like to think of themselves as “Windischer”. It is especially interesting that although they are not quite as ready to label themselves as “Carinthian Slovene”, they accept each of the labels “Carinthian” and “Slovene” to a greater degree. (Significant differences are as follows: “Windischer” vs. all other categories; “Carinthian Slovene” vs. “Austrian” and “Carinthian”; “European” vs. “Carinthian”.)

Figure 1: Identities: overall scores



We suggest that the greater aversion to "Carinthian Slovene" derives from the frequent use of the term "Koroški Slovenec / Koroška Slovenka – Kärntner Slowene / Kärntner Slowenin" in the media when political matters are discussed, combined with people's natural aversion to labels with political connotations. One other result of note here is that the three one-word "local" identities, "Carinthian", "Austrian" and "Slovene", score higher than the supranational identity "European" – and in one case, significantly so. It is worth recalling, perhaps, that Austria did not join the European Union until 1995.

The label "Windischer" was not considered unacceptable everywhere equally. In Bistrica na Zilji the mean score was 2.25 and in the villages near Šmohor, further up the Zilja Valley, informants on average scored 3.07 (see Table 4, Appendix); in other words, these representatives of the Ziljani were not averse to accepting this label. (This result can be taken as an indication only, for reasons given above.) It has indeed been frequently remarked that here – in the far west of the bilingual zone, the furthest removed from the provincial capital Celovec, the least open to influence from ethnically-conscious Slovenes, and where the tensions of 1919–1920 were not nearly as noticeable as in regions to the east – minority members have not been very ready to adopt the general attitude among minority members elsewhere that "Windischer" is a pejorative term; this result seems to confirm the general opinion.

Zupančič's results (1999: 185) for four of these "identity terms" are as follows (these percentages are approximations, derived from his graphs; he does not provide actual figures). Among all of his informants from Slovene-speaking families, 83% identified themselves as "Carinthian Slovene", 72% as "Austrian", 56% as "Carinthian" and 43% as "Slovene". There are clear differences between his results and ours; the unfortunate difference between the two population samples prevents any speculation as to why this should be so.

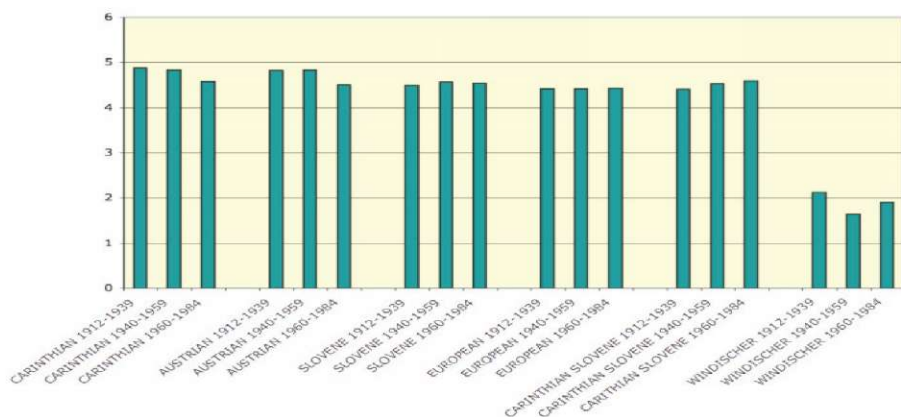
AGE

Where minority languages are concerned, differences between generations have to be examined very carefully for clues about changes in the probability of language maintenance, and indeed we did find differences of this kind in other results from our research. Our informants ranged widely in age – from those born in 1912 to those born in 1984. For this analysis we divided them into three almost-equal groups: (i) those born before 1939; (ii) those born 1940–1959; and (iii) those born 1960–1984.

As Figure 2 shows, the youngest subjects feel both “Carinthian” and “Austrian” less than those in the middle group and even less than those in the oldest age-group. (Significant differences are as follows. For “Carinthian” and “Austrian”, youngest age-group vs. the others; for “Windischer”, middle age-group vs. the other two.) These indications may be understood as a lessening of “provincialism” and also of what may be called “Austrian patriotism”. There is also a noticeable gradual increase, from one generation to another, of approval for the term “Carinthian Slovene”.

We also notice a rather baffling finding for “Windischer”: the graph shows a fall and then a rise – suggesting that the oldest group is least opposed to this label, the middle age-group is more opposed, and the youngest accept it in an intermediate way. If this is the case – and the differences are not statistically significant – we do not hazard a guess why it should be so.

Figure 2: Age

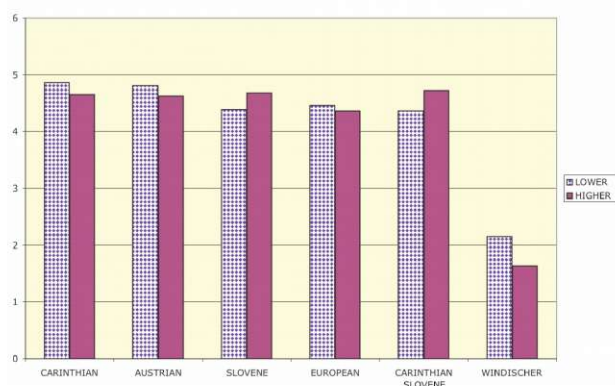


Zupančič (1999: 187) has a separate graph for "interviewed students". His results for the four "identity terms" are as follows (as before, these percentages are approximations, derived from his graphs; he does not provide actual figures). 72% of the students from Slovene-speaking families identified themselves as "Carinthian Slovene", 52% as "Austrian", 46% as "Carinthian" and 27% as "Slovene". The differences between his results and ours parallel those noted for his overall informant pool (see 4.2.); in addition, he found a lower level of ethnic identification among the younger speakers, as compared with the total population, for all four "identities" (whereas in our case we found correspondingly higher levels for both "Slovene" and "Carinthian Slovene"). This is a very interesting discrepancy, but again the difference between the two population samples prevents further comment.

EDUCATION

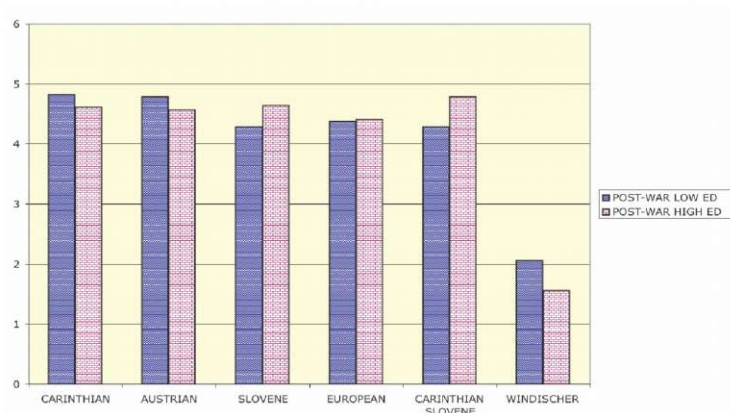
The distinction that we used in this instance was the one between those who had studied at the Slovenska gimnazija, and those who had not: we label the former, rather arbitrarily perhaps, as having "higher" education. The graph (Figure 3) shows that those with "higher" education clearly feel less "Windischer"; and, as its natural corollary, they feel rather more "Slovene" and definitely more "Carinthian Slovene", than do those with only "lower" education. (Significant differences are as follows: those with higher education feel less "Windischer" and more "Carinthian Slovene" than those with lower education. The difference between the two groups with respect to "Slovene" (those with higher education feeling more) is almost significant).

Figure 3: "Lower" vs. "higher" education



When we look at the role of education on feelings of “identity” among only those born after 1939 (see Figure 4), we find that the “education effect” is even more pronounced: graduates of the Slovenska gimnazija feel much less “Carinthian” and “Austrian” and much more “Slovene” and “Carinthian Slovene” than the others. (Significant differences are similar to those in the previous graph, but are even more marked: those with higher education feel less “Windischer” and more “Carinthian Slovene” and more “Slovene” than those with lower education.)

Figure 4: Education: Younger subjects



This result fits perfectly with the reputation of the Slovenska gimnazija of being a fertile source of ethnically-conscious Slovenes, and of what we may call a “Slovenophile intelligentsia”. This has of course been frequently remarked upon in Carinthia, and is presumably what the right-wing German-nationalists feared who demonstrated in 1956–57 against the opening of what they called a “poisonous” institution. The recent 50th anniversary of the school was celebrated by minority members, and our results suggest one reason why this celebration was justified.

SEX: SOME RANDOM RESULTS

We were surprised by some of the findings when we contrasted male and female informants. Sex differences (in language-use, language-attitudes or language competence) are potentially of crucial importance in any factor that affects the maintenance of a minority language, since young children normally acquire their language habits from their mothers; we looked at these results especially closely.

Among older Carinthians, females feel more "Carinthian" than do males. Also, older females accept the label "Windischer" more readily than do older males, and also feel more "Austrian", less "Slovene" and less "Carinthian Slovene". Given the traditional roles of the labels "Austrian", "Carinthian" and "Windischer", this seems to suggest that older Slovene-speaking Carinthian women are more conservative than older Slovene-speaking Carinthian men.

Females who did not study at the Slovenska gimnazija feel more "Carinthian" than any of the other groups. But females who did study at the gimnazija feel more "Carinthian Slovene" than do the males. In other words, greater educational opportunities in Slovene have not only produced a "Slovenophile intelligentsia", but this intelligentsia has a pronounced female bias.

CONCLUSION

The average scores were in many cases not very surprising, but some of the results are indeed unexpected. Our "panel of informed Carinthian Slovenes" found, in general, that most of the results were what they would have anticipated, with the following exceptions: they were surprised that the term "Carinthian Slovene" did not score very highly; and all of the sex differences that we found surprised them, many saying that these results were impossible!

To summarize briefly: members of the minority Slovenes in the Austrian province of Carinthia do indeed admit to multiple ethnic identities: they are, generally speaking, very ready to call themselves "Austrians" and "Slovenes" and "Carinthians" and "Carinthian Slovenes" and even "Europeans"; and they reject the identity term "Windischer". There are however some differences among these terms as far as their acceptability is concerned. Most importantly for the future maintenance of some kind of separate minority status and, presumably, of the minority language, we conclude that, on this evidence, the younger and the better-educated find the labels "Austrian" and "Carinthian" less acceptable, and the labels "Carinthian Slovene" and "Slovene" more acceptable, than do older and less well-educated minority members. This result, which reinforces the reputation of the Slovenska gimnazija as a bulwark of language maintenance, appears to reflect a change in progress; further investigation into this phenomenon will be valuable.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Allard, Réal and Rodrigue Landry (1986) "Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Viewed as a Belief System." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 7(1): 1-12.
- Allard, Réal and Rodrigue Landry (1994) "Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality: A Comparison of Two Measures." *International Journal of Sociology of Language* 108: 117-44.
- Barker, Thomas M. (1984) *The Slovenes of Carinthia: A National Minority Problem*. New York: League of CSA.
- Brandstaller, Trautl (1976) Mladje Dokumentation zum TV-Film "Fremde in der Heimat, ein Bericht über die Situation der Kärntner Slowenen", ORF, 18. Juni 1975. Klagenfurt: Klub Mladje.
- Busch, Brigitte (2001) "Slovenian in Carinthia." In Guus Extra and Durk Gorter (eds.) *The Other Languages of Europe*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters: 119-136.
- Clément, Richard and Kimberly Noels (1992) "Towards a Situated Approach to Ethnolinguistic Identity: The Effects of Status on Individuals and Groups." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 11: 203-232.
- Clément, Richard, Kimberly Noels and Bernard Deneault (2001) "Interethnic Contact, Identity and Psychological Adjustment: The Mediating and Moderating Roles of Communication." *Journal of Social Sciences* 57: 559-577.
- Flaschberger, Ludwig and Albert F. Reiterer (1980) *Der tägliche Abwehrkampf: Erscheinungsformen und Strategien der ethnischen Assimilation bei den Kärntner Slowenen*. Vienna: Braumüller.
- Fleissner, Monika A. (1998) *Deutsch kurzsichtig Slowenisch: Empirische Analyse des Mehrheit-Minderheitenproblems*. Diplomarbeit zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades Magistra der Philosophie. Klagenfurt: Universität Klagenfurt, Institut für Erziehungswissenschaft und Bildungsforschung.
- Giles, Howard and Patricia Johnson (1981) "The Role of Language in Ethnic Group Relations." In J. C. Turner and H. Giles (eds.) *Intergroup Behavior*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press: 199-243.
- Helms, Janet (1994) "The Conceptualization of Racial Identity and Other 'Racial' Constructs." In E. J. Trickett (ed.) *Human Diversity: Perspectives on People in Context*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass: 181-198.

- Landry, Rodrigue and Réal Allard (1992) "Ethnolinguistic Vitality and Bilingual Development." In W. Fase, K. Jaspaert and S. Kroon (eds.) *Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages*. Philadelphia, PA: Benjamins: 223-251.
- MacClancy, Jeremy (1993) "At Play with Identity in the Basque Language Arena." In Sharon MacDonald (ed.) *Inside European Identities: Ethnography in Western Europe*. Providence RI: Berg: 84-97.
- MacKinnie, Meghan and Tom Priestly (2004) "Telling Tales out of School: Assessing Linguistic Competence in Minority Language Fieldwork." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 25(1): 24-40.
- Macdonald, Sharon (1993) "Identity Complexes in Western Europe: Social Anthropological Perspectives." In Sharon MacDonald (ed.) *Inside European Identities: Ethnography in Western Europe*. Providence RI: Berg: 1-26.
- McDonald, Maryon (1986) "Celtic Ethnic Kinship and the Problem of Being English." *Current Anthropology* 27 (4): 333-341.
- Messner, Janko (1996) *Gedichte. Pesmi. Canti. Celovec: Drava*.
- Moritsch, Andreas (1991) *Vom Ethnos zur Nationalität: Der nationale Differenzierungsprozess am Beispiel ausgewählter Orte in Kärnten und im Burgenland*. München: Oldenbourg.
- Moritsch, Andreas (1997) "Fremde in der Heimat? Zur Lage der Volksgruppen in Österreich." *Zeitschrift für Kultur und Politik* 88: 117-129.
- O'Brien, Oonagh (1993) "Good to be French? Conflicts of Identity in North Catalonia." In Sharon MacDonald (ed.) *Inside European Identities: Ethnography in Western Europe*. Providence RI: Berg: 98-117.
- Pertot, Susanna (2007) "In the Name of the Father: Transgenerational Transmission of Slovenian Language and Identity through the Male Line." Paper, IX International Conference on Minority Languages, Pecs, July 2007.
- Phinney, Jean (1990) "Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and Adults: Review of Research." *Psychological Bulletin* 108(3): 499-514.
- Phinney, Jean (1991) "Ethnic Identity and Self-esteem: A Review and Integration." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 13(2): 193-208.
- Priestly, Tom (1994) "Effects of Educational and Social Mobility on Language Maintenance, Language Attitudes and Language Structure: The Case of Sele in Carinthia." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 15(2-3): 199-217.

- Priestly, Tom (1996) "On the Development of the 'Windischentheorie'." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 124: 75–98.
- Priestly, Tom (2000) "Slovene in Austria." In Jan Wիրrer (ed.) *Minderheiten- und Regionalsprachen in Europa*. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag: 222–234.
- Priestly, Tom (2003) "Maintenance of Slovene in Carinthia (Austria): Grounds for Guarded Optimism?" *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 45(1–2): 95–117.
- Reiterer, Albert (2000) "Lebenswelt Muttersprache." In Karl Anderwald et al. (eds.) *Kärntner Jahrbuch für Politik*. Klagenfurt: 340–362.
- Rudmin, Floyd W. (2003) "Critical History of Acculturation Psychology of Assimilation, Separation, Integration and Marginalization." *Review of General Psychology* 7(1): 3–37.
- Segall, Marshal H., Walter J. Lonner and John W. Berry (1998) "Cross-cultural Psychology as a Scholarly Discipline: On the Flowering of Culture in Behavioral Research." *American Psychologist* 53(10): 1101–1110.
- Tajfel, Henri (1974) "Social Identity and Intergroup Behavior." *Social Science Information* 13(2): 65–93.
- Van de Vijver, J. R. Fons and Kwok Leung (2001) "Personality in Cultural Context: Methodological Issues." *Journal of Personality* 69(6): 1007–1031.
- Yip, Tiffany and Andrew Fuligni (2002) "Daily Variations in Ethnic Identity, Ethnic Behavior and Psychological Well-being among American Adolescents of Chinese Descent." *Child Development* 73(5): 1557–1573.
- Zupančič, Jernej (1999) *Slovenci v Avstriji / The Slovenes in Austria*. Ljubljana: Inštitut za geografijo.

APPENDICES:

Table 3: Sex, age and education distribution by locality*

Locality	Sex		Birth group			Education	
	M	F	1912–1939	1940–1959	1960–1984	Low	High
Dob	11	12	7	6	10	16	7
Šmihel	16	13	7	6	16	7	22
Sele	26	26	16	21	15	30	22
Bilčovs	16	13	12	7	10	14	14
Bistrica	10	18	12	9	7	16	10
Šmohor	9	5	8	6	0	11	3

* Listed geographically from East to West. The label "Šmohor" refers to several small villages in the Upper Zilja Valley.

Table 4: Selected identities by locality (means and standard deviations)

Locality	"Carinthian"		"Austrian"		"Slovene"		"European"		"Carinthian Slovene"		"Windischer"	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Dob	4.70	0.63	4.61	.66	4.39	0.84	4.0	1.31	4.52	0.79	2.09	1.47
Šmihel	4.48	0.87	4.48	.83	4.76	0.51	4.24	1.27	4.97	0.19	1.14	0.58
Sele	4.83	0.43	4.85	.36	4.79	0.67	4.46	0.96	4.56	0.90	1.98	1.49
Bilčovs	4.89	0.42	4.82	.67	4.86	0.53	4.68	0.61	4.68	0.91	1.57	1.31
Bistrica	4.82	0.77	4.61	1.1	3.96	1.63	4.57	.69	3.93	1.69	2.25	1.76
Šmohor	4.93	0.27	5.00	.00	3.79	1.63	4.57	0.94	4.14	1.46	3.07	1.82

Table 5: Selected identities by age group (means and standard deviations)

Age Group	"Carinthian"		"Austrian"		"Slovene"		"European"		"Carinthian Slovene"		"Windischer"	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
1912–1939	4.89	0.55	4.82	0.74	4.49	1.14	4.43	0.96	4.41	1.16	2.13	1.61
1940–1959	4.84	0.46	4.84	0.57	4.56	1.12	4.42	1.10	4.53	1.05	1.64	1.28
1960–1984	4.59	0.75	4.52	0.73	4.54	0.80	4.43	0.96	4.60	1.00	1.97	1.53