

EUROPEAN IDENTITY IN SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

Mirjana Francesko¹, Jasmina Kodzopeljic & Vladimir Mihic

Department of Psychology, University of Novi Sad

The aims of this research are the establishment of the level and the structure of European and national identity of the citizens of Serbia and Montenegro, as well as the establishment of relations between socio-demographic characteristics of the subjects (regional belonging, age, level of education) and European identity.

The sample consisted of 2853 subjects from four regions (Vojvodina, Sumadija with Belgrade, Southern Serbia, and Montenegro), divided into two age groups and two levels of education. To evaluate certain components of national and European identity, we applied EUROID2002 scale (Francesko et al., 2002).

The application of the cluster analysis method defined three groups of subjects of various social identity profile: 1. multi-layered identity (European and national), 2. national exclusivity and 3. undifferentiated social identity. As factors of differentiation of subjects in the respect of European and national identity, there emerged regional belonging, age and educational level. Besides, the results show that the level of education is the most important factor in the creation of this form of social identity.

Key words: *European identity, national identity, Serbia & Montenegro*

INTRODUCTION

Initiated by current integrative processes which were intensified in the last decades in Europe, recently present also in our country and our region as an integral part of transition, this paper discusses psychological aspects of European identity and their socio-demographic correlates. Psychological analysis of the phenomenon

¹ Author's address: mira@unsff.ns.ac.yu

of European identity has both theoretical and practical importance. At the theoretical level, it means the determination of the model for the analysis of a multi-layered social identity, as well as its conditioning by psychological and sociological factors. Practical implications of such researches, among others, include creating strategies for the development of a new form of social identity.

On the basis of surveys of literature dedicated to this problem, it can be observed that so far the problem has been investigated primarily from socio-demographic, political and economic aspect. Such an approach resulted in insufficient determination of the very phenomenon of European identity, as well as in the lack of insights about psychological factors which defined it. Without denying the significance of its study from previously mentioned aspects, too, it is important to emphasize that the identity is in the first place a complex psychological construction; therefore for its full determination a socio-psychological approach is also necessary.

One of the characteristics of earlier researches of this phenomenon is insufficient delimitation of the notion support (attitude) toward European integration and the notion European identity. Quoted terminological indistinction is also shown in the very definitions of these notions, as well as in the way of their measuring. Most of the authors of empirical studies were focused onto the problem of support to European integration, thus indirectly dealing with the presence of European identity (Ingelhart, 1977; Hewston, 1986; Eichenberg and Dalton, 1993; Sinnott, 1995; Wessels, 1995; Deflem and Pempel, 1996; Gabel, 1998). We are of the opinion that European identity and the attitude toward the European Union are two different phenomena, but the notion of attitude can be treated as one of the indicators of European identity.

Identity is a very complex psychological phenomenon. Component structure of identity assumes personal characteristics (individual identity) and social affiliations (collective identity). One of very important aspects of social affiliations, i.e. collective identity, is territorial-genealogical self-determination of a person, like regional, national (ethnic) and European identity. Having in mind that the mentioned components are based on the same criterion of social differentiation, the definition of European identity implies correlating it with regional and national identity.

Analysing literature dealing with the problem of collective identity, one can observe two general approaches in the explanation of European identity. In an older approach, recently being more and more modified, regional, national, and European identity are viewed as exclusive categories (Ingelhart, 1977; Duchesne and Frogner, 1995).

However, Medrano and Gutiérrez (2001), proposed a different model of social identity. According to this model, social identity can also comprise the categories of various levels and degrees of generality. It means that in his/her identity an individual can simultaneously have a sense of belonging to the city he/she lives in, and – in a wider environment - a sense of belonging to a region, country, Europe etc. These somehow different identities are not mutually exclusive; on the contrary, they represent only different levels in a hierarchy, where each following level is deduced

and built onto the previous one. For such concept of social identity different authors use various terms: «nested identity» (Medrano and Gutierrez, 2001), «multi-layered identity» (Zagar, 2001), multiculturalism (Đurić and Franceško, 1994; Đurić, Franceško and Majstorović, 1995).

Analyzing definitions of collective identity of a great number of authors (Brewer, 1993; 1999; Đurić, 1995, Brewer and Gardner, 1996; Zagar, 2001), it can be noted that, although not always using the same terminology, they all specify that two important mechanisms are always present in social identity: *differentiation and equivalency*. It means that the knowledge and the sense of belonging to a certain social group are based on subjective and/or objective recognition of similarities with the members of one's own group (equivalency), i.e. perceiving and realizing differences in relation to the entities from other social categories (differentiation).

It is important to emphasize that every identity, whether individual or collective, is not a state, but a process. This means that it is formed under the influence of social factors, but also that once established identity can develop, transform or, occasionally, cease to exist. The establishment of the European Union is just one such factor which creates the need for the transformation and building of regional and national identity of an individual and the development of a new era, a wider category of territorial-genealogical and cultural European identity.

In our elaboration and operationalisation, we defined European identity as a subjective sense of belonging to Europe together with introjected beliefs, values, customs, and opinions which describe that group as a defined cultural and territorial community. It represents a new form of social identity in which previous referential group surpasses the limitations of an immediate regional and national community. As a phenomenon, European identity is manifested in the preference of a value system and an entire way of living led in multinational and technologically developed society of the European Union. The establishment and development of European identity would represent an elaboration of already present person's national self-determination which opens the possibility for the creation of a new category of multi-layered social identity.

Since our research topic is very complex and it is not possible to deal with all its components at the same time, we decided to take a segment approach to European identity research. We chose attitudes as one of the components of social identity. We hold the opinion that in the initial phase of the development of European identity the possibilities for its establishing and strengthening can be best viewed and predicted on the basis of the insights into social attitudes of individuals, both to their own nation and to Europe.

Even though the research on European identity has great significance in societies in transition like ours, in Serbia and Montenegro researches on this phenomenon have not been conducted so far. The research on European identity is especially important in the current moment when our country strives to get closer to European standards after the period of many years of isolation and ethnic conflicts. Although obtained from the subjects from one of European countries, the results of

such researches can have a wider importance in shedding light on the problem of European identity of the inhabitants of the entire European region.

METHOD

The investigation of European identity was conducted in the entire territory of Serbia and Montenegro. The investigation started from the most general regional division and included primarily urban population. These regions differ significantly from one another in geographic characteristics, the level of economic development, as well as in cultural models. The investigation was conducted in the spring of 2003.

The Goal of the Investigation

The following goals were set in the investigation:

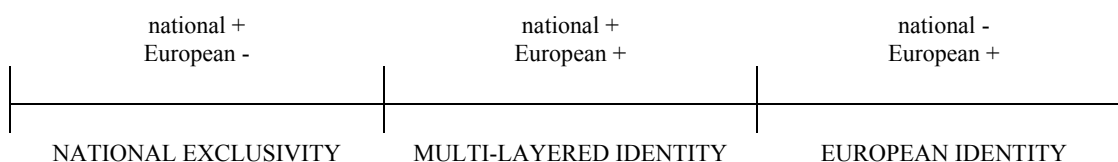
1. Establishment of the level and the structure of social identity manifested as European-national by the citizens of Serbia and Montenegro
2. Establishment of relations between socio-demographic characteristics of the subjects (regional belonging, age, level of education) and European identity

Variables

Independent variables: regional belonging, age and level of education

Dependent variable: In defining European identity we started from the results of our previously conducted researches (Franceško et al., 2002) which showed that social identity represents a complex psychological phenomenon that can be treated as a dimension. One of the poles of the dimension can be defined as European orientation, while the other end can be determined as national exclusivity. Dimensional approach to defining this form of collective identity enables differences among individuals themselves with regard to the degree to which they accept national-European identity. In that context it is possible to single out at least three categories of people on the basis of the **degree and quality** of the sense of national belonging: those who show exclusive national reference (nationalism), those who developed a multi-layered cultural identity (do not confront national and European identity) and those who are ready to reject national symbols for the sake of identifying themselves with national entities.

Picture 1: Model for European identity analysis



Legend: sign + marks acceptance
sign - marks rejection

Appropriateness of the suggested model for the analysis of European-national identity is confirmed by the results of factor analysis (Franceško et al., 2003) according to which five factors of this form of social identity are singled out:

- exclusive national reference (an example of the item – *Our nation is genetically superior over the majority of other nations in Europe*);
- globalization as a jeopardizing factor for small and poor nations (an example of the item – *Establishment of the European Union leads to the domination of great European nations over the small ones*);
- pro-European orientation (an example of the item – *Creation of European nation is an ideal which one should cherish*);
- preserving national identity (an example of the item – *Whenever I am in a position I choose to be on the side of those who support confirmed national values*), and
- supporting traditional values which are felt to be opposed to technological civilisation (an example of the item – *Fast way of living imposed by technological civilisation ruins confirmed traditional values*).

In the second-level factorisation we obtained a factor which is negatively correlated with a factor of the first level called pro-European orientation, and positively correlated with the rest four factors which in various ways imply efforts to preserve traditional values and national identity. This confirms the appropriateness of the suggested model for the analysis of multi-layered social identity.

The attitudes to one's own national group and united Europe were noted as indicators of social identity.

Instruments

To measure the level and structure of European-national identity we applied Likert type scale EUROID2002 (Franceško et al., 2002). The scale consists of 36 items and possesses excellent psychometric characteristics. Cronbach α is 0,92,

representativeness indicated by normalized Kaiser-Mayer-Olkin measure is 0.93, while homogeneity (H1) measured by mean correlation of variables is 0.25.

Sample

Research was conducted on the sample of 2853 subjects of four regions of Serbia and Montenegro. The structure of the sample is presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Percentage of subjects according to regions

REGIONS	Frequencies	Percentages
Vojvodina	691	24.22
Sumadija with Belgrade	1005	35.23
Southern Serbia	563	19.73
Montenegro	594	20.82
Total	2853	100

Within each region we specified two age categories, and each of them included subjects of two levels of education. In this way of subject selection, the sample of the following structure was obtained (Table 2):

Table 2: Sample structure according to age and level of education

REGIONS	Age %		Level of education %	
	17 - 29	30 – 43	elementary and secondary schools	high schools and universities
Vojvodina	50.07	49.93	56.44	43.56
Sumadija with Belgrade	55.03	44.97	38.41	61.59
Southern Serbia	50.62	49.38	47.24	52.75
Montenegro	48.48	51.52	53.87	46.13

The mean value of the younger category of subjects is 21 years (SD=3.01), while the mean in the category of older subjects is 35 years (SD=3.45). Within the total sample, 1039 (36.42%) subjects are males and 1814 (63.58%) females.

Result analysis by independent variable «regional belonging» was made on somewhat different sample structure and size in order to achieve the uniformity of interviewee subsample from various regions regarding education level. This structure is presented in table 3.

Table 3: Sample structure according to the age and level of education

REGIONS	N	Age %		Level of education %	
		17 - 29	30 – 43	elementary and secondary schools	high schools and universities
Vojvodina	691	50.07	49.93	56.44	43.56
Sumadija with Belgrade	694	49.70	50.30	55.30	44.70
Southern Serbia	563	50.62	49.38	47.24	52.75
Montenegro	594	48.48	51.52	53.87	46.13

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

a) Components of National-European Identity

To check previously obtained structure of the basic item of measurement, the method of factor analysis with Promax rotation was applied to the data of the entire sample obtained by EUROID2002 scale. Starting from the Kaiser-Guttman criterion we extracted five factors that explain 47.52% of the total variant. The results obtained in the matrix structure, as well as content analysis of the items defining some factors, confirm the results of our previously conducted researches given in the description of the dependent variable (the components of national-European identity). In the second-level factorisation, like in our earlier analyses, we extracted a factor which explains 49.12% of the entire variant of items. The correlations of the first-level factors with the second-level factor which are high and statistically significant (Table 4) point out the fact that EUROID2002 scale has a specific subject of measuring. The direction of the obtained correlations leads to the conclusion that it is a dimension which is on one of its poles defined by the pro-European orientation, and on the other by national exclusivity.

Table 4: Coefficients of correlations of the first- and second-level factors

First-level factors	r with second-level factor
Exclusive national reference	0.70
Globalization as a jeopardizing factor for small and poor nations	0.81
Pro-European orientation	-0.50
Preserving national identity	0.74
Confronting traditional values and technological civilisation	0.72

b) Differences in National, i. e. European Identity According to Regions

The application of the variant analysis (ANOVA) of the raw scores, showed no differences at the level of national, i. e. European identity among the subjects of four regions. The results are presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Differences in the degree of national, i. e. European identity among regions

Regions	Mean	Std. Deviation	F	Sig.
Vojvodina	108.66	21.56	2.27	0.07
Sumadija with Belgrade	110.03	21.28		
Southern Serbia	111.78	21.23		
Montenegro	109.29	22.32		

The analysis of the differences among the subjects according to specific components of social identity (ANOVA) enables a more thorough insight into the quality of the shown differences:

1. **Exclusive national reference** – The research confirmed statistically significant differences among:

- ❑ Vojvodina (M=16.88) and Sumadija (M=16.32) – p=0.05
- ❑ Vojvodina (M=16.88) and Southern Serbia (M=15.68) – p= 0.00
- ❑ Sumadija (M=16.32) and Montenegro (M=16.92) – p=0.05 i
- ❑ Southern Serbia (M=15.68) and Montenegro (M=16.92) – p=0.00
- ❑ Southern Serbia (M=15.68) and Sumadija (M=16.32) – p=0.04

2. **Globalization as a jeopardizing factor for small and poor nations** – The research confirmed statistically significant differences:

- ❑ Vojvodina (M=22.43) and Southern Serbia (M=21.68) – p=0.02

3. **Pro-European orientation** – The research confirmed statistically significant differences between:

- ❑ Vojvodina (M=28.25) and Southern Serbia (M=29.06) – p=0.01

4. **Efforts for preserving national identity** - With this component no statistically significant differences among the subjects of various regions were found.

5. **Confronting traditional values and technological civilization** – The research confirmed statistically significant differences between:

- ❑ Vojvodina (M=20.99) and Southern Serbia (M=20.17) - p=0.01
- ❑ Sumadija (M=20.90) and Southern Serbia (M=20.17) - p=0.02

The presented results justified the analysis of differences according to various regions, having in mind that among various regions occurred some differences occurred which were almost impossible to register by observing total score. Thus it is

possible to notice that the greatest number of differences is present in expressing exclusive national reference. In that case, the subjects from Vojvodina and Montenegro are ahead in this component in comparison with the other two regions.

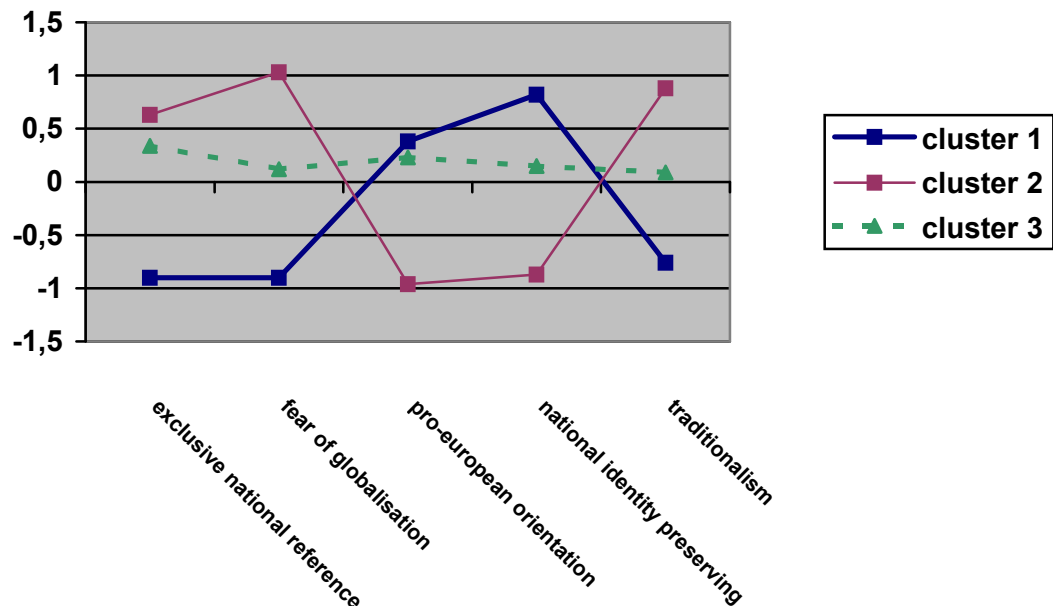
In the explanation of the differences shown, one should have in mind national structure of certain regions. The specificity of Vojvodina in relation to the other regions included into this research is national and cultural heterogeneity of the population. In that context, the obtained results could suggest that living in a multinational community does not necessarily mean the creation of a greater tolerance and openness toward ethnic differences, but quite the opposite. Continuous contacts with other persons, culturally and ethnically different, can represent an important stimulus for making stronger boundaries between WE and THEY, which is not to such an extent present in nationally homogeneous surroundings. It is possible that this effect in a multicultural environment is a consequence of recent war clashes and multiethnic tensions, which in the region of ex-Yugoslavia lasted for almost a decade. It is probable that the inhabitants of a multicultural environment, stirred by such an experience, view living in ethnically heterogeneous communities as a potential jeopardy for their national identity and do not believe that mutual existence and a mixture of different cultures represents a new quality.

c) The Profiles of the Subjects with Differently Expressed Components of National and European Identity

Applying non-hierarchical method of cluster analysis (K-Mean Method), the subjects of the entire sample were divided into three taxons according to five extracted components of national, i. e. European identity. The divided clusters of subjects statistically differ significantly ($p=0.00$) in all the five factors which served as criteria for classification.

The profiles of the specified categories of the subjects are presented in Graph 1.

Graph 1: Profiles of subjects with variously expressed components of national, i. e. European identity



The profile of the *first cluster* is characterized by the low level of exclusive national reference and the fear of globalization as a jeopardizing factor, as well as by the absence of confrontation between traditional values and the achievements of modern civilization. In this group of subjects pro-European orientation is very pronounced, as well as the striving to preserve national identity. On the basis of such a profile it can be concluded that these subjects do not view national and European identity as exclusive and opposed aspects of social identity. Such a constellation of components points out the developed **multi-layered social identity**.

The specificity of the *second cluster* is reflected in the most pronounced fear of the globalization process which is experienced as a jeopardizing factor for small and poor nations. Such fear can also represent a reflection of a personal feeling of insecurity, incompetence, and lower self-confidence, which leads to a misconduct in new circumstances and situations the societies in transition face. In accordance with the above mentioned facts, there is also a very pronounced tendency to confront traditional values and the achievements of modern civilisation. The subjects in this

cluster have the opinion that technological civilisation cannot be matched with traditional system of values; moreover, a new way of living resulting from technological progress for those subjects represents a denial of traditional values. In addition to the mentioned characteristics, the subjects of the second cluster manifested a very pronounced nationalism. If we take into account that at the same time they do not show the authentic care for the preservation of national values and identity, this national exclusivity probably has a defence function to diminish personal fears of being in danger, which is then projected onto other ethnic groups. It means that a personal feeling of inferiority gives a basic tone to the quality of social identity of a person. As a logical outcome of such constellation of national identity components, there is a very low score in pro-European orientation. Hence, common characteristic of this group is **national exclusivity**.

Certain components of national and European identity were found in the subjects of the *third cluster* pronounced to an equal, relatively high extent. Such a composition of factors includes a certain degree of contradiction if one has in mind that exclusive national reference is followed by a pro-European orientation in the same extent. The explanation of the noted contradictions could be found in insufficiently differentiated social identity, which leads to a certain degree of confusion when answering the question «Which are my referential groups?». Similarly, it could be supposed that these subjects started from the criterion of social desirability when forming their attitudes. Having in mind extremes in the proclaimed, socially desirable political standpoints which in recent years ranged from exclusive national reference and self-reliance to uncritical openness to everything coming from abroad, the existence of such contradictions in the profile of a great number of subjects is quite understandable. If we take into account that we speak of still **undifferentiated social identity**, its further trend will to a great extent depend on current political circumstances, as well as on economic development of both individuals and the country as a whole.

Percentage of subjects in three specified clusters is presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Percentage of subjects in three clusters

N°	CLUSTERS	f	%
1	Multi-layered social identity-national and European identity	896	32.75
2	National exclusivity	636	23.24
3	Undifferentiated social identity	1204	44.01
Total		2736*	100

* Note: Differences in the total sample and cluster analysis sample result from incomplete answers of a certain number of subjects

The data show that in Serbia and Montenegro the most numerous group includes people whose social identity at the time of research was not clearly differentiated, which additionally points out the importance of further course of the development of our country, as well as the need for an objective and systematic

observation of social identity formation. However, an optimistic fact is that, in spite of long presence of contradictory political attitudes in country's public life, a significant number of people created multi-layered social identity and that those who demonstrate an extreme national orientation make the smallest number.

The specification of the three clusters of subjects that clearly mutually differ in the degree and quality of certain components of national, i. e. European identity, confirms the appropriateness of our initial model for the analysis of this form of social identity.

d) Profiles of National and European Identity of the Subjects from Specific Regions

Parallel analysis of the presence of various clusters in four regions of Serbia and Montenegro (Table 7) showed that subjects differ significantly when it comes to the presence of three profiles of national and European identity (Chi-Square=17.40; $p=0.01$). Testing the significance of differences, the proportions within the first cluster (pro-European orientation) showed that the subjects from Sumadija with Belgrade were proportionally most present in relation to the subjects from other regions. The percentage of the subjects from Vojvodina, Montenegro, and Southern Serbia within this cluster shows no statistically significant differences.

Table 7: Percent of the subjects of specific regions in three clusters of social identity

CLUSTERS	REGIONS (%)				Total
	Vojvodina	Sumadija	Southern Serbia	Montenegro	
1. Pro-European orientation	21.20	40.40	19.80	18.50	100
2. National exclusivity	27.90	32.80	17.80	21.50	100
3. Undifferentiated identity	25.80	35.80	20.10	18.30	100

In the profile marked as exclusive national reference (the second cluster) we found statistically significant differences in the number of the subjects from Sumadija in comparison with the number of the subjects from Southern Serbia, as well as those from Montenegro. However, the subjects from Sumadija make proportionally the largest part even in this cluster.

Within the third cluster, there was the largest number of statistically significant differences between regions. Undifferentiated profile of social identity is proportionally most present among the subjects from Sumadija with Belgrade. The subjects from this region statistically differ significantly from the ones from Montenegro, Southern Serbia, and Vojvodina. It was also found that the subjects from Vojvodina are in the second place according to their presence within this

cluster, as well as that their number statistically differs significantly from the subjects from Serbia and Montenegro.

The presented results showed that within the three clusters there is a proportionally different share of subjects from various regions. This implies that differences in national structure, economic development, way of living, and system of values in certain regions appear as important factors in structuring national and European identity. Generally speaking, these results suggest that the geographic region of Serbia and Montenegro must be observed as heterogeneous for the presented factors, and that the population of certain regions has different starting positions in the process of establishment and development of European identity.

e) **Profiles of National and European Identity of the Subjects of Various Age**

The analysis of certain clusters according to the age of the subjects showed that their mean age is: pro-European profile of social identity 29.20 years, nationalist profile 27.59, and undifferentiated ones 27.30 years. The application of ANOVA method and Post Hoc LCD tests proved that the subjects of the first cluster (pro-European classification) are statistically significantly older in relation to the subjects with nationalist, i.e. undifferentiated social profile ($F=16.07$; $p=0.00$).

The comparison of the two age categories of subjects, whose description is given in sample presentation, proved that younger and older ones are present in different proportions within certain clusters ($\text{Chi-Square}=14.26$; $p=0.00$). The percentage of these categories of subjects is presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Percentage of two age categories within three clusters

CLUSTERS	AGE (%)		Total
	17 – 29 yrs.	30 – 43 yrs.	
1. Pro-European orientation	45.60	54.40	100
2. National exclusivity	53.10	46.90	100
3. Undifferentiated social identity	53.40	46.60	100

Within each cluster, two age categories statistically differ significantly. While younger subjects are more present in nationalist and undifferentiated profile of social identity, the percentage of the older ones is higher in the cluster marking pro-European orientation.

Such results are probably the consequence of the fact that two categories of subjects formed their social identity in diametrically opposite social conditions. In other words, in the younger category of subjects the period of adolescence, when personal and social identity is formed, included the period of war and ethnic clashes,

followed by the propaganda of hatred and intolerance toward everything that was different, as well as the total isolation of the country. Unlike the younger generation of the population of Serbia and Montenegro, older subjects spent most part of their lives in the country with open borders and cherishing tolerance to various ethnic groups. Such living conditions enabled contacts with the rest of the world, which significantly influenced broadening and development of a multi-layered social identity. Older generation of subjects had a possibility to compare ways of living in an open and closed social community, which probably led to the preservation of tolerant attitudes toward other, different social groups, even with strong propaganda contents underlining the need for separateness.

f) **Profiles of National and European Identity of the Subjects with Various Education Levels**

The obtained Chi-Square value 126.85; $p=0.00$) points out the fact that the subjects of two education levels are differently distributed within each cluster of national and European identity (Table 9).

Table 9: Percentage of the subjects and two education levels within three clusters

CLUSTERS	Level of education (%)		Total
	<i>elementary and secondary schools</i>	<i>high schools and universities</i>	
1. Pro-European orientation	32.10	67.90	100
2. National exclusivity	54.20	45.80	100
3. Undifferentiated social identity	55.50	44.50	100

Therefore, it is characteristic for the profile of pro-European orientation that 67.90% of the subjects included here have higher or high education, while only 32.10% have a lower degree of education. T-test value in the proportions of 9.00 points out the fact that significantly greater number of highly educated subjects is of pro-European orientation than it is the case with persons of lower education.

Within the cluster defined as national exclusiveness, there is a higher percentage of the subjects with a lower level of education. However, t-test value in the proportions is here slightly lower ($t=2.00$) than in pro-European orientation, but is still statistically significant.

Within the third cluster (the group of subjects with undifferentiated social identity) we also found statistically significant difference ($t=3.67$) in the number of subjects with lower and higher level of education. As the Table 9 indicates, there is a significantly higher percentage of the persons with primary and secondary education that failed to differentiate their social identity.

The comparison of all the three studied demographic variables, on the basis of the level of contingency coefficients (Table 10), indicates that the level of education represents the most important factor of differentiation of national and European identity.

Table 10: Contingency coefficients between demographic variables and social identity

Demographic variables	Contingency Coefficient	Approx. Sig.
Region	0.08	0.01
Age	0.07	0.00
Level of education	0.21	0.00

Although for all three independent variables contingency coefficients are statistically significant, the highest degree of correlation is found between the level of education and social identity profile. Such results can be explained by the fact that a higher level of education creates a more rational attitude toward oneself and others. On the other hand, it decreases an irrational component in creating attitudes toward one's own and other nations. With more information and a more differentiated attitude toward the world as a consequence of a higher level of education, social background is less frequently viewed as exclusive category which forms a base for the development of a multi-layered social identity, implying a person's simultaneous identification with various referential groups.

CONCLUSION

The presented results, especially those obtained by cluster analysis, showed that the model for social identity study from which we started in our initial research is applicable; therefore, it can be used to identify various degrees and qualities of national, i. e. European identity.

The study of demographic variables - regional belonging, age and level of education of the subjects - proved to be important in the formation of social identity profile. Judging on the basis of the investigated sample, the population of Serbia and Montenegro is a very heterogeneous population when it comes to national and European identity. According to our results, the observed heterogeneity results from the differences in the way of living and system of values, related to age (generations) and regional belonging. The level of education of the subjects proved to be one of the especially important factors.

These conclusions provide a better understanding of the phenomenon of national and European identity, but at the same time point out the directions in the process of the recuperation of human resources of the society in transition and to the

development of a sound and constructive attitude toward narrower (national) and wider (European) social environment.

Our results show that especially important target group - which should be systematically directed to the creation of a constructive tolerance and openness in interpersonal relations - is the one with young people between the age of 20 and 30 whose period of adolescence and identity formation passed in the period of intensive ethnic conflicts. However, there remains an open question whether and to what extent it is possible to change the content of such socialization effects, because it is related to the formation of social identity occurring in the adolescence period.

Further development and establishment of European identity will also depend on the extent to which the European Union is seen as an instrument for satisfying universal human needs which surpass regional, age, and educational limits.

REFERENCES

- Brewer, M.B. (1993). Social identity, distinctiveness, and in-group homogeneity. *Social cognition*, Vol.11, **1**, 150-164.
- Brewer, M.B. (1999). Multiple identities and identity transition: Implications for Hong-Kong. *International Journal of Intercultural relations*, Vol.23, **2**, 187-197.
- Brewer, M.B. and Gardner, W. (1996). Who is this we: Levels of collective identity and Self representations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Vol.71, **1**, 83-93.
- Deflem, M. and Pampel, F.C. (1996). The myth of postnational identity: Popular support for European unification. *Social Forces* 75, **1**, 119-143.
- Duchenesne, S. and Frogner, A.P. (1995). Is there a European Identity?. In Niedermayer, O. and Sinnott, R. (Eds.), *Public Opinion and Internationalized Governance* (193-226). Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Djuric, Dj. i Francesko, M. (1994). Socio-psychological aspects of cultural and ethnic identity of young people. *Licnost u visekulturnom drustvu (Personality in a multicultural society)*, **1**, 63-77.
- Djuric, Dj., Francesko, M. i Majstorovic, N. (1995). Socio-psychological characteristics of cultural identity. *Licnost u visekulturnom drustvu (Personality in a multicultural society)*, **1**, 91-110.
- Djuric, Dj. (1995). Socio-psychological characteristics of ethnic identity of young people. *Licnost u visekulturnom drustvu (Personality in a multicultural society)*, **1**, 134-153.
- Eichenberg, R. and Dalton, R. (1993). Europeans and the European community: The dynamics of public support for European integration. *International organization*, **47**, 507-534.

- Francesko, M., Kodzopeljic, J., Majstorovic, N., i Mihic, V. (2002). Aspects of European identity operationalized by the EUROID2002 scale, *Licnost u visekulturnom drustvu: Organizacijska multikulturalnost i Evropski identitet (Personality in a multicultural society: Organisational multiculturalism and European identity)*, **4**, 105-114.
- Francesko, M., Kodzopeljic, J., Mihic, V., and Kostic, A. (2003). Development of European identity-similarities and differences among certain regions in Serbia and Montenegro. Oral presentation at the 51st Serbian psychological society's Conference : Psychology, ethics and business
- Gabel, M. (1998). *Interests and integration: Market liberalization, public opinion, and European Union*. Ann Arbor (MI), Michigan University Press.
- Hewstone, M. (1986). *Understanding attitudes toward European integration*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Inglehart, R. (1977). Long-term trends in mass support for European unification. *Government and Opposition*, **12**, 150-157.
- Medrano, J.D. and Gutiérrez, P. (2001). Nested identities: national and European identity in Spain. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 24, **5**, 753-778.
- Sinnott, R. (1995). Bringing public opinion back in. In Niedermayer, O. and Sinnott, R. (Eds.), *Public Opinion and Internationalized Governance* (pp. 11-33). Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Wessels, B. (1995). Support for integration: Élite or mass-driven. In Niedermayer, M. and Sinnott, R. (Eds.), *Public Opinion and Internationalized Governance* (pp 137-163)). Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Zagar, M. (2001). *Enlargement- in Search for European identity*. Bled, Forum.

REZIME

EVROPSKI IDENTITET U SRBIJI I CRNOJ GORI

Mirjana Franceško, Jasmina Kodžopeljić i Vladimir Mihic

Ciljevi ovog istraživanja su utvrđivanje stepena izraženosti i strukture evropskog i nacionalnog identiteta kod stanovnika Srbije i Crne Gore, kao i utvrđivanje relacija između socio-demografskih obeležja ispitanika (regionalna pripadnost, starost, nivo obrazovanja) i evropskog identiteta.

Uzorak je činilo 2853 ispitanika iz četiri regiona (Vojvodina, Šumadija sa Beogradom, Južna Srbija i Crna Gora), koji je podeljen na dve uzrasne kategorije i dva obrazovna nivoa. Za merenje pojedinih komponenti nacionalnog i evropskog identiteta primenjena je skala EUROID2002, autora M. Franceško, J. Kodžopeljić i N. Majstorović.

Primenom postupka klaster analize izdvojene su tri grupacije ispitanika različitog profila socijalnog identiteta: 1. višeslojni identitet (evropski i nacionalni), 2. nacionalna isključivost i 3. neizdiferencirani socijalni identitet. Kao faktori diferencijacije ispitanika u pogledu evropskog i nacionalnog identiteta pokazali su se regionalna pripadnost, starost i obrazovni nivo. Pri tome, rezultati ukazuju da je nivo obrazovanja najznačajniji činilac u formiranju ovog vida socijalnog identiteta.

Ključne reči: evropski identitet, nacionalni identitet, socio-demografska obeležja, Evropska Unija