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Some developmental aspects of active citizenship in Slovenian political culture

Introduction

The paper summarises and builds on the results of the research project (RP) *International comparative researching of political socialization (1994-97)* and *Anthropological research of political culture and school (1997-99)*. We researched political and cultural conditions for the development of good, active and participatory citizenship. It was only in the independent Slovenia that an active citizen became an independent political subject. The main findings are that Slovenian patterns of political (non) decision-making are predominantly autocratic. Political and educational cultures are gradually becoming democratic and are still in their infancy ten years after Slovenia's independence.

The paper indicates which objective and subjective factors of socialization may promote, impede or even stop the development of democracy. A democratic political system promotes a democratic interactive citizenship. On the other hand, a latent autocratic and servant culture blocks development of democracy. Therefore, it is very important to identify and remove these blockages as they arise. In any democracy there are potential elements of totalitarianism and vice versa. Since Slovenia joined NATO and the EU, global and European citizenship have been developed.

The paper presents the differences between the western, democratic and the Balkan, autocratic political culture. The first is characterised by the trust in democratic institutions, respect for human rights, active citizenship, pluralism of political party interests; on the other hand, the latter is seen as the hegemony of one party and one leader, hindering of democratic opposition, distrust in political institutions, violation of human rights, populism and demagoguery of the media.

The latent and partially present autocratic ideas as well as particularism of interests, which preserve the fragmentation and heterogeneity are still present in political culture. Liberal values are prevailing in school which is presumably the consequence of the liberal party regulating the school system in the last twelve years. Some socialist values are still preserved; some Christian values are gaining ground particularly in the licensed private schools.

The paper analyses political cultural conditions of active learning for interactive, participatory citizenship at all three levels. We also analyse problem solving strategies and strategies to acquire democratic political and educational culture.

Interactive citizenship can develop a synergy with a positive attitude of citizens towards their proper state. The state can encouragingly influence its citizens. Various civil groups could cooperate. Education could promote and develop democratic political and educational culture. The goal of education for active citizenship is expressed through school subjects, such as civic education, civic culture and ethics and society.

Europe and Slovenia staggering between autocratic and democratic attributes of political culture

It is still unclear how the EU is going to reorganise after its enlargement to 25 member states, an increased terrorist threat and a failed ratification of its constitution. The member states take part in decisions on setting up free flow of labour, services, goods and capital (first pillar), foreign and security policy (second pillar) and justice and internal affairs (third pillar). Already before accession Slovenia participated in some educational programmes (*Socrates, Erasmus, Comenius*). Since accession Slovenia's national and school identities have changed.

Democracy is turning to be an increasingly complex form of power that is placing demands on citizens. Democracy is both a state of affair and an aspiration. The constant inability to achieve democracy once and for all opens up a question of its inherent utopian ideal and questions its (civilisation) competence and competitiveness. The future electronic democracy is typified by the development of communication technology, interactive telecommunication networks, contact shows, faxes, computer boards, electronic tele-voting, encouraging citizens to behave like good citizens and providing for the presence of critical public.

Political culture is pluralistic and inherently bi-polar from the value point. Characteristics of political culture vary from universal to partial, positive to negative, modern to postmodern, national to transnational, traditional to flexible and emotional to rational. The more political culture is democratic at national and global levels, the more the relationship between these components is inclusive.

Since democracy has many shades of meaning, so does the notion of democratic culture. The rate of a democratic society is judged against the backdrop of national identity and relationship to other nations, ethnicities, the presence of xenophobia and xenophilia, myth and history, rationalism and irrationalism, work and war, heterogeneity and homogeneity. The presence of these features makes us derive a strategy for developing political culture of a citizen either following the benign spiral towards greater democracy or, on the contrary, following the malign spiral towards less democracy and more autocracy and totalitarianism. Both are present in autocracy and in the arbitrary behaviour of those in power; totalitarianism is characterised mainly by controlling all areas of social life. Autocracy and totalitarianism occur when – upon transferring sovereignty from people to authorities – the “common will” (Rousseau’s term) is taken from people as well. *H. Arendt* (2004) advises against equating totalitarianism with only one of its characteristics, e.g. single-mindedness, since it also involves other components, such as lying in the name of one single truth, the loss of ability to distinguish between good and evil, using masses for the support of the leader and the use of all means to achieve the goal. Every political culture in Europe should remain aware that every democracy contains elements of totalitarianism and should strive to eliminate them. Only protective democracy provides for people to change the government and thus to protect themselves from terrorism and keep this threat in check.

Democracy¹ is a value if citizens have the power to make decisions about public affairs and about development possibilities of the society. It matters whether we live in a civic, representational, presidential or parliamentary multi-party, indirect democracy or one-party direct, liberal, deliberative (debating, consulting), consociative (relationship between the elite in power and the public, between the majority and the minority), participatory democracy. Lately, the importance of deliberative democracy has been stressed since it strikes the balance of political power in terms of its just distribution that allows for argumentation for and against. Allegedly democracy of the future may be in digital, cyber, teledemocracy, also known as electronic democracy.

The basic parliamentary type of democracy has to be complemented by others since its formal part does not yet contain the standard values and positions the citizens may hold towards it. Complementing allows for stability of democracy since it is a sign of a developed democratic (political and educational) culture. This has been the starting point for the basic hypothesis of both mentioned research projects.² The project Anthropological researching of political culture and school was a follow up of the RP *International comparative researching of political socialization* (1994 – 1997). Particularly the last one was based on qualitative (i.e. double hermeneutics) to discover the stages of development of the Slovenian political culture,

analysis of political culture in various countries, analysis of existing sources and global analysis) and quantitative (empirical procedures, interviews with teachers) methodology. Since school is deeply involved in social changes, it was investigated in a synchronous manner, i.e. structural determinants were defined, common characteristics of political and educational culture were established in transition states, and in a diachronous manner, i.e. in comparison with the career-oriented education in socialism. We wanted to show how political culture develops on the basis of political socialisation and we tested the hypothesis of the two-folded anthropological definition of a human being (who is a political and educational being) – a human being is at a time free and determined. To this end methods establishing the objective and subjective situation of development of a culture were used.

It was only in the independent Slovenia that an active citizen became a political entity. The RP *Anthropological research of political culture and school* made a research into political and cultural conditions for the development of good, active and participatory citizenship. The main findings are that Slovenian patterns of political (non) decision-making are predominantly autocratic; political and educational cultures are gradually becoming democratic and are still in their infancy ten years since Slovenia became independent.

Objective and subjective factors may promote, impede or even stop the development of democracy. A democratic political system promotes a democratic educational culture in school. On the other hand, a latent autocratic or servant culture blocks development of democracy. Therefore, it is very important to discover and remove these blockages as they arise. In any democracy there are potential elements of totalitarianism and vice versa.

The double hermeneutic – heuristic method, amongst others, makes us see whether a man has a free choice or if one option determines him. This method allowed us to determine to what extent the aim to be an integrated person is or can be realised in an transformational school. The ambivalence of structures and functions of political and educational cultures surfaced.

Since Slovenia's independence, the subjective factors have grown stronger, though they are not yet prevalent since the process of modernisation, rationalisation, democratisation and 'detraditionalisation' that started in Slovenia back in the 1980s was not more intense. The Slovenian traditional political culture was mainly characterised by anti-intellectualism (*Kolenc*, 1993; 195) that is still present at various levels in crisis times.

Slovenia differs from all other compared countries (Belgium, Ireland, Netherlands) in seven (7) political culture characteristics, when we take all countries at once. When we take pair-comparisons, then Slovenia differs in five (5) variables as default. Variables, which could be treated as 'differentia specifica' for Slovenia are: 1. low political participation rate, 2. absence of ethno-linguistic cleavages, 3. absence of religion cleavages, presence of regional cleavages, 4. low democratic legitimacy rate, 5. weak social force of trade unions, 6. weak social force of employers and 7. high rate of extreme political options.

The rule of law is based on autonomy, sovereignty and legislative ability of citizens. The state and the citizens observe and carry out the laws. Since Slovenia joined the EU, its rule of law has had to be in compliance with the EU legislation and the (future) European constitution. Not only Slovenian legal culture has to comply with the EU norms but also the political and educational one.

We hope that the ideological monopoly of political culture that we experienced during socialism is not repeated in the EU. The EU aspires to unity in the plurality of cultures. The European critical public – which is supposed to support and criticise political leadership – has not yet emerged (*Debeljak, 2004*). Here we do not refer to national “*critical public*” (term used by *Habermas*) which on behalf of national identities judges its own political elite, rather we refer to a common European public that acts cohesively. The European people and public (in Greek *demos*) is slowly emerging. On the one hand, it is clear that the EU cannot survive in one-dimensional “*economism*” with “*consumerism*” of the world trade nor it can solely be based on culture with the option of maintaining cultural diversity. The classic Marxist approach of material basis upgraded with ideological and political principles does not sufficiently explain, in the long run, the existence of the EU. According to *Siedentop (2004)*, the EU's fate is uncertain since the complexity of conditions for its existence is still an outstanding issue to a certain degree. An excessive centralisation in Brussels is a threat and *Siedentop* suggests – as an alternative – to have a federal arrangement that observes autonomy of local communities.

Since Slovenia became an EU member, Slovenian citizenship has entailed not only the national component but also the international one, i.e. an “*Euro-Slovenian*” identity that is supposed to balance the Slovenian and European identity (*Hribar, 2004*). This means that when it comes to preserving our own identity, we are flexible and take into account many aspects, ideas, positions and values of the common European citizenship. In addition to the Slovenian and European citizenship, the Slovenians should develop a global (according to

Kant Weltbuergerschaft), globalisational and cosmopolitan citizenship with “*cosmopolitan democracy*” (Gidens’s term). This is the only hope for our contribution to sustainable development which is an important aim of education for democratic citizenship and represents a balance between social, environmental and economic growth.

The Slovenian political culture is marked by the principle of separation of church from the state. This separation has often led to a cultural battle between clericalism and liberalism and thus to a split in political culture. This would not be an inevitable fact if both parties had largely the same interests at least with certain issues (e.g. reprivatisation of the church property) at heart. The independent Slovenia gives priority to the interests of the new state rather than to those of a church (since there are 36 religious communities in Slovenia of which about 30 are officially recognised) or to its formal status.

Like the US and Western European citizens, the Slovenian citizens are apolitical and have a bad rapport with the politics since the majority of them did not actively make political decisions through history. The poor development of the participatory political culture shows through old people who in transition states maintain their mainly autocratic culture and thus do not turn up for elections and leave the politics as “*a dirty song*” to politicians.

The Slovenian culture is marked by the old and new splits (e.g. between clericalism and liberalism), intolerance, a conflicting system of values and the feeling of being threatened by bigger states. The democratic educational culture³ in schools is still in its infancy at various levels, such as logical argumentation in the classroom, inter-institutional rapport between the school and the university, team teaching, problem solving teaching, personally important learning etc.⁴. This is a consequence of a long-standing struggle between liberals and conservatives in the Slovenian politics.

The ambiguous character of the (Slovenian) political culture is in the fact that the interests of a democratic system and of citizens change and thus some (un)traditional characteristics emerge as a response to a political action. The Slovenians oscillate from the feeling of being threatened from outside to the belief of being able to survive as a nation.

Conditions and factors of developing an (inter-)active citizenship

Democracy can be developed only by (inter-)active citizens. They are more politically and creatively literate⁵, if they are “*interactively communicative*” (following *Habermas’s* expression), i.e. they give and receive information. Interactive citizenship reaches out to

every level of social activity, i.e. to the economic, cultural, social and political sphere. A functionally literate citizen is the one who consciously performs one or more political functions and is active at least in one social sphere. Interactive learning is in itself a democratic one since it puts an individual into a socio-political role of cooperation with others. It is not enough that one group or institution is active and communicating. In socialism citizens would have needed more functional knowledge than they actually had in order to be able to successfully advocate abolishment of exploitation through social appropriation of production means, shorter working hours and protection of the environment.

The increasing social inequality in transition states pushes more and more citizens into politically inactive life. The development of democracy calls for a lot of participating citizens who follow new guidelines. As we are a small nation, we face a minority complex, though it has been disappearing since Slovenia became a nation-state. The examples set by other EU small countries (e.g. Denmark, Ireland, and Luxembourg) indicate that the geographical smallness is not a determining factor of their success.

Typically the Slovenians as a small nation suffer from an inferiority complex. This is a result of the pressure exercised by big nations, namely the militarist aspirations of the Germans, the Italians and the Hungarians. It is also due to a stereotype image the Slovenians have of themselves as a constantly oppressed nation. Indeed, the German pressure ceased only after World War II. The Slovenians survived because they were men of honour. According to *Trstenjak* (1995) this is the trait that has proven essential for the survival. Nowadays, however, the survival of the Slovenians as a nation is uncertain mainly due to the low birth rate.

According to *Trstenjak* (1991), the Slovenians are very much attached to their own plot of land. Furthermore, they observe the differences between the regions. It seems very important what one's birth region is. The Habsburgs made the Slovenians hard-working and honest workers in all areas. As a small nation the Slovenians cannot compete on the quantity but the quality of their inventions and products is highly competitive. On the one hand, the EU has made a united Slovenia a reality; on the other, regionalisation fostered by the EU brings about fragmentation.

Through intercultural contacts Slovenia experiences the rise of the European and global citizenship. This trend is followed by the changes in syllabi and curricula in primary and secondary schools. The existing content base of the curriculum for the civic culture presupposes teachers' wide knowledge which is to be passed on to pupils. The curriculum is

not restricted to national identity goals (Novak, 2001). More than just a minimal consensus is needed on what the civic education actually is (Štrajn, 1999) not only due to the international changes but also due to the internal reasons, such as the various types of values, traditional heterogeneity, fragmentation and a need to teach active citizenship to the young and adults.

Since Slovenia's independence, some optional subjects (civic education, civic culture and religions and ethics) have been introduced to the last three years of the nine-year primary school. Kerševan (2005) assesses the goals of the subject religions and ethics as being merely informational rather than educational. The subject offers some critical assessments and a possibility to position oneself with regard to the world religions without giving priority to any of them. There are various types of education: education about, education for and education from. In the case of the subject religions and ethics, the first type of education prevails which is in compliance with the constitutional principle of separation of the church from the state. However, the civic education and civic culture deal with all three types of education. Citizenship has been our common point of departure for the atheists and believers alike since the establishment of our own state. A publication (Justin, J. & Sardoč, M. ed., 2003) for teachers of civic education, history, geography and Slovenian offers an insight into how the teaching of civic education topics could be further improved at these subjects and what possible inter-subject connections exist. Pupils could get familiar through these subjects with topics, such as human rights, the rights and obligations of citizens, civil society, ethical principles and values guiding political decisions, possible inter-cultural connections. Similarly, adults may want to brush up, update and deepen their knowledge.

A new democratic culture is created once we liberate ourselves from fear and overcome the fear of our own responsibility and normality and become courageous to live in the new democracy. A diligent, entrepreneurial Slovenian who is split and marked by neuroticism and is experiencing a democratic political culture in transition now comes to Europe while still overcoming the teething problems of its parliamentary democracy, including the failed national conciliation.

A developed democratic culture is characterised by trust in democratic institutions, respect for human rights, (inter-)active citizenship, pluralism of political party interests. On the other hand, the autocratic culture distinguishes itself by hegemony of one party and one leader, hindering of democratic opposition, lack of trust in political institutions, violation of human rights, populism and demagoguery of media. Democracy includes values of freedom, equality, justice and solidarity. Due to the increase in social inequality, democracy is less stable and the number of citizens living in social margins with less power to take decisions bigger.

Learning for democratic relations includes 1) promoting mutual trust and trust in political institutions – the Slovenian public opinion poll analyses show that this trust is quite low – 2) getting rid of intolerance, aggressions and neuroticism which is a consequence of poor adaptation, 3) strengthening the modern instrumental logic and argumentative power of public discourse and social capital.

Strategies for developing the Slovenian and European political culture

The EU needs a new common development strategy for its ambitious goals. Slovenia needs one too to solve some conflicts and overcome its neuroticism, split personality of its citizens, develop the social capital and improve social cohesion.

Lifelong learning is what the citizens need in order to foster their abilities and interests and reconcile various ways of life. A learning state is essential to carry out the planned political development strategy⁶ and be receptive for the initiatives put forward by the citizens and lead a stable international policy.

During its presidency to the EU, Slovenia will need clear answers to the current and development strategies. The Slovenians are still split between Europe and the Balkans due to our past experience in Yugoslavia (both, in Yugoslavia of 1921-1941 and Yugoslavia of 1945-1991). For the South-eastern Europe we represent a wealth of experience as to how to join the EU. The Balkan political culture inherited from the Yugoslav one is typified by conflict strategies that arise from the particularism of political interests, policy of power and turning history into myths. On the other hand, the European democratic political culture is characterised by conflict-solving strategies while respecting human rights, trust in democratic institutions and, at the same time, it is burdened by nationalistic tendencies, increasing social inequality, unemployment and withdrawal of the welfare state.

An active citizen (in the new Slovenian state) is:

- 1) able to see local problems from the global perspective,
- 2) cooperative and responsible in taking on their duties and obligations in the society,
- 3) able to understand, assess and accept mutual cultural differences,
- 4) able to think critically,
- 5) interested in peaceful resolution of conflicts,
- 6) willing to change their life habits in order to protect the environment,
- 7) sensitive to and defensive of human rights,

8) having an active relationship with national and international political problems (Stres, 1996).

These tasks are not yet fulfilled. According to *Makarovič* (2003), from the citizenship point of view, the citizens are more active if the state has more social capital. Some small states are able to be forerunners of global trends as they cautiously manage their social capital. Every citizen learns how to express and put forward one's (political) interests and either bring them closer to the interest of others or distance oneself from them.

The empirical results of individual social groups (see *D. Kobal*, 2004) lead us to conclude that the Slovenians do not have their independent or dependent self-image as high as this is the case in other developed European states. This conclusion should be incorporated in Slovenia's political development vision for the EU and NATO.

The experience of some western countries shows us that a responsible democracy needs 50 to 60 years to form. Therefore, it is clear that some long-term strategies on learning how to resolve political and cultural conflict are needed. They include:

- a positive attitude towards politics in terms of developing the power of positive thinking, emotions and conduct of every citizen, group and nation;
- expressing trust in state institutions and civil movements;
- a partner dialogue and looking for a consensus when diagnosing and looking for causes of a conflict;
- a policy of peace, harmony and cooperation;
- an analysis of the causes of the conflict and looking for possible solutions;
- selecting one or more options to solve the conflict;
- distinguishing short-term from long-term solutions;
- preparedness to correct the solutions in the light of unexpected developments;
- promoting, following up, verifying, counselling and supporting,
- development of all-round democratic political culture,
- imitation of western model of democracy;
- learning from one's own and other's political experience by taking aboard successful strategies of others (*Brnčič, M. & Mastnak, T.*, ed., 1999).

According to *Cogan* (2000; 40, 51), global citizens as members of a global community would develop the following capabilities:

- a capability to see and solve problems and conflicts in a non-violent manner,
- a capability to work with others and accept one's own share of responsibility,

- a capability to understand, tolerate and accept cultural differences,
- a capability to think critically and systematically,
- a capability to adapt one's life styles and habits in order to protect environment,
- respect for and defence of human rights,
- a capability to use information technology.

To these characteristics of a global citizen, others could be added, such as a flexible personal identity, total mobility, universal or cosmopolitan consciousness, network reliance, cooperation and inter-dependence. Cogan compares a global citizen to a consumer in a giant supermarket but without any active role. By training at the levels mentioned above, the roles would be attributed to him in new communication networks. However, these are lacking at national and trans-national levels.

The Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers proclaimed 2005 a "*European year of Citizenship through Education*". This is an incentive for Slovenia to increase awareness of democratic citizenship. The Council of Europe is planning education strategies for democratic citizenship.

It has turned out that a positive or negative attitude of citizens towards politics matters more than their level of education. Interactive citizenship is based on interactive and cooperative learning. To develop interactive learning strategies the following is needed:

- 1) a comparative analysis of political and cultural factors conditioning learning for citizenship in the socialist and post-socialist times;
- 2) a case study of Slovenia in order to determine which factors were actively influencing the learning to be an active citizen before the independence and after it;
- 3) the difference between positive and negative factors in order to strengthen the positive ones and limit the negative ones.

Ad 1) Today nationalization of property is not an issue, rather it is reprivatisation; there is no planned economy, but there is a market economy, there is no liberation of work, rather we speak of improvements in the production introduced by technical and technological innovations thus increasing efficiency and participation of skilled workers in decision-making. That is why interactive citizens in post-transition countries, Slovenia included, need functional knowledge which has changed its direction since social development took a U-turn on socialism. Protection of the environment and sustainable development are the prime considerations.

Ad 2) In addition to making decisions on our own fate (self-determination), the Slovenian political culture since independence in 1991, has experienced a rise in mistrust in political institutions, citizens' passive attitude towards politics (before the politics was nationalised), the end of the old collective solidarity and slow creation of the new forms of solidarity and different morale, a complex of a small nation etc. The creation of the State played a huge role in political culture. Without our proper state, we could have spoken only about a culture of a nation in creation (Latin *in natu nascendi*). The citizens still have some trouble identifying themselves with the state because of the past bad experiences within "foreign" states.

Ad 3) These are negative factors of the existing political culture which are to be limited: mistrust in the own state as if it were a foreign state, single-mindedness as a sign of anti-intellectualism, citizens' passive attitude towards politics and politicians, monopolistic and ideological and hegemonic interests, poorly developed ethical relations, a complex of subordination, smallness, a feeling of being threatened, social exclusion, increased inequality, poor functional literacy⁵ of adults, the prevailing transmissive and effect-oriented school model, poor political socialisation within family and lack of civic culture in school.

Political literacy is to be developed. It includes some other forms of literacy, such as literary, functional, ICT literacy, literacy of pluralistic media and a complex critical and reflexive literacy. Citizens train for the last one through a reciprocal political communication.

Development strategies of democratic political culture gain grounds through education of children, youngsters and adults. Political culture is not just a content. It is also a form of education of youngsters and adults since this is not a value-neutral notion. Adult education contributes to active citizenship merely by being organised. Till now adult education has focused on getting a job and developing one's own career. Development of a democratic political culture – one of the goals of the education – does not depend solely on citizen-friendly state that offers efficient services but also on the level of education of the citizens. The interactive citizenship can therefore be understood as a result of a mutual interest and communication between the state and its citizens.

Some development trends of the Slovenian political culture

The Euro-centric political and educational culture has been put forward only in the process of cooperation of the independent Slovenia in the European Union. The transition has made room for political pluralism and educational pluralism with dualism of schools and plural

educational interests. Both, democratic political and democratic educational culture are at its beginnings.

To achieve a high level of democratic political culture the Slovenian schools should develop in pupils and students self-confidence, tolerance, responsibility, self-control, desire to help others and thus help oneself, emancipate them from superstitions, ignorance, give them knowledge, make them think realistically and help them become enlightened citizens. Schools have to make students become - through education - an autonomic democratic personalities respecting human rights, thinking by themselves and reacting accordingly. Curiously, the Slovenian legislation anticipates goals, such as independent critical thinking but not learning to learn. Some aspects of ethics, citizenship education and communication between pupils, teachers and parents leave to be desired.

The changes in political culture of post-socialist eastern and central European countries in transition started the process of disintegration and the decline of "socialist democracies". Since 1990 democratic and participative political cultures and civic cultural institutions have been modelled on the western parliamentary democracy. The development of democracy in Slovenia is still uneven because of unconsolidated political system, lack of experiences and lack of democratic tradition, a semi-presidential government, relatively low economic development, mistrust towards the democratic political institutions and smallness of our country (i.e. it is more difficult to organise a functional infrastructure). Subjectively speaking, the Slovenian democratic culture is not more developed than any post-socialist central and eastern European political culture. Uncertainties, nostalgia for the past, cultural fight and a hope for the future prevail. The connection between political and educational culture is random and not always clear. Nevertheless, both democratic political and educational culture will have to foster values, such as tolerance, openness towards the external world, peace, and cohabitation in a society.

The ETGACE project (report Jansen, 2004) included central and eastern European countries. It reported that transition to democracy is far more complex than originally expected since there is no common understanding as to what the democratic ways to develop democratic institutions are. Furthermore, no two countries face the same development factors and motives. An erosion of the established political democratic institutions is observed. Problems exist both at the level of "democratic hardware" and "democratic software" (i.e. lack of initiative, mistrust of democratic institutions, indifference to voluntary work etc.). The issue persists how to encourage citizens to resolve "democratic

deficit" and shoulder their share of responsibility. There are many models of active citizenship and the State and civil society are responsible for teaching them.

In conclusion I would highlight that the state of the Slovenian political culture is ambivalent with two sides still visible. The task at hand is to ensure that the Slovenian political culture continues to develop in the following way/

- from traditionalism to "detraditionalisation" (*Giddens's term*),
- from a traditionally indigenous closed culture towards a culture open for European integration process,
- from a rigid national identity towards a flexible one with an element of flexible cooperation in international political relations,
- from freedom against the state towards the freedom within our own state,
- from the smallness complex in relation to the superiors towards searching for the third way (*Giddens*),
- from the neuroticism with elements of totalitarian frustration towards developing "civic competence" in cooperation with central-European and western countries,
- from the independence of a Slovenian state (1991) towards a normal nation-state,
- from an unstable democracy with teething problems towards a stable parliamentary democracy,
- from a culture-nation to Slovenia as a nation-state with a heterogenic culture without ethnic conflicts,
- from centralised Slovenia towards a regionally managed Slovenia,
- from fear of an increased social inequality and further political splitting towards attempts at a national conciliation,
- from a duality of politics and culture as a criticism of ethics towards a politics with a long-term vision,
- from a historic influence of a German, Russian (Soviet) and Balkan political culture towards the influence of a western political culture within the so-called third wave democracy,
- from an ideologically monopolistic, socialist political culture towards the development of a democratic political culture.

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¹ In no democracy we are all at the same time free and equal. For more see Štrajn, D. (1995). O strategijah učenja za demokracijo; see also a discussion paper B. Novak (1999). "Političnokulturni temelji edukacije državljanstva", presented at the 3rd Andragogical Colloquium at Andragogical Center of Slovenia, held on 19 October 1999 "Izobraževanje odraslih za aktivno državljanstvo – nuja ali utopija?"

² The findings presented here on the development stage of Slovenian political culture are based on two research projects, *Novak, B. & Kolenc, J. (1994-1996)* and *(Novak B. & Kolenc J., 1997 - 1999)* which put forward the soft rules of developing (political and educational) culture with a historical self-reflection of genesis and the present stage of development of Slovenian democratic political culture in comparison with some other European states.

³ There are many definitions of (political) culture and socialisation. The term political culture is often misused to denote political behaviour or folklore. Political culture, however, has its own complex definition with the following elements: a) a model of subjective political affiliations within the nation; b) cognitive, affective and value elements. It denotes conclusions and opinions on the political reality as well as feelings related to the politics and the judgments of its value.; c) socialisation, education and the impact of media, experience of the adults and an impact of the authority, society and business sector; d) limitations and unfinished structures of power and results of politics. Socialisation is a process of creating, preserving and changing the culture. It comprises an intent education with both formal (school) and informal learning.

⁴ The transformational capacity of learning is not associated only with political culture (D. Hafner-Fink. 1992. 1993) but also with the educational one (*Novak, B. 1998*). This means integration at various levels. Our point of departure is that the European integration process has an influence on the transformational changes in the Slovenian political and educational culture.

⁵ The notion of literacy is a complex one. It denotes the ability to understand and use information from various sources. It is topical in all areas of human activity. The word is derived from Latin *litteratus* which meant first an educated person and later a person who managed to read Latin and even later the person who could read and write in one's own mother tongue.

⁶ Strategy (Greek *strategia*, Latin *strategia*, German *Strategie*) means to plan against in order to achieve a goal. A stratagem (Greek *stratagem*) denotes a war ruse, a trick, a cunning plan, manoeuvre, intention, whereas strategy (Greek *stratos* – army and *agein* – lead) is a discipline about procedures, methods of leading big military operations, methods of achieving objectives (e.g. companies, parties, sports games) (Tavzes et al. 1095). A strategist used to denote an army leader. *Abell* (1995) mentions double strategies which in addition to managing the present include preparations for the future in order to achieve the top quality.