EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AS CULTURAL PRACTICE

THE FIRST GENERATION OF SLOVENE EUROCRATS

TATIANA BAJUK SENČAR

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AS CULTURAL PRACTICE

THE FIRST GENERATION OF SLOVENE EUROCRATS

O P E R A
E T H N O L O G I C A
S L O V E N I C A

ZALOŽBA
ZRC

OPERA ETHNOLOGICA SLOVENICA

Tatiana Bajuk Senčar
EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AS CULTURAL PRACTICE:
THE FIRST GENERATION OF SLOVENE EUROCRATS

Uredil **Jurij Fikfak**

Recenzenta **Frane Adam in Jure Gombač**
Jezikovni pregled **DEKS**
Prevod **Manca Berkopec**
Oblikovanje in prelom **Monika Klobčar**

Izdajatelj **Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU**
Zanj **Ingrid Slavec Gradišnik**

Založnik **Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU**
Za založnika **Oto Luthar**
Glavni urednik **Aleš Pogačnik**

Tisk **Sinet d. o. o.**
Naklada **250**

Izid knjige je omogočila **Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost RS (2014)**

Ovitek **Monika Klobčar**

CIP - Kataložni zapis o publikaciji
Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica, Ljubljana

39:316.343-057.3(4)
061.1EU:35.08(=163.6)

BAJUK Senčar, Tatiana
European integration as cultural practice : the first generation of Slovene eurocrats / Tatiana Bajuk Senčar ; [prevod Alenka Ropret]. - 1. izd., 1. natis. - Ljubljana : Založba ZRC SAZU, 2014. - (Opera ethnologica Slovenica, ISSN 2232-2159)

ISBN 978-961-254-778-3

278378240

https://doi.org/10.3986/9789612547783

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AS CULTURAL PRACTICE

THE FIRST GENERATION OF SLOVENE EUROCRATS

TATIANA BAJUK SENČAR

LJUBLJANA 2014

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, my heartfelt thanks go to all the Slovenes living in Brussels who generously agreed to be participate in the project. This book simply would not have been possible without them. I thank them for sharing their lives and experiences that are depicted here, albeit masked behind the initials and altered personal details that preserve their anonymity.

I wish to acknowledge the support of the Slovenian Research Agency that funded extensive field research in Brussels for me and for my project colleague, Jeffrey David Turk. I wish to thank him for his contributions at numerous stages of the project: from conducting interviews to analyzing research experiences to presenting research results in new arenas. His expertise enabled him to pursue additional lines of research that only enriched the project as a whole. I also thank him for his contribution to the book, which maps out the broader processes that frame Slovene Eurocrats' experiences and narratives.

I wish to thank the University of Kent's Brussels School of International Studies for their kind invitation to be a visiting researcher during the 2007-2008 academic year. I am grateful to have pursued my research in a broader, interdisciplinary environment and for the comments I received as I presented the results of my ongoing fieldwork.

My thanks to my colleagues at the Institute of Slovenian Ethnology (ZRC SAZU) for their support as I returned to Ljubljana after many years in Brussels. In particular, I wish to thank Ingrid Slavec Gradišnik for her careful reading of the book draft and to Jurij Fikfak for his useful suggestions and for his efforts as editor of the series at numerous stages of the editing process.

I am also grateful to reviewers Frane Adam and Jure Gombač. A special word of thanks goes to Veronica Aplenc for her advice as well as her insightful and constructive comments of numerous chapters.

Finally, I wish to thank my friends and family – in Ljubljana, in Washington, D.C., and in New York City – for their constant encouragement. In particular, I am deeply grateful to my husband Igor and my children Helena and Gregor for their patience and unwavering support.

Tatiana Bajuk Senčar

INTRODUCTION

TATIANA BAJUK SENČAR AND JEFFREY DAVID TURK

This book provides an anthropological analysis of the cultural formation, practices and experiences of the first generation of Slovenes working in the institutions of the European Union.[1] On 1 May 2004, Slovenia became a full-fledged member of the European Union and was thus formally incorporated into the processes of European integration redefining the relations among member states. Processes of European integration or, more broadly, Europeanization unfold at multiple, interlocking levels — from the level of government bodies to the level of individual social actors. Slovenia's EU membership meant that Slovene citizens as members of a EU member state could apply for employment in existing EU institutions and agencies, which expand with each consecutive EU enlargement. Numerous Slovenes applied for the positions available for citizens from new member states and now work as Eurocrats at multiple locations across the EU's institutional network. Upon becoming Eurocrats, they thus took part in the expansion of the EU institutions that followed the EU's enlargement in 2004.

The analytical discussion that follows is one of the final results of a research project titled the Anthropology of European Integration funded by the Slovenian Research Agency.[2] The project focused on Slovene Eurocrats as a group, examining a particular aspect of the EU integration process from the bottom up; that is, from the point of view of the social actors involved daily in these processes. This study thus complements macro-level approaches to integration research, which are primarily centered on interactions among member states. A study of Eurocrats' practices and experiences as social actors involved in such processes provides insights into a dimension of Europeanization that macro-level approaches do not necessarily capture.

The role of the EU institutions in facilitating and shaping the daily operation of the EU has rendered Eurocrats an object of research for over fifty years (Spinelli 1966). Researchers that have analyzed the EU institutions and Eurocrats have emphasized

[1] There are various practices concerning the use of "Slovene" and Slovenian." I employ the established practice among translators in the EU institutions as well as in certain fields of academic discourse in Slovenia. "Slovene" is used as a noun to refer to persons from Slovenia (i.e. a Slovene) or to the language. It is also as an adjective to refer to nationality as it refers to persons. I use "Slovenian" as an adjective in cases referring to Slovenia as a state: for example, the Slovenian civil service.

[2] The research project funded by the Slovenian Research Agency was titled Antropologija evropske integracije/The Anthropology of European Integration (J6-9245) led by Tatiana Bajuk Senčar. The project lasted from 2007-2010, and research was completed within the framework of research program P6 - 0088.

the importance of studying the effects of introducing officials from diverse cultures on the institutions' established administrative traditions (Stevens and Stevens 2001; Ziller 1993) with each successive wave of enlargement. For example, anthropologists in particular have called attention to the significance of the first expansion of the EU in 1973, which forced Eurocrats to come to terms with the introduction of diversity in terms of styles, cultures, and languages as well as understandings of Europe (Bellier 2000a). The significance of the 2004 expansion that is the backdrop for this analysis lies in it being the largest expansion of the EU thus far, resulting in the reunification of eastern and western Europe after the Cold War.

The Slovene Eurocrats who participated in the research project form part of a particular group of European actors that became the first generation of Eurocrats from the 2004 member states. Much of the research on the integration of Eurocrats into the EU institutions centers on the experiences of senior, established Eurocrats who have been working in the institutions for many years. The first generation of Eurocrats from the 2004 member states are social actors whose experiences as the most recent EU officials can provide many insights into the expansion of the EU institutions as a ongoing social process (Ban 2009, 2013).

The aim of the study was to explore integration from the perspective of Slovene Eurocrats instead of that of the EU institutions or established, long-standing officials. The key questions that guided the research reflected this shift in perspective and were centered on exploring the ways in which Slovenes began to plot careers and lives in European terms. As members of the first generation of Eurocrats from the new member states, the Slovenes that participated in this research are in a sense pioneers. At the moment of member state accession, there were no established routes of circulation or networks that facilitate entry into the EU institutions for Slovenes — as is the case with EU officials from established member states. Nor were there previous generations of Eurocrats from the same member state who could serve as models for those embarking on a career in the EU institutions. This study focused on mapping out emergent routes or channels that Slovenes helped pave through the course of their EU-based careers and explored the links between their travels and their sense of identity.

To this end, the project involved examining the experiences of Slovene Eurocrats in Brussels within the broader context of their life experiences and professional formation. While the project was based on ethnographic fieldwork in Brussels, it also relied substantially on the collection and analysis of Eurocrats' life histories. Fieldwork in Brussels thus included carrying out approximately 50 unstructured interviews using the BNIM interviewing technique as a guide (see e.g. Wengraf 2001). The Slovene Eurocrats that agreed to participate in the project were employed across the EU institutions existing in Brussels. Participants also included so-called national Eurocrats, Slovene civil servants stationed in Brussels who work in conjunction with the EU institutions but represent Slovenia as a member state.

The research carried out within the scope of the project included two secondary lines of inquiry, one of which was focused on the Slovenian Presidency of the Council of the European Union, which took place in the first half of 2008. The project coincided with Slovenia becoming the first of the new member states to take up the highly symbolic rotating presidency. Given the timing of the project, the research plan was expanded to include interviews with several of the key negotiators who played important roles in the negotiation of one of the most important legislative packages that overlapped with the Slovenian Presidency. Interviews were focused primarily on their career trajectories as well as their experiences and tasks both before and during the presidency. Interlocutors provided invaluable insights into the otherwise opaque machinations of Brussels negotiators. Research in this vein was pursued primarily by Jeffrey Turk (including Turk 2009, 2011). Tatiana Bajuk Senčar focused on the role that the Slovenian Presidency plays in Slovene Eurocrats' narratives of professional identity construction (Bajuk Senčar and Turk 2013).

The second research area, which was methodological in nature, evaluated the use of life stories and biographies for anthropological research of Europeanization processes (including Bajuk Senčar 2010; Bajuk Senčar and Turk 2010). Jeffrey Turk focused primarily on analogous issues outside the confines of anthropology, exploring the potential of realist biography as a basis for social science research (Mrozowicki and Turk 2013; Turk 2010). This resulted in the organization of an interdisciplinary workshop on the subject of realist biography as a methodological approach in the social sciences held in April 2010 in Leuven, Belgium (Bajuk Senčar 2010a; Turk and Mrozowicki 2010). Contributors of the book (including Bajuk Senčar and Turk 2013; Turk and Mrozowicki 2013) that emerged on the basis of this workshop worked towards elaborating a framework for realist research on phenomena operating in the social world.

The core argument that Tatiana Bajuk Senčar develops through the course of the book is that the limits of integration as an analytical concept as well as an identity discourse are linked to the limits that integration poses on social actors participating in these processes. These limits primarily result from the overlap between integration's normative and analytical dimensions, which are, as some scholars argue, built into the very definition of integration (Sayad 2004: 216) as a shift from alterity to identity. The definition of integration in terms of a desired end reduces the way that alterity — and the position of social actors — is defined. The following chapters provide an ethnographic exploration of diverse aspects of the mobility of Slovene Eurocrats as a means of critically engaging the normative dimensions and limits of integration. To this end, the life stories of Slovene Eurocrats aid in mapping out the issues, experiences, and movements that comprise Slovene Eurocrats' specific field of integration as cultural practice.

The present monograph builds upon earlier presentations and publications (including Bajuk Senčar 2009, 2014, 2014a; Bajuk Senčar and Turk 2011) in which the author to varying degrees touched upon the issues of mobility, identity and integration. While the chapters address varied dimensions or practices of mobility, together they provide an ethnographic narrative about the formation of the first generation of Slovene Eurocrats grounded in their narratives and everyday experiences. This involves also analytically addressing the discourses and structures of identity of the EU institutions, thus providing both bottom-up and top-down perspectives on integration. This analysis represents a depiction of the Slovene Eurocrats' social landscape of integration through the stories of Slovene Eurocrats by focusing on the interactions between dominant institutional discourses and practices on the one hand and narratives of mobility and agency on the other.

In his contribution, "Developments in the European Union and Slovenia from 1980 to 2008," Jeffrey David Turk provides an introductory historical and institutional overview from 1980 to 2008. This survey serves to frame the collected interviews against the backdrop of key events and processes that took place in Slovenia, in the EU, and around the globe in the years leading up to Slovenia's accession to the European Union. A brief presentation of the history of the EU and the EU institutions follows, with an emphasis on the history of EU expansions that set the stage for the EU historic enlargement in 2004. This institutional history includes a discussion of the EU institutions' preparations for the 2004 enlargement, including the hiring procedures set in place for potential employees from new member states. An analytical presentation of the Slovenian government's preparations for accession complements the preparations for accession from the perspective of the EU institutions. In this presentation, Turk identifies the key Slovenian institutional actors that steered the different steps of the accession process.

In the chapter "The Role of Mobility in the Study of European Integration," Tatiana Bajuk Senčar outlines the main theoretical issues that frame the ethnographic study of Slovene Eurocrats presented in the following chapters. Effectively examining the links between Slovene Eurocrats' mobility and identity requires analyzing their movements as grounded cultural practices. This involves analyzing their mobile practices as linked to broader global developments while also specific to the European context shaped by interlocking processes of European integration and Europeanization. The chapter centers on understandings of European integration prevalent in EU studies, mapping out how integration is defined as a supranational organization, as a powerful political project, as a discourse of identity and as a social process. The discussion also touches upon anthropological contributions to understandings of Europeanization and European integration, which analytically ground these processes through a focus on social actors and their everyday practices in the EU institutions. Bajuk Senčar presents her research on the first genera-

tion of Slovene Eurocrats as building on anthropological research that focuses on the normative dimensions of the EU institutions' integration discourse. She argues that shedding light on the experiences of Slovene Eurocrats requires critically engaging the normative dimension of integration and identifying the limits it imposes on the agency of social actors. Incorporating the range of Slovene Eurocrats' practices through collecting and analyzing their life stories provides a way to address these limits. Researching the patterns and narratives of mobility that are linked to their formation as European actors thus represents a way to counteract the limitations of integration's normativity by grounding it in cultural practices.

The chapter titled "The Brussels Bubble and the Mapping of Life Stories" introduces Brussels as the central site of research, and within Brussels, the European Quarter. The European Quarter is the area of Brussels in which the EU institutions are located. At the same time, the EU Quarter is also a social landscape often referred to as the Brussels bubble or EU bubble, terms that invoke the distinctiveness of EU institutions and of Eurocrats as social actors within Brussels. The chapter focuses on the way that the concept of the EU bubble operates as a part of Brussel's landscape as well as the way that this concept has recently become an object of discussion among researchers of the EU institutions (Busby 2013, Georgakakis 2011, Georgakakis and Rowell 2013) who define the EU institutions as a field of research in numerous ways. These discussions concerning the bubble are counterposed with a brief outline of the history of localized anthropological research within the EU bubble and its contributions to understanding the EU institutions as a distinctive cultural space. However, focusing on Slovene Eurocrats as newcomers into the EU institutions begs the question of the benefits and limits that localized research can provide to understanding the links between mobility and identity. This question structures a brief discussion of existing research that has transcended the EU bubble in various ways, either by tracing the movements of social actors in and out of the bubble or by adopting a multi-sited approach (Holmes 2000; Thedvall 2006, 2007). George Marcus' (1995) multi-site research strategy that centers on defining the field of research with the aid of social actors' biographies provides the basis for employing Slovene Eurocrats' stories to map out the field of research. The chapter concludes with an extended discussion of the use of interviews as an ethnographic tool to explore the agency and social formation of Slovene Eurocrats.

The following chapter, "Self-Selection, Serendipity, and Career Histories," centers on the ethnographic analysis of a particular portion of Slovene Eurocrats' life stories: their career trajectories before arriving in Brussels. This analysis is set against the backdrop of existing research on the socialization of Eurocrats into the EU institutions, in particular research focused on the issue of Eurocrats' self-selection (in particular Ban 2009, 2013). Self-selection, which concerns the factors in a person's decision to seek a career as a Eurocrat, is considered an important issue affecting levels

of socialization. In particular, self-selection addresses a set of factors that otherwise are not integrated into studies of integration or socialization. Studies in this vein otherwise accord little agency to Eurocrats and define differences among them primarily in national terms. In an effort to move beyond understandings of integration or socialization in accordance to nationality, this chapter presents and maps out the compilation of the collected career trajectories. An ethnographic discussion of these stories provides the basis for a typology of narratives of mobile career trajectories that identifies three generations of Eurocrats as well as three different career profiles.

The main theme of the chapter titled "Nationalism and the Disaggregation of Identity," is nationality as one of the central categories of the official EU identity discourse. The chapter begins with a discussion of the ways that anthropologists have explored the moralized opposition between the European and the national in EU identity discourse. More specifically, they have examined the various ways that Eurocrats employ nationality as a way to negotiate difference, misunderstandings, and even conflict. These findings serve as a backdrop for a discussion of the ways that Slovene Eurocrats as relative newcomers depict their experiences of national diversity and difference in the EU institution's distinctively multicultural environment. In their narratives, they portray a sensitivity to national difference and an understanding of national stereotypes as important skills to aid in professional relationships. The chapter then turns to analyses of nationality understood as national loyalty or national interest as a means of gauging the level of identification with the nation among Eurocrats. Building upon studies advocating the disaggregation of national governments into numerous networks, as presented by Slaughter (2004), the discussion turns to a critical engagement of the criterion of a single national interest as the basis for nationality as a category of identity. The argument is made for the disaggregation of national interest and with it the disaggregation of a single formulation of nationality in order to better understand the use of nationality among Slovene Eurocrats. The chapter concludes with the introduction of individuality as a relational social practice (Amit and Dyck 2006b) to aid in identifying the range of networks and categories of identity in relation to which Slovene Eurocrats define their sense of identity.

The chapter titled "Professional Mobility as Identity Practice" addresses existing patterns of professional mobility and circulation of Slovene Eurocrats once in the institutions. These patterns serve as the basis for an examination of the links between professional mobility and professional identity. The analytical discussion addresses the forms of professional mobility built into the system of the EU institutions as well as those practices initiated by Slovene Eurocrats that fall outside the EU institutions. More specifically, the analysis demonstrates the particular ways in which existing profiles of Slovene Eurocrats experience EU institutions' standards of professional mobility in terms of circulation and career advancement. Overlaps and disjunctures

between institutional standards and personal expectations of professional mobility operate as productive sites for the construction of identity defined in terms of professional expertise.

The concluding chapter, "Revisiting Integration in a Transnational World," addresses an additional dimension of the mobility of Slovene Eurocrats, that of Eurocrats' patterns of personal mobility after moving to Brussels. In particular, the chapter contains an analysis of different patterns of travel to and from Slovenia. The analysis centers on exploring how these travels are linked to varied practices of dwelling or settling down as well as the building of home bases. This provides a basis for exploring the ways that Slovene Eurocrats assign meaning to their lives in Brussels and position their experiences in Brussels within the broader social landscape of their lives. These practices of placement are not definitive, as Slovene Eurocrats continually reassess and redefine their relationships to Slovenia as well as to Brussels. Existing patterns of mobility and multilocality portray the emergence of varied transnational lifestyles as well as understandings of home. These cannot be reconciled with normative understandings of integration, in which mobility is understood in terms of definitive shifts and home is a stable point. The chapter concludes with a discussion of Slovene Eurocrats' interlocking narratives of mobility and immobility, which aid in mapping out the channels and barriers that inform the contours of their agency as transnational, European actors.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION AND SLOVENIA FROM 1980 TO 2008

JEFFREY DAVID TURK

This chapter provides a historical and institutional overview in order to place the project firmly within the specific context in which the events covered in the interviews took place. I concentrate on the years from 1980 to 2008, which are largely the formative years of the people interviewed in 2008 and 2009. I do this because I consider the interviewees active and creative players in an ongoing global drama. Several important and interconnected changes occurred during this period. First, the Cold War was ending and the political geography was changing rapidly as the aftermath of the fall of the Iron Curtain played out in Europe. Second, the institutions of the European Union were evolving, especially during the Delors years at the European Commission, with emphases on both "deepening" and "widening." Slovenia and the persons interviewed for the project enter during the later stages of these developments. After a more general overview of the events, I go a bit further into the specific case of Slovenia in the post-Yugoslav context. An important part of this is the political relevance of the European Union in Slovenia's process of nation-building. EU accession was one of the key national priorities of the new country, which quickly put into place the government institutions and infrastructure needed for negotiating that accession. Therefore, for this chapter, I focus on the timeline of events in Table 3.1 for the broader historical backdrop to events. In addition to broader historical developments, I also deal with the specific and evolving nature of personnel recruitment to the European institutions, which is how the Slovene Eurocrats interviewed for the project came into the picture.

EVENTS ON THE GLOBAL STAGE: 1980–1991

The global scene in 1980 was still dominated by the Cold War, with one pole, the United States, acting to contain the influence of the other pole, the Soviet Union. The Japanese economy was still growing strongly and its industrial production methods were being taken up globally. However, Japan was not otherwise an international power player, largely deferring its international relations and defense to the United States. In China, Deng Xiaoping was consolidating power as the new paramount

Timeline of Events

Year	World events	EU events	Accession area	Slovenia
1980			Solidarity forms in Poland	Josip Broz Tito dies in Ljubljana
1981	Ronald Reagan years begin; hostages freed in Iran	Greek accession; Thorn succeeds the Jenkins Commission	Martial law in Poland	
1982	Yuri Andropov succeeds Leonid Brezhnev			*Nova revija* founded as an outlet of thought critical to the regime
1983			Lech Wałęsa awarded Nobel Peace Prize	
1984	Konstantin Chernenko succeeds Andropov			
1985	Mikhail Gorbachev succeeds Chernenko	(Jacques) Delors Commission years begin with Objectif 1992		
1986	Glasnost and perestroika; Chernobyl accident	Single European Act signed; Spain and Portugal join EU		Milan Kučan becomes head of the Slovene communists
1987		Single European Act comes into force		Slovenian Spring; manifesto in *Nova revija*
1988	Gorbachev ends Brezhnev doctrine; non-intervention		Strikes in Poland force negotiations	Trial of four Slovene journalists triggers mass protests
1989	George H. W. Bush inaugurated; Soviets quit Afghanistan; Tiananmen Square	Second Delors Commission starts	Fall of the Berlin Wall and communism in much of Europe	Political pluralism and formation of DEMOS
1990	Iraq annexes Kuwait	EBRD established; Schengen agreement signed	Germany reunited	Referendum on independence
1991	Boris Yeltsin becomes President of Russian Republic; USSR dissolves; First Gulf War		Warsaw Pact dissolves; Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia gain independence	Declaration of independence, Ten-Day War; Brioni Accords through the EEC
1992	Jiang Zemin succeeds Deng Xiaoping as paramount leader	Maastricht Treaty establishing the European Union signed	Breakup of Yugoslavia; velvet divorce of Czechoslovakia	Slovenia recognized by EEC states
1993	Bill Clinton years begin	The single market and EU become reality; third Delors Commission starts	Copenhagen criteria defined	Cooperation agreement with the EU

1994	Nelson Mandela elected		Siege of Sarajevo	
1995		Austria, Finland, and Sweden join EU; Schengen Treaty comes into effect; (Jacques) Santer Commission	Srebrenica massacre; Dayton Accords end Bosnian War	
1996				Slovenia applies for EU membership
1997		Treaty of Amsterdam signed	Negotiations begin for EU accession wave	EU approves Slovenia's candidacy
1998				Start of EU accession negotiations with Janez Potočnik heading the Slovenian team
1999	Yeltsin resigns; Vladimir Putin years begin	Treaty of Amsterdam comes into force; euro introduced; Santer Commission resigns; (Romano) Prodi Commission	Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary join NATO; NATO air strikes on Serbia end Kosovo conflict	
2000	Putin formally elected			
2001	George W. Bush years begin; World Trade Center attack, Afghanistan invasion			Putin–Bush summit near Ljubljana
2002		Euro notes and coins begin to circulate	Ten countries ready for EU accession; EPSO established	EU negotiations conclude
2003	Second Iraq War	Treaty of Nice comes into force	EU-led forces replace NATO units in Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina	Positive referendums on the EU and NATO; accession agreement signed
2004	Orange revolution in Ukraine; Hu Jintao succeeds Jiang Zemin	Constitutional treaty signed; (José Manuel) Barosso I Commission	Big bang accessions to the EU and NATO	Slovenian accession to the EU and NATO; Janez Potočnik EU Commissioner
2005		Constitutional treaty rejected by France and the Netherlands; Merkel elected		
2006				
2007	Kyoto protocol comes into force with EU leadership		Bulgaria and Romania join the EU	Adopts euro; enters Schengen
2008	Financial crisis begins			Slovenian Council Presidency

leader after the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, thus beginning his long stewardship of China, which could now recover from the excesses of the Cultural Revolution. The Gang of Four show trial was held in 1981. After the Sino-Soviet split in the 1960s, relations remained strained between China and the Soviet Union for some time. Despite restored diplomatic relations with the United States in 1979, relations continued to suffer, particularly over continuing U.S. support for Taiwan. However, China was largely preoccupied with internal matters at this point and remained limited to a regional power.

Elsewhere, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was founded in 1961 in Belgrade by Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Sukarno of Indonesia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia as a defense against the two Cold War alliances (NATO and the Warsaw Pact) and instrumental in the decolonization process. Most countries of the world, representing the majority of the world's population, were members of the NAM, and it was effectively split over the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Cuba's Fidel Castro, then chairman of the NAM (1979–1983), was among the few members to support the invasion of Afghanistan (a founding member of the NAM) against the protest of most others, and in clear contradiction with the purpose of the NAM. Yugoslavia strongly condemned the invasion. However, Tito, one of the principle driving forces of the NAM and its first secretary-general, died in 1980 in Ljubljana. Although his funeral was the largest in history at that time in terms of world leaders in attendance from both camps of the Cold War and from the non-aligned countries, the NAM continued to lose political relevance as the Cold War waned along with the European colonial period (with some exceptions) with the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980.[3]

During the early 1980s, there was a succession of Soviet leaders: Leonid Brezhnev died in 1982, followed by Yuri Andropov in 1984, then Konstantin Chernenko in 1985, after which Mikhail Gorbachev came to power, initiating the programs of glasnost and perestroika in an attempt to overcome stagnation in the Soviet system. Instead, his efforts precipitated the erosion of the Soviet empire and its influence. The nuclear disaster in Chernobyl in 1986 further magnified the problems of the Soviet system. In 1988, as Polish workers sought to end single-party rule, Gorbachev announced the abandonment of the Brezhnev doctrine, ruling out Soviet intervention in the Warsaw Pact allies. This allowed for democratic elections in Poland and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, precipitating revolutions in the former Soviet satellite

[3] As a side note, by 1986 virtually all of the major European post-colonial powers (Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the UK) were grouped together (along with non-colonial Greece, Ireland, and Luxembourg) in the European Communities (EC). The legacy of the obsolete former French colonial administration of the 1960s found continuity and a new home in the area of European development policy. Much of this legacy would then later become involved in the accession process of the prospective new member states in the post-Berlin Wall period (Ban 2013: 62).

states.[4] Also in 1989, George H. W. Bush was inaugurated as American president, and the Chinese crushed a demonstration on Tiananmen Square, signaling an unwillingness to go the Soviet way. Germany was reunited by 1990. By 1991, Yeltsin became president of the Russian Republic, and Gorbachev dissolved the Soviet Union. The Warsaw Pact was also formally disbanded at a February 1991 meeting of member state representatives in Hungary. Elsewhere, Iraq annexed Kuwait in 1990, precipitating the First Gulf War in 1991.

THE EVOLVING EUROPEAN UNION: 1979–1995

While these changes were taking place on the global stage, western Europe, which had largely been eclipsed after the destruction of the Second World War and the end of colonialism, was gradually uniting within the European Communities.[5] This is very important because these developments in western Europe would become a magnet for the aspirations of the emerging states to the east, and the emerging European Union began to play an increasingly important role in the region.

The institutional setup of the European Communities evolved over time. The European Parliament's first direct elections, which were held in 1979, marked an important milestone in this development. Until then, the European Parliament had been a consultative body of representatives from the national parliaments, but it did have oversight powers over the community budget. It was one of the six principle European institutions at the time, in addition to the Commission of the European Communities (Commission), the Council of the European Communities (Council), the European Council (an informal body established in 1975), and to a lesser extent the European Court of Justice and the European Court of Auditors (the latter was set up in 1975 to improve financial accountability). At that time, the European Communities (EC) comprised the commonly administered but distinct European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM), and the European Economic Community (EEC).

The Commission had been molded into the joint executive body overseeing these three communities. Upon the accession of Greece in 1981, there were fourteen commissioners: one from each of the smaller member states and two each from the larger ones.

The Council of the European Communities had been set up and developed as a means for the member states to exercise control over the activities of the Commission. By then it had already acquired its contemporary function as the key decision-making

[4] Since Yugoslavia was not part of the Warsaw Pact and Soviet sphere, I postpone consideration of its break-up until later in this chapter, where I outline historical developments in Slovenia.

[5] See, for example, Egenhofer et al. (2011) for a brief but more complete history of the European Union.

body. It had a general secretariat and a committee of permanent representatives from the member states (COREPER), which had developed a qualified majority system of decision-making (with the right of veto in the case in extreme cases of national interests). The presidency of the Council rotated among the member states every six months.

Related to but distinct from this body was the European Council, which normally met twice per year and exercised the highest level of authority because it was the highest-level political gathering of the member states. It set out the main goals for the EC and the means for achieving them.

The European Parliament was set up to represent the citizens, who have voted directly for members of the European Parliament (MEPs) since 1979. Before then, its members were selected by the national parliaments. It was slow to develop real power, gradually transforming from mostly a consultative body to acquiring extensive codecision power with the Council by 2009, as the provisions of the Treaty of Lisbon came into force.

In terms of their respective allegiances, the Commission was set up to represent EC interests. It carried out most of the business on behalf of the member states. The Council represented the governments and wielded ultimate power in this institutional arrangement. Its permanent staff assisted in coordinating the negotiations of the representatives of the member states. It also organized periodic European Councils, or gatherings of representatives of the member states at the highest political level for adopting decisions and setting overall goals. Complementing these two, the European Parliament was to represent the citizens directly, enjoying the political legitimacy of the democratically elected MEPs.

With these institutions going into the early 1980s, the member states struggled with high unemployment and slow growth: the height of "Eurosclerosis." At that time, the Council had sole responsibility for appointing members of the Commission, and so France's President François Mitterand and West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl decided on the energetic Jacques Delors to head the new Commission in January 1985 with a mandate to increase dynamism in the European economy through enhanced cooperation. The first main event was the accession of Portugal and Spain in January 1986.

The real challenge of the early years, however, was the signing of the Single European Act (SEA) in 1986. Coming into effect in 1987, the SEA was the first major enhancement to the original 1957 Treaty of Rome. The SEA set out the objective of establishing a single European market by December 1992. This was an enormously significant event for Europe and set the pace for a reinvigorated Europe in terms of the "ever-closer union" called for in the Treaty of Rome. It also codified the European Political Cooperation, which had been loosely established during the 1970s, but now gained a formal basis. Symbolically significant of the times, the European flag of a circle of twelve gold stars on a blue field — earlier used (and still jointly used)

by the Council of Europe, but adopted the European Parliament in 1979 as the flag of the EC — began flying over the Berlaymont, the seat of the Commission, in 1986.

Other significant events of this time were:

- The Schengen Agreement was signed in 1985, eventually resulting in the establishment of a borderless EU area in 1995. Even though Schengen negotiations were carried out at the intergovernmental level outside of Commission competence, the Schengen idea was certainly compatible with internal EU developments at the time. The agreement was later formally incorporated into EU law through the Amsterdam Treaty in 1999.
- The Lomé Conventions III and IV were signed in 1985 in 1989, respectively. They regulated European development assistance to about seventy African, Pacific, and Caribbean countries, mostly in the former colonial areas where there were historical European interests.
- Germany was reunified in 1990, which was effectively the first eastern enlargement of the EU.
- The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development was founded in 1991, specifically for addressing the needs of central and eastern Europe in anticipation of accession of the countries there.
- The hugely important Maastricht Treaty (formally the Treaty on European Union) was signed in 1991 and entered into force in 1993. This formally established the European Union and introduced the European currency.
- The Copenhagen criteria were established at the European Council in Denmark in 1993, defining the economic and democratic standards to be met for future enlargements. While such explicit criteria had never been needed before, they effectively set a formal, relatively straightforward, framework for eventual enlargement.
- The European Economic Area was established in 1994, which allowed non-member states access to the EU internal market.
- The Committee of the Regions was created in 1994 as a consultative body, further broadening the institutional structures of the EU.
- Austria, Finland, and Sweden were ushered into the European Union at an accelerated pace in the fourth enlargement in 1995, which became possible with the end of the Cold War and the associated need for political neutrality.

Thus, after the Delors years, the European Union was steadily becoming an established world player in the post-Cold War areas of Europe and in such issues as international climate negotiations, where the European Union was instrumental in driving forward the Kyoto protocol from its adoption in 1997 to its entry into force in 2005.

This brief historical sketch shows that the European Union was undergoing dramatic changes even before it had to deal with issues of eastern enlargement. Thus there was no fully settled entity that Slovenia and the other aspiring member states

of the time were trying to join. In fact, they were key factors in diverting the impetus from deepening (enhancing cooperation among current member states) to widening (enlargement). Both progressed together at such a pace that a Eurosceptic backlash began to detract from EU-phoria, as perhaps illustrated by the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty by French and Dutch voters in 2005.

It is in this context that I consider the specific Slovene trajectory into the European Union (Mrak, Rojec and Silva-Jauregui 2004; Potočnik et al. 2007) and Slovenia's subsequent Presidency of the Council of the European Union in 2008, which coincided with the period of interview collection.

CONCURRENT EVENTS IN SLOVENIA WITHIN YUGOSLAVIA AND AFTERWARDS

In parallel with the events leading to the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, the then Socialist Republic of Slovenia played a sizeable role in the eventually violent dissolution of Yugoslavia. A critical cultural awakening was also taking shape, typified by *Neue Slowenische Kunst* (New Slovene Art, provocatively named in German), a highly controversial and critical political art collective founded in 1984, which combined artists in the fields of music (*Laibach*, founded in 1980), graphic arts (IRWEN, founded in 1983), and theatre (*Gledališče sester Scipion Nasice*, founded in 1983). A group of critical scholars petitioned the authorities and were granted permission to found *Nova revija* (New Review), a journal critical of the regime, which first appeared in 1982. Its fifty-seventh issue of 1987 contained an influential plea for a sovereign and democratic Slovenia. The group of intellectuals associated with the journal then formed the Slovenian Democratic Union in 1989, which later formed the basis of the broadly supported DEMOS coalition. In addition, the gradual withdrawal of the Slovene political structure from the federal framework led to the Slovene delegation famously walking out of the Fourteenth Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in January 1990.

In preparation for a plebiscite on independence in June 1990, the Assembly of the Slovene Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia already expressed its intention to join the EU in its Statement of Good Intentions (Potočnik et al 2007: 344). Independent Slovenia was formally recognized by the member states of the then European Community between 1991 and 1992. This allowed for formal relations to begin, and Slovenia became eligible for a significant influx of PHARE funds for the transition period (Potočnik et al. 2007: 344). Negotiations on the Europe Agreement with Slovenia (full title: "Europe Agreement Establishing an Association Between the European Communities and their Member States, of the One Part, and the Republic of Slovenia, of the Other Part") began in 1994. The agreement was signed in Luxembourg on 10 June 1996 and entered into force on 26 February 1999. Slovenia formally applied for EU member-

ship on the day the agreement was signed, on 10 June 1996, even before it was ratified by the Slovenian Parliament and well before it entered into force.

A ten-member negotiating team led by Janez Potočnik — until then head of the Institute of Macroeconomic Analysis and Development of the Republic of Slovenia — was appointed by the government on 2 April 1998. The government also set up thirty-one working groups to cover the corresponding thirty-one chapters of *the acquis communautaire* (the accumulated legal regime of the European Union). These working groups comprised mostly officials from the respective ministries competent for the content of the various chapters, with some additional representatives from industry and various civil society organizations. They were tasked with reviewing domestic legislation in order to determine the extent to which it was compatible with the *acquis communautaire* and what was still needed to ensure future compatibility (Kezunovič 2003: 8). Negotiations were further supported by the Government Office for European Affairs (GOEA), headed by Minister without Portfolio responsible for European Affairs Igor Bavčar in close contact with the Prime Minister Janez Drnovšek. Potočnik, a central figure in the negotiations, became the acting director of the GOEA in June 2000 and then minister of European affairs in 2002 — a post he held until Slovenia's accession to the EU in 2004. He has since served two terms as a European commissioner.

Referendums on accession to the EU and NATO were held in 2003, with positive outcomes in both cases. This cleared the way for Slovenia's accession to the EU as one of the ten countries in the 1 May 2004 enlargement.

Upon enlargement, Slovenia rapidly took on the duties of membership, becoming the first of the 2004 accession countries to take on the rotating presidency of the Council of the European Union in the first half of 2008. Interviews with Slovene officials in Brussels commenced just before this crucial period.

In the next sections, I look at the development of personnel selection at the EU institutions as well as typical courses of career advancement. As was apparently common in other countries from the 2004 enlargement, many of the people involved in European affairs in Slovenia during the accession period later pursued careers in the EU.

THE PERSONNEL IN AND AROUND THE EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS

Following the historical and institutional context of the project from the previous section, I now provide a more detailed overview of the development of staffing procedures and career opportunities of the European institutions that were in place at the time of the interviews. I concentrate on the main Brussels-based European institutions and their staff: the Commission, Parliament, European Economic and Social Committee, Committee of the Regions, and the Council. All of these have perma-

nent staff; the MEPs are selected through elections in the member states, whereas the members of two committees are selected by the member states and are not paid through the EU budget. The Council has permanent staff for organization and continuity, but negotiations in the Council are mostly carried out through COREPER, whose members are appointed and paid by the individual member states — also separately from the EU budget. There are also a large number of peripheral people working around the institutions, such as non-government organizations, lobbying groups, law firms, businesses, commercial interest groups, and so on; these people are not part of this study.

By far, the main employer of permanent EU officials is the Commission, with a current (May 2014) staff of 33,039, which includes 6,044 contract staff, 1,022 temporary agents, and 1,296 agents under national law (employed locally, usually short-term, for specific needs) in addition to the permanent staff (European Commission 2014a). Most of these Commission officials (21,511) are based in Brussels. These figures are only slightly changed from the situation at the end of 2012, for which a very detailed breakdown of staffing levels is available for the various European institutions (European Commission 2013). In comparison, the other main institutions are considerably smaller. The European Parliament employs about 6,000 persons, a third of whom work in the language services based in Luxembourg. The General Secretariat of the Council employs around 3,500 persons, including approximately 1,000 employees working in the language services (European Commission 2014b). The Council and the Parliament also engage contract staff and temporary employees, although far fewer of them than the Commission.

The staffing of the European institutions grew dramatically with the number of member states through the enlargements addressed earlier. Table 4.1 gives an indication of the expansion of the budgeted official and temporary staff postings from 1990 to 2013, which nearly doubled because the number of member states increased from twelve to twenty-eight over that period.[6] In addition to those posts established by the Budget Authority, posting of additional staff is envisaged through a system of employment credits. For 2013, these employment credits amount to €545.9 million (equal to 8,878 full-time equivalents; European Commission 2013). These employment credits allow for flexibility in the allocation of staffing in order to meet emerging needs.

Perhaps as important as the current staffing levels is the historical development of staffing of the European institutions against the backdrop provided above.

[6] Note that the Commission figures in the table do not include the staff of the currently six (limited duration) executive agencies: the Executive Agency for Competitiveness and Innovation (EACI) as of 2004, the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) as of 2005, the Executive Agency for Health and Consumers (EAHC) as of 2005, the Trans-European Transport Network Executive Agency (TEN-T EA) as of 2006, the European Research Council Executive Agency (ERCEA) as of 2007, and the Research Executive Agency (REA) as of 2008.

Establishment Plan Posts of the EU Institutions (1990–2013).

	1990	2000	2005	2010	2011	2012	2013
European Commission*	16,193	21,537	23,841	26,179	25,061	25,065	24,944
European Parliament	3,405	412	5,597	6,135	6,537	6,655	6,713
Council of the European Union	2,165	2,659	3,280	3,572	3,173	3,153	3,153
Court of Justice	682	1,010	1,717	1,927	1,954	1,952	2,015
European External Action Service					1,643	1,670	1,670
European Court of Auditors	377	552	777	889	887	887	891
European Economic and Social Committee	494	525	636	710	721	724	734
Committee of the Regions		226	428	506	524	531	537
European Ombudsman		24	51	63	64	66	67
European Data Protection Supervisor			19	39	41	43	45
Total	23,316	30,653	36,446	40,410	41,006	41,159	40,769

Reproduced from European Commission (2013: 9).
*Without the executive agencies

The staffing of the institutions has always been a difficult issue. In the early days, the Commission was envisioned to be a permanent, career civil service, where officials were to be recruited on the basis of competitive examinations, the *concours*, following the French model of recruiting national administrators. This was complemented by an effort to maintain some national balance in staffing. Stevens and Stevens (2001: 72–89) categorized two further approaches to recruitment in addition to the classic competitive approach: the "parachute" approach and the "submarine" approach. In the parachute approach (*parachutage*), the very top officials would be recruited from outside the institutions. This was controversial because it blocked the progression of career officials and opened the recruitment process to external manipulation. In the submarine approach, officials would be hired as temporary staff outside of the normal competitive procedure, and then apply for a permanent posting under a limited internal competition in order to bypass the much more competitive traditional route. This grew to be a significant backdoor practice. Such practices

were targeted at the end of the 1990s with the beginning of the EU negotiations for its great eastward enlargement and the end of the Santer Commission, which was forced to resign in 1999 under a corruption scandal. At this point, dramatic changes were underway that shaped the staffing conditions for incoming staff from the new member states. As Ban (2013: 69) notes: "Those entering from the new member states were not arriving into a static organization, since at the same time as accession the Commission was in the process of implementing a significant administrative reform." The White Paper on Reforming the Commission was released in 2000 (European Commission 2000a) along with a corresponding Action Plan (European Commission 2000b), implemented under the leadership of Commissioner Neil Kinnock. Although the main focus of the so-called Kinnock reforms drew upon the latest trends of new public management in the wake of the Santer corruption scandal, the reforms were also influenced by the impending massive enlargement, which would expand the staff of the institutions by approximately 20%. Because of these issues and in light of the need to absorb an enormous influx of new staff from the imminent eastern enlargements, the Kinnock reforms had wide-ranging effects, including the establishment of the European Personnel Selection Service (EPSO) in 2002. EPSO became functional in 2003, just in time to organize competitions for the large influx of officials from the ten new member states. The reforms also led to drastic changes to staff regulations: a weighty tome regulating staff employment, promotion, and entitlements. In order to make the changes palatable to the older member states, the conditions for new recruits were significantly worsened by making them come in at lower grades than those of their equivalents and reducing pension benefits (Ban 2013: 77). In addition, the reforms did not entirely put an end to the recruitment of staff from outside, bypassing normal career progression and causing bottlenecks for others (Kassim 2013: 70). However, much of this reflected the need to recruit officials from the new member states so that they would be represented at some of the higher levels of the hierarchy. This draws on a longstanding tradition of focused recruitment after previous enlargements to quickly bring in officials from the new countries. For Slovenia and the other member states from the 2004 and later enlargements, this opened a brief window of opportunity to get in for those that were appropriately placed and aware of the opportunities.

Because it was central to the mass recruitment of officials from the new member states, I discuss the newly instituted EPSO in a bit more detail. The EPSO was set up in response to concerns reflected in the Commission's White Paper (European Commission 2000: Section VI.2):

> *Experience and the submissions from the consultation exercise show that the organisation of open competitions and the tests used need to be improved to ensure that the Commission's personnel needs are met and to take account of advances in selection techniques and information technology. In particular,*

consideration will be given to means of improving the logistics of parts of the competitions. The Commission, however, must retain effective control of its recruitment.

Thus, a centralized test center was quickly put into place and staffed in order to prepare for the next enlargement, the date of which had not yet been established, but was known to be imminent. EPSO became functional in 2003 with very little time to prepare for the recruitment of new staff needed upon the 2004 enlargement.

One problem for recruitment was that Article 27 of the Staff Regulations clearly stated: "No posts shall be reserved for nationals of any specific Member State." However, given the need for accelerated recruitment of staff from the new member states, this stipulation was suspended for a period of five years, creating a golden opportunity for those motivated to seek employment at the European institutions under very favorable conditions. The competitions were still difficult, but far less so than otherwise. This window of opportunity closed at the end of 2010 (European Commission 2000: 100). A Commission report issued at the end of this period reviewed the results of this intense recruitment drive. Of the 3,508 targeted recruits from the EU-10 countries, 3,425 permanent officials were recruited along with an additional 579 temporary agents (European Commission 2011: 4). This represented an increase of 16% of the Commission staff. With subsequent staff from Bulgaria and Romania, the Commission staff would increase by some 20%.

The primary method of recruitment was through the EPSO website and the Official Journal of the European Union. In addition, the permanent representatives of the new member states in Brussels were notified of competitions and could choose their own means for disseminating that information at home (Ban 2013: 102–103). This gave certain information advantages to potential recruits, depending on the varied practices of the individual countries.

As concerns the actual testing process, the EPSO scrapped the pen-and-paper test in favor of a computer-based test model, with testing done at testing centers in each of the member states and at a few locations outside (Ban 2013: 74). In addition, in order to avoid the logistical problem of providing and ensuring the integrity of the tests in so many new official languages, a new language regime was introduced. Up until then, the tests could be taken in any of the official languages of the EU, but henceforth the tests were to be taken in English, French, or German. However, the language could not be the mother tongue of the applicant because that would have given an unfair advantage to native speakers. The language regime would not revert to its previous form until 2010, so that now the pre-selection tests can again be taken in any of the twenty-four official languages of the EU. However, fluency in a second language that is one of the working languages the EU must still be demonstrated in order to complete the competition (Ban 2013: 74). Furthermore, despite efforts to streamline the process, the competition – or *concours* – for new staff would take well over a year to complete.

After successful recruitment, the new staff from the 2004 enlargement encountered reformed staff regulations with largely negative implications for the pay grades and career progression of the incoming staff. The Kinnock reforms simplified the previous career structure over the previous model from 1962, which had administrative and professional staff at grade A, technical staff at grade B, secretarial staff at grade C, and a further grade D for drivers and similar staff (Ban 2013: 76–77). This was reduced to the two tracks of AD (administrator) and AST (assistant) staff. Unfortunately for the incoming recruits, new administrative staff began at two pay grade levels beneath their incumbent colleagues doing equivalent work, and AST staff began at a full four pay grades lower. This lowering of pay grade levels effectively rendered them second-class citizens with significantly lower salaries than their colleagues. In addition, an additional four pay grades were added to the career progression ladder from before, increasing the amount of time it takes to reach the higher echelons through regular promotions. Of course, these changes were technically non-discriminatory because they applied to all incoming staff regardless of country of origin; however, the timing of the reforms on 1 January 2004 to coincide with the 2004 enlargement was clearly aimed at staff from the new member states.

Another change introduced with the Kinnock reforms was the formal process of staff evaluation for career advancement. A new model largely based on trends emerging from the field of new public management (NPM) was introduced, according to which staff were to be evaluated annually, with promotions automatically linked to numerical evaluation scores. The reforms were based on the assumption that personnel are more driven by concern for their own financial gain than by a commitment to public service or to organizational goals. These reforms were put into place despite resistance and the poor success record of similar reforms in practice elsewhere (Ban 2013: 87). These reforms have since undergone further periodic revision, reflecting the poor links between performance and ratings, and the evaluations were time-consuming and largely ineffective (Ban 2013: 89). By 2012, there was more or less a return to the pre-Kinnock system as the third revision came into operation (Ban 2013: 91).

An additional issue that coincided with the 2004 enlargement was the persistent gender imbalance among the staff at the European institutions. Indeed, the Kinnock reforms, although not exclusively directed at the new member states, did introduce changes intended to make employment at the institutions more attractive to women through family-friendly policies, such as extensions of paid parental leave and more flexible working times (Ban 2013: 76). This deserves further study because the gender balance of the incoming staff was strongly skewed in favor of women. The Commission reported in 2010 (European Commission 2010: 6) that 67.2% of the new recruits from the EU-10 countries were women, which significantly reduced the prior glaring gender imbalance. However, it also meant that the gender structure also differed

significantly between the older and newer member states. In addition to the fact that the new recruits tended to be younger than their EU-15 counterparts, this meant that the new officials were quite often triple outsiders: distinguished by age, gender, and region (Ban 2013: 198).

In addition to the large number of staff recruited through EPSO, the Commission also makes requests for specific detached national experts (DNAs), who are normally loaned out by the member states. Although it is advantageous for the countries involved to have active channels for sharing experience, as Ban (2013: 102–103) notes, there are some concerns about whether they are losing some of their best people, who frequently encounter resentment and difficulties when they return home.

REFERENCES

Ban, Carolyn

2013 *Management and Culture in an Enlarged European Commission: From Diversity to Unity?* Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Egenhofer, Christian, Sebastian Kurpas, Piotr Maciej Kaczyński and Louise van Schaik

2011 *The Ever-Changing Union: An Introduction to the History, Institutions and Decision-Making Processes of the European Union*, 2nd Revised Edition. Brussels: CEPS.

European Commission

2000a Reforming the Commission, A White Paper – Part I, COM 2000 200 final/2.

2000b Reforming the Commission, A White Paper – Part II, Action Plan, COM 2000 200 final.

2011 *The 2004 Enlargement and Commission Recruitments*. http://ec.europa.eu/commission_2010-2014/sefcovic/documents/eu-10_recruitments_en.pdf (accessed 23 October 2014).

2013 *Human Resources Report of the European Commission – 2013*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. doi: 10.2774/10900.

2014a *Key Figures Card*. http://ec.europa.eu/civil_service/docs/hr_key_figures_en.pdf (accessed 6 May 2014).

2014b *EU administration - staff, languages and location*. http://europa.eu/about-eu/facts-figures/administration/index_en.htm (accessed 6 May 2014).

Kezunovič, Maja (ed.)

2004 *Slovenija in Evropska unija - o pogajanjih in njihovih posledicah* (Slovenia and the European Union – on negotiations and their consequences). Ljubljana: Republic of Slovenia, Government Communication Office. http://www.evropa.gov.si/fileadmin/dokumenti/dokumenti/publikacije/eu/pogajanja.pdf (accessed 21 October 2014).

Mrak, Mojmir, Matija Rojec and Carlos Silva-Jauregui (eds.)
2004 *Slovenia: From Yugoslavia to the European Union*. Washington, DC: World Bank Publications.

Potočnik, Janez, Fedor Černe, Emil Erjavec and Mojmir Mrak
2007 The accession of Slovenia to the EU. in Vassiliou, George (ed.) *The Accession Story: The EU from Fifteen to Twenty-Five Countries*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Stevens, Anne and Handley Stevens
2001 *Brussels Bureaucrats? The Administrative Services of the European Union*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.

Jeffrey David Turk is a physicist and European scholar at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts; he is currently affliated with the Centre for Sociological Research, KU Leuven.

THE ROLE OF MOBILITY IN THE STUDY OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

Slovenia's accession to the European Union represents an important milestone in the country's history. On 1 May 2004, Slovenia became a member of the EU with nine other countries, together comprising the largest expansion of the European Union thus far. This moment was an important landmark for Europe as a continent and for the individual countries that became EU member states. In addition, it is a manifestation of the shifting relations among the countries of Europe and the people that live in them. These shifting relations — often occurring against the backdrop of globalizing trends that are reconfiguring relations worldwide — may be understood as one of a range of processes referred to as European integration or Europeanization.

The terms European integration and Europeanization[7] refer to numerous economic, political, and sociocultural processes unfolding across Europe and beyond. These chapters focus in particular on the sociocultural processes of Europeanization occurring in the EU institutions themselves. The institutions in Brussels are the engine of the European Union: the European Commission, the Council of the European Union, the European Parliament, the Committee of the Regions, and the Economic and Social Committee.[8] Together they are responsible for the EU's day-to-day operation. In addition, these are the institutions that legislate, regulate, and facilitate the project of the EU, which is the integration of Europe. This, broadly speaking, is realized by strengthening the integration of existing member states in numerous ways as well as by expanding the EU, which has been carried out through waves of accession. Each expansion also implies the expansion of the EU institutions themselves because accession also implies incorporating new member states into the daily processes of EU governance. From membership onwards, citizens of new member states acquire the right to apply for positions in the EU institutions, and the institutions themselves must physically expand to facilitate the representation of the new member states.

---

[7] A number of different terms are employed in the literature to refer to different processes of integration or regional globalization. Some of them are EU-based (EU expansion, integration), some have broader dimensions (Europeanization). I employ both and examine the nuances of each term in the course of this chapter.

[8] The EU institutions located in Brussels also includes the European Council, composed of the heads of state or government of the twenty-eight EU member states. The European Council meets at least twice every six months. It is not a legislating institution, so it does not negotiate or adopt EU laws. Instead, it sets the EU's policy agenda, traditionally by adopting conclusions during European Council meetings which identify issues of concern and actions to take.

This ethnographic analysis focuses on the cultural formation, practices, and experiences of Slovenia's first generation of EU officials, or Eurocrats.[9] Slovenia's accession to the EU meant that Slovenes were able to seek employment in EU institutions. Numerous Slovenes underwent the rigorous selection process or *concours* to assume positions as a result of the EU's latest institutional expansion. Those who became Slovene EU officials thus traveled from Ljubljana to Brussels — often with a few stops on the way — to form part of a particular group of social actors who participate in and experience Europeanization on a daily basis. Their experiences and practices can provide a ground-level perspective on a particular facet of Europeanization.

WHY EUROPEANIZATION OR EU INTEGRATION?

Soon after the 2004 enlargement, Slovenia's first generation of EU officials moved from Slovenia to work in Brussels, the heart of the European Union and the location of the EU institutions. In this manner, Slovenia's first Eurocrats joined the numerous mobile actors making their way in an increasingly globalized world. One of the defining features of globalization is the introduction and acceleration of new forms of interconnection on a global scale. In addition, globalization is an analytical mindset with increased attention to the reality and nuance of movement as well as flows of goods, information, and people across borders. The study of actors' cross-border or global travels has involved research on the emergence of new strategies and scales of movement of persons as well as diverse mobile practices. Cultural analysis of these new practices — particularly as they are understood and defined by mobile actors themselves — also involves focusing on understanding mobile agency in a global age.[10]

This study addresses the mobility of Slovene Eurocrats and the link between mobility and identity, which is one of the key issues in research on mobile practices in the global age. Researchers from various fields have studied a range of groups in order to better understand the distinctiveness of travel, circulation, and movement, which together comprise the basis of globalization. Research that focuses on the otherwise understudied forms of skilled, privileged, or white-collar migration covers

[9] The term Eurocrat has diverse connotations in different contexts. Some of my interlocutors also pointed out that it can have certain negative connotations and that they do not identify with it. However, the term has been established in academic discourse to refer to EU officials since Altiero Spinelli (1966) called attention to the need to study them and their activities in order to better understand the operation of the EU institutions.

[10] Selected studies focusing on mobile agency include Amit 2007b; Appadurai 1996; Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc 2004; Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Hannerz 1990, 1996; Miller 2012; Olwig 2002a, 2006; Ong 1999; Rodman 1992; Rolshoven 2007; Stolcke 2008; Tomlinson 1999; Tsing 2005; Vertovec 2009.

a multitude of mobile practices, as is evident in the volume edited by Vered Amit (2007c). Contributors to this volume exemplify this diversity, focusing on globetrotting professionals or consultants (Amit 2007b), retired migrants (Oliver 2007), expatriates (Feichter 2007, Kurotani 2007), traveling cinematographers (Greenhalgh 2007), and young travelers/volunteers (Rodman 2007). Studies in this vein examine existing and emergent forms of professional or leisure mobile practices, often focusing on social actors who often share mobile lifestyles instead of a common point of origin or nationality.[11]

The extensive range and scale of mobilities seems to demonstrate the fact of circulation often identified as one of the calling cards of globalization. However, the challenge to studying such travels and understanding the foundations for their diversity and cultural specificity lies in studying them as grounded cultural practices. For example, Anna Tsing calls attention to the routes that mobile actors help establish and make use of in their travels as a means of grounding mobile practices (2000; see also Clifford 1997). Vered Amit argues for the study of "the specialized structures that accommodate but also canalize the different circumstances, networks and resources engaged in these various forms of travel" (2007a: 11).

One of the ways to ground the mobility of Slovene Eurocrats is to focus on the specific forms of mobility particular to the European context that is constituted to a great extent by the integration project of the European Union. Sociologist Adrian Favell (2008), for example, studied a group of European citizens termed "Eurostars" and their practices of travel, work, and settlement in a set of Europe's cosmopolitan cities — Amsterdam, London, and Brussels — that he termed "Eurocities." His work focused on studying free movement in practice within the European Union, free movement presumably being one of the cornerstones of EU integration (Favell 2001).

Favell's research focuses on mobility on a European scale as a mechanism of EU integration through a study of mobile actors across Europe. Although Eurocrats would also fall into this category, their distinctiveness lies not only in the fact that they work in one of the "Eurocities" but also in the ways that their travels are linked to their place of employment: the EU institutions. The EU institutions form part of a concrete — albeit diversely understood — project of European integration set in motion with the creation of the EU's precursor, the European Coal and Steel Company.

Thus, Slovene Eurocrats' mobile practices are not linked solely to Europe or the EU in general, but also to the EU institutions in particular. For this reason, EU officials operate not only as mobile global actors, but also as European ones. Their particular status as employees of the EU institutions and their positioning — both geographic and professional — distinguishes them from traveling global consultants

[11] Selected literature on professional and leisure mobility and settlement includes: Amit 2007a, 2007c; Bendix and Löfgren 2007; Biao 2007; Brettel 2003; Clifford 1997; Daniel 2007; Fechter 2007; Glick Schiller 1995; Hannerz 2004; Kearney 1986, 1995; Marcus 1995, 1998; Miller 2011; Stirrat 2000.

or Europe-wide mobile professionals. The analytical framing is EU-specific, while not losing sight of the broader globalizing processes that also shape Europe's (or the EU's) present and future.

APPROACHING EUROPE AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AS OBJECTS OF RESEARCH

One of the challenges to understanding Europe and Europeanization is the fact that such processes are defined in multiple ways. The first aspect of this multiplicity is terminological. There are many terms in use that refer to overlapping processes, and each of these terms may have diverse meanings. Generally speaking, Europeanization refers to a broader set of processes concerning the dynamic between Europe and nation-states manifested in numerous forms. EU integration is focused more narrowly, primarily on the changing relationship between the EU and its member states. The different conceptualizations of these terms are defined by relevant actors or institutions, including knowledge communities. Each of these conceptualizations is also based on a particular understanding of Europe itself.

Ethnographically speaking, it is necessary to first map out the central formulations of these interconnected terms as well as the social actors and institutions that define them. European integration encompasses interconnected developments in the political, economic, and cultural spheres. These interconnected developments overlap with four different dimensions of Europe itself: Europe as an object of research, Europe as a supranational organization, Europe as a political project, and Europe as a category of identity. European integration can be either top-down or bottom-up processes, and can refer to inward-facing developments or outward-facing processes that "expand" Europe beyond its boundaries.

Europe and Europeanization as objects of research are constituted through academic discourses, particular the discourse of political science. The dominant role of political science discourse in the interdisciplinary field of EU studies has certain implications for the ways in which Europe and European integration are understood in research practice. Harmsen and Wilson (2000), for example, identify eight different understandings of Europeanization, which aid in mapping out the breadth of the diversity that has been discussed so far:[12]

[12] The list proposed by Harmsen and Wilson is meant to demonstrate the range of diverse meanings accorded to Europeanization in the interdisciplinary field of EU or European studies. However, it does not include all of the meanings that researchers in various fields ascribe to Europeanization, nor does it mention the different methodologies the researchers employ in their studies.

1. Europeanization as the emergence of new forms of European governance is equated with the EU and the formation of distinct structures of governance at the European level.
2. Europeanization as national adaptation, which is focused on the adoption of national institutional structures and policy-making processes in reaction to developments at the European level.
3. Europeanization as policy isomorphism, which is concerned less with legislation per se but with policy content in terms of degrees of convergence in substantive policy areas.
4. Europeanization as a problem and/or opportunity for domestic political management, which refers to the ways that national governments respond to and utilize developments at the European level to shape policy domestically.
5. Europeanization as modernization, which primarily concerns the peripheral countries of Europe or those that are economically less developed.
6. Europeanization as joining Europe's expansion/accession, which is linked primarily to the European Union and to expanding the group of member states.
7. Europeanization as the reconstruction of identities, which, according to Harmsen and Wilson, is a use of the term used almost exclusively in anthropology. Europeanization understood in these terms refers to reconfiguring identities in a manner that relativizes (without necessarily supplanting) national identities.
8. Europeanization as transnationalism and cultural integration, which is one of the more diffuse understandings of Europeanization. It is primarily based on boundaries and cross-border movement and the role of such practices on cultural and political identity.

Given that most of the definitions focus on the EU as a supranational organization and as the engine of Europeanization, it is not surprising that Europeanization is associated primarily with macro-level, top-down processes. Even the seventh definition presumes to a certain degree that identity politics (be they cultural or political) are local or national responses to events, practices, and processes taking place at the European level. The eighth definition refers to particular practices that result from shifts in borders within and between countries enacted from above. It is necessary to understand the EU and EU integration processes at the macro level and to recognize the contributions of research in this vein to furthering knowledge on Europeanization. However, remaining at the macro level does not enable researchers to shed light on all dimensions of Europeanization, as these processes involve numerous actors at multiple levels.

Another important point to be highlighted in this context concerns the fact that Europeanization can be couched in strong normative terms. Among such constructions, one can find models that are openly characterized as quasi-utopian in the context of Europeanization. For example, EUtopia operates as an analytical concept in political science referring to a particular form of EU foreign policy. Nicolaïdis and

Howse (2002) were among the first to call attention to the normative nature of EU foreign policy, identifying it as EUtopia because this policy projects its model of integration beyond the boundaries of the EU instead of focusing on the EU in its current form. Proponents of this foreign policy of projection consider regional integration to be central to the EU's identity, a model with universal validity worthy of promotion beyond its borders. In political science circles, EUtopia is also referred to as "normative power Europe" (Diez 2005; Manners 2008).

The normative dimension of Europeanization is also the subject of research in studies of Europeanization defined as the construction of European identity, which is normally defined in terms of a desired redefinition of the links among local, national, and supranational modes of belonging. In their study of European identity, Checkel and Katzenstein (2009) distinguish between European identity understood as a process and as a project. Identifying these different dimensions makes it possible to distinguish between the processual and normative, and even teleological, dimensions of European identity discourses and practices. Such a distinction provides the foundation for analyzing the use of normative formulations in social practice.

Anthropological studies of Europeanization, which are discussed below, focus on Europeanization as a varied, often contested, set of social processes, all of which are defined, articulated, and maintained by numerous institutional and social actors. Defining Europeanization in this manner informs the way anthropologists examine normative or teleological Europeanization practices both as a process and as a project. This involves linking normative Europeanization discourses and projects to the everyday practices through which social actors strive to realize, articulate, or even subvert them.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON EUROPEANIZATION

Borneman and Fowler defined Europeanization as a process that is "fundamentally reorganizing territoriality and peoplehood, the two principles of group identification that have shaped modern European order" (1997: 487). They contextualize Europeanization as an object of research within the history of the anthropology of Europe, which they define not as "a stable autonomous object but one that exists in historical relations and fields of power" (1997: 487). Europeanization in this framework, or the construction of Europe, has been strongly affected by both internal and external factors. The central internal factor is recognized as the European Union. However, Borneman and Fowler also look to certain external globalizing trends that distinguish Europeanization from other Europe-building projects, be they economic, political, or social:

> *Given recent innovations in the speed and means of communication and the globalization of local systems of production and exchange, the intensity*

> *and scale at which interests are organized and institutions formed are of a different order that at other historical moments, creating new possibilities of identification within and about Europe.* (Borneman and Fowler 1997: 489)

The distinctive feature of anthropological research on Europeanization lies in part in the way that anthropologists conceptualize Europeanization in terms of sites and actors. Europeanization does not occur solely as a top-down process set in motion by institutional actors at the national and European levels. Instead, they introduce social actors into Europeanization processes, arguing the importance of their actions in shaping these processes. One can categorize existing anthropological research on Europeanization as occurring at three different types of sites. Studies address ground-level interactions between the European and the national across European countries, Europeanization as it occurs at boundaries, and Europeanization processes at the center of Europe or the EU.[13]

The first site for anthropological research on Europeanization processes is the interaction between the EU and rural local communities, which have long been the domain of anthropologists of Europe (Boissevain 1975). Ethnographic studies of this kind have the longest history in anthropology. However, categorizing research in this vein as documenting the effects of European Union policies on the ground would be simplistic despite the fact that the overall perspective of such work is from a bottom-up perspective. The danger here would be to reduce research of this kind as analyses of effects of Europeanization instead of being the site of Europeanization in practice.[14] Although anthropologists' traditional focus has been on local communities, they have expanded their focus to include other sites at which the EU is engaged at the local context, including urban centers (Smith 1993) and bureaucracies (Herzfeld 1992).

A second site at which anthropologists have studied Europeanization processes is that of borders. Borders are sites for the production, constitution, and practice of identity as people negotiate the boundaries and relationships at multiple levels (Goddard, Llobera, and Shore 1994a; Holmes 2000, 2009; Mandel 1994, Stolcke 1995). Research in this vein also includes work on nationalism and transnationalism (O'Dowd and Wilson 1996) as well as immigration (Stanton 1994). Here Europeanization is understood in terms of the strategies that European citizens employ to make sense of shifting boundaries.

The EU institutions as the center of EU power represent the third site for ethnographic research on Europeanization. Studies centered on this particular site are conducted in Brussels, Strasbourg, or Luxembourg, focusing on the network of in-

[13] Additional analyses of the state of the field of the anthropology of Europe/European integration include Bellier and Wilson 2000b; Demoissier 2011; Goddard, Llobera, and Shore 1994b; Wilson 1993.

[14] Bellier and Wilson 2000; Fikfak and Vivod 2009; Giordano 1987; Jaffe 1993; Shutes 1993; Wilson and Smith 1993.

stitutions and agencies that together comprise the political, bureaucratic, and often symbolic center of the European Union. It is not surprising that anthropologists have focused on the EU institutions and the distinctive understandings of Europe that EU officials espouse. The majority of these analyses have focused on the EU institutions as a particular postnational space, as a veritable European melting pot. To this end, anthropologists have conducted ethnographic research in the European Parliament (Abélès 1993; Bale and Taggart 2006; Busby 2013; Holmes 2000), the European Commission (Abélès, Bellier, and McDonald 1993; Shore 2000), the EU Council (Thedvall 2006), and other EU agencies (Zabusky 1995, 2000). They have focused on the actors and politics by which the EU institutions have worked to create a European identity in different contexts among Eurocrats themselves as well as a broader political EU-wide project (Shore 2000).[15]

Studies in this vein have contributed to opening the black box of the EU institutions and recontextualizing the "center" of the EU that exerts institutional change from the top down. To this end, researchers have strived to portray the EU institutions in analytical instead of normative terms. While not going so far as to argue that there exists one single EU administrative or institutional culture, researchers have identified the distinctive discourses, processes, and practices that EU officials negotiate on a daily basis.

Numerous ethnographers have shed light on diverse dimensions of Europeanization taking place in the EU institutions. Maryon McDonald (1996), for example, portrays how the construction of Europe as a historical project serves as a discourse of identity in the EU institutions. This historical project is based on what she terms a moral European historiography that lays claim to numerous features considered to form part of Europe's legacy, including Christianity, democracy, citizens' rights, and the rule of law. This moral historiograpy operates as a normative backdrop for EU activities past, present, and future.

Marc Abélès, on the other hand, examines how integration as a normative ideal shapes understandings of Europeanization among EU officials. Europe is portrayed as a normative project, a reality-in-the-making that is understood but never attained. Abélès argues that Eurocrats are forward-looking and rarely look back or question past activities. They focus primarily on the politics or technique of achieving Europe instead the purpose of their activities or the vision of Europe they work to achieve.

In her research, Irène Bellier explores the Europeanization of identity politics for EU officials, exploring the ways in which Eurocrats negotiate between "European being" and "national being" (Bellier 2000b). In doing so, she argues against the concept of a common culture within the institutions as well as an essentialist opposition

[15] Relatively few anthropologists have focused on Eurocrats of a particular nationality that are not national Eurocrats. An example of research conducted on Eurocrats from new member state is that of Polish Eurocrats in Rozanska 2011.

between the national and the European. Instead, she highlights significant criteria of distinction among EU officials while pointing to certain practices, such as the continual development of EU jargon as a mixed and hybrid language, which serve as a potential markers of unity.

Other anthropologists have focused on the Europeanization of the distinction between the European and the national as a social practice among different groups of Eurocrats. For example, Renite Thedvall's (2006) research centers on so-called national Eurocrats, civil servants from member states' government administrations working with the EU institutions. Her study focuses on the professional practices of Swedish civil servants working daily with the EU institutions. Another significant group of EU officials includes those who work in the EU agencies. For example, Stacia Zabusky (2000) carried out a study on those employed at the European Space Agency, analyzing the development of particular understandings of identity and national difference.

Cris Shore's work focuses on yet another aspect of Europeanization by examining the cultural policies of the EU focuses on the construction of pan-European identity and the promotion of processes of Europeanization from the institutional center of the EU outwards. His ethnography of the evolving cultural policy of EU — drafted primarily by the European Commission — portrays the ways in which Eurocrats at the Commission developed cultural policies aimed at promoting a European identity (Shore 2000, 2004). These activities were set in motion against the backdrop of a particular vision of a Europe that would be culturally united in order to support the EU's project of an increasingly integrated Europe.

The research that has been discussed above demonstrates the extent to which Europeanization is considered the result of the critical engagements and social practices of a range of social actors across the European landscape. In this manner, anthropologists have contributed to expanding knowledge about Europeanization. Their studies demonstrate that Europeanization is multiply defined and enacted — be it at Europe's center in Brussels, on its borders, or at numerous sites in between. Furthermore, research on Eurocrats' experiences of Europeanization within the EU institutions has centered on the role of integration as a normative ideal that informs understandings of identity. In addition, researchers have examined Eurocrats' continual negotiations between national and European modes of belonging. This study, which builds on the research discussed above, examines how Slovene Eurocrats' mobile practices help identify the ways that they engage existing normative ideals of Europeanization that in turn inform their specific Europeanization experiences.

ASSESSING INTEGRATION

This study of Slovene Eurocrats contributes to the existing tradition of anthropological research on the EU institutions while focusing on a group that until now has not been fully researched: new Eurocrats. There has been significant research conducted on the identity politics of established Eurocrats and the categories in terms of which they negotiate and articulate their identity on a daily basis. However, focusing on the newest wave of Eurocrats implies examining processes of Europeanization linked to the changes in the EU institutions that accompany each wave of enlargement. In addition, this research does not address integration as it is experienced and practiced by established Eurocrats at the center, but by new Eurocrats who embark on this process from the margins, as it were. Established Eurocrats and new Eurocrats assume different roles in the integration dynamic.

From an anthropological point of view, integration is a complex phenomenon to study because it exemplifies a number of the distinctive characteristics of the globalized world. I have dealt with the issue of integration elsewhere in detail (Bajuk Senčar and Turk 2011). In addition to the complexity of integration as a social phenomenon, integration is an epistemological challenge for the researcher because integration discourses are numerous and socially powerful, and they often have a teleological narrative structure. Researching integration as an anthropological object of study, however, entails focusing on integration as a social process and as a discourse — as a process resulting from the actions of numerous social actors and groups.

Integration does not necessarily refer to a neutral process but instead to an agonistic or contested one. The parties involved may strive to realize different or even conflicting interests, agendas, and priorities during the integration process. However, these interests, agendas, and priorities are considered so common sense that they become depoliticized or even elided in the processes that comprise integration. It is therefore necessary to identify and maintain a critical distance from existing integration agendas while also engaging them in order to identify the ways in which interested parties make use of them. Such an approach provides the analytical room necessary to study the existing range of activities and understandings of integration as well as the exercise of power involved in maintaining hegemonic depictions of integration as being neutral and self-evident processes. Such an approach prevents integration research from shifting away from the social reality of integration processes to only an image of integration, albeit a politically or academically powerful one. Failure to do so can result in either the negation of agency or the presumption of essentialism, or both.

In the case of the negation of agency, integration becomes a universal, one-size-fits-all process that does not adequately address the cultural differences or the diverse social and professional formations of social actors. In the case of the EU

institutions, this is a significant issue, given that the professional environment is explicitly multicultural. Integration in the EU institutions entails the socialization of officials from numerous member states. The EU institutions' formation of new employees into Eurocrats includes offering compulsory training for work in the multicultural environment that is the identifying feature of the staff of the EU institutions. Evaluating the integration of Eurocrats only in terms of the degree to which they "adapt" to institutional norms of multiculturalism implies leaving no room for Eurocrats' possibly divergent criteria for integration. Engaging integration solely from the point of view of the EU institutions reduces understandings of Europeanization by shifting analytical attention away from cultural differences despite the formal inclusion of multiculturalism in integration discourse. How does one account for cultural differences among social actors joining the EU institutional network?

The second analytical danger — that of cultural essentialism — can result from the reduction of Europeanization to simply a definitive movement from one culture to another: a shift of allegiances. Investigations in anthropology and across the social sciences documented and analyzed the heterogeneity of administrative cultures across EU institutions. This documented heterogeneity seems to be often elided into theories of integration or socialization. In such cases, existing heterogeneity is subsumed into a presumed, common EU culture whose shared values and code of conduct are to be internalized by its members. Gerard Delanty (2000) refers to a similar presupposition in what he terms the "myth of cultural cohesion" — that cultural cohesion is a prerequisite to social integration — common in integration theories. According to Delanty, the prevalence of cultural cohesion in theories of supranational integration is based on particular conceptualizations of the nation-state and on essentialist views of culture, both of which can lead to a shift in focus from the specificity of integration processes on the ground to only an image of integration itself. In the case of the EU institutions, this means that socialization is equated with integration into a presumed common administrative culture whose shared values and code of conduct are to be internalized by its new and established members. In addition, this can also result in the essentialization of the nationality of Eurocrats themselves.

MOBILIZING INTEGRATION AND THE USE OF LIFE HISTORIES

The challenge to studying Slovene Eurocrats lay in developing a method to explore all dimensions of their European experiences while not being limited by a hegemonic, top-down understandings of integration. It soon became apparent that comprehending how Slovenes make a space for themselves within EU institutions requires not

limiting one's focus to the activities and experiences that occur within the physical limits of the EU institutions themselves. To paraphrase Arjun Appadurai (1996), implementing such an approach would imply incarcerating or limiting them in time and space and failing to map out the breadth of the geographic and social context that they may invoke in their identity constructions and practices. The goal of this research was to develop a way to map out and explore the agency of Slovenes in order to explore the ways in which Slovene Eurocrats constructed a sense of self through practice and narrative.

Abdelmayak Sayad problematized the concept of integration given its polysemic nature as well as the varied meanings it has been accorded over time. He considered integration to be in essence a process "that consists, ideally, in moving from the most radical alterity to the most total identity" (Sayad 2004: 216). For him, the discourse on integration is a "discourse on identity /.../ on the unequal balance of power in which those identities are involved /.../ which is not a discourse of truth, but a discourse designed to produce a *truth-effect*. In this domain, social science still wavers between science and myth" (2004: 217). The concept of integration is thus not only an analytical concept (discourse of truth) but also a normative one (discourse of truth-effect). In order to move beyond the analytical limits of integration discourse due to its normativity, Sayad suggests adapting the concept of integration in order to allow for a more dynamic interplay between alterity and identity. This involves extending the process of integration to include not only social actors' experiences in their current place of residence, but also their significant experiences from home as well as their experiences of travel or mobility. In essence, Sayad argues that integration begins at home:

> *The analysis of integration therefore calls into question the migratory process in its entirety — in other words, the immigrant's whole trajectory and not only what happens when it has been completed. And from that point of view, we can say that integration begins when emigration begins, or even before that act, which is no more than a manifestation of the integration of the world market in waged labour of individuals who, willingly or not, had until then lived on the margins and in ignorance of that market and the whole economic system of which it is a part.* (Sayad 2004: 222)

Despite the fact that Sayad is discussing integration primarily through the lens of migration and migration studies, the point that he makes is quite relevant for the case of Slovene Eurocrats. The integration of all Eurocrats (except Belgian ones) into the EU institutions can be said to involve their emigration or at the very least a significant amount of travel. One can sidestep the danger of analytical incarceration by extending the process of integration temporally and spatially by incorporating mobility into studies of integration.

Collecting the life histories of Slovene Eurocrats allows one to map out their history of their movements — academic, professional, and leisure-based. These travels

and destinations allow one to trace the contours of the social landscape they map out and in which they operate. In addition, these life histories or European stories not only depict life trajectories, but are also structured in terms of narrated reflections on significant experiences in terms of which they make cultural sense of their past, present, and future (Marcus 1995).

The following chapters depict how mobility and history were incorporated into this study of integration by collecting and analytically following the life stories of Slovene Eurocrats. Their testimonies and narratives are the first Slovene experiences in the EU institutions and are thus valuable in their own right as well as an indispensable resource for understanding European integration. They also provide the ethnographic materials necessary for identifying the key sites that structure this analytical discussion of their accounts about being and becoming Eurocrats.

THE BRUSSELS BUBBLE AND THE MAPPING OF LIFE STORIES

Sitting at a table in Luxembourg Square (*Place du Luxembourg*), one can watch the bustle of activity that makes this square one of the liveliest in all of Brussels. Cafes and bars line the boundaries of this large square, and their tables spill out onto the sidewalks, particularly at the first sign of sunny weather in a city notorious for its gray drizzle. From these tables, one can appreciate the extent to which this square is a nexus for people coming from all over the city. Numerous buses go by in different directions, the noise of their passing an inevitable backdrop that marks the passing of time. Taxis wait patiently in line for their customers. People hurry by, going in different directions; some of them have come from the nearby train station that also links the square directly to train lines leading out of the city, linking Brussels to the rest of Europe.

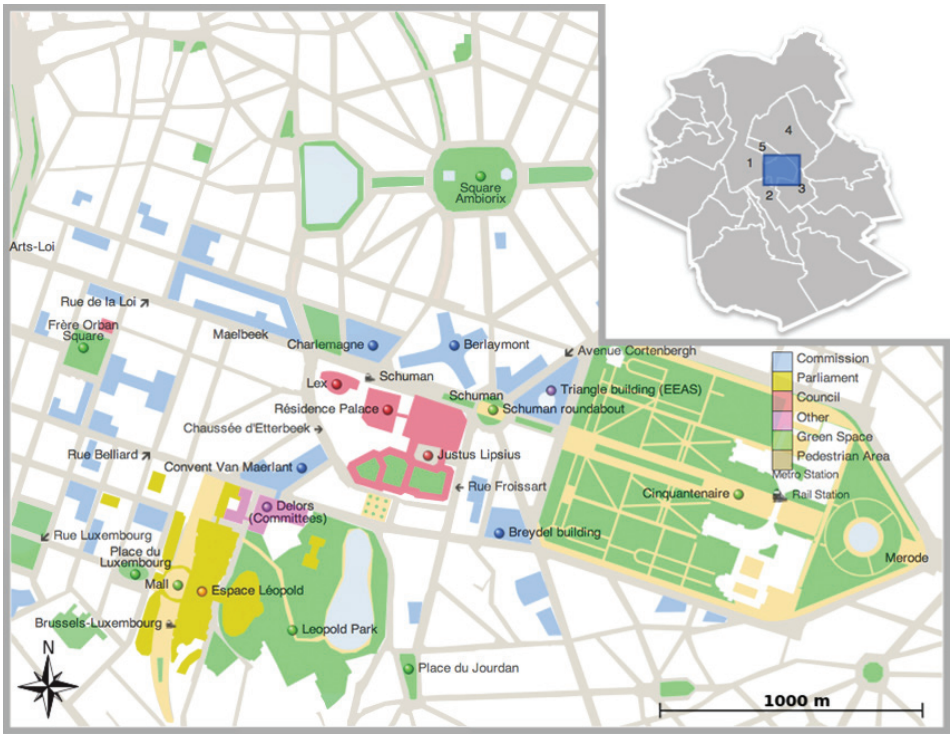
In addition to being a significant urban nexus and meeting place, Luxembourg Square is an important social landmark for a group of people that help make Belgium's capital the center of the European Union: European officials, or Eurocrats. Luxembourg Square faces the grand buildings of the European Parliament, one of the major institutions of the EU and also the workplace for a number of the Slovene Eurocrats that I met during my stay in Brussels. On the other end of the square is the end of Luxembourg Street (*Rue du Luxembourg*), a relatively short street along which one can find a number of European Commission buildings. The square itself is important because it is one of the central meeting places for countless Eurocrats, from EU interns making their way in what is for them a new world to experienced officials meeting colleagues for lunch or a beer after work. Luxembourg Square is a key point on the map of the so-called European Quarter, the unofficial name of the area in Brussels corresponding to the approximate triangle between Brussels Park (*Parc de Bruxelles*), Fiftieth Anniversary Park (*Parc du Cinquantenaire*), and Leopold Park (*Parc Léopold*). In the European Quarter, one can find the European Parliament, the majority of the European Commission and EU Council buildings, as well as the buildings of the Committee of the Regions and the European Economic and Social Committee.

Another key site in the European Quarter is the Schuman Circle (*Rond-point Schuman*). Coming up the stairs of the Schuman subway stop, one is quickly surrounded by the bustle and energy of what is for many the center of the European Quarter. On the circle one finds the imposing Berlaymont and Justus Lipsius buildings of the European Commission and the Council of the European Union, respec-

tively. The Schuman Circle is not a leisurely meeting place like Luxembourg Square, where one can get together after work, but it is an important hub. Numerous EU-related organizations and agencies — think tanks, lobbyists, NGOs, and embassies — are also located near the Schuman Circle. It is also the site at which the main streets of the European Quarter intersect. Along Law Street (*Rue de la Loi*), which runs from Brussels' inner ring to Fiftieth Anniversary Park, one finds a number of European Commission buildings, just as in the case of Luxembourg Street. From 2006 onwards, Slovenia's Permanent Representation to the European Union has been located on Commerce Street (*Rue du Commerce*), off Law Street. Archimedes Street (*Rue Archimède*) runs from the Schuman Circle to Ambiorix Square (*Square Ambiorix*), a popular residential area for Eurocrats. Froissart Street (*Rue Froissart*) runs through to Jourdan Square (*Place Jourdan*), a popular area for Eurocrats with many cafes and restaurants. The Slovenian House (*Slovenska hiša*) restaurant, a Slovene restaurant and popular meeting place for Brussels Slovenes, was located on this square for a time.[16]

I met with Slovene Eurocrats across the European Quarter, in their offices, at their homes, and in cafes and restaurants. Slovene Eurocrats represent a special group among the Slovenes living in Belgium, and at the most general level they are characterized by their daily work with or in the EU institutions. Slovenes have been able to apply for employment in the EU institutions as permanent EU officials or *fonctionnaires* since the date of accession, 1 May 2004. Some worked as contractual agents in the year or so before that. Thus, Slovene Eurocrats comprise a heterogeneous group working across the existing EU institutions based in Brussels: the European Commission, the Council of the European Union, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of the Regions. Slovenes also work in the EU institutions either as short-term, contract agents or as detached national experts, who are persons working within the EU institutions but financed by their own governments. Finally, Slovenes in Brussels are also employed at the Slovenian Permanent Representation to the European Union and stationed in Brussels as national Eurocrats. National Eurocrats are civil servants of EU member states who work on EU affairs either in member state capitals, traveling between the capital and the EU institutions, or stationed in Brussels. Slovenia has had a permanent representation to the EU since it became an EU member state. The permanent representation is the institutional successor to the Mission of the Republic of Slovenia to the EU, through which Slovenia followed developments and represented its interests vis a vis the European Union from November 1992 until 2004.

[16] The remaining EU institutions include the European Central Bank, the Court of Justice of the European Union, and the Court of Auditors, all of which are not located in Brussels and are not addressed in this ethnographic study. I did, however, interview EU officials from two other EU institutions located in Brussels: the Committee of the Regions and the Economic and Social Committee.



Map of the European Quarter in Brussels (http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/4/4c/European_Quarter_2.svg/1700px-European_Quarter_2.svg.png)

The European Quarter is not only a particular geographical area of Brussels, but also a social space often referred to as the EU bubble. In Brussels, the term is often used by Eurocrats themselves to describe the distinctiveness of life in the EU Quarter. The bubble also refers to a social space inhabited by transnational actors. The concept of the bubble serves as a counterpoint to the paradigm of global flows and mobility that are often used to depict the distinctiveness of globally mobile, particularly elite, actors. Meike Fechter (2007), for example, discussed the concept of the bubble when researching the lives of expatriates who invoked bubble metaphors when talking about their lives. Fechter argued that the concept of the bubble could also be used to address the social barriers that global actors encountered during the course of their travels. Fechter's analysis of the bubble concept is informed in part by sociologist Adrian Favell's research on privileged European mobile actors or Eurostars. In his analysis, Favell demonstrates the extent to which mobile actors' lives are in fact structured by boundaries instead of solely by flows. For Fechter, the bubble implies "a suspended, self-contained world with its own microclimate" (Fechter 2007: 47).

ANALYZING THE BRUSSELS BUBBLE

The concept of the EU bubble in Brussels is quite present in talk about the EU. There is even a short internet mini-series about it titled *Eurobubble*. Eurobubble started off as a blog about the EU institutions and was then transformed into a series of very popular short episodes about particular aspects of life in this distinctive world of the EU institutions. Episodes are narrated from the point of view of a team of young EU professionals from various member states. The series deals with a number of themes, both work-related and non-work-related: meetings, conferences, job searchers, interns (stagiaires), wardrobe, nightlife, and sports. Upon accessing the Eurobubble website, one reads the title: "Who said we live in Brussels?", thus evoking the social distance between the bubble and the rest of Brussels.[17]

The EU bubble, Eurobubble, or Brussels bubble have been adopted as analytical concepts among numerous EU specialists in diverse ways. Stone Sweet, Sandholz, and Fligstein (2001) were among the first to call for the development of an approach to studying the EU institutions in terms of a social field. As Georgakakis (2011) has noted, a systematic analysis of the EU institutions as constitutive elements of the Brussels bubble is a significant challenge given the historical dominance of institutionalist scholars in EU studies. In addition, there is the danger that the bubble concept may result either in an exoticization of the EU institutions or in the introduction of social and political distance between the EU institutions and remaining EU actors. Another concern is linked to the inconsistencies among diverse formulations of the Brussels bubble in use that are in turn employed to refer to different sorts of spaces or as spaces of different dimensions. In addition, researchers have called attention to the use of the Brussels bubble concept to equate the EU institutions with an inaccessible and unexplored black box (Busby 2013). Despite these and other concerns, numerous researchers have argued for the study of the Brussels bubble in terms of a bureaucratic field; work in this vein is inspired by the sociology of Bourdieu and aims at completing a sociology of the people working in the EU institutions as well as of EU processes of operation (Busby 2013; Georgakakis and Rowell 2013).

Anthropological fieldwork is traditionally carried out in small, bounded locales that are amenable to participant observation. Fieldwork is a research methodology that requires the researcher to spend extended periods of time with informants, participating in and observing a range of their daily activities. A number of researchers have carried out such localized research within the EU bubble or within the EU institutions themselves, thus contributing to the understanding of the EU institutions as a cultural space (including Abélès 1992, 2004; Abélès, Bellier, and McDonald 1993; Bellier 1995, 2000; Busby 2013; McDonald 1997; Shore 2000; Zabusky 1995,

[17] The episodes of the Eurobubble series can be found at the following website: https://sites.google.com/site/eurobubble/.

2000). Such localized research has enabled anthropologists to gain insights into the everyday cultural practices of EU officials. Their studies of Eurocrats' localized daily life demonstrate the necessity of grounded ethnographic research and the analytical significance of exploring practices of Eurocrats as social actors. It is thus unrealistic to research the experiences of Slovene Eurocrats without taking into account the EU bubble in which they live their daily lives and construct their social worlds as EU officials.

The vast majority of anthropological studies conducted in the EU institutions before the 2004 enlargement focused on shedding light on the cultural distinctiveness of the EU institutions and EU officials. The question of enlargement was marginal to the central focus of such research and was addressed insofar as it affected the identity practices of established EU officials and their narratives of identity (McDonald 1997). This is not surprising given that the aim of the studies conducted was to shed light on the everyday operation of the EU institutions localized within the boundaries of the EU institutions and the Brussels bubble.

However, research focused on a group of new Eurocrats implies a shift in focus onto integration and onto exploring the operation of the EU institutions from the point of view of relative newcomers. Given the emphasis on mobilizing integration, the significance of groundedness linked primarily to locality must be analytically reassessed. This does not however mean that the EU bubble as a social phenomenon is analytically insignificant. All who have lived in Brussels for a significant period of time – including myself – can attest to its cultural significance. The EU bubble thus can refer to the European Quarter as part of Brussel's urban landscape. It may also be understood as a physical manifestation of a social group whose profession operates as a marker of social distinction.

Eurocrats are marked as socially distinct from the remaining residents of Brussels in numerous ways. One of the best-recognized markers is Eurocrats' relatively high salary. The argument that Eurocrats' high salaries have raised real estate prices for the rest of the residents is something one hears so often that it has virtually become urban common sense in Brussels. Other markers of distinction include tax breaks for Eurocrats and even special license plates for their cars. However, some of the Eurocrats that I met decided not to get them so as to not stand out among their neighbors. There is also a system of European schools in Brussels intended primarily for children of those working in the EU institutions. Researchers have also called attention to the emergence of so-called professional Eurocrat families, in which numerous members of an individual family work in the same agency (Georgakakis 2008), sometimes across generations. One of my informants, who had previously worked in an EU agency in a different EU member state, described how EU bubbles can also form around EU agencies located elsewhere in Europe. In some cases, these bubbles can be very pronounced, as agencies are built in geographically discrete locations.

Aerial View of the European Quarter in Brussels (Quartier_européen_Bruxelles_2011-06.JPG: Zinneke derivative work: Ssolbergj (talk) - CC BY-SA 3.0)

All the markers of distinction that shape the contours of life in the EU bubble for Eurocrats point to its significance as a site for field research and as an object of analysis. However, it is important to ask whether studies of Eurocrats' integration practices should be limited to the EU bubble. Integration is a complex phenomenon to study because integration is inherently associated with exchange, flux, and the transgression of boundaries — all attributes that do not characterize the study of bounded locales. In the case of new Eurocrats now working in Brussels, integration also involves recent practices of migration and travel. Thus, exploring integration as culturally grounded practices implies addressing phenomena that transcend the boundaries of the bubble.

Renita Thedvall provides an example of research on the EU institutions that transcends the boundaries of the bubble. Her study centered on the role of national Eurocrats assigned as representatives of the Swedish government with the European Commission. This particular group of national Eurocrats was not stationed in Brussels or back in Sweden; instead, they regularly traveled to Brussels to carry out their duties as national Eurocrats. Thedvall's group of national Eurocrats assumed a structurally ambivalent role, literally traveling from one place to another, working both "at home" and "in Brussels" (Thedvall 2006).

The structurally ambivalent role of these social actors meant that research in Brussels or in Sweden would not allow her to study the daily practices of her nomadic national Eurocrats. Ethnographically examining the practices of these actors required incorporating their travels between their home base and EU meeting rooms in Brussels, which fundamentally structured their work and their experience. Thedvall expanded her fieldwork beyond the EU bubble to conduct fieldwork in both national ministries and the Commission. Her focus on their travels is a keystone of her study, and she coined the term "pendulum movements" to refer to the mobility of national Eurocrats as well as their shifting sense of identity (Thedvall 2007).

Thedvall's field of research thus encompassed sites in Sweden and in Brussels, thereby expanding from a single-sited ethnography located within the EU bubble to a multi-sited ethnography, a concept first coined by George Marcus (1995). He argued for the use of the multi-sited ethnography in response to debates concerning the effectiveness of long-standing ethnographic methods in light of the shift in anthropology to the study of the complex phenomena that shape the contemporary age. In particular, Marcus advocated the use of multi-sited ethnographies to address processes or phenomena that could not be localized at one particular site or that transcend the local-global opposition.

Douglas Holmes' research on integralism (2000) is an example of multi-sited ethnography in the anthropology of Europe. Holmes' research stems back to fieldwork he conducted in the Friuli region in northwestern Italy during the 1980s. He employed the term integralism to refer to a particular practice of everyday life and a framework of meaning through which Friulians critically engaged the modern world through a commitment to traditional cultural forms. His multi-sited ethnography centered on studying different manifestations of integralism across Europe, particularly those that took the form of political movements based on alternative, potentially volatile, visions of society cast against the backdrop of European integration (Holmes 2000: 4–5). To this end, his work links ethnographic research conducted in northern Italy, Strasbourg, Brussels, and London.

The key to effectively implementing the multi-sited approach lies in identifying the key sites at which a researcher will ethnographically examine a chosen research issue. George Marcus argues that multi-sited ethnographies may be structured with

the aid of numerous strategies. These strategies are based on the possible criteria that researchers should explore that may link processes taking place at diverse field sites. These strategies include: follow the people; follow the thing; follow the metaphor, story, or allegory; follow the conflict; and follow the life or biography. This last strategy entails prioritizing the biography or life history of social actors in order to define the social and geographical boundaries of one's field research. Marcus builds the use of biographies or life stories as an ethnographic field strategy on the research of Michael M.J. Fischer and Mehdi Abedi (Fischer 1991, Fischer and Abedi 1990). In such a context, life stories may serve as a

> *guide to the delineation of ethnographic space within systems shaped by categorical distinctions that may make these spaces otherwise invisible. These spaces /.../ are shaped by unexpected or novel associations among sites and social contexts suggested by life history accounts.* (Marcus 1998: 94)

The strategies that Marcus identifies provide the criteria for structuring multi-sited ethnographies and help adapt field research to the nature of the object of research. For example, Holmes structured his multi-sited ethnography in accordance with the formulation of the concept of integration at various locales. Thedvall focused on Swedish national Eurocrats, whose field of operation inherently transcends the limits of the EU bubble. She employed their movements to define the dimensions of her field of research beyond the EU institutions.

The field of research for the study of Slovene Eurocrats is also structured in terms of mobility. The particular forms of mobility chosen to shed light on Slovene Eurocrats' cultural practices of integration define the field of research. The Slovene Eurocrats that are at the center of this study are by definition stationed in Brussels. This distinguishes them from Thedvall's national Eurocrats, whose regular travels that Thedvalls characterizes as pendulum movements are a manifestation of the specific tasks they carry out as a particular group of national Eurocrats. The mobility patterns of each group are contingent on their position and role in the EU institutions.

In addition, the question of Slovene Eurocrats' integration practices that are at the center of this study determines the range of mobility that this research addresses as well as the strategy used to examine them. The focus on the link between mobility and identity that shapes this study's approach to integration provides the means for fleshing out the role of Slovene Eurocrats, which would not be possible if the study were reduced to their practices and experiences within the EU bubble. A focus on Slovene Eurocrats' mobility and identity includes, for example, examining their professional paths to Brussels. This makes it possible to expand the focus of research to consider the cultural significance of Eurocrats' social and professional formation in their integration practices and experiences. In addition, it implies incorporating significant past experiences as a site beyond the EU bubble.

The collection and analysis of life stories and career trajectories are key ethnographic tools for exploring integration. Collecting life histories encourages narrators to relate a variety of identity constructions as they recount the different stages of their lives. Ideally, this would involve narrators placing their experiences in the EU institutions in the context of their life experiences in a manner that makes cultural sense to them. Life histories of this kind can provide researchers with not only a cultural account of a social actor's life, but also the cultural logic in accordance with which Slovene Eurocrats define themselves as Slovenes, as professionals, and as Eurocrats across different social contexts. Life histories can thus provide a crucial counterpoint to observing Slovene Eurocrats in action solely within the physical boundaries of the institutions themselves. In addition, they can provide important insights into the range of factors that inform their sense of identity, their sense of identification with their workplace, as well as their sense of integration. Analyzing these strategies of identification and the factors that underlie them provide the base criteria outlining the dynamics of integration as grounded experience.

Thus, life stories represent an important ethnographic tool for mapping out the field of integration for Slovene Eurocrats. This field centers on the Brussels bubble as the social space in which Eurocrats conduct their daily lives, given that their practices, experiences, and interactions within the confines of the Brussels bubble comprise a central aspect of their daily lives. However, their life stories can aid researchers in identifying the criteria and cultural logic in terms of which they make sense of their daily lives.

Collecting life stories did not imply expanding the study to conduct research at sites beyond the EU bubble. It did however involve mapping out life experiences chronologically, geographically, socially, and discursively — thus identifying mobility patterns defined through narrative and practice as well as the sites that such patterns link together. This mapping provided the basis for an ethnographic exploration of the ways in which mobile practices as an intrinsic part of Slovene Eurocrats' identity informed their experiences in the EU institutions.

COLLECTING LIFE STORIES AS AN ETHNOGRAPHIC EVENT[18]

The collection of life stories was carried out by conducting predominantly unstructured interviews inspired by the BNIM methodology[19] in order to encourage interlocutors to define their life story in their own terms. I began by contacting Eurocrats I knew as well as friends or acquaintances who could help me get in touch with potential interlocutors. In addition, I employed a version of the snowball method, asking interlocutors to suggest names of persons for further interviews. Interviewees included Slovenes from all of the Brussels-based EU institutions, of diverse ages, seniority, gender, and status. As the project progressed, many came to know about the study and offered to tell their story and their experiences. I was not previously acquainted with the majority of the persons I interviewed. The interviews themselves were quite unstructured in order to allow interviewees the freedom to tell their stories on their own terms. The time and location of the interviews were left up to the interviewee, which resulted in the majority of the interviews being held at work and during working hours: that is, within the Brussels bubble itself.

An interview is often an intervention into the daily life of an informant. It may be a smaller intervention if it takes the form of an informal conversation that arises from interactions during the period of participant observation. The fact that an interview is an intervention into daily life does not necessarily have negative undertones. It does, however, mean that it is not a routine daily practice. It is instead an interaction between two social actors, each their own agenda and expectations. Thus, it is important to be able to analyze the interview as an event both from the point of view of the analyst as well as the observer. Although it may not be a routine event, it does however follow a certain structure. Analysis of this event is based on the fact that the interviewer and informant may interpret the event — its location, structure, and purpose — in different terms.

For example, an important element of the interview as an event was the role of language in marking the distinctiveness of the interview from the rest of everyday

[18] In the following section I discuss the collection of life stories within the scope of this project. I wish to thank my colleague Jeffrey Turk, with whom I developed the interview format for this study and with whom I discussed and analyzed my interview experiences. The analysis of the biographies of Slovene Eurocrats is a continuation of research into the use of life stories as a qualitative research tool at the Institute of Slovenian Ethnology at ZRC SAZU. Research in this vein includes a recent study of the development of Slovene socialist entrepreneurship based on the collection and analysis of the life stories of select Slovene managers under socialism (Bajuk Senčar 2008; Fikfak and Prinčič 2008; Turk 2008).

[19] The acronym BNIM stands for biographic-narrative interpretive method, a method for collecting and analyzing life histories developed by Tom Wengraf and Prue Chamberlain. I must stress here that the method for conducting interviews was inspired by the BNIM method. However, given the number of interviews, the fine-grained BNIM method for analyzing interviews was not the most effective method for this particular project. For more information on the BNIM method see Wengraf 2009.

life within the EU institutions. As mentioned earlier, the majority of the Slovenes interviewed worked in the European Commission, the EU Council, and the European Parliament. Many were assigned to work in sectors in which they were possibly the only Slovene. This is not surprising given the number of persons employed in the EU institutions in Brussels across the institutions. Slovenes are accustomed to being the only Slovene in a sector, maybe even in an entire Commission Directorate-General. One interviewee joked that he was one of three Slovenes on the same floor. This was such a rarity that people began to make jokes about how the large number of Slovenes on the floor made them nervous.

This dispersal of Slovenes across the EU institutions affects daily linguistic practice for Slovenes. Many explained that they do not speak Slovene throughout the day, the only exceptions being members of the translation units and those manning a "Slovenia" desk for work in conjunction with members of Slovenia's civil service. Outside of these cases, interlocutors explained that the most common languages in which they worked were either French or English. Some mentioned that they speak up to four different languages during the course of the day. The choice of language depended on the interlocutors and the language that they had in common.

Interviews and all other communication were exclusively in Slovene, which, except in the case of translators, marked the interview as something outside the normal course of the workday. One interviewee remarked how relaxing it was to speak in Slovene as opposed to another language because then it was not necessary to "think" all the time. In Slovene they did not have to worry about inadvertently saying something that they did not mean, which was a concern when they spoke a language that was not their native tongue. An informant joked that when he offended or insulted someone in Slovene, at least he was doing so intentionally!

Speaking in other languages was one of the topics that many Slovene Eurocrats brought up when talking about working in a multicultural environment because it demands a certain kind of proficiency as well as diplomacy. At work, most EU officials speak languages that are not their native language. In addition, their foreign language proficiency varies widely, which results occasionally in meaning not translating well across languages. However, speaking in foreign languages is a necessity regardless of one's proficiency and requires a certain flexibility on the part of speakers.

For me as an interviewer, Slovene was, among other things, the language of field research and interactions with informants — formal or informal. For Slovene Eurocrats, Slovene was also the language in terms of which they could invoke social relationships both in terms of connection as well as difference. At the most general level, Slovene as a language operated as an important marker of identity in a multicultural context such as Brussels, as is the case of communities of Slovenes living abroad all over the world. Speaking to someone in Slovene in such contexts can im-

ply recognizing or invoking a connection or shared identity. However, there were also ways in which interviewed Slovenes defined or expressed social relationships through language. For example, one point in common that I shared with them was that we were (at the time) all living in Brussels. During interviews, they invoked this connection in numerous ways. For example, they prefaced or ended certain passages in their story with phrases such as "you know how it is" when referring to certain idiosyncrasies about life in Brussels that do not require going into detail for those living there. Certain things would not require the sort of explanation necessary if they were relating the same narrative to, say, a Slovene not living in Brussels.

In addition, the fact that these interviews were carried out for research on Slovenes and funded by a Slovene research institution informed how Slovene Eurocrats as interviewees defined their audience when relating their life story and their experiences. There were moments when they would employ a cultural shorthand understood by those living daily in the same environment. However, it was also apparent in certain passages that they were also engaging a broader — often Slovene — audience, be they Slovenes working in the national administration or a broader Slovene public. Their own experiences provided the basis for certain arguments and commentaries they made within their interview. During such moments, they did not act as subjects of their life stories, but as speakers striving to engage a broad audience.

THE CHALLENGES OF BIOGRAPHICAL INTERVIEWS

The discussion thus far has centered on the potential of biographical interviews and life stories as ethnographic tools. However, it is also important to identify the challenges to using them in field research or analysis as well as to finding ways to resolve these challenges as they arise. There are certainly numerous issues to be addressed in order to properly gauge their effectiveness. One of the issues concerns what Pierre Bourdieu defined as the "biographical illusion" — a concept that he developed to discuss what he considered to be the drawbacks or difficulties in using biographies for research. In his essay "The Biographical Illusion," Bourdieu argued that "to produce a life history or consider life as a history, that is, as a coherent narrative of a significant and directed sequence of events, is perhaps to conform to a rhetorical illusion" (Bourdieu 2004: 300). In this manner, Bourdieu addressed the issue of the narrative structure of the biography and the role that the biography as a particular rhetorical form has in structuring the life of a biographical subject. According to Bourdieu, the biography as a rhetorical form accords a particular sort of agency to the subject of a biography, which could be interpreted as a power over one's life path that conforms to the narrative structure of the biography as a life story. This sort of agency is seen

as a rhetorical formula that is also present in autobiographies, with the subjects of autobiographies also playing the role of storytellers, according themselves a certain level of agency as storytellers as well as biographical subjects.

In this light, it is important to identify the forms of agency accorded to an interlocutor as a narrator, as the subject of a biography, and as a social actor. It is also important to examine the ways that these forms of agency are interconnected. One way to prevent the danger of the biographical illusion and the conflation of these three different forms of agency is to situate a life story socially — in looking at it as the story of a social actor embedded in the world instead of approaching the life story solely on its own terms. According to Reed Danahay, who has conducted extensive research on biographies and the constructions of individuality and identity in rural France,

> *lives needed to be understood in the contexts of the social and physical spaces in which they were situated, and that to ignore such spaces was tantamount to a description of a subway route that did not take into account the different stations that were part of the network structure.* (Reed Danahay 2006: 132)

Research on Slovene Eurocrats involved mapping out the fifty collected life stories both socially and geographically. Having a relatively large number facilitates both reading the stories on their own terms as well as within the context of the stories and experiences of other Slovene Eurocrats. Analyzing individual life stories against the backdrop of the remaining collected stories provided an important first step to distinguishing between the personal, the distinctive, and the emergent social among the first generation of Slovene Eurocrats. This tension between what is social and what is personal is at the center of a number of the following chapters, albeit in different ways.

At another level, properly framing these individual life stories involves not only reading them in conjunction with the remaining collective stories. It also implies searching for links between life stories and broader political, economic, and cultural processes, be they local, regional, national, or transnational. These processes should not be understood as operating as neutral contexts or frames for individual lives, nor does their incorporation into the analysis of life stories imply a simple attention to scale. The links between the individual and the social should also involve exploring the agency of individuals by identifying the ways in which individuals as social actors interpret broader processes as well as act on them.

The following chapters map out the European field that Slovene Eurocrats outline through their actions, their movements, and the networks of persons and institutions that they mention through the course of their lives. In addition, I discuss how they interpret broader political and economic and historical processes. In particular, I will examine how they define the circumstances that facilitated the travel of certain people to the EU institutions.

SELF-SELECTION, SERENDIPITY, AND CAREER HISTORIES

As discussed in chapter one, anthropological research on the EU institutions has focused on the institutions as a postnational space, which is in turn defined by the historical project of the building of Europe (McDonald 1996) with which the EU identifies so strongly. Anthropologists have focused on the ways that these understandings shape everyday interactions (Abélès 2004) in the EU institutions as well as the categories in terms of which Eurocrats articulate their identity. In particular, research on the identity of Eurocrats has focused on the ways that Eurocrats define integration into the EU institutions in terms of an opposition between the national and the European (Bellier 2000b). Europeanization in this context refers to the extent to which EU officials succeed in committing to broader, supranational European values and setting aside "narrow" national interests.

This chapter counterposes the formulations of identity that structure understandings of Europeanization with the categories of identity that Slovene Eurocrats employ when narrating their own experiences in the course of their life stories. Focusing on their accounts facilitates shifting attention to the terms that they themselves employ to articulate the experiences and practices of integration. In addition, examining their life stories makes it possible to incorporate other segments of their lives that inform their sense of identity that otherwise are not a subject of integration analyses. This chapter focuses on the segment of Slovene Eurocrats' life stories in which they depict how and why they came to Brussels: their career trajectories.

EU studies researchers from various fields have addressed the potential of EU officials' career trajectories for shedding light on the socialization of EU officials into the EU institutions. Socialization is defined as a "process of inducting actors into the norms and rules of a given community" (Checkel 2005). Socialization understood in these terms presumes the existence of an organization actively "socializing" new members, who are internalizing a preexisting set of common norms and rules. In addition, all members are presumably equally willing and able to be socialized. However, such a formulation of the socialization process can have drawbacks because it presumes a single set of common norms and rules on the one hand as well as a uniform community on the other. The fact that the EU institutions comprise a network of institutional bodies with different roles, jurisdictions, bureaucratic structures, and forms of operation makes it difficult to argue for a uniform community bound by a single set of common norms and rules. In addition, there is the issue of the mul-

ticulturalism that is integral to the EU institutions' work environment. Socialization understood in these terms leaves little analytical room for addressing differences among employees and the possible role that differences play in levels of socialization.

However, recent studies address such concerns by identifying and analyzing how certain factors of difference among new members affect their socialization into the EU institutions. For example, Suvarierol, Busuioc and Groenleer in their recent analysis have focused on differences among EU officials in terms of their employment status and their positions in various EU institutions and agencies. They have found that employment status heavily influences levels of socialization, which is defined in terms of the degree of identification with the norm of "working for Europe" understood as "serving the overarching interests of Europe above and beyond particular national or professional interests" (Suvarierol et al. 2013). Although employment is a significant factor informing identity as socialization, differences in employment status are defined by the institutions themselves. Other research in this vein focuses on diversity among officials, emphasizing their varied backgrounds and experiences as well as their embeddedness in numerous networks (Beyers 2005; Bigo 2011; Egeberg 2004; Georgakakis and Weisbein 2005). This variety is considered to inform the different levels and manifestations of socialization among EU officials.

More importantly, recent research on what is termed self-selection argues that actions of potential Eurocrats before employment play an important role in their subsequent socialization. This line of inquiry expands the process of socialization to include a period before entry into the institutions (Ashford et al. 2007). Carolyn Ban, who has focused on the socialization of new Eurocrats from the 2004 enlargement, identifies three stages of socialization: self-selection, entrance, and initial post-entry socialization. Self-selection refers to prior education and experience on the part of potential Eurocrats that presumably informs their decision to work in the EU institutions (Ban 2009: 5). The phase of self-selection thus addresses the role of a person's previous academic and professional formation as a factor that shapes people's reasons for applying, their expectations upon entry into the institutions, and their employment experiences.

As Carolyn Ban has pointed out, socialization research has focused primarily on individuals external to the EU institutions and on established, senior EU officials who have been working in the EU institutions for many years. The expansion of the EU in 2004 was also an ideal opportunity to follow and analyze the processes by way of which officials from new member states were "socialized" into the EU institutions (Ban 2009, 2013). Much of the work on socialization had until then been focused on long-time Eurocrats.

The issue of self-selection in the case of officials from new EU member states has an added dimension due to the fact that they comprise the first generation of officials from these states. There are no established patterns of profile formation for

those who decide to apply to work in the EU institutions; there are no networks in terms of previous generations of EU officials. There have only been a few institutional programs to encourage and train persons thinking of a career in the EU institutions. Given this state of affairs, who imagines a career in Brussels and why?

Most research on self-selection in the wake of the 2004 enlargement was conducted on a broad sample of new Eurocrats from many new member states. In contrast, the analysis below focuses on a relatively large number of career trajectories of Eurocrats from a single member state. A comparison of the collected life stories can thus provide a foundation for identifying common trajectories as well as important common field sites and networks. An important additional dimension to the study of career trajectories involves not only gleaning certain information from interlocutors' CVs, but also studying the significance and structure of career trajectories as a dimension of narrated life stories. Such an approach is meant to analytically accord agency to officials as social actors while also providing a context for individual stories and their narrators.

GENERATIONS AND PROFILES

This becomes even more pertinent in the context of the first generation of Slovene Eurocrats, who, as mentioned earlier, did not have the benefit of the established networks, institutions and role models that facilitate self-selection. Being members of the first generation of Eurocrats from the 2004 EU enlargement also meant that they also had few narrative models at their disposal when telling their stories. In relating their life stories, narrators faced the issue of defining their own agency when relating their life stories and of course their success in attaining a job in the EU institutions. Their stories range from being structured in terms of pure coincidence or that of fashioning a self-made man or woman. The narrators depict themselves either as individuals at the mercy of outside forces or chance, as people who achieve success by forging their own particular path, or a combination of both.

Each person interviewed talked about how he or she got to Brussels. Their European stories contained experiences, factors, and events with which they compiled the story's narrative backbone. In some cases, they presented their decision to come to Brussels as a "logical" step given driving professional interests or experiences, such as in the case of PM:

> *PM: My path to Brussels was a logical result of sorts, of my education. I always wished, already during my studies in Ljubljana at the Faculty of Law, to pursue European law further, and during my last year at the Faculty of Law I applied to study abroad through the Socrates-Erasmus student exchange*

program. That's where I first studied this subject in depth and also experienced life away from home, away from Slovenia. This was a very interesting experience; it lasted four months, during which I learned a great deal in terms of my education and also about people from other countries. From that point onwards, I was sure that I wanted to earn a master's degree abroad. I wanted to earn a master's in European law and I applied to the College of Europe in Bruges and Cambridge. I was accepted at both, and I decided to go to Bruges. When I was already at Bruges, I found out that in fact for many people Bruges is a sort of preparation or path to employment in the EU institutions, which wasn't my primary goal at that time. Until then, I hadn't had any special wish to go work in Brussels, and at that time, I would have thought this was too far away. Well, regardless of this, the first call for the concours *for people from the new member states was published at the end of my year of study. People began to apply in droves, and in the context of this general euphoria, without any special — how do I say this — decision made in advance, I decided to sign up to take the* concours*; basically the application took two minutes.*

The narrator casts his professional trajectory in terms of a long-term interest in European law that he pursued first at the University of Ljubljana's Faculty of Law, and then abroad. As one of the key events of his life, he points to the significance of his first and second periods of study abroad. The first, he explains, was as a singular learning experience that inspired him to continue his education abroad at the master's level. A second turning point in this European story, which the interlocutor frames as a coincidence, is that he pursued his academic interest in European law at one of the academic institutions known for preparing people for careers in the EU institutions: the College of Europe. The College of Europe figures quite prominently in the career trajectories of Slovene Eurocrats, for it is one of the central institutions for the formation of EU-based careers. Until he went to study at the College of Europe, working in the EU institutions had not been a career objective for him because he considered them to be "too far away." A third moment that the narrator identifies is linked to his tenure at the College of Europe, which coincided with the year that the first *concours* was held for prospective EU officials from new member states. Due to what he terms "the general euphoria" at the College of Europe, PM decided to sign up for the *concours* alongside his classmates, throwing his hat into the ring, as it were. His presence in Bruges during the period of "euphoria" before the EU expansion, when work in the EU institutions was considered a logical career option, encouraged him to consider it as a possibility for himself as well.

PM frames his European story in terms of a driving interest in European law pursued at the undergraduate and graduate levels; in addition, he points to important factors that can aid in identifying significant similarities and differences among Slovene Eurocrats' stories. While recognizing the agency and decisions made by each

individual, the life stories of Slovene Eurocrats as social actors unfolded against the backdrop of Slovenia's own accession to the EU. Slovenia's accession had its own particular timeline and geography, which in turn informed the shifting landscape and set of opportunities available to social actors at given moments in time. The same holds true for particular sites — be they state institutions, academic institutions, or otherwise. Upon positioning the timelines of individual social actors against the backdrop of Slovenia's accession to the EU, it became clear that classifying the heterogenous group of Slovene Eurocrats as one generation in accordance to their date of employment was not effective. Instead, when analyzing all the collected career trajectories, I distinguished three generations of Slovene Eurocrats according to the time period when their career paths unfolded. In addition, key sites provide the basis for defining three different basic career profiles.

Why generations? The current Slovene Eurocrats had different possibilities open to them at three different periods in time, which in turn informed the particular paths that they took to employment in the EU institutions. I defined these three generations as follows: pre-accession Eurocrats, accession Eurocrats, and post-accession Eurocrats. The pre-accession generation includes those Slovenes who began their EU career trajectories soon after Slovenia's independence in 1991 but before Slovenia began the accession process. The accession generation includes those whose career paths overlapped with Slovenia's process of accession to the European Union. Members of both generations have accession experiences; the distinction between the two concerns the position from which Eurocrats from different groups experienced this process. The post-accession generation includes those whose career beginnings coincided with the tail end of the Slovenia's accession process and membership in the European Union.

At the time of the interviews, people from all three groups were working in the institutions — albeit in different institutions, units, positions, and pay grades. These generations may overlap to varying degrees. However, one can distinguish among them on the basis of the range of options available to members of each generation, particularly at the onset of their careers. Their reactions to these differences also helped define the career options they had at their disposal at given moments in time.

An example of the significance of generations as markers of distinction lies in the role that a common experience would have in the career trajectories of people from different generations. Career trajectories were often composed of similar elements. However, these elements may have occurred in a different order, for different reasons, and may be accorded a different significance. An example of this is study abroad. Almost all of our interlocutors studied abroad at one point or another in their lives, and study abroad was often the first step in a transnational career. Such was the case of PM, who described the student exchange program as an experience that cemented his desire to specialize in European law, which in turn brought him to the

EU institutions. However, Slovene Eurocrats could interpret the significance of their study abroad in different ways. For example, one interviewee from the pre-accession generation explained that she had first become interested EU affairs as an economics student. However, in the early 1990s, when she was completing her university education, there was no such specialization available at the University of Ljubljana's Faculty of Economics, which she attended. Only the Faculty of Law had an almost complete program by then, albeit a graduate program in European law. The lack of an opportunity to specialize in the economic aspects of EU affairs was one of the main reasons BT decided to continue her education abroad:

> *BT: I'd written my undergraduate thesis on EU accession; this was an international economics issue... I had a basic knowledge of EU affairs. However, the EU wasn't studied in detail then at the Faculty of Economics. Programs of this kind were only in the early stages at other faculties such as the Faculty of Law... So I decided to study abroad, and that is how I wound up going to Bruges, in Belgium, for my master's degree.*

At the other end of the spectrum is a colleague from the post-accession group whose decision to study abroad was linked to the situation on the job market when she graduated. The job market was not very welcoming for economics students who had recently earned their undergraduate degree:

> *PT: My decision to continue my education was very pragmatic. There were too many people graduating each year from the Faculty of Economics, and those who didn't have a job when they finished were leaving to study abroad. The Faculty of Economics established a new master's program for this reason. You know how it is in Slovenia: the system of higher education became liberalized, and, as a result, the faculty produced eight hundred graduates a year. Competition on the job market was fierce, and the only way to stand out was to have a master's degree.*

PT describes her decision to study abroad as a response to a competitive job market situation as well as a strategy for distinguishing oneself among an overabundance of economics graduates resulting from changes to the Slovenian educational system. PT's decision to specialize in European studies while abroad was not cast primarily in terms of an interest in a specific field, but instead in terms of the lack of prospects among economics graduates at a particular moment in time.

In addition to three generations, I identified three dominant career profile types among Slovene Eurocrats: civil service, specialist/academic, and international. These career profiles refer to three possible dimensions of a person's career trajectory that could be understood as central to his or her life story. Some of the life stories collected have all three elements, but there is often one element with which a person identifies most strongly and provides the driving logic behind a person's life story. Thus, these profiles not only refer to an objectively predominant feature of a person's career trajectory, but are also linked to particular forms of professional identity.

Those who correspond to the civil service profile primarily define themselves in terms of the European experiences and expertise they acquired working in the Slovenian civil service, either during Slovenia's accession to the EU or Slovenia's EU presidency during the first half of 2008. Those who fit the specialist/academic profile define themselves as specialists who acquired their expertise in European affairs or in another profession. The final profile category, loosely classified as international, includes professionals who have not necessarily acquired specifically European expertise or experience but whose careers are decidedly international, either in terms of experience or content. These are people who decided to pursue a career outside Slovenia in various possible fields and whose previous international experience made them potential candidates for the EU institutions.

THE PRE-ACCESSION GENERATION

While the majority of Slovene Eurocrats began working at the EU institutions in entry-level positions, there are some whose European career trajectories are decidedly longer. They narrate European stories that begin around or even before Slovenian independence; as a group, they are the most diverse. Not many of the pre-accession generation fit a purely specialist profile because the EU institutions were not considered a career option during their university years. For example, the following narrator, who was the earliest graduate from the College of Europe among those interviewed, explains how he made the decision to pursue a master's degree in Bruges:

> *AB: My story in Brussels or my life story to Brussels ... I'd say that at the start ... It was a coincidence that when I was finishing my studies at the Faculty of Law, I was walking down the hallway in front of the Department of International Public Law, where there was a poster from 1988 about scholarships for the College of Europe in Bruges. Well, I applied for the scholarship without really hoping to succeed. In the end, it all worked out after two rounds of tests and interviews. Once I even had to go to Belgrade, to the Delegation of the European Commission in Yugoslavia. Then I received this invitation to go to Bruges, to attend the College of Europe. This turn of events was crucial for me.*

As can be surmised from the narrative passage above, AB embarked on a specialization in EU affairs when Slovenia was still a Yugoslav republic. Such a specialization did not have the same implications as it had soon after Slovenia's independence in 1991. At that time, as the location of the poster implied, EU law was considered to be a specialization within international public law. It was only after independence that Brussels took on a new meaning for Slovenia and Slovene professionals. In 1992, Slovenia requested to enter a European agreement and asked for support in restructuring and consolidating the Slovenian economy. The

Agreement on Cooperation with the EU was signed in 1993, with the Association Agreement marking the beginning of negotiations signed in 1996. In the case of AB, his degree marked the beginning of a career in EU affairs when he returned to Slovenia, and his specialization placed him in an ideal position at the onset of the accession process.

Slovenia's nation-building and transition processes overlapped considerably with its efforts to join the European Union, which was considered to be not only a political priority, but also an economic one. This was also apparent in the ways in which national ministries were restructured after independence. Numerous ministries established units for European affairs. The most significant among these was the unit for European affairs at Slovenia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which in turn established a mission to the European Union in late 1992 to represent Slovenia's official interests in Brussels. The unit for European affairs represented the starting point for numerous Slovene Eurocrats with mid- to high-level positions in the EU institutions. For many, this unit was the first professional position in an EU-focused career, although EU affairs may not have been the primary focus of their studies:

> *AT: So I began at the ministry of foreign affairs in 1993. I had a bachelor's degree in economics, I began working on European issues in the European affairs sector. Those were somewhat different times, probably the normal path for an economist would have been in the business sector, at some company, or in a bank. Yet that's how those times were for Slovenia, with the economic transition. Many of my colleagues got jobs in financial institutions or they went to the privatization agency. I'd say that I'm not a traditional economist. Of course economics interested me, but everything that was linked to foreign affairs also interested me a great deal. And, after an interview at the ministry, they told me that they considered me an appropriate candidate for EU affairs.*

As AT narrates above, his decision as an economics major to go into more international waters was not popular among his peers, given that Slovenia was then implementing the central reforms of its transition process. His career path did not fall within the current norm. He instead found his niche in the ministry of foreign affairs, which was then the central government body linked to EU affairs. This unit served as a channel to Brussels as well as a source of knowledge and experience for civil servants learning to deal with the EU from Ljubljana.

The ministry of foreign affairs in particular and the national administration in general were not the only channels to Brussels. Another Slovene organization active in Brussels before the accession process was the Slovenian Business and Research Association or SBRA (*Slovensko gospodarsko in raziskovalno združenje*). The SBRA was established in 1999 as a non-profit association representing the interests of numerous businesses, research organization, and local communities. Members of the association including a number of cities and municipalities, universities, research

institutes, leading companies in diverse fields, as well as the Chamber of Craft and Small Business. One of the interlocutors worked at the SBRA in its first years:

TU: I've been here in Brussels since 2000. My first job in Brussels was at the Slovenian Business and Research Association as an economic consultant. The association was established in 1999, I was working in the state administration then, at the Ministry of ----, where much of what we were doing then was directly linked to preparations for EU membership in terms of structures and policies. At that time, I already had some experiences with the EU from the perspective of an observer. On the other hand, I had just completed my master's thesis on EU accession and its effects on the ---- industry. Those at the association were looking for someone who knew something about these issues... In that context I was chosen for the job, and I worked there for two, three years. Basically we monitored developments in Brussels for association members. At that time we had quite a diverse set of members. We monitored the entire accession process led by the government and informed our members in Slovenia from our point of view in Brussels.

TU's career trajectory contains many of the elements common to other EU officials: an advanced degree, experience in the Slovenian state administration, and especially for this generation, work abroad in Brussels. However, in TU's case, his experience in Brussels involved not only representing the interests of the state, but also the interests of numerous other Slovene organizations. He narrates the significance of the SBRA for him professionally, explaining that it provided him with insights into the workings of the EU institutions as well as into the background and history of EU issues and legislative acts. The SBRA is a site in Brussels where he acquired EU-based knowledge and experience from a non-state perspective.

However, not everyone who belongs to the pre-accession generation worked solely within the framework of EU affairs. For certain members of the pre-accession generation, the EU institutions as a career option arose later in their career. They describe going to Brussels as an unexpected turn in their career trajectories. Some switched specializations mid-way through their careers, while others had over the course of their careers become experts in fields that were important to the EU institutions. A significant specialization was language-based, as in the case of translators and interpreters. They were among the first to join the numerous language services across the institutions, some of them also in middle-management positions:

BU: My decision to go to Brussels was pretty random, not planned. Basically, the story began formally around 2003, when the call for heads of translation departments was published and my colleague persuaded me to apply. In any case, it still wasn't a simple decision because until then I'd always worked in Slovenia. I never thought about going abroad. Basically it wasn't a question about whether or not I liked the idea; I simply hadn't thought about it. And then I made my decision and I received an offer immediately after the end of

the concours. *I decided that basically I had nothing to lose, I only could have something to gain. So then I came on January 1st, 2005. And it was expected that the heads of translation units would set up the departments, which were then practically nonexistent. When I got there, there were seven people here, and now there are more than twenty of us. Basically we had to set up the structure, the methods of operation, and choose the majority of employees. Now basically my life path ... During the ten years before I came to Brussels, I was translating, before then I hadn't done so. I had quite a bit of experience with European legislation, so this area wasn't completely new to me.*

THE ACCESSION GENERATION

The accession group includes those who started out at the same time or soon after Slovenia's accession process formally began in 1999. The Accession Agreement was signed in 1996 and then ratified by the Slovenian Parliament in 1997. Slovenia, together with five other countries, received the green light to begin negotiations in 1998 and formally requested membership in 1999. Negotiations for membership were concluded in December 2002. What changed for professionals at the start of their careers during this time period? If interested, they were able to take advantage of the changes that Slovenia's accession process brought about both at the level of state administration as well as in institutions of higher learning. They were also able to take advantage of Slovenia's status as an accession country, which also accorded certain opportunities for those interested in EU-related issues academically, professionally, or otherwise. In addition, their professional formation was unfolding when Slovenia had completed the bulk of the nation-building process and some of the elementary transition reforms. Slovenia's future accession to the EU existed in general discourse as a mid-term political and developmental goal.

NJ, who was employed at the European Parliament at the time of this interview, provides an example of the interests pursued by members of the accession generation and the opportunities that enabled them to specialize in Slovenia's accession process:

NJ: I'll start with when I began to be interested in EU affairs. I'd been studying international relations at the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana, and during my last two years I primarily focused on European studies. I actually spent three, four months in Brussels studying documents while I was writing my thesis. At that time you couldn't get things online like you can now, so I was also visiting the Commission here as well as at the Council in order to get access to certain documents. That was in 1996 and 1997. And, after I finished my undergraduate degree, I went abroad to my studies with an EU focus. After I finished I returned to Slovenia, where I was employed in the Slovenian

Parliament, in the National Council, where I once again covered EU affairs. At that time, Slovenia began the accession process, and negotiations were slowly underway. During this time, during the first year of my internship, I applied for the exchange of parliamentary staff officials with the European Parliament. I think that I was the first Slovene who went to the European Parliament in this program. This was in 2000, and I spent eight months there. This counted as part of my internship in Slovenia, so when I went back I didn't go back to the Slovenian Parliament, but went to work directly at the Delegation of the European Commission in 2001. I started in January and was employed there for almost two years. I covered economic and political affairs as well as Slovenia's accession negotiations; to some degree I was also involved in the delegation's communications strategy implemented in light of the upcoming referendum in Slovenia on EU membership.

In this passage, NJ describes how she began pursuing an interest in European Union issues at the undergraduate level. To this end, she received support to conduct research in Brussels to finish her undergraduate thesis. She developed her focus in EU accession in conjunction with Slovenia's own accession process, which was her focus in graduate-level research. Her first internship involved EU affairs, and she made use of a recently established exchange program to work in Brussels as an intern before Slovenia became a member of the European Union. Upon returning to Ljubljana, she began working at the Delegation of the European Commission, one of the key organizations that aided in the formation of Slovene professionals, who in turn went to work in the EU institutions. There they had the opportunity to learn about the EU, its institutions, and the accession process from the point of view of the institutions themselves.

However, this delegation is only one of a number of institutions for Slovene Eurocrats during Slovenia's accession of process. Slovenia's state administration was the key site for the formation of Slovene Eurocrats, national or otherwise. The state administration negotiated and coordinated accession as a political and technical process, which required considerable effort on the part of numerous groups of civil servants, experts, and other social actors. At its onset, the Slovenian government appointed a core negotiating group composed of ten experts and led by Janez Potočnik, Slovenia's past and present European Commissioner. This group coordinated the efforts of thirty-one working groups that included representatives from ministries and other relevant institutions, including the newly established Government Office for European Affairs.[20] The implementation of Slovenia's accession process involved a very large number of civil servants from all sectors of Slovenia's state administration. Many of them acquired a great deal of knowledge and experience in EU affairs; it is

[20] For more on the history of Slovenia's accession process see http://www.evropa.gov.si/en/accession/negotiations-between-slovenia-and-the-eu/.

not surprising that many then considered embarking on a career in the EU institutions. The following passage narrates such a professional transition:

> *MP: Why did I decide to come here? Before I worked with a small group of people who worked on Slovenia's accession, right after my graduate schooling, so four to five years before accession — if I look back, from 1999 to 2004. Before that I studied law. My specializations included international law; I also dealt a great deal with European law. During my education, I studied at four universities: the one in Ljubljana, in the Netherlands, in the U.S., and in Hungary.*

Another important site during Slovenia's accession process was the Mission of the Republic of Slovenia to the European Union located in Brussels. It played an important coordinating role between the network of negotiation groups and institutions in Slovenia and the EU institutions themselves. DV, a Slovene Eurocrat who began working for the core negotiation group in Ljubljana but later moved to the Slovenian mission in Brussels, describes the nature of her work:

> *DV: And then from 1997 to 2003, those were pioneer times. At that time there was twelve, thirteen of us. At first there were no negotiations; those came later. And then there was everything else: environment, education, culture, technical aid. It was a normal development, [my work] just grew organically. When I left, they distributed this work among seven, eight, people. This also happened to other colleagues to some degree. Basically, I was a point of contact among people, between institutions here — I was the secretary of the Accession Conference, that's what it was called then — and Slovenia. I was a sort of filter between the EU — the Commission, the Council, I didn't work much with Parliament. But primarily with the Council, the Commission, and Ljubljana, meaning SVEZ,[21] the core negotiating group, and of course the foreign ministry. I was formally employed at the foreign ministry all those ten years, but I primarily worked with SVEZ and the negotiation group that at that time coordinated everything in Ljubljana. So this was my main project then, which was very horizontal and covered everything from negotiations to the free movement of capital. Then we later had people who worked on particular issues, but my job involved coordinating and having an overview.*

Slovenia's state administration was not only a site that allowed civil servants to become specialized in EU affairs. It also allowed them to travel professionally to Brussels and work on the accession negotiations in another role and from another position. Many identified experiences working in Brussels or in contact with the EU institutions as a decisive step on the path to employment in the EU institutions. This was the case of DŠ, for whom work in the mission led virtually immediately to work in the institutions, even before Slovenia became a member state:

[21] SVEZ is the acronym for Služba Vlade Republike Slovenije za evropske zadeve, or the Slovenian Government Office for European Affairs.

DŠ: I should have returned to Ljubljana in 2001, but because this was a very specific position and set of duties, and because I had so much experience in this area, the ministry decided to extend my term for a year, and then for half a year, and so on ... basically until April 2003, when I finally returned to Slovenia to continue working at the foreign ministry. However, even before Slovenia's accession, I had always wanted to stay in Brussels, and I basically returned here immediately. In June 2003, I started working in the Commission, and I've been working in the institutions for five and a half years.

THE POST-ACCESSION GENERATION

The post-accession generation includes those who embarked on their EU-based careers from the end of Slovenia's accession process onwards. They had not been in a position to be as actively involved in the accession process. However, they were making career decisions at a time when the accession process and Slovenia's upcoming EU membership were political and developmental projects that permeated many aspects of social life. Slovenia's EU membership was also an immediate reality that could inspire particular professional decisions. For example, numerous Slovene civil servants, who had recently embarked on their careers, took advantage of programs set in place by the Slovenian state administration in order to train the personnel needed to help Slovenia operate as a full-fledged EU member. EU membership represented a human resources challenge for Slovenia's state administration, which needed to increase the number of civil servants with the expertise and/or experience necessary to work daily on EU affairs. During this period, the state expanded its range of activities designed to encourage specializations in EU affairs, including exchange programs, scholarship programs, and training programs. For example, a number of those interviewed took advantage of graduate-level scholarships to various universities. Those who received these scholarships then had to return and work in the state administration for an allotted period of time after receiving their degrees, normally one to two years. In this manner, the state administration remained an important center for the professional formation of national Eurocrats as well as Brussels Eurocrats.

PŠ: My path to Brussels was the next step in my professional career. I had worked in the public sector before, in the Slovenian state administration, at the ministry of -----. Let me go further back... I received my undergraduate degree from the Faculty of Economics in Ljubljana. During my last year, as I was finishing my last year, I received a scholarship from the government, from the Government Office for European Affairs or SVEZ, for a master's program in European studies at the College of Europe. I finished the master's

program, and all of us who received scholarships went to work in the government because the government paid part of the scholarship. So the government or the ministries gave us jobs. I went to work in the ministry of economic affairs and worked there for four and a half years. During that time, I passed the concours. *I passed it in 2004, but then some time passed before I actually went to Brussels.*

PŠ identifies himself as a civil servant who, encouraged by the possibility of additional education facilitated by state-funded scholarships, decided to make the shift from public sector work at the national level to the EU level. On the other hand, one can find others who took advantage of additional training opportunities that enabled them to shift their career paths to work in the EU institutions. One such training program was the Fast Stream program aimed at training members of the state administration for the *concours*. It is based on the European Fast Stream Program established in the UK in 1991.[22] As the following government report on the program states, the aim of the program is to aid Slovene public servants who wish to pursue a career in the EU institutions and prepare for the *concours*: "It is in the interest of the government of the Republic of Slovenia that the most promising public servants are selected for the quota of officials in the EU institutions accorded to Slovenia."[23] KT, for example, narrates his experiences in this program:

KT: I'm a political scientist specializing in international political relations, and before I came to Brussels, I was employed in what is now the government communications office. During that time, the Slovenian government had set up a Fast Stream program at the ministry of ---- affairs and the Academy of Public Administration. This was a training program to prepare for the concours. *The program began in 2001, and I started the program in 2003. At that time it was already common knowledge that there would be a* concours *for future EU officials, and that the program was a preparation for those tests, a crash course, intensive training on EU affairs. So of course it was a program you had to apply for, and then there was a selection process and so on and so on. And then, in December 2003, I finished the first* concours *held for the new member states, for administrators at level A5. I passed the first stages of the* concours*; then in February and May 2004 there were the oral interviews. In August 2004, we were informed whether or not we had been accepted, and that those that had been accepted were put on the reserve list. And then in October 2004, I got a job offer. I started work in April 2005.*

In her narrative, KT describes how the Fast Stream program enabled her to con-

[22] For more information on the European Fast Stream Program, see: http://faststream.civilservice.gov.uk/the-different-streams/european/.

[23] "Poročilo o uspešnosti kandidatov, udeležencev programa Fast Stream, na prvih natečajih za zaposlitev v institucijah EU" (Report on the Success of Fast Stream Students in the First EU Employment Competitions) http://www.vlada.si/fileadmin/dokumenti/cns/doc/041029174320D_95v20faststream.doc.

tinue her public sector career abroad. The Fast Stream program demonstrates the role that the state administration had at that time as an institutional actor encouraging the formation of EU professionals of all stripes. In addition to such programs available at the state level to encourage EU-based careers, the EU institutions themselves employed certain measures in addition to the exchange programs and internships mentioned earlier. For example, a small number of those interviewed signed temporary employment contracts in the EU institutions in the year or two before enlargement. Many of those who started out on temporary contracts decided to further pursue EU-based careers and took the *concours*.

This group also includes those who shifted the path of their careers in various ways to take advantage of employment opportunities in the EU institutions. For example, the informants that acquired administrative assistant positions in the EU institutions explained how going to Brussels was largely due to encouragement from colleagues or acquaintances who knew about the employment opportunities due to accession:

> *SM: What brought me to the EU institutions ... Basically my former boss in Ljubljana told me about them. I'd previously worked there as a financial controller, and because this was 2002, two years before the expansion of the European Union, the institutions were clearly looking for people who wanted to come to Brussels before then. This meant they offered a one-year or eighteen-month fixed-term contract in order to feel out what kind of people we are in Eastern Europe. In 2002 they organized a test, a call of interest it was called, a call for expression of interest, a test for those who would be interested in working in the EU institutions among the new member states before accession. And I signed up for the test because my former boss said to me: go, go, you've got nothing to lose. Well, and I went to take the test, and I passed; the test had two parts: one written, one oral. It took about two, three months. And I got a response in early 2003, when they called me asking me if I was interested in working here. Of course I accepted because I had nothing to lose, right.*

In the case of SM, who was trained as a financial controller, encouragement from informed colleagues enabled her to learn of the earlier, albeit fixed-term, employment opportunities available to professionals from accession states. For SM, this fixed-term contract was the first step toward long-term employment in the institutions. There are also cases of international professionals who narrated dramatic shifts in career paths and for whom employment in the EU institutions represented the next step in a professional career abroad. A Slovene Eurocrat, who had been working in a large company in a European capital before becoming an EU official, related how she learned of the first *concours* when a friend informed her of an advertisement in a Slovene newspaper. This information spurred her to sign up for the *concours* and making the move to Brussels.

AGENCY AND SERENDIPITY

The life stories of Slovene Eurocrats from the onset of their careers to their arrival in Brussels comprise a diverse collage of narratives — some last a few decades, and some just a few years. They narrate professional paths that rarely trace a simple, geographically linear path from Slovenia to Brussels. Often these paths include varied forms of mobility that include study, work, and dwelling in numerous other places. What is interesting to note is the extent to which chance, luck, or what could be termed serendipity played an important role in the way that narrators constructed their European trajectories. The number of interviewees who prefaced their story stating that they had always wished to work in the EU institutions paled in comparison to the number that stated that they had arrived in the EU institutions by chance or coincidence. They spoke about chance when referring to certain decisions or events — such as the decision to study abroad or the decision to register for an employment competition at the suggestion of a friend — that in retrospect set their life on an otherwise unforeseen path. The prevalence of serendipity raises a number of questions about the agency of Slovene Eurocrats as social actors, as narrators, and as the subjects of their own life stories.

What does the narrated use of serendipity in structuring a life story imply for the agency of the subject of the life story? The use of serendipity on the part of narrators does not necessarily imply a lack of agency. Tamara Kohn focused on the role of serendipity in biographies and autobiographies. She argues that serendipity should be considered the expression of a reflexive narrator, who, in remembering and in narrating one's life story, accords significance to lived events and experiences. This significance may even change over time:

> *There's an assumption in most renderings of "serendipity" that the event or accidental "discovery" is fairly immediately cognised by the [narrator]. The happy "Aha" moment of realisation is often thought to be "coupled" with particular events or actions, which are then labelled serendipitous. But this is surely inadequate... If as Rappaport (1997) tells us, the self-conscious individual engages in multiple social and cultural environments, and if her memories are active cumulative experiences born out of a lifetime of intersecting and transforming reflections, then serendipity, like reflexivity, should be considered as a journey rather than a destination.* (Kohn 2010: 193)

Talk of serendipity may be interpreted as a sign of narrative agency, an active process of continual evaluation (re-membering) of lived experiences within the context of a particular question or with the benefit of hindsight. This allowed narrators to interpret decisions, events, and relationships with people in various ways — yet often in terms of accumulated life experience that is itself not reducible to a single narrative structure. In addition, serendipity is also the narrative mechanism with

which narrators can reflexively position themselves in relation to broader historical, political or economic processes. For example, many emphasized that the timing of their career trajectory was lucky in that it was unfolding against the backdrop of Slovenia's accession, the expansion of the EU. One informant explained how important it was that he was studying at the College of Europe the year that the first *concours* was held. Studying at a university the year before accession, during a period of general euphoria, suddenly tranformed the EU institutions into a career option that previously did not figure on the map of professional possibilities. Working in a state ministry during the crucial years leading up to enlargement was an opportunity to accrue unique experiences and knowledge linked to the EU that could translate into a career in Brussels. While it may seem that narrators are simply fleshing out the broader context of their narratives, I would argue that they are reflexively exploring the links between individual action and broader changes while striving to make cultural sense of their individual experience. In the following passage, SE explains how he wound up in Brussels, identifying a number of issues, including experience at the right moment in time in the public sector:

> *SE: I believe that if you work in the public sector and have a certain level of education and certain ambitions, you can wind up in Brussels. There were a great deal of such opportunities — at least at the time when I was there — so in my opinion, there were many factors at play that brought me to Brussels. As I mentioned before, there was the scholarship itself, then the experience in the public sector, and then essentially the right moment, because, essentially, during that time, from 2000 to our presidency, Brussels was, in my mind, the city anyone could come to if they really wanted to. I think that it wasn't, that essentially it wasn't hard to get here, I think that it's the case even today. In Slovenia, if anyone in the ministries wished to become involved in European affairs, they were quickly given the opportunity, even outside the Slovenian Government Office for European Affairs or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They needed many people for European affairs, and then you could land in Brussels quite quickly, I think. I mean that there wasn't some great plan behind all this, let's go to Brussels, but that essentially I only moved a bit in this direction and I already landed in Brussels.*

SE's passage also demonstrates an important point. These reflexive deliberations portray the ways in which Slovene Eurocrats as narrators and as embedded social actors map out the landscape in which they lived, worked, and traveled as well as the significance that they attach to certain sites and processes. As SE relates in this passage, becoming a European actor was a relatively easy ambition to realize at that particular juncture in time, when Slovenia was about to become a member of the European Union. He only needed to take a small step in the direction of Brussels to wind up there. Others spoke of this as getting on the EU train or track when referring to the moment when personal career ambitions aligned with broader accession

processes. These included interactions between Slovenia as an accession country and the EU; reforms and preparations taking place within the Slovenian civil service, including education and training programs; developments within Slovene universities; and preparations set in motion within the EU institutions. Thus the formation of Slovenes as EU actors was facilitated by the interaction between the institutional need for Slovene EU actors in both Ljubljana and Brussels as well as the ambitions of social actors who imagined themselves in EU-based professions.

Slovene Eurocrats employed the concept of serendipity to reflect on their positioning within the broader processes that framed and informed their career trajectories. In this manner, they identified those factors of their life stories that fall outside the purview of their field of agency. At the same time, narrators built career narratives out of the richness of their life experience, choosing the experiences, events, interactions, and anecdotes integral to their paths to Brussels. An analysis of these narrative compilations allowed for the identification of the kinds of paths Slovene Eurocrats depicted as leading them to their decision to embark on an EU-based career. In addition, the comparison of the career paths resulted in the identification of three different professional profiles or categories of professional identity. In the following chapters, I explore the significance of these professional profiles and other categories of identity as Slovene Eurocrats make cultural sense of their experiences in the EU institutions.

NATIONALITY AND THE DISAGGREGATION OF IDENTITY

"BUILDING EUROPE"

It is not surprising that the question of identity has dominated anthropological research on the EU institutions. An important reason for this lies in the nature of the project that the EU has assumed for itself: the building of Europe. This project is inextricably linked to an ideal vision of a unified Europe as well as to particular articulations of "European spirit" and European identity. Maryon McDonald (1996) argues that the historic mission of "building Europe" is based on a moral historiography developed by the founders of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the institutional precursor of the EU. Although the short-term purpose of the ECSC was to create a common market for coal and steel, the founders and early members of the ECSC also had a much more ambitious purpose in mind, which was to create a united Europe. They were motivated to this end by a belief in Europe as a united continent and heir to a historical legacy stretching continuously from Greek and Roman times through to the establishment of the present-day European Union. Those involved in putting the fledgling institution on its feet were convinced that uniting western Europe through the ECSC would set this European project on track.

From its inception, the official discourse of the EU was based on the construction of a unified, peaceful Europe against the backdrop of the immediate past of war and dissension. Furthermore, the effectiveness of this particular articulation of the European idea hinged on its operation in the context of a dichotomy with the concept of nationalism (McDonald 1996) cast in negative terms. Particularly in the early years, official and unofficial discourse regularly equated nationalism with war, aggression, or, at the very least, a limited construct of the past. This dichotomy operated so effectively and unquestioningly at that time that it was difficult to either question the European project within the European institutions or to develop a positive discourse on nationalism.

The fact that the understanding of Europe particular to EU institutional discourse is also based on a specific understanding of nationalism has meant that diversity and difference have been a perennial challenge not only at the level of discourse but also at the level of practice. One such site of tension lies in the experiences of integration at the institutional level, when enlargement becomes a reality with the arrival of EU officials from new member states. The first expansion of the then European Community (EC) in 1973 to include the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Den-

mark received a great deal of attention both in academic literature on the EU and among longtime EU officials. The EC's administrative culture was then informed by the German and French traditions of public administration. The arrival on the scene of new officials trained in the distinctive (and distinct) style of the British tradition of civil service (among others Stevens and Stevens 2001; Ziller 1993) represented a significant change to the established state of affairs.

Anthropologists have called attention to the cultural significance of the first enlargement, which introduced diverse visions, styles, cultures, and languages, thus questioning the universalist nature of the European idea as well as the moral binaries upon which it is based (Bellier 2000a). Longstanding EU officials who experienced the arrival of the first "new" generation described their surprise, irritation, and disappointment when trying to reconcile their vision of reuniting Europe with the reality of accepting new, different worldviews (or views on Europe) as well as work practices. These sorts of experiences are at the foundation of the process of setting boundaries that structure practices of identity, definition, and difference in relational terms.

The reason I dwell here on the moral historiography of Europe and its relationship to a particular construction of nationalism is to outline the ideology of identity that has been identified by anthropologists as the heart of EU institutional discourse. This dichotomy has played a formative role in the development of the EU institutions and has often been uncritically transposed onto academic discourses on identity. Ethnographic field research in the EU institutions has gone far to explore the ways in which EU officials engage in the politics of identity on a day-to-day basis. In this manner, anthropologists have developed analytical counterpoints to the system of categories that structure identity at an official level. This inevitably implies engaging the dichotomy between Europe and nation at some level, either by researching attempts to "build up" European identity (Shore 2000), exploring the development of European transparent statistical indicators (Thedvall 2006), or the practice of European science (Zabusky 2000).

Those who have focused explicitly on EU officials and their identity politics have walked a fine line when researching nationality as a category of identity. Although they are unanimous in arguing that Eurocrats interpret difference primarily in national terms, they refrain from essentializing national identity. Instead, they maintain a focus on identity in relational terms and explore the role of nationality as a potential marker of identity in a multicultural, explicitly European, work environment. This entails analyzing the role and the function of national stereotypes (McDonald 1996, 1997; Zabusky 2000), the role of nationality in a multilingual or transnational environment (Abélès 1993; Bellier 1995, 200b), the use of nationality as a moral explanation (McDonald 1997), and the strategic use of stereotypes on the part of Eurocrats in daily life (Abélès 2004).

MULTICULTURALISM AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL DIFFERENCE

These researchers have all provided important insights into the politics and practices of identity among officials of the EU institutions. However, the vast majority of such research was conducted among established Eurocrats and during periods of institutional stability. Relatively little analytical attention in studies of identity politics has focused on periods of institutional expansion. EU enlargement and the consequent expansion of the EU institutions themselves represent significant periods of change and even crisis. In her work, McDonald briefly discusses how accession is experienced by established officials, whose interviews discuss how institutional expansion includes Eurocrats' coming to terms with the fact of diversity. Although she addressed the issue of institutional expansion, her work was limited to exploring what established Eurocrats thought of past EU enlargements. It did not address these processes from the point of view of newly arrived Eurocrats and their sense of identity.

This may not seem like such a significant a question because the relationship between national identity and a sense of Europeanness is an issue common to both established Eurocrats and new ones. National diversity and multiculturalism are fundamental features of the EU institutions. The very motto of the European Union — United in Diversity — speaks to a distinctive understanding of the relationship between national diversity against the backdrop of a unifying sense of Europeanness to which the EU aspires.[24]

In their accounts, Slovene Eurocrats often mentioned the multicultural environment of the EU institutions, describing how national differences inform interpersonal work relations and often confirm anthropologists' arguments concerning the significance of national stereotypes in everyday life. NH is a young professional with a relatively long EU-based career, who had been working for almost five years in the EU institutions at the time of our conversation. She explained that working effectively with her colleagues required a certain understanding of cultural or national differences among her colleagues and their significance for daily interactions at work:

> *NH: We all have a pretty similar work ethic, and so the differences are rather small. A German will begin working at 8:30 and will leave at 5:30, while a French person will come in at 10 and leave at 6:30 because they are used to doing things one way in Paris, while in Frankfurt they are used to something different. And then normally you have classic stereotypes that really hold true: that the French and the Spaniards and Italians really talk a lot and write a lot, while the English are more structured in their writing and the*

[24] The motto of the EU was translated into English at first as Unity in Diversity. However the motto was slightly amended, and from 2004 onwards the motto was slightly modified, translated into English as Unified in Diversity.

Germans are formalists. All these stereotypes hold true to a great degree. You have to be careful. Am I writing an e-mail to a German or English colleague, who I will address "Hi Pete, how are you?" However, I can't address my German colleague by her first name, and if I addressed my English colleague by starting "Dear Mr. So and So", he'd look at me like I was crazy. You have to know these things when you contact people — Germans are more formal in their address than the English — these are classic things.

Slovene Eurocrats' accounts confirm to a great extent that national differences reduced to stereotypes are often invoked to explain diverse work practices among colleagues, with nationality often reduced to a personality trait (Abélès 2004). It was often in such a spirit that Slovene Eurocrats made similar comments concerning multiculturalism as a distinctive characteristic of the EU institutions, describing what multiculturalism looked like at the level of everyday work. They focused on coworkers' nationalities, the languages they communicated in, the particular work differences they developed a sensitivity to, and the strategies they developed to negotiate these differences. Stereotypes came to represent a sort of shorthand for negotiating multicultural office relations. Some described how they developed the skills — expert and social — to work effectively as a sign of how well they were fitting into their new environment.

However, national or cultural pluralism cannot always be mapped out quite simply or neatly in practice. Narrators also described situations that arose due to issues at work that were not easily solved. One of my interlocutors explained how he and his Slovene colleague met to decipher interactions with non-Slovene Eurocrats or instructions of their superiors. Some differences in work practices or styles were harder to explain away simply as an indicator of cultural richness or pluralism. Instead, to certain persons or social groups certain differences matter more than others. The interplay of differences interpreted along national lines — concerning, for example, the way that information is shared, the role of hierarchy, or the criteria for career advancement — are accorded strong moral overtones and can become the cause of more serious misunderstandings (Abélès, Bellier, and McDonald 1993). In such cases, different approaches or sets of norms linked to such issues are not understood as examples of cultural diversity but instead as indicators of disorder, chaos, or anarchy.

Slovene Eurocrats also elaborated on the distinction between significant and insignificant differences. For example, much in the way that NH argued, national stereotypes are cast as "minor" differences set against the backdrop of a broad, encompassing European identity. One of my interlocutors claimed that they did not even believe the EU institutions to be "really" multicultural, comparing the range of diversity among European nations to diversity beyond Europe's boundaries: "We are all European: we all belong to the same civilization. What if we had someone from China or from Iran in our department?" In such a context, they do not consider be-

ing or identifying themselves as Slovene to imply being anti-European: just the opposite. Instead, being Slovene and assuming one's Sloveneness enables one to identify oneself as European. In addition, assuming one's Sloveneness was also a condition for one's employment in the EU institutions.

However, other conversations pointed to the fact that Slovenes' understanding of their multicultural work environment went beyond learning how to "read" and respond to differences among colleagues at the work level. For example, they recognized that certain differences held more weight than others. Some colleagues had different levels of tolerance for instances of difference than others, which pointed to the existence of an informal hierarchy often elided and cast in terms of cultural richness. One of my interlocutors joked that multiculturalism can mean different things for colleagues from larger, more established member states or for those from smaller, newer member states. He remarked that accepting the fact that English is becoming the informal lingua franca of the EU institutions means something completely different to a Slovene Eurocrat than it does to a French one, given that for decades French had been the main language spoken within the halls of the EU institutions.

NATIONALITY, LOYALTY, AND THE DISAGGREGATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY

The previous section focused on the uses of nationality as a marker of difference in the context of the EU institutions' multicultural environment. In the following section, I return to the opposition between the national and the European that is at the heart of official EU identity discourse, in which national identity is equated with the loyalty to — or at least identification with — "narrow" national interests (Suvarierol et al. 2013). The identity of EU officials in numerous subfields of EU studies has often been defined in terms of loyalty — be it loyalty to the EU, to the European project, or to further national interests. Thus trying to gauge identification with the nation or national interests has been an important research task, based in large part on the study of networks among EU officials, including national networks (including Egeberg 2006; Hooghe 1999, 2001, 2005; Laffan and Shore 2000; Stevens and Stevens 2001; Suvarierol 2007, 2008, 2011). These studies provide evidence of the significance of networks, both formal and informal, in the daily operation of the institutions as well as to nationality as a factor in the formation of networks. However, the significance of national identity understood as loyalty has been difficult to prove or disprove, with explanations for this difficulty ranging from the way that networks are defined to the significance of the self-selection of Eurocrats, which precludes them from operating as national "agents" (Suvarierol et al. 2013).

Despite the limits to research in this vein, attention to networks is useful when analyzing the identity practices of Slovene Eurocrats as newcomers to the EU institutions. One example of effective research on networks linked to Eurocrats is the research conducted by Geuijen, Hart, Princen, and Yesilkagit (2008) on Dutch national Eurocrats. They examined the ways that national governments interact with the European Union as well as the effects of Europeanization on national administrations. Their particular approach involved a focus on networks composed of national Eurocrats, who are national civil servants assigned to work on EU affairs. National Eurocrats can either work primarily from a member state capital, travel regularly to Brussels, or be based in Brussels — either at a member state's permanent representation or as detached national experts in the EU institutions. The authors' approach to studying the networks of national Eurocrats drew in great part on Anne Marie Slaughter's concept of government networks (Slaughter 2004). In her work, Slaughter argues that national governments are not monolithic entities but are, in fact, disaggregated, composed of numerous networks, with network members often interacting directly with their counterparts in other countries or in supranational entities. The concept of governments composed of networks provides an analytical framework that allows for multidimensionality and complexity in national administrations. Imagining national governments in this fashion can be the first step to providing a more realistic picture as to how such national systems — and the actors that comprise them — interact with the EU institutions.

Geuijen et al. (2008) employ the disaggregation of the state to shift attention to networks, diversity, and agency. In doing so, they highlight the way that work practices, work mobility, and arenas of interaction inform the ways that diverse national Eurocrats imagine the distinction between the European and the national. In addition, they used these factors to devise a typology of national Eurocrats in the Dutch civil service.

The position of Eurocrats employed in the EU institutions themselves does not inherently imply a regular negotiation between the national and the European as in the case of national Eurocrats. However, the analysis of Eurocrat identity practices can also benefit from the analytical disaggregation of the state, which is presumed to be the site of national identity. The analytical disaggregation of the state implies shifting one's conception of civil servants from that of national agents in a centralized organization to that of social actors operating at diverse levels that directly engage actors working in other institutional bodies. This also means revisiting the formulation of national interest associated with national identity understood as loyalty. In such a context, national interest is associated with a monolithic national body but also needs to be analytically disaggregated. How is national interest defined — can one even speak of national interest in the singular in a disaggregated state? At what sites/levels are formulations of national loyalty defined, and what government actors

and networks participate in such processes? To what extent are national interests also diversely defined, interpreted, and enacted by multiple actors who are embedded in government networks?

Disaggregating the state thus foregrounds the role that social actors can play in imagining, interpreting, enacting, and defining disaggregated nationality and national interests. In addition, recentering research onto social actors and their operations in a disaggregated state involves focusing all the networks in which social actors are embedded. This allows one to identify and examine the diverse ways they perceive, enact, and reflect on their identity across diverse contexts. In this manner, the numerous limitations that national interest imposes on understandings of nationality become apparent.

Not all EU officials (as opposed to national Eurocrats or detached national experts) have necessarily been embedded in government networks. Thus, equating nationality with national interest implies analytically excluding all those EU officials that were never career public servants before moving to Brussels but were members of other professional networks. In the previous chapter, I identified three different profiles prevalent among Slovene Eurocrats, and only one of these three profiles was a civil service profile (as opposed to a specialist/academic profile or an international profile). A little over half of those interviewed have worked within Slovenia's national administration, albeit for different periods of time and in a range of different professional positions. Almost half of the Slovenes interviewed has no professional ties to the Slovenian civil service.

In addition, not all of those with experience in the state administration had worked in positions that involved a continual negotiation between the national and the European. Different positions within a disaggregated national administration implied a diverse range of work tasks and various degrees of engagement with international networks. The particular experiences of diversely positioned government actors inform the extent to which they were professionally involved in defining, representing, or negotiating a range of formulations of national interest.

Furthermore, experience within the state administration and embeddedness in government networks does not necessarily guarantee professional identification with the state administration. Defining oneself as a civil servant does not necessarily mean that this identification is articulated in terms of a state or with a state-sponsored formulation of national identity. The following excerpt from an interview with RP, a young professional working in the Commission, is an example of a person who defines himself professionally as a civil servant:

> *RP: I came to Brussels through professional channels: I had worked in the public sector, in the state administration, at the ministry of ---. While I was working there, I participated in the* concours*, and then I came here. Maybe I should go back a bit further ... I worked in the state administration because I got a scholarship from the government office for European affairs to study*

> *European affairs at the College of Europe. With that master's degree I was trained to become a professional civil servant (*laughter*). Of course, this gave me an advantage; I was able to complete the* concours *more easily. My field of study really interested me, as did my work in the Slovenian state administration. It really drew me in. Essentially, I never ran away from work in the public sector. I think that if you work in the public sector and you have a certain level of education, a certain level of ambition, sooner or later you wind up in Brussels.*

RP defines himself as a professional civil servant whose career path inevitably led to work in the EU institutions. He embarked on this path when he received a scholarship for graduate studies at the College of Europe, for which he had to return to Slovenia to work in the state administration. He argues that his education enabled him to successfully complete the *concours* and move to Brussels, thus fashioning a career in public service that crossed institutional and national boundaries. His narrated self-presentation as a (transnational) professional civil servant is not based on articulations of nationality or national interest. Instead, he is able to maintain his professional identity as a civil servant despite crossing national borders to move from a national administration to a supranational one.

Approaching Eurocrats as active social actors embedded in diverse networks instead of as essentialized national agents can provide the foundation for analyzing how Slovene Eurocrats employ particular formations of nationality to negotiate social interactions. The excerpt below is part of an interview with CE, a Slovene Eurocrat with many years of experience in Slovenia's state administration — both in Ljubljana and in Brussels. At the time of the interview, she had been working at the Council only a few months. In the excerpt below, she describes a particular situation that she cast in terms of national interest and national identity:

> *CE: When I was there I felt completely Slovene, but not here. Here I'm not supposed to listen to Slovene instructions. And right now we're debating something, and I really don't think that what a colleague in Slovenia is proposing is right. I don't think she's right, and I don't wish to give in to pressure. I think that professionally speaking she's wrong. If I were working at the representation, I would have to give in because there it's all about hierarchy and politics. But here I think that it's about professionalism. Here we need to be autonomous. I went to ask my boss whether or not I should give in, and he said no. I needed to know whether he had my back if I persevered in my position, even if Slovenia is displeased, right. I think that this is a big difference. Here I can consult with anyone I want. Here it's necessary for me to look at things differently. And then study the options carefully. So we'll see how things will work out.*

CE's present work in Brussels involves a certain level of interaction with Slovenian government networks. In this passage, she narrates a comparison of her work

experiences at the Council and in the Slovenian civil service. This comparison centers on an interaction, or, more specifically, a disagreement with a Slovenian government official. The comparison that she draws is based on a comparison of the ways in which disagreements of this kind are resolved in both work environments. She argues that she does not really feel Slovene in the Council but in the Slovenian state administration, where she "listened to Slovenian instructions." Feeling Slovene is linked to operating within a particular Slovenian hierarchy and fulfilling one's role in it. She explains that disagreements in this context were defined according to hierarchy and politics. On the other hand, she describes her new work environment in terms of a sense of professional autonomy. She consulted the hierarchy to ask for instructions for resolving the disagreement. Upon doing so, she was accorded the support for her position.

When reading the episode recounted by CE, one is initially tempted to interpret the comparison of two work environments in terms of the essentialized opposition between Europe and nation upon which most EU identity discourse is based, in which nation is coded in terms of narrow interests while Europe is associated with professionalism (Bellier 2000b). It is quite possible to remain at this level of interpretation. However, upon examining the anecdote more closely, it becomes clear that CE's comparison of her two work environments is structured in terms of a comparison of professional relationships, pointing away from experiences of essentialized identity to what Abélès (2004) termed "transactional identity" in his research on Eurocrats in the European Commission. Abélès devised the concept of transactional identity to depict the ways that Eurocrats employed nationality to negotiate relationships in a multicultural context:

> *To better understand the processes induced by intercultural contact within the Commission I propose to introduce the concept of transactional identity. Rather than being the essences which cohabit within the same sphere of the Commission (the "German," the "Frenchman," the "Englishman," etc.), these identities are the product of an ensemble of relationships that develop on a daily basis. When I impute a given "nature" to my colleague by referring to his "German-ness" or to his "Frenchness," this takes place within a given context. The concept of transaction brings to light the way in which identity finds itself negotiated in offensive strategies or comforts itself when confronted by the specter of generalized relativism.* (Abélès 2004: 22–23)

Although Abélès devised the concept of transactional identity to analyze intercultural identity practices, the concept can also be useful in the case of CE's anecdote, which centers on CE's relationships with other Slovenes in addition to her relationship with her present coworkers. CE's invocations of Sloveneness and professionalism are the terms she employs to define the interaction with a former colleague. She frames this disagreement against the backdrop of the relationships that defined

her past workplace and the relationships in her present workplace. In addition, the notion of professionalism that CE invokes is also employed to enact a sense of professional autonomy vis-à-vis her previous colleagues as well as her previous work experiences in the Slovenian state administration. The comparison that she draws is thus not only between two work environments but also between two different kinds of professional relationships with Slovenian civil servants now that she no longer works for the Slovenian government. She invokes a sense of professional autonomy that overlaps with EU identity discourse to narrate this professional shift in networks — and identity. Thus, in this case, CE is not only describing a particular incident in her workplace but also defining herself in relation to certain persons, networks and interactions. She is employing this particular interaction to depict her experiences in the EU institutions as well as to address the shifts in her relationships with former colleagues and her sense of identity understood in relational terms.

EUROPEAN STORIES AND CONSTRUCTIONS OF INDIVIDUALITY

As accounts depicting growth, change, and mobility, the European stories of Slovene Eurocrats are structured in terms of growth and shifts as well as stability and constancy. Exploring their identity practices involves examining the ways that they define belonging and difference in diverse contexts. For example, in their research on EU officials in the European Commission, Abélès, Bellier, and McDonald (1993) focused on experiences of incongruence in order to identify how and in what contexts officials experienced a sense of difference.

> *When different conceptual and behavioural systems meet, then there is often an apprehension of incongruence. The systems do not match, do not "fit," giving a sense of disorder; there is commonly both a perception of and empirical confirmation of disorder in the other.* (1993: 40)

Experiences of this kind, in which narrators experience a lack of fit, are often moments that are articulated in terms of self and other, in terms of identity and difference. Abélès, Bellier, and McDonald concluded that difference, incongruence, and chaos within the multicultural environment of the EU institutions are coded primarily in national terms. Focusing on experiences of incongruence or dissonance is extremely useful for identifying the definition of the self through the definition of the other.

Experiences of incongruence can also be useful for studies of integration. Researching the cultural practices of integration implies paying attention to the ways in which social actors define the self and other: more importantly, it implies identifying

the terms that they employ to narrate stability and change in relational terms. Focusing on Slovene Eurocrats' narratives of individuality in this context can provide a useful counterpart to experiences of incongruence.

For example, the conflict that CE related can be described as an experience of incongruence or a clash between two work environments expressed in terms of divergent methods of resolving professional disagreements. Her use of the concept of Sloveneness is contingent upon the interaction she has with another Slovene, a former colleague. At the same time, there is another level to the narrative that CE recounts, which concerns her shift in position vis-à-vis the Slovenian civil service upon assuming a role in the EU institutions. This shift structures the disagreement that is at the center of the anecdote, in which she negotiates the implications of her new position on her relationships with members of one of her previous professional networks: the Slovenian civil service.

Individuality in the context of life stories can have numerous connotations. It is expected to some degree that narrators of life stories define themselves as distinctive individuals. The interviewee as a narrator is asked to tell one's own particular story, to portray how one has become the individual one is today in accordance with the criteria of distinction to which the narrator subscribes. In addition, the genre of the life story itself accords the narrator a particular role as a storyteller.

However, the presence of individuality in life stories is not limited to a rhetorical form. Here I refer to another aspect of individuality, one that involves highlighting individuality's social dimension. Constructions of individuality are culturally specific, as has been demonstrated in studies of individuality linked to particular understandings of adulthood or adult status across cultures.[25] However, claiming individuality does not only refer to claiming status or distinction, but can be also understood to be a "form of social enactment" (Amit and and Dyck 2006b: 9) through which a narrator may mark, shift, or claim social relationships in a personal manner. In this light, individuality can be understood to be a form of social positioning that is inherently relational and that is carried out by a reflexive social actor. Such a formulation of individuality accords more agency to the narrator or social actor and facilitates maintaining a focus on the social relationships and networks in terms of which individuality is defined and expressed.

These shifts or claims in social relations can take numerous forms, including the assumption of a new social role, the shift or loss of status, and the reflexive reformulation of one's positioning and the criteria according to which one imagines, enacts, or articulates one's identity. Individuality in these contexts can be invoked to

[25] The conceptualization of individuality that I draw upon here is part of broader discussions and debates that fall under the rubric of the anthropology of the self and of the individual and that transcend the boundaries of this chapter. For more on the way that this conceptualization of individuality fits into these discussions, see Amit and Dyck (2006b). Other analyses of individuality in this vein include Mines (2006), Olwig (2002, 2006), and Reed Danahay (2006).

express belonging as well as difference. Narratives of individuality can take numerous forms and may be employed to mark different sorts of shifts in social positioning experienced on a personal level. In their stories, my interlocutors related what they considered to be significant episodes of this kind, often as a way of narrating identity in light of change. Some of these episodes were cast in more negative terms while others were more affirmative; some were dramatic, and others decidedly less so.

Certain narratives of individuality mark significant personal moments of transition including, for example, initial interactions with the EU institutions. Many are narratives of individualization in which social actors find themselves in a new context. The difference between old and new contexts is overwhelming, fostering a feeling of alienation. VC, a young Slovene working in the Commission, narrates her experience taking the *concours*. As a graduate of the College of Europe and as a member of the accession generation, she formed part of a select number of Slovenes with the education and experience to pursue a career in the EU institutions. The most memorable event for her was the first test of the first entry-level *concours* for candidates from all ten accession countries that was held in numerous cities across Europe, including Brussels. Only those who passed the written test could proceed to the following stages, and an unprecedented number of persons registered for the *concours* to try their luck. VC traveled to take that very test that was held in the Expo area, near the Atomium, one of Brussel's premier tourist landmarks. The Atomium is a futuristic building that was built for the 1958 World's Fair. It stands a little over one hundred meters tall and is made of nine eighteen-meter spheres that are connected with the aid of large tubes that hold escalators as well as an elevator.

> *VC: This was the first* concours*, the* concours *for the A8 positions, which were then entry-level positions. First there was the written part, which was a pre-selection process with multiple-choice questions plus essays. And it all took place here, in Heysel, at the Expo exhibition area, where we were in this enormous hall. I do not know how many of us there were, several thousand. That was really a scene for some science fiction movie,* (laugh) *it was cold and the masses of people and a person essentially felt like a small ant in there.*

In this experience, VC came to grips with the discrepancy of scale between the national and European levels as well as her being one of a large number of persons across the new member states that imagined an EU-based professional future. Analogous experiences of individualization also included initial experiences working in the institutions themselves, particularly in the European Commission. Many — especially those who had previously worked in the significantly smaller Slovenian state — described their first impressions of working in such a large institution as feeling like a cog in a massive machine.

Other narratives of individuality involved moments of reflexive memory in which interviewees described what it meant socially for them to move to Brussels,

often cast in terms of shifting connections and networks. In the following passage, HT narrates her decision to try for a job in the EU institutions and then her experience when she arrived in Brussels as one of the first Slovene contract agents:

> *HT: Two years before the expansion of the EU, the institutions were clearly looking for people who would like to come to Brussels before then. This meant a one-year or eighteen-month fixed-term contract in order to feel out what kind of people we are in Eastern Europe. So in 2002 they organized a test for those interested in working in the EU institutions among the new member states before accession. I went to take the test and I passed. I got a response in early 2003. Of course I accepted, because I had nothing to lose. I was single then, and the work would be over in a year or two in any case. So I accepted, and I came with my suitcase to Brussels. And that was basically it. It's funny when you arrive here, you don't have a contract, you don't know where you're going to live, you don't know anything. You don't know where you'll work, you only know that somewhere they'll give you a contract for a year or two, a temporary contract. And you basically come here with your suitcase, and you come here to the center, and* (laughter) *and they basically offer you the contract. You receive a draft a week earlier, but you never know if they'll sign the draft or not, so you literally go s* trebuhom za kruhom.[26]

HT formed part of an interesting and rather small group of Slovenes who began working in the EU institutions before enlargement. They were offered short-term (one to two-year) contract positions and had the advantage of being in Brussels when the first *concours* for Eurocrat positions was set in motion. However, coming to the EU institutions before enlargement and as temporary contract agents also had drawbacks because the procedures established for aiding EU officials from new member states were not yet set in place. In addition, many of those interviewed viewed contract positions as potentially risky ventures professionally, given that they left behind permanent positions in Slovenia to try their luck in Brussels. HT in the excerpt above relates her story from her present position as someone who successfully settled into her life in Brussels. In depicting herself then as an economic migrant with nothing more than a suitcase in tow and no useful connections or practical knowledge, she explains what this move meant for her in terms of economic standing, social status, and knowhow.

Certain narratives of individuality contain moments in which a self-reflexive social actor maps out the transition to becoming a full-fledged Eurocrat and the changes he or she considers this process implies. UB, a young professional who started out as a contract agent in the European Commission but is now an EU official, describes this process in the following manner:

[26] Literally, "after bread with one's belly," equivalent to the expression "to go where the money is" or to "go abroad to make a living."

UB: It takes about a year to really come into your own here, to begin working at your full potential. I have observed a similar process among many of my colleagues. It takes that long for a person to attain a certain level of self-confidence, to move beyond that perspective of someone from Slovenia who from 1985 onwards would watch the Slovene news, in which people from Brussels were like Martians. Then the accession process started, and they essentially represented a level of knowledge, a standard for us. And then, when you get here, it's extremely important to realize that this knowledge has its limits. That the people here are only people, and that this institution has its flaws and makes mistakes, and so on. I had to develop a critical perspective on my field of expertise, which I had worked on before but not at the level I do here at the Commission. You have to learn not to take everything as given, but that you dare to doubt certain decisions, because only in this way can you contribute to the discussion and become a full-fledged member, right. Otherwise you have to become content with the fact that you're only someone who's carrying out the interests of others.

For UB, becoming a full-fledged Eurocrat results from experiencing a shift in perspective that results from acquiring an insider's knowledge about the everyday operation of the EU institutions as well as a realistic understanding of the institutions' potential and limits. This inside knowledge is counterposed to the view on the institutions from the outside, first in terms of a Cold War–era idealization of the European Union and then an uncritical acceptance of the European Union as the embodiment of certain unquestionable standards for accession states. However, in UB's opinion, a full-fledged Eurocrat is not a Eurosceptic. Instead, he or she has a realistic view of the EU project, has attained a level of knowledge, and has developed an insider's perspective in both professional and social terms. Together this provides him or her with the basis for operating as a contributing member of the professional community of EU officials and being recognized as such.

It is important to note that UB's conceptualization of what it means to come into one's own as a Eurocrat involves mapping out a broad frame of reference that not only extends beyond the walls of the EU institutions in Brussels but also extends twenty years into the past to invoke a perspective on Brussels from the other side of the Iron Curtain. Identifying the frame of reference that a social actor draws upon when narrating and reflecting upon events is crucial to identifying how such a narrative is to be interpreted as well as how social actors define significant categories of identity, including nationality. In this passage, UB demonstrates the extent to which identity practices are inherently relational in addition to contextual. Focusing on identity through such practices and narratives can aid in moving beyond essentialized notions of identity to focus on the ways that newly established Slovene Eurocrats experience belonging and difference.

PROFESSIONAL MOBILITY AS IDENTITY PRACTICE

Studying practices of mobility can be an effective ethnographic and methodological tool for writing the range of Eurocrats' experience back into research on Europeanization. Exploring mobility allows analysts to critically engage the Brussels bubble in terms of which most cultural analysis of daily life in the EU institutions has been cast, often in a justified endeavor to capture the cultural distinctiveness of the EU institutions. The following discussion builds on research conducted on national Eurocrats whose professional and social practices were inherently mobile. Thedvall (2006) coined the term pendulum movements to capture the geographical movements to and from the EU bubble particular to the work of Swedish national Eurocrats and their shifting sense of identity. Her work is an example of the significance of expanding the EU bubble to incorporate socially constructed networks of mobility. Geuijen, Hart, Princen, and Yesilkagit (2008) developed a nuanced analysis of Dutch national Eurocrats and their sense of professional identity based on the nature of their work as national Eurocrats as well as the professional relationship they maintained vis-à-vis the EU institutions.

The discussion is also inspired by the recent research of Suvarierol, Busuioc, and Groenleer (2013), who have analyzed the extent to which different kinds of positions within the EU institutions inform levels of European socialization among EU officials. Suvarierol et al. define European socialization as "the extent to which officials embody the spirit of 'working for Europe' in the sense of adopting supranational norms and serving the overarching interests of Europe above and beyond particular national or professional interests" (Suvarierol, Busuioc, and Groenleer 2013: 908). This sort of approach represents a step beyond research on Eurocrat identity centered primarily on networks, particularly national ones. The authors of this research employ an established understanding of European socialization based on an opposition between European, supranational norms and national ones or professional interests. Given the opposition upon which this conceptualization of European socialization is based, such an approach runs the risk of being self-limiting. However, they also develop a nuanced approach to the study of EU officials aimed at capturing and incorporating diversity among EU officials — albeit in terms of employment status — into research on socialization and identity. Furthermore, their research makes an important link between diverse employment statuses, professional paths within the institutions, and various forms of identification with the EU institutions.

Studying narratives and practices of mobility among Slovene Eurocrats involves recognizing, identifying and analyzing the mobility of "regular" Eurocrats alongside that of national Eurocrats. In addition, it also implies expanding the category of mobility to incorporate numerous existing practices and understandings of mobility as analytically significant. This chapter focuses on the range of practices and narratives of professional mobility among Slovene Eurocrats. This involves mapping out culturally significant understandings and practices of professional mobility, identifying how they are defined and analyzing the ways that narrators employ mobility as a site for defining, invoking, or negotiating identity.

The collected life stories are inherently structured in terms of evolution, change, and mobility while anchored in Brussels. Interviews as ethnographic interactions unfolded in a range of sites: in offices, cafeterias, coffee shops, restaurants, and homes. Responses to requests for stories about how they got to Brussels inherently involved talking about different kinds of mobility, from geographic, economic, social, professional, and leisure-oriented to vertical, horizontal, and circular. Narrators not only outlined past movements but also mapped out future plans or options of mobility that to differing degrees conformed to the cultural logic of identity they narrate through the course of their story.

GETTING TO BRUSSELS

Although all interlocutors made their way to Brussels, they did not necessarily take the same path. Mobility is the one thing that all narrators shared: their career and life paths did not unfold inside national boundaries. However, the fact that all of their paths brought them to the EU institutions does not necessarily mean that their senses of mobility and identity completely overlap. Their routes to Brussels and to the institutions differed significantly: some took a circuitous route and others a more direct one. More importantly, the vast majority of Slovene Eurocrats had significantly mobile life and career paths before coming to work in the institutions. Those who lived in Slovenia until their move to Brussels represent a small minority.

In chapter three, I identified three different career profiles among interviewees in my exploration of self-selection: civil service, academic/specialist, or international. These distinctions, I argued, were linked to dimensions of an individual's career trajectory central to his or her life story and self-presentation. In addition, these distinctions in terms of career profiles are also associated with various forms of professional mobility before employment in the EU institutions. These diverse mobility practices inform the ways in which narrators defined their later experiences within the EU institutions.

CŠ: My life story, how I got to where I am now, goes like this. Slovenia was in the process of joining the European Union when I was studying at the university, and basically this seemed to me a very interesting possibility. So from the time I was at the university onwards, I considered it a possible career option. After I finished my undergraduate degree in international affairs, I enrolled in the graduate program at the College of Europe in Bruges. I was at a crossroads at that time; I had several options for scholarships. I decided to go to Bruges and, after I received my master's degree, I completed an internship at the European Commission. I was still following my career goal. At the time I finished my internship, it wasn't possible for Slovenes to get jobs in the EU institutions. The internship that I had was a traineeship for third countries. So after I finished this traineeship, I went back to Slovenia, to the ministry of foreign affair's department for European integration. After two years there, I was offered a position at the Slovenian permanent representation in Brussels, where I stayed for two years. During that time, it became possible to apply for jobs in the European Commission. I participated in the first concours *available for Slovenes, I was accepted, and I got a job soon thereafter.*

CŠ, a member of the pre-accession generation, maps out a rather circuitous path of professional mobility that brought her to Brussels, a path that for the most part follows a civil service professional trajectory and that includes most of the key sites at which civil servants acquire training and experience in EU affairs. Upon finishing her undergraduate studies, she decided on a career in the EU institutions and traveled to Bruges in order to attend the College of Europe, one of the key sites for the formation of EU officials. From Bruges, she moved directly to Brussels, to the European Commission, where she completed a traineeship. However, given that then Slovenia was not yet a member of the European Union, CŠ returned to the department of European Integration at the Slovenian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where she remained for two years. There she gained experience as a national Eurocrat stationed in Ljubljana, and, later on, at Slovenia's permanent representation in Brussels. Upon successfully making it through the first *concours* offered for citizens of accession states, CŠ was offered a position in the European Commission.

Slovene Eurocrats who built up a career as specialists in EU affairs pursued diverse professional paths with different stops along the way, as in the case of OH:

OH: I studied international affairs at the Faculty of Social Sciences in Ljubljana, where I began to focus on European affairs during my last two years. When I finished my degree I went to pursue a specialization in Vienna, where I maintained my focus on the European Union. I later went to London for a master's degree, also on EU affairs but focused more on its economic aspects, on economic integration. That was the subject of my master's thesis. When I finished, I stayed on in London, where I worked for a while at the --- Institute, a think tank where I worked on studies of the euro, and financial markets. During that time, I also applied for the first possible concours

available to Slovenes. And then when I was selected for the concours*, it also seemed to overlap: my graduate focus on economic integration, my work in London on European financial markets, and my being offered a position where I'd be working in financial services and capital markets.*

OH sketches out a career path that from the second half of her undergraduate program onwards was cast in terms of an increasingly focused specialization in EU affairs. This path involved additional education and professional training abroad, both in Vienna and London. Upon completing her second graduate degree on the EU's economic integration, she remained in London to work as a specialist in EU economic affairs. This also ultimately turned out to be the area in which she was offered a position in the EU institutions. The career paths of both CŠ and OH include graduate study and work abroad, and both of them finished at the EU institutions. However, as someone that fits the academic/specialist profile, OH's career path and professional mobility were structured primarily in terms of the specialization that she pursued.

The distinguishing characteristic of those fitting an international profile is that their career trajectory up until their arrival in Brussels is not cast explicitly in terms of the EU or EU affairs. One of them, for example, is CF, a national Eurocrat who became a detached national expert in the European Commission. Detached national experts are employed by member states sent to offer their expertise to the EU institutions for a limited period. CF structured his career path in terms of his area of expertise, drug trafficking, and a growing interest in international cooperation as an effective mechanism for preventing drug trafficking.

CF: I began my work in the police in 1989 /.../ at the local level, as a policeman. And from there I advanced to the regional level and began gaining experience in various areas, particularly in organized crime. After a while, I decided to apply for a job in the sector for special tasks /.../ and was there for approximately five years. I became head of the group working against drug trafficking. After that, I worked at the national level of general police administration. There I began to deal with coordinating international measures against drug trafficking. This mostly has to do with operations in which multiple countries, two or more countries, jointly plan and carry out certain operations, working together on higher aims, not only local aims. You realize that you need a bit more, you have the sense to recognize the value of such actions that are not limited to national frameworks in order to prevent drug trafficking and organized crime. During this period, I was chosen to cooperate in a multidisciplinary working group for organized crime. That was my first contact with the formal structures of the Council.

CF began his twenty years career in the police as a local police officer. His interest in preventing drug trafficking spurred him to move from working at the local level to the regional level and national level in Slovenia. There he began to specialize in

the international coordination of measures against drug trafficking, which by nature is a phenomenon that is mobile and crosses borders. It was in the capacity of working with international organizations dedicated to cross-border cooperation that he also began working with the EU institutions, in particular the Council's multidisciplinary working group for organized crime. This required him to travel regularly from Ljubljana to Brussels. His interactions with the Council then began to increase because he was involved in preparing for Slovenia's EU presidency in the first half of 2008. Soon thereafter, he was offered a position to work as a detached national expert in the European Commission, the position he had at the time of the interview.

CF's career path demonstrates another form of mobility, one that is defined by a bottom-up professional interest in tracking and preventing a cross-border phenomenon: drug trafficking. This career involved working in conjunction with other national government administrations as well as with international organizations. It is in the context of working on international cooperation that CF also began working with the European Union. CF's work with the EU took the form of working in a Council committee and required regular travel to Brussels. The work and travel to Brussels continually increased with the preparations for and participation in Slovenia's EU presidency. Continued work with the EU institutions then took another form, with CF moving temporarily to Brussels to work as a detached national expert.

Although all three European stories finish (for the time being) in Brussels, they portray diverse forms of professional mobility of their narrators. Each narrator embarked on a different path in accordance with his or her professional ambitions and the locations that served these ambitions. Their understanding of and professional identification with the EU institutions is strongly informed by their particular histories of mobility. In addition, these same histories of mobility provide the frame of reference in terms of which they interpret mobility in the EU institutions and also imagine their professional future.

FRAMING EMPLOYMENT IN THE EU INSTITUTIONS IN MOBILITY NARRATIVES

At first glance, the European stories of Slovene Eurocrats are success stories about individuals who realized their professional ambitions or, at the very least, recognized and successfully acted on the unique opportunities that presented themselves at a particular moment in time. However, talk about mobility, particularly professional mobility within the institutions, operates as a site for negotiating professional identity as well as for reconciling different criteria for professional mobility and professional identity.

On the one hand, employment in the EU institutions at the time of Slovenia's accession to the EU was a historic opportunity for those persons who had the credentials to apply and gain employment. However, social actors diversely defined their employment in the EU institutions when framing it in the context of their entire career trajectory. Did working as a Eurocrat necessarily mean moving "up" professionally? The range of responses to this question is due to two main factors. First, Slovenes with a range of experience and training applied for employment in the EU institutions. Second, the vast majority of positions made available to professionals from EU member states were entry-level positions. It is not surprising that one receives a range of responses when Slovene Eurocrats interpret getting a job in the EU institutions as a career move. For example, NM believes that the hiring strategy of the EU institutions concerning Eurocrats from new member states will cause long-term problems:

NM: Later I also took the concours. *That was three years ago.*

TBS: Why did you decide to apply?

NM: In order to have greater job security, more options, mostly. I believe that the concours *that were available for people from the new member states were basically limited to very low job grades. I think that the Slovene term for this would be that they were "rounded down." This is one of the problems that the institutions will have to deal with in the future. Basically, they decided to recruit a very large number of people with mid-level experience for entry-level positions. In my opinion, this means that the career pyramid or structure in the next five, ten years, when the initial positive effect of the relatively high salaries begins to wane, will cause a great deal of dissatisfaction among the officials from the new member states.*

What employment in the EU institutions meant for Slovene Eurocrats in terms of their career is a relative question. It is not surprising that NM makes this sort of argument for those who had accrued considerable experience before taking the *concours* but were not able to obtain a mid-level position in Brussels. However, there were quite a few who did not view their starting out at an entry-level position as a problematic career decision, regardless of their previous experience. In addition, there were a number of people with administrative assistant positions who described their moving to Brussels as a positive professional and personal decision, as the move gave them a chance at economic independence. This was the case for KT:

KT: In my case I didn't have such a problem. I'm really glad that I can live on my own, that I can afford an apartment. In Ljubljana, I couldn't even afford rent, but here I can afford some independence and I can become independent of my parents, which wasn't possible in Slovenia. It's important to me that I won't still be at home in my forties, living in the same room I grew up in.

KT had worked in a number of administrative positions in Ljubljana. Her po-

sition in Brussels may not have been a significant step up in terms of work status. However, it provided a certain level of economic security, particularly in light of the job prospects that were available to her in Slovenia. In practice, one should interpret a person's decision to move to Brussels in relation to the prospects available to him or her at that particular moment. However, this decision may also be evaluated against the backdrop of a different frame of reference, which is what NM refers to in his narrative.

KT later raises another important issue in terms of which many Eurocrats defined their prospects of mobility and their future career plans in the EU institutions: the EU institutions' mobility scheme. The EU institutions have a program of internal mobility in place that encourages the circulation of officials through the institutions. One can apply to transfer positions within the institutions as soon as two years and as late as five years after arrival. In principle, one should switch jobs twice during the first seven years, and then at least once every seven years. This sort of job mobility is not vertical but lateral, and in most cases people decide to find something within the institutions they work in by applying for available in-house positions.

KT: You have the possibility that after two years you can apply for positions that are currently available. By way of the mobility scheme, you can apply for work in the secretariat of the Council or the Commission, although it's harder to get into the Commission because they mostly only take in their own people. Only if there's no one in-house will they then look at outside applicants. So it's a bit harder to get in there, although they have really interesting jobs, and then there are the delegations and the agencies. One of my friends just went to work in Europol, in the Hague. So you have that kind of possibility. If you get tired of your work or of your coworkers, this is also an option, that you switch after two years. Of course there's the risk that you'll get there and it won't be OK, or that things will be worse than where you are now. However, it's possible to find interesting options, you just have to look for them. Of course if you want to, some people are satisfied working twenty years at the same job. I'll see if later I want to switch in a few years, though I'm quite happy where I am right now.

As KT explains, the EU institutions' mobility scheme allows and encourages employees to circulate not only within their own institution but also between institutions. Some institutions have delegations abroad, even overseas; other EU agencies are located across Europe. It is as if, as KT narrates, one would have a world of opportunities at one's disposal if one is willing to "look for them." However, Slovene Eurocrats evaluate the mobility scheme of the EU institutions in diverse ways, against the backdrop of terms in which they interpret their past career trajectory and plan their professional future.

The mobility scheme may open the world to some but may seem restrictive to others, particularly to those who consider compulsory lateral mobility not to be con-

ducive to the further development of their professional expertise. Many of those who felt this way fall under the academic/specialist profile. They describe their career path as an increasing accumulation of professional experience and training that allowed them to specialize in a particular field of knowledge. Many of them were offered positions in the EU institutions linked to their specialty. They link their desire to work in the institutions to further developing their expertise, as in the case of VD, a young Eurocrat working in the Commission:

VD: The Commission is nevertheless one of the few institutions that is somewhat accessible, more broadly accessible to citizens from our countries, including of course Slovenia, where people like me have the opportunity to participate in the development of certain policies and measures that are on the cutting edge, globally speaking. Here, in our department, we work on cases that no one in the world has dealt with yet, and we develop a certain doctrine on a tabula rasa. So it's a special opportunity to be here, where someone can learn a great deal and also grow, professionally speaking.

In addition, many viewed coming to Brussels as a logical career move in light of the relatively few possibilities they had to work on similar issues in Slovenia. HN describes her situation in such a manner. After studying and working abroad, she had initially wished to return to Slovenia to continue her career:

HN: After finishing my master's degree abroad, I wanted to continue working on economic issues, but this wasn't possible in Slovenia, even with a master's degree. I was so glad that I got the chance to work here. Here they gave me the opportunity to work professionally on the issues that interested me.

Many Slovene Eurocrats identified strongly with their specialization and this identification structures their life story. For a Slovene Eurocrat specializing in some aspect of EU affairs, studying abroad and then working in Brussels was cast as a logical career choice. Many explained that they had wanted and planned their career paths to finish in Brussels from the very beginning; they were also offered positions in the EU institutions linked to their specialty. However, they often experienced a sense of dissonance when trying to reconcile their identity as specialists with the options available to them to further their specialization once within the institutions, as in the case of HV, an official working in the Commission. HV was among the first Slovenes to be employed as an official in the institutions and his work in the Commission included working on "sensitive" dossiers. For these two reasons, professional mobility was a significant issue for him:

HV: Otherwise there's a great deal of mobility within the institutions. Basically, next year if I'll be working on these dossiers, the same ones that deal with these contracts and with money, it's desirable for me to transfer. But, in principle, people want to continue working on a particular issue if they invested so much work and acquired so much knowledge. That after all that,

you'd change, you'd transfer and go ... I don't know, it's as if I'd go from studying business and financial services to studying agricultural policy. It would probably be difficult not just for me but those around me. You'd have to adapt all over again ... Very often it happens that when people transfer, they go work in a similar area, on similar issues.

As one can observe from the excerpts above, one's sense of professional identity — while informed by one's career trajectory — also includes one's work within the institutions. Both HV and HN spoke about their work in the institutions as a unique opportunity to further themselves professionally. It is thus not surprising that one's sense of professional identity, as HV narrates, is articulated in terms of one's own efforts and acquired knowledge on joint projects. This sense of identification defined as a sense of professional responsibility to broader projects can function as a way in which social actors position themselves within the institutions or plan their individual careers:

HV: Yes, I see myself here for a few years, for sure, because the projects that I'm working on will last a few more years. Essentially it's as if you're trying to get a big baby to go to preschool, you want to stay with him until he's able to walk and talk on his own. That's what it's like for me with some of my projects, because I started with them and I want to see them through. They are also my motivation to stay.

MOBILITY AS A CAREER STRATEGY WITHIN THE EU INSTITUTIONS

The mobility scheme that promotes officials' circulation within the institutions is a significant factor shaping the careers of all Eurocrats. Another important dimension of professional mobility within the EU institutions that strongly informs Slovene Eurocrats' sense of professional identity concerns prospects of career advancement or vertical mobility. The situation of Slovene Eurocrats is similar to that of all post–2004-enlargement EU officials, the vast majority of whom started out in the EU institutions with entry-level positions. Opportunities for career advancement or vertical mobility are an important factor in terms of which Eurocrats evaluate their career prospects, chart their professional future, or define their sense of identity as EU officials within the institutions. Many interlocutors recounted similar processes, as did KV:

KV: Career advancement is very slow, very slow, you need almost three years to reach the next grade or rank. In order to get to the position of head of unit, it's almost impossible at this speed if you start out as low as we had to. The

Slovenes, well, I won't just say we Slovenes, all of us started after 2004. Because we had to start out so low, and there are negative sides to this that become apparent. And there are few possibilities for advancement. While you're still in the initial momentum, when everything is interesting, you're lucky, you get interesting work, you're meeting people, maybe this won't bother you that much. But later, when you advance for the first time, and then the second, and you realize that you'll never get there if you go the official route, your motivation wanes.

Many Slovenes related a similar process in which one can observe a shift in the terms and contexts that speakers employ to assess their career position. At first, everything is defined in favorable terms, particularly if the situation is compared to previous experiences in Slovenia. Salaries are extremely high in relation to salaries in Slovenia, a difference that is compounded by the favorable tax status of Eurocrats, as is the case for employees of many multilateral organizations. It is thus not surprising that all interviewees spoke positively of their increase in salary upon coming to Brussels. In addition, the nature of the work as well as work conditions are defined as a significant improvement and often one of the pleasant surprises upon moving to Brussels. Nonetheless, talk about career advancement is structured primarily in terms of time, given the transparency of the career advancement policy and its systematic implementation. EU officials can then plot their career trajectory in the institutions and can calculate how long it will take for them to go from an entry-level position to a mid-level position such as head of unit. As KV explains, it takes the better part of one's career to achieve the position of head of unit if one starts out with an entry-level position. Some took the *concours* with the aim of getting into the institutions, even if they were overqualified, in the hopes that they could make their way up the hierarchy once inside. However, this was not necessarily a plan that could be easily implemented given the system of career advancement that was in place.

Experiencing the slow rate of career advancement — most often on the heels of a relatively rapid rate of career advancement to Brussels — was a surprise for many and a cause for the loss of initial enthusiasm. It was also the basis for their re-evaluating their present position. When talking about career advancement, Slovene Eurocrats of the civil servant profile with previous professional experience invariably pointed out the comparative advantage of the Slovenian national administration regarding this issue, as CS explains:

CS: However, what is probably worse in the Commission is the system of career advancement, which is much slower than in the case of Slovenia, which has a smaller administration. So I'm under no illusions that I can become director overnight or something like that, which does sometimes happen, albeit with difficulty, if you have the right qualifications in Slovenia. It can happen in five years or so. On the other hand, this is almost impossible here. It's basically impossible.

Slovenes who started out in higher positions had to deal with a different, albeit analogous set of issues also linked to professional mobility and identity. As mentioned earlier, the first major step up the hierarchy to which many entry-level Eurocrats aspired was the level of head of unit. However, becoming head of unit was not only a significant step on the path of career advancement but also a substantial change in work duties. Becoming head of unit involved shifting from technocratic duties to managerial ones, meaning that one becomes significantly less involved in technical content and instead deals primarily with personnel management, as NH describes below:

> *NH: In the Commission itself, there's little vertical career advancement. When you go from one position to another, when you advance in your career, it's presumed that you also advance vertically. There also isn't a lot of horizontal advancement, that you go from level to level while working in the same field, allowing you to become an expert in a particular area. If you're more of a technical person, you wind up having to go into more managerial waters to move ahead. Once you become head of unit, the idea is that you're not so much an expert in the area you're working on but that you become an expert in managing people. You're the person who delegates tasks to those working below you, you know the dossiers enough but you don't have to know them well enough to be an expert, you've got experts working for you. I have the feeling, maybe I'm wrong, that as I've been observing things here, there's basically no policy of training people so that they become experts in a particular field and keeping them there. There's more a principle of rotation.*

For NH, career advancement after a certain level could become problematic as the mobility scheme prevented one from developing one's expertise by working in one area for more than a few years. In addition, moving too far up the ladder implied assuming managerial duties, which some could interpret as having to shift away from their area of expertise. Professional mobility in this context was a dilemma for those who strove to reconcile career ambitions as specialists in a particular field with the particular patterns for career advancement embedded in the institutions' bureaucratic structure. Some chose to set aside ambitions to move up the hierarchy. Others decided to advance their careers in accordance with the institutions' system of professional advancement, viewing the acquisition of management experience as an addition to their skill set, as in the case of DT:

> *DT: I did two* concours *for administrator-level positions and two* concours *for head-of-unit positions. I have to say that I initially never had such ambitions, I simply tried to see how I would do. I passed both and then I was faced with a dilemma: what should I do? Both head-of-unit positions were not at the same level. I then decided, given that I had a great deal of technical experience but not a great deal of managerial experience, to accept the higher position. I wanted to work as head of unit, to see what it was like, acquire experience, and learn how to manage people.*

STRATEGIES OF PROFESSIONAL MOBILITY BEYOND THE EU INSTITUTIONS

Reformulating their personal career-building plans in these terms was one of a range of strategies that Slovene Eurocrats employed to resolve this dilemma. SE, who works in the Commission, explains below that career building can be recontextualized by introducing other practices or narratives of professional mobility. One such practice can be returning to one's home country, which had become an option among the first Eurocrats from new member states resulting from previous EU enlargements. As SE explains below, this was a decision made by numerous officials from the first generation of Swedish Eurocrats:

> *SE: You begin to see that this is not a job for the rest of your career, if things move along so slowly. Basically the same thing happened with the Swedes. When they joined and began working here, after five or ten, years, when they were already working here, there was a shift. Those who were here missed their homeland a lot. Basically it's very pleasant to live in Sweden and so they decided to return. The same thing is basically expected from the new member states. Those who weren't so young, who began but who are middle-aged and had to begin so low, are slowly losing their motivation because they say that if you return, you find something back home at a higher level because you have international experience. You can find something appropriate at home. And they say the same thing can happen with us because we came so young, that we're motivated but that then you become saturated with this and you try to return. You might find something better at home than here because things move along so slowly here. Once you get in, things move along slowly.*

In 1995, Sweden became one of the last countries to join the EU together with Austria and Finland before the large enlargement of the EU in 2004. SE invokes accounts about the first generation of Swedes, who are characterized as having had a difficult time settling into the institutions, which resulted in some of them leaving the institutions to return to Sweden. Accounts about the case of Swedish national Eurocrats operate as a cautionary tale for new Eurocrats, in which the return of some Swedish EU officials to Sweden is cast as the result of a lack of understanding or identification with the institutions.

SE's narrative concerning the mobility of Swedish and Slovene Eurocrats follows on her words about the important realization that many Slovene Eurocrats arrive at after their first few years: that work in EU institutions may not be the only job for the rest of their career. For many, this realization marks a significant transition in both their lives and their narratives because it implies substantially reframing their career path and the role that Brussels plays in it. For the most part, Brussels operates as the end point and position from which narrators related their European stories. Some

structure their stories in terms of coincidences and key moments or experiences; other accounts are more determinative in nature, culminating with their arrival and time in Brussels. However, Slovenes also address the experiences in the institutions that spur them to reassess the role of Brussels as the end point of their career trajectories.

Slovene Eurocrats had been working in the institutions for only a couple of years. At the time of the interviews, the vast majority spoke more of long-term rather than short-term plans to return to Slovenia. SE also makes a subtle yet important distinction between the way Swedes and Slovenes view their homeland that highlights an important issue that is not addressed when talking about the high rate of return among the first generation of Swedish Eurocrats. She explains the decision of Swedish Eurocrats to return home as a result of missing their homeland, which is a very pleasant (or more pleasant) place to live. This explanation is linked, albeit implicitly, with a "logical" decision to move back to Sweden.

However, SE describes Slovenes and their presumed loss of motivation as Eurocrats as the result of a lack of professional mobility within the EU institutions. In this context, she speaks of Slovenia in terms of a place where it may be possible to return "at a higher level" because of experience accumulated in the institutions. Returning to Slovenia is defined less as a return to one's homeland and more as a place with comparative advantages as far as career opportunities are concerned. In short, one is not returning to Slovenia because one is Slovene, but because professionally speaking, one may have better prospects there. Professional prospects and professional mobility are understood in relational terms, with the lack of professional prospects — first in Slovenia and then possibly in Brussels — spurring social actors to move, either through practice or narrative.

SE mentions that people consider returning to Slovenia if they find a higher position that would compensate them for their international experience. However, such positions were quite rare, which was one of the main reasons why Slovene Eurocrats made the decision to move from Slovenia in the first place. Sometimes other significant factors — especially the location of spouses and family — helped tip the scales when deliberating a definitive return in the long run. Another reason that was mentioned that would spur someone to leave was linked to whether or not a person considered the institutions to be a professionally stimulating environment. This is a rather difficult issue to address analytically, given that it is not possible to paint all the institutions with the same brush. Researchers have pointed out that the institutions differ substantially among themselves and that even individual Directorate Generals (or DGs) within the Commission have remarkably different work environments (see Cini 2007). I have noted this among my interviewees, with people relating virtually polar opposite work experiences. One of them identified the bottom-up approach prevalent in her DG as one of the positive surprises of working the EU institutions, whereas another, NJ, cited the bureaucratic culture of the institutions as one of the reasons why she was thinking of leaving:

NJ: After a while this environment really shapes you, everyone becomes very similar, like a bureaucrat, and that's why I'm thinking of leaving. It wasn't a surprise to me, this culture of bureaucracy, that everything is slow, that career advancements are slow, that you need forms for everything. I knew that it would be like this; what I didn't know was that I wouldn't like it. Everything is relatively conservative here. Everything needs to be carried out according to certain procedures, people don't have the guts to do anything, they protect themselves, they don't assume any responsibility. This job requires a certain profile — you can be Spanish, Finnish — but everyone is similar, this place attracts people with similar dispositions. A free, creative, artistic soul would die here within the course of a year. Really.

Slovenes talked about different forms of work-related travel to Slovenia that did not involve a definitive return to Slovenia before retirement. For example, most often mentioned were two options built into the EU institutional system that would allow for short-term professional mobility outside the institutions analogous to the circulation promoted through the mobility scheme. For example, staff regulations also enable employees to take leaves of absence — even for many years — to one's home country. Their status as an official would be put on hold and await them on their return. None had decided to take such a leave of absence or knew of a Slovene who had done so, which is not surprising given the relatively short time Slovenes had been working in the institutions.

However, two interviewees had made use of another option of professional circulation outside the EU institutions that allowed officials to work temporarily for their national administrations before and during a member state's presidency of the EU Council. The EU Presidency is a human resources challenge for new member states. Before and during the six-month period of the presidency, the presiding member state needs a high number of experienced professionals that not only know how the EU institutions operate but are also well acquainted with what will be key issues and dossiers during that time. It is not surprising that the EU institutions allow Eurocrats to go "on loan" to national administrations to aid them during this period. In the case of the two interlocutors that took advantage of this option, they were placed on temporarily leave from the Commission and stationed at Slovenia's permanent representation in Brussels. It is also possible for EU officials in this situation to be stationed in the capitals of new member states for the duration of the presidency.

Another form of short-term professional mobility, albeit almost a sporadic one, involves traveling to Slovenia — as well as elsewhere abroad — as a representative of the EU institutions to conferences and workshops. Although the real-time duration of such travel is rather short, it is the product of professional connections fostered through systematic and often strategic networking. TJ, a Slovene Eurocrat who started out with an entry-level position in the Commission, explains that this sort of travel and professional performance enables one to attain the visibility that one does not

necessarily receive in one's own institution. This is to a great extent due to the way in which one's individual contributions to dossiers are recognized within the institutions:

> *TJ: Here you are, I would say, not just a number in the system; however, you're less visible here than you are, say, in the private sector or in the public administration of a nation-state. Here you're more of a bureaucrat. I don't sign off on the very important documents that I work on. Neither does my boss, but someone even higher up ... and then you sort of get lost. You're no longer visible, maybe just some initials next to a date can let someone know where a document comes from, no longer a name. And you have to get used to this, that you can't, that you no longer sign off on your own work, and that for more detailed information someone may call you on the phone. This is a Commission document. Basically the names of the people get lost in all this. This is OK for some people and hard to accept for others. And then you try to gain recognition in different ways. I don't know, you go to conferences and you present things that you've been working on, but they are presented as products of the Commission. You can't sign off on them, but if you present them maybe you can identify with them or the report or expert group. It's possibly harder to gain individual recognition inside the Commission than outside of it. Outside the Commission, people know that this is my area of expertise, they know how to find me and that I may be the person they need to invite to their conference. But inside, it's harder to be visible as the person who knows about a particular issue.*

TJ's comments point to the various functions of these options. Slovene Eurocrats who practiced the latter two forms of extra-institutional professional mobility employed them as mechanisms to further themselves professionally in ways that weren't possible within the institutions. Although this may not inform their career advancement in the institutions, they could employ mobile practices of this kind to expand the social landscape in which they can operate as professionals. In addition, they also build upon or exercise their expertise to gain additional recognition, which, according to TJ, seems to get lost in the work process. Collaborating, albeit temporarily, with the Slovenian civil service and in conjunction with Slovenian national Eurocrats enables them to establish new professional relationships and develop them further as relatively autonomous professionals and as Eurocrats. In addition, representing the Commission abroad at conferences and similar meetings enables them to invoke — albeit in a different context — their role as members of the Commission. Thus, the Slovene Eurocrats who took advantage of the option of circular or short-term mobility built into the EU institutional system were able to employ them to strengthen their status as professionals across a post-national landscape.

This discussion has primarily focused on practices of professional mobility linked to the EU institutions and the different ways they inform professional identity. Despite the important role that professional identity plays in structuring life stories, it

is associated with only a portion of the culturally significant practices and narratives of mobility in terms of which Slovenes experience, interpret, and define their shifting sense of identity. In addition, they capture only a fraction of Slovene Eurocrats' travels between Slovenia and Brussels. Thus, on their own, these professional travels do not provide a well-rounded picture of the ways in which Slovene Eurocrats related to Slovenia and to Brussels. The final chapter explores additional forms of moving and belonging, focusing primarily on patterns of travel and the way they help shape understandings of home.

CONCLUSION: REVISITING INTEGRATION IN A TRANSNATIONAL WORLD

Although the interviews were to a great extent unstructured, a final section of the interviews included a number of more structured questions. One of these questions concerned social ties and friendships. Whom did Slovene Eurocrats identify as their friends? With whom did they choose to spend their time? Whom were they in contact with — both in Brussels and elsewhere — and how did they maintain these relationships? How did these ties and friendships inform the way that they positioned themselves geographically and socially?

I had expected a certain range of answers when posing these questions. I presumed that moving to another country to take a job in the EU institutions results in significant shifts in all networks, both professional and personal. Living and working day-to-day at a new location presumably affects the range of social actors with whom Slovene Eurocrats form and maintain professional and social relationships. Moving to Brussels presumably implies forming new professional and personal contacts with Slovenes, Eurocrats, and social actors living beyond the confines of the Brussels bubble. Such a move also requires imply developing strategies to maintain personal and professional ties with family, friends, and colleagues back in Slovenia.

Meeting new Slovenes through work depended in part on one's specific work environment. The Slovenes working in translation units worked daily with a large number of Slovenes. Newcomers in these units automatically came into contact with a relatively large group of new Slovene colleagues when starting out. However, this was not the case for those Slovenes who came just after accession and worked in units or sectors in which they did not have a single Slovene colleague. Nevertheless, virtually all of the interviewees mentioned that they knew a few Slovenes in Brussels through whom they met others. A number of the first to arrive in Brussels set up a social network called BruSlov in 2005 in an effort to facilitate contact among Slovene Eurocrats as well as other Slovenes in Brussels and Belgium. Organizers set up a website (bruslov.net, later bruslov.info) that had practical information about living in Belgium as well as current events of interest to Slovenes living in Belgium. BruSlov is also known for organizing parties, particularly for Slovenia's cultural holiday, Prešeren Day (Bajuk Senčar 2014a).

When I asked NT, a gregarious Eurocrat who had been living in Brussels for about five years at the time of the interview, about the Slovenes she knew in Brussels, her answer surprised me:

NT: I know quite a lot of them because many of my former colleagues from Slovenia are here now. I studied international relations, and many of my university classmates are also here. If I count all the people here that I know from the different stages of my life ... it amounts to almost a hundred persons. And that's without having met them here. I've met many people this way, not through work. And this way I hang out with lots of Slovenes, I have to say, so many that I don't really feel the need to meet new people. This is because three, four of my best friends, they are all here, they are people that I've been close to for the last fifteen years. They have all come here. One of my closest friends works at the permanent representation, and through him I now know about twenty persons of my generation who work there. Two of my close friends work at the Commission, and then there are those working at the Parliament...

However, what is interesting to note in NT's response is that the Slovenes in Brussels that she identifies as her friends are all old acquaintances. She did not establish friendships with them in Brussels, but instead reunited with them there. She identified them as friends with whom she had established ties over the course of the last fifteen years. More importantly, she met them in the numerous places she had lived while pursuing graduate degrees and working in organizations abroad. For her, Brussels is the place where many of the central figures of her social world — as it has developed during the course of her life — currently live.

NT's description of her circle of friends points to the development of an emergent set of networks among this first generation of Slovene Eurocrats, many of whom followed similar channels across Europe to arrive in Brussels. Their social ties, which extend beyond the present, are centered in Brussels. More importantly, her words allude to a social map that is a product of her mobility as well as that of her friends, all of whom have slowly built up careers in EU affairs in this manner. Her sense of social belonging in Brussels is thus informed to a great extent by her mobile life path understood as a social process — a mobility that has not only professional dimensions, but also personal ones.

The previous chapters were centered on an examination of the cultural significance of Slovene Eurocrats' life stories and mobility for understanding their sense of identity once in Brussels. This chapter builds upon those chapters but is focused on how Slovene Eurocrats' travels once settled in Brussels inform the ways that they position Brussels within the context of their lives. Slovene Eurocrats' mobility does not conclude with their moving to Brussels, and their patterns of continued mobility transcend the Brussels bubble as the putative context in which integration presumably takes place. Their varied patterns of travel provide a productive site for examining the links between diverse practices and experiences of belonging and identified patterns of mobility. Such practices do not necessarily correspond to the definitive shift in identity that characterizes most integration theories (Delanty 2000; Sayad

2004). Theories of this kind do not leave much room for the ambivalence, simultaneity, multilocality or transnationality that characterizes the lifestyles of many mobile social actors in the global age, including European ones.[27] The continued mobility of Slovene Eurocrats may be considered as a site for negotiating transnational identity practices as well as shifting understandings of home.

PATTERNS OF MOBILITY AND MULTILOCALITY

The previous chapter addressed existing patterns of professional movement, which included the practices by way of which Slovene Eurocrats established and maintained varied professional relationships in Slovenia while based in Brussels. However, this did not exhaust the range of mobility of Slovene Eurocrats, who travel to Slovenia primarily for personal reasons. Some travel almost every week, and others once a month. Some travel primarily for holidays (Bajuk Senčar 2014). Travel to and from Slovenia is relatively simple for Slovene Eurocrats, given their high salaries and the range of possible modes of transport. The distance between Brussels and Ljubljana by train or car is approximately 1,200 kilometers, which is almost too far for less than a long weekend. It is more common to fly to Slovenia for weekend trips, a practice that became much more common when low-cost carriers also became an option.

A small percentage of Slovene Eurocrats traveled back and forth from Brussels to Slovenia virtually every week and can be described as highly multilocal, maintaining and living in multiple households. These highly mobile and residentially multilocal Slovene Eurocrats often form part of long-distance families or LAT (living apart together) couples. They live in Brussels during the week and return to Ljubljana on the weekends or every other weekend. Many multilocal Eurocrats take the Friday night flight to Ljubljana and return on the early Monday morning flight, allowing them to get to the EU institutions a little after nine in the morning. Multilocal living to this degree is primarily practiced by people of significant economic means with relatively high positions. Such a lifestyle requires maintaining two households as well as financing weekly or regular air travel. One identifiable group of multilocal Eurocrats in this category are members of the European Parliament, whose duties lend themselves to a more multilocal lifestyle both professionally and personally.

In such situations, families or significant others remain in Slovenia while Eurocrats have a place to stay in Brussels after work for the duration of the week. This

[27] Researchers who explore transnationalism include: Amit 2007, 2007b; Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc 1994; Biao 2007; Duchene Lacroix 2013, 2014; Favell 2008; Gardner and Grillo 2002; Kurotani 2007; Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004; Olwig 2002; Repič 2010; Rolshoven 2007; Stolcke 2008; Vertovec 2003, 2009.

is also a common practice for Eurocrats from member states close to Belgium, such as France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Germany. The fast train connections between, for example, Brussels and Amsterdam, London, and Paris facilitate multilocal living in situations in which couples and families can "live apart together" on a long-term basis. A French colleague explained how he buys Eurostar train tickets for his weekly commute home to Paris months in advance to secure good prices.

However, some multilocal Slovene Eurocrats move back and forth less frequently between both households, living for longer periods of time in Brussels before traveling to Slovenia, as in the case of AB:

> *AB: Living in Brussels is just fine. I don't have any problems with it. I settled in quite quickly, and if someone asks me where home is, yes, home is literally where my suitcases are. It's a very relative concept for me. When I go home tonight after work, I go home to Ixelles, where I live. Of course, when I go to Ljubljana, I go home to our apartment in Ljubljana. On the weekends, we live at our weekend house. That is where home is for me. I don't subscribe to the concept of home that poets and writers celebrate in their work. For me, home is everywhere where my suitcases are.*

AB is one of the relatively small group of mid-level Slovene Eurocrats, and at the time of the interview he formed part of a long-distance or LAT couple. His spouse remained in Slovenia to pursue her career, and the two have established a long-term practice of mobility and dwelling in numerous places — sometimes apart, sometimes together. In his narrative, AB quite articulately describes a shifting sense of belonging linked to continual movement. His feeling "at home" in Brussels is informed to a great degree by his long career in EU affairs and his previous experience living in Brussels as a national Eurocrat. His travels do not seem to cause a sense of rootlessness, but instead are incorporated into an account of a set pattern among locations in which he is, in his own terms, "settled in." This enables him to fashion a sense of home that is in effect multilocal in nature, despite the fact that his rhythms of travel are not as regular as those of the weekly mobile actors.

In the case of AB, home is a concept contingent upon one's shifting position within a particular social landscape. For others, Brussels represents home understood as a strategic middle ground. This is the case for multiethnic couples: Slovenes married to non-Slovenes. There are two different categories of multiethnic couples: those married to Eurocrats of another nationality, and those married to Belgians. Some of them are also so-called "College of Europe couples": multiethnic couples who first met as students at either of the College of Europe campuses and who came to live and work together in Brussels. Such is the case of TV and his wife, who is from Poland. Both of them came from their home countries to complete the one-year master's program. They view the EU institutions as an employment opportunity that allows both of them to work in their specialization, with neither of them being at a

disadvantage as a foreigner in their spouse's home country. In addition, they consider Brussels as a compromise, a third country in which to live:

> *TV: It's important to keep in mind that Brussels was a sort of neutral territory for us … where we both have equal opportunity, which would not be the case for me in Poland or for her in Slovenia.*

The number of Slovenes married to Belgians is rather small, due in no small part to their living primarily in Brussels bubble and socializing primarily with other Slovene colleagues, other Eurocrats, or other expats. In any case, Slovenes with Belgian partners often had additional reasons to seek employment in the EU institutions, as in the case of DB:

> *DB: I was sent here by the Ministry of --- by way of the ministry of foreign affairs to work at the permanent representation of Slovenia to the EU. Thus, I was stationed at the representation from 2005 through 2008. Right after the presidency I switched jobs. There were many reasons for this. The first reason is that I passed the* concours *and that I then waited for an appropriate job offer. When this job offer came, I accepted it. It came a bit earlier than I expected; I had wanted to stay at the representation a bit longer because my term had been extended for two years. However, a job offer came through that I liked, and so I took it. The second reason is that my husband is Belgian. He was also one of the reasons why I decided to take the* concours *and why I decided to stay because this is home for him; this is where he lives. And we agreed that we would not go live in Slovenia at this time. So I knew that after my term at the permanent representation was over, I would need to look for a job. This is also why I tried the* concours*; at the same time, I was also very curious about the whole thing.*

In the excerpt above, DB describes how she arrived in Brussels as a national Eurocrat and her reasons for seeking more permanent employment by taking the *concours*. Her main reasons, she explains, for seeking permanent employment in the EU institutions were professional curiosity and the desire to be with her Belgian husband. Together they decided to stay in Brussels for the time being, which she describes as home for him, where he lives.

Patterns of travel to and from Slovenia can also be fluid or change over time; in addition, they may be linked to gradually shifting senses of belonging. LK, for example, began working in the EU institutions as an administrative assistant on a short-term contract who acquired a permanent position upon passing the *concours*:

> *LK: Then there were those* concours*, the one last year and the one the year before that. I went and tried the* concours*, and I passed, so I have had a permanent job from August onwards. Before, when I had just arrived, I thought to myself: I'll be here for a few years and then return. So I didn't really plan anything here, I lived in two places. When you live here, you are always thinking about when you will go back to Slovenia. You keep buying*

tickets; you are always making plans. You plan ahead for vacations, for when you will go visit, when you will visit all your friends. But now when you are here "officially," you get a reality check. You realize that you will be staying here, and you have to change your way of thinking somewhat — not only about Slovenia. You have to make a home here ... I know many colleagues who live half-half, half here and half in Slovenia. This the mostly the case for those who don't have permanent positions. They basically have everything on standby, they are always waiting for something. You don't know if you will have a job or not; if you don't, then you have to come up with something. Some people have family in Slovenia. In my case this isn't an issue, I was very happy that I could finally live on my own, that I could afford an apartment. In Ljubljana, you can't afford anything, there's such a low standard of living for regular people. So coming here gave me some independence.

LK went through the selection process for a short-term position in the EU institutions for an administrative position at the encouragement of a colleague who was also applying. Although LK initially had no real plans to go to Brussels, she had been offered an eighteen-month contract and moved to Brussels together with her colleague. She took the *concours* while working in the EU institutions, and in the passage above she recounts her shifting relationship to Slovenia as her position in the EU institutions became more permanent. At first, she explained that she had taken the position in Brussels thinking that she was going to return to Ljubljana once the contract was finished in eighteen months. During that period, she described herself as living "in two places," a state of mind in which she was continually thinking about and planning visits to Slovenia while living day-to-day in Brussels. She argues that this is the case for the majority of short-term or contract agents, for whom this mindset serves as a survival mechanism in work situations in which it is not easy to plan too far in advance. Many explained that short-term contracts were often extended at the last minute, which meant that people always had to have another job option in the wings in case they were not able to stay in Brussels.

SHIFTING NARRATIVES OF IDENTITY AND HOME

In addition to contract agents, LK also singles out people in long-distance families among those who also live "half-half," or in two places. Although she is also close to her family and friends in Slovenia, she draws a distinction between herself and those with long-distance families. On the one hand, she equates living in Slovenia, albeit with family and friends, with not being able to live on her own due to the low standard of living in Slovenia. Coming to Brussels allowed her to attain a level of income that enabled her to live on her own and attain a certain level of financial autonomy.

Brussels thus becomes the seat of LK's independence. The recasting of Brussels in these terms is also facilitated by a pragmatic turn in her narrative, a reality check that she experienced upon acquiring a permanent position. Becoming "official," as she describes it, made her realize that she should also try to make a home for herself in Brussels.

The issue of being able to afford an apartment or home for oneself was an important factor in the narratives of Slovene Eurocrats who described settling down in Brussels. On the one hand, there is the issue of tying oneself to a particular locale through purchasing a home. However, a more important reason lies in understanding what having a home — or not being able to have one — means in relation to circumstances in Slovenia and the life experiences of Slovene Eurocrats. As LK explains in her story, moving to Brussels accorded her a level of economic independence that also allowed her to be on her own for the first time in her life. Not being able to be independent in Slovenia — despite having a full-time job — spurred her to pursue employment in the EU institutions as well as to stay in Brussels.

Another important issue that Slovene Eurocrats invoked when comparing living in Slovenia and living in Brussels is the dearth of available permanent employment positions in Slovenia due to increasing flexibilization of the workforce (Mrozowicki, Roosalu and Bajuk Senčar 2013). The lack of permanent employment positions — which, as mentioned in previous chapters, spurred many people to pursue graduate degrees abroad — had wide-ranging implications for young professionals. These ranged from not being able to plan further than the deadline of one's contract to not being eligible for loans and mortgages if one wanted to settle down. As TH, who jokingly refers to herself as an economic migrant, explains in this excerpt:

> *TH: Here it's much better than in Slovenia. In Slovenia, I could barely make ends meet. It was impossible to save anything, to be able to have something more from your salary. But here your salary rises, maybe every year by only fifty euros a month. They never lower your salary, only raise it. It may seem like a little bit, but it's already a big deal. You have a level of stability, you then know that you can begin to plan your life, and you can begin to settle down a bit, right. Personally I think that here it's possible to relax and think about what your next project can be.*

TH thus also draws a connection between stability and agency understood as being able to plan one's life. LT's description of the financial benefits of being an EU official follow on the experience of TH. LT came to Brussels with, as he succinctly says, no money saved. However, the salary and tax-exempt status of EU officials offered him the opportunity to make long-term purchases and take out loans, both virtually impossible in Slovenia for those with short-term employment.

> *LT: The financial aspects of this job are also important. By this I mean the high salaries, the tax breaks, and the benefits that you have in the first two*

years of employment. There are certain purchases you can make without paying VAT, much like in the case of diplomats. I think that in this way they force you to buy expensive cars, which happened to me, for example (laughter). *I was able to buy an apartment. The bank literally threw the money at me. I came here with no money. But I wanted to buy an apartment and the bank paid for everything ... 120%. Of course, I'm slowly paying this off and will do so for the next seventeen years. The conditions for loans in Slovenia can't compare at all. Of course, even normal Belgians don't have such benefits. We know that this is an element of the EU institutions. This way they try to prevent people from escaping to the private sector because, although they can pay you as much there, they can't offer the job security you have here.*

The working conditions of Eurocrats also provide them with financial conditions that allow many, as TH explains, to build up a home base for the first time. This opportunity is of course contingent on the banks that finance such planning, something that is virtually guaranteed for Eurocrats given the benefits that their status provides them, as LT describes. These sorts of benefits provide them with the conditions for being able to plan for the long term — not only professionally but also personally. Professionally speaking, this implies being able to plan and build a career in one's specialty. The fact that this was less feasible or in some cases not feasible at all in Slovenia spurred Slovenes to look to Brussels as a viable career option. In addition, being able to plan one's future as an individual in social terms that could sooner or later make it on one's own was an important personal criterion.

Being able to make a home for oneself not only involved acquiring a physical residence, but also securing the conditions that would allow one to raise a family — for those whose aspirations included family life. Many Slovene Eurocrats considered the flexible work conditions available at the EU institutions to have allowed them to adapt their schedule so that they could effectively balance their work lives and their personal lives. MC, who works at the EU Council and is a recent parent, argues that this sort of flexibility concerning work hours helps outweigh certain disadvantages, such as the slow rate of vertical mobility in the institutions, which was discussed in the previous chapter.

MC: I have to say that I don't have great aspirations to some high position. This is a job for me, and I find it attractive for me because it allows me to enjoy the benefits of a family life as well. But one of the positive sides to this job is that it allows for a great deal of flexibility. It allows me to work at 90%, 80%, or even less a week. It would be very difficult to work only 50% doing the work that I have because we often have day-long committee meetings. But I also have an older colleague who works only 50%, and sometimes she comes in for a whole week and then she's off for a week, or she works only three days a week. In short, this flexibility is very attractive because it allows me to balance my professional and personal lives. Here I feel that there's quite a

bit of freedom in the system, which of course has its rules and limits as far as flexibility is concerned. However, for my present personal needs, it provides me with a feeling of freedom and flexibility, also in terms of the possibility of extra days off if we accrue enough overtime. We can get two extra free days off a month if we have the necessary fifteen hours overtime in previous months. These are benefits that count for something in the end.

MC assesses her position in a strategic manner, in terms of advantages and disadvantages. While recognizing the existence of certain drawbacks, she primarily focuses on the features of the system that allow her to balance the professional and the personal, which is currently one of her priorities.

Many thus described how they began to establish a home base in Brussels for themselves and for their families. However, some viewed these same conditions as artificial:

NH: This is a world of its own. For example, you go to a dinner party, and you realize that you all just hang out with each other. There are five couples, and you will ask: where do you work? And they'll answer: I work at the Commission! (laughter). *Then they'll talk about the houses they've bought, the* maison de maître *houses. You realize that the clichés are true. They are the only ones that can afford these houses, either rich Belgians or Eurocrats. This is one of the reasons why I don't want to stay here, because I feel that this is a really artificial environment. I don't have any interest in making contacts with Belgians; I have nothing in common with them. I don't know the language; I have no cultural connection with them, the only thing we have in common is that I work here ... and this isn't enough for me.*

NH, who had been studying or working on EU affairs since embarking on her university studies in Ljubljana, viewed the world in which she was living in the same ways that the Brussels bubble is often depicted. In this passage, NH reflects on her own complex positioning and her lack of connection with Brussels and Belgium, ultimately arguing that living without those connections is not acceptable for her. She explains further on in her narrative that this is one of the main reasons behind her looking for a position in Slovenia after many years studying and working abroad. She describes her experiences in the following excerpt:

NH: I don't imagine myself buying a house or apartment here, having kids and sending them to a Belgian school, I really can't see myself doing that. I've also thought about going back to Slovenia, where I'd have half the salary I've got now. But with an attractive position in a country with a small state administration, you can do much more than in this enormous bureaucratic machine. However, I'd have to beg someone to come work for them. And then whenever you mention that you would like to come back, the first thing they ask is: don't you know how much we make here? You have no idea how they look at you. They are really distrustful. I don't understand why they react

that way. As if they are trying to figure out if you have a hidden agenda or something. Every few years I start thinking, maybe I should try anyway, but then when things become so problematic, I wind up going somewhere else.

Although NH is describing situations in two very different contexts in these two passages, they both deal with the issue of connections. In the first passage, NH describes how the Eurocrat professional and personal networks she is embedded in overlap to such a degree that these connections help create what she considers an artificial world. At the same time, she expresses feeling virtually no connection to Belgians either in terms of a common language or a common culture. She thus cannot imagine a future in Brussels and then turns to recount her deliberations about working in Slovenia after many years of study and work abroad. In this case, it was her potential employers in Slovenia that expressed a lack of connection through distrust. This particular experience spurred her to seek other options. She explains that such experiences motivated her to forge or expand her transnational connections as well as her cross-border professional mobility.

Others cast their lives in Brussels in the broader context of their professional experiences across multiple contexts, primarily identifying with particular features of the life experiences that they employ as criteria to distinguish different places from each other. Some of these criteria can seem a bit superficial. Many mentioned the level of cleanliness of Brussels, the speed at which its bureaucracy operates, driving in Brussels, and so on. However, when narrators such as LT reflected upon their time in Brussels against the backdrop of the broader framework of their life experiences, the issue of connections — social, cultural, or professional — became a pertinent issue:

LT: Looking back and analyzing things, I'd have to say that London was very important. It was only a year after I returned from London that I decided to go to Brussels. I'd gone to study in London for a year, and that was my first real experience abroad. I'd traveled before of course, but those were just shorter tourist trips, a few days at a time. This was the first time that I really left home, and it was a big turning point in my life, when I realized that a bigger environment suits me, an environment where you can lose yourself if you want, while at the same time you can prove yourself even though no one knows you. You aren't bound by the Slovene issues of who's related to whom and all that, where you were working before, and who you know. And all the rest. Of course, this can be fun until you get to the point where you start asking yourself: am I just me, or am I all my background, all my relatives and all my, I don't know, friends and colleagues from college. Despite my present salary, I don't have much left over because I'm paying off loans for my apartment. However, I know that in Slovenia, with my previous job, I wouldn't be able to afford the things I can here, the lifestyle and of course my independence in life. I was about thirty when I came here, now I'm older of course, but you have to break away sometime from certain life patterns and stand on your own two feet.

In this passage, LT ascribes his desire to live in what he terms a "bigger" environment to his experience living abroad in London. Soon after returning from London, he made the decision to try for a job in the EU institutions. He draws a comparison between a bigger environment in which you can lose yourself to one in which you are defined primarily by social connections — what he terms a typically Slovene issue. In addition, an important feature he associates with this bigger environment is the fact that one is evaluated on one's own merits as opposed to on the basis of whom you know and whom you are connected with. LT associates independence with breaking away from certain patterns (as well as certain ties) and standing on one's own two feet, things that he associated with living in what he terms bigger environments.

BETWEEN INTEGRATION AND TRANSNATIONALISM

The narratives discussed above do not conform to the logic prevalent in integration discourse in which mobility — be it social or spatial — is understood in terms of definitive shifts, and in which home is a stable point. Instead, the excerpts demonstrate a range of different mobile practices linked to sentiments of belonging based simultaneously on diverse sets of relationships that are in turn mapped onto various locales. All Slovene Eurocrats are by definition transnational as well as multilocal actors, who through narrative and practice describe how they live simultaneously in multiple places, which, as Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004: 596) argue, precludes the need to think in terms of definitive shifts in identity:

> *Once we rethink the boundaries of social life, it becomes clear that the incorporation of individuals into nation-states and the maintenance of transnational connections are not contradictory social processes. Simultaneity, or living lives that incorporate daily activities, routines, and institutions located both in a destination country and transnationally, is a possibility that needs to be theorized and explored. Migrant incorporation into a new land and transnational connections to a homeland or to dispersed networks of family, compatriots, or persons who share a religious or ethnic identity can occur at the same time and reinforce one another.* (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004: 596)

The practices of movement and travel of Slovene Eurocrats often begin before their employment in the EU institutions, and a growing sense of transnationality becomes — as in the case of LT with London — one of the main reasons why they decide to pursue a career in Brussels. The nature of their simultaneous living develops over time in accordance with shifting practices of movement and dwelling as well as a continual reassessment of the meanings accorded to the ties and social relationships that define relationships to particular locales. This implies, for example, that one's

understanding of home is continually reassessed, which does not necessarily involve implementing a definitive shift of home from one location to another. Instead, the stories point to the expansion of the understanding of home or, in multi-local terms, to practices of anchorage (Duchêne-Lacroix 2014) in multiple locales. Some of the Slovene Eurocrats discussed above describe building a home base as an important phase in assuming one's independence, which in turn reconfigures one's relationship to one's family home. Others narrate building a provisional home base that primarily serves as a residence in between weekend visits home to one's family in Slovenia. Yet others set up a framework of multiple homes that facilitate cross-border multilocality so as to maintain being in a long-distance (LAT) couple.

In all of these cases, home is understood in social terms, as a site at which numerous social networks and relationships intersect. The degree of local anchorage in any site defined as home is not determined simply by the regularity of travel, but instead by the (often shifting) meanings that Slovene Eurocrats accord to the range of relationships that define a site as home. Even in the case of those social actors that link building a home with independence, this does not imply cutting off ties so much as their redefinition. In addition, home is itself a relative term, linked to other significant sites across a postnational, European landscape.

In addition, Slovene Eurocrats demonstrate that being transnational actors does not necessarily result in limitless mobility and agency, but travel and movement along channels, connections, and networks, be they institutional, professional, or personal. Mobility and travel are transnational but socially grounded practices (Amit 2007; Favell 2008; Tsing 2000). This is often passed over in life stories due to the nature of agency that the genre accords to narrators, who assume the roles of narrator, social actor, and subject in their own life story. Narratives about mobility and immobility are also structured in terms of the networks and channels that facilitate or prevent social movement. At the same time, they should also be placed in broader contexts that that facilitate particular forms of movement (EU accession) or discourage them (economic crisis). Visits and attempts to return home analyzed as experiences of connection and disconnection also provide an important counterbalance to analyzing mobility and identity in accordance with essentialized categories of nations.

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AS CULTURAL PRACTICE

In these chapters, I have examined the ways in which Slovene Eurocrats as part of the first generation of 2004 Eurocrats articulate, experience, and practice European integration. In doing so, I have focused in particular on the ways in which Slovene Eurocrats continually engage the multiple formations of European integration that

have informed their career choices, the course of their life stories, their daily lives in Brussels, and their plans for the future. At the most general level, European integration can be defined as the process of EU enlargement that brought Slovenia into the fold of the EU in 2004 and accorded Slovenes the status of EU citizens. In addition, EU integration refers to processes of EU enlargement as they occurred at the level of the EU institutions. Third, EU integration refers to a discourse of identity prevalent in the EU institutions linked to EU enlargement as an integral part of a European historical project. EU integration is also an object of analysis defined by numerous communities of knowledge.

My aim in exploring Slovene Eurocrats' mobility was to flesh out their role as social actors in order to shed light on the dynamics that structure integration but are written out of the normative dimension of integration discourse (Sayad 2004) or European integration understood as cultural cohesion (Delanty 2000). Instead, Slovene Eurocrats' life stories help map out their understanding of Europe and integration grounded in social practices and experiences, in the spirit of Irène Bellier's description of processes of Europeanization among EU officials in the European Commission:

> *To be a European, it is not necessary to integrate in a single person the totality of the cultural characteristics found among the peoples, societies, and cultures of Europe. It suffices to integrate a few of these, such as the knowledge of a second European language or a professional experience beyond the national environment. A minimum experience of contact with other Europeans, in situations which favour personal development, is necessary in order to conceive of a European identity for oneself. This is achieved within the Commission, where the experience of working together in a plurinational framework permits the development of knowledge about others' practices and reflexes.* (Bellier 2000: 149)

Bellier's advocacy of the accumulation of experiences and skills beyond the national environment as crucial to the development of European identity is at the center of an actor-based understanding of Europeanization or integration in the context of the EU institutions. Bellier's understanding of Europeanization centers on the way that social actors themselves develop a sense of one's own Europeanness on the basis of contact with other Europeans within the EU institutions (in her case, the European Commission). The EU institutions operate as the central site of contact, to employ Bellier's words, for the formation of a sense of European-ness as Eurocrats.

The chapters that comprise this study address in various ways how the study of life stories helps identify the ways that Slovene Eurocrats define their own sense of Europeanness. Mapping out Slovene Eurocrats' stories includes moving beyond the Brussels bubble to identify what they define as significant experiences or points of contact as they travel across the European landscape. This implies broadening one's analytical focus to incorporate the experiences that they identify as part of their European stories and in relation to which they make culture sense of their tenure in

the European institutions. Examining their narrated life experiences in this manner provides the basis for analyzing integration as a cultural process and practice as opposed to integration understood as a project based on the often essentialized opposition between Europe and nation.

The move to integration as cultural process and practice hinges on a focus on the agency of Slovene Eurocrats both as narrators and as social actors as they both structure their stories and articulate their sense of identity in relational terms. An attention to their varied practices and experiences of mobility implies examining how their narratives about building careers, homes, families, and futures map out the contours and configuration of their referential universe. This facilitates the shift from an essentialized understanding of Slovene Eurocrats' identity to a transactional one, to borrow Abélès' (2004) term. In addition, such a shift entails situating nationality as a category of identity in relation to the remaining culturally significant categories that Slovene Eurocrats invoke as they continually negotiate their key professional and personal relationships. Nationality is a primary category of identity for Slovene Eurocrats, who work in the multinational environment of the EU institutions in which national difference is the norm. However, the analysis of the narrative structure of their life stories also depicts the significance of Slovene Eurocrats' professional identity. The analysis of Slovene Eurocrats' academic and professional experiences in the form of their transnational career trajectories provides the basis for developing a set of EU-based professional profiles. These different professional profiles do not refer to static conceptualizations of professional identity but to distinctive understandings of professional careers, which are the result of particular sets of career-building practices at numerous locales. In addition, analyzing the narratives of Slovenes of diverse professional profiles depicts the extent to which transnational professional profiles also inform the ways in which Slovene Eurocrats imagine both professional careers and personal futures.

Exploring the Europeanization practices of Slovene Eurocrats involves incorporating the existing range of their transnational experiences and narrative strategies. The distinctiveness of the European stories told by Slovene Eurocrats is that they situate and define their experiences in the EU institutions in relation to their remaining practices of European mobility. In this manner, they provide accounts of the ways in which they engage circumstances at the ground level as they strive to develop their careers and realize their futures in a postnational landscape. Upon relating their European stories, they render explicit the cultural logic that they employ as they continually reassess their sense of identity grounded in mobility, be it geographic, social, personal, or professional. In this manner, they provide crucial insights into the agency of Eurocrats as transnational actors in an ever-shifting European landscape.

REFERENCES

Abélès, Marc

2004 Identity and Borders: An Anthropological Approach to EU Institutions. Online Working Paper, 4. The Center for 21st Century Studies, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. https://www4.uwm.edu/c21/pdfs/workingpapers/abeles.pdf

1993 Political Anthropology of a Transnational Institution: The European Parliament. *French Politics & Society* 11 (1): 1–19.

Abélès, Marc, Irène Bellier and Maryon McDonald

1993 An Anthropological Approach to The European Commission. Report to the European Commission. https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00467768

Amit, Vered

2007a Structures and Dispositions of Travel and Movement. In *Going First Class?: New Approaches to Privileged Travel and Movement*, ed. Vered Amit, 1–14.

2007b Globalization through "Weak Ties": A Study of Transnational Networks Among Mobile Professionals. In *Going First Class?: New Approaches to Privileged Travel and Movement*, ed. Vered Amit, 53–71.

Amit, Vered, ed.

2007c *Going First Class?: New Approaches to Privileged Travel and Movement*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Amit, Vered and Noel Dyck, eds.

2006a *Claiming Individuality: The Cultural Politics of Distinction*. London and Ann Arbor: Pluto Press.

Amit, Vered and Noel Dyck

2006b On Claiming Individuality: An Introduction to the Issues. In *Claiming Individuality: The Cultural Politics of Distinction*, ed. Vered Amit and Noel Dyck, 1–21.

Appadurai, Arjun

1996 *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ashforth, Blake E., David M. Sluss and Spencer H. Harrison

2007 Socialization in Organizational Contexts. *International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology* 22: 1–70.

Bajuk Senčar, Tatiana

2014a Praznične prakse slovenskih evrokratov. In *Praznična večglasja: Prazniki in oblikovanje skupnosti na Slovenskem*, ed. Ingrid Slavec Gradišnik, 165–182.

2014b Eurocrats in Brussels: Contemporary Career Women. In *Going Places: Slo-*

venian Women's Stories on Migration, ed. Mirjam Milharčič Hladnik and Jernej Mlekuž, 213–234.

2010a Biographical Analysis and European Studies in Critical Realist Framework: Discussion of an Interview with a European-level Activist. Paper presented at international workshop Realist Biography and European Policy, Centre for Sociological Research, Catholic University of Leuven, Leuven, April 16-18.

2010b Biographical Narratives and the Europeanization of Professional Identity within the EU Institutions. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth, Queen's University, Belfast, April 13-16.

2009 The Integration of "East" and "West": Slovene Eurocrats and the Politics of Identity Within the Institutions of the European Union. *Traditiones* 38 (2), DOI: 10.3986/Traditio2009380211

2008 Direktorji in družbene mreže. In *Biti direktor v času socializma. Med idejami in prakso*, ed. Jurij Fikfak and Jože Prinčič, 187–204. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU.

2005 *Kultura turizma: antropološki pogledi na razvoj Bohinja*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU.

Bajuk Senčar, Tatiana and Jeffrey David Turk

2013 Biographies and the Drafting of EU Environmental Policy in an Anthropological Framework. In *Realist Biography and European Policy: An Innovative Approach to the Study of European Policy Processes*, ed. Jeffrey David Turk and Adam Mrozowicki, 167–189.

2011 Following European Stories: An Anthropological Study of European Integration. *Traditiones* 40 (2). DOI: 10.3986/Traditio2011400209

Bale, Tim and Paul Taggart

2006 First Timers Yes, Virgins No: The Roles and Backgrounds of New Members of the European Parliament. Sussex European Institute Working Paper 89. http://www.sussex.ac.uk/sei/publications/seiworkingpapers

Ban, Carolyn

2013 Management and Culture in an Enlarged European Commission. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

2009 The Making of the New Eurocrats: Self-Selection, Selection, and Socialization of European Commission Staff from the New Member States. [revision 1, 25 March 2009.] http://www.carolynban.net

Basch, Linda, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc

1994 *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers.

Beck, Ulrich and Edgar Grande

2007 *Cosmopolitan Europe*. Cambridge: Polity.

Bellier, Irène

2000a The European Union, Identity Politics and the Logic of Interests' Representation. In *An Anthropology of the European Union: Building, Imagining and Experiencing the New Europe*, ed. Irène Bellier and Thomas M. Wilson, 53–74. Oxford: Berg.

2000b A Europeanized Elite? An Anthropology of European Commission Officials. *Yearbook of European Studies* 14 (2000): 135–156.

1995 Une culture de la Commission Européene? De la rencontre des cultures et du multilinguisme des fonctionnaires. In *Politiques publiques en Europe*, ed. Yves Mény, Pierre Muller and Jean-Louis Quermonne, 49–60. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Bellier, Irène and Thomas M Wilson, eds.

2000a *An Anthropology of the European Union: Building, Imagining and Experiencing the New Europe*. Oxford: Berg.

Bellier, Irène and Thomas M. Wilson

2000b Building, Imagining and Experiencing Europe: Institutions and Identities in the European Union. In *An Anthropology of the European Union: Building, Imagining and Experiencing the New Europe*, ed. Irène Bellier and Thomas M. Wilson, 1–30. Oxford: Berg.

Bendix, Regina and Orvar Löfgren

2007 Double Homes, Double Lives? *Ethnologia Europaea: Journal of European Ethnology* 3 (1–2): 7–15.

Beyers, J.

2005 Multiple Embeddedness and Socialization in Europe: The Case of Council Officials. *International Organization* 59 (4): 899–936.

Biao, Xiang

2007 *Global "Body Shopping": An Indian System in the Information Technology Industry*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Bigo, D.

2011 Pierre Bourdieu and International Relations: Power of Practices, Practices of Power. *International Political Sociology* 5 (3): 225–258.

Boissevain, Jeremy

1975 Introduction: Towards a Social Anthropology of Europe. In *Beyond Community: Social Process in Europe*, ed Jeremy Boissevain et al., 9–17. The Hague: Department of Educational Science of the Netherlands.

Borneman, John

1992 *Belonging in the Two Berlins: Kin, State, Nation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Borneman, John and Nick Fowler

1997 Europeanization. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26: 487–514.

Bourdieu, Pierre
2004 The Biographical Illusion (trans. Yves Winkin and Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz). In *Identity: A Reader*, ed. Paul Du Gay, Jessica Evans, and Peter Redman, 297–303. London: Sage Publications.

Brettel, Caroline
2003 *Anthropology and Migration: Essays on Transnationalism, Ethnicity and Identity*. Walnut Creek, CA and Lanham MD: Altamira Press.

Busby, Amy
2013 "Bursting the Brussels Bubble": Using Ethnography to Explore the European Parliament as a Transnational Political Field. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society* 14 (2). DOI:10.1080/15705854.2013.785260

Checkel, Jeffrey T.
2005 International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework. *International Organization* 59: 801–826.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. and Peter J. Katzenstein, eds.
2009 *European Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cini, Michelle
1997 Adminstrative Culture in the European Commission: The Cases of Competition and Environment. In *At the Heart of the Union: Studies of the European Commission*, ed. Neill Nugent, 73–90. New York: St Martin's Press.

Clifford, James
1997 *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press.

Collins, Peter and Anselma Gallinat, eds.
2010 *The Ethnographic Self as Resource: Writing Memory and Experience into Ethnography*. London and New York: Berghahn Books.

Daniel, Ondřej
2007 Gastarbajteri: Rethinking Yugoslav Economic Migrations Towards European North-West though Transnationalism and Popular Culture. In *Imagining Frontiers, Contesting Identities*, ed. Steven G. Ellis and Lud'a Klusáková, 277–302. Pisa: Edizioni Plus.

Delanty, Gerard
2000 Social Integration and Europeanization: The Myth of Cultural Cohesion. *Yearbook of European Studies* 14 (2000): 221–238.

Diez, Thomas
2005 Constructing the Self and Changing Others: Reconsidering Normative Power Europe. *Millennium-Journal of International Studies* 33 (3): 613–636.

Duchêne-Lacroix, Cédric
2014 About Some Multilocal Living Patterns in the Global North. Keynote lecture at the international conference Multilocal Living in the Global South and in the Global North, Dortmund, University of Dortmund, September 18–19.

Duchêne-Lacroix, Cédric and Pascal Maeder
2013 La multilocalité d'hier et d'aujourd'hui entre contraintes et ressources, vulnérabilité et résilience. In *Hier und dort: Ressourcen und Verwundbarkeiten in multilokalen Lebenswelten: Ici et là: Ressources et vulnérabilités dans la vie multilocale*, ed. Cédric Duchêne-Lacroix and Pascal Maeder, 8–22. Itinera, Basel: Société Suisse d'histoire.

Egeberg, Morten
2004 An Organizational Approach to European Integration: Outline of a Complementary Perspective. *European Journal of Political Research* 43 (2): 199–219.

Favell, Adrian
2008 *Eurostars and Eurocities: Free Movement and Mobility in an Integrating Europe*. Malden and Oxford: Blackwell.
2001 Free Movers in Brussels: A Report on the Participation and Integration of European Professionals in the City. Brussel: Katholieke Universiteit. IPSoM Working Paper, 7.

Fechter, Meike
2007 Living in a Bubble: Expatriates' Transnational Spaces. In *Going First Class?: New Approaches to Privileged Travel and Movement*, ed. Vered Amit, 33–52.

Fikfak, Jurij and Maria Vivod, eds.
2009 *Europe: Imagination and Practices*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU.

Fikfak Jurij and Jože Prinčič, eds.
2008 *Biti direktor v času socializma. Med idejami in prakso*. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za slovensko narodopisje ZRC SAZU.

Fischer, Michael M.J.
1991 The Uses of Life Histories. *Anthropological and Humanism Quarterly* 16 (1): 24–27.

Fischer, Michael M.J. and Mehdi Abedi
1990 *Debating Muslims: Cultural Dialogues in Postmodernity and Tradition*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Gardner, Katy and Ralph Grillo
2002 Transnational Households and Ritual: An Overview. *Global Networks* 2 (3): 179–90.

Georgakakis, Didier
2011 Don't Throw out the "Brussels Bubble" With the Bathwater: From EU Institutions to the Field of Eurocracy. *International Political Sociology* 5 (3): 331–334.
2008 European Civil Service as a Group: Sociological Notes about the Eurocrats' "Common Culture". *The European Dimension of Administrative Culture*, ed. Joachim Beck and Franz Thedieck, 283–298. Baden Baden: Nomos-Verlag.

Georgakakis, Didier and Jay Rowell, eds.
2013 *The Field of Eurocracy: Mapping EU Actors and Professionals*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Georgakakis, Didier and Julien Weisbein
2010 From Above and Below: A Political Sociology of European Actors. *Comparative European Politics*. 8 (1): 111–115.

Geuijen, Karin, Paul 'T Hart, Sebastiaan Princen and Kutsal Yesilkagit
2008 *The New Eurocrats: National Servants in EU Policy Making*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Giordano, Christian
1987 The "Wine War" between France and Italy: Ethno-anthropological Aspects of the European Community. *Sociologia Ruralis* 27: 56–66.

Glick Schiller, Nina
1995 From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. *Anthropological Quarterly* 68 (1): 48–63.

Goddard, Victoria A., Josep R. Llobera and Cris Shore, eds.
1994a *The Anthropology of Europe: Identities and Boundaries in Conflict*. Oxford and Washington, DC: Berg.

Goddard, Victoria A , Josep R Llobera and Cris Shore
1994b Introduction: The Anthropology of Europe. In *The Anthropology of Europe: Identities and Boundaries in Conflict*, ed. Victoria A. Goddard, Josep R. Llobera and Cris Shore, 1–40.

Greenhalgh, Cathy
2007 Traveling Images, Lives on Location: Cinematographers in the Film Industry. In *Going First Class?: New Approaches to Privileged Travel and Movement*, ed. Vered Amit, 72–86.

Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson, eds.
1997 *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.

Hannerz, Ulf.
1990 Cosmopolitans and Locals in World Culture. *Theory, Culture and Society* 7 (2): 237–51.
1996 *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*. London and New York: Routledge.
2004 *Foreign News: Exploring the World of Foreign Correspondents*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Harmsen, Robert and Thomas M Wilson
2000 Introduction: Approaches to Europeanization. *Yearbook of European Studies* 14 (1): 13–26.

Herzfeld, Michael
1992 *The Social Production of Indifference: Exploring the Symbolic Roots of Western Bureaucracy*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Holmes, Doug
2009 Experimental Identities (After Maastricht). In *European Identity*, ed. Jeffrey T. Checkel and Peter J. Katzenstein, 52–80. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2000 *Integral Europe: Fast-Capitalism, Multiculturalism, Neofascism*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Hooghe, Liesbet
2005 Several Roads lead to International Norms, but Few Via International Socialization: A Case Study of the European Commission. *International Organization* 59: 861–98.
2001 *The European Commission and the Integration of Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1999 Consociationalists or Weberians? Top Commission Officials on Nationality. *Governance* 12 (4): 435–463.

Jaffe, Alexandra
1993 Corsican Identity and a Europe of Peoples and Regions. In *Cultural Change and the New Europe: Perspectives on the European Community*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson and M. Estellie Smith, 61–80. Boulder: Westview Press

Kearney, Michael
1995 The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 547–565.
1986 From the Invisible Hand to Visible Feet: Anthropological Studies of Migration and Development. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 15: 331–361.

Kohn, Tamara
2010 The Role of Serendipity and Memory in Experiencing Fields. In *The Ethnographic Self as Resource: Writing Memory and Experience into Ethnography,* ed. Peter Collins and Anselma Gallinat, 185–199.

Kurotani, Sawa
2007 Middle-Class Japanese Housewives and the Experience of Transnational Mobility. In *Going First Class?: New Approaches to Privileged Travel and Movement*, ed. Vered Amit, 15–32.

Levitt, Peggy in Nina Glick Schiller
2004 Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society. *International Migration Review* 38 (3): 1002–39.

Luksic-Hacin, Marina
2009 In kaj je ta transnacionalizem? Razmišljanja ob knjigi Jake Repiča "Po sledovih korenin": transnacionalne migracije med Argentino in Evropo. *Glasnik SED* 49 (1–2): 61–66.

Mandel, Ruth
1994 "Fortress Europe" and the Foreigners Within: Germany's Turks. In *The Anthropology of Europe: Identities and Boundaries in Conflict*, ed. Victoria A. Goddard, Josep R. Llobera and Cris Shore, 113–124.

Manners, Ian
2008 The Normative Ethics of the European Union. *International Affairs* 84 (1): 45–60.

Marcus, George E.
1998 *Ethnography through Thick and Thin*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
1995 Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of the Multi-Sited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.an.24.100195.000523

McDonald, Maryon
1997 Identities in the European Commission. In *At the Heart of the Union: Studies of the European Commission*, ed. Neill Nugent, 51–72.
1996 "Unity in Diversity": Some Tensions in the Construction of Europe. *Social Anthropology* 4: 47–60.

Milharčič Hladnik, Mirjam and Jernej Mlekuž, eds.
2014 *Going Places: Slovenian Women's Stories on Migration*. Akron: University of Akron Press.

Miller, Robert, ed.
2012 *The Evolution of European Identities: Biographical Approaches*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Mines, Mattison
2006 In the Aftermath of Death: Presenting Self, Individuality and Family in an Iyangar Family in Chennar, 1994. In *Claiming Individuality: The Cultural Politics of Distinction*, ed. Vered Amit and Noel Dyck, 22–51.

Mrozowicki, Adam, Triin Roosalu, and Tatiana Bajuk Senčar
2013 Precarious Work in the Retail Sector in Estonia, Poland and Slovenia: Trade Union Responses in a Time of Economic Crisis. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research* 19 (2): 267–278.

Mrozowicki, Adam, Jeffrey David Turk and Markieta Domecka
2013 Introduction: The Need for Realist Biography in European Policy Studies. In *Realist Biography and European Policy: An Innovative Approach to European Policy Studies*, ed. Jeffrey David Turk and Adam Mrozowicki, 13–42.

Nicolaïdis, Kalypso and Robert Howse
2002 "This is my EUtopia...": Narrative as Power. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 40 (4): 767–792.

Nugent, Niell, ed.
1997 *At the Heart of the Union: Studies of the European Commission*. St Martin's Press: New York.

O'Dowd Liam, and Thomas M. Wilson, eds.
1996 *Borders, Nations and States. Frontiers of Sovereignty in the New Europe*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Oliver, Caroline
2007 Imagined Communitas: Older Migrants and Aspirational Mobility. In *Going First Class?: New Approaches to Privileged Travel and Movement*, ed. Vered Amit, 126–143.

Olwig, Karen Fog
2002a Sustaining a Home in a Deterritorialized World. In *Siting Culture: The Shifting of Anthropological Knowledge*, ed. Karen Fog Olwig and Kirsten Hastrup, 17–38. London and New York: Routledge.
2002b A Wedding the the Family: Home Making in a Global Kin Network. *Global Networks* 2 (3): 205–18.
2006 Growing up in the Caribbean: Individuality in the Making. In *Claiming Individuality: The Cultural Politics of Distinction*, ed. Vered Amit and Noel Dyck, 1–66.

Ong, Aiwha
1999 *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Poročilo o uspešnosti kandidatov, udeležencev programa Fast Stream, na prvih natečajih za zaposlitev v institucijah EU/Report on the success of Fast Stream students on the first EU employment competitions. http://www vlada si/fileadmin/dokumenti/cns/doc/041029174320D_95v20faststream doc

Reed-Danahay, Deborah
2006 Becoming Education, Becoming an Individual? Tropes of Distinction and "Modesty" in French Narratives of Rurality. In *Claiming Individuality: The Cultural Politics of Distinction*, ed. Vered Amit and Noel Dyck, 131–152.

Repič, Jaka
2006 *"Po sledovih korenin": Transnacionalne migracije med Argentino in Evropo*. Ljubljana; Oddelek za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo, Filozofska fakulteta.
2010 Ambivalent Identities Emerging in Transnational Migrations Between Argentina and Slovenia. *Dve Domovini/Two Homelands* 31: 121–34.

Risse, Thomas
2004 European Institutions and Identity Change: What Have We Learned? In *Transnational Identities: Becoming European in the EU*, ed. Richard Herrmann, Marilynn Brewer and Thomas Risse, 247–273. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Rodman, Margaret
1992 Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality. *American Anthropologist* 94 (3): 640–656.

Rodman, Margaret C.
2007 Privileged Time: Volunteers' Experiences at a Spiritual Retreat in Hawai'i. In *Going First Class?: New Approaches to Privileged Travel and Movement*, ed. Vered Amit, 144–158.

Rolshoven, Johanna
2007 The Temptations of the Provisional: Multilocality as a Way of Life. *Ethnologia Europaea: Journal of European Ethnology* 37 (1-2): 17–25.

Rozanska, Julia
2011 Polish EU Officials in Brussels: Analysis of an Emerging Community. *Migracijske i etničke teme* 27 (2): 263–98.

Sayad, Abdelmayek
2004 *The Suffering of the Immigrant*. Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press.

Shore, Cris
2004 Whither European Citizenship? Eros and Civilization Revisited. *European Journal of Social Theory* 7 (1): 27–44.
2000 *Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration*. London: Routledge.

Shutes, Mark T.
1993 Rural Communities Without Family Farms? Family Dairy Farming in the Post-1993 EC. In *Cultural Change and the New Europe: Perspectives on the European Community*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson and M. Estellie Smith, 123–142.

Slaughter, Anne-Marie
2004 Disaggregated Sovereignty: Towards the Public Accountability of Global Government Networks. *Government and Opposition* 39 (2): 159–190.

Slavec Gradišnik, Ingrid, ed.
2014 *Praznična večglasja: Prazniki in oblikovanje skupnosti na Slovenskem*. Ljubljana: Univerza v Ljubljani, Filozofska Fakulteta.

Slovenian Presidency.
2008 Slovenian Presidency Programme. http://www.eu2008.si/includes/Downloads/misc/program/Programme_en.pdf

Smith, Estellie M.
1993 The Incidental City: Urban Entities in the EC of the 1990s. In *Cultural Change and the New Europe: Perspectives on the European Community*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson and M. Estellie Smith, 47–60. Boulder: Westview Press.

Spinelli, Altiero
1966 *The Eurocrats: Conflict and Crisis in the European Community*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Stanton, Gareth
1994 The Play of Identity: Gibraltar and its Migrants. In *The Anthropology of Eu-*

rope: Identities and Boundaries in Conflict, ed. Victoria A. Goddard, Josep R. Llobera and Cris Shore, 173–190.

Stevens, Anne, and Hadley Stevens
2001 *Brussels Bureaucrats? The Administration of the European Union*. New York: Palgrave Press.

Stirrat, Roderick L.
2000 Cultures of Consultancy. *Critique of Anthropology* 20 (1): 31–46.

Stolcke, Verena
2008 Los Mestizos no se Nacen, se Hacen. In I*dentidades Ambivalentes en América Latina (siglos XVI–XXI)*, ed. Verena Stolcke and Alexandre Coello, 18–58.
1995 Talking Culture: New Boundaries, New Rhetorics of Exclusion in Europe. *Current Anthropology* 36 (1): 1–24.

Stolcke, Verena and Alexandre Coello, eds.
2008 *Identidades Ambivalentes en América Latina (siglos XVI–XXI)*. Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra.

Stone Sweet, Alec, Wayne Sandholtz and Neil Fligstein, eds.
2001 *The Institutionalization of Europe*. London: Oxford University Press.

Suvarierol, Semin
2011 Everyday Cosmopolitanism in the European Commission. *Journal of European Public Policy* 18 (2): 181–200.
2008 Beyond the Myth of Nationality: Analysing Networks within the European Commission. *West European Politics* 31 (4): 701–24.

Suvarierol, Semin, Madalina Busuioc, and Martijn Groenleer
2013 Working for Europe? Socialization in the European Commission and Agencies of the European Union. *Public Administration* 91 (4): 908–927.

Thedvall, Renita
2007 The EU's Nomads: National Eurocrats in European Policymaking. In *Observing Government Elites: Up Close and Personal*, ed. R.A.W. Rhodes, Paul 't Hart, Paul and Mirko Noordegraaf, 160–179. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.
2006 *Eurocrats at Work: Negotiating Transparency in Postnational Employment Policy*. Stockholm; Intellecta Docysis.

Tomlinson, John
1999 *Globalization and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Tsing, Anna
2005 *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
2000 The Global Situation. *Cultural Anthropology* 15 (3): 327–60.

Turk, Jeffrey David
2011 The Slovene Presidency and EU Environmental Policy Impact: Using Narra-

tives for Social Science. Paper presented at the *UACES 41st Annual Conference*, Cambridge, UK, 5-7 September.

2010 Slovene Integration and EU Environmental Policy Impact: Using Narratives for Social Science. Paper presented at the *Conference for Applied Biographical Research*, Nuremberg, Germany, September 18-20.

2009 EU Integration and Environmental Policy Impact. Paper presented at the 39th UACES Annual Conference, Angers, France, September 3-5.

2008 Slovenski direktorji kot iskalci in povezovalci med domačim okoljem in zunanjim svetom. In *Biti direktor v času socializma. Med idejami in prakso*, ed. Jurij Fikfak and Jože Prinčič, 165–186.

Turk, Jeffrey David and Adam Mrozowicki, eds.

2013 *Realist Biography and European Policy: An Innovative Approach to the Study of European Policy Processes*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.

Turk, Jeffrey David and Tatiana Bajuk Senčar

2010 Biographies of the First Generation of Slovene Eurocrats: Using Narratives for Research on EU Policy Practice and Professional Formation. Paper presented at the *UACES 40th Annual Conference*, Bruges, September 6-8.

Turk, Jeffrey David and Adam Mrozowicki

2010 Realist Biography: Methodological Rigour with Social Ontology. Paper presented at the conference *Social Agency 2010: Theoretical and Methodological Challenges of the 21st Century Humanist Sociology Wrocław*, Poland, October 20-22.

Vertovec, Stephen

2009 *Transnationalism*. London: Routledge.

2003 Migration and other Modes of Transnationalism: Towards Conceptual Cross-Fertilization. *International Migration Review* 37 (3): 641–65.

Wengraf, Tom

2001 *Qualitative Research Interviewing: Biographic Narratives and Semi-Structured Methods*. London: Sage.

2008 Life-histories, Lived Situations and Ongoing Personal Experiencing. Biographic-Narrative Interpretive Method: BNIM Interviewing and Interpretation. 9th February 2008. version 8.02b. http://tinyurl.com/o6nq3kg

Wilson, Thomas M. and M. Estellie Smith, eds.

1993 *Cultural Change and the New Europe: Perspectives on the European Community*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Wilson, Thomas M.

1993 An Anthropology of the European Community. In *Cultural Change and the New Europe: Perspectives on the European Community*, ed. Thomas M. Wilson and M. Estellie Smith, 1–24.

Zabusky, Stacia E.
1995 *Launching Europe: An Ethnography of European Cooperation in Space Science*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
2000 Boundaries at Work: Discourses and Practices of Belonging in the European Space Agency. In *An Anthropology of the European Union: Building, Imagining and Experiencing the New Europe*, ed. Irène Bellier and Thomas M. Wilson, 179–200.

Ziller, Jacques
1993 *Administrations comparées: Les systèmes politico-administratifs de l'Europe des Douze*. Paris: Montchrestien.

EVROPSKA INTEGRACIJA KOT KULTURNA PRAKSA
O PRVI GENERACIJI SLOVENSKIH EVROKRATOV

Delo Tatiane Bajuk Senčar *Evropska integracija kot kulturna praksa* je antropološka analiza kulturnih formacij, praks in izkušenj prve generacije Slovencev, ki delajo v institucijah Evropske unije. Slovenija je 1. maja 2004 postala polnopravna članica Evropske unije in se s tem tudi formalno vključila v procese evropske integracije, ki na novo opredeljujejo odnose med državami članicami. Procesi evropske integracije, ali, širše gledano evropeizacije, se odvijajo na številnih, med seboj prepletenih ravneh – od ravni vladnih teles do ravni posameznih družbenih akterjev. Članstvo Slovenije v EU je omogočilo slovenskim državljanom, prebivalcem države članice EU, da so se prijavili za delo v obstoječih institucijah EU in agencijah, ki se širijo z vsako naslednjo širitvijo EU. Številni Slovenci, ki so se prijavili na delovna mesta, namenjena državljanom novih držav članic, zdaj delajo kot evrokrati na različnih lokacijah v okviru institucionalnega omrežja EU; sodelovali so tudi v širitvi evropskih institucij, ki je sledila povečanju EU iz leta 2004.

Raziskava je eden glavnih rezultatov raziskovalnega projekta Antropologija evropske integracije, ki ga je financirala Slovenska raziskovalna agencija.[28] Projekt se je osredotočal na slovenske evrokrate kot skupino, pri čemer je raziskoval določen vidik EU integracijskih procesov od spodaj navzgor, torej z vidika družbenih akterjev, ki so vsakodnevno vpleteni v te procese. Študija tako dopolnjuje pristope k raziskovanju integracij na makro ravni, ki se večinoma osredotočajo na interakcije med državami članicami; raziskava praks in izkušenj evrokratov kot družbenih akterjev, vključenih v te procese nam zagotavlja vpogled v dimenzijo evropeizacije, ki je pristopi na makro ravni navadno ne zmorejo zaznati.

Evrokrati, ki delajo v ustanovah EU, so postali predmet raziskav že pred več kot petdesetimi leti (Spinelli 1966). Raziskovalci, ki so analizirali evrokrate in institucije EU, ki oblikujejo vsakdanjik Evropejca, poudarjajo, kako pomembno je preučevati učinke uvajanja uradnikov iz različnih kultur v uveljavljene administrativne prakse institucij (Stevens in Stevens 2001; Ziller 1993) ob vsakem novem valu širitve. Tako so posebej antropologi opozarjali na pomen prve širitve EU v 1973, ki je evrokrate prisilila, da se sprijaznijo z uvajanjem raznolikosti v smislu slogov, kultur in jezikov,

[28] Raziskovalni projekt Antropologija evropske integracije/The Anthropology of European Integration (J6-9245), ki ga je vodila Tatiana Bajuk Senčar, je financirala Slovenska raziskovalna agencija v letih 2007-2010. Projekt je bil v celoti zaključen v okviru raziskovalnega program P6-0088.

kot tudi različnega razumevanja Evrope (Bellier 2000a). Pomen širitve iz leta 2004, ki je tudi podlaga tej raziskavi, se kaže v tem, da gre za največjo širitev EU in da je po hladni vojni prvič ponovno združila vzhodno in zahodno Evropo.

Velik del dosedanjega raziskovanja integracije evrokratov v institucije EU se osredotoča na izkušnje starejših, uveljavljenih evrokratov, ki že mnogo let delajo v teh ustanovah. V našem primeru, pri slovenskih evrokratih, ki so kot sogovorniki sodelovali v raziskovalnem projektu, pa gre za del posebne skupine evropskih akterjev, ki so postali prva generacija evrokratov iz držav članic, pridruženih leta 2004. Prav raziskava te prve generacije evrokratov, družbenih socialnih akterjev iz držav članic, pridruženih leta 2004, lahko zagotovi številne vpoglede v dinamiko družbenih procesov, ki jih prinaša širitev Evropske unije (Ban 2009, 2013).

Študija je bila tako zamišljena kot raziskava procesa integracije z vidika slovenskih evrokratov in ne ustanov EU ali uveljavljenih dolgoletnih uradnikov. Glavna vprašanja, ki so usmerjala raziskavo, so odsevala ta preobrat v perspektivi in se osredotočala na preučevanje, na kakšne načine so Slovenci načrtovali svoje kariere in življenja pod evropskimi pogoji. Slovenci, ki so sodelovali v raziskavi, so kot člani prve generacije evrokratov iz novih držav članic na nek način pionirji. V trenutku pridružitve držav članic namreč ni bilo vzpostavljenih smeri kroženja ali omrežij, ki bi olajševala vstop v institucije EU – kot velja za EU uradnike iz uveljavljenih držav članic. Prav tako iz določene države članice ni bilo prejšnjih generacij evrokratov, ki bi lahko služili kot model za tiste, ki se podajajo na kariero v institucijah EU. Raziskava se je osredotočala na zarisovanje nastajajočih poti ali kanalov, ki jih Slovenci utirajo v času svojih karier v okviru EU, in raziskovala povezave med njihovimi premiki in občutkom identitete.

Projekt je s tem namenom vključeval preučevanje izkušenj, ki so jih slovenski evrokrati imeli v Bruslju, v širšem kontekstu njihovih življenjskih izkušenj in poklicne formacije. Projekt je sicer temeljil na etnografskem terenskem delu v Bruslju, a je vseeno v veliki meri izkoriščal nabor in analizo življenjskih zgodb evrokratov. Terensko delo v Bruslju je torej vključevalo izvajanje približno 50 nestrukturiranih intervjujev, pri katerih je kot smernica služila biografsko-narativna interpretativna metoda (BNIM, gl. Wengraf 2001). Slovenski evrokrati, ki so pristali na sodelovanje v projektu, so bili zaposleni v najrazličnejših bruseljskih institucijah EU. Med sodelujočimi so bili tudi tako imenovani nacionalni evrokrati, namreč slovenski javni uslužbenci, ki so zaposleni v Bruslju in delujejo v navezi z institucijami EU, a pri tem zastopajo Slovenijo kot državo članico.

Avtorica v osrednjem argumentu, ki ga razvije v knjigi, zagovarja, da so meje integracije kot analitični koncept pa tudi identitetni diskurz povezane z mejami, ki jih integracija postavlja družbenim akterjem, vključenim v te procese. Meje so predvsem posledica prekrivanja normativnih in analitičnih dimenzij integracije, za katere nekateri strokovnjaki zagovarjajo, da so vgrajene v samo definicijo integracije

(Sayad 2004: 216) kot preskoka iz drugosti v identiteto. Definicija integracije v smislu želenega konca pa zameji definicijo drugosti – in s tem položaj družbenih akterjev. Naslednja poglavja prinašajo etnografski pregled različnih vidikov mobilnosti slovenskih evrokratov kot sredstvo za kritičen spoprijem z normativnimi dimenzijami in mejami integracije. Življenjske zgodbe slovenskih evrokratov v ta namen pomagajo pri začrtovanju težav, izkušenj in gibanj, ki sestavljajo specifično polje integracije slovenskih evrokratov kot kulturno prakso.

Monografija kot izhodišče uporablja predhodne predstavitve in publikacije (vključno z Bajuk Senčar 2009, 2014, 2014a; Bajuk Senčar in Turk 2011), v katerih se je avtorica v različnem obsegu dotaknila vprašanj mobilnosti, identitete in integracije. Različna poglavja se sicer posvečajo različnim razsežnostim ali praksam mobilnosti, a skupaj tvorijo etnografsko pripoved o formaciji prve generacije slovenskih evrokratov, ki temelji na njihovih pripovedih in vsakodnevnih izkušnjah. To vključuje tudi analitično obravnavo diskurzov in struktur identitete v institucijah EU, na podlagi česar dobimo pogled na integracijo tako od spodaj navzgor kot od zgoraj navzdol. Omenjena analiza je prikaz integracijske družbene krajine slovenskih evrokratov na osnovi njihovih zgodb, pri čemer so v ospredju interakcija med prevladujočimi institucionalnimi diskurzi in praksami ter pripovedi o mobilnosti in delovanju.

Jeffrey Turk v svojem prispevku "Razvoj dogodkov v Evropski uniji in Sloveniji med letoma 1980 in 2008/Developments in the European Union and Slovenia from 1980 to 2008," podaja uvodni zgodovinski in institucionalni pregled za obdobje od leta 1980 do 2008. Na podlagi tega orisa lahko zbrane intervjuje postavimo ob podlago ključnih dogodkov in procesov, ki so se v letih pred slovensko priključitvijo Evropski uniji odvili v Sloveniji, v EU in drugod po svetu. Temu sledi kratka predstavitev zgodovine EU in njenih institucij s poudarkom na zgodovino širjenja EU, na kateri temelji zgodovinska širitev EU iz leta 2004. Institucionalna zgodovina vsebuje tudi razpravo o pripravah institucij EU na širitev iz leta 2004, vključno s postopki zaposlovanja, ki so jih vzpostavili za morebitne delavce iz novih držav članic. Pogled na pristop z vidika institucij EU dopolnjuje analitična predstavitev priprav slovenske vlade na pridružitev. Turk v tej predstavitvi izpostavlja ključne slovenske institucionalne akterje, ki so usmerjali proces pristopa, kot tudi različne korake pristopanja.

Tatiana Bajuk Senčar v prvem poglavju "Vloga mobilnosti v študiji evropske integracije/The Role of Mobility in the Study of European Integration," orisuje teoretska vprašanja, ki uokvirjajo etnografsko študijo slovenskih evrokratov, predstavljeno v naslednjih poglavjih. Za učinkovito preučevanje povezav med mobilnostjo in identiteto slovenskih evrokratov je nujna analiza njihovih premikov, kot so ti utemeljeni v kulturnih praksah. To vključuje analizo njihovih praks mobilnosti, kolikor se navezujejo na širše procese globalizacije, hkrati pa so specifične za evropski kontekst, ki ga zaznamujejo povezani procesi evropske integracije in evropeizacije. Poglavje se osredotoča na razumevanja evropske integracije, ki prevladujejo v študijah EU in orisujejo integracijo, opredeljeno kot nadnacionalno organizacijo,

kot močan politični projekt in kot diskurz identitete in družbeni proces. Razprava vključuje tudi antropološke prispevke k razumevanju evropeizacije in evropske integracije, ki te procese analitično prizemljijo z osredotočenjem na družbene akterje in njihove vsakodnevne prakse v institucijah EU. Bajuk Senčar predstavi svojo raziskavo o prvi generaciji slovenskih evrokratov kot utemeljeno na antropološki raziskavi, ki se osredotoča na normativne dimenzije integracijskega diskurza institucij EU. Pri tem zagovarja, da osvetljevanje izkušenj slovenskih evrokratov zahteva kritično uporabo normativnih dimenzij integracije in prepoznavanje meja, ki jih ta postavlja na dejavnost družbenih akterjev. Te meje je mogoče obravnavati na podlagi vključevanja celotnega nabora praks slovenskih evrokratov prek zbiranja in analize njihovih življenjskih zgodb. S preučevanjem mobilnosti, ki jo pridobijo, ko postanejo evropski akterji, se lahko postavimo nasproti omejitvam normativnosti integracije, saj jo tako utemeljimo v kulturnih praksah.

Drugo poglavje "Bruseljski mehurček in izrisovanje življenjskih zgodb/The Brussels Bubble and the Mapping of Life Stories" vpelje Bruselj kot osrednje prizorišče raziskave, natančneje Evropsko četrt v Bruslju. To je predel Bruslja, kjer se nahajajo institucije EU, hkrati pa tudi družbena krajina, ki jo pogosto imenujemo bruseljski mehurček ali EU mehurček, s temi poimenovanji pa se sklicujemo na razločevalnost institucij EU in evrokratov kot družbenih akterjev v Bruslju. Poglavje se osredotoča na dejstvo, da koncept EU mehurčka deluje kot del bruseljske krajine in da je nedavno postal predmet razprave med preučevalci institucij EU (Busby 2013, Georgakakis 2011, Georgakakis in Rowell 2013), ki institucije EU kot področje raziskovanja opredeljujejo na številne načine. Razpravam o mehurčku je kot protiutež postavljen kratek oris zgodovine lokaliziranih antropoloških raziskav v EU mehurčku in njihov prispevek k razumevanju institucij EU kot ločenega kulturnega prostora. Vendar se ob osredotočenju na slovenske evrokrate kot novince v institucijah EU postavlja vprašanje, kakšne koristi in omejitve lahko prinesejo takšne lokalizirane raziskave pri razumevanju povezav med mobilnostjo in identiteto. Na podlagi tega vprašanja je strukturirana kratka razprava o obstoječih raziskavah, ki na različne načine presegajo EU mehurček, bodisi s sledenjem premikov družbenih akterjev v mehurček in iz njega ali s prevzemom pristopa več prizorišč (Holmes 2000; Thedvall 2006, 2007). George Marcus (1994) z raziskovalno strategijo na več prizoriščih, ki se osredotoča na opredelitev polja raziskovanja s pomočjo biografij družbenih akterjev, zagotavlja osnovo, na podlagi katere lahko zgodbe slovenskih evrokratov uporabimo za orisovanje polja raziskovanja. Poglavje se zaključi z daljšo razpravo o uporabi intervjujev kot etnografskega orodja za preučevanje dejavnosti in družbene formacije slovenskih evrokratov.

Tretje poglavje "Samoizbira, srečna naključja in poklicne zgodovine/Self-Selection, Serendipity, and Career Histories" se osredotoča na etnografsko analizo določenega dela življenjskih zgodb slovenskih evrokratov – njihove poklicne poti pre-

den so prišli v Bruselj. Analiza je predstavljena kot kontrast obstoječim raziskavam socializacije evrokratov v Institucije EU, posebej pa raziskavam, ki se osredotočajo na vprašanje samoizbire evrokratov (posebej Ban 2009, 2013). Samoizbira, ki se nanaša na dejavnike pri odločitvi posameznika, da si ta prizadeva za kariero evrokrata, velja za pomembno vprašanje, ki vpliva na stopnje socializacije. Samoizbira se posebej nanaša na sklop dejavnikov, ki sicer niso vključeni v študije integracije ali socializacije. Študije v tem smislu sicer evrokratom pripisujejo kaj malo dejavnosti in razlike med njimi večinoma opredeljujejo kot stvar nacionalnosti. To poglavje v prizadevanjih, da bi preseglo razumevanje integracij ali socializacije glede na nacionalnost, predstavlja in orisuje zbrane življenjske zgodbe. Etnografska razprava o teh zgodbah služi kot podlaga za tipologijo pripovedi o mobilnih poklicnih poteh, ki prepoznava tri generacije evrokratov kot tudi tri različne poklicne profile.

Četrto poglavje "Nacionalizem in razčlenitev identitete/Nationalism and the Disaggregation of Identity" ima za izhodišče nacionalnost kot eno osrednjih kategorij uradnega diskurza EU o identiteti. Poglavje odpira razprava, na kakšne načine antropologi preučujejo moralizirano nasprotje med evropskim in nacionalnim v diskurzu identitete EU. Poleg tega preučujejo, kako evrokrati na različne načine uporabljajo nacionalnost za premagovanje razlik, nesporazumov in celo konfliktov. Te ugotovitve služijo kot podlaga za razpravo, na kakšne načine slovenski evrokrati kot relativni novinci opisujejo svoje izkušnje z nacionalno raznolikostjo in razlikami v izrazito multikulturnem okolju EU institucij. Ti v svojih pripovedih občutljivost za nacionalne razlike in razumevanje nacionalnih stereotipov prikazujejo kot pomembne spretnosti, ki pomagajo v profesionalnih odnosih. Poglavje se nadaljuje z analizami nacionalnosti, če jo razumemo kot nacionalno lojalnost ali nacionalni interes v smislu merjenja ravni identifikacije s svojim narodom med evrokrati. Na podlagi študij, ki zagovarjajo razdruževanje nacionalnih vlad v številna omrežja, kot na primer Slaughter (2004), se razprava preusmeri v kritičen spopad s kriterijem enega samega nacionalnega interesa kot temelja za nacionalnost kot kategorijo identitete. Podana je utemeljitev za razčlenitev nacionalnega interesa in s tem razčlenitev enotne formulacije nacionalnosti, saj bi tako lažje razumeli rabo nacionalnosti med slovenskimi evrokrati. Poglavje se zaključi z uvedbo individualnosti kot relacijske družbene prakse (Amit in Dyck 2006b) kot pomoč pri prepoznavanju celotnega nabora omrežij in kategorij identitete, na podlagi katerega slovenski evrokrati opredeljujejo svoj občutek identitete.

V petem poglavju "Mobilnost in identiteta/Mobility and Identity" raziskovalka analizira obstoječe vzorce profesionalne mobilnosti in kroženja slovenskih evrokratov, ko so ti že trdno v institucijah. Ti vzorci služijo kot osnova za razbiranje povezav med profesionalno mobilnostjo in profesionalno identiteto. Analitična razprava obravnava tako oblike profesionalne mobilnosti, vgrajene v sistem institucij EU, kot prakse, ki so jih vzpostavili slovenski evrokrati, so zunaj sistema EU insti-

tucij. Tako analiza pokaže, na kakšne načine obstoječi profili slovenskih evrokratov doživljajo standarde profesionalne mobilnosti v institucijah EU v smislu kroženja in poklicnega napredovanja. Prekrivanja in prekinitve med institucionalnimi standardi in osebnimi pričakovanji glede profesionalne mobilnosti delujejo kot produktivni prostor za gradnjo identitete v smislu profesionalne strokovnosti.

Sklep "Ponovna preučitev integracije v transnacionalnem svetu/Revisiting Integration in a Transnational World" obravnava dodatno razsežnost mobilnosti slovenskih evrokratov, namreč njihove vzorce osebne mobilnosti po selitvi v Bruselj. Avtorica analizira različne vzorce potovanja v Slovenijo in nazaj v Bruselj, pri čemer se osredotoča na vprašanje, kako so potovanja povezana z različnimi praksami bivanja ali ustalitve, posebej razmerja do doma. S tem je omogočena osnova za preučevanje, na kakšne načine slovenski evrokrati pripisujejo pomen svojemu življenju v Bruslju in svoje izkušnje v Bruslju umeščajo v širšo družbeno krajino svojega življenja. Te prakse umeščanja pa niso stalne, saj slovenski evrokrati nenehno na novo ocenjujejo in opredeljujejo svoj odnos tako do Slovenije kot do Bruslja. Obstoječi vzorci mobilnosti in večkrajevnosti kažejo na vznik raznolikih transnacionalnih življenjskih slogov pa tudi dinamičnega razumevanja doma; tega ni mogoče uskladiti z normativnim razumevanjem integracije, v katerem se mobilnost navadno dojema kot dokončni prehod in kjer je dom stabilna točka. Poglavje se zaključi z razpravo o prepletenih pripovedih o mobilnosti in nemobilnosti med slovenskimi evrokrati, na podlagi česar je mogoče orisati kanale in prepreke, ki določajo obrise njihovega delovanja kot transnacionalni, evropski akterji.

OPERA ETHNOLOGICA SLOVENICA

This book provides an anthropological analysis of the cultural formation, practices and experiences of the first generation of Slovenes working in the institutions of the European Union. On 1 May 2004, Slovenia became a full-fledged member of the European Union and was thus formally incorporated into the processes of European integration redefining the relations among EU member states. European integration processes take place at multiple, interlocking levels — from the level of government bodies to the level of individual social actors. The numerous Slovenes who were successful in attaining the positions available for citizens from new member states now work as Eurocrats at various locations across the EU's institutional network. This work explores European integration from the perspective of Slovene Eurocrats by analyzing how Slovenes plot careers and lives in European terms. To this end, the author examines the experiences of Slovene Eurocrats in Brussels within the broader context of their life experiences and professional formation. As recent EU officials, Slovene Eurocrats provide many insights into European integration as an ongoing social process.

Tatiana Bajuk Senčar is a cultural anthropologist and researcher at the Institute of Slovenian Ethnology of the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

17 €

978-961-254-778-3

ZALOŽBA ZRC · LJUBLJANA
HTTP://ZALOZBA.ZRC-SAZU.SI