DRUŽBOSLOVNE RAZPRAVE

Social Science Forum

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Navodila avtorjem

1. Prispevke za rubriko Znanstveni članki avtorji/avtorice pošljejo na elektronski naslov: **editorDR_SSF@sociolosko-drustvo.si**, prispevke za rubriko Recenzije knjig pa na naslov: **klemen.plostajner@fdv.uni-lj.si**. Članki so lahko v slovenskem ali angleškem jeziku.
2. Prispevek naj ima dvojni medvrstični razmik, tip črk Times New Roman, velikost črk 12 in levo poravnavo. Strani v prispevku naj bodo zapo redno oštevilčene.
3. Članek naj obsega od 5.000 do 8.000 besed, vključno z opombami, seznamom literature in grafičnimi prikazi, recenzija ali prikaz knjige pa od 1.000 do 1.200 besed. Navodila, kako upoštevati grafične prikaze pri štetju besed, so zapisana v točki 12.
4. Uredništvo ima pravico, da prispevkov, ki ne ustrezajo merilom knjižne slovenščine (ali angleščine, če je članek oddan v angleščini, upošteva se britanska angleščina – British English; za več napotkov glej angleško različico navodil za avtorice/avtorje), ne sprejme v recenzentski postopek.
5. Z rezultatom postopka kolegialnega recenziranja članka bo avtor/avtorica seznanjen/seznanjena v dveh mesecih od oddaje članka. Neobjavljenih prispevkov uredništvo avtorjem/avtoricam ne vrača. Pregledi in recenzije knjig se ne recenzirajo.
6. Če je prispevek že bil ali pa bo v kratkem objavljen v drugi reviji, mora avtor/avtorica to izrecno navesti.
7. Na posebnem listu naj avtor/avtorica poleg naslova znanstvenega članka navede svoje ime in priimek, akademski naslov in/ali profesionalni naslov, naslov elektronske pošte in telefonsko številko. Hkrati naj predlaga uvrstitev svojega članka v eno od naslednjih treh kategorij: izvirni znanstveni članek, pregledni znanstveni članek, kratek znanstveni prispevek.
8. Prva stran besedila naj vsebuje le naslov in morebitni podnaslov članka brez oznak avtorstva.
9. Podnaslovi, ki naj obsegajo največ dve ravni, naj bodo oštevilčeni desetiško in levo poravnani. Uvod oštevilčite kot prvo poglavje.
10. Članku je treba priložiti izvleček (abstract), ki mora biti napisan v slovenščini in angleščini ter mora vsebovati naslednje informacije: namen članka, metode dela, rezultati in sklepi prispevka. Izvleček naj ne vsebuje komentarjev in priporočil. Izvleček mora biti izpisan na posebni strani pred uvodom. Skupna dolžina izvlečkov v obeh jezikih ne sme presegati 250 besed. Izvlečku je treba dodati do pet ključnih besed tako v slovenščini kot v angleščini. Pred angleškim izvlečkom napišite naslov članka v angleščini, če je članek v angleščini, pa pred slovenskim izvlečkom naslov članka v slovenščini.
11. Članku, ki je napisan v slovenščini, je treba priložiti tudi povzetek (summary) v angleščini v obsegu od 600 do 800 besed. Povzetek mora vsebovati opis namena in metod dela ter povzemati analizo oziroma interpretacijo rezultatov. V povzetku ne sme biti ničesar, česar glavno besedilo (članek) ne vsebuje. Za jezikovno korektnost povzetka v angleščini poskrbi avtor/avtorica. Upošteva naj se britanska angleščina (British English – za več napotkov glej angleško različico navodil za avtorice/avtorje). Povzetek (summary) naj bo umeščen za razdelek »Zaključek« in pred razdelek »Literatura in viri«.
12. Avtor/avtorica naj v besedilu označi najprimernejša mesta za grafične elemente (tabele, skice, grafikone itd.) po zgledu: [Tabela 1 približno tukaj]. V dokončni obliki naj bodo ti izdelki priloženi na koncu besedila. Naslov tabele, grafa ipd. je nad grafičnim elementom. Naslovi tabel, grafov, skic ipd. se zaključijo s piko. Avtor/avtorica naj prostor, ki ga grafični izdelek v prispevku zasede, šteje v obseg besedila bodisi kot 250 besed (pol strani) ali 500 besed (cela stran). Uredništvo ima pravico, da grafične izdelke umesti v besedilo glede na najustreznejši prelom strani. Vseh prikazov naj ne bo več kot osem.
13. Število in dolžina opomb naj bosta omejena le na najnujnejše. Opombe naj bodo izpisane kot sprotne opombe (footnotes) in zaporedno oštevilčene. Avtor/avtorica lahko v objavni različici članka priloži kratko zahvalo, ki bo objavljena na koncu prispevka pred opombami oziroma seznamom literature.
14. Sklic na vir v besedilu naj vsebuje priimek avtorja/avtorice in letnico izida: (Sztompka 1993). Stran, na kateri se navedek v delu nahaja, se napiše za dvopičjem: (Wallace 1988: 577). Če sta avtorja/avtorici navedenega dela dva/dve, navedete oba/obe: (Adorno in Horkheimer 1990), pri večjem številu avtorjev/avtoric izpišete le prvo ime: (Stankovič in dr. 1999). Dela enega/ene avtorja/avtorice, ki so izšla istega leta, ločite z zaporednim dodajanjem malih črk (a, b, c itn.) stično ob letnici izida: (Bourdieu 1996a). Dela različnih avtorjev/avtoric, ki se vsa nanašajo na isto vsebino, naštejte po abecednem redu, med njimi je podpičje: (D'Andrade 1995; DiMaggio 1997; Zerubavel 1997).
15. V članku uporabljena dela, raziskave, raziskovalna poročila, baze podatkov, spletne strani ipd. morajo biti v abecednem seznamu navedeni na koncu prispevka v poglavju z naslovom Literatura in viri. Pri navedbi spletne strani se v oklepaju dopiše datum dostopa. Povezave DOI navajamo na način DOI: http://doi.org.10.5772/35098. Vsako enoto v teh seznamih zaključuje pika. Način navedbe enot v poglavju Literatura in viri je naslednji:
   - Rus, Veljko (1999): Vrednote zaposlenih do dela in do družbe. Družboslovne razprave, XV (30–31): 113–133.
   - D'Andrade, Roy (1995): A Folk Model of the Mind. V D. Holland in N. Quinn (ur.): Cultural Models in Language and Thought: 112–151. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
   - Lamont, Michele, in Fournier, Marcel (ur.) (1992): Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.
   - Le Goff, Jacques (1999): Medieval Civilization. Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell.
   - Garton, Luis, in dr. (1997): Studying Online Social Networks. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 3 (1). Dostopno prek: http://jcmc.huji.ac.il/vol3/issue1/ (20. 5. 2001).
   - Laurenti, Jeffery (1998): The New U. N. Assessment Scale and Analysis of the Rate Revisions Adopted by the 52nd United Nations General Assembly. Dostopno prek: http://www.unausa.org/newindex.asp?place=http://www.unausa.org/programs/scale.asp (9. 12. 2004).
   - Aratani, Lauren (2020): "Tsunami of Untruths": Trump Has Made 20,000 False or Misleading Claims. Report. The Guardian, 13. 7. 2020. Dostopno prek: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jul/13/donald-trump-20000-false-or-misleading-claims (10. 10. 2020).
   - United Nations peacekeeping. Dostopno prek: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/index.asp (28. 2. 2006).
   - Colbert, Stephen (2005): The Word – Truthiness. The Colbert Report. Comedy Central, 17. 10. 2005. Dostopno prek: http://www.cc.com/video-clips/63ite2/the-colbert-report-the-word---truthiness (13. 10. 2020).
   - McAuliffe, Cameron (2015): Graffiti Sessions: The Art and Justice of Sociable Cities. Graffiti Dialogues. YouTube, 15. 1. 2015. Dostopno prek: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dufgmQrNya8&list=PLAUgzWv9lVJnZ2teo0Tq7JSjD3b6BFyg1 (13. 10. 2020).
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   - Hlebec, Valentina, in dr. (2012): Medgeneracijska solidarnost v Sloveniji. Ljubljana: Založba FDV.
16. Če je članek napisan na osnovi raziskave ali arhivskih podatkov, naj avtor/avtorica to eksplicitno napiše.
17. Če je članek napisan v slovenščini, se pri citiranju uporabljajo slovenske »dvojne navednice« (ne "takšne", ne „takšne"). Pri citiranju znotraj citata se uporabijo 'enojne navednice'. Za napotke pri pisanju angleškega članka glej angleška navodila za avtorice/avtorje.
18. Daljši navedki (več kot 40 besed) naj bodo postavljeni v samostojen odstavek, z zamaknjenimi robovi, v manjšem tisku in brez narekovajev.
19. Avtor/avtorica je dolžan/dolžna za gradiva, ki jih uporablja v prispevku, pridobiti dovoljenje lastnika avtorskih pravic. Za tako dovoljenje se v prispevku na ustrezen način zahvali.
20. Avtor/avtorica prenese materialne avtorske pravice za objavljeni prispevek na izdajatelja revije.
21. Ob izidu prejme vsak/vsaka avtor/avtorica članka izvod revije. Članki niso honorirani, prevodi in recenzije pa le po predhodnem dogovoru.

Prosimo, preberite tudi: **Izjava o etiki objavljanja in zlorabah pri objavljanju**.

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Social Science Forum

XXXIX / 104 / 2023

Tisk / Print: CICERO, Begunje, d.o.o.

Naklada / Number of copies printed: 320

Naslov uredništva / Editors' postal address:
Revija Družboslovne razprave / Social Science Forum Journal
Tanja Oblak Črnič in Natalija Majsova
Fakulteta za družbene vede, Kardeljeva pl. 5, SI-1000 Ljubljana
Elektronska pošta / e-mail:
editorDR_SSF@sociolosko-drustvo.si
Spletna stran / Internet:
https://www.sociolosko-drustvo.si/druzboslovne-razprave/

Revijo sofinancira / The Journal is sponsored by:
Agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije iz naslova razpisa za sofinanciranje strokovnih in znanstvenih publikacij / The Slovenian Research Agency's scheme for funding expert and scientific publications.

Letna naročnina (3 številke) / Annual subscription (3 issues):
individualna naročnina / individual rate: 25 EUR; za organizacije / institutional rate: 50 EUR; za študente in brezposelne / students and unemployed discount rate: 16 EUR; cena posameznega izvoda / single issue rate: 16 EUR. Za člane Slovenskega sociološkega društva je naročnina vključena v društveno članarino. / The annual Slovenian Sociological Association membership fee includes the journal's annual subscription rate. Družboslovne razprave je mogoče naročiti na naslovu uredništva ali na spletni strani revije. / Subscription requests can be sent to the editors' postal address. Če želite prekiniti naročniško razmerje, nam to sporočite najkasneje do 15. decembra. / If you decite to cancel the subscription, please write to editors' postal address by 15th of December.

Družboslovne razprave so abstrahirane ali indeksirane v / Družboslovne razprave is abstracted or indexed in:
CEEOL (Central and Eastern European Online Library), COBIB.SI, CSA (Cambridge Scientific Abstracts): • CSA Worldwide Political Science Abstracts • CSA Social Services Abstratcs • Sociological Abstracts (Online), EBSCOhost • Current Abstracts • Political Science Complete • SocINDEX • SocINDEX with Full Text • TOC Premier, OCLC • Scopus • Sociological Abstracts (Online) • DOAJ (Directory of Open Access Journals) • Ulrich's Web • De Gruyter • dLib

Uredniška politika: Družboslovne razprave so revija, ki objavlja kolegialno recenzirane znanstvene članke in recenzije knjig. V recenzijski postopke sprejema članke v slovenščini in angleščini s področja sociologije, komunikologije, politologije in kulturologije ter tem raziskovalnim področjem bližnjih družboslovnih disciplin. Pri izboru člankov za objavo se upošteva njihova raziskovalna inovativnost ter aktualnost glede na trende v znanstveni skupnosti, v kateri je revija zasidrana. V teoretskem in metodološkem pogledu je revija pluralistično naravnana, posebno skrb pa posveča utrjevanju slovenske družboslovne terminologije.

Editorial policy: Družboslovne razprave is a peer reviewed journal which publishes papers and book reviews. Contributions are invited in fields of sociology, media studies, political science, cultural studies and other studies which are close to these fields. The published contributions should display high level of research originality and address the themes which seem relevant to the scientific communities in which the journal is grounded. Both in theoretical and methodological respects the journal stands for pluralism.

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UVOD

INTRODUCTION

Drage bralke, dragi bralci!

Pred vami je decembrska in torej zadnja številka 39. letnika revije *Družboslovne razprave*, ki je obenem tudi zaključna izdaja pod sedanjo uredniško ekipo in pripadajočim uredniškim odborom. Dinamično, pestro in produktivno leto 2023 sva urednici namreč začeli kot tretje zaporedno leto uredniškega mandata, ki se s tukajšnjim naborom prispevkom tudi izteka. A ko sva pred meseci preštevali, kaj vse je zaznamovalo zadnje triletje, in ugotovili, da bi za uresničitev vseh prvotnih in tudi novonastalih načrtov potrebovali bistveno več časa, kot ga je bilo na voljo, sva nepričakovano prejeli prijazno povabilo predsedstva Slovenskega sociološkega društva, naj raje »še malo ostaneva«. Zdaj torej razmišljamo o možnosti podaljšanja mandata do konca leta 2025, ko se obenem izteče tudi mandat sedanjemu predsedstvu društva.

Naj se zato na začetku tega uvodnika in pred razkrivanjem podrobnih načrtov za prihodnost – ti bodo prišli na vrsto v uvodnikih v naslednjih številkah – za izraženo zaupanje ob zaključku opravljenega dela zahvaliva prejšnjemu in sedanjemu vodstvu Slovenskega sociološkega društva, prav tako pa tudi vsem avtoricam in avtorjem, gostujočim urednicam in urednikom, recenzentom in recenzentkam ter bralkam in bralcem revije – brez vašega zaupanja, prispevkov, konstruktivnih razprav in večplastne podpore *Družboslovne razprave* ne bi bile tam, kjer so sedaj. Uspeh in prepoznavnost revije namreč vidiva kot rezultat sodelovanja širše akademske skupnosti in pozitivnih kolegialnih odzivov.

Izzivov na prehojeni poti namreč sploh ni bilo malo. Po prenovi spletne in grafične podobe ter prevodu naslova revije v angleščino v letu 2021 in sprejemu politike ravnanja z raziskovalnimi podatki v letu 2022 smo tudi v zadnjem letu uvedli nekaj pomembnih formalnih posodobitev. V začetku leta 2023 smo najavili možnost obravnave krajših znanstvenih prispevkov, spremembe pa vnesli tudi na področje politike recenziranja znanstvenih monografij: novi urednik recenzij knjig Rok Smrdelj je namreč temeljito prenovil navodila za pisanje recenzij knjig, ki so odslej dostopna tudi na naši spletni strani, in sicer tako v slovenščini kot v angleščini. Od konca leta 2022 namreč omogočamo in spodbujamo pisanje recenzij knjig v angleščini – doslej smo objavili dve, eno leta 2022 in eno leta 2023.

V letu 2023 smo uredili tri številke revije, od tega je ena tematska. 102., 103. in 104. številka *Družboslovnih razprav* kumulativno obsegajo 16 (15 izvirnih in 1 pregledni) znanstvenih člankov ter 9 recenzij znanstvenih monografij. Statistika je na prvi pogled sicer zelo podobna tisti iz leta 2022 (14 izvirnih in 2 pregledna znanstvena članka ter 9 recenzij monografij), velja pa omeniti, da je leta 2023 kar 12 člankov napisanih v angleščini. Leta 2022 je bilo razmerje med jezikoma objav drugačno, saj so zaradi vsebinskih specifik dveh tematskih številk, ki sta nastali na podlagi temeljnih raziskovalnih projektov, izrazito usmerjenih v slovenski prostor, občutno prevladovali članki v slovenščini.

Ob tem želimo izpostaviti, da si v uredništvu ne prizadevamo za popoln prehod na pisanje v angleščini, saj se zavedamo pomena revije za razvoj slovenske terminologije na področju družboslovja in humanistike. Jezikovna politika *Družboslovnih razprav* odraža to dvojnost: že pri načrtovanju tematskih številk kot tudi pri obravnavi člankov, pripravljenih za objavo v rednih, netematskih številkah, poskušamo upoštevati raznolike okoliščine, ki vplivajo na avtorjevo_ično odločitev za objavo v slovenščini oziroma angleščini. Nenazadnje se v uredništvu strinjamo, da so aktualne znanstvene razprave v slovenščini izjemnega pomena za družbenokulturni razvoj ter razvoj znanosti in stroke. Obenem pa *Družboslovne razprave* razumemo kot pomemben most, ki lahko slovensko znanstveno skupnost povezuje s širšo, mednarodno akademsko sfero in obratno.

V letu 2023 smo sprva načrtovali dve tematski številki, a smo se zaradi številnih zunanjih okoliščin, ki so močno posegle v uredniški proces, naknadno odločili za drugačen redosled. Dvig prepoznavnosti revije je namreč s seboj prinesel tudi nepričakovan porast prispevkov, predlogov tematskih številk in drugih idej s strani širše znanstvene skupnosti, ki na eni strani vsaj posredno govori o potrebi po vidnosti znanstvene produkcije tudi v *Družboslovnih razpravah*, hkrati pa izjemno obremeni možnosti za sprotno delo kadrovsko in številčno skromne uredniške ekipe, ki brez izjeme temelji na prostovoljstvu in skrbi za skupno dobro. Posledično načrtujemo tudi prenovo sedanje politike tematskih številk in novih priložnostnih izdaj, kar bo ena od uredniških prioritet v letu 2024.

39. letnik DR/SSF tako zaključujemo z edino letošnjo tematsko številko, sprva napovedano za september. Sklop, h kateremu so prispevali Marjan Hočevar, Primož Medved, Samo Pavlin, Matjaž Uršič in Domen Žalac, osvetljuje aktualne razprave na področju prostorske sociologije ter večplastnost razmerja med okoljem, naravo in družbo. Številka obsega štiri izvirne in en pregledni znanstveni članek v angleščini; v kratkem uvodniku jih podrobneje predstavi gostujoči urednik Marjan Hočevar.

Poleg tematskega sklopa v 104. številki *Družboslovnih razprav* objavljamo študijo Aleša Črniča in Barbare Brečko o percepciji vegetarijanstva in veganstva v Sloveniji. Avtorja na podlagi odgovorov udeležencev raziskave Slovensko javno mnenje iz leta 2019 (SJM 2019-1) predstavita motive vegetarijancev in veganov za svoje prehranske izbire ter osnovne demografske značilnosti te populacije. Nato podrobno razčlenita prevladujoče skeptičen odnos do vegetarijanstva in veganstva kot izrazito manjšinske izbire med splošno populacijo, katere prehranske prakse vključujejo uživanje mesa. Članek ponuja pomemben uvodni pregled v nacionalnem kontekstu prve podatkovne baze, narejene na reprezentativnem vzorcu respondentov.

104. številko *Družboslovnih razprav* sklepamo z blokom štirih recenzij znanstvenih monografij. Tokratni blok obsega premislek Iča Vidmarja o prevodu monografije gvajanskega marksističnega zgodovinarja Walterja Rodnejay z naslovom *Kako je Evropa podrazvila Afriko*; refleksijo Monike Kalin Golob o prvi monografiji Jasne Mikić Ljubi *Spol in jezik*; analizo zbornika *Nadzor migracij na Slovenskem od liberalizma do socializma* (ur. Aleksej Kalc) izpod peresa Tjaše Turnšek ter razpravo Tine Kogovšek o delu Karla H. Müllerja in Nika Toša *Naproti novim oblikam družboslovja: družboslovne raziskave v kontekstu Znanosti 2.0 in družb tveganja, RISC.*

Vabljeni k branju!

Natalija Majsova in Tanja Oblak Črnič,
sourednici *Družboslovnih razprav*

Dear readers!

Before you is the December – and thus final – issue of volume 39 of Social Science Forum. This was also the last issue to be produced by the current editorial team and editorial board. Namely, as editors, we entered 2023 – which turned out to be a dynamic, unpredictable and productive year – knowing that our 3-year journey would be ending with the December issue. A few months ago, while considering everything that has happened in and marked the past three years, we realised that we would have needed quite a bit more time to complete all of our initial plans, and deal with the newer ones that emerged during the course of our mandate. Unexpectedly, this was precisely when the leadership of the Slovenian Sociological Association kindly invited us to "stay on a little longer". We are now considering the possibility of extending our mandate until the end of 2025, to coincide with the end of the current President's term in office.

Therefore, at the start of this editorial and before revealing any detailed future plans – this will be the subject of the editorials to come – we wish to thank the previous and current leadership of the Slovenian Sociological Association for their trust in our work, as well as all the authors, guest editors, reviewers, and readers of *Social Science Forum*. Put simply, without your trust, contributions, constructive discussions, and multi-layered support, *Social Science Forum* would not be where it is today. We are convinced the collaboration of the wider academic community and positive peer feedback are key ingredients of the journal's growing visibility and success.

There have been quite a few challenges along the way. Following the updating of the website and graphic design together with the translation of the name of the journal into English in 2021, and the adoption of a policy on Research Data Management in 2022, a number of significant formal updates were also made during 2023. At the beginning of the year, short scientific contributions were introduced as a new format for submissions, while our book review section was considerably revamped with the new book review editor, Rok Smrdelj, revising the guidelines for book review authors. These guidelines are now also available on our website in both Slovenian and English. We have encouraged book review submissions in English since 2022 and will continue to do so. To date, two book reviews in English have been published, one in 2022 and the other in 2023.

Three issues of *Social Science Forum* were published in 2023, one of them thematic. Altogether, issues 102, 103 and 104 contain 16 (15 original and 1 review) scientific articles and 9 book reviews. At first glance, the statistics appear very similar to those for 2022 (14 original and 2 review scientific articles, 9 book reviews). Still, it is worth noting that 12 of the articles published in 2023 are in English. In 2022, the Slovenian:English ratio was markedly different due to the particular topics covered by the two special issues, which emerged from basic research projects with a strong Slovenian focus and called for publications in the Slovenian language.

At the same time, this change should not be interpreted as a step towards English-only publications. The editorial team is well aware of the journal's importance for the development of Slovenian terminology in the social sciences and humanities. *Social Science Forum*'s language policy reflects this duality: whether planning special issues or considering articles for publication in regular, non-thematic issues, we do our best to account for the diverse circumstances that may influence an author's preference for writing in Slovenian or English. Finally, the editorial board agrees that maintaining Slovenian as a language in current scientific discourse is of extraordinary value for general socio-cultural development as well as to expert and scientific progress. We see *Social Science Forum* as simultaneously being an important bridge that can connect the Slovenian scientific community with the broader, international academic sphere and vice versa.

Two special issues were originally planned to be published in 2023, but external circumstances heavily interfered with the editorial process, pushing us to eventually alter some plans. One consequence of the journal's growing visibility has been an unexpected surge in submissions, special issue proposals, and other ideas from the wider scientific community. On one hand, this indirectly testifies to the contributors' apparently increasing need to showcase their articles in *Social Science Forum*. On the other hand, it also adds pressure to the modestly staffed and small editorial team, who are all volunteers. This means that considering different options for reviewing and updating our policy on special issues and new special editions will a priority of the editorial team in 2024.

Meanwhile, volume 39 of DR/SSF concludes with this year's only special issue (originally scheduled for September). The issue features contributions by Marjan Hočevar, Primož Medved, Samo Pavlin, Matjaž Uršič and Domen Žalac, who highlight and analyse some of the current debates in the field of sociology of space and interrogate the multifaceted relationship between environment, nature and society. The issue comprises four original and one review scientific articles in English, which are introduced in more detail by guest editor Marjan Hočevar in a separate editorial.

Alongside the thematic section, the 104th issue of *Social Science Forum* features a research article by Aleš Črnič and Barbara Brečko on the perception of vegetarianism and veganism in Slovenia. Based on responses from participants in the 2019 Slovenian Public Opinion Survey (SJM 2019-1), the authors present what motivates vegetarians and vegans in their dietary choices and the basic demographic characteristics of this population. They then critically assess and segment the prevalent sceptical attitude to vegetarianism and veganism as a distinct minority choice among the general population in Slovenia, whose dietary practices include the consumption of meat. The paper provides a nationally significant introductory overview of the first such dataset based on a representative sample of respondents.

This issue of *Social Science Forum* concludes with a set of four book reviews. This time, the block contains reviews of texts published in Slovenian: Ičo Vidmar's reflection on the Slovenian translation of the Guyanese Marxist historian Walter Rodney's monograph *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*; Monika Kalin Golob's review of Jasna Mikić Ljubi's first book, *Gender and Language*; Tjaša Turnšek's analysis of Aleksej Kalc's edited volume *Migration Control in Slovenia from Liberalism to Socialism*, and Tina Kogovšek's review of Karl H. Müller and Niko Toš' book *Towards New Forms of Social Science: Social Science Research in the Context of Science 2.0 and Risk Societies, RISC*.

We wish you a pleasant read!

Natalija Majsova and Tanja Oblak Črnič,
co-editors of *Social Science Forum*

UVOD V TEMATSKI BLOK

INTRODUCTION TO THE THEMATIC BLOCK

On the Sustainability of Spaces, Spheres and Environment

Editorial

The dominant notion of sustainability in the natural and built environments is ever more shaping the actions of individuals, groups and institutions on all levels of social organisation. In the examination of both the natural world and society, concepts and practical ideas are emerging with regard to the transformation of the combined or hybrid agency of various individual and collective actors when it comes to sustainability.

The search for new modes of action and connections between social actors is driven by growing "environmental anxiety". The colour green is becoming a ubiquitous hallmark of conduct for virtually everything, everyone, everywhere and in all social matters.

In this special issue of *Social Science Forum*, the authors address a range of dilemmas concerning the actual or expected effects of relationships between actors in different social spheres with respect to spatial environmental sustainability.

In the five articles, the authors investigate: first, the effects of integration, or at least the permeation of research in science; second, the co-effects of university and city spaces; third, the outcomes of learning and employability of university students in physical vs. virtual spaces; fourth, the relationship between immovable cultural heritage and the local community while, finally, a well-thought-out idea of inclusive "renewable energy communities" that combines the effects of local, virtual and hybrid levels of social organisation.

Marjan Hočevar tackles the issue of research perspectives on environmental issues and the nature of environmental knowledge production in science. Considering the example of the dualism of nature and culture/society and applying the science mapping method, the author tests the hypothesis of a possible strengthening of interdisciplinarity between the natural sciences and the social sciences as well as between the humanities and the social sciences. For this purpose, the bibliographic descriptor considers the Anthropocene as an approach and a concept. The Anthropocene, defined as a contested and still evolving concept, can explain events between and within disciplines due to its "naturally" integrative qualities, i.e., controversiality and polyvalence. The author concludes that from the perspective of environmental approaches, the Anthropocene already reveals a connection between dualistically organised sciences.

Domen Žalac and Matjaž Uršič study the interweaving of two social spheres on the level of spatial practices, city and university life. The article proceeds on the assumption that a socio-spatial analysis of university libraries makes sense for understanding the dynamics and permeation of both landscapes. The University of Ljubljana and the University of Vienna are used as an example. A holistic approach is called for that encompasses sensory engagement, technological influences, cultural diversity, and the role of the university as an urban anchor. As the higher education landscape continues to evolve, these insights can help guide the future planning and development of universities, with a view to fostering urban campuses that effectively cater to the diverse needs and activities of their users while contributing to the urban fabric of their cities.

Samo Pavlin, in his exploration of the interweaving of physical and virtual spaces, addresses the question of why it is good for university students in "modern" times to continue to physically attend lectures and to also participate in other situational forms of study. He stresses that the development of different forms of knowledge and competencies is strongly intertwined, which explains why virtual space should complement physical space in learning processes, not vice versa. Professional competencies cannot be developed and used in isolation from general competencies. The author proves that confidence and professional identity, which are important motivational bases for successful knowledge transfer and longer-term career development, are fundamentally located in the physical premises. At the end, it is concluded that the virtual–physical space relationship should be considered a fundamental developmental issue in higher education. Through the prism of "new localism", Matjaž Uršič explores the intertwining of spheres of interest while planning sustainable heritage-based development. The study of combined cases in Slovenia builds on the analytical insight that the declarativeness of immovable cultural heritage integration processes is exposed in spatial antagonisms based on frictions between local communities and, on the other side, conservation approaches, the development aspirations of investors, political structures and other actors who try to assert their particular interests and needs. The author preliminarily notes that local actors are not sufficiently equipped or given the possibility to learn about the issues and how to deal with the challenges they confront. Moving away from hierarchical forms of one-dimensional protection of heritage status to inclusive and locally adaptive, sustainable based heritage development is suggested.

Primož Medved explores the foundations of new policies, schemes, and solutions in order to propose an appropriate model able to assist with a quicker and stronger push towards green transition. It raises the question of how a realisable platform to improve the proliferation of renewable energy communities in Slovenia could be structured to ensure the empowerment of the most vulnerable strata of society. The author conceptually and practically elaborates the innovative REC Platform, which foresees segmentation via three different levels or spheres of engagement: local, virtual and hybrid RECs, and represents an interactive meeting, learning and investing point – a 'one-stop shop' for all stakeholders involved. A REC platform would connect producers with customers, the city population with rural citizens, local and virtual members, investors with the most vulnerable part of society, as would be further supported and directed through the "inclusive enabling framework".

Marjan Hočevar, guest editor

ČLANKI – TEMATSKI BLOK

ARTICLES - THEMATIC BLOCK

Original Scientific Article
UDK 502/504:[502.2:314/316]"628.6ANT"
DOI: 10.51936/dr.39.104.21-47

Marjan Hočevar

MAPPING THE DUALISM OF NATURE/SOCIETY AND NATURE/CULTURE IN ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES IN VIEW OF THE ANTHROPOCENE

ABSTRACT

This study uses the qualitative method of chronological and analytical literature review complemented with the visualisation (VOSviewer) of documents extracted from the Scopus database to consider a fundamental dualism of "culture and nature" and/or "society and nature" in the context of interdisciplinary approaches to environmental studies. The visualisations reveal clusters that manifest themselves differently when the nature/culture and nature/society pairs are compared. The term Anthropocene, adopted as a concept, is highlighted as a model to test the flattening of the dualism in question. The concept of the Anthropocene can serve as a prototypical link in research on environmental interdisciplinarity.

KEY WORDS: nature/society, nature/culture, bibliometrics, environmentalism, anthropocene

Kartiranje dualizma narava – družba in narava – kultura v znanostih o okolju v luči antropocena

IZVLEČEK

Študija s kvalitativno metodo kronološkega in vsebinskega pregleda literature in komplementarno vizualizacijo (VOSviewer) korpus ekstrahiranih dokumentov v podatkovni zbirki Scopus analizira enega temeljnih dualizmov kulture in narave ali družbe in narave v kontekstu interdisciplinarnih okoljskih pristopov. Rezultati

vizualizacije nakažejo klastre/pristope, ki se različno manifestirajo v paru narava – kultura in narava – družba. Izpostavljen je termin antropocen, v obravnavi uporabljen kot koncept za testiranje sploščanja dualizma. Koncept antropocen se izkaže za prototipično povezavo pri interdisciplinarnem okoljskem raziskovanju.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: narava – družba, narava – kultura, bibliometrija, okoljevarstvo, antropocen

1 Introduction

The Cartesian, dualistic relationship between humans and non-humans has underpinned most ontologies and epistemologies of "Western" (natural) science since its inception. Non-humans (e.g. plants, animals) are objects that are studied for the benefit of humans (Aldeia and Alves 2019). Scientific objectivity in the production and practice of knowledge ensures the relative intactness of the dualism of nature and culture (or nature and society). The questioning as well as defence of this dualism is an academic constant. It has been gaining considerable momentum with the acuteness of environmental problems and the growing "eco-anxiety" (Coffey et al. 2021), which is hypothesised as an emergent human condition in the seemingly new geological era of the "Anthropocene".

In the dilemma of "who knows nature best", it is reasonable to ask whether long-term environmental uncertainty might be the impetus for a serious "destabilisation" of established disciplinary epistemologies in science (Neckel 2021). It could lead to integration, further differentiation and fragmentation, or perhaps hybridisation (Dogan 2019; Kolawole 2019). One of the ways to find an answer is to trace various forms of interdisciplinarity, in this case the coexistence, permeation and possible novel connections between constructivist (interpretative) and essentialist (positivist) perspectives in the published literature over time (Schatzki 2010). Given the ever-growing volume and diversity of work on this topic, a comprehensive literature review seems elusive even for the best experts in the field. A review of the bibliographic data source Scopus (a citation database) used in this article shows that there are many individual, i.e. discipline- or paradigm-specific discussions as well as reviews, assessments and comprehensive qualitative analyses of the dualism of nature and culture/society.

In designing this article, we started from the assumption that the accumulated knowledge about the nature/culture or nature/society dilemma can be visualized in order to gain an exploratory insight into the indexed bibliographic data in terms of clustering and over time. By creating suitable search strings, we extract documents for visual output, which are then analysed using selected bibliographic parameters. We observe how divergent disciplinary approaches, current focus areas, trends and different uses of terminology behave at the level of these metadata aggregates (Hočevar in Bartol 2021; Wang et al. 2021). With a preliminary analysis of the latest environmental discourses in the context of nature/culture and nature/society, we have singled out the concept of the Anthropocene because of the frequency with which environmental terms have appeared in recent years. We treat the term Anthropocene hypothetically as a recent potential interdisciplinary link.

2 Conceptual background, research questions and the structure of the article

In the broadest sense, the introductory overview concerns two related and indeed inseparable domains: Research perspectives on environmental issues and the nature of environmental knowledge production. In this dilemma, different understandings and approaches to the concepts of nature, environment, natural environment, space and built environment play a central role. What is "thinking through the environment" (Rose et al. 2012) and how is it reflected, distributed and grouped in published knowledge production? It has primarily been a concern of environment-related sub-disciplines within the social sciences, humanities and sociology of science, but it is increasingly unfolding almost everywhere in academia.

In this article, we do not aim to discuss the environmental/natural issues associated with knowledge production in a way that raises new conceptual questions. Rather, our main intent is to chart (science mapping) the disciplinary clusters of research topics or focus areas as they emerge over time. We conduct this through a visual bibliographic analysis using VOSviewer (programme/software) to interpret default separation (duality) and the elements of disciplinary connections. Emerging trends towards interconnectivity are also identified. We therefore examine the relationships between textual and some bibliographic elements of published knowledge in the database. By mapping the bibliographic elements of: a) author keywords, b) words (noun phrases) in the titles and in the abstracts, and identifying relationships among documents in which these elements appear, we address three questions:

- firstly, what is the general scholarly production of knowledge about the dualism of nature/culture or nature/society in connection with environmental issues,
- secondly, whether in the context of the dualism nature/culture or nature/society the social sciences and humanities are becoming more open to "naturalistic" suggestions and, conversely whether the natural sciences are becoming more "social"[1],
- thirdly, what role does the "Anthropocene debate" play in connecting the scientific disciplines and the shifts in the argumentation of the nature/culture and nature/society dualism.

The article is structured as follows: Before beginning with the breakdown of aggregate bibliographic data, we briefly discuss and summarise the course of academic literature on the dualism *nature and culture* or *nature and society* and typical attempts to overcome it. The brief overview of the conceptual literature also includes the review of selected bibliographic studies on this topic that use visualisation methods. The methodological approach, parameters and limitations of Vosviewer are then outlined. This is followed by a detailed analysis of the approaches which appear in the form of clusters, their specificities and disciplinary compactness and connections. We conclude the analysis with a condensed presentation of the results. The article summarizes the main findings and provides some suggestions for researchers on how to search the literature in databases when dealing with dualism in an environmental context.

3 Nature in culture/society and culture/society in nature: an overview of the evasive approaches

An examination of the bibliographical characteristics of published knowledge on the *nature/culture* and *nature/society* dualism from an environmental perspective cannot overlook neither origins and the persistence of dualisms in science nor various attempts at reducing it. Most of the knowledge production on this dilemma has been published in recent decades in connection with the "environmental turn" and the subsequent critique. Studies and debates in scholarly publishing in times of so-called intra-disciplinary twists and turns (e.g. spatial turn, eco-spatial turn, boundary works, etc.), which are accompanied by high-profile works and the emergence of new metaphors or "buzzword" terms can also be indicators of

1. A more sociologically specific question of this type is asked, for example, by Maurizio Meloni, when he comprehensively analyzes boundaries between realms commonly demarcated as "the social" and "the biological" (2014: 593–614).

the emergence of interdisciplinary links (Gaziano 1996; Warf and Arias 2009; Löw and Steets 2014). A brief overview of the more general trajectory of modern discussions on this topic is useful, as the entire corpus of published documents from the database is included[2].

3.1 Beyond two perspectives: objective and constructed reality of nature

Since "scientists of nature" are first and foremost objective observers and measurers of the object the question nature/culture or nature/society is for them not an issue. They are detached, at least that is what they assume (Rosen 2015). Philosophical and practical social questions of the subject are the domain of others. This is what "another science" with "unnatural thinking" deals with (Williams 2012). Recent, albeit rare, bibliometric and scientometric analyses show that the "separate worlds" in science are less pronounced than in the past, but still exist (Einecker and Kirby 2020; Wang et al. 2021). Even with complex, obviously intertwined topics from nature and society, the two perspectives tend to remain more separate, which is reflected in scientific databases and their classifications of disciplines. To what extent can a convergence in the reflexivity of the separate approaches to climate change and sustainability be identified and then defined? The position that there is not just one science but various ways of making knowledge (Knorr Cetina 1999), advocates scientific diversity and plurality. The assumption of the classical view of interdisciplinarity that complex realities such as environmental issues studied in different disciplines, which together form different knowledge on the subject, is no longer necessarily sufficient.

Opposing objectification "at all costs" of the nature/human dualism gradually leads to an increasingly pronounced distinction in the approaches to society and culture, including the emphatic distinction between the social sciences and the humanities. The separation of natural and social science and humanities perspectives on nature has been gradually consolidated through intra-disciplinary differentiation, best illustrated by the environmentalism (Dunlap et al. 2012). How does this double separation in relation to nature, on the one hand between the natural sciences and the social sciences and on the other hand between the social sciences and the humanities, manifest itself in the "big picture" of metadata in the database of accumulated knowledge?

2. This article confines itself entirely to a "Western" philosophical and scientific perspective. We are aware that such an approach to the question of nature/culture and society/culture dualism is reductionist, as it neither chronologically nor conceptually covers elaborate holistic approaches.

The divergent perspectives, the objectification of social reality in contrast to its interpretative construction, are expressed by two syntaxes: nature/society and nature/culture. Research into published knowledge production must take this paradigmatic demarcation into account, at least as a heuristic device in the interpretation of breakdowns and groupings in bibliographic databases. It is important to find out how much of this is a matter of semantics, how much is this the content orientation of the authors and what is actually their mutual connection. We believe that in this purely social science and humanities theoretical preoccupation it is possible to tentatively uncover the contextual "behaviour" of different terms and conceptual associations about nature/environment.

A preliminary review of the literature suggests that nature (or the built and natural environment) has been, both in terms of occurrence over time and in terms of frequency, a "natural" interdisciplinary link between the social and the natural sciences. It confirms that the "nature of nature" has been simultaneously questioned within the social sciences and the humanities, roughly based on two perspectives, objectivism and constructivism. However, certain terminological and conceptual associations could also be an indicator of the flattening of the nature/culture or nature/society dualism, both in relation to the natural sciences and between the social sciences and the humanities, as reflected in the bibliographic classification of published works. A preliminary review of the disciplinary classification of the frequency of the term Anthropocene in the Scopus Subject Areas (Table 1), which will be discussed below through visualisation, was assumed as a typical inter- and intra-disciplinary connector within the dualism of nature culture/society; and indeed it proved justified. At the same time, the classification system itself, as conceived, clearly shows an unbalanced granulation of the scientific fields, which points to the weight attributed to the natural sciences. Thus, the classification scheme is not equally detailed for all areas. For example, while there is only a single subject area in the discipline of Social Sciences, the Medicine-related fields are specified much more in detail, as can be seen from the table. A journal may also be labelled with several subject areas, for example, Social Sciences, Agricultural and Biological Sciences as well as Environmental Science.

Table 1: Scopus Subject Areas of documents containing Anthropocene in an abstract of the document.

Subject Area	No.	Subject Area	No.
Social Sciences	2897	Psychology	91
Environmental Science	2261	Physics and Astronomy	76
Arts and Humanities	1782	Chemistry	74
Earth and Planetary Sciences	1210	Immunology and Microbiology	74
Agricultural and Biological Sciences	1148	Mathematics	49
Engineering	365	Decision Sciences	48
Business, Management and Accounting	300	Neuroscience	32
Economics, Econometrics and Finance	256	Materials Science	23
Biochemistry, Genetics and Molecular Biology	215	Nursing	21
Medicine	195	Veterinary	21
Multidisciplinary	171	Chemical Engineering	19
Computer Science	165	Pharmacology, Toxicology and Pharmaceutics	14
Energy	159	Health Professions	7

Bibliometric experts regard the mapping of scientific knowledge as a problem of subjective, "human-assigned" metadata. The classification relies on pre-existing categories of science and does not recognize the emergence of truly new epistemic bodies of knowledge (Suominen and Toivanen 2016). However, this is primarily a cultural problem and extends to the "culture of science", which concerns its organizational structure and also includes the nurturing of epistemic cultures (Knorr Cetina 1999).

From the beginning, epistemic autonomies within the social sciences and humanities cultivated and problematised their dualisms, dualities, dichotomies, dialectics and bifurcations (Aldeia and Alves 2019; Hočevar et al. 2022). These include body/mind, biological/social, action/structure and community/society, to name but a few. Visualising published knowledge production on the dualism of nature culture/society can reveal specific semantic groupings and connections between approaches both within and across disciplines. Some of them, such as the content of the mechanism of genetic versus environmental (including cultural and behavioural) determination, are even a dialogical constant of otherwise separate natural and social science domains (Benton 2013). Studies and debates in scientific publishing in times of so-called intra-disciplinary turns (e.g. spatial turn, eco-spatial turn, environmental turn, boundary works, etc.), accompanied by high-profile works and the emergence of new metaphors or "catchword" terms could also be an indicator of paradigmatic shifts in terms of interdisciplinary connections (Gaziano 1996; Warf and Arias 2009; Löw and Steets 2014). The dualistic principle has not been without upheavals, both between the two domains and within them, in the sense of "what is science anyway" (Strathern 2007; Ash 2019).

3.2 Interdisciplinary turns: space, built environment, natural environment and extended reflexivity

The original anecdotal ideas that emerged in early 20th century on the concept of interdisciplinarity, relating directly to spatial and proto-environmental cultural/social issues in connection with urbanisation processes were not brought to life for a long time (Frank et al. 1988). Looking at the published knowledge since the beginning of the 20th century onwards and disregarding interdisciplinary proto-pioneers such as the polyhistor Alexander von Humboldt (Hannigan 2022), one might initially come across a rather logical connection between (urban) sociology and (cultural) geography. The proposition was quite simple. Sociology neglects the physical (material) basis of human associations, and geography does not sufficiently consider culture (landscape, differences, power, inequalities) in the production and usage of the built and natural environment.

It is no coincidence that research into the socio-spatial relationships between the built and natural environment is one of the levers of interdisciplinarity that seeks to challenge the dualism nature/culture and nature/society (Braun 2005). Rather naive and derivative from today's perspective, Chicago School sociologists sought to justify the commonalities of nature/culture in the face of the dilemmas of countryside/city and space/society when exploring "urban ecology" (Jerolmack 2012; Liu and Emirbayer 2016). From the beginning to the first third of the 20th century, documents from the fields of human geography and "ecological" sociology can be found in bibliographical records, and their connection should be understood as the unfolding of human ecology (Gross 2004; Dunlap et al. 2001; Catton 1994).

With the above, we point to the weight of the initial intertwining between geography and sociology and the applied discipline of the built environment planning as a productive confluence in the advancement of the environmental perspective. In essence, these are different understandings of environmental determinants and human agency in the face of the otherwise obvious fact that the physical environment is both a product and a setting for human interactions. This case indicates the foundation of practical needs for arrangements and engagements between the knowledge of science and social policies in the sustainable adaptive organization of society that includes predictions and planning for social development. The post-war bibliographic records show an increased mutual engagement of even more disciplines, e.g. economics, demography and soil-science in future-oriented predictive environmental expertise with distinctive paradigmatic frameworks (Warde and Sörlin 2015; Jorgenson et al. 2019 Nash 2013). Until the breakthrough of an interdisciplinary group of scholars with the high-profile study Limits to Growth (Meadows et al. 1972) and after the first environmental social movements of the 1960s.[3]

The increasingly fragmented global academic community generally lacked the substantive mobilizing forces or reflexive impetus to think "sustainably" about environmental complexity.

The subsequent development of the "environmental turn" was characterised at least in the social sciences, philosophy, and the humanities, in part by growing, otherwise clearly heterogeneous paradigmatic orientations in the study of the production of physical space, the built environment and urban planning. A review of the literature reveals the greatest common denominator of most discussions, namely the expansion of the research horizon of the original dilemma of agency and structure. In terms of diverse discourses, this ranges from Lefebvre's Marxian ecological critique (Foster et al. 2020) and Harvey's dialectics of social and environmental change (Harvey 1993; Ekers and Prudham 2015) to Giddens' and Beck's temporal-spatial theory of reflexive modernization (Beck et al. 1994; Alexander 1996) and, more recently, Latour's disruptive and highly contested socio-technological theory of relational, hybrid agency of things, nature, and society (Latour 2013; Flower and Hamington 2022).

The original concept of reflexivity, in conjunction with concepts such as complexity, risk and uncertainty, is not only a socio-environmental constant within the social sciences. Since the 1990s, it has also gradually gained constructive interdisciplinary weight in the environmental sciences, particularly in sustainability research and more recently in the discussions on the Anthropocene (Lowe et al. 2008; Boyce et al. 2022). By the mid-1990s, the use of the term reflexivity in conjunction with sustainability increased significantly in the published academic literature and in various disciplinary frameworks, eventually becoming both a theoretical concept and an empirical variable of applied developmental concepts at policies and management level. The analytical use of reflexivity begins to move

3. So-called "turns" in science are difficult to date precisely due to variations in different social settings. Thus David Larsson Heidenblad (2021) explains in his extensive analytical study of the "environmental turn" in Sweden that it can be dated there to the mid-60s, in the initial connection of natural science and politics. He frames it in the history of the circulation of knowledge and calls it "a social breakthrough of knowledge" (ibid.: 5).

beyond the social science and humanities frameworks, from the construction of nature-culture dualism to broader socio-material spheres. Later, the concepts of sustainability and sustainable development are increasingly used in the context of their critique. As some bibliographical studies show (Ruggerio 2021; Feil and Schreiber 2017), the concept of sustainability (in various adjectival usages, such as reflexive, social, spatial, economic) is increasingly replaced by other terms such as de-growth, but in environmental topics it retains a contextual potential to connect different disciplines.

Within the broader framework of the phrases "crisis of science" and "destabilization of science", there are various discussions about the future disciplinary organization of science and scientific practices. Various recent concepts of integration and differentiation of knowledge promise to overcome the additive accumulation of (particular) knowledge, if not the abolition of the fundamental natural-social dualism itself (Siusiuka and Ivanov 2023). Environmental issues are not only exemplary for this process, but fundamental. Indeed, the catchphrase "limits to growth" can literally be meaningfully attributed to multiple semantics in the complex and pervasive relationship between humans and non-humans.

In reviewing the conceptual literature related to the interdisciplinary use of environmental risk and uncertainty in decision-making we can find somehow out-of-the-box assumptions about the potential disruption of the understanding of scientific knowledge when applied in the policy process, such as the concept of "post-normal science" (Funowicz and Ravetz 2018).

3.3 Review of the bibliometric literature

We complement the analytical chronological overview of the literature with a review of bibliometric studies that deal with the extraction of semantic relationship from context. These are studies that quantitatively address specific bibliographic (bibliometric, informetric, scientometric) elements based on the excavation of documents in databases and relate to a broader or narrower interdisciplinary context of the dualism of nature and culture/society.

Despite of the large body of published literature we did not find any studies that quantitatively address the dualism of nature and culture/society as an aspect of knowledge production although there are some methodologically and thematically related studies on bibliographic parameters with the extraction of documents from databases using science mapping. Most of these documents are very recent (from 2016 and onwards). Of all the specific topics related to the nature culture/society dualism bibliometrically addressed, tourism is the most frequently represented. Tourism studies mostly focus on the bibliographic parameters of tourism business destinations, e.g. tourist accommodation, guest satisfaction and explore sustainable management and environmental responsibility through the lens of the use of natural and cultural resources (dos Santos et al. 2017; Hočevar and Bartol 2021;). Another group of studies relates to geological phenomena, geographical areas (e.g. cities), ecosystems and climate. Nature and culture/society appear in the literature as variables for various aspects of environmental problems and the use of accumulated knowledge (Wang et al. 2021; Zahoor et al. 2023).

The second group of documents dealing bibliometrically with the term and concept of the Anthropocene is more numerous, but does not refer to the problematization of the dualism between nature and culture/society. They analyse the term or conceptual framework of the Anthropocene with standard bibliographic parameters or with a combined method of structured literature review and bibliometrics (scientometrics) from different angles: as a metaphor, as a the synonym of Gaia, as a keyword in literature, as a concept in science or as a hypothetical geological period (Scartozzi 2021; Rossa-Roccor 2020). The Anthropocene has been used as a topic in the context of global environmental changes (esp. climate change) and from the perspective of policies, e.g. environmental governance, as well as from the point of view of the methodological implications using the concept in science, in the relationship between analytical and conceptual weight (Brondizio 2016; Biermann et al. 2021).

4 Materials and methods

4.1 The scope

We start from the assumption that the existing qualitative assessments of dualistic understandings of nature and culture and/or nature and society in the context of the production and organization of knowledge can also be verified experimentally and thus complement conceptual discussions and findings. We observe and evaluate how divergent approaches and different uses of terminology within documents of the scientific domain behave on the level of aggregate data analysis. We achieve this by visually representing the extracted bibliographic data in the Scopus database (Elsevier). The scope of the data is thus limited by the source of retrieval and the search query (syntax). Scopus provides advanced functionality to export structured data, in our case, both bibliographic data (keywords) as well as textual data (titles, abstracts). The VOSviewer programme enables the creation of knowledge maps and offers text mining functionality that can be used to create and visualise co-occurrence networks of terms from scholarly literature. The terms, their frequency and their trajectory over time can indicate disciplinary concepts, contexts and relationships.

4.2 Composite query

To identify the contexts in question, we developed a composite query (syntax) that included the following *nature*-related and either *society*-related or *culture*-related contextual word pairs (which occur in the abstracts of the documents):

"society and nature" OR "nature and society"	"culture and nature" OR "nature and culture"
"society nature" OR "nature society"	"culture nature" OR "nature culture"
"societal and natural" OR "natural and societal"	"cultural and natural" OR "natural and cultural"
"societal natural" OR "natural societal"	"cultural natural" OR "natural cultural"

The reason for the formation of two pairs of words in the query lies in our original assumption that, in the context of nature, the terms society and culture are semantically interchangeable and specific at the same time. The meaning attributed to one or the other term depends on disciplinary approaches, perspectives or paradigms (epistemology) as well as on topics (methodology).
Nature/society-related pairs (four possible pairs) yielded 2,800 documents, while the *nature/culture*-related pairs (also four) yielded 7,800 documents. The searches were conducted in the beginning of June 2023. All document types were considered, e.g. journal articles (which account for the greater part of all documents), proceeding papers, books chapters, books, etc.

4.3 Text maps and keyword maps

The study represents *Text maps* and *Keyword maps*. The first two maps (Figures 1 and 2) represent clusters of topics (items) that occur together in studies in related fields of research. All items belonging to a cluster are therefore identified by the same colour. Subsequent maps are presented on a timescale of occurrence of topics (items), corresponding to the average year of publication of an article in which a topic occurs. The scale is shown in blue and red shades. The blue shading represents earlier research, while the red shading represents more recent research. The scale is adjusted to the average values of the respective document set. In all maps (*Text maps* and *Keyword maps*), the size of the label and the circle of an item is determined by the weight of the item. *Text maps* based on nouns or terms (noun phrases) are determined in the text (titles and abstracts of the documents). The maps are calculated for 10 occurrences of a term.

The *nature/society* text map is based on 56,500 terms, of which the 830 most relevant are assigned to clusters (Figure 1). This is established by the program. Due to the high density of the map, only the most relevant terms can be shown. The *nature/culture* text map is based on 143,000 terms. 2136 of the most relevant terms are represented in the map (Figure 2). The terms in both maps are grouped in the clusters of related research. There is a considerable overlap in all maps because of the large number of items in a map.

Keyword maps are based on keywords assigned to documents by the authors. These maps are calculated on a threshold of 5 occurrences of a keyword and represent the time scale of an occurrence. The *nature/society* keyword map is based on 7,130 keywords. 221 of them reached the threshold (Figure 3). The *nature/culture* keyword map is based on 17,270 keywords. 768 of them reached the threshold (Figure 4).

4.4 Anthropocene, the "catchword" or concept

In the next step, we narrowed down the totality of the above documents to documents associated with *Anthropocene*. In other words, we linked all *society*-related or *culture*-related pairs with *Anthropocene*. These combinations resulted in a total number of 183 documents. An example of a search query (eight were possible): ABS(("society and nature" OR "nature and society") AND anthropocene).

We singled out the catchword of the Anthropocene, encapsulating the concept based on the frequency of occurrence of environmental terms in recent years (Table 1). We treat the term Anthropocene hypothetically as a new potential interdisciplinary link. For these *anthropocene* and *nature/society/culture*-related documents we also created corresponding time scale maps. Since there were far fewer documents, we lowered the occurrence threshold: 5 occurrences in the text map and 2 occurrences in the keyword map. The *text map* is based on 5,300 terms. 141 terms reached the threshold (Figure 5). The keyword map is based on 78 keywords (Figure 6). Both in the search queries and in the maps, the uppercase and lowercase letters are converted to lower case (e.g. Anthropocene -> anthropocene).

4.5 Limitations

In text maps, some generic terms are always present. To this end, we created a thesaurus that excludes some of these terms, e.g. *article, author, book, paper, research, study*, etc., so as not to skew the visualisation too much. This visualisation method is more suitable for large corpora of data, so there are limitations to consider when interpreting maps created on the basis of a limited number of documents. Using the software, we arranged the maps according to the optimal principles of a "broader picture", which inevitably entails some trade-offs. Therefore, the analytical interpretation is limited and the findings are preliminary rather than definitive.

5 Results and discussion: visualisation of approaches

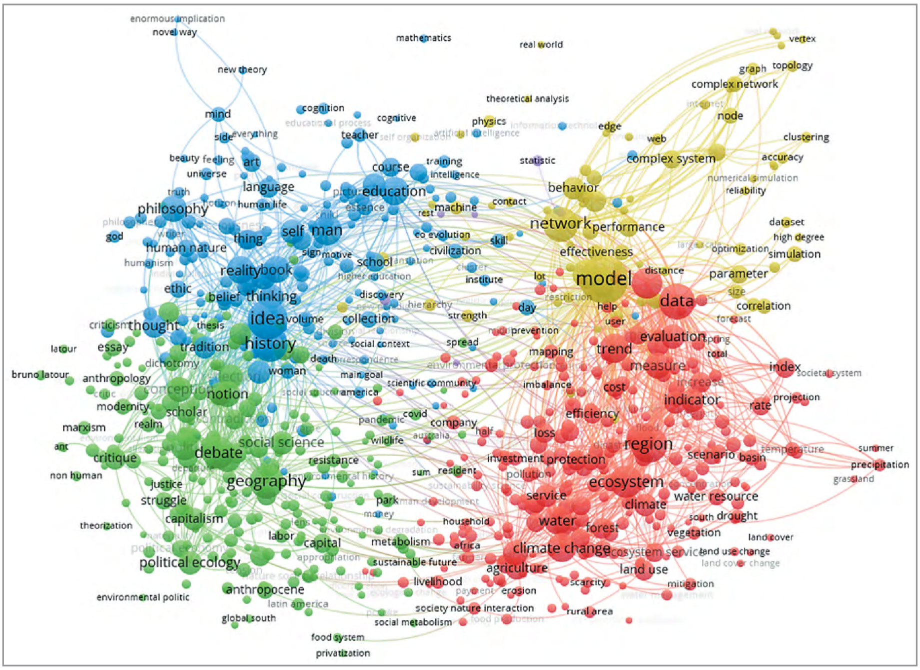
Visualisation of documents through the mapping of terms in document titles, abstracts and key words is a complement to a condensed literature review and draws on other qualitative analyses that assess concepts of a dualistic understanding of nature and culture and/or nature and society. By analysing the documents as sources and with the help of this experimental study, the following questions are addressed: first, a general picture of scientific knowledge production in relation to this dualism; second, the relationship between disciplines, and third, the elaboration of the environmental "Anthropocene debate" in an interdisciplinary approach. We assume that the distribution of the elements (terms) of this dualism into groups (clusters) roughly reflects the conceptual contexts of the production and organization of scientific knowledge in relation to environmental matters which we have presented in the chronological and analytical overview of the literature (Chapter 2).

5.1 Clusters/approaches in the nature/society and nature/culture dualism

Figures 1 and 2 show text maps of the most relevant terms obtained through a query of nature-related and either society-related or culture-related contextual word pairs (occurring in the abstracts of the documents). In the previous test queries, we established that in connection with the concepts of the dualism of nature (or the natural environment) and humanity, there are two terms, culture and society, which correspond to different conceptual, paradigmatic and disciplinary approaches in the literature studied. The differences in the distribution and clustering of the terms in Figures 1 and 2 suggest this assumption, but not completely. It is also necessary to take into account the subjective understanding and use of concepts, so that the analytical interpretation can only be tentative and sometimes speculative.

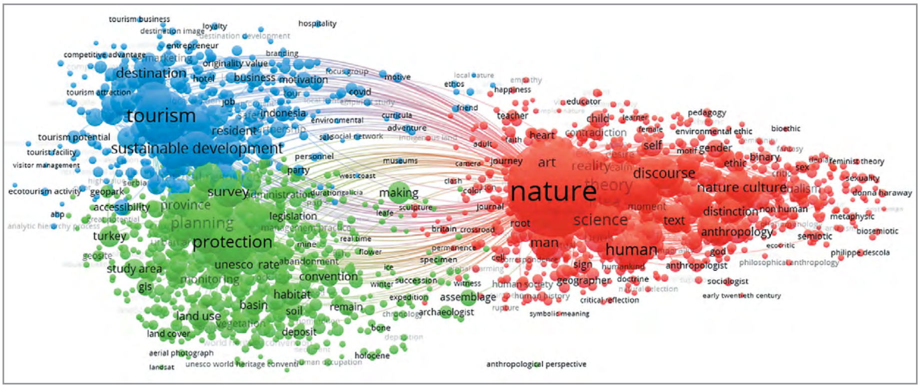
The terms culture and society "behave" quite differently, which is already evident in the numerical output of the retrieved documents and the number of the terms in text maps, where the ratio of the number of retrieved documents is about one to three in favour of culture (see chapter 4). This difference partly determines the distribution and grouping of terms. Both figures show cluster division (roughly) into conceptual-theoretical and empirical research thematisation of the topic. However, we estimate that the term society paired with nature reflects the approaches within conceptual dualism more directly than the term culture, which contradicts our original assumptions. The terminological pair nature/culture (Figure 2) appears more often in the title and abstract in the context of various specific topics. The direct connection between the two terms can be tenuous, as the treatment of the topic is descriptive and enumerative rather than dualistic (e.g., "cultural and natural heritage", "cultural differences in the understanding of nature", "nature in American culture", etc.). The documents in which the authors conceptualise dualism in the title and abstract in the form of nature/culture lead to distinctly different clusters than those that conceptualise dualism in terms of nature/society. The terms culture and society are both elusive in colloquial and academic usage, even in the social sciences and humanities. However, the term culture can represent a less focused but more inclusive and broader contextual range of associations than society, including the interchangeability of culture and society outside the narrower disciplines of the social sciences and humanities.

Figure 1: Nature/society text map (terms in abstracts and titles).



A comparison of Figure 1 and Figure 2 shows that the concept of society paired with nature in the environmental context is predominantly limited to the considerations of the social sciences and humanities, while the concept of culture is more interdisciplinary and indicative of natural sciences. Such an assessment may seem counterintuitive. In the nature/society pair (Figure 1), four clusters/approaches are formed, with the dispersion of terms and greater interconnection between two related pairs of clusters. In the nature/culture pair (Figure 2), the scattering is less pronounced. Three clusters/approaches are formed in this map. In two clusters that are very much connected (blue and green), the topics of empirical exploration of the environment are noticeable, while the third cluster (red) is clearly separated and much more conceptual, showing constructivist and objectivist perspectives.

Figure 2: Nature/culture text map (terms in abstracts and titles).



We can tentatively conclude that dualism as a concept is more accurately represented in the nature/society pair than in the three times denser nature/culture map (Figure 2). On the other hand, the nature/culture pair represents a stronger interdisciplinarity and also environmental links, including distinct environmental policies and spatial planning (e.g., *climate, protection, tourism, sustainable development, land use, habitat*). The (red) nature/culture cluster (Figure 2) is clearly characterised by the humanities (with the terms: nature-culture anthropology, discourses, distinction, human, non-human, self, gender, ethics). The terminology in the nature/society (Figure 1, blue and green cluster) is more balanced in terms of the social sciences and humanities.

The interpretation of the grouping of terms in the clusters in Figures 1 and 2 can be analytically defined as approaches (or perspectives):

- Ontological (O)
- Epistemological (E)
- Methodological (M)
- Applied environmental (AE)

We trace the dualism of nature and society/culture back to the two interconnected clusters on the left-hand side of Figure 1. The first cluster/approach (top) can roughly be characterised as ontological and the second as epistemological. On the right-hand side are the clusters/approaches that are characterised as methodological and environmental. The O and E clusters on the left show an association with positional proximity, suggesting related terminology. Within the O cluster, the very strongly represented terms are *idea, history, philosophy,* *belief, thought, thinking, language, education, humanism, human nature*. These terms roughly indicate documents in the social sciences and humanities in conjunction with epistemological and methodological ones. Prominent terms within the E cluster are: *geography, debate, scholar, political ecology, social science, modernity, Anthropocene, environmentalism, capitalism and critique*.

Interestingly, the proper name that appears in the clusters (within the nature/society dualism) refers to Bruno Latour, the author of the controversial and widely debated socio-technological theory Actor Network Theory, or ANT, which is often mentioned in the context of the Anthropocene (Latour 2013). This name is directly associated with the concepts: *anthropocene, modernity, non-human, dualism and criticism*. It must be remembered that the retrieval programme does not distinguish between affirmative and critical contexts, but only by occurrence, so the interpretation can only be tentative. In general, the connection between the two clusters is indicated by the terms: *social structure, dichotomy, contradiction, thesis and reflection*.

Our initial hypothesis, which was also based on a review of the relevant literature, that the term culture tends towards constructivist approaches (concepts, discourses) of dualism and the term society towards objectivist approaches, is not fully confirmed. The output in the figures indicates the opposite, at least from macroscopic prespective.

Indirect insights suggest that this assumption only applies to certain types of documents, in particular monographs and conceptually theoretical articles. These make up a smaller part of the extracted corpus, which totals more than 10,000 documents. This circumstance is more characteristic of the term culture (Figure 2) and less so for the term society (Figure 1) in combination with nature. In Figure 2, with a tripling of the documents, only three clusters/approaches are formed, which are also more homogeneous than the four heterogeneous clusters in Figure 1 (society). Our assumption of distinctive scientific approaches to dualism is justified for the ontological and epistemological cluster in the nature/society pair and clearly in the homogeneous cluster in the nature/culture pair, which we perceive as an analytical cluster.

5.2 Keywords

Keyword maps complement the above analysis of clusters/approaches to the dualism of nature and society/culture in the title and abstract of the documents. Keywords (KW) are presented on a time scale of the occurrence of topics (items) corresponding to the average year of publication of an article in which a topic occurs (Figure 3 and Figure 4).

Figure 3: Nature/society keyword map.

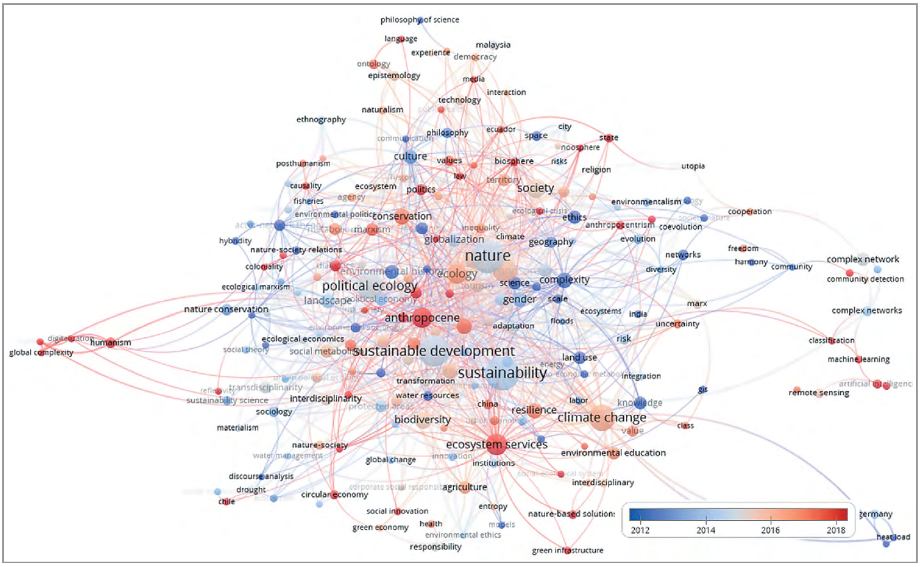
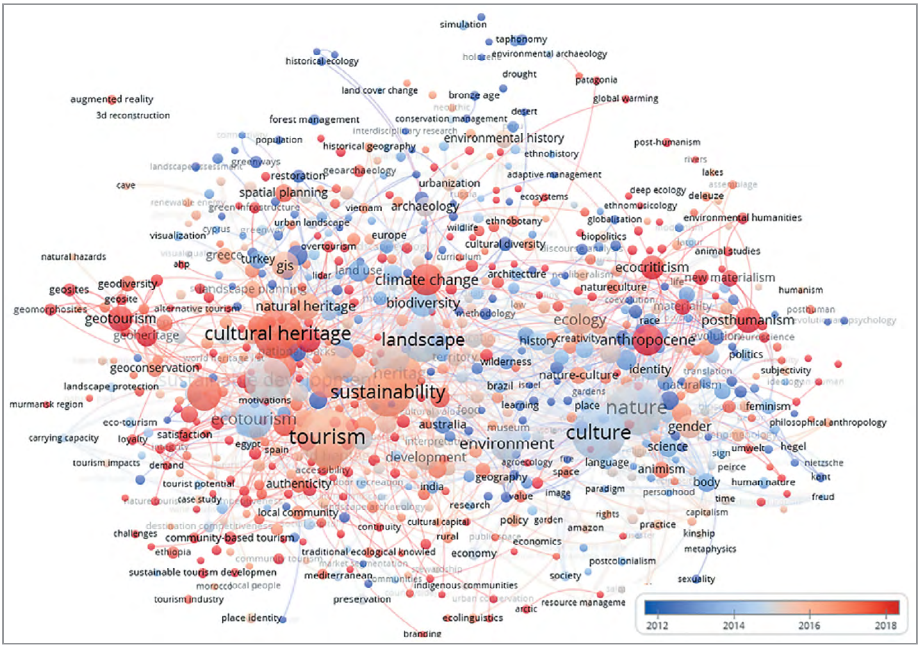


Figure 4: Nature/culture keyword map.



The frequency, distribution of KW and their occurrence over time in the nature/society pair (Figure 3) differ significantly from those in the nature/culture pair (Figure 4). The most strongly represented and also more recent KWs only partially overlap with the KWs in the nature/culture pair (*ecosystem services, anthropocene, climate change, sustainable development, political ecology, interdisciplinarity*). The conceptual KWs are of an earlier date (*complexity, nature-society relations, humanism, science, philosophy, hybridity, culture, discourse analysis, co-evolution*). This indicates the maturation of the disciplinary approaches and the connection with newer and applied KW (*complex networks, remote sensing, artificial intelligence, machine learning, green infrastructure, nature-based solutions*).

In the nature/society pair, there are no KWs that relate to business approaches (e.g., *tourism*, also in adjectival uses), which are strongly represented in the nature/culture pair and are more recent. The KW *sustainability* is the most prominent in both pairs, but in the nature/society pair it is present in earlier years, which means that the authors have been using it for a longer time than in the nature/culture pair (a more recent period). A longer period of constant or increased use of KW may indicate a mature direction in the field or a consolidation of an approach or paradigmatic framework (Small, 2003). Another prominent KW that is also associated with sustainability (also in adjectival versions) in both pairs but in different contexts, is Anthropocene. Based on test queries, we analyse this term in more detail.

5.3 Anthropocene: an interdisciplinary link?

In the preliminary query of recent environmental discourses, we elaborated out the concept of the Anthropocene on the basis of occurrence with which environmental and environment-related terms have appeared in recent years. We posed the research question of what role this term plays in the "Anthropocene debate" in connecting scientific disciplines and whether it is possible to recognise at least rudimentary shifts in the argumentation of nature/culture and nature/society dualism within environmental approaches. Namely, in Figures 3 and 4 we can see that the Anthropocene has been frequently discussed recently.

In the third chapter, we have presented the disciplinary classification and frequency of the Anthropocene according to Scopus Subject Areas (Table 1), which shows a considerable degree of interdisciplinary treatment. We complete the preliminary analysis by examining the terms using text map (terms in abstracts and titles) and keyword map. Here we have used both nature/society and nature/culture in a merged search syntax. Both visualisations (Figures 5 and 6) show the terms on a time scale.

In Figure 5, the terms social science and natural science are in the centre of the figure and also between mature and more recent usages indicating certain interdisciplinarity. The term social science is somewhat more recent than the term natural science. The conceptual terms (*ontology, Anthropocene concept, human agency, new geological epoch, epoch, scientist*) are somewhat "older", on average, and have a weak relationship with the most recent terms (*posthumanism, entanglement, critique, agency, adaptation, ecological crisis*) except for the proper name Bruno Latour which is, as a term, more recent. On the basis of this analysis, we can tentatively conclude that the interdisciplinarity of the Anthropocene concept is more a matter of discussions about interdisciplinarity within the different approaches in the social sciences and humanities (and philosophy) rather than actual disciplinary integration between the natural and the social sciences.

Figure 5: Anthropocene and (society or culture)/ nature text map (terms in abstracts and titles).

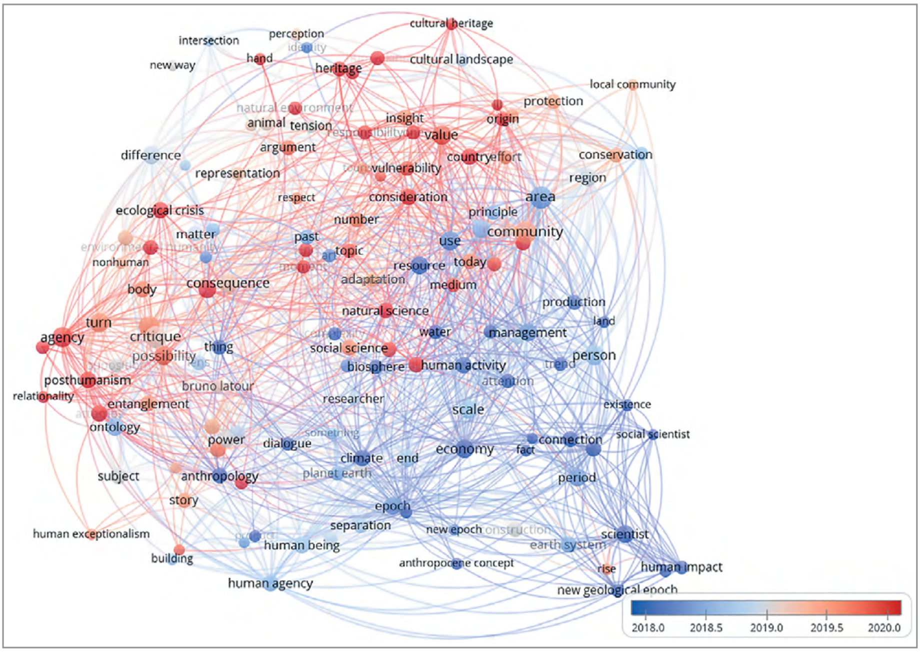
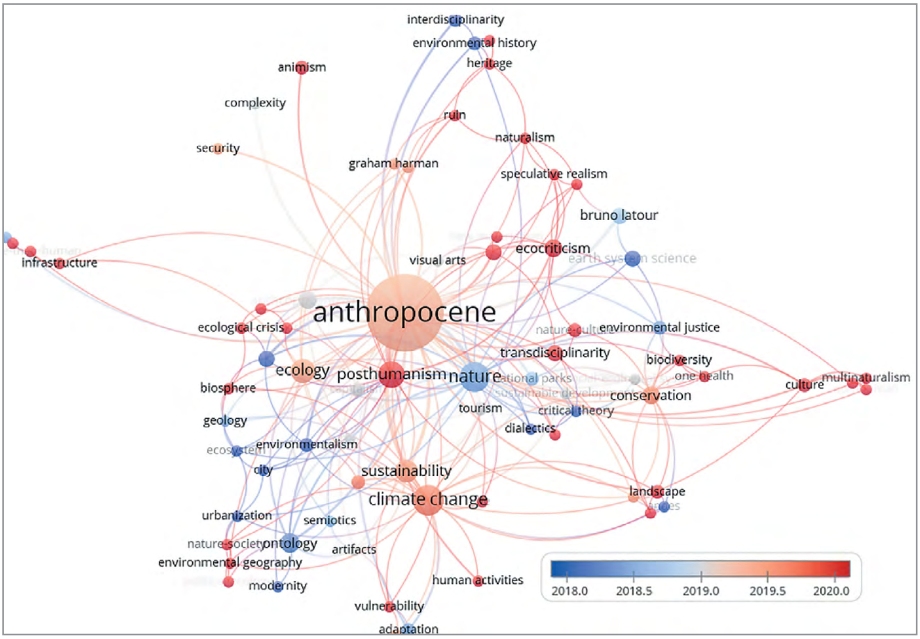


Figure 6: Anthropocene and (society or culture)/nature keyword map.



Finally, we have also created a map of keywords associated with the Anthropocene, bearing in mind that keywords are always both selective and subjective. Moreover, it is based on few keywords, some of which occur only rarely, so it can only serve for a preliminary interpretation. Nevertheless, we believe that it can provide some noteworthy information. Very common keywords are closely related to climate change and sustainability. Climate change is associated with very recent culture, nature-society, and environmental geography, while sustainability links with social theory and posthumanism. At this point, it must be mentioned that some keywords are either blurred or overlap and are not visible on the map. On average, interdisciplinarity appears earlier than transdisciplinarity. The two are not linked, perhaps indicating that different authors see these concepts as equivalent, and use either one or the other.

We tentatively conclude that the analysis of KW provides an indication that environmentalism as an approach "behaves" in an interdisciplinary/transdisciplinary manner, perticularly when examining the built environment and when discussing the resources of the natural environment.

Based on this analysis, we cannot draw any firm conclusions about the flattening of the dualism between nature and society or nature and culture, also due to a relatively small number of documents and keywords. And yet, the map also contains many very recent and still rare keywords (e.g. *multiculturalism,* *security, heritage, ecosystems, biodiversity, political ecology, vulnerability*, etc.). Therefore, some more meaningful conclusions may be possible after some time, when new documents are published.

6 Conclusion

In this study we complement two ways of dealing with the dualism nature/society and nature/culture, i.e. a chronological review and content analysis of this dualism in knowledge production from an environmental point of view observed through the visualisation of bibliographic parameters (science mapping).

The basic purpose was to determine the extent to which knowledge production is reflected in the visualisation of documents in the Scopus database. Based on preliminary investigations and the final design of the composite search string, we extracted the documents for visual output using VOSviewer software. After an initial analysis of current environmental discourses in the context of nature/society and nature/culture, we selected the concept of the Anthropocene.

Final conclusions are not possible as only a limited set of bibliographic parameters was used (text-maps of abstracts and titles, keywords, trajectories over time). The evaluation and interpretation of the visual output was intended as a test to complement the review and analysis of the relevant literature. In addition, the extracted "big data" also contains noise data not all of which can be removed. But for the most part, the hypotheses on the reflection of the content analysis of the literature through the bibliometric visualisation are useful enough for tentative conclusions.

We have found that the terms that form a dualism with nature - society and culture - are used by the authors of the documents in different contextual frameworks, but not necessarily, as we initially assumed, in separate, constructivist and objectivist approaches. The term culture emerges more as a descriptive, comparative and generic (or general) term for "non-nature" and not necessarily as a conceptually dualistic, while the term society is more explanatory and relates more directly to conceptual dualistic topics or phenomena. We have confirmed the initial assumption that the natural sciences treat both terms interchangeably, but more often use the term culture instead of society. Clusters of scientific approaches to dualism, established as: ontological, epistemological, methodological and applied environmental clusters, obtained by visualisations of text-maps derived from abstracts and titles, roughly correspond to the analysis of the literature. The keywords in the nature/society and nature/culture pairs partly indicate links between disciplines, but more precisely outline the long established approaches and the topics that have potentially interdisciplinary characteristics.

Our prediction that the term Anthropocene, defined as a contested and still evolving concept, can explain events between and within disciplines due to its "naturally" integrative qualities, i.e. controversiality and polyvalence. From the perspective of environmental approaches, the Anthropocene already shows a connection between dualistically organised sciences - natural sciences, and social sciences with the humanities, and within the social sciences and humanities, between objectivist and constructivist approaches.

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Original scientific article

UDK 316.334.56:027.7(436.1+497.451.1)
DOI: 10.51936/dr.39.104.49-73

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UNIVERSITYSCAPES: THE TRANSFORMATIVE ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN URBAN SPACES: THE CASE OF UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES IN LJUBLJANA AND VIENNA

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to explore the social and spatial dynamics within the university libraries of the University of Ljubljana and the University of Vienna. The analysis shows that university libraries are crucial for shaping the academic environment and culture and play an important role in city–university relations. Understanding these dynamics is essential for planning and developing university spaces that can effectively respond to the needs and activities of their users. The article applies qualitative research methods and uses interviews with professors, students and assistants along with on-site observations to analyse the dynamics and transformative role of university spaces in Ljubljana and Vienna.

KEY WORDS: university libraries, spatial dynamics, university–city relationship, University of Ljubljana, University of Vienna

Univerzitetne krajevnosti: Transformativna vloga univerz v urbanih prostorih: primer univerzitetnih knjižnic v Ljubljani in na Dunaju

IZVLEČEK

Namen tega članka je raziskati družbeno in prostorsko dinamiko v univerzitetnih knjižnicah Univerze v Ljubljani in Univerze na Dunaju. Analiza pokaže, da so univerzitetne knjižnice ključne pri oblikovanju akademskega okolja in kulture ter da imajo pomembno vlogo v odnosih med mesti in univerzami. Razumevanje te *dinamike je bistvenega pomena za načrtovanje in razvoj univerzitetnih prostorov, ki se lahko učinkovito odzivajo na potrebe in dejavnosti svojih uporabnikov. Za članek smo uporabili kvalitativne raziskovalne metode, in sicer intervjuje s profesorji, študenti in asistenti ter opazovanje z udeležbo na kraju samem. S temi metodami smo analizirali dinamiko in preoblikovalno vlogo univerzitetnih prostorov v Ljubljani in na Dunaju.*

KLJUČNE BESEDE: univerzitetne knjižnice, prostorska dinamika, razmerje univerza – mesto, Univerza v Ljubljani, Univerza na Dunaju

1 Introduction

In the dynamic field of urban studies, cities are conceptualised as fluid entities, perpetually in a state of transformation and redefinition (Hall 2002). As urban space evolves, traditional facets of urbanity are increasingly gravitating towards academia and tourism (Richards 2018). In this context, we are concerned with the presence of the university in the urban space and the coexistence or integration of other social systems related to it in the urban environment. This leads us to consider two similar, yet very different cases, the University of Ljubljana and the University of Vienna, as examples of such a transformation. A salient aspect of this transformation is the escalating integration and influence of universities within the urban space (Bugarič 2009), a phenomenon this investigation seeks to explore.

In understanding urban spaces, sensory dimensions play a central role in recognising the ways people produce socio-spatial practices. Cities are experienced through senses and tactile sensations, beyond tangible structures and visible landmarks (Pallasma 2005). This sensory approach offers a richer, more holistic understanding of the fields, flows and knots involved in the continual hybridisation of meaningful practices or performances in space (Barker 2002). It captures the lived experiences of cities' inhabitants. The latter highlight the importance of the immaterial elements that contribute to the identity of cities and the way people engage with their environment.

This article is concerned with the transformative roles of two specific institutions: the National University Library in Ljubljana, Slovenia, and the University Library of the University of Vienna, Austria. The focus is on academic institutions, including libraries. University libraries are central academic spaces that foster learning, collaboration as well as knowledge production and reproduction. Therefore, these institutions have emerged as pivotal entities within the urban space, with their centrality transcending physical space to encapsulate the socio-spatial and sensory milieu of the city (Lefebvre 1991).

We will analyse how the city, universities and related knowledge production institutions are inextricably linked to the spatial and topographical architecture, which reflects the multifaceted dispersal of social, cultural and economic activities across the urban space. In the book "Arcades", Benjamin (2003) offers a complex and nuanced depiction of urban space as not merely a physical environment but a lived experience shaped by social, cultural and historical contexts. This understanding of urban space as sensory and affective, composed of sounds, smells, tactile experiences, and visual impressions, adds significantly to the formation of the identity of both the city and the university.

This perception of urban space characterised by the profound influence of universities on the urban landscape calls for a reinterpretation of these spaces. To that end, we propose the concept of universityscapes, drawing inspiration from Appadurai's (1990) model of cultural flow. Universityscapes aim to chart the complex sensory, socio-spatial and cultural dimensions of university-driven urban transformation. In addition, we integrate the theoretical frameworks of Hočevar (2000) and Clark (2004) to provide a more complete understanding of the role of universities in shaping urban centres. Hočevar promoted the notion that the processes of integration (often understood as globalisation) and individuation (potentially understood as localisation) are intrinsically linked. He posited this relationship as the foundational conceptual and explanatory model, elucidating the long-term developmental trajectory of the transformation within socio-spatial systems. This insight stresses the socio-cultural dimensions, highlighting how universities can act as catalysts for cultural events, public discussions and community engagements. On the other hand, Clark's (2004) perspective underscores the economic implications, illustrating how universities can drive innovation, attract global talent, and stimulate local economies. Together, these frameworks offer a holistic understanding of how universities significantly influence and shape the identity, dynamism and resilience of urban centres.

In this regard, the article has three main research focuses. First, it is important to elaborate the role of the sensory experience of the university's presence in the city and its paramount importance for the design and development of academic content within the urban space. Second, given the perspective of universities as urban and social anchors, we analyse whether and why the University of Ljubljana emerges as a more influential force within its city compared to the University of Vienna, deeply influencing both the structure and dynamics of the surrounding urban landscape. Third, in terms of local social economies, we analyse how the academic activities in the city influence other services essential to the lives of its inhabitants. It is to explore whether the "academisation" of central city areas runs parallel to the processes of touristification and how it contributes to the functioning of the city.

2 Defining the University within the Context of Urban Transformation

Hočevar's (2000) concept of "setting" is instrumental for understanding how universities function as stages where various sensory, spatial and social elements converge, thereby shaping the character of urban centres. This convergence of elements within the university "setting" is not isolated but deeply intertwined with the broader urban context.

In this broader context, Clark's (2004) work on the four realms of a city's amenity mix – scene, green, blue, machine – provides a valuable framework for understanding the impact of universities on urban settings by examining how universities contribute to and shape these realms. For instance, the "scene" of a city, which includes its cultural and entertainment amenities, may be considerably influenced by university events and activities. Similarly, the "green" and "blue" realms, representing the city's natural and water features, may be impacted by university-led sustainability initiatives.

By synthesising Hočevar's concept of "setting" and Clark's framework of urban amenity mix, we aim to provide a nuanced understanding of the multifaceted role played by universities in shaping urban spaces. This integrated approach allows us to examine not only the physical presence of universities within cities, but in addition their broader socio-spatial and sensory impacts on the urban landscape.

The aim is an integrated view of how universities actively shape their urban surroundings, instead of simply fitting in. Despite their geographical and cultural differences, these institutions share a common theme: a dynamic relationship with the cities they inhabit. Our research goes to the heart of this transformation, exploring how universities become an integral part of the urban fabric, influencing the structure, culture and dynamics of the city. We seek to understand the significance of universities becoming central figures in a city's narrative, and to contribute to the discourse on the complex relationship between cities and their universities.

Socio-spatial processes are multifaceted and extend beyond the physical structures that define a city. They integrate the social interactions (Lefebvre 2004), sensory experiences (Sennet 1977) and cultural nuances (Appadurai 1990) that characterise living in urban areas. To properly grasp the essence of these processes, one must delve deep into the specific sectors of a city, uncovering the subtle shifts and changes that define the urban transformation (Brenner and Schmid 2015). One significant aspect of this transformation is how urban spaces are redefined or restructured, often driven by the economic objectives associated with university activities and their wider roles in the city (Goddard and Vallance 2013). Universities, in this context, are more than mere educational institutions. The evolving urban landscapes are experiencing the growing integration of academia into city life (Richards 2018); namely, a shift exemplified by the two case universities in Ljubljana and Vienna. This transformation underlines the multifaceted interplay of cities and universities, putting these educational institutions in pivotal roles in terms of urban development (Goddard and Vallance 2013; Youtie and Shapira 2008).

Universities contributions also extend beyond their traditional roles, shaping skilled labour, fostering research innovation, and driving cultural and social growth (Drucker and Goldstein 2007; Etzkowitz 2008; Gibbons 1998; Uršič et al. 2014b). The latter is then always subdivided into a social or societal component, which concerns the community and its well-being in the area, and economic and commercial activity. Moreover, university buildings, including their facilities, bring about the congregating of the population in particular urban areas (Soja 1989) where knowledge production and associated services are provided. All of these social aspects have an impact on the urban fabric itself, or in the neighbourhood in which university facilities are located. If a modern city is made up of physical, social, economic, political and environmental development components, then achieving a sustainable future necessitates the integration of all stakeholders within the relevant area (Bugarič 2006). This expansive influence calls for a deeper exploration of spatial identities and the socio-spatial practices within these institutions.

In particular, our exploration seeks to shed light on how sensory experiences define spatial identity within the university context. By examining the socio-spatial practices within these libraries, we seek to understand how these practices blend with and enhance the city's cultural fabric, thereby becoming co-producers of the urbanisation process.

2.1 Factors shaping the roles of university libraries in urban development

In this context, university libraries reveal the lasting importance of socio-physical spaces in reproducing community, cooperation and intellectual development. These libraries serve as anchors in the urban setting, going beyond their key academic roles to transform into areas of social interaction, cultural exchange, and community involvement. In Klinenberg's (2018) view, these institutions are not only depositories of books or scholarly resources, but also essential features of the city's social infrastructure, playing a fundamental role as a physical place and organisations that shape the way people interact in the processes of urban development and resilience.

However, understanding this transformative dynamic requires a deep dive into the influencing factors. The literature reveals a constellation of influences: the size and location of the university (Wiewel and Perry 2008), the city's socio-economic milieu (Addie 2016) and the university's dedication to civic commitments (Goddard et al. 2016; Uršič et al. 2014a). Inextricably woven into these factors is the university's historical evolution and its relationship with the city – a symbiosis that strongly informs their interactions (Rüegg 1993; Felt 2017).

Drawing from urban sociology, universities find themselves juxtaposed against other urban landmarks like museums and theatres. While these entities play pivotal roles in the city's cultural and intellectual life, they often operate in the shadow of dominant business and political entities, especially in coalitions focused on land and property as levers of economic growth (Logan and Molotch 1987). This intricate dance of socio-economic, political and educational dynamics shapes the ever-evolving story of urban metamorphosis under the influence of capital (Harvey 1985), with universities holding a central, albeit sometimes understated, role.

2.2 The significance of Lefebre's trialectic of space in universityscapes

An examination of earlier sociological perspectives on space shows that as early as the beginning of the 20th century Benjamin (2003) had introduced the concept of social space; that is, the space that emerges and evolves as a result of societal activities. A special and important dimension of space, above material and abstract space, was revealed in these social activities.

To define social space even more clearly in the mid-20th century, in the quest to reimagine urban spaces Lefebvre (1991) developed the trialectic as a comprehensive framework for understanding the meaning of social in space. This trialectic model of spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation enables an understanding of the intricate dynamics arising between universities and cities. In this context, the role of universities in shaping the urban environment (Wiewel and Perry 2005) becomes evident through concrete examples of capital accumulation. These institutions engage in various strategies that contribute to the economic transformation of the urban landscape, often centred on building and infrastructure development.

For example, universities in the Anglo-Saxon world strategically invest in real-estate expansion by acquiring land, constructing new buildings, and renovating existing structures. These efforts increase property values and create a source of capital (Den Heijer 2011). In addition, universities are entering into public-private partnerships (PPPs) with the private sector, leading to the development of research facilities, academic campuses, and student accommodation projects (Farazmand 2018). Such collaborations serve as a means of capital accumulation for both the universities and their private partners.

This connection between universities and the economic transformation of the urban landscape is key in this study, which explores the socio-spatial (human activities, urban geography, spatial planning) role that universities play in influencing the development of place on the micro level of the city. Therefore, Soja's (1996) conceptualisation of Thirdspace is also considered in our theoretical framework. His perspective reinforces the views Benjamin and Lefebvre. As Soja puts it, space encompasses not only physical but also social and mental dimensions.

At this point, we can foreground the "scapes" proposed by Appadurai (1990) that encompass the people, things and ideas that move through space and produce our understanding of the social landscape. Such an understanding is facilitated by looking at the concept of social space advocated in the first part of the article. This brings us to an understanding of the urban environment and the university within it in terms of the postmodern or post-Fordist mode of production of urban space (Dear and Flusty 1998). The mentioned mode of production is an embodiment of fragmentation and multi-nodality, defined by a flexible consumption/production economy and cooperative entrepreneurship (Hočevar 2000). Cultural practices of social production are diversified, with socially and spatially dispersed and fragmented lifestyles (Sennett 1990). In this sense, the urban image exhibits a mixture of global styles and local aesthetic traditions, resulting in a spectacle-driven theatrical cityscape (Pallasmaa 2005; Zardini 2005). The theoretical model we present captures the complexity of universityscapes within urban space, encapsulating the sensory, socio-spatial and cultural dimensions of university-driven urban transformation.

Informed by seminal works of Benjamin, Lefebvre, Soja and others, the presented theoretical framework offers a nuanced lens with which to explore universityscapes within the broader urban context. This framework is particularly useful for understanding the complex interplay of actors and events that define modern urban spaces. As Hočevar (2000) states, urban "scapes" or venues are dynamic spaces shaped by both intentional and unintentional events occurring in both public and semi-public areas. These venues gain their allure and relevance through temporary or permanent spatial installations, which not only attract attention but also provoke thinking about the challenges and opportunities inherent to the site.

To operationalise these theoretical insights, we propose a comprehensive methodology that integrates interviews and participant observation. This approach aims to identify key attributes that significantly influence the "scapes" created or impacted by university libraries in both Ljubljana and Vienna. While some of these attributes may be readily apparent, others might be subtle yet crucial elements that have traditionally been underrepresented or overlooked in the literature. By systematically examining these attributes, we aim to offer a holistic assessment of how university libraries in Ljubljana and Vienna help shape their respective urban landscapes, encompassing sensory, socio-spatial and cultural dimensions.

3 Analysis of universityscapes in Ljubljana and Vienna

3.1 Methodology

Our qualitative research methodology is designed to navigate the complex socio-spatial dynamics of urban university spaces; more specifically, the National University Library (NUK) in Ljubljana, Slovenia, and the University Library of the University of Vienna, Austria. This methodological structure is underpinned by the theoretical considerations discussed above.

The first tool in our methodology, the semi-structured interview, corresponds to the theoretical perspectives of Appadurai (1990) and his framework of "scapes". Here, we engaged with stakeholders ranging from university students, library staff to university administrators so as to gain a diverse and comprehensive understanding of the flows, or "scapes", within these urban university spaces (Appadurai, 1990). The flexibility of semi-structured interviews, as noted by Bryman (2016), allowed us to balance between exploring pre-determined topics and granting interviewees the freedom to elaborate on their experiences and perceptions.

In total, we conducted 12 interviews, involving 2 librarians, 1 student housing representative, 3 students, 2 tourist guides, 2 professors, 1 researcher and 1 assistant. The average duration of these interviews was approximately 45 minutes. Our second tool, spatial sensing (as part of the more general field of participant observation methodologies (Kawulich 2005)), resonates with Lefebvre's (1991) concept of spatial practices and Sennett's (1994) sensory engagement with the city. It involves gathering the physical attributes of the library spaces like lighting conditions, noise levels, and movement patterns (Lynch 1960) to allow us to grasp the sensorial characteristics of these spaces. Based on perceptions, we determine whether university libraries reflect the characteristics of the academic environment in the context of "scapes", which are introduced as basic identifiers of the university environment. Building on these observations, we assume that academic content spreads to the micro-urban level. The transfer of the academic content will be in line with our observations of the urban environment in the vicinity of the two university libraries under study.

The mentioned methodological tool also relates to Soja's (1989) concept of spatial trialectics, which emphasises the lived space. Observing how these spaces are navigated and utilised in real-time provides first-hand information about the spatial narratives of the libraries (Yin 2018). These observations also parallel Benjamin's (2003) focus on the lived experience within urban environments and the historical perspective offered by Classen (1993), giving us a framework to interpret sensory experiences within the urban sociological landscape.

After the data were collected, we filtered the data based on thematic analysis, a method that connects with Richards' (1990) interpretive thematic analysis and Goddard and Vallance's (2013) understanding of the university's role as part of the dynamics of the city. This technique aids in identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within the data (Braun and Clarke 2006), in turn providing insights into the socio-spatial dynamics operating within the NUK and the University Library of the University of Vienna.

Drawing from the ideas of Logan and Molotch (1987), Pallasmaa (2005) and Zardini (2005), we aim to explore how sensory experiences mesh with spatial characteristics to create unique universityscapes within the city. This exploration is to enrich our understanding of urban sociology, particularly the sensory perception–spatial practice interaction when it comes to defining the character of university spaces in urban, or as we label them, universityscapes. This endeavour is intended to establish a nuanced understanding of these spaces, leading to an expanded discussion on urban sociology, together with the role of sensory studies in spatial understanding.

The participant observation research lasted between 2020 and 2023. During this time, the researcher performed four participant observations in Vienna, namely in August 2022 and November 2022, at different times, and the frequency of the people he met also varied on each visit. In contrast, the researcher was present at the Ljubljana site for a considerable time, working in the reading room of the NUK library itself for a significant part of this period.

The described research methodology offers a practical translation of the theories introduced in the previous section. It enables us to delve into the world of universityscapes to explore their dynamics, challenges and opportunities.

3.2 Outlining the socio-spatial context in Ljubljana and Vienna

The focus of this section is to reveal the mentioned universityscapes through the insights arising from the interviews. The main aim is to understand the views of professors, students and assistants at both the University of Ljubljana and the University of Vienna with respect to the social and spatial dynamics linked to the universities and their libraries. This aim entails unravelling the complex interplay of the social and spatial dynamics of university libraries and their micro-level urban environment.

Social factors distinguishing the two universities are presented in Table 2. The university in Ljubljana is relatively bigger than the one in Vienna in terms of the size of the city itself and the number of people living there. These differences suggest that the city–university relationship is context-dependent and shaped by local cultural, social and economic factors.

Table 1: Comparison between the University of Ljubljana and the University of Vienna.

Criteria/Aspect	University of Ljubljana (UL)	University of Vienna (UV)
The University's Embeddedness in the City	26 regular members (3 art academies, 23 faculties) and 3 associate members (National and University Library, Central Technical Library of the University of Ljubljana, and Innovation and Development Institute of the University of Ljubljana)	60 locations in Vienna (15 faculties, 5 centres)
Historical Significance	Founded in 1919	Founded in 1365
Economic Impact	Total revenue 2020–2021: € 442.05 million University staff: 6,661	Total revenue 2020–2021: € 691.5 million University staff: 10,381
Societal Role & Engagement	37,509 students enrolled at UL (total population of Ljubljana 293,218; 13% students)	88,900 students enrolled at UV (total population of Vienna 1.9 million; 10% students, UV has 5% of the higher education student population) Host of over 1,000 events and 350 international conferences

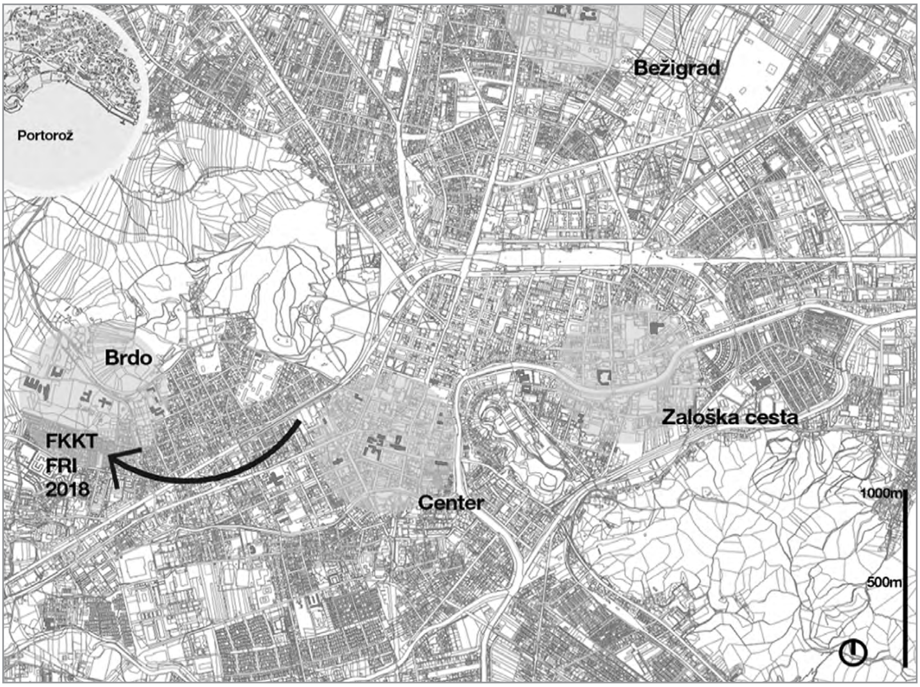
It thus appears that the university's influence on the urban fabric is proportionally higher in Ljubljana, which is also in harmony with our field findings and mapping, that also reveal the university is more integrated into the city as a whole than what happens in Vienna, where the university is confined to a single part of the city. Accordingly, in the case of Ljubljana the interdependence and interconnectedness of the city with university content is greater.

3.2.1 The City–University relationship: A case study of Ljubljana

In the interviews we observed a stronger focus than in Vienna on the geographical positioning and infrastructural development of academic bodies. This is particularly shown in Slovenia where academic faculties like the Academy of Theatre, Radio, Film and Television (AGRFT) and other faculties are actively considering the economic and practical implications held by the locations of their facilities.

"There is a noticeable shift to establishing institutions in areas outside the city centres, where land is more affordable", observes the young researcher (Researcher and Assistant 2020). This trend has sparked vigorous discussions among multiple stakeholders, including the university, Ministry of Education, city authorities, and student organisations, about the evolving relationship between urban centres and universities. Where universities represent new anchor points in the city and thus also extend the city centre (Birch et al. 2013) to the outer periphery, as also evident in the architectural understanding of Ljubljana's city centre, which is not only related to cultural landmarks.

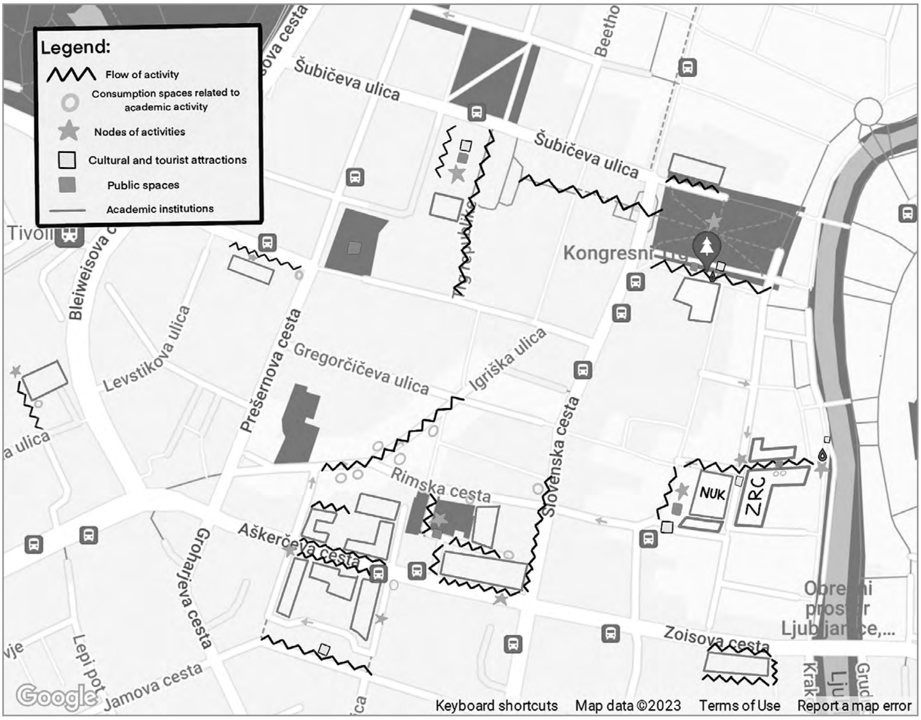
Map 1: Spatial configuration of the University of Ljubljana.



Source: Jurij Sadar 2019.

The University of Ljubljana epitomises this trend. It operates as a somewhat decentralised entity, with each faculty having the freedom to decide on its own spatial development. A representative for student accommodation explains: *"The student organisation and student housing have a degree of independence from the university's operations, leading to a disconnect between the students'* *living spaces and the academic environment"* (Student housing representative 2023). This model contrasts with the more unified approach taken by many international universities that allows for student organisations and academic faculties within a single, integrated system.

Map 2: The National and University Library (NUK) and the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU) Ljubljana.



Source: GoogleMaps 2023.

The separate spatial development of the university, student hostels, and student organisations in Slovenia indicates a certain level of organisational fragmentation.

In the past, the University of Ljubljana employed an integrated spatial vision. However, since the 1990s the university's development strategy has been more ad hoc, seeking to optimise the limited funding available or new facilities over maintaining a holistic spatial plan. A faculty representative notes, "*This shift in city–university dynamics has opened up avenues for exploring diverse discourses, including the creation of gender-neutral facilities, greater student engagement, and the promotion of safe, inclusive academic spaces"* (Academic 2020).

Picture 1: Atrium, Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Ljubljana.

Source: Author 2023.

The history of the University Library in Ljubljana reveals it is an original edifice constructed in the early 20th century, remaining intact ever since. The street immediately parallel to it has had an interesting evolution, after being gradually adapted and expanded to accommodate the university and academic facilities. *"The Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts began to develop in the immediate vicinity, while other economic and cultural activities sprang up to support the university's knowledge production and promote university community life"*, explains one of the professional cultural worker and tourist guides (Tourist guide in Ljubljana 2023). In this regard, the definition of modern urban spaces takes account of the interaction of institutional actors, here the University of Ljubljana and the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and the nearby the City Museum of Ljubljana. City events, whether intentional or not, promote the creation of new urban spaces and lead to stronger interest in exploring them. Places where constructed events, both intentional and unintentional, occur in public areas, whether open or closed, and in private areas accessible to the public, are defined as urban venues by Hočevar (2000). These venues are made more attractive by situational spatial installations, whether temporary or permanent, which also draw attention to certain issues affecting the site.

Picture 2: The National and University Library (NUK) and the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU) Ljubljana.

Source: Author 2023.

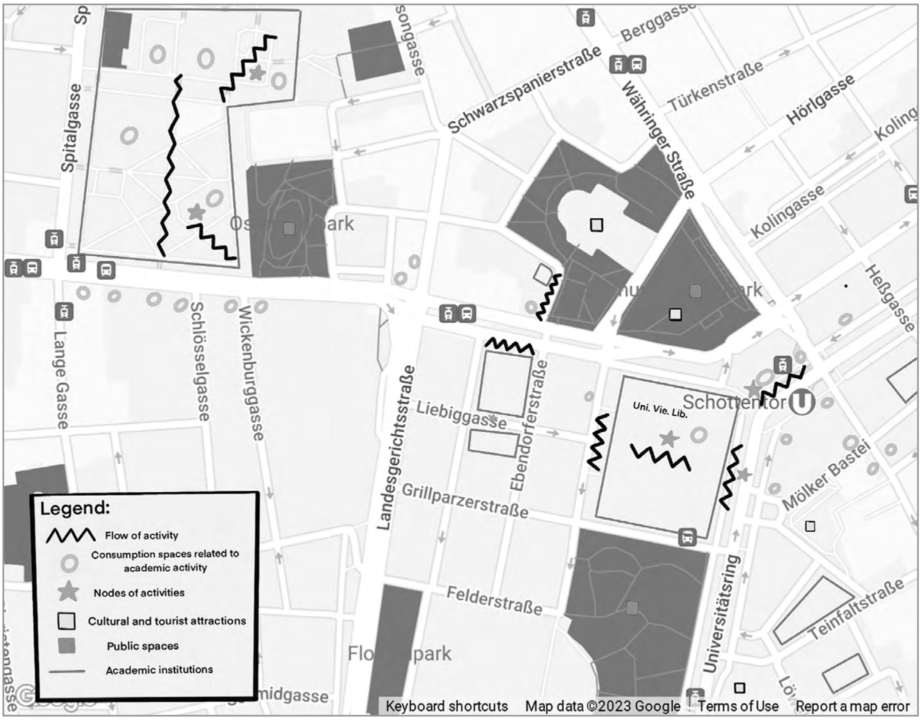
3.2.2 The city-university relationship: the context in Vienna

The University of Vienna appears in a completely different light to Slovenia because it is not the only university in the city. The University of Vienna is separate from the University of Technology. There is also a large number of other universities in Vienna. It may hence be argued that in Vienna individual universities act autonomously with respect to spatial development, whereas in the case of Ljubljana it may be argued that individual faculties act autonomously (Interview with a professor 2021).

The case of Vienna also demonstrates the city's concurrent development with that of the university, following many examples of buildings having been successfully revitalised for university use (Zupančič Strojan 1998; Bugarič 2009). This applies in particular to the main university building of the University of Vienna that was bombed in the aftermath of the Second World War. The library, which was rebuilt after the war, was damaged quite badly by the bombing (Tour guide and Student at the University of Vienna 2022).

The University of Vienna is arranged as an entity within the city's surface area. The campus is located in the city, which is a self-sufficient unit, but at the same time the city functions since it is used by the city population in their everyday life . The campus has exceeded its original planned form. Nonetheless, the campus is essential for the university's social life itself.

Map 3: The University of Vienna.



Source: GoogleMaps 2023.

The University of Vienna is less connected with the identity of the city itself given that the city of Vienna offers the individual inhabitant other attributes than simply university functions. City contents have taken over and dominate over the university. They can be touristic, cultural, entertainment, commercial and various services to meet the needs of the city's residents and visitors. The university's identity and social life are most prominent on campus, which is in its original form as "monastery" or self-sufficient spatial unit. As mentioned, university facilities have spread from the original campus walls to the rest of the city. The University of Vienna serves as a comparative type of city university, having expanded through the integration of university spaces into the fabric of the city itself.

Historically, the University of Vienna was characterised by a unified spatial vision. Yet, as the city grew, the university began to expand, forming educational complexes on the outskirts of the city, a shift that commenced in the 1990s and continues today. This expansion was a strategic move to allocate university facilities to available urban spaces, a plan that allowed for the simultaneous development of both urban and university facilities (Huygens et al. 2019).

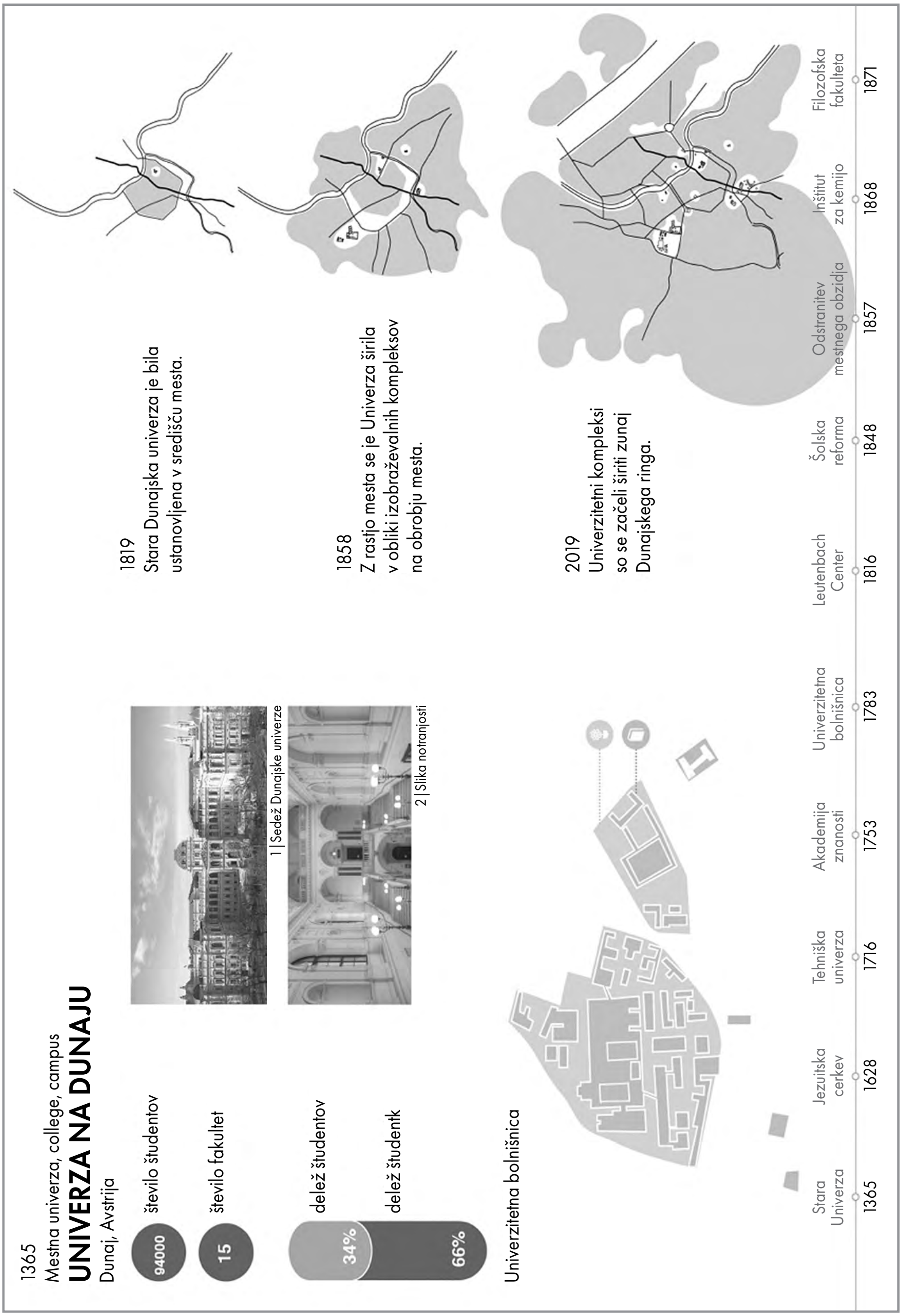
This shift marked the start of a new dynamic between the university and the city. Initially, the university was closely integrated into the city, particularly given that it was founded in the city centre. Still, as the university expanded and set up educational complexes outside the Vienna Ring, it began to exhibit a degree of independence (Planinšček 2019).

This evolving dynamic can be understood as a time-linear model of dialectics. Initially, the university was closely connected with the city. Then, when it expanded and started to establish educational complexes on the city outskirts, it began to strive for independence. The city spaces eventually reached the university spaces, leading to their integration into the city.

The University Library in Vienna embodies the typical city–university relationship. Housed in a historic building constructed in the early 20th century, the library remains a vital part of the university. Its surroundings have been adapted and expanded to accommodate the growth of university facilities. In recent years, institutions such as the Austrian Academy of Sciences have developed nearby, contributing to the area's academic character. This collective growth of academic, economic and cultural activities around the university supports the production of knowledge and sustains a vibrant university community.

In the rest of the chapter, detailed narratives from the interviews are presented. Specific experiences and insights regarding the sensory environment are thus highlighted, along with the integration of technology, cultural diversity, and the role of the university library as an urban anchor in Vienna.

Map 4: Spatial configuration of the University of Vienna.



Source: Anja Planinšček 2019.

3.3 Analysis of the university library's multidimensional influence and impact

The library's physical and sensory characteristics were underlined by the professor as key determinants of academic interaction and intellectual engagement. He noted, "*The library's layout, which allows for both group and individual work, combined with the unique atmosphere of book smell and tranquillity, creates an environment conducive to diverse academic activities*" (Interview with a professor 2023). This perspective echoes the arguments made by Sennett (1994) and Lefebvre (1991) concerning the crucial role of spatial practices and sensory engagement in shaping learning environments.
The "technoscape", as described by Appadurai (1990), was identified as a key factor transforming the academic experience within the library (Professor Interview 2023). One student mentioned, "*Digital catalogues, online databases and interfaces to reserve a place or order a book create a web of interconnected knowledge and services that we, students and staff alike, have to navigate*" (Student Interview 2023). The library assistant concurred, adding that "*many of our administrative tasks have been simplified by advanced library technologies*" (Librarian assistant Interview 2023).

Picture 3: University library, Vienna.

Source: Author 2022.

A student emphasised the "ethnoscape" of the university library, viewing it as a stage for the interaction of different cultures (Student Interview 2023). "*The university library*", the student said, "*encourages mutual learning and interaction between and among students from different cultural backgrounds*" (Student Interview 2023). This perspective lends weight to the theories of Appadurai (1990) and Logan and Molotch (1987) regarding the importance of space in promoting social interaction and cultural diversity.

Table 2: Comparative scape analysis: Multidimensional perspectives on the National and University Library, Ljubljana and the University Library, Vienna.

"Scapes"/Attributes	National and University Library, Ljubljana	University Library, Vienna
Ethnoscapes (Cultural Diversity & Interaction)	• Cultural diversity within library users • Interaction of local and international students • Library as a venue for cultural events and exchanges	• Multicultural representation in library resources • Cultural events promoting a global perspective • Diversity in library staff and user demographics
Technoscapes (Technological Integration)	• Digital catalogues and online databases • Integration of modern technology for user services • Online platforms for academic collaboration	• Advanced library technologies for administrative tasks • Digital platforms for research and academic engagement • Use of technology in archiving and preservation
Financescapes (Economic Impact & Allocation)	• Economic contributions from library events • Allocation of funds for library expansion and modernisation • Partnerships with local businesses for library support	• Economic impact of the library as a tourist attraction • Funding for library renovations and digital integrations • Collaborations with international institutions for financial support
Mediascape (Representation & Image)	• The library's representation in local media • Promotion of library events and resources online • Media coverage of the library's role in academic achievements	• The library's historical significance in media narratives • Media partnerships for promoting library events • Digital media platforms for library outreach
Ideoscape (Ideological & Symbolic Significance)	• The library as a symbol of academic excellence in Ljubljana • Promotion of progressive ideas and intellectual freedom • The library's role in shaping academic discourses	• The library's ideological significance in Vienna's academic history • Promotion of diverse ideologies through library resources • The library as a space for intellectual debates and discussions

The interviewees unanimously agreed that the university library serves as an important intellectual hub of the city (Professor, Student, and Assistant Interviews 2023). As the professor expressed, "The library is a beacon of knowledge, its architecture a standout feature in the cityscape" (Professor Interview 2023). The student viewed it as "*a cultural anchor, offering a quiet, focused space for study and hosting public events that foster community engagement*" (Student Interview 2023). The assistant agreed, envisioning it as "*a bridge between the academic community and the city, adding to the city's cultural heritage*" (Assistant Interview 2023). These insights mirror Goddard and Vallance's (2013) concept of the "urban anchor" and Wiewel and Perry's (2008) idea of universities' contributions to the urban landscape.

Based on a comprehensive methodology combining interviews and participant observation, we identified several attributes that play a central role in shaping the "scapes" influenced by the libraries in Ljubljana and Vienna. These attributes, while evident in the participants' narratives and experiences, may have been overlooked or understated in conventional analyses. Recognising the importance of these attributes, we included them as interval variables to provide a nuanced and detailed comparison of the two libraries.

The inclusion of these interval variables not only enriches our understanding of the libraries' impact on the urban landscapes, but also ensures a robust framework for future research. By mapping these attributes onto a measurement matrix, we can systematically assess the impact and role of each library in shaping the socio-spatial dynamics of their respective cities.

To sum up, the interviews shed light on how sensory experiences, spatial features and cultural diversity intermingle to create the unique character of university libraries (Professor, Student, Assistant Interviews 2023). These insights, which echo the theories of Appadurai (1990), Lefebvre (1991) and Sennett (1994), reinforce the importance of sensory studies in the understanding of urban university spaces. This vital knowledge contributes to the future planning and design of university spaces, aiding with the development of urban campuses better able to accommodate the wide-ranging needs and activities of their users.

4 Conclusion: The dynamics of the university landscapes in Ljubljana and Vienna

The intricate dynamics between cities and universities play a significant role in the urban landscapes of Ljubljana and Vienna. As institutions of higher learning, the University of Ljubljana and the University of Vienna have imprinted their spatial and social influences onto their respective urban environments. This study reveals that these impacts are not merely physical, but also cultural, social and symbolic.

The sensory and spatial experiences of university libraries add to the academic engagement and intellectual curiosity of students, faculty and staff. These spaces, filled with the unique smell of books and imbued with an atmosphere of tranquillity, provide fertile grounds for diverse academic pursuits. The physical layout, which offers both communal tables for group discussions and quiet corners for individual work, fosters an environment conducive to intellectual engagement. This resonates with theoretical understandings of sensory engagement in urban spaces outlined by scholars such as Sennett (1994) and Lefebvre (1991).

Technological advancements have transformed the academic landscape, with the "technoscape" significantly influencing academic practices. Digital resources have expanded access to knowledge and streamlined administrative tasks, fostering a more efficient and interconnected academic environment. These developments align with Appadurai's (1990) notion of the "technoscape" as a network of information that can be navigated and utilised.

The "ethnoscape" of the university libraries, which represents the movement and interaction of cultures, has contributed to cultural diversity and mutual learning. This supports the ideas of Logan and Molotch (1987) concerning the role of space in fostering social interaction and cultural diversity.

Further, the role of the university library as an "urban anchor" emerged as a significant aspect of the city–university relationship. University libraries serve as intellectual hubs within their cities, contributing to the broader urban environment and academic ambience, and embodying the concept of "urban anchor" as outlined by Goddard and Vallance (2013) and Wiewel and Perry (2008).

Despite their similarities, the universities in Ljubljana and Vienna also exhibit differences in their city–university dynamics. The discourse around the University of Ljubljana points to a decentralised spatial development approach and organisational disintegration, with the location of faculties, student hostels and student organisations occurring independently. Meanwhile, the University of Vienna illustrates a gradual shift towards decentralisation while still maintaining a semblance of an integrated model.

In conclusion, understanding the dynamics of university landscapes in both cities involves analysing the socio-spatial phenomena at play within university libraries. It calls for a holistic approach that encompasses sensory engagement, technological influences, cultural diversity, and the role of the university as an urban anchor. As the landscape of higher education continues to evolve, these insights can help guide the future planning and development of universities, with a view to fostering urban campuses that effectively cater to the diverse needs and activities of their users while contributing to the urban fabric of their cities. The intricate city–university relationships in Ljubljana and Vienna offer valuable case studies for other cities and universities navigating similar dynamics.

In relation to the first hypothesis, we assume that the University of Ljubljana is a more influential force within its city compared to the University of Vienna, profoundly influencing both the structure and dynamics of the surrounding urban landscape. We argue that, depending on the urban design, university facilities are much more tightly clustered around the anchor of the library in the case of Ljubljana, while the urban landscape, which is much more spread out in the case of Vienna, allows for other facilities and services that are not essential to support the academic environment. In fact, this is due to a less diversified economy and a smaller degree of heterogeneity, which in turn leads to the homogenisation of the content. Our point is not that this is a disadvantage in the case of the university, but that it makes the city itself more dependent on academic life. City planners must accordingly be alert to this delicate coexistence of the city and the university.

The second hypothesis was concerned with whether the presence of academic content displaces other social systems besides tourism in the vicinity. In the case of Ljubljana, this hypothesis is confirmed as little content within the vicinity of the university library does not have a direct connection with tourism or academic activities. In the case of Vienna, in contrast, the services needed for the life of the inhabitants are actually present on the premises of the academic activities themselves. In Ljubljana, we may conclude that there are more services dedicated to the university in the city centre than there are in Vienna, and there is a distinct mix of tourist and university facilities. This is primarily because Ljubljana is a smaller city than Vienna. Since it is smaller, it is more strongly influenced by such actors; in our case, the higher education sector. Moreover, if we focus on the university library in the context of Vienna, it is also intertwined with other university spaces and offers many more opportunities to intertwine individual paths and opportunities for activities in the area itself. Drawing upon Ljubljana as a case study, one might ask whether in the absence of its academic institutions the city might have ended up largely touristified. In the case of Ljubljana, however, the presence of academic facilities also has a symbiotic relationship with tourism because its cultural content significantly contributes to the tourist offer in the area of the city's main university library.

The last hypothesis, about the sensory experiences that establish the presence of university facilities and the urban environment's development, is confirmed by the interviews since in the interviews there was a strong tendency for interviewees to identify all possible sensory landscapes that form part of the library visit experience. At the same time, it also underpins the possibility of a re-exploration based on more tractable metrics that put at the forefront a better sensorial perception of space, while taking account of the theoretical and empirical preferences we have argued for in this article.

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Original Scientific Article UDK [378:331.5]:[725.1:114-021.131]
DOI: 10.51936/dr.39.104.75-96

Samo Pavlin

THE ROLE OF PHYSICAL AND VIRTUAL SPACES IN THE LEARNING AND EMPLOYABILITY OF HIGHER EDUCATION GRADUATES

ABSTRACT

In this paper, we explore how the relationship between physical and virtual spaces in the higher education process affects the development of the knowledge and competencies that graduates need as they enter the labour market. A discussion of learning in higher education from the perspective of physical and virtual spaces is followed by a section on relevant views concerning successful learning and then on phenotypic forms of knowledge and competencies. We summarise the focus of each section in a final conceptual model. Five sets of questions for operationalising indicators for studying the interconnectedness of physical and virtual spaces in learning in higher education are derived from the model. The paper is based on an exploratory, integrative review of relevant sources.

KEY WORDS: virtual space, higher education, employability, competencies, academic profession

Vloga fizičnega in virtualnega prostora pri učenju in zaposljivosti visokošolskih diplomantov

IZVLEČEK

V članku proučujemo, kako odnos med fizičnim in virtualnim prostorom v procesu visokošolskega študija vpliva na razvoj znanja in kompetenc, ki so potrebne za prehod diplomantov na trg dela. Razpravi o visokošolskem učenju v fizičnem in v virtualnem prostoru sledita sekciji o relevantnih pogledih na uspešno učenje *ter o fenotipskih oblikah znanja in kompetencah. Vse glavne poudarke poglavij strnemo v sklepni konceptualni model. Na tej podlagi izpeljemo pet sklopov vprašanj, ki so namenjeni operacionalizaciji indikatorjev proučevanja prepletanja fizičnega in virtualnega prostora pri učenju v visokem šolstvu. Članek je zasnovan na eksploratornem integrativnem pregledu relevantnih virov.*

KLJUČNE BESEDE: virtualni prostor, visokošolsko izobraževanje, zaposljivost, kompetence, akademska profesija

1 Introduction

The discussion in this paper begins with a simple question: why in these "modern" times is it still useful for students to attend lectures? This question has partly been answered in studies that examined the COVID-19 pandemic's impact on learning outcomes. These studies showed that school and faculty closures and the transition to digital technology had devastating effects on the cognitive, social and emotional components of students and teachers (e.g., Haelermans et al. 2021; OECD 2022). During the pandemic, we often wondered how the use of ICT (information and communication technology) would change daily learning and teaching practices in the long term. Despite the pandemic coming to an end, at the time of writing we have more questions than answers on this topic. Yet, a new challenge is emerging today in higher education that also stems from ICT: Artificial Intelligence.

In many ways ways, we cannot get rid of the feeling that higher education is undergoing a profound "digital" transformation. In this context, an interesting question is the role that ICT plays in the development of competencies. Does ICT add to or reduce the differences between students' learning outcomes relative to their prior knowledge? How is ICT, originally intended to support traditional education, changing the nature of learning and the social role of educational institutions? How does the physical–virtual space relationship in higher education affect the development of knowledge and skills needed to enter the labour market? The aim of the paper is to develop a conceptual model related to these areas.

The issue of "digitalisation" thus stands alongside other major "post-Bologna" issues: the professional relevance of higher education programmes, the accessibility of education, the quality of teaching, the diversification of educational programmes, questions regarding public funding and the evaluation of higher education institutions, or the academic profession's development. The "digitalisation" of higher education during the pandemic altered several processes temporarily, partly or permanently (Pavlin 2021):

(a) students' more passive following of lectures while using laptops and smartphones;
b) the "relocation" of a proportion of lectures to the Internet, although one may wonder whether this process has not led (too) many students to perceive all lectures as unnecessary formalism;
c) the logic of writing theses and completing various forms of knowledge assessment using artificial intelligence. As a result, a large number of students have reduced the central processes of competence development to short-term, superficial information-processing for the purpose of passing exams;
d) the dynamics of student mobility, which includes both the transition of graduates from education to the world of work and international mobility; and
e) the strong discrepancy between theory on one hand and the implementation of different types of student work practices on the other.

These processes of the "digitalisation" of higher education are closely linked to the emergence of the virtual space, usually referred as the online environment that allows participants to interact (e.g., IGI Global 2023). For more than decade virtual space or worlds have been described as digital environments in which "individuals, groups, and even organizations interact... they may be thought of as vast opportunity spaces that only become inviting when users can expect certain activities to be performed there consistently" (Saunders et al. 2011: 1079). The virtual space is becoming an ever more important factor in shaping individuals' personal and professional identities (Attrill-Smith 2018). In higher education and elsewhere, virtual space is associated with the rise of artificial intelligence, online communities, augmented reality, artificially designed systems of tutoring, mentoring etc. based on text and audiovisual technology. The question of whether virtual space competes with physical space in the higher education context is becoming ever more pressing.

The paper draws on an exploratory, integrative review of recent sources with the aim of operationalising key indicators that may serve as a starting point for further research. The paper first continues the discussion of learning in higher education in the setting of physical and virtual space. This is followed by a section on relevant views on successful learning and then on the phenotypic forms of knowledge and skills that graduates need as they seek to enter the labour market. In the final conceptual model, we summarise the main findings from the sections. Questions resulting from this model aim at developing indicators for understanding the duality between physical and virtual space.

2 Physical and virtual space in higher education

When concentrating on physical and virtual space in higher education, we are first interested in how the two spaces are linked to deep understanding of the subject matter and changes in students' cognitive and behavioural characteristics. Is it possible to say that learning processes in virtual space can mainly be explained from an information-processing perspective, whereas learning in physical space is situational? While this is of course a gross oversimplification, the contextualisation of learning, the development of confidence, and the role of prior experience in relation to the subject matter, for example, are different in a physical environment than in a virtual one. Regardless of the differences, both spaces (physical and virtual) are reflected in students' mental images. These images are both a personal and a cultural construct. Naturally, the logic of interaction between the body and the environment is completely different in each space.

2.1 Perspectives of higher education concerning physical space

Faculty, university or academic spaces include lecture halls, spaces for hands-on learning and research, laboratories, libraries, residence halls, along with various ancillary facilities such as green spaces, athletic facilities, dining halls, and social spaces etc. Each of these spaces, with their functional, motivational and symbolic meanings, influences students' socialisation[1], professional identity, and learning success in various ways:

> *College hallways, cafes, cafeterias, student clubs, green spaces, residence halls, and other spaces where students and professors meet are integral parts of the higher education process: what happens after the lecture is sometimes even more important than the lecture itself* (Pavlin 2020: 269).

Embodiment theory stresses that all forms of learning and all educational objects (including mathematics) are fundamentally based on bodily perceptions or ideas (Abrahamson and Lindgren 2022). The theory highlights how spatial and abstract thinking, representation, visualisation, social relationships, and identification are all shaped by the body. Participation, experience, and mastery of physical space accordingly have a significant impact on knowledge transfer. This makes it surprising that discussions about the design of learning spaces for active learning, as the opposite to teacher dominated learning and active engagement

1. The author notes that the generation of students that did not have an opportunity to socialise in the physical environment of the college after graduating from high school due to COVID behaves significantly differently than the generation before them. These differences relate to assertiveness, anxiety, ability to think abstractly, making contacts, communicating with the professor, and so on.

of students (Børte et al. 2023: 597–598), and competencies development have received relatively little attention in sciences related to learning. More emphasis should be placed on the following issues associated with this area:

What are the socio-spatial characteristics that make the development of certain competencies conditional on the field of study? For example, Capdevila (2019) queried which forms of team learning exist and how they can be most effectively developed in higher education depending on the field of study. The author described how social innovation is strengthened by participation in the local environment, how open innovation systems that involve the development of services and products for commercial use are linked to collaboration between users, providers and universities, how technological tools such as 3D printers or laser cutters affect teamwork etc. Similarly, it is worth considering the importance of physical space for developing other key competencies related to a particular field of study. For example, Huhtelin and Nenonen (2019) addressed a similar issue by examining the work environment's impact on improving the concentration of researchers (and also experts) in various professional fields.

A different perspective on the role played by physical space in developing employment skills is offered by the concept *of university–business cooperation*. Authors in this field (e.g., Davey et al. 2018) describe disciplinary and entrepreneurial features in several forms of collaboration, such as research and development, lifelong learning, commercialisation of shared research results, design and implementation of joint curricula, student mobility in the form of internships, student entrepreneurship, collaboration in the use of shared spaces, and so on. The comprehensive international study produced by these authors indirectly and directly shows via the example of 50 best practices of collaboration that the results of collaboration between universities and companies are very much rooted in the physical space or local environment.

Finally, the extension and enrichment of competence development in a given course of study by other, (still) less common and obligatory learning environments and areas should be highlighted. One example of such a "complementary" spatial context is learning in museums where different technologies can ensure the authenticity of the learning experience (Pierroux et al. 2022). Halverson and Sheridan (2022) note that learning in very remote environments can strongly influence the development of generic competencies, which are then particularly useful in undergraduate education. As an example, they state that different areas of the arts (e.g., music, visual arts, theatre) significantly influence the development of language, imagination and creativity, which are important in very different settings.

The discussion in this part already extends to the areas of virtual space that are described below.

2.2 Views on higher education from the perspective of virtual space

The term "virtual space" is used for many purposes, including social interaction, learning and studying, entertainment, video games, business activities, and more. In the context of higher education virtual space can be understrood through virtual or learning communities, that emerge when students participated in a virtual classrooms, online collaborative learning groups, and peer networks (Clemmons et al. 2014).

When considering the (co-)existence of students and their studies in virtual space, we soon encounter many unsettled questions and warnings. One of these was pointed out by the well-known Israeli historian Harari (2014) a decade ago with the thesis that the individual turns from subject to object while using ICT. This thesis has become more relevant upon the advent of artificial intelligence (e.g., GPT-4). The question of the risk of a decline in critical thinking among students and their ability to internalise concepts has risen to the fore. Moreover, the advent of "smart" phones has been accompanied by warnings of impaired attention, the deterioration of long-term memory formation, and degradation of various cognitive skills. One of the side effects of the constant "multitasking" caused by smart phones is addiction and compulsive behaviour, which is quite comparable to gambling addiction (Price 2018). Mobile phones paradoxically cause loneliness and depression despite numerous social networks. Smartphone use reduces the authenticity of social and learning experiences and reduces sleep, further reinforcing the cycle of self-alienation. According to OECD studies, the introduction of ICT into education systems over the past 20 years has generally not been reflected in improved student competencies because education systems have not adequately addressed the evidence about how people learn (Sawyer 2022b: 658–659). As ICT makes its way into schools, workplaces and society, it seems as if the companies developing the technology are always a few steps ahead of users' actual needs.

We agree with Stahl and others (2022) who state that students' needs should be the focus of learning activities and ICT should be a supporting activity, not the other way around. It is hoped that the evolution of ICT's supporting role in learning will shift from using computers in classrooms and promoting isolated learning[2] to "cooperative" learning in groups where learning elements are shared and the result is then synthesised and, finally, to "collaborative" learning in the sense of creating new meanings together (Stahl et al. 2022: 408). It is only in this way,

2. In terms of the naïve notion that it is possible to digitise learning from the classroom and disseminate it to large numbers of students, thereby reducing costs.

the authors conclude, that the creation of shared concepts and theories, the connection of ideas, the development of a shared meaning for the chosen topic, and dialogue will create successful competencies for young graduates. These require emotion, gesture, and silent elements of knowledge. This calls for engagement in physical space, supplemented (not replaced!) by virtual space as needed.

We conclude this section by noting that the development of higher education programmes has long ceased to be about the choice between virtual and physical spaces, but about the quality of their complementarity. Sawyer (2022a: 17) describes how ICT holds great capacity to concretise abstract knowledge, which includes both textual and audiovisual articulation, effective manipulation and correction of knowledge in the process of creation, and the ability to transmit information in different ways. This raises the question: why are we so surprisingly slow in learning how to use "smart" ICT to develop key competencies without causing major collateral damage?

3 Relevant views on successful learning

Numerous academic disciplines address the issue of successful learning in higher education. In this paper, we limit ourselves to the views and approaches considered to be most relevant to our discussion of the connection between higher education and the two different spaces. In so doing, we suggest that approaches to learning should not simply be polarised into less modern information-processing (primarily traditional lectures) and more "modern" approaches that are supposedly more situational and practical and thereby better prepare students for their careers. Instead, it is important to be aware of the differences between learning approaches in terms of their impact on students' career relevance, which may be seen as one of the central issues concerning learning quality. One of the authors who describes these principles is Sawyer (2022a). The author stresses the importance of traditional learning being based on linking new knowledge to previous experiences and a deep understanding of concepts, integrating new knowledge into a coherent system, knowledge of patterns and operating principles, and sufficient repetition to internalise the new knowledge (ibid.: 5). This is related to the issues of the transition from novice to expert and the use of learning principles and methods that do not passivate or demotivate students. Moreover, in the context of traditional discussion about competence development it is important to consider transition from passive to active learning within physical space, integration of active learning methods with digital technologies in classrooms and the adoption of active learning methods using digital tools in online education/virtual spaces (Allen and van der Velden 2011; Stahl et al.

2022). These principles are most frequently observed in the context of the following basic learning settings.

Well-designed traditional lectures are at the heart of higher education because this is how students internalise concepts, seek causal relationships, structure knowledge etc. Like some situational forms of learning, good traditional lectures involve, among others, discussion, reasoning and reasoned argument, personal awareness or metacognition of learning, and the principles of teaching, with the instructor attempting to create a situation in which students arrive at solutions and insights on their own. Such lectures rely on students learning from each other (not just from the instructor), on the integration of different processes of tacit and explicit knowledge creation, i.e., on the socialisation and articulation of knowledge processes and different ways of dealing with information and data. Some professors use interactive teaching methods with ICT, questions, quizzes, audiovisual presentations, simulations, role-playing and group teaching. The learning processes are based on the creation of shared values and norms and complement other learning processes that we list below.

Situational forms of learning can be broadly divided into those that rely on the acquisition of relevant work experience and those that largely dispense with it. Situational forms of learning include student internships, apprenticeships, various forms of simulations in laboratories and other hands-on learning spaces, and different entrepreneurial activities. It is important to stress that these forms of learning are all considered as active learning methods also incorporating principles of problem based learning. Well-designed forms of hands-on learning can be compared with many elements of traditional master–apprentice learning, the processes of which are described by coaching and mentoring, among others (Collins and Manu Kapur, 2022). Achieving good outcomes in situational learning depends on theories being well presented in the classroom.

Project-based learning is (hopefully) a form of problem-based learning that can be described from both an information-processing and a situated learning perspective. It is an approach aimed at deep understanding and is often a simulated or semi-simulated form of learning in higher education institutions, while it is increasingly becoming a form of work organisation in work establishments. As Krajcik and Shin (2022: 76) note, the typical phases of project-based learning relate to: i) asking a key question; ii) learning (or working) objectives; iii) work processes or learning phases; iv) supporting learning technologies and methods; and v) achieving tangible end results or products. These phases may focus on virtual space to varying degrees.

The described forms of learning are reflected in the spiral of different types of knowledge, as discussed below.

4 Different types of knowledge and "know-WHERE"

Genotypic definitions of knowledge tend to be very broad and difficult to use for operationalising measurement tools. For example, the OECD's (2019) definition states that knowledge includes "established facts, concepts, ideas and theories about certain aspects of the world. Knowledge usually includes theoretical concepts and ideas as well as practical understanding based on the experience of having performed certain tasks". This definition implicitly raises two questions. First, whether knowledge is divided into different forms of phenomena and, second, what are the relationships and connections between them.

Both questions open the way to discussions of phenotypic forms of knowledge. Aristotle began the discourse on this topic by designating phronesis as general practical knowledge or wisdom, epistèmè as scientific knowledge, and technè as craft knowledge in his descriptions of the various cognitive processes (Cohoe 2022a; Cohoe 2022b). Much later, Polanyi (1966) pointed out the importance of tacit knowledge, and Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) focused on numerous connections and outcomes that can result from the transformation between tacit and explicit knowledge. In the context of organisational knowledge management, Hislop et al. (2018: 15–45) aptly summarised the differences and similarities between an objectivist and a practical approach to understanding knowledge. The first approach views knowledge mainly as a theory, an object, the property of an individual or organisation, an ultimate objective truth, an outcome of an intellectual process, and the superiority of objective knowledge over subjective knowledge. In contrast, the practice-based approach states that knowledge is both a practice and an object, arises in a social process, is a social construct, objective knowledge is not superior to subjective knowledge, and knowledge is a dynamic process between tacit and explicit knowledge.

Among many other authors, de Jong and Fergson-Hessler (1996) provided a more systematic and in-depth phenotypic discussion of the observation of knowledge. They first describe the distinctions between generic and domain-specific, concrete and abstract, formal and informal, declarative and procedural, and condensed and distributed knowledge. In particular, they emphasise the difference between deep and surface knowledge, automatic and non-automatic knowledge (basically a concept similar to tacit and expressed knowledge), isolated and structured knowledge, and verbal and graphical knowledge[3]. Another approach to considering knowledge refers to the concept of positive

3 Among other things, this raises the question of which differences exist in knowledge depending on whether it originates from a physical or a virtual environment.

psychological capital, summarised by Penger and Dimovski (2006: 434). The authors highlight the difference between traditional economic capital and the question "What – do you have" (finances, material resources), human capital and the question "What – do you know" (experience, education, skills, ideas), social capital and the question "Who – do you know" (relationships, contact network), and positive psychological capital and the question "Who – are you" (self-confidence, hope, optimism). This approach provides a useful broader contextual framework in the typology of different forms of knowledge presented by Lundvall and Johnson (1994). They described "Know-WHAT" as knowledge about facts captured in the form of information, "Know-HOW" as the ability to do something, and "Know-WHY", which we can understand as knowledge about causes and effects. They also described the form of knowledge "Know-WHO", which we can understand more broadly than simply knowledge about communication and connecting people. This form of knowledge is related to the concept of social capital, i.e., the ability to build a network of contacts and to form and maintain strategic alliances; namely, it is the ability to select and make those contacts that are critical for achieving short- and long-term goals. Know-WHO is associated with many general competencies such as communication, analytical thinking, and authority, and thus goes beyond the definitional starting point of competencies, which states that competencies are knowledge about the application of knowledge (Svetlik and Pavlin 2004: 203). These four forms of knowledge were also described by Savage (1996: 256) with some semantic nuances. He added two more forms of knowledge: "Know-WHEN" as a sense of planning time, rhythm, and the reality of expectations, and "Know-WHERE" which the author described as a sense of where things happen or should happen.

A better known discussion on a related topic was developed by the father of organisational knowledge theory, Ikujiro Nonaka. He uses the term "Ba", originally introduced by the Japanese philosopher Kitaro Nishida, to describe "the space in which relationships are formed". This space can be physical (e.g., an office), virtual (e.g., email, teleconferences), mental (e.g., experiences, ideas) or combined (Nonaka and Konno 1998: 40). The authors stress that "Ba" is not limited to a single dimension, but that learning and knowledge acquisition occur precisely at the intersection of these different spaces. They describe four contexts *in which knowledge is created:* i) socialisation as the transmission from tacit to tacit knowledge, which is existential and takes place in face-to-face communication and is described as *Original Ba;* ii) externalisation as the transmission from tacit to explicit knowledge, which is reflective and occurs in face-to-face communication between individuals and is described as *Interactive Ba;* iii) a combination as the transmission from explicit to explicit knowledge, which is systemic and occurs from group to group and is described as *Cyber Ba;* and iv) internalisation as the transmission from explicit to tacit knowledge, which occurs in situ and is described as *Synthetic Ba*. One of the many questions that emerges as a reader goes through this typology is what happens when we try to achieve certain learning outcomes in the wrong place. Consider, for example, trying to teach tacit knowledge and socialisation outcomes via the Zoom program. Know-WHERE is thus intertwined with other forms of knowledge. Physical space always reflects the symbolic problem, virtual space much less often and in other ways. Physical space often shows the depth of social connection and positioning between social actors, while this is not evident in virtual space. Physical space "embodies" the (de)formalisation of the relationship, which is extremely important for the authenticity of the learning experience and identity formation, as discussed in theories of situated learning (e.g., Wenger 2002).

The knowledge category "Know-WHERE" is addressed much less frequently in organisation and learning theory than other forms of knowledge, even though it is very important. It refers indirectly and directly to where a deep understanding and internalisation of learning take place, where ideas for decisions and understanding of concepts are gained, in which spaces the individual can rest, where the individual can break bad habits and retain new ones, where the individual obtains a boost for a fresh start, where the individual meets new people, where the individual can realistically assess their social, study and work situation, where the individual can successfully set new goals, where the individual is capable of creative thinking, and so on.. Accordingly, we wish to stress that "Know-WHERE" should not only be understood as geographical knowledge about where certain things and events are, will be, or have been, but as metacognition (knowledge about knowledge) about the symbolic and functional meaning of space in relation to motivational and identification processes. Alternatively, in the context of our discussion of how and where physical and virtual space complement or exclude each other in the learning process.

5 Employability and competencies for the labour market

Graduate employability has been a central concept in discussions of the "modernisation" of higher education for over two decades. It often encompasses three main areas (Healy et al. 2022: 801): i) society, education systems and policies; ii) institutional strategies; and iii) the individual level of the student or professor. In addition, there are different sub-areas of collaboration between university and business that all contribute to employability. Healy and others (ibid.) also link the employability context to the area of career development. This includes issues of career decision-making, the specifics of careers at different stages of life, matching personality types to environments, professional identity, and so forth. In the context of the discussion on changes in learning and teaching from the employability aspect, we are especially interested in questions of the match between education and work and the competencies acquired and expected: in particular, which competencies are needed for young graduates' integration into the labour market, and where they should be developed. This is related to issues of public funding of higher education programmes, the integration of applied knowledge into higher education programmes, the design of student internships, and more.

Employability has been often described with the concept of competencies (e.g. Römgens et al. 2020). Competencies are considered from the viewpoint of various forms of knowledge, capital, personal identity construction, personal adaptability, career opportunities, professional knowledge, individual adaptability, and success. While these considerations remain largely on the conceptual level, in international research reference models of competencies in the education–labour market relationship are often presented by researchers under the umbrella of the OECD. One of the best known reference models was presented by the OECD with "Definition and Selection of Competencies: Theoretical and Conceptual Foundations" (DeSeCo) project, which was conducted between 1997 and 2003 and includes three basic categories of competencies (OECD 2019: 11): interactive use of tools (e.g. ability to use language, symbols and text, information, and technology), acting in heterogeneous groups (ability to communicate well with others, ability to cooperate, and ability to manage and resolve conflicts), and acting independently (ability to act within the "bigger picture", ability to design and carry out life plans and personal projects, ability to assert rights, interests, limits and needs). Building on this, several elements related to the above categories have been identified as important for graduates' successful lives (OECD 2019: 13–14): foundational (basic skills, knowledge and values, and attitudes that are prerequisites for further learning), transformative competencies (creating new values, balancing tensions and dilemmas, taking responsibility), student "co-agency" (the belief that students have the will and ability to positively impact their lives and the world around them), knowledge (disciplinary, interdisciplinary, epistemic, procedural), skills (ability to carry out processes and use their own ideas), attitudes and values (principles and beliefs that influence our decisions, judgments, behaviours and actions ….), and the anticipation-action-reflection cycle (learners continuously improve their thinking and act consciously and responsibly). All of the above elements work differently when the learner "uses" them in a physical or a virtual environment.

In international research, for applied purposes reference is more often made to a set of competencies developed by the international consortium of projects

REFLEX and HEGESCO (Allen et al. 2011). The sets of competencies identified there are as follows: "[P]rofessional expertise (expertise in one's field, analytical thinking and ability to establish one's authority), functional flexibility (knowledge in other fields, ability to quickly acquire new knowledge and ability to negotiate effectively), innovation and knowledge management (ability to use computers and the internet, ability to develop new ideas and solutions, openness to new opportunities) and human resource activation (ability to work under pressure, effective time management, ability to work productively with others, ability to motivate others, clear expression, and ability to coordinate activities)" (Allen and van der Velden 2011: 17). This model has been largely adopted by one of the best-known projects in the field of graduate employability: EUROGRADUATE (Mühleck et al. 2020). Based on the research mentioned above and our own knowledge in this area, we can summarise the description of the following competencies that are important for graduates' transition to the labour market:

Ability to use professional knowledge refers to the academic discipline and practical knowledge in the relevant fields. The ability to use this type of knowledge is based on linking theories (from which a graduate can establish a critical distance) with the solution to a particular professional problem, taking appropriate ethical and professional standards into account. This competency is closely linked to other competencies such as analytical thinking and communication.

The ability to work under pressure means the ability to achieve results within set deadlines while graduates are exposed to (un)predictable "disruptions". Stress management holds extraordinary importance for well-being and various aspects of individual and organisational career success. In this context, skills like time management, adaptation and acceptance of new (unpleasant) circumstances, selected aspects of emotional intelligence, learning from mistakes and situations, a focus on problem-solving, ability to switch between tasks (multitasking), and personal commitment to achieve the goal despite difficulties are associated with this competency.

Effective use of time is primarily related to the ability to establish habits (at what times of the day to do something), prioritisation, other aspects of personal management and management between short- and long-term goals, personal discipline and work–life balance, and the ability to establish one's authority over others, which especially in an organisational sense means delegating and sharing tasks with others.

The ability to work productively with others, or teamwork, means the ability to adapt, integrate and actively participate in groups, admitting mistakes, sharing ideas and resources, communication skills – notably articulating ideas clearly – resolving or managing constructive conflict, reliability and accountability in the sense of being aware that one person's mistake can jeopardise the functioning of the entire team, and the list goes on.

ICT skills no longer include just basic computer skills about operating computers, digital communication (email, Zoom, web forums...), data sorting (one of the best-known programs is MS Excel) and data preparation (MS PowerPoint), but refer to the advanced use of software tools and web portals in a specific field of work. It frequently also includes the ability to search for data in databases and archives, which in advanced stages is not merely a technical process but also involves soft knowledge and intuition and depends largely on professional competencies. For most professions, this competence does not mean being able to write code in a programming language.

It is important to note that credentials for competencies are not universal. They must be adapted to a given academic field, institution, organisation, micro team, or profession. This raises the question of how to better understand the ways competencies are developed, a complex topic pursued internationally by a variety of disciplines. A greater research challenge than identifying professional competencies, describing them, and ranking them by level of difficulty from novice to expert is the study of how competencies are developed and, in particular, how they are interconnected.

In the area of graduate competence development in the transition to the labour market, we can mention the following findings to illustrate the above. First, individual modes of learning and teaching do not develop the different generic competencies in the same way. Group tasks, for example, chiefly strengthen teamwork and the ability to work under pressure, and research projects have a significant impact on the effective use of time in addition to developing subject competencies. Second, the complexity of the programme of study and the amount of effort students put into it have a considerable impact on expertise in their field as well as on several other aspects of career success, but less so on certain other generic competencies. Third, relevant work experiences during the period of study influence the development of career-relevant competencies; no particular influence is found for non-relevant ones. Fourth, the development of competencies does not end with the completion of studies. Initial work experiences are an important catalyst for "academic" competencies.

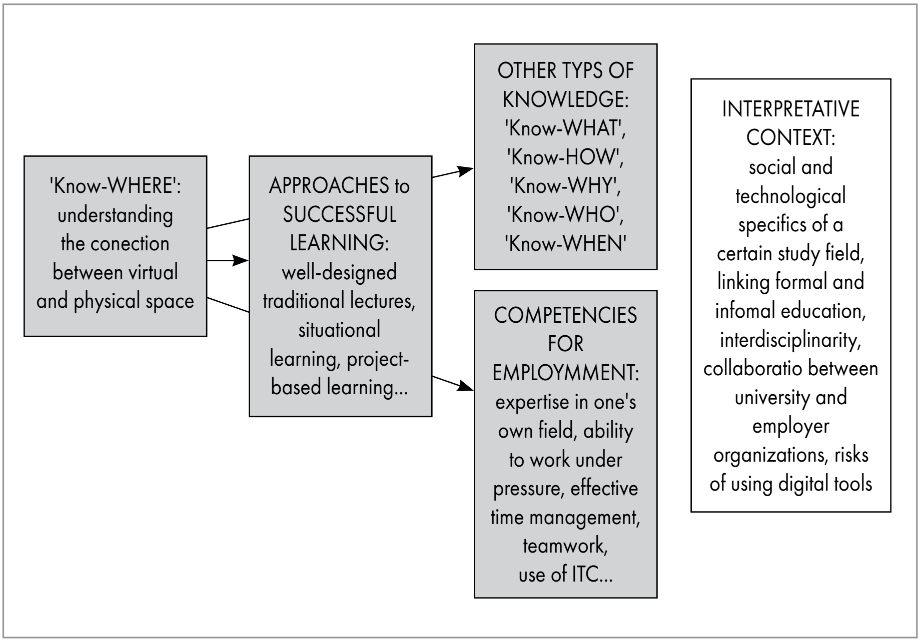
To our knowledge, research on the development of competencies in terms of the dialectic between physical and virtual space cannot be found easily in higher education research. The model that could serve as a starting point for this purpose is presented below.

6 Indicator questions and areas

As stated earlier in this paper, learning in a physical space is usually a much greater catalyst and motivator for professional development and professional identity than learning in a virtual space. Being "present" in physical space compared to virtual space generally means better motivation, a sense of responsibility for learning and work outcomes, and sensitivity to cultural diversity, among other things. The academic environment with classrooms and corridors, social spaces, cafés and green areas combines learning activities with the possibility of creating social contacts.

What about virtual space? In the previous discussion, we underscored that virtual space can be an important complement to physical space, but not a substitute (Stahl et al. 2022). The technology underlying virtual space is capable of analysing, articulating and concretising information to which it provides access at almost anytime and anywhere. At the same time, however, it is unable to provide what physical space can facilitate, especially in terms of social interaction. The connection of the dialectic between physical and virtual space raises many questions that we derive from the conceptual model shown in Figure 1. The model consists of five elements. The first element is interpretive and based on the phenotypic form of knowledge "Know-WHERE", which we describe with reference to the Japanese philosopher Kitaro Nishida's aformentioned concept of "Ba" as a space in which relationships are created and which, according to Nonaka and Konno's (1998: 40) conceptualisation, can be physical (e.g., an office), virtual (e.g., email, teleconferencing), mental (e.g., experiences, ideas...) or combined. "Know-WHERE" determines and contextualises relevant approaches to successful learning in the presented model (the second element). Learning approaches play a relative (albeit not exclusive!) role in shaping different (other) forms of knowledge (the third element) and competencies for employment (the fourth element). Finally, an interpretive (fifth) element is added to the model, inviting the reader to place the described relationships in the context of a certain industry or occupational field, a particular form of collaboration between the college and the employer organisation, or some other aspect of the study. The derivation of questions for operationalising research indicators based on the model appears below the figure.

Figure 1: Conceptual model of adding the virtual to the physical space.



Source: Author.

What are the implications of the perception and understanding of the importance of physical and virtual spaces for higher education ("Know-WHERE")?

How do students and professors assess the value of each space in terms of its actual functional role in the learning process? What is the original intention of participating in the virtual space and what is the actual intention? Are the physical and virtual spaces in competition with each other? Does ICT attempt to merge or alienate these two worlds? Which ethical and health issues arise when operating between these two spaces, and how aware are aware the participants are of these issues?

How does "Know-WHERE" impact the success and design of the learning process?

In which ways do the differences between learning in physical and virtual spaces affect focus and academic success? How can ICT more effectively support the quality of traditional lectures and various forms of situational and project-based learning? How does the intertwining of the two spaces affect the individual process of knowledge creation and transmission? How is socialisation reflected in emotions, love, trust, engagement, externalisation in products and services, the combination in databases, networks, documentation, and internalisation in new mental representations and habits? How do both spaces influence the creation of shared meaning in the learning process? Is there a risk that technology will distract the learning process from its original goals?

How does "Know-WHERE" influence the formation of different types of knowledge in students in the study process context?

In which ways do students and professors think about different kinds of knowledge and how do they evaluate them? Do they consider learning outcomes mainly through the concept of competencies? How do different types of knowledge ("Know-WHAT", "Know-HOW", "Know-WHY", "Know-WHO"...) complement and exclude each other? How do they understand the relationship between important learning processes and different types of knowledge? For example, are students aware of how limited virtual space is in reality for socialising and meeting social needs necessary for building trust and sharing knowledge? How important is each form of knowledge in terms of the professional relevance of the course and how much does each learning process contribute?

How does "Know-WHERE" influence the development of students' professional competencies through learning processes?

In which ways does the "more" virtual space affect the relationship between the specific and generic competencies acquired? Is it possible that the development of professional competencies takes space away from the generic competencies, which means a worse integration of graduates into the labour market (if we think, for example, of teamwork or work under stress)? How suitable is virtual space for developing generic competences? Or is the situation more complicated and can certain competencies actually be transferred from one space to another? If that is the case, should students strengthen a particular generic competency for the physical space in the traditional learning process and learn to apply that competency separately in virtual space? For instance, does the development of teamwork in physical space also impact the development of the "virtual twin" of that competency? To what extent can technology strengthen competencies without a connection to physical space? Or do certain competencies competencies only arise in the virtual world?

What is the interpretive framework of the questions posed?

What are the social and technological characteristics of learning and competence development from the aspect of the complementarity of physical and virtual space that dictates a given field of study (think of the differences between the natural and the social sciences)? What do the questions posed above mean for the development of the various collaborative processes between higher education institutions and employer organisations? What does the distinction between physical and virtual space in the learning process mean for the formalisation of education? What are the risks of using digital tools for both learning outcomes and students' mental and physical health? What do technologies mean for the polarisation between the purpose of education for the needs of the labour market and the humanistic view of developing personal interests?

The questions aimed at developing indicators for understanding the duality between physical and virtual space extend to both the field of "higher education studies" and the "early transition of graduates to the labour market". We anticipate that this relationship will strongly shape the implementation and strategic aspects of higher education in the future, as well as the social and economic function of these systems. The design of the link between the two spaces already today significantly determines the quality of learning and its outcome: knowledge and competencies.

7 Conclusion

In this paper, we addressed in various ways the introductory question of why it is good for students in these "modern" times to continue to attend lectures on campus and also to participate in other situational forms of study. We emphasised that the development of different forms of knowledge and competencies is strongly intertwined, which explains why virtual space should complement physical space in learning processes, not vice versa. Professional competencies cannot be developed and used in isolation from general competencies. Moreover, confidence and professional identity, which are some of the most important motivational bases for successful knowledge transfer and longer-term career development, are fundamentally located in the physical world, something we were very aware of during the pandemic but quickly forget when it is convenient. Recall the opening observation that the "pandemic learning experiment" of moving the educational process almost entirely into virtual space did not have a positive impact on the development of competencies, certainly not generic ones. It has had the opposite effect. Compared to virtual space, physical space provides an authentic experience and a basis for the emotional processing of information and the development of long-term memory.

We summarised the "problem" of the digitalisation of higher education, which is associated with fundamental changes in learning in higher education during the pandemic period and afterwards, in a conceptual model. This model initially asks how understanding and evaluating the role of physical and virtual space in learning and teaching affects learning practices (from the perspective of either students or professors) and the acquisition of different types of knowledge and skills for the labour market. The model, which requires further research (both through surveys and interviews), leads to the proposition that the virtual–physical space relationship is a fundamental developmental issue in higher education today. This includes, but also goes beyond, the discourse on the quality of study and the development of expertise.

Let us conclude the discussion by asking what all of the above means for the development of the academic profession. Who can teach at the university in these modern times? Will we retain the Humboldtian doctrine that only those engaged in research may teach, or will this process be replaced by the need for a high level of competence in manipulating data on the Internet? Or the ability to coordinate learning in two parallel spaces and for two different purposes? Is it possible that this area will become so demanding that the traditional academic will often no longer be the leading authority in their field?

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Original Scientific Article

UDK [502.131.1:719]:352
DOI: 10.51936/dr.39.104.97-121

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IMMOVABLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE CONTEXT OF NEW LOCALISM: THE ROLE OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES IN IMPLEMENTING SUSTAINABLE HERITAGE-BASED DEVELOPMENT

ABSTRACT

On the declarative level, immovable (physical) cultural heritage is a convenient subject of a variety of programmes, conservation approaches and legislative processes supposedly tied to sustainability development plans. The declarativeness of immovable cultural heritage integration processes is often exposed in spatial antagonisms based on frictions between local communities on one side and, on the other, conservation approaches, the development aspirations of investors, political structures and other actors who seek to assert their particular interests and needs. The paper analyses the mentioned frictions through the prism of "new localism" trends and connects them to the findings of several Slovenian case studies.

KEY WORDS: Localism, new localism, cultural heritage, participation, HEI-TRANSFORM

Nepremična kulturna dediščina v kontekstu novega lokalizma: vloga lokalnih skupnosti pri implementaciji na dediščini temelječega trajnostnega razvoja

IZVLEČEK

Na deklarativni ravni je nepremična (fizična) prostorska dediščina priročen predmet vrste programov, varstvenih pristopov in zakonodajnih procesov, ki jo vključujejo v prostorske razvojne načrte in povezujejo z različnimi skupinami deležnikov. Deklarativnost procesov integracije nepremične kulturne dediščine se pogosto materializira v prostorskih antagonizmih, kjer prihaja do trenj med lokalnimi skupnostmi na eni in konzervatorskimi pristopi, razvojnimi težnjami investitorjev, političnimi strukturami in drugimi akterji, ki skušajo uveljavljati svoje interese in potrebe, na drugi strani. Članek analizira omenjena trenja prek koncepta »novega lokalizma« in ga povezuje z izsledki različnih študij primera v Sloveniji.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: lokalizem, novi lokalizem, kulturna dediščina, participacija, HEI-TRANSFORM

1 Introduction[1]

Planning when items of immovable cultural heritage are involved is all too often regarded as merely a standard procedure based on well-established, predetermined legal systems of cultural heritage protection containing defined elements of protection and assigned functions determined according to expert knowledge, measurements and scientific data. The fact that immovable cultural heritage includes all tangible cultural elements like buildings, monuments, landscapes, archive materials, works of art or artefacts means it is automatically presumed that its physicality allows planners to properly arrange for the heritage's embedment within the locale's socio-cultural contextuality. It is blindly assumed by the general public that planning for heritage will follow in detail the procedures and selected objectives of protection policies, limiting negative spatial processes and favouring actions that work to the benefit of the entire community (see Council of Europe 2017; Ministrstvo za kulturo 2019). However, only

1. The article was created as part of the HEI-TRANSFORM project. The project was financed by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS, project title: "Heritage for Inclusive Sustainable Transformation - HEI-TRANSFORM"; code: J7-4641).

in very rare situations can planning with cultural heritage actually be realised simply with formal measures that are known in advance; much more often, it is required to connect the perceptions and needs of local population groups with the formal planning objectives and practices to ensure that more considered and inter-community negotiated decisions are made concerning the management of immovable cultural heritage.

Introducing new ideas regarding immovable heritage management in a local area is a very sensitive undertaking and calls for considerable patience, the gathering of suitable data, and time-consuming processes of coordination between different local stakeholder groups. Planning for sustainable heritage-based development is in this context seen as a form of consultation or interactive management whose objective is to harmonise the interests of different (political, financial, class, ethnic, cultural) socio-economic groups present in a given space (Healey 1997; Sanoff 2008). These groups may have conflicting interests and differ not only with regard to their aims and expectations but also to the level of acceptance of new ideas, which may be translated into power, pressure or influence when it comes to decisions about interventions in the cultural heritage of a locality. The article presents the way in which the interactions between stakeholders operating within local communities often reveal discrepancies in attitudes to immovable cultural heritage. In this respect, discrepancies are observable between desirable and practical implementations in space while planning for sustainable heritage-based development. On the declarative level, immovable cultural heritage is a convenient subject of a variety of programmes, conservation approaches and legislative processes that are supposedly tied to sustainability development plans and should include various groups of stakeholders. Declarative aspects of these programmes are identified in the non-imperative nature of plans, strategies or documents that describe the desired results yet without explicitly listing the actions, timetables or steps that must be performed to achieve the proposed goals. The mere declarative integration of immovable cultural heritage within the socio-cultural context of communities is often exposed in various NIMBY (not in my backyard) syndromes whereby different types of civil society initiatives, local communities and, on the other side, conservation approaches, development aspirations of investors, political structures and other actors clash to assert their particular interests and needs (see Fischel 2001; Kiefer 2008). Frictions and thus non-optimised or imbalanced relations between actors lead to reinterpretations of the roles played by immovable cultural heritage and partly limit their function in building locally-based "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1986: 248) among the autochthonous population. By so doing, specific parts of cultural heritage or socio-cultural capital integrated with immovable cultural heritage and belonging to less dominant social groups are pushed out to the periphery and used only in the most rudimentary forms like, for example, as a welcome sidekick element that helps to create a suitable ambience for the offer of consumable goods in the tourism or promotion contexts (Bianchini 1999).

The paper analyses the mentioned frictions within the local environment based on the findings of various research projects. Special focus is paid to examining possibilities for developing new mechanisms for connecting what thus far have been less involved or insufficiently empowered groups of users of immovable cultural heritage. From this point of view, the article analyses how elements of "new localism" (Strassoldo and Tessarin 1992: 287) reflect the actions of stakeholders involved in the management of immovable cultural heritage today by considering empirical cases from Slovenia. In the case of cultural heritage, local actions are often connected to hierarchised and rigid local networks whilst the new localism conceptualisation envisages the use of local elements in ways that benefit both the local and general (global) society. Analysis of this dialectic relationship between (traditional, autarkic) localism and new localism within cultural heritage management is based on data drawn from the research projects HEI-TRANSFORM (2022–2025), Fakin Bajec (2005–2020) and Kuševič (2016) that allow insights from various case studies in Slovenia.

2 "New localism" and its potential for sustainable heritage-based development

The sustainability of cultural heritage management can be defined in two ways. The first dimension is "green sustainability" and consists of assuring adequate procedures that enable the physical preservation of cultural heritage through the use of green materials and green approaches that do not disrupt natural ecosystems cycles (see, e.g., ICOMOS 2013, 2019; Scardigno et al. 2019; Foster 2020). The second dimension of sustainable cultural heritage management is focused on the social sustainability of cultural heritage. This approach tends to strike a balance between the quality of life in the local community and cultural heritage management. The approach is complex and contains unpredictable elements because it includes close cooperation with local communities, experts, owners and various institutions (local, municipal, state) that are involved in the process of cultural heritage management. Still, in the last few decades the mentioned approach has been significantly undermined and neglected compared to other approaches (see Vecco and Srakar 2018). In terms of social sustainability, a sustainable cultural heritage management model has to provide capacities that based on the appropriate balanced participation of all stakeholders enable the long-term development of local communities while simultaneously serving the general public by ensuring the preservation and accessibility of the cultural heritage. This act of balancing between local and general benefits on a longer-term scale represents the most conflictive and difficult part of the process of developing a sustainable heritage model and is unique for each case (see Garcia and Cox 2013). Namely, each case involves a different set of actions, actors and needs that must be balanced in order to assure sustainable development that considers the heritage.

The concept of social sustainability in the management of immovable cultural heritage is inherently connected to the notion of participation (see Stöger 2010; Müller and Stotten 2011; Council of Europe 2017). Although stakeholders' participation is an inseparable part of the process of ensuring social sustainability in heritage studies, it is also one of the most frequently mentioned concepts that is becoming ever more controversial in terms of its capability for implementation in the field due to a lack of expertise, finance, political will and local specifics. It is worth mentioning that socially sustainable heritage management is in this sense often exploited in the name of developing a holistic approach to heritage management that presupposes the active cooperation of the state, investors, local and other interested stakeholders. Formal policy actors (state, municipalities) under the guise of the concepts of participation, inclusive society, and active citizenship often attempt to transfer the cost of maintaining public goods on to the shoulders of civil society. Authors like Coombe and Weiss (2015), Cantillon and Baker (2020) describe such actions as reflecting of the growing importance of the economic sector and aspirations to achieve short individual financial gains in contrast to generating long-term welfare effects for society at large.

In the article, special attention is paid to the analysis of social sustainability in cultural heritage management in selected cases, while the dimension of physical green sustainability is left aside as a secondary dimension that, while inherently important, does not add to the arguments presented. In this respect, focus is given to the analysis of crucial elements that either provide, support or obstruct the implementation of social sustainability in heritage management in Slovenia. One of the important debated characteristics that contribute to or obstruct the social sustainability of cultural heritage in Slovenia is the effect of active local interest articulation or "localism". In popular debates, localism is often described as an element that prevents the introduction of novelties into the local space and hinders any faster development of it. The real effects of present localism trends are much more complex and cannot be reduced to a simple differentiation between levels of global permeability in the local space. All of the local communities in today's Europe are connected with the globalisation process and form their spatial (local) identity in relation to the (global) "space of flows" (Castells 1989: 146), i.e., circulation of cultural elements, information, goods, people and capital. Every single local community responds to the challenges of globalisation in its own ways. The sphere of new global influences on local communities possibly ranges from the distinctive protection of traditional local spatial features to the distinctive transformation of local communities. Some communities are more open/permeable as concerns the new (global) elements being introduced into their space, whilst others tend to be reserved and try to minimise their influences. In relation to this, many authors have described a shift from "old localism to new localism" (Strassoldo and Tessarin 1992: 287).

Localism is best described as a relationship between place (understood as a space, which is relatively small and limited) and the social phenomena that occur in it. This relationship is valorised (ideologised) from the point of an observer or actor and becomes a part of their state of conscience (ibid.). In this way, the locality (and space in general) becomes an important ingredient in the construction of an individual's identity and, contrary to the theories pointing to the loss of territorial determinism, stresses the importance of locality in everyday life. Traditionally, localism and rootedness have been considered backward and part of the conservative pole of values. Modernisation processes seemed to be directed at cosmopolitanism, universalism and mobility. Territorial attachment, described by Tönnies (1999: 31) as part of "Gemeinschaft", seemed to be vanishing, as it was supposed to be gradually destroyed by a functional "Gesellschaft". Strassoldo (2004: 7) explains that while Gemeinschaft was in fact somewhat influenced or restrained by those processes, the trend did not alter its contents: "It has found inner limits in some basic human needs, and has generated dialectically its own limiting contradictions and countervailing forces" (ibid.). A consequence of these processes was new localism where elements of the old localism were fused with the processes of globalisation that brought new elements into the locality. Mlinar (2001: 770) examines old localism relative to new localism based on the analytical dimensions of "connectedness" and internal "characteristics". Connectedness is analysed through the prism of autonomy, while internal characteristics are defined according to the exclusion or integration of specialties. In Table 1, one can see that old localism is much more closed, and less connected than the choice-oriented new localism. Similar differences are recognised in the way that old and new localism exclude or integrate the special features of localities.

Table 1: Old and new localism.

Analytical dimension	OLD LOCALISM	NEW LOCALISM
Connectedness	Autonomy/ Independence	Autonomy/ Choice
Characteristics	Specialties/ Exclusion	Specialties/ Integration

Source: Mlinar 2001.

According to Strassoldo (2004), two additional differences between new and old localism are critical. The first is that while old localism was primordial and less reflective, the new one is the outcome of a more conscious choice. While the old localism seemed "necessary and natural", the second appears more "voluntary and intentional (rational)" (Strassoldo 2004: 7). The second difference is: "that the old localism tended to minimize contacts with the exterior to maintain a strong closed boundary; while the new localism is quite aware of the rest of the world, and is quite open to interactions with it" (Strassoldo 1992: 46–47). By way of a general assumption, we may say that new localism is more open than (old) localism, yet still emphasises the need for certain values that should be present in the locality.

The concept of new localism brings new elements into the debate concerning the management of immovable cultural heritage in Slovenia. It first raises the question of the extent to which new localism is present when dealing with various forms of immovable cultural heritage in Slovenian local communities. Given that local communities need to integrate novelties into their environments, this process immediately triggers dialogue between the forces of old (preservation) and new localism (adaptation). Second, this process of the inevitable confrontation of the two localisms is nested within a much larger question of whether the management of immovable heritage in Slovenia is directed more to heritage development that considers sustainability or the existing rigid, hierarchical form of mere protecting the status quo. "Business as usual" in this scenario would mean a distinct embeddedness in old localism whilst neglecting the values and benefits of new localism, where sustainability orientations are mixed with globalisation and local values. Although this "glocalisation" (Robertson 1995: 173) process is undoubtedly in place in Slovenia, the question regarding its extent and features in the case of immovable heritage management has hardly been examined. We address the presented questions through an examination of specific data and case studies in Slovenia.

3 Analysing the management of immovable cultural heritage in local communities

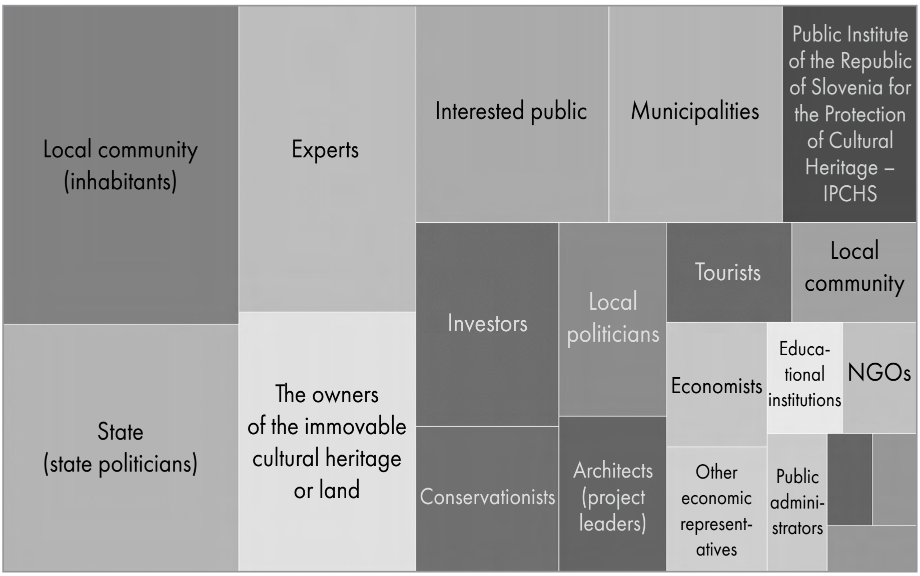
3.1 Methodology

The analysis of how immovable cultural heritage in local communities is managed was performed based on data gathered from multiple research studies that include the project HEI-TRANSFORM (2022–2025) as well as field studies by Fakin Bajec (2005–2020) and Kuševič (2016). The selected research studies are relevant for our analysis as they include data regarding multiple types of actors on the local level (e.g., local inhabitants, municipality, experts). Due to the use of a mix of accumulated primary (HEI-TRANSFORM) and secondary (Fakin Bajec and Kuševič) data, the methodology applied in the article may best be described as the "mixed research methodology" approach (see Tashakkori and Teddlie 2010) or the "grounded theoretical approach" (see Holt-Jensen 1988; Glaser 1998) where various types of data are synthesised in order to produce a more general theory, i.e., a hypothesis. The data analysis thus combines data of various types spanning from semi-structured questionnaires to field analysis in various locations. The intention of the analysis is to identify key changes related to the presence of new localism and social sustainability that have occurred in the area of immovable heritage management in local communities over the last two decades. The analysis first interprets data that succinctly summarise specific noteworthy ideas or elements that guide the handling of immovable cultural heritage in local communities. Second, in the conclusion, the collected interpretations and ideas are re-grouped into higher-level concepts to explain how and why local communities and other stakeholders handle the management of immovable cultural heritage in particular ways. The model can assist with the drawing of conclusions regarding whether elements of "new localism" can be detected in a given location.

3.2 The ideal model of participation in the management of immovable cultural heritage

The main premise of the analysis was to identify how elements that constitute the socially sustainable handling of immovable cultural heritage are dealt with in the case of Slovenia. This led us to look at the model of participation in the case of heritage management in Slovenia. In this regard, the ideal sustainable model of immovable heritage management should also include a well-integrated model of stakeholder participation that enables good communication between (local) actors and the balanced use of resources stemming from the heritage. The first layer of data analysed is the results of the HEI-TRANSFORM survey in 2023 conducted among members of the project group involved in the project. The survey was conducted online using the 1KA web tool. Since a large number of experts from various fields are participating in the HEI TRANSFORM transdisciplinary project, we sought a general picture of experts' views on the major questions about the values of immovable cultural heritage, and about stakeholders in the processes of the renovation and reuse of the heritage. In January 2023, a total of 30 experts on the subject of cultural heritage coming from various scientific fields (architecture, economics, sociology, psychology, art history, ethnology, geography, anthropology, conservation studies) were asked semi-structured questions about the immovable cultural heritage. In terms of immovable heritage studies, the sample was distributed approximately evenly between various heritage expert categories, with 30% being experts in cultural heritage studies, 30% in spatial heritage sciences and 30% in conservation studies, whereas 10% were experts from smaller fields (e.g., psychology, communication studies). In the context of our analysis of the socially sustainable management of immovable cultural heritage, the questions were related to the perception of participation; the inclusion of local stakeholders in the system of heritage management was particularly important (Graph 1).

Graph 1: In your opinion, who are the key stakeholders in all processes of the renovation and reuse of heritage in Slovenia?



Source: HEI-TRANSFORM 2023.

Graph 1 presents the experts' responses distributed according to the frequency of mentions with the size of a box being designated accordingly, i.e., from the most (biggest box) to the least mentioned smaller box of stakeholders. As the questions allowed multiple answers, i.e., for multiple stakeholders to be listed according to the hierarchy of their importance, the total number of stakeholders the experts mentioned was 124. The data show how the experts perceived the ideal model of management of immovable cultural heritage in terms of stakeholders' roles in Slovenia. Further, the data help identify the top actors in local communities (inhabitants) and the state (state politicians), followed by experts and owners of immovable cultural heritage or land on which it stands. The second group of actors that gradually follows this primary group consists of the interested public, municipalities, the Public Institute of the Republic of Slovenia for the Protection of Cultural Heritage – IPCHS , followed by a third group made up of investors (financers), conservationists, local politicians and architects (project leaders). The fourth group of stakeholders includes economists, other economic representatives, educational institutions, NGOs, public administrators and others. Nonetheless, this ideal model with a great number of stakeholders involved in the management of immovable cultural heritage does not sufficiently correspond to the actual situation when it comes to planning in Slovenia. The interviewed experts were therefore asked a series of questions in order to explain the constraints in the relationships between various stakeholders with a view to identifying the biggest barriers to the better handling of immovable cultural heritage in local communities.

One question concerned the problems related to implementing a more "values-led approach" (Wijesuria et al. 2016: 35) to the management of immovable cultural heritage. The concept represents an umbrella beneath which a series of actions is summarised, where each tries to retain the cultural significance of places through a balancing of the aesthetic, historical, scientific, spiritual and especially social values that exist in a space. The values are in this sense related to the locally specific perception of what is (un)valuable and should be handled accordingly. Highly elaborated on in recent scientific literature (Poulios 2010; Myers et al. 2010; McClelland 2018), the values-led approach is the epitome of aspirations in heritage conservation practices that try to combine high awareness of the local context with the comprehensive inclusion of autochthonous stakeholders in the heritage management process. The presence of a participation process in heritage management was critically reflected on by Slovenian experts, and several problematic aspects were revealed. When asked: "In your opinion, what would be the key to establishing the values-led approach to the management of immovable cultural heritage in Slovenia?", the experts exposed the following key problematic dimensions that have not yet been either sufficiently addressed or elaborated on in this context (Table 2).

Table 2: Key dimensions for establishing a values-led approach to the management of the immovable cultural heritage in Slovenia listed by importance in the expert interviews.

Rank	Description of problematic dimension	Example quotes by experts	The three most present scientific fields in the dimension
1	Insufficient participation and inclusion of stakeholders	*Find ways to involve the local population in the process (development of participatory methods); find ways to establish networks of knowledge between various stakeholders involved; promote education, awareness raising and empowerment of all stakeholders…*	*Conservation studies, architecture, art history*
2	Weak methodology, data collecting and analysis of the local context	*Adequate interpretation, analysis of relevant good practices, stakeholders' development of a critical view , ability to implement actions based on knowledge and experience…*	*Sociology, economics, geography*
3	Weak elaboration and implementation of communication practices in heritage management	*That all key actors know (are able) to listen to others and understand other values, actors, their needs. To develop the ability for democratic argument and coordination between stakeholders…*	*Ethnology, anthropology, sociology*
4	Low financing	*Arrangement of the structured and long-term financing of heritage and development of a financing structure that allows a financial influx from various sources*	*Conservation studies, economics, architecture*
5	Gaps in policy implementation, imprecise-elaborated legislation and un-implemented long-term policies, strategies, goals	*Reduce the influence of some (especially local) political entities in relation to others (the state, experts, other stakeholders) ...*	*Conservation studies, architecture, ethnology*

Source: HEI-TRANSFORM 2023.

The results presented in Table 2 must be placed in perspective, meaning that the problem with implementing a values-led approach in heritage management in Slovenia is multi-layered in terms of the problem itself as well as the expert fields that mention it. It may thus be assumed that specific problematic dimensions overlap with other dimensions and other expertise in Table 2. For example, the dimension of legislation and policy implementation overlaps with many other dimensions (e.g., the dimension of problematic communication practices). The most all-encompassing dimension is the problem of the low inclusion or participation of stakeholders, which permeates and forms an inherent part of several other dimensions and fields of expertise. From this perspective, the problem of including stakeholders is deeply connected to the problem of legislation and the implementation practices of local politics. In general, the mentioned dimensions well identify the main problems that are obstructing the implementation of more sustainable heritage-based management in local communities within Slovenia. Especially the highly noticed problem of the dysfunctional inclusivity of local stakeholders, i.e., non-developed mechanisms, deficient communication models, incrementalistic political actions, followed by unclear legislation undermine the process of ensuring the better or more balanced use or participation of local stakeholders in the process of immovable heritage management. The inconsistencies in this process create rifts between stakeholders, contribute to the feeling of disempowerment experienced by specific stakeholder groups, and have long-term effects on values in terms of the system of trust in actors (state, local authorities, investors, owners, civil groups etc.) that influences spatial development and heritage management within local communities.

3.3 Analysing the characteristics of the management of the immovable cultural heritage in Slovenia

In order to illustrate the characteristics of the Slovenian context when it comes to managing the immovable cultural heritage in local environments, we deliberately used two sets of secondary data (namely, the results of different research studies) in this analysis to generate a broader set/scope of views on the issue. This multi-focus approach is intended to bring additional elements into the analysis of sustainable heritage management. The first level/set are analytical results of a single case study on "Debela griža", a monument in a rural area, while the second level/set is represented by the results of a group of case studies about local communities in which specific "empty" monuments owned by the Republic of Slovenia are located.

3.3.1 The case of Debela griža

Debela griža in the Karst region of Slovenia reveals a gap between the operations of the local association (Društvo Debela griža) mainly composed of locals from the village of Volјči Grad where the immovable cultural heritage is situated, and the involvement of a private developer from a neighbouring village. The site of Debela griža is a potentially attractive prehistoric archeologic site for visitors that is well embedded within the enchanting dry Karst landscape where the natural environment is formed by elements of Karst rock formation (Picture 1). The combined cultural and natural landscapes along with the unique archeologic setting potentially dating back to 2000 years BC makes the location attractive for multiple socio-economic uses.

Picture 1: The archaeological site Debela griža.

Photo source: Matjaž Uršič 2023.

The case of Debela griža illustrates an often-discussed conflict between the preservation and exploitation/marketisation of immovable cultural heritage. It also raises questions regarding the holistic approach to heritage management that presupposes the active cooperation of the state, investors, local and other interested stakeholders (see, e.g., Ministry of Culture 2019). The Debela griža site was identified as an interesting area in 2000 by local residents who upgraded the activities at the site by forming a local association. This local association (Društvo Debela griža) supported the first actions on the site through the voluntary work of local residents. These included small actions on the site (e.g., cleaning, putting up the first information boards) but also expanded to numerous other small activities in the village (e.g., production of a documentary film in 2005, restoration of specific artefacts and buildings in the village in 2012). In 2014, a local businessman from a neighbouring village established a new, parallel private institute (Zavod Krasen Kras) that intensified the activities on the site. This new actor also purchased most of the land on which the prehistoric site stands and commenced a series of activities that go beyond the aspirations of the local residents in terms of financial engagement, support and restoration of the place. This triggered a series of conflicts in terms of management of the site, its future development, collective spatial identity, memory, local quality of life, economic prosperity and maintenance support for the site.

In a series of semi-structured interviews with actors involved between 2005 and 2020, Fakin Bajec gathered a substantial amount of information on the most problematic characteristics of the immovable heritage management in this case (see Fakin Bajec 2005, 2011, 2020a, 2020b). On the basis of a snowball sample, approximately 30 interviews were conducted about the actors' subjective views on the controversy. The interviews comprised questions regarding the main problematic themes, key actors and relationships between them. Each interview lasted approximately 1 hour and was transcribed in order to perform a basic text analysis. Namely, the methodological approach was not a detailed text analysis but may be identified more as "pragmatic text analysis" (Verschueren 1995: 128), where the main lines of the interviewees' narrative were identified. Pragmatic text analysis is a derivative of pragmatics, i.e., a subfield of linguistics and semiotics which studies the ways in which the context contributes to meaning. In this sense, pragmatics not only studies language but attempts to combine other elements in its analysis (e.g., the context of the statement, re-existing knowledge about those involved, intent and other factors). The sample of the interviews was demographically evenly distributed between the adult population of local residents in the area of Komen. The majority (70%) of the sample was gathered in the village of Volčji grad, where the site is located, whilst the other interviews were gathered in the nearby (neighbouring) areas. Analysis of the interviews allowed the central characteristics of the conflict to be identified. In Table 3, these characteristics are arranged hierarchically, from the most frequently mentioned characteristic to the least mentioned one. Each characteristic is supported by a quote from the interviews in order to illustrate the characteristic in question.

Table 3: Problematic characteristics of immovable heritage management in the case of Debela griža.

Rang	Identified characteristic	Sample quote from the interviews
1	Absence of more sustainable systemic tools, mechanisms, mediators that would ease communication between stakeholders	*We do communicate, [...] we have a signed cooperation agreement in which the [association members] have committed themselves that when we need leadership, they will take care of it, of course for a fee. When we needed them twice last year, they were not there. [...] Some within the association would participate, while others within the association are against it...*
2	Differences in financial capabilities, resources between the stakeholders involved	*He [association member] has no money. And when one appears with the money, a feeling of jealousy arises within some people in such societies. [...] The Association feels excluded. Because he is aware of the limitations of his possibilities and consciously or subconsciously there is a human reaction in the sense of "yes, he is rich now and we are poor" ...*
3	Implemental absence, insufficient engagement of formal (state, municipality) actors in the long term	*The umbrella of the municipality should be above all of this. The mayor should come to the meeting between him [entrepreneur] and the association. I'm surprised that everything has stopped. The association stopped and even he [the entrepreneur] should show more after seven years. The tourists were confused in the village, they saw that there was a split [conflict]. That's how I see the role of the municipality ...*
4	The question of general quality of life vs. the commodification/ marketisation of the cultural capital on the site	*Some associations choose the business way. They realised that if we don't make money for our area, someone else will come. Well, the membership fee runs for the first couple of years, everyone is excited, they come to the general meeting and give a few euros. Then it slowly goes downhill. All the associations on the Karst went downhill like this. If you don't turn the situation around at that time to prepare some activity then ...*
5	The problem of devalued general trust in/between the stakeholders	*Perhaps you really can't count on the Association if you're going for one big story. A clear vision, clear goals need to be explained to the people, and not to implement some background stories again. As soon as people feel that something is not clean, it's over. Transparency and trust, that's the foundation ...*

Sources: Fakin Bajec 2005, 2011, 2020a, 2020b.

The case of Debela griža chiefly points to the problem of communication between the actors involved. The problem of communication can be interpreted in several ways. As such, the exposed problematic characteristics supplement each other and explain the general picture of the communication problem when it comes to management of the cultural heritage. The problem of communication affects the basis of the system for participation, which cannot gain momentum if certain basic conditions go unmet. First, the interviews clearly identified the problem of the absence of systemic supportive mechanisms, tools that should sustain the general process of holistic participation. These supportive mechanisms should function as intermediators and would help balance the relationships according to the interest of stakeholders. Second, the long-term durability of the participation process is very weak since it lacks a long-term financial structure, clear roles of the formal actors (state, municipality), and a clear elaboration of the micro and macro development goals on the local, municipal and state levels. Also noticeable is the complete absence of a more detailed analysis of the contextual situation with respect to the socio-economic structure, developmental goals, and perceptions of the primary users prior to the start of the process of managing the cultural heritage on the site. Finally, the problem of the eroded trust between local stakeholders is significant and obstructs any faster solving of other problems in the field. The problem of the missing intermediatory mechanism is connected to the problem of trust because not one of the potential mediators present (e.g., the state, municipality) enjoys sufficient trust from the groups of stakeholders involved.

3.3.2 Local communities managing "empty" monuments owned by the Republic of Slovenia

The second set of secondary data refers to the results of a study on a compendium of seven local communities dealing with the management of immovable cultural heritage in their territory. From this perspective, the analysis does not concentrate on specific cases but on an overview of reactions of representatives of local communities concerning the management of "empty" monuments, namely, those that have yet to be assigned a proper use and are owned by the state. Local communities in this case are represented by municipalities, which function as partial caretakers of the immovable cultural heritage at sites. The cooperation between the state and local communities in this regard is limited and spans from the mere occasional use of immovable cultural heritage for various purposes to more intense uses and supports where municipalities partially assist with the preservation of the heritage owned by the state. The current cooperation between the state and local communities is very complex, as revealed by research conducted on the issue in 2015 and 2016 (see Kuševič 2016). The study contained semi-structured questionnaires that were completed online by key employees who deal with cultural heritage in seven municipalities that have empty monuments owned by the Republic of Slovenia. The questionnaire consisted of closed questions, although the interviewees were given the possibility to upgrade each answer with supplemental information. As the questionnaire was addressed to the whole municipality as the legal entity in question, each collection of answers formed part of the official answer of the whole municipality as concerns the management of a specific heritage site. The sample thus consisted of seven representative units of official answers collectively constructed by key employees of the municipality dealing with heritage questions according to ZVKD – the Act on the Protection of Cultural Heritage (e.g., the mayor, mayor's office, municipal council, commission, committees). The names of municipalities, monuments and the official responses of the local communities to particular questions related to the management of cultural heritage of the study are displayed in Table 4.

The answers provided by the municipalities regarding the management of specific immovable cultural heritage indicate some problematic aspects that are insufficiently discussed in heritage studies in Slovenia. First, the data expose the issue of the financial and physical maintenance of heritage. The municipalities clearly express dissatisfaction with the maintenance of the cultural heritage that is managed by the state, but at the same time are unwilling to transfer the maintenance and ownership of it to the local community and hence into their area of responsibility. In this perspective, immovable cultural heritage is seen as a type of financial burden and the municipalities are not prepared to risk a further rise in costs in the municipal budget. Although the municipalities acknowledge the great importance of monuments for the development of municipal cultural activities, they are not willing to engage more in the management of the cultural heritage owned by state. In this respect, the municipalities would rather renounce part of the sovereignty or autonomy in terms of control over cultural capital originating in the immovable heritage than have to deal with complex strategies that would require knowledge and resources to manage it. We might speculate that with the present constellation of relations between the state and local communities (municipalities), the latter actors have more modest ambitions for the management of cultural heritage, despite being aware of its importance and the opportunity that it brings for a further elevation of the quality of life in the local community. This assumption is further supported by responses that indicate the need for further inclusion or cooperation between the economic (private) sector and the management of cultural heritage. The municipalities in this regard indicate support for the deeper integration of PPP (public–private partnerships) in order to optimise the maintenance of the heritage and increase financial benefits for the municipality. This interplay between the marketisation/commodification of heritage and the preservation/use of the heritage for the development of cultural activities and improvement of the quality of life is very sensitive and fragile given that it easily moves beyond the expectations of specific groups within local communities and may incite conflict. Due to these problematic aspects, the municipalities prefer to keep the status quo and generate a chaotic ambivalence while simultaneously supporting state dependence and independence when it comes to the management of immovable cultural heritage.

Table 4: Responses from local communities concerning the management of cultural heritage.

QUESTION	Location: Dolane – Grad Borl/ Municipality of Cirkulane	Location: Črnomelj– Kulturni dom/Municipality of Črnomelj	Location: Dornava – Dvorec Dornava/ Municipality of Dornava	Location: Dvor pri Žužemberku – Železarna Dvor/Municipality of Žužemberk	Location: Leskovec pri Krškem – Grad Šrajbarski turn/Municipality of Krško	Location: Spodnji Slemen – Grad Viltuš/ Municipality of Selnica ob Dravi	Location: Turjak – Grad/ Municipality of Velike Lašče
Are you satisfied with the current care provided by the state for the cultural monument?	YES	NO	NO	NO (partially)	NO	YES	NO
Would you like the state to transfer the cultural monument into the ownership of the municipality?	NO	NO (Until the local community is organised in such a way that it can serve its purpose)	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES

Would you like the local community to take over the management of the cultural monument?	NO	NO REPLY (Note: same as in answer 2 above)	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES (in case it is not transferred into ownership)
Which programmes/ activities would you implement at the monument if you owned or managed it?	A historical presentation, a museum, events, catering services, wedding ceremonies, education, accommodation services	A historical presentation, an exhibition space, events	A historical presentation, a museum, an exhibition space, events, catering services, wedding ceremonies, education	A historical presentation, a museum, an exhibition space, events, catering services, education	An exhibition space, events, catering services, wedding ceremonies	A historical presentation, a museum	A historical presentation, a museum, an exhibition space, events, catering services, wedding ceremonies, education
Is the cultural monument important for the development of cultural activities in your area?	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES
If you owned or managed the monument, would you invite a private company to participate in its management?	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES (in the case of catering services only)
Would you be willing to cooperate with the municipality's activities (cultural, tourist) even if the monument was leased to another entity?	YES	YES	YES	Depends on the tenant	YES	NO	YES

Source: Kuševič 2016.

4 Conclusions – local heritage management in the context of systemic obstacles

In the area of cultural heritage management, it is not unusual to notice in the media often unverified information stating that local communities are obstructing the development of a more sustainable type of immovable heritage management due to the formation of civil initiatives, the presence of NIMBY syndrome elements and other issues that block any faster project implementation. Regardless of the radical actions (physical protests, obstruction) that local communities sometimes use in order to prevent the implementation of specific cultural heritage projects, it is necessary to note that the issue is far more complex. In reality, the picture seems much more grey than black-and-white. The analysed data show that local communities miss certain key elements, tools and mechanisms that would enable them to fully participate in the process of implementing sustainable heritage management.

1. The case of Debela griža shows that one of these key missing elements lies in the incapacity of the existing system for participation (on both formal (legislative) and informal (legitimacy) levels) to provide appropriate channels of communication with various layers of local stakeholders. The incapacity of the actors involved to present, specify and include the interests of multiple local groups seems to generate imminent complications that translate into a direct conflict between the parties involved even though they both might hold similar aspirations.
2. The second missing element is the incapacity of formal systems (institutions that deal with heritage management) to build up actor empowerment and enable the process of deliberation for local stakeholders (Peck and Theodore 2015). The process of deliberation that would try to activate the presence, active engagement in local environment and help actors to contribute to the solving of situations in the field is neither well formulated and nor supported. The case of Debela griža suggests that actors were prevalently left on their own to self-organise and act based on their own knowledge and capacities to build up specific modes of management in relation to cultural heritage. Notwithstanding the intention of local stakeholders to participate in the process of managing the cultural heritage, supportive systems to permit them to both learn about the possibilities of sustainable heritage development and learn from the experience of other similar cases in order to help develop a suitable model for the specified context are missing on the systemic (formal) level. Each model of sustainable cultural heritage management must be adapted to the context of the location in which is it embedded. This notion assumes there is a need to integrate expert (outsider) and local (insider) knowledge to optimise the situation in the field in order to ensure the harmonious co-existence of the

use of the heritage and the interests of local communities. Only such a model assures long-term sustainability in terms of adequate quality of life for the local community, while also providing for the optimal preservation and use of cultural heritage for the general public.

3. The inconsistencies between stakeholders in all selected case studies suggest that each time stakeholders try to produce a specific model of cultural heritage management, the process suffers from a shortage of information in the sense of decisions made on unclear or non-transparent information on the subject. The data from the responses of local communities with empty monuments owned by the Republic of Slovenia reveal considerable differences between how communities, municipalities, the state and other stakeholders imagine the heritage management. The whole process is currently based on the principle "whoever pays owns the place". Due to weak collaboration between stakeholders, full focus is placed on the economic (financial) costs associated with the support and maintenance of heritage while less effort is made in the direction of a detailed analysis of all possible tangible and intangible factors of heritage that might influence the long-term well-being of the community and society in general. This suggests that an information gap exists with regard to what represents cost and benefits for the community. Here, the absence of a detailed interdisciplinary socio-economic elaboration of the context and the situation in the field prior to starting the process is a problematic aspect of the formal system for the management of cultural heritage.
4. The data also show that strong elements of new localism are present in the localities of the selected case studies. The fact that all of these localities recognise both the social and particularly economic characteristics of cultural heritage management suggests that local communities have developed the capacities to detect the elements needed for heritage models to function on a wider (global) scale. The presence of such elements in local communities indicates that the cost-benefit analysis process is considered and that stakeholders are willing to engage in elaborating the needs for the community and general public. The conflicts between various stakeholders on the local and state levels shows that the elements of new localism are not well recognised and, above all, neither well connected nor integrated into the system of participation when it comes to the sustainable management of heritage. The low trust in formal actors in particular obstructs any further integration of elements of new localism into the general system for cultural heritage management. The low level of trust is consistently regenerated through the existing institutionalised system that does not support the gradual empowerment or deliberation of local actors in terms of managing the cultural heritage.

The final answer to the question of whether particular elements of localism are obstructing the implementation of sustainable heritage development in Slovenia thus has two parts. On the micro-scale, some elements of localism indeed stop specific actions that could lead to the development of local sustainable capabilities. Yet, on the macro scale, the formal system for participation in heritage management does not allow the sufficient inclusion of stakeholders in the process, even though that would allow better optimisation of the sustainability process for the local community. The problem of obstruction originating from local communities is thus not deliberate in sui generis but a consequence of deficient systemic structure that deals poorly with the management of cultural heritage on the local level and does not support the longer, re-iterative process of consultation. Here, the Slovenian case is a typical reflection of an "immature socio-political system" (Kos 2002: 21) in that while it might advocate public development and participation there are inadequate support mechanisms and a financial structure (see Coombe and Weiss 2015; Cantillon and Baker 2020). Old localisms in this constellation are used as a "weapon" by local communities to prevent unwanted consequences to current lifestyles or general quality of life. The elements of new localism (e.g., recognition of global economic capabilities of heritage, importance of content creation on heritage sites etc.) are present but not activated on the local level due to systemic failures. These include the incapability of the political and institutional system to recognise and enable a sufficiently trustworthy environment to start and produce a balanced outcome that satisfies all stakeholders involved. The problematic aspects suggest that local actors are not sufficiently equipped or given the possibility to learn about the issues and how to deal with the challenges they face. These answers definitively require more elaborate future studies that combine analysis of the legislative system, the operation of institutions, and the social capital and value system in Slovenia pertaining to heritage studies.

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Review Scientific Article
UDK 077:[316.334.5:620.92]
DOI: 10.51936/dr.39.104.123-141

Primož Medved

INCLUSIVE RENEWABLE ENERGY COMMUNITIES' PLATFORM: COMBINING LOCAL, VIRTUAL AND HYBRID RENEWABLE ENERGY COMMUNITIES

ABSTRACT

To reach the ambitious EU 2030 renewable energy targets, new innovative models and collective investment schemes are needed to release citizens' socio-economic potential to fully participate in the energy transition. The article aims to set the direction and basis for a concrete renewable energy communities (RECs) platform able to encourage the multiplication of RECs while ensuring the inclusion and empowerment of the most vulnerable parts of society. The REC platform is an interactive meeting, learning and investing point – a "one-stop shop" which connects REC producers with the customers, the urban and rural population, local and virtual members, (crowdfunding) investors and the most vulnerable individuals.

KEY WORDS: communities, renewable energy sources, energy transition, vulnerable groups, inclusive platform

Vključujoča platforma za skupnosti obnovljivih virov energije (OVE): Kombiniranje lokalnih, virtualnih in hibridnih skupnosti obnovljivih virov energije

IZVLEČEK

Da bi dosegli ambiciozne cilje EU na področju obnovljivih virov energije do leta 2030, so potrebni novi modeli in inovativne kolektivne naložbene sheme, prek katerih bi lahko sprostili celoten družbeno-ekonomski potencial prebivalcev za njihovo polno aktivacijo v energetskem zelenem prehodu. V ta namen raziskava članka prek »platforme za skupnosti obnovljivih virov energije (S-OVE)« ponuja temelje oz. smer, ki lahko pripomore k večji participaciji prebivalcev in multiplikaciji tovrstnih skupnosti. Platforma predstavlja nekakšno interaktivno točko srečevanja, komuniciranja, učenja in investiranja ter deluje kot enotna točka (»vse na enem mestu«) za vse vpletene deležnike. Platforma za skupnosti OVE bi lahko povezovala proizvajalce s kupci, mestno prebivalstvo s podeželjem, lokalne in virtualne člane ter investitorje z najranljivejšim delom družbe.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: skupnosti, obnovljivi viri energije, energetski prehod, vključujoča platforma, ranljive skupine prebivalcev

1 Introduction

Attaining a green transition with the decarbonisation of energy production is one of the most critical challenges of the 21st century (Fuso Nerini et al. 2019). In recent decades, the global energy landscape has been completely reshaped in order to respond to the threat of climate change (de Bakker et al. 2020). The EU launched a new strategy by adopting common rules and new forms of cooperation with the implementation of the "Clean Energy for all Europeans Package" (CEP) in 2018/19. CEP goals are to boost EU competitiveness in global markets and at the same time to empower its citizens to become "active players" in the energy transition (European Commission 2019a). Each year EU citizens have more possibilities to become members of the expanding network of decentralised renewable energy communities (Xia-Bauer et al. 2022). Numerous community-led sustainable energy projects have emerged globally and European countries are the forerunners (Hewitt et al. 2019). In line with the Paris Agreement, the EU endorses a comprehensive energy transition agenda by promoting the usage of renewable energy sources (RES) and the implementation of a more decentralised energy production system - where passive consumers become active energy producers (European Commission 2018).

Currently, the majority of the existing energy supply in the EU is still controlled by just a small number of large energy companies, which negatively affect energy affordability and a fair transition towards greener energy systems (Boroumand 2015; Darmani et al. 2016). The unequal distribution of benefits from energy transition represents a major challenge in regards to "energy justice" (Hanke and Lowitzsch 2020). Decentralised energy system developments such as renewable energy communities (RECs) represent an innovative way to counter the domination of large powerful players and obstruct the advancement of the social and economic inequalities (Lacey-Barnacle 2020). After years of being marginalised as passive consumers, citizens are now being positioned as active central producers within energy systems (Nolden et al. 2020). Local energy initiatives like RECs in the EU are becoming a societal movement. Several thousands citizens now own and manage energy generation capacities which have a significant impact on the entire energy system (Koirala et al. 2018). Although in general RECs represent a real facilitator for energy transition (Ghorbani et al. 2020), vulnerable citizens still remain underrepresented in REC projects (Hanke and Lowitzsch 2020).

Several studies have explored the reasons that lead to the implementation of or joining RECs. There are financial reasons (increase savings, cost reduction), environmental reasons (environmental protection, reduction of emissions/carbon footprint), community reasons (sense of belonging, networking, community building), self-sufficiency reasons (self-sufficient reliable energy supply, energy independence), etc. (Iazzolino et al. 2022; van Summeren et al. 2020). All these motives are definitely important and have to be deeply examined for further improvement of future REC models. However, without the necessary upfront capital and without the possibility (in general) to create or join a REC, exploring the motives to join a REC become less important (secondary). It is often not a question of willingness to become a co-owner of a REC project but a concrete possibility to receive an initial loan for REC investment (Hanke and Lowitzsch 2020). The first and most important thing is to achieve extended availability of RECs - accessible to a larger proportion of the population.

We have nearly reached a global consensus that we must create and implement concrete and feasible emission reduction and decarbonisation The investment requirements for the targeted emission reductions are substantial and in the EU they are not being met. In 2020 Pons-Seres de Brauwer and Cohen (2020) estimated an investment gap of €176 billion annually to achieve the EU's 2030 climate and energy target, which at the time of the analysis was a 32%

RES share of the EU's gross final energy consumption. However, the new recently revised Renewable Energy Directive raises the EU's binding renewable energy target for 2030 to a minimum of 42.5% (European Commission 2023d), which means that the investment gap is much higher then €176 billion. However, this ambitious target could in theory be achievable if European citizens were activated through special collective investment schemes. New innovative models are needed in order to unlock citizens' socio-economic potential to fully participate in the energy transition. One possible direction represents the development of new community-based energy business models (Nolden et al. 2020).

Based on the previously mentioned assumptions, it is necessary to investigate and explore new socio-economical policies, schemes, and solutions in order to propose an adequate and suitable model that could contribute to a quicker and stronger push towards energy transition. The main aim of the article is to answer the research question: how could a realisable platform to improve the proliferation of renewable energy communities be structured to include the empowerment of the most vulnerable members of society? There are several barriers that affect the creation and expansion of RECs, but one of the greatest is "availability" for the vast majority of citizens. The main goal of the article is to create a basis for a platform that will be "fit-for-all" and not just for the most educated and wealthy. The research data was collected through the analysis of scientific literature, EU policy recommendations and directives, concrete case-study analysis, and the analysis of the latest research project dedicated to RECs. Based on the research data, it was possible to construct a "REC platform," which will consider different citizens' lifestyles, mentalities, financial situations and geographic locations.

The paper is structured as follows. First, the terminology is defined. This is followed by two sections wherein the contextual background (social circusmtances and variety of REC models) is presented, which lead to the main core section, where the inclusive and just "rec platform" is proposed. The last two sections represent a discussion on the implications of the new model and the conclusions.

2 Inconsistent terminology: defining the renewable energy community

Within academic scientific literature and non-academic papers, there is a confusing and incoherent use of various definitions which roughly address the same subject – renewable/clean energy cooperatives/communities. With the literature analysis it was possible to identify numerous terms that often have very similar explanations: e.g. (renewable) energy clusters, citizen-driven renewable energy projects, community-led sustainable energy projects, low carbon communities, sustainable (energy) communities, local low carbon energy initiatives, renewable energy communities, renewable energy cooperative, citizen energy communities, local energy initiatives, grassroots energy cooperative/project/initiatives, renewable energy communities, community micro-grids, clean energy communities, community energy, civic energy communities, etc. Although several authors have tried to differentiate between terms by adding a specific connotation or perspective to each term, it may be said that in most cases all the different explanations address and encompass the same topic with little distinction. All the mentioned terms and their variations are (almost) de-facto synonyms. In some countries, one term is more popular owing to the local translation, and other times a term is not entirely adequate in specific regions due to idealogical background. For example, in some eastern EU countries (e.g. Poland) the notion of a "cooperative" is negatively associated with state socialism promoted by the communist regimes before 1990 and is not usually used (Beckmann et al. 2015). However, at the EU level, Renewable Energy Cooperatives is one of the oldest terms used, and perhaps still the best known for the general audience (Capellán-Pérez et al. 2018; Magnani and Osti 2016).

In recent years, the term "community" has become quite popular, used and associated with specific energy projects. In relation to energy, the term community has various meanings and purposes; it is used as a stakeholder, a scale between individual citizens and (local) government, a physical place (such as a village or a neighbourhood), a social network (without geographic connotation), a collaborative process which involves citizens in decision making, or as a way of life (Walker 2011). Community has a strong normative dimension and is generally perceived as something positive. However, the term "community" has also been used to legitimise and popularise policy measures for offloading governmental responsibilities. Walker et al. (2007) are cautious about the loose definitions of community, which do not always imply "participation, empowerment or wider civic outcome". Moreover, a critical perspective for renewable energy communities should be maintained because "communities" are not always harmonious, inclusive and collaborative (Walker 2011).

Recently the term "renewable energy community" (REC) and its derivatives have been frequently used in citations and is becoming the most recognisable term; and from this point forward it will be exclusively used herein. "Renewable energy community" (REC) means a legal entity: (a) which, in accordance with the applicable national law, is based on open and voluntary participation, is autonomous, and is effectively controlled by shareholders or members that are located in the proximity of the renewable energy projects that are owned and developed by that legal entity; (b) the shareholders or members of which are natural persons, SMEs or local authorities, including municipalities; (c) the primary purpose of which is to provide environmental, economic or social community benefits for its shareholders or members or for the local areas where it operates, rather than financial profits (European Commission 2018).

RECs are found in various forms throughout Europe, including the co-ownership and co-management of wind turbines and solar farms, mini-hydro-electricity power plants, farmer's bioenergy establishments, distribution networks, etc. (Hewitt et al. 2019).

The social network of REC members (and organisations) is determined by its 1) geographic area (place-based REC) and/or with 2) shared interests (van Summeren et al. 2020). REC members are often but not necessarily part of the same geographic location (Hewitt et al. 2019). RECs could be "communities of place"—with shared values linked to a particular territory, and/or "communities of practice"—with shared ethics, world views or financial motivation (Magnani and Osti 2016; Seyfang et al. 2013). Similarly, Klein and Coffey (2016) acknowledged the REC duality – as a project managed by a group of citizens united by a common local geographic location and/or set of common interests.

3 REC for elites?: inclusivity challenge

Approximately 8% of EU citizens (cca. 35 million) were unable to keep their households adequately warm in 2020 (European commission 2023). The increase in energy prices that started in 2021 and even worsened with the COVID-19 crisis and the war in Ukraine in 2022, have likely aggravated an already problematic situation for many EU citizens (European commission 2023a). We are experiencing unjust energy transitions and facing a divergence between the new wave of extraordinary innovation and economic affluence, with the rise in social inequality (Lacey-Barnacle 2020). While a new group of privileged individuals and institutions take advantage of the energy transition, we are experiencing unprecedented social and economic inequality (Zucman 2019).

Several authors have noted a strong correlation between social inequality and the physical setting of new sustainable energy infrastructures (Lacey-Barnacle 2020), which is a consequence of systematic socio-economic deprivation and inability to join or create a REC (Catney et al. 2014). This phenomenon that Bridge et al. (2013) call "spatial difference" represents a major challenge, especially for future geographic distributions of RECs that should more adequately address issues of social inequality and social inclusivity (Bouzarovski and Simcock 2017). The unequal allocation of costs and especially benefits from the green energy transition has become an important topic for academic society and also for EU energy policymaking. The EU legislator recognises the potential of REC as a vehicle to empower vulnerable citizens and requires that European member states ensure that RECs are accessible to all citizens, including low-income or vulnerable households" (European Commission 2018). The EU recognises the potential ability of RECs in regards to the empowerment of vulnerable citizens and it acknowledges the need to facilitate measures to boost the participation of vulnerable consumers in RECs. However, on an operational level, policymaking for the inclusion of vulnerable consumers in RECs is still insufficient. EU policymakers have not indicated how to achieve a greater participation in RECs from the most deprived social strata (Hanke and Lowitzsch 2020).

REC initiatives are conceived as egalitarian, but in practice some RECs "are more egalitarian than others" (Harnmeijer et al. 2018). The REC manifestation in the EU revealed several exclusive aspects where wealthier communities, which have more time, resources and capabilities, are usually more likely to develop their own local REC (Catney et al. 2014). The REC fundamental principle of "open participation" has not been truly achieved. For example, more than 70% of German REC members are highly educated, wealthy males (Yildiz et al. 2015). The main barriers to achieve a greater heterogeneity of REC members is financial. Raising sufficient (especially initial) equity represents a decisive barrier for the participation of the most vulnerable part of society with limited financial resources. Inducing low-income households to drastically save in order to engage in asset formation for the REC co-owenership is somehow irrational as it would keep the most vulnerable citizens in the poverty trap. Accumulating sufficient assets to participate in a REC and consequentially produce a financial return should be separated from basic savings. Some EU member states have introduced concrete measures such as feed-in tariffs and low interest rate credit programs that have effectively supported individuals joining and investing in a REC. However, the underprivileged have not benefited from these measures because the fundamental prerequisite to access or begin RECs is linked to initial equity capital. One of the main challenges in the coming years is to create innovative incentives and conditions that facilitate the creation of asset formation to enable wider inclusion and participation in RECs (Hanke and Lowitzsch 2020).

4 REC governance models: from local to virtual REC

REC projects typically associate market accessible technologies with innovative business models in context-specific arrangements. This implies that no two REC developments are the same, because apparent common features, like business models, RES typology, funding approaches, are assembled and adjusted to national and local specificity and requirements, and to available policies and support during a specific time period (Walker and Devine-Wright 2008; Nolden et al. 2020). As previously mentioned, REC members are connected because of the geographical proximity, or/and by common interest. Local-based RECs encompass both dimensions (proximity and interest) and could rely on some very important local structural basis which contribute to the success of the project, e.g. community cohesion, local traditions, existing practices, personal social networks and volunteer work (Martiskainen 2017; Ornetzeder and Rohracher 2013; Seyfang and Longhurst 2016). "Participatory governance" is an important element in local RECs and affects decision making processes and empowerment. REC members have the possibility to decide on features that influence their community and lifestyles (Komendantova et al. 2021).

On the other hand, in recent years "virtual RECs" are becoming increasingly popular. Virtual RECs are not geographically constrained and their members could live and operate from anywhere in the world. This means that they are de-facto "only" interest-based communities. Virtual RECs mostly comprise energy generation and storage systems mostly solar PV and batteries) run using advanced ICT technologies (use of sensors, advanced metering, cloud-based software and other ICT applications). Because virtual RECs are usually bigger, involve a more varied group of stakeholders, its members use more sophisticated technical solutions, and require a deeper understanding of electricity markets, they are usually established using the "top down" approach (van der Grijp et al. 2022). This is one of the main differences in comparison to local RECs, which are typically initiated using the bottom-up approach. Because the governance structure does not require regular in-person meetings, and it is possible for a member to be an anonymous "silent" member – investor, virtual RECs are often not considered "true communities".

Virtual RECs do not have a distinct definition in academic journals and are interpreted using several variations. They could be understood as portfolios of distributed energy resources aggregated and managed by an ICT platform, adopted by a network of members (van Summeren et al. 2020); they could represent a renewable energy sharing system, which enables peer-to-peer trading of renewable energy, where citizens can exchange or sell locally produced power with one another (peer-to-peer) or external markets (Iazzolino et al. 2022), or they could represent a REC, where its members do not necessarily live in close proximity to each other, and use ICT platform to manage, be informed or communicate, control the REC's daily operations etc.

In general, all RECs (virtual and local) are manifested in very different forms and governance structures, and in each country, region or even town or village we may find very different REC systems. There are different ownership models (from full community-owned to different variations of co-ownership) which has an impact on the level of community involvement and decision-making (van Summeren et al. 2020). In the UK, for example, a REC could be developed as a "community development trust", which allows for profit sharing with the (local) community as a whole, rather than just to investors (Harnmeijer et al. 2018). In France, where the energy system is very centralised, policymakers are trying to increase citizen participation in energy transition through special "crowdfunded" projects, initiated by municipalities with their capital and then in the second phase, continued with the participation of local citizens (citizen share offers) (Hewitt et al. 2019).

RECs are very different among each other regarding the basic functions they perform. Certain RECs possess entire (or shares of) renewable energy infrastructures (hydropower plants, wind turbines or solar farms), others (mainly) work as resellers of RES electricity. Some provide energy only to REC members but most sell electricity to the market. In addition, the internal governance is quite varied. In the common traditional cooperative model all members have equal voting rights, regardless of the ownership share (van Summeren et al. 2020). However, in some newer RECs, decision making (and voting) is mostly related and proportionate to the amount of invested capital, and not on the traditional REC principle of "one member - one vote" (Hewitt et al. 2019).

5 An inclusive and just "REC Platform"

As previously mentioned, there is a great need for massive funding in different energy systems to reach goals set by the EU for 2030. It is clear that the current socio-economic relations rooted in the energy system should be reformulated towards greater public participation and control (van Veelen and van der Horst 2018). Institutional socio-legal setup and civil energy networks should be redesigned to support polycentric heterogenous RECs (Heldeweg and Saintier 2020). However, RECs are not a common entity, but are expressed and structured very differently, and are therefore not suitable for a one-size-fits-all policy solution (Martiskainen 2017; Rae and Bradley 2012). REC models should be segmented to reach and involve as many citizens as possible. To uncover the entire EU social potential it necessitates a stable regulatory framework that enables market access for new market players and innovative tools to attract new members. Extending the availability, accessibility and awareness of REC investment options seems a priority and necessity to encourage citizen participation in renewable energy projects (Pons-Seres de Brauwer and Cohen 2020). We must look further, and constantly re-invent our modus-operandi in order to find more innovative and accessible options to expand an immense social potential in order to achieve a prosperous, inclusive sustainable society.

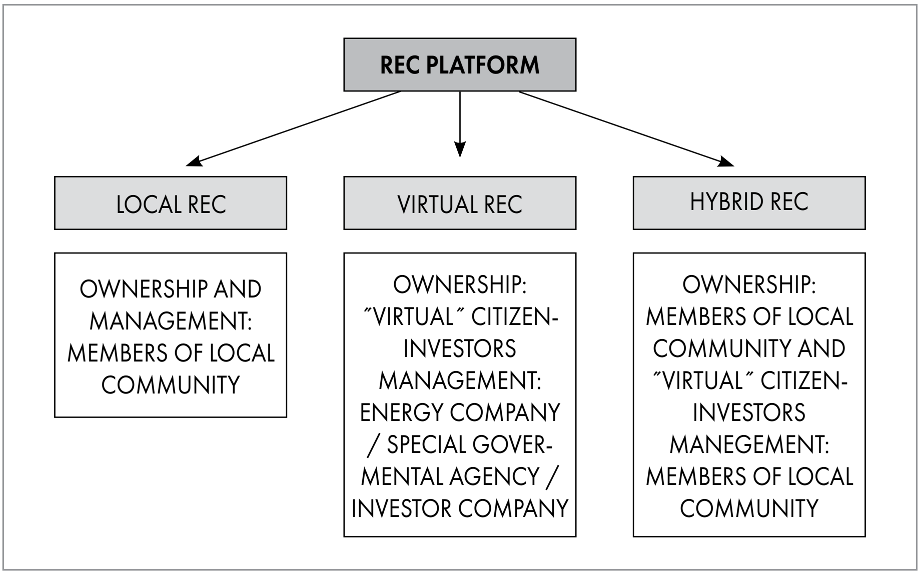
The article proposes a comprehensive segmented REC scheme – called a "REC Platform", which encompasses multifunctional and variegated forms of collective citizen participation in RECs. The platform for a REC (which should be accessible online and through a mobile app) would work as a "one-stop shop" for all the possible stakeholders involved in RECs (potential REC members, investors, legislators, producers, municipalities) and would offer a simplified and transparent interactive database comprising all the necessary REC regulations, accession forms, learning programs, etc. A one-stop-shop REC platform would remain optional for new RECs, who could choose (or not) whether to contact the platform organizers or create their unique innovative niche model that could remain completely autonomous. The aim of such agency is to avoid imposing rigid centralisation and uniformisation, and to be a non-compulsory, complementary advisory partner for the formation of the REC.

REC one-stop shops are expanding in the EU in recent years: (a) at the national level (e.g. "Osona Energía" in Spain, "Homegrade Brussels" in Belgium, "SHAREs OSS" in Croatia, "Energie Samen" in the Netherlands and (b) at the EU trans-national level (Energy Community Platform, Energy Communities Hub, SHAREs, REScoop.eu, etc.); and where recognised by the European Commission as an important tool to enforce REC implementation (see also "Setting up community energy one-stop-shops", Energy Communities Repository; European Commission 2023b).

An energy community one-stop-shop is defined as an organisation that provides a range of services to energy communities in order to help them overcome barriers in the process of setting up their organisation and/or projects at different stages of the process (European Commission 2023b). One-stop-shop offices providing administrative, technical, capacity-building and/or financial assistance to RECs in this context have emerged as an effective way to support the set-up and development of energy community projects (European Commission 2023b). The Energy Community Repository also offers a comprehensive overview of practical digital tools for RECs (European Commission 2023c) which are especially useful as they derive from real already-implemented successful RECs (e.g. internal management digital services from the Spanish online REC platform Som Comunitats; the energy forecasting system from the Italian city of Magliano Alpi; the interactive energy software platform from the Croatian MARS, etc.). These already verified functional REC digital tools could potentially be adapted and upgraded within the new REC platform.

The proposed innovative REC platform would expand the prevailing advisory notion of the established one-stop shops and would also function as a "crowdfunding platform" where potential investors-members would transparently and easily invest in REC shares and become REC members. From the "learning facilities" platform, it would be possible to book a personal or online training program for REC leaders and other members. Moreover, it would include special targeted measures through the "inclusive enabling framework" (see below). The new "REC Platform" is structured with three pillars. The first pillar represents the most traditional form of REC - the "Local REC", where local REC members can find all the relevant information, news, regulatory procedures to access, register and implement their own REC plants. The second pillar is the "Virtual REC" where the local electricity distributor or special new agency investor or a private company could invite citizens to invest in their project ("crowdfunding shareholders"), who would receive in return a guaranteed investment profit. The third pillar "Hybrid REC" – support and facilitate local RECs which have not 100% covered their financial budget, to search and invite potential investors to join them as potential shareholders. The Hybrid REC scheme is a relatively new emerging form of REC which though their ICT platform could put together private and public, social and commercial, local and virtual (remote) stakeholders (de Bakker et al. 2020).

Graph 1: Renewable energy communities' platform.



Source: Author 2023.

In order to expand the "REC elite bubble" (see Section 3), the new platform (for all three pillars) should be managed in such a way as to address and involve as many citizens as possible with special attention being paid to the most vulnerable. Because what constitutes vulnerable is very specific and complex, it is crucial to comprehend the (local) culture, available investments, tradition of community-led initiatives, the preferences and mentality of local vulnerable households and distribution of national savings (Pons-Seres de Brauwer and Cohen 2020). The main obstacle remains a financial one as vulnerable groups simply do not have significant savings nor do they have access to loans. Therefore, an innovative structural measure – called an "inclusive enabling framework" should be set in place to (1) support vulnerable citizens in gaining access to the required financing and to (2) provide RECs with additional financial and other resources to facilitate the inclusion of vulnerable groups. It is essential that the proposed framework includes concrete and realisable actions that are easily applicable and based on already implemented good practices.

The "inclusive enabling framework" (inspired by – Hanke and Lowitzsch 2020) could comprise:

- schemes of incentives and direct subsidies for vulnerable citizens or for investments in RECs that would more effectively include vulnerable members (subsidies for vulnerable citizens could be tied to membership in a REC; these subsidies could be capitalised and paid out as a lump sum to join an existing or implement a new REC).
- zero or low-interest loans to facilitate access to finance for vulnerable groups
- tax exemptions for RECs who have a considerable share (e.g. 10-15%) of disadvantaged members
- "REC asset creation for vulnerable members" (comprising financial support and assistance to low-income households) which should be independent and separate from different social remunerations
- educational services, information gathering, training designed to facilitate the participation of the most vulnerable
- REC citizen funds as a financial basis for old-age provision
- the possibility to receive a part of their annual social transfers in a lump sum on the condition that the money is invested in a local REC
- one-time financial REC coupon - incentive directly transfered to the REC for each vulnerable citizen who becomes a member.

There are several case studies that have proven that RECs can considerably help the most vulnerable part of society to take advantage of the (renewable) energy transition. For example, the REC case study in Getafe (Madrid, Spain) shows that the implementation of the REC with a shared self-consumption solar power system led to significant savings in the electricity bills for households experiencing energy poverty. Various tools such as gamification, information platforms, workshops, and citizen participation initiatives, empowered local deprived citizens and facilitated their active involvement in RECs (Parreño-Rodriguez et al. 2023). However, on the other hand Standal et al. (2023) in their study focussed on how REC enable energy transition in Latvia, Norway, Portugal and Spain, acknowledge that RECs alone are still limited in their ability to address "equal" distribution. They put forward that several dimensions such as adequate information to bring awareness and involvement, relevant support schemes and financial tools, and conducive regulations are issues that have to be solved through national policies. In the German REC case study, Bode (2022) identified that in order to establish "just procedures", it may be helpful that RECs join forces with local energy counselling services who possess the know-how to implement consumer-friendly energy practices such as climate bonuses, subsidies for energy efficient appliances, energy efficiency counselling, information material in different languages, instalment payments, etc. REC projects can rely on these insights from local intermediaries and develop further feedback mechanisms to increase the participation of vulnerable households (Bode 2022).

However, RECs cannot always count on intermediary public agencies. For example, the relatively recent UK government cuts reduced local public services and new community-led organisations have emerged in order to help the most vulnerable citizens. One such example is the UK based community-led "Energy Cafés." The UK Energy Cafés are usually short-term initiatives in a "pop-up shop" format held in various locations, e.g. town centre shops, churches, cafés, city farms, community centres or village greens. These initiatives provide various energy information and advice, and at the same time offer support and access to energy assistance for less advantaged citizens (Martiskainen et al.2018).

Another potentially interesting financing feature for the REC platform could also be transferred from the Spanish Sociedades Laborales (SLs) scheme where unemployed persons can capitalise their unemployment benefits as a lump sum to start a new REC or to buy shares (ownership) of existing RECs (Lowitzsch et al. 2017). These schemes support unemployed citizens who join or build up a REC not only with access to capital but also with mentoring and practical know-how.

6 Discussion

Naturally, a REC is not a one-size-fits-all solution that will solve the climate change problem in one day. There are several challenges that slow the adoption of RECs. The proliferation of decentralised energy sources has already increased the un-balanced grid congestion, which has become difficult to manage (Iazzolino et al. 2022; Xia-Bauer et al. 2022). Apart from the grid capacities and other technical issues there are also other challenges to REC implementation: e.g. inadequate (or non-existant) regulation for RECs; lack of equipment, knowledge and expertise, community participation, (un)just allocation of costs and benefits, etc. (Koirala et al. 2018). The present research is focused predominately on the availability issues and on suggesting mechanisms for inclusive and fair distribution of funding and for sustainable long-term benefit allocations through new REC systems. The Energy Union's regulatory framework should be re-adapted in order to facilitate and operationalise support for more inclusive citizen participation (Pons-Seres de Brauwer and Cohen 2020). A supportive legal and policy framework is fundamental for RECs to be successful (Hewitt et al. 2019). In addition, adequate regulation should offer basic protection for REC members (Heldeweg and Saintier 2020), which is especially relevant for those unseen vulnerable households living in marginalised "energy peripheries" (Lacey-Barnacle 2020). The "inclusive enabling framework" for RECs is a concrete option for policymakers in order to facilitate the inclusion of marginalised citizens and transform them into active co-owners, which will consistently improve their socio-economic situation.

The idea to release and take advantage of citizens' socio-economic potential should be seriously considered. For the mass participation of citizens, there is a need to raise the general awareness about REC benefits and availability, and to educate citizens about the bascis of RECs. Today, in order to initiate a REC it requires substantial analytical processing, information gathering and (expensive) legal and economic consultancy (Hanke and Lowitzsch 2020). Rather than just offering grants to an existing REC, it would be more advisable that potential (and existing) REC members also receive adequate training regarding technical installations, management (with legal and financial advice; guidelines concerning applications and permits) and governance (for facilitating decision making). The proposed "REC platform" should incorporate these features and offer a comprehensive learning program to all its existing and potential members, with a special focus on REC leaders. REC leaders are crucial and sometimes indispensable for seeking new funding resources, teaching new skills (forming REC members), engaging with all stakeholders and (in general) fostering REC development (Ghorbani et al. 2020; Martiskainen 2017).

From the perspective of the local context, Slovenia is in front of a very rare opportunity to release its socio-economic potential in order to create a wealthier, just and more sustainable society. Slovenian citizens currently have more than 24 billion euro in passive cash deposits in banks which daily lose their real value due to high inflation – 8.4 % (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia 2023). At the same time, Slovenians have the traditional know-how to build RES capacities and the policymakers and other decision-makers seem to be more aware of sustainability issues. There is a positive inclination to create a stable investing bridge between the enormous saving to be transferred into RES, but it is impossible to predict if it will really materialise. The "REC platform" together with the "inclusive enabling framework", could show a possible direction that would bring Slovenia and Slovenians through the energy transition in much better condition. In order to create a transversal wealth accumulation in Slovenian society, all citizens should own valuable and profitable assets. Not only the wealthy, but also the most vulnerable part of society should be included in the energy transition. It is time to analyse and perform a comprehensive check-up of Slovenia's capabilities and build several all-inclusive investing schemes which would address a vast majority of the population. The most important is to address the "unseen" and to finally create durable assets which could create a security-base for future generations.

7 Conclusion

The various forms of REC manifestation will probably maintain the role of incubators for ideas that could later be adopted (in the second phase) by the mainstream (Hewitt et al. 2019). However, we are now running out of time in front of irreversible climate change catastrophe, and we have to shorten the innovation transfer time - from niche incubators towards mainstream manifestation. New socio-economic innovations and evolutions of energy system models are needed in order to boost citizen participation in the energy transition (Nolden et al. 2020). To include a significant proportion of the population, we have to rethink why RECs are (in most cases) constructed mainly for the well-educated upper-middle class. RECs should not be an elite privilege. The participation and empowerment (especially through asset formation) of vulnerable citizens is crucial for the overall success of the energy transition, which depends on the involvement of all societal groups (Hanke and Lowitzsch 2020). Because we all have different preferences, live in different micro and macro environments, have different socio-economic backgrounds and financial capacities, and have different lifestyles, it follows that the strategies to address and convince citizens to join and/or invest in a REC should also be differentiated. The REC Platform, which proposes such segmentation through three different pillars (local, virtual and hybrid RECs), would represent an interactive meeting, learning and investing point – a "one-stop shop" for all the stakeholders involved. It would upgrade the existing counselling activities of the current one-stop shops, because it would also represent a real crowdfunding platform where potential members could invest in REC shares. A REC platform would connect the producers with the costumers, city population with the rural citizens, local and virtual members, investors with the most vulnerable part of society, which would be additionally supported and directed through the "inclusive enabling framework."

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ČLANEK

ARTICLE

Izvirni znanstveni članek

UDK 316.654:613.261(497.4)"2019"
DOI: 10.51936/dr.39.104.145-173

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VEGETARIJANSTVO IN VEGANSTVO TER NJUNA PERCEPCIJA MED SLOVENSKO POPULACIJO

IZVLEČEK

Članek predstavlja analizo rezultatov študije o vegetarijanstvu in veganstvu ter njuni splošni percepciji, opravljene na reprezentativnem vzorcu polnoletnih prebivalcev Slovenije. Po statistično podprti oceni pogostosti tovrstnih prehranskih izbir in motivov ter demografske strukture vegetarijancev in veganov se v osrednjem delu osredotoči na percepcijo in odnos splošne populacije do tovrstnih idej in praks. Ta odnos je prevladujoče skeptičen, argumenti za vegetarijanstvo in veganstvo splošne populacije ne prepričajo, do teh prehranskih praks je pretežno odklonilna. S podrobnejšo analizo izluščimo tri distinktivne skupine anketirancev: skoraj polovica je do vegetarijanstva in veganstva izrazito odklonilna, petina jim je rahlo naklonjena, tretjina pa je nekje vmes. Ključni dejavniki, ki skupine razlikujejo med seboj, so starost, izobrazba, socialni položaj anketirancev, njihovo zadovoljstvo z življenjem, odnos do politike in demokracije ter religije in duhovnosti.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: vegetarijanstvo, veganstvo, Slovenija, Slovensko javno mnenje

Vegetarianism, Veganism and Their Perception Among the Slovenian Population

ABSTRACT

The paper presents analysis of the results of a study on vegetarianism and veganism and how they are generally perceived that was conducted on a representative sample of the adult population of Slovenia. Following a statistically-informed assessment of the frequency of these nutrition choices and the motives and demographic structure of vegetarians and vegans, it addresses the perception of and *attitudes to such ideas and practices in the population as a whole. This attitude is largely sceptical; the arguments for vegetarianism and veganism do not convince the general population, and the associated practices are overwhelmingly rejected. Further analysis reveals three distinct groups: almost half the respondents hold strongly negative views concerning vegetarianism and veganism, one-fifth slightly favourable views, and one-third views that lie somewhere in between. The key factors that differentiate the groups are age, education, social status, satisfaction with life, attitudes towards politics and democracy, religion and spirituality.*

KEY WORDS: Vegetarianism, Veganism, Slovenia, Slovenian Public Opinion

1 Uvod

Zavestno zavračanje uživanja mesa je star pojav (Spencer 2002; Stuart 2008; Fox 1999; James 2020), ki ostaja aktualen tudi v sodobnih zahodnih družbah, tako kot prehranska izbira in z njo povezane prakse, kot tudi kot odraz specifičnih vrednot in etik (Maurer 2002; Iacobbo in Iacobbo 2006; Laisney 2014; Puskar-Pasewicz 2010; Hansen in Lykke 2021). Ob tem pa zbuja raznovrstne, pogosto odklonilne in celo sovražne odzive (Cole in Morgan 2011a in 2011b; Sneijder in te Molder 2009; MacInnis in Hodson 2017; Bohm in dr. 2016). Vegetarijanstvo in veganstvo sta vse pogosteje predmet poglobljenih raziskav (Ruby 2012), v zadnjem desetletju opazno raste tudi število empiričnih raziskav s tega področja, med katerimi se jih vse več posveča tudi družbenim in kulturnim vidikom pojava (Salehi in dr. 2023).

V članku predstavljamo rezultate kvantitativne raziskave vegetarijanstva in veganstva v Sloveniji. Pri tem se predvsem osredotočamo na percepcije in odzive splošne populacije, kar ostaja v mednarodnem prostoru kljub rastočemu znanstvenemu zanimanju izrazito podraziskana tema. Gre za nadaljevanje dolgotrajnejšega raziskovalnega dela, katerega predhodne rezultate smo objavili pred dobrim desetletjem (Črnič 2012a). Takrat smo na reprezentativnem vzorcu prebivalcev Ljubljane in Maribora skušali oceniti razširjenost vegetarijanstva in veganstva v pretežno urbanem okolju, predstaviti demografske značilnosti njunih nosilcev in glavne motive zanje, predvsem pa analizirati zaznavo in vrednotenje vegetarijanskih in veganskih idej in praks v celotni populaciji.[1]

1. Takratno študijo smo izvedli s krajšim blokom tematskih vprašanj v okviru raziskave Kultura in razred (Luthar in dr. 2011), ki je potekala med 1. decembrom 2010 in 15. februarjem 1011 na reprezentativnem vzorcu polnoletnih oseb s stalnim prebivališčem v dveh slovenskih največjih mestnih občinah (po 400 opravljenih anket v Ljubljani in v Mariboru, skupaj 800).

Splošni vtis, da število vegetarijancev in predvsem veganov raste, je zaradi odsotnosti longitudinalnih raziskav težko potrditi z znanstveno gotovostjo. Nedvomno pa se je razširila ponudba predvsem veganske hrane, opazna je rast števila specializiranih ekskluzivno veganskih ponudnikov hrane tako v splošni prodaji kot v restavracijah. Iz tujih medijev prihajajo vse številnejša poročila o intenzivnih znanstvenih prizadevanjih za proizvodnjo tržno dostopnih tehnoloških nadomestkov za živalsko meso. V svetovnem merilu je zaznaven premik pri nekaterih zvezdniških kuharjih – če je bilo še pred dobrim desetletjem tako rekoč samoumevno zavračanje vegetarijanskih in veganskih pristopov k visoki kuhinji, se danes nekaj njenih izpostavljenih nosilcev usmerja tudi ali celo izključno v vegansko hrano (Lamy in dr. 2022). Svetovna zdravstvena organizacija pa je leta 2015 izdala poročilo, v katerem 22 strokovnjakov iz desetih držav na osnovi metaanalize več kot 800 študij opozarja na povezave med prehranjevanjem z rdečim mesom in procesiranimi mesnimi izdelki ter rakom (WHO 2015).

V Sloveniji je tema v zadnjih letih postala tudi politično vprašanje. Najprej ga je jeseni 2017 neposredno v politični diskurz vnesla Levica (Mesec 2018). Marca 2020 je državni zbor po dokaj burni razpravi v stvarnopravni zakonik vnesel določilo o živalih kot čutečih bitjih (Gov.si 2020). Aktualna vlada Roberta Goloba pa je v začetku leta 2023 eksplicitno zagovarjala in predlagala zmanjšanje uživanja mesa – kar je opazno razburilo različne javnosti (predvsem kmete, pridelovalce in trgovce, pa tudi običajne potrošnike).

Tematika tako ne izgublja aktualnosti, ravno nasprotno. Zato smo že pred dobrim desetletjem predlagali uvrstitev bloka tematskih vprašanj v eno od mednarodnih raziskav na reprezentativnih nacionalnih vzorcih (Črnič 2012b). Prvi korak nam je po daljših prizadevanjih uspel leta 2019, ko smo takšen blok uvrstili v slovensko (takoj zatem pa še hrvaško) izvedbo raziskave ISSP.[2] Tukaj prvič predstavljamo analize slovenskih podatkov: uvodoma predstavimo ocene razširjenosti pojava ter značilnosti vegetarijancev in veganov, v osrednjem delu pa odnos do tovrstnih idej in praks v celotni populaciji.

2. Mednarodno raziskavo ISSP 2018 smo pri nas izvedli v okviru raziskave Slovensko javno mnenje (SJM 2019/1), v nacionalno reprezentativni vzorec je bilo vključenih 1079 respondentov, ki so bili v času anketiranja stari med 18 in 89 let (glej Hafner Fink in dr. 2021).

2 Vegetarijanci in vegani kot prehranska manjšina

Že hiter splošen pogled na Tabelo 1 pokaže, da tipična prehrana pri nas izrazito temelji na mesu. Skoraj štiri petine vprašanih uživa meso in mesne izdelke večkrat tedensko, skoraj četrtina celo vsak dan. Še pogostejše je uživanje mleka in mlečnih izdelkov, neprimerno redkejše pa je prehranjevanje z ribami. Strogo se mesu in mesnim izdelkom izogiba samo dobra 2 % respondentov (mleku in mlečnim izdelkom pa 5 %).

Tabela 1: Pogostost uživanja mesa, rib ter mleka in mlečnih izdelkov.

	Dnevno		večkrat tedensko		pogosto (1x–2x na teden)		občasno (manj kot 1x na teden)		samo izjemoma (1x–3x letno)		nikoli	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
meso in mesni izdelki	259	24,1	589	54,7	159	14,8	47	4,4	7	0,7	15	1,4
ribe	13	1,2	99	9,2	369	34,3	436	40,5	117	10,9	42	3,9
mleko in/ali mlečni izdelki	541	50,3	300	27,9	116	10,8	64	5,9	23	2,1	32	3,0

Kako pogosto uživate ... (Vir: SJM 2019/1).

Vprašanje o pogostosti uživanja mesa, rib ter mleka in mlečnih izdelkov v naši študiji uporabimo za kategorizacijo vegetarijancev, ki jih razdelimo v štiri kategorije:

1. vegani, ki ne uživajo niti mesa, niti rib, niti mlečnih izdelkov;
2. lakto vegetarijanci, ki poleg mesa ne uživajo rib, uživajo pa mleko in mlečne izdelke;
3. delni vegetarijanci, ki ne uživajo mesa (na vprašanje so odgovorili z »nikoli« ali »samo izjemoma«), občasno ali redno pa uživajo ribe ter mleko in mlečne izdelke;
4. fleksitarijanci,[3] ki uživajo tako meso kot ribe, vendar največ dvakrat tedensko.

Na ta način smo v študijo zajeli sedem veganov (0,6 % celotnega vzorca), 10 lakto vegetarijancev (0,9 %), pet delnih vegetarijancev (0,5 %) in 195 fleksitarijancev (18,1 %).[4]

3. Glej npr. Dagevos (2016).
4. To ni daleč od rezultatov naše predhodne raziskave, ko smo v vzorec zajeli tri vegane (0,4 % populacije), šest lakto-ovo vegetarijancev (0,8 %) in 13 delnih vegetarijancev (1,6 %), ki ne uživajo mesa, jedo pa ribe; kategorije fleksitarijancev takrat nismo merili

Uporabili smo tudi drugi način merjenja tega pojava – poleg merjenja pogostosti (ne)uživanja mesa in/ali mlečnih izdelkov lahko k temu pristopimo neposredno z vprašanjem o tem, ali se respondenti sami deklarirajo za vegetarijance ali vegane. Z merjenjem samo-percepcije smo dobili 20 (1,9 %) vegetarijancev in štiri (0,4 %) vegane.[5] Po pričakovanju gre za zelo nizke deleže, ki so si tudi podobni pri obeh načinih merjenja – zato nadaljnje analize opravimo na združeni kategoriji (n = 23) samodeklariranih vegetarijancev in veganov (v nadaljevanju vegetarijanci).

Pri tem je nujno opozoriti, da zaradi nizkega števila respondentov analize statistično niso dovolj zanesljive, zato so v prvem delu članka predstavljeni rezultati predvsem informativne in orientacijske narave; pri njihovem posploševanju velja biti zadržan.[6]

V naslednjem koraku smo merili razloge za neuživanje posameznih vrst živil. Osebne motive za tovrstno odrekanje smo merili ločeno za samodeklarirane vegetarijance in za fleksitarijance, ki se večinoma prehranjujejo z rastlinskimi živili, le občasno pa tudi z mesom in ribami.

Rezultati v Tabeli 2 nakazujejo, da je med fleksitarijanci najpogostejši razlog za neuživanje mesa povezan z zdravjem in okusom, mleku se odrekajo primarno iz zdravstvenih razlogov, ribam pa zaradi okusa. Drugi motivi za neuživanje mesa, rib in mlečnih izdelkov (ekonomski, ekološki, etični in religiozni/duhovni) so neprimerno redkejši. Motivi vegetarijancev pa so opazno drugačni: med njimi prevladuje etični – nepotrebno trpljenje in izkoriščanje živali je med vegetarijanci glavni razlog za neuživanje rib in mesa. Mogoče bi lahko bilo rahlo presenečenje razmeroma nizko navajanje ekološkega motiva med vegetarijanci, saj je predvsem med mladimi okoljska zavest zelo prisotna – del razloga za to

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(Črnič 2012a). Ker pa gre za različne vzorce, zelo nizke deleže in tudi nekoliko različna vprašanja (v študiji 2012 smo na vzorcih prebivalcev Ljubljane in Maribora postavili ločeno vprašanje o uživanju belega in rdečega mesa ter vprašanje o uživanju jajc), te podatke obravnavamo zgolj kot informativne in nam služijo le kot groba primerjava med študijama.

5. Pri čemer se eden od respondentov deklarira tako za vegetarijanca kot tudi za vegana.
6. Že v študiji izpred dobrega desetletja ugotavljamo, da bi »za bolj zanesljive sklepe o razširjenosti pojava in značilnostih vegetarijanske populacije veljalo uporabiti drugačne raziskovalne metode /.../, saj so v kvantitativnih raziskavah na reprezentativnih vzorcih deleži vegetarijancev preprosto premajhni« (Črnič 2012a: 131). Nekatere tuje raziskave (npr. Hagmann in dr. 2019; Pfeiler in Egloff 2018) sicer poskušajo s kvantitativnim pristopom, vendar so izpeljane na neprimerno večjih vzorcih (omenjeni raziskavi na 4213 in 5125 respondentih) od teh, ki jih uporablja SJM. Vseeno pa so v nadaljevanju predstavljeni rezultati pomembni in uporabni kot groba orientacija, saj drugih tovrstnih kazalcev nimamo.

bi lahko bila sama sestava vzorca, ki ne vključuje mlajših od 18 let. Ekonomskih razlogov, ki so opazno prisotni med fleksitarijanci, med vegetarijanci v naši študiji ne omenja nihče.

Tabela 2: Razlog za neuživanje posameznih živil.

	Fleksitarijanci						Vegetarijanci					
	meso		ribe		mleko		meso		ribe		mleko	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Ni mi všeč okus.	45	31,5	59	45,4	15	37,5	1	4,8	2	10,5	2	14,3
To škoduje mojemu zdravju.	37	25,9	6	4,6	19	47,5	7	33,3	2	10,5	6	42,9
Tako mi je svetoval zdravnik.	8	5,6	2	1,5	3	7,5	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	14,3
To je povezano s prevelikim izkoriščanjem naravnih virov, škodi okolju/naravi.	12	8,4	10	7,7	0	0,0	3	14,3	4	21,1	0	0,0
To je povezano z nepotrebnim trpljenjem oz. izkoriščanjem živali.	12	8,4	5	3,8	1	2,5	9	42,9	10	52,6	4	28,6
To mi prepoveduje moje religiozno prepričanje oz. je to slabo za mojo duhovnost.	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	4,8	1	5,3	0	0,0
To je zame predrago.	29	20,3	48	36,9	2	5,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0

Vir: SJM 2019/1.

Nekoliko drugačno sliko dobimo, ko analiziramo odzive na splošnejše trditve o vplivu (ne)uživanja mesa na zdravje (»Ljudje, ki ne uživajo mesa in mesnih izdelkov, so bolj zdravi«), okolje (»Za učinkovito varovanje okolja je nujno izogibanje hrani živalskega izvora«) in o njegovih etičnih dimenzijah (»Prehranjevanje z živalskim mesom se mi zdi etično sporno«): samoopredeljeni vegetarijanci izražajo enako visoko strinjanje s prvima dvema, samo rahlo nižje pa s tretjo trditvijo (glej Tabelo 4).

Tabela 3: Demografska struktura vegetarijancev in preostale populacije.

	Samodeklarirani vegetarijanci		Preostala populacija		Skupaj	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Spol						
moški	11	47,8	516	48,9	527	48,8
ženska	12	52,2	540	51,1	552	51,2
Starost						
do 30 let	7	30,4	162	15,3	169	15,7
31–45 let	5	21,7	241	22,8	246	22,8
46–60 let	7	30,4	255	24,1	262	24,3
61 let in več	4	17,4	398	37,7	402	37,3
Izobrazba						
osnovnošolska ali manj	2	8,7	178	16,9	180	16,7
nižja ali srednja poklicna izobrazba	3	13,0	229	21,7	232	21,5
srednja strokovna izobrazba	4	17,4	252	23,9	256	23,8
splošna srednja izobrazba	3	13,0	75	7,1	78	7,2
višja/visokošolska strokovna	4	17,4%	149	14,1	153	14,2
univerzitetna	6	26,1%	134	12,7	140	13,0
specializacija, magisterij, doktorat	1	4,3%	37	3,5	38	3,5
Tip naselja						
nekmečka naselja < 2000 oseb	11	47,8	317	30,0	328	30,4
kmečka naselja < 2000 oseb	0	0,0	301	28,5	301	27,9
naselja 2000–10.000 oseb	3	13,0	187	17,7	190	17,6
naselja > 10.000 oseb	3	13,0	105	9,9	108	10,0
Maribor	0	0,0	39	3,7	39	3,6
Ljubljana	6	26,1	107	10,1	113	10,5

Vir: SJM 2019/1.

V primerjavi s splošno populacijo (glej Tabelo 3) je med vegetarijanci le nekaj več žensk; glede na obstoječe raziskave (Ruby 2012; Salehi in dr. 2023; Pfeiler in Egloff 2018) bi mogoče pričakovali večjo razliko glede na spol. Večje razlike se (pričakovano) pokažejo v starostni strukturi: med vegetarijanci je pomembno višji delež mlajših od 30 let in nižji delež starejših od 61 let. V povprečju so anketirani vegetarijanci stari 45 let, medtem ko je povprečna starost v preostanku populacije 52 let. Prav tako so (tudi pričakovano) opazne razlike v izobrazbeni strukturi: delež višje izobraženih je v skupini vegetarijancev (48 %) občutno višji kot v preostali populaciji (31 %). Razlike so vidne tudi v tipu naselja: opazno višji delež vegetarijancev prihaja iz Ljubljane; na drugi strani v vzorec nismo zajeli nikogar, ki bi prihajal iz kmečkih naselij (v katerih živi več kot četrtina anketiranih nevegetarijancev).

Glede na samooceno finančnega in družbenega položaja ter višino razpoložljivega dohodka gospodinjstva se vegetarijanci pozicionirajo nekoliko višje od povprečja. Opazno bolje ocenjujejo svoje finančno stanje glede na okolico (6,32 v primerjavi s 5,78),[7] rahlo višje se samouvrščajo na družbeni lestvici (5,87 v primerjavi s 5,74)[8] in občutno višji je samoocenjeni povprečni dohodek njihovih gospodinjstev (2180 eur v primerjavi s 1854 eur). Na podlagi tega bi lahko sklepali, da večina vegetarijancev prihaja iz srednjega in višjega srednjega sloja (kar se ujema tudi z ugotovitvami naše predhodne raziskave (Črnič 2012a)).

3 Odnos do vegetarijanstva in veganstva

Zahodne družbe so na zavestno zavračanje živil živalskega izvora vedno gledale skeptično in neredko sovražno (Spencer 2002), prevladujoče negativen ostaja odnos javnosti tudi danes (MacInnis in Hodson 2017; Cole in Morgan 2011a; Sneijder in te Molder 2009; Bohm in dr. 2016, Minson in Benoît 2012). Vendar pa se rastoč korpus empiričnih raziskav o vegetarijanstvu in veganstvu (Salehi in dr. 2023) praktično ne posveča njuni percepciji v splošni javnosti. Zato smo to naredili mi.

Odnos slovenske populacije do vegetarijanstva in veganstva smo merili[9] s šestimi trditvami, ki so jih respondenti ocenjevali na petstopenjski lestvici (pri čemer je 1 pomenila »sploh se ne strinjam« in 5 »močno se strinjam«):

- Ljudje, ki ne uživajo mesa in mesnih izdelkov, so bolj zdravi. (Bolj zdravi)
- Za učinkovito varovanje okolja je nujno izogibanje hrani živalskega izvora. (Varovanje okolja)
- Prehranjevanje z živalskim mesom se mi zdi etično sporno. (Etično sporno)
- Uživanje kakršnih koli mesnih izdelkov se mi preprosto upira. (Meso se mi upira)
- Ljudje, ki ne uživajo niti mesa, niti rib, niti mleka in mlečnih izdelkov ter zavračajo uporabo izdelkov živalskega izvora, so čisto preveč radikalni. (Preveč radikalni)

7. Na lestvici od 0 do 10.
8. Na lestvici od 1 do 10.
9. Nadaljnje analize smo opravili na celotnem reprezentativnem vzorcu, zato lahko rezultate z večjo zanesljivostjo od tistih, ki smo jih predstavili v prvem delu, posplošimo na slovensko populacijo.

- Starše, ki mladoletnim otrokom ne omogočajo uživanja niti mesnih, niti ribjih, niti mlečnih živil, bi morale obravnavati socialne službe, otroke pa zaščititi. (Zaščita otrok)

S prvimi tremi trditvami merimo odnos do najbolj pogostih argumentov oz. prevladujočih motivov vegetarijancev in veganov, tj. zdravstveni, okoljski in etični. S četrto trditvijo merimo razširjenost celovitega zavračanja mesa za prehranjevanje. Z zadnjima trditvama pa merimo, kako radikalna se splošni populaciji zdi odločitev za veganstvo, še posebej za veganstvo mladoletnih otrok.

Tabela 4: Odnos do vegetarijanstva glede na demografsko strukturo.

		Bolj zdravi	Varovanje okolja	Etično sporno	Meso se mi upira	Preveč radikalni	Zaščita otrok
	n	Povpr.	Povpr	Povpr	Povpr	Povpr	Povpr
moški	527	2,22	2,15	1,96	1,61	3,88	3,75
ženska	552	2,32	2,15	2,02	1,71	3,71	3,58
do 30 let	133	2,38	2,27	1,98	1,71	3,47	3,47
31–45 let	236	2,24	2,09	1,99	1,65	3,58	3,44
46–60 let	248	2,29	2,14	2,03	1,7	3,71	3,56
61 let in več	462	2,25	2,15	1,97	1,64	4,05	3,88
OŠ ali manj	180	2,21	1,98	1,78	1,58	3,93	3,85
nižja ali srednja poklicna	232	2,15	2,05	1,92	1,66	4	3,87
srednješolska	334	2,34	2,15	2,04	1,67	3,71	3,55
višja/visokošolska strokovna	153	2,38	2,19	2,01	1,68	3,74	3,53
univerzitetna	140	2,33	2,42	2,22	1,71	3,56	3,47
specializacija, magisterij, doktorat	38	2,05	2,34	2	1,82	3,89	3,65
nekmečka naselja < 2000 oseb	328	2,24	2,14	1,99	1,66	3,76	3,65
kmečka naselja < 2000 oseb	301	2,21	1,98	1,86	1,55	3,92	3,83
naselja 2000–10.000 oseb	190	2,31	2,26	2,02	1,76	3,75	3,56
naselja > 10.000 oseb	108	2,33	2,11	1,98	1,65	3,61	3,6
Maribor	39	2,32	2,33	2,26	1,62	4,05	3,54
Ljubljana	113	2,38	2,4	2,2	1,82	3,75	3,52
nevegetarijanec	1052	2,24	2,11	1,95	1,62	3,82	3,68
vegetarijanec	23	3,87	3,87	3,78	3,78	2,61	2,83

Vir: SJM 2019/1.

V Tabeli 4 vidimo, da običajni argumenti za vegetarijanstvo in/ali veganstvo splošne populacije nikakor ne prepričajo – celo strinjanje z zdravstveno argumentacijo, ki v splošni javnosti deluje še najbolj prepričljivo, še zdaleč ne dosega srednje vrednosti (3). Najmanj se respondenti strinjajo z etično argumentacijo, pri okoljski pa so opazna izjema le univerzitetno (in višje od tega) izobraženi, katerim se ta zdi najbolj prepričljiva. Z zdravstvenimi in etičnimi dobrobitmi odrekanja prehranjevanju z mesom se v nekoliko večji meri strinjajo ženske, pri vplivu na okolje pa so njihova stališča poravnana z moškimi. Zdravstveni in okoljski argumenti so najbliže mlajšim od 30 let, odnos do etičnega motiva pa je veliko bolj enakomerno porazdeljen med generacijami; še najbolj se z njim strinja srednja (60–46 let). Zdravstveni argumenti najmanj prepričajo tiste z najvišjo izobrazbo (specializacija, magisterij, doktorat), okoljski in etični pa skoraj premo sorazmerno naraščata do univerzitetne izobrazbe, pri najbolj izobraženih pa rahlo upadeta (a sta še zmeraj višja kot pri nižje izobraženih). Najmanj se z vsemi tremi trditvami strinjajo respondenti iz kmečkih okolij, najbolj prepričljivi so okoljski in etični argumenti za prebivalce Ljubljane in Maribora, medtem ko so glede prepričljivosti zdravstvene argumentacije razlike med respondenti glede na kraj bivanja zelo majhne.

V naslednjem koraku smo merili percepcijo veganstva v celotni populaciji, najprej vrednotenje osebne odločitve za veganstvo, potem pa še odločitve staršev za veganstvo njihovih mladoletnih otrok – prvo v obliki blažje, drugo pa v obliki bolj zaostrene izjave. Že hiter pogled na zadnja dva stolpca Tabele 4 pokaže, da se respondentom odločitev za veganstvo zdi zelo radikalna – v vseh kategorijah, razen med samoopredeljenimi vegetarijanci, pri obeh izjavah strinjanje z do veganstva odklonilno izjavo občutno presega srednjo vrednost (3). Po pričakovanju je respondentom bližje prva, manj zaostrena trditev (izjema so mlajši od 30 let, ki se z obema izjavama (ne) strinjajo v enaki meri). Na splošno so mladi manj kritični do veganstva, s starostjo kritičnost praviloma narašča. Ženske so do veganstva nekoliko manj odklonilne, vendar razlike od moških niso velike. Odločitev za veganstvo se zdi najbolj radikalna respondentom z najnižjo izobrazbo (srednja poklicna ali manj). Najmanj se z obema izjavama strinjajo univerzitetno izobraženi, a med najbolj izobraženimi je podpora izjavama spet višja.[10] Razlike glede na kraj bivanja so manjše: veganstvo se zdi najbolj radikalno respondentom iz Maribora[11] (še bolj kot tistim iz kmečkih okolij), bi pa pred njim v manjši meri sistemsko ščitili otroke (za odtenek manj od njih bi to počeli le še prebivalci Ljubljane).

10. Je pa delež najvišje izobraženih v celotni populaciji zelo nizek, kar lahko vpliva tudi na manjšo statistično zanesljivost teh rezultatov.
11. Kar se ujema z našimi ugotovitvami iz predhodne raziskave (Črnič 2012a).

3.1 Natančnejša kategorizacija odnosov do vegetarijanstva in veganstva

Obravnavani sklop trditev uporabimo za nadaljnje analize, kjer smo v prvem delu uporabili razvrščanje v skupine – gre za metodo, po kateri respondente razvrstimo tako, da so si znotraj skupin čim bolj podobni, skupine pa se med seboj čim bolj razlikujejo. Razvrščanje smo izvedli v dveh korakih – v prvem koraku smo uporabili hierarhično razvrščanje z Wardovo metodo in kvadratom evklidske razdalje, s tem dobili grafično predstavitev (glej Prilogo 1). Dendrogram omogoča vpogled v hierarhično strukturo in pomaga pri določanju smiselnega števila skupin. Kjer je »skok« pri združevanju največji, drevo prerežemo in iz dendrograma odčitamo dobljene skupine (Košmelj in Breskvar Žaucer 2006), na ta način smo razbrali število skupin (3). V naslednjem koraku smo uporabili metodo voditeljev (K-means), s katero smo optimizirali razvrstitev, dobljeno s hierarhičnim združevanjem v skupine. Pri tem smo uporabili le popolne vzorce – respondente, ki so podali odgovore za vse trditve, ki jih uporabimo za razvrščanje v skupine (listwise deletion). Tabela 5 prikazuje povprečne vrednosti strinjanja s trditvami, ki smo jih uporabili za razvrščanje v skupine.

Tabela 5: Odnos do vegetarijanstva in veganstva z razvrščanjem v skupine.

	skupina 1 (n = 463)	**skupina 2** (n = 196)	**skupina 3** (n = 319)	**skupaj** (n = 978)
	Povpr.	Povpr.	Povpr.	Povpr.
Ljudje, ki ne uživajo mesa in mesnih izdelkov, so bolj zdravi.	1,91	3,2	2,21	2,27
Za učinkovito varovanje okolja je nujno izogibanje hrani živalskega izvora.	1,81	3,4	1,9	1,98
Prehranjevanje z živalskim mesom se mi zdi etično sporno.	1,66	3,05	1,8	2,15
Uživanje kakršnihkoli mesnih izdelkov se mi preprosto upira.	1,39	2,41	1,58	1,66
Ljudje, ki ne uživajo niti mesa, niti rib, niti mleka in mlečnih izdelkov ter zavračajo uporabo izdelkov živalskega izvora, so čisto preveč radikalni.	4,47	3,2	3,19	3,8
Starše, ki mladoletnim otrokom ne omogočajo uživanja niti mesnih, niti ribjih, niti mlečnih živil, bi morale obravnavati socialne službe, otroke pa zaščititi.	4,41	3,46	2,73	3,67

Vir: SJM 2019/1.

Prva skupina je največja, vključuje skoraj polovico respondentov. V njej so zajeti tisti, ki izražajo najbolj odklonilen odnos do vegetarijanstva in veganstva. V primerjavi z drugima dvema skupinama jih najmanj prepričajo argumenti za odpoved uživanju mesa, v daleč največji meri ocenjujejo veganstvo kot radikalno, zato bi v daleč največji meri pred njim zaščitili otroke (Tabela 5). Za to skupino lahko rečemo, da so do vegetarijanstva in veganstva izrazito **odklonilni**.

V **drugi skupini** so respondenti, ki se zdijo rahlo naklonjeni vegetarijanstvu. V povprečju blago pritrjujejo trem glavnim argumentom, najbolj okoljskemu, pa tudi zdravstvenemu in etičnemu. Bolj kot drugim se jim upira uživanje mesnih izdelkov, čeprav tudi to povprečje ne dosega srednje vrednosti. Kljub temu pa se jim v povprečju zdi odločitev za veganstvo zmerno radikalna. To skupino, v katero smo zajeli petino respondentov, v nadaljevanju glede na splošno izrazito odklonilno sliko imenujemo **naklonjeni.**

Tretja skupina je bolj mešana. Vanjo smo zajeli tretjino respondentov, ki jih argumenti za odklanjanje mesa v splošnem ne prepričajo: glede vpliva uživanja živil živalskega izvora na zdravje, ekologijo in etiko so razmeroma blizu prvi, do vegetarijanstva izrazito odklonilni skupini. Hkrati pa se jim veganstvo ne zdi pretirano radikalno; glede tega so praktično izenačeni s skupino naklonjenih, do veganstva otrok pa so celo občutno najmanj kritični. Gre skratka za ljudi, ki jih argumenti za vegetarijanstvo in veganstvo ne prepričajo, hkrati pa se jim ti praksi zdita manj radikalni, nekako ju sprejemajo. Tako bi lahko rekli, da gre za skupino bolj zmernih, v vrednostnem smislu manj opredeljenih respondentov, ki jo bomo v nadaljevanju imenovali **strpni**.

Glede na demografsko strukturo ugotavljamo (Tabela 6), da je v skupini izrazito **odklonilnih** višji delež moških kot žensk. Večinoma gre za starejšo populacijo, saj je med njimi kar štiri desetine starejših od 61 let. Za to skupino je v primerjavi s preostalima značilna nižja izobrazba: v njej je najvišji delež respondentov, ki ne dosegajo srednješolske izobrazbe (43 %) in najnižji tistih z višjo od srednješolske (30 %). Višji kot v preostalih dveh skupinah je delež respondentov, ki prihajajo iz kmečkih naselij (tretjina).

V skupini rahlo **naklonjenih** je razmerje med moškimi in ženskami bolj podobno celotni populaciji. V njej je v primerjavi z drugima dvema skupinama višji delež mlajših od 30 let in višji delež bolj izobraženih (39 % z vsaj višjo oz. visokošolsko strokovno izobrazbo). V primerjavi z drugima dvema skupinama je med naklonjenimi najmanj respondentov iz kmečkih naselij in največ iz Ljubljane.

Tabela 6: Demografska struktura skupin.

	odklonilni (n = 463)		naklonjeni (n = 196)		strpni (n = 319)		skupaj *(n = 978)*	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Spol								
moški	250	54,0	94	48,0	142	44,5	486	49,7
ženska	213	46,0	102	52,0	177	55,5	492	50,3
Starost								
do 30 let	64	13,8	38	19,4	60	18,8	162	16,6
31–45 let	84	18,1	44	22,4	97	30,4	225	23,0
46–60 let	112	24,2%	44	22,4	76	23,8	232	23,7
61 let in več	203	43,8%	70	35,7	86	27,0	359	36,7
Izobrazba								
osnovnošolska ali manj	90	19,5	23	11,7	41	12,9	154	15,8
nižja ali srednja poklicna	109	23,6	26	13,3	64	20,1	199	20,4
srednja strokovna izobrazba	103	22,3	48	24,5	83	26,0	234	24,0
splošna srednja izobrazba	23	5,0	22	11,2	27	8,5	72	7,4
višja/visokošolska strokovna	64	13,9	36	18,4	50	15,7	150	15,4
univerzitetna	53	11,5	34	17,3	44	13,8	131	13,4
specializacija, magisterij, doktorat	20	4,3	7	3,6	10	3,1	37	3,8
Tip naselja								
nekmečka naselja < 2000 oseb	135	29,2	58	29,6	102	32,0	295	30,2
kmečka naselja < 2000 oseb	154	33,3	36	18,4	85	26,6	275	28,1
naselja 2000–10.000 oseb	64	13,8	45	23,0	59	18,5	168	17,2
naselja > 10.000 oseb	41	8,9	19	9,7	37	11,6	97	9,9
Maribor	19	4,1	7	3,6	12	3,8	38	3,9
Ljubljana	50	10,8	31	15,8	24	7,5	105	10,7
nevegetarijanec	463	100,0	176	89,8	316	99,1	955	97,6
vegetarijanec	0	0,0	20	10,2	3	0,9	23	2,4

Vir: SJM 2019/1.

V skupini **strpnih** bolj očitno prevladujejo ženske. V njej je v primerjavi z drugima dvema skupinama več respondentov srednjih let (več kot polovica jih je starih med 31 in 60 let) in najmanj starejših od 60 let. Tako glede izobrazbe kot tipa bivanja se skupina strpnih uvršča nekje vmes med preostali dve skupini.

Tri oblikovane skupine v nadaljevanju še podrobneje analiziramo glede na razredno strukturo, odnos do lastnega življenja, družbe, politike, religije in duhovnosti. Pri tem primerjalno izhajamo tudi iz izsledkov naše predhodne raziskave, v kateri smo ugotovili, da je 1) v Ljubljani in Mariboru glede na samoopredelitev pripadnosti družbenemu sloju največ nasprotovanja vegetarijanstvu in veganstvu med nižjim, delavskim slojem, največ podpornikov pa prihaja iz višjega srednjega in višjega sloja, 2) največ naklonjenih prihaja iz politično liberalne skupine, medtem ko se največ nasprotnikov politično opredeljuje za konservativce, in 3) da je med izrazitimi nasprotniki vegetarijanstva in veganstva manj srečnih ter da so v primerjavi s celotnim vzorcem tudi nekoliko manj zadovoljni z gmotnimi razmerami, v katerih živijo (Črnič 2012a: 126–128).

Za preverjanje morebitnih povezav izvedemo več bivariatnih analiz (primerjava povprečnih vrednosti spremenljivk glede na skupino in frekvenčne porazdelitve odgovorov glede na skupino) in testov, s katerimi merimo povezanost med pripadnostjo skupini in drugimi spremenljivkami. Na ta način predstavimo tri skupine glede na njihov družbeni položaj in odnos do življenja, politike in družbe ter religije. Podrobnejše statistične analize z izračunom statistično značilnih razlik (analiza variance, hi-kvadrat) med skupinami predstavljamo za izbrane spremenljivke, pri čemer je treba omeniti, da se tudi tam, kjer se statistično značilne razlike ne potrdijo, kažejo nekatere razlike med skupinami, ki jih jasno ločijo med seboj.

3.1.1 Odnos do vegetarijanstva in veganstva glede na družbeni položaj in odnos do življenja

Glede na spremenljivke, ki merijo družbeni položaj in odnos do življenja, izmerimo med skupinami nekatere statistično značilne razlike. Za to in nadaljnje analize, s katerimi primerjamo odgovore respondentov glede na skupino, ki ji pripadajo, smo uporabili enosmerno analizo variance (one-way ANOVA). Ugotavljamo, da so med tremi skupinami statistično značilne razlike glede na družinski dohodek ($F = 5{,}144$, $df = 2$, $sig < 0{,}05$), gmotne razmere ($F = 3{,}747$, $df = 2$, $sig < 0{,}05$) in zaupanje do drugih ($F = 6{,}944$, $df = 2$, $sig < 0{,}05$).

Skupina odklonilnih ima v povprečju daleč najnižji mesečni družinski dohodek,[12] nižje od preostalih dveh skupin ocenjuje svoje materialne razmere, na družbeni lestvici pa se samouvršča nižje (Tabela 7). Strpni in naklonjeni imajo sicer zelo podoben mesečni dohodek, se na družbeni lestvici samoumeščajo skoraj enako, vendar pa naklonjeni višje ocenjujejo tako svoje gmotne razmere kot svoj finančni položaj glede na druge ljudi v okolici.

12. Drugače smo ugotovili v predhodni raziskavi pred dobrim desetletjem, v kateri »podrobnejša analiza tako rednih mesečnih prihodkov kot lastništva in tipa prebivališča ne odkrije pomembnih povezav glede odnosa do vegetarijanstva in veganstva« (Črnič 2012a: 128).

Tabela 7: Družbeni položaj in odnos do življenja.[13]

	odklonilni (n = 463)	**naklonjeni** (n = 196)	**strpni** (n = 319)	**skupaj** (n = 978)
Kako ocenjujete materialne razmere, v katerih živite vi in vaša družina?	7	7,37	7,22	7,12
Če se primerjate z ljudmi v vaši okolici, ali sodite, da vam gre v finančnem pogledu boljše kot njim, enako ali slabše?	5,79	6,14	5,77	5,80
Kolikšen je povprečni mesečni dohodek vseh članov vašega gospodinjstva?	1741 eur	2046 eur	2041 eur	1901 eur
V naši družbi so skupine ljudi, ki so blizu vrha, in skupine, ki so bolj na dnu. Kam bi vi uvrstili samega sebe na tej lestvici?	5,68	5,83	5,84	5,75
Kako zadovoljni ste sedaj s svojim življenjem?	7,43	7,66	7,59	7,51
Kako srečni ste?	7,55	7,61	7,77	7,63
Če govorimo na splošno, ali bi rekli, da večini ljudi lahko zaupamo, ali menite, da je treba biti z ljudmi zelo previden?	4,35	5,15	4,52	4,54
Ali ste pesimist ali ste optimist?	6,82	7,1	7,03	6,96
Samoocena zdravja	3,04	3,3	3,36	2,82

Vir: SJM 2019/1.

O razredni strukturi pričajo tudi poklicni položaji respondentov. V skupini naklonjenih zasedajo največ vodilnih in vodstvenih ter najmanj izvršilnih delavskih položajev, v skupini odklonilnih pa je ravno nasprotno (skupina strpnih je glede tega bliže odklonilnim). Med naklonjenimi je 45 % takih, ki zasedajo vodilno ali vodstveno mesto oziroma neposredno vodijo nadzor izvršilnih delavcev, med odklonilnimi pa je ta delež občutno nižji – 35 %. V skupini odklonilnih je najnižji delež zaposlenih (46 %), najmanj dijakov in študentov (5 %) ter največ upokojencev (42 %). Najvišji delež zaposlenih je v skupini strpnih (61 %), v njej je najmanj upokojencev (le 24 %). Najvišji delež dijakov in študentov (11 %) je v skupini naklonjenih, polovica v tej skupini je zaposlenih, slaba tretjina pa je upokojencev.

V Tabeli 7 vidimo tudi, da je skupina, ki ima do vegetarijanstva in veganstva izrazito odklonilen odnos, v povprečju najmanj zadovoljna s svojim življenjem, najmanj srečna in tudi manj optimistična kot drugi dve skupini. Najvišje svoje zadovoljstvo z življenjem ocenjujejo naklonjeni, ki so tudi najbolj optimistični. Svojo srečo pa najvišje ocenjujejo strpni.[14] Skupina naklonjenih izraža tudi

13. Ocene respondentov, predstavljene v tabeli, so podane na lestvici 0–10; izjema sta samooceni družbenega položaja (1–10) in zdravja (1–5).
14. Pri nobeni od teh postavk razlika med skupinami ni statistično značilna.

največjo mero zaupanja do drugih – na lestvici od 0 do 10, kjer 0 pomeni, da je treba biti z ljudmi zelo previden, in 10, da lahko ljudem popolnoma zaupaš, so podali povprečno oceno 5,15.

Svoje zdravje najslabše ocenjuje skupina odklonilnih. Anketiranci iz te skupine se tudi najmanj gibajo: 31,5 % se jih s športom oziroma rekreacijo ukvarja le nekajkrat letno ali pa sploh ne, medtem ko je v skupini naklonjenih takih le 22 % (v skupini strpnih pa 27,5 %). Najbolj fizično aktivni so v skupini naklonjenih: kar polovica se jih – glede na njihove izjave – rekreira najmanj dvakrat tedensko; sledijo strpni (43 %) in odklonilni (40 %).

3.1.2 Odnos do vegetarijanstva in veganstva v luči političnih in družbenih orientacij

Kar se tiče odnosa do politike in družbe, glede na predhodno raziskavo in nekatere tuje ugotovitve (Salehi in dr. 2023; MacInnis in Hodson 2017; Chin in dr. 2002) domnevamo, da so do vegetarijanstva in veganstva v povprečju izrazito kritični bolj konservativni in avtoritarni od naklonjenih.

Po analizi naših treh skupin ugotavljamo, da politika najmanj zanima strpne (več kot 70 % jih politika le malo ali sploh nič ne zanima, medtem ko je v drugih dveh skupinah takih okoli 60 %), ti so posledično tudi najmanj politično aktivni – zadnjih parlamentarnih volitev[15] se jih je udeležilo dobri dve tretjini; najbolj volilno aktivni so v skupini odklonilnih, v kateri jih je volilo tri četrtine, med naklonjenimi pa samo nekaj manj – 73 %).

Glede na politično samoumeščanje na osi levica (0) – desnica (10) se vsi umeščajo bolj proti sredini. Pričakovano se najbolj proti levi umeščajo respondenti skupine naklonjenih (4,44), sledita jim skupini strpnih (4,63) in odklonilnih (4,98).

Skupina odklonilnih izkazuje najvišjo stopnjo avtoritarnosti: kar 60,4 % jih daje prednost močnemu voditelju pred demokracijo, med strpnimi je takih 54 % in med naklonjenimi 51,9 %.[16] V tej skupini se daleč najbolj (50,3 %), v skupini naklonjenih pa najmanj (29,3 %) bojijo grožnje beguncev našemu načinu življenja (med strpnimi jih ta strah izraža 36,4 %); hi-kvadrat pa pokaže, da je med tremi skupinami razlika statistično značilna ($\chi2 = 33.533$, df = 2, sig < 0,05).

Javno spodbujanje sovraštva zoper določene skupine ali njihove pripadnike najbolj moti skupino naklonjenih (91 % jih to moti oziroma zelo moti), najmanj pa skupino strpnih (74 %).

15. Gre za zadnje volitve pred izvedbo ankete, ki so bile leta 2018.
16. Podobno pozitivno korelacijo družbeno avtoritarnih stališč z negativnim odnosom do vegetarijanstva pokaže tudi raziskava med ameriškimi študenti psihologije (Chin in dr. 2002).

V naslednjem koraku smo skušali oceniti položaj treh skupin na osi konservativno – liberalno. To smo storili s primerjavo njihovega odnosa do nekaterih družbenih vprašanj (Tabela 8). Razlike med skupinami so statistično značilne pri odnosu do homoseksualnosti (χ^2 = 32.578, df = 6, sig < 0,05), porok med istospolnimi (χ^2 = 38.525, df = 2, sig < 0,05) in odnosu do varanja znotraj zakonske zveze (χ^2 = 16.453, df = 2, sig < 0,05). Naši rezultati potrjujejo, da je najbolj liberalna skupina naklonjenih, ki je najbolj tolerantna do homoseksualnosti. Ta skupina tudi najbolj podpira istospolne poroke in najmanj nasprotuje varanju znotraj zakonske zveze, rahlo bolj podpira evtanazijo in daleč najbolj nasprotuje smrtni kazni. Na drugi strani je pričakovano najbolj konservativna skupina odklonilnih, ki daleč najbolj nasprotuje homoseksualnosti in istospolnim porokam, najbolj pa podpira tudi tradicionalne/konservativne delitve vlog med spoloma (četrtina jih soglaša, da je naloga moža v zakonu služiti denar, naloga žene pa skrbeti za dom in družino); najmanj to podpira skupina strpnih (15 %). V odnosu do splava med skupinami ni pomembnih razlik.

Tabela 8: Odnos do homoseksualnosti, zvestobe v zakonu, evtanazije in splava.

		odklonilni (n = 463)		**naklonjeni** (n = 196)		**strpni** (n = 319)		**skupaj** (n = 978)	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Kakšno je vaše mnenje o spolnih odnosih med dvema odraslima osebama istega spola?	to je vedno narobe	171	40,7	38	21,8	88	30,7	297	33,7
	to je skoraj vedno narobe	47	11,2	13	7,5	19	6,6	79	9,0
	to je samo včasih narobe	26	6,2	20	11,5	26	9,1	72	8,2
	to sploh ni narobe	176	41,9	103	59,2	154	53,7	433	49,1
Ali je sprejemljivo ... poroke istospolnih partnerjev	sprejemljivo	239	53,7	139	77,2	206	70,1	584	63,5
	ni sprejemljivo	206	46,3	41	22,8	88	29,9	335	36,5
Ali menite, da je narobe ali ni narobe, če ima poročena oseba spolne odnose z nekom drugim, in ne s svojim zakonskim partnerjem?	to je vedno narobe	305	68,5	104	56,8	213	70,8	622	67,0
	to je skoraj vedno narobe	84	18,9	45	24,6	55	18,3	184	19,8
	to je samo včasih narobe	40	9,0	20	10,9	27	9,0	87	9,4
	to sploh ni narobe	16	3,6	14	7,7	6	2,0	36	3,9
Ali je sprejemljivo ... evtanazija	sprejemljivo	321	75,5	144	83,7	212	78,2	677	78,0
	ni sprejemljivo	104	24,5	28	16,3	59	21,8	191	22,0
Ali je sprejemljivo ... prekinitev nosečnosti (splav)	sprejemljivo	333	75,9	143	76,1	220	77,2	696	76,3
	ni sprejemljivo	106	24,1	45	23,9	65	22,8	216	23,7

Vir: SJM 2019/1.

3.1.3 Odnos do vegetarijanstva in veganstva glede na religioznost in alternativne duhovne prakse

Na koncu preverimo še, kako se tri skupine razlikujejo glede odnosa do religije in alternativnih duhovnih praks. Tukaj glede na našo predhodno raziskavo (Črnič 2012a) pričakujemo, da bo med izrazitimi nasprotniki vegetarijanstva več tradicionalno religioznih, med naklonjenimi pa več zanimanja za alternativne duhovne prakse.

Naši podatki o samoizraženi religijski pripadnosti to potrjujejo: opazno najnižji delež katoličanov izmerimo v skupini naklonjenih (51 % v primerjavi z 62 % v skupini odklonilnih in 60 % v skupini strpnih); v njej je malo višji delež tistih, ki ne pripadajo nobeni religiji – 39 % (31 % v skupini odklonilnih in 34 % v skupini strpnih), in muslimanov – 6 % v primerjavi z 2 % v skupini odklonilnih in 3 % v skupini strpnih. Med naklonjenimi je tudi najnižji delež samoocenjenih verujočih (58,3 %) in najvišji delež neverujočih (30,5 %). Najvišji delež verujočih (66,3 %) je v skupini strpnih, v kateri je tudi najnižji delež neverujočih (22,2 %).[17]

Ko sliko dopolnimo s podatki o verovanju v boga in nekatere druge temeljne doktrinarne postavke, ugotovimo, da v boga najmanj verujejo naklonjeni, strpni pa rahlo bolj od odklonilnih (Tabela 9). Razlike se bolj očitno pokažejo pri verovanju v dodatno izbrane doktrinarne postavke, kjer test hi-kvadrat pokaže, da so razlike med tremi skupinami statistično značilne: v skupini strpnih v največji meri verjamejo tako v življenje po smrti (mogoče presenetljivo najmanj v skupini odklonilnih) ($\chi^2 = 13.757$, df = 6, sig < 0,05) kot v nebesa ($\chi^2 = 17.511$, df = 6, sig < 0,05) in tudi pekel ($\chi^2 = 16.368$, df = 6, sig < 0,05) (oboje najmanj v skupini naklonjenih).

Ker je naša študija potekala v sklopu širše mednarodne raziskave o religioznosti (ISSP), smo imeli to tematiko priložnost še dodatno bolj poglobljeno meriti s standardnim vprašanjem, ki skuša razkriti različne tipe religioznosti – poleg trdno religioznih in prepričano nereligioznih cilja še na dve v sodobnem svetu precej razširjeni kategoriji: najprej primarno kulturno ali kako drugače »zunanje« motivirano religioznost brez globljega osebnega zanimanja za duhovnost (kar se v veliki meri pokriva s kategorijo, ki jo britanska sociologinja Grace Davie (2005) imenuje »pripadanje brez verovanja«), poleg tega pa še primarno duhovni, ne pa religiozni tip verovanja (»verovanje brez pripadanja«).

17. Ne pa v skupini radikalno odklonilnih, kot bi nemara pričakovali.

Tabela 9: Verovanje v boga, življenje po smrti, nebesa in pekel.

	odklonilni (n = 463)		naklonjeni (n = 196)		strpni (n = 319)		skupaj (n = 978)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Ne verujem v boga.	96	20,9	32	16,3	53	17,0	181	18,7
Ne vem, če je bog in ne verjamem, da je to možno spoznati.	30	6,5	19	9,7	20	6,4	69	7,1
Ne verujem v boga kot osebno nadnaravno bitje, verujem pa v to, da obstaja neka višja nadnaravna sila.	126	27,5	66	33,7	91	29,2	283	29,3
Včasih verujem v boga, včasih pa ne.	43	9,4	19	9,7	32	10,3	94	9,7
Čeprav sem v dvomih, menim, da vendarle verujem v boga.	71	15,5	23	11,7	49	15,7	143	14,8
Vem, da bog zares obstaja, in v to prav nič ne dvomim.	93	20,3	37	18,9	67	21,5	197	20,4
Verovanje v:								
… življenje po smrti	175	41,4	86	48,6	152	51,9	413	46,2
… nebesa	157	36,9	58	32,8	122	41,6	337	37,7
… pekel	138	32,9	50	28,6	103	35,6	291	32,9

Vir: SJM 2019/1.

Naše analize pokažejo, da je delež celovito religioznih (ki po lastnih izjavah sledijo veri in se zanimajo za duhovnost) v vseh treh skupinah podobno nizek (med 17 % in 18 %). V skupini naklonjenih je izrazito najvišji delež duhovnih, a nereligioznih respondentov (ne sledijo veri, vendar sebe razumejo kot duhovne osebe, ki se zanimajo za sveto ali nadnaravno) – 39,3 %; najmanj je takih v skupini odklonilnih – 21,1 % (med strpnimi 25,6 %). Hkrati je med naklonjenimi daleč najnižji delež kulturno religioznih brez verovanja (sledijo veri, vendar se ne razumejo kot duhovne osebe) – 16,9 % (28,5 % med odklonilnimi in 29,2 % med strpnimi). Najvišji delež celovito nereligioznih (ne sledijo veri in se ne zanimajo za duhovnost) je v skupini odklonilnih – 33, 4%; najnižji je med naklonjenimi (25,8 %), strpni pa so nekje vmes (27,6 %).

V skupini naklonjenih je primerjalno manj tistih, ki cerkvi zaupajo (13 %), in občutno več tistih, ki ji zelo malo zaupajo (57 %). V tej skupini najmanj soglašajo s trditvijo, da preveč zaupamo v znanost in premalo v religijo (53 % se jih s to trditvijo ne strinja, v drugih dveh skupinah je ta delež nižji od polovice); v največji meri se s to trditvijo strinjajo v skupini strpnih (dobra četrtina, v skupini odklonilnih pa manj kot petina vprašanih).

Dodatno smo še preverili, v kolikšni meri tri skupine respondentov izvajajo nekatere alternativne duhovne prakse. Rezultati v Tabeli 10 potrjujejo naša pričakovanja: vegetarijanstvu naklonjeni so nekoliko bolj privrženi alternativnim praksam, najmanj pa respondenti v skupini odklonilnih. Test hi-kvadrat pokaže med tremi skupinami statistično značilne razlike pri meditaciji (χ^2 = 27.763, df = 4, Sig < 0,05), vadbi joge in drugih vadbah (χ^2 = 49.601, df = 4, Sig < 0,05), branju duhovne in ezoterične literature (χ^2 = 19.766, df = 4, Sig < 0,05) in uporabi alternativne medicine (χ^2 = 19.183, df = 4, Sig < 0,05). Respondenti iz skupine naklonjenih pogosteje kot pripadniki drugih dveh skupin meditirajo, vadijo jogo, tai chi ali qigong, berejo duhovno ali ezoterično literaturo, prav tako pogosteje posegajo po alternativni medicini; na drugi strani vse omenjene prakse najmanj prakticirajo respondenti iz skupine odklonilnih.

Tabela 10: Izvajanje alternativnih duhovnih praks.

		odklonilni (n = 463)		**naklonjeni** (n = 196)		**strpni** (n = 319)		**skupaj** (n = 978)	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
meditiranje	to sem počel v preteklem letu	55	12,0	54	28,0	63	19,9	172	17,7
	to sem počel v bolj oddaljeni preteklosti	47	10,2	23	11,9	36	11,4	106	10,9
	tega nisem nikoli počel	358	77,8	116	60,1	218	68,8	692	71,3
vadba joge, tai chija ali quigonga	to sem počel v preteklem letu	27	5,8	40	20,5	41	12,9	108	11,1
	to sem počel v bolj oddaljeni preteklosti	30	6,5	30	15,4	31	9,7	91	9,3
	tega nisem nikoli počel	405	87,7	125	64,1	246	77,4	776	79,6
uporaba alternativne medicine	to sem počel v preteklem letu	43	9,3	38	19,6	37	11,7	118	12,2
	to sem počel v bolj oddaljeni preteklosti	46	10,0	29	14,9	34	10,8	109	11,2
	tega nisem nikoli počel	372	80,7	127	65,5	245	77,5	744	76,6
branje knjig ali revij z duhovno ali ezoterično vsebino	to sem počel v preteklem letu	64	13,9	52	26,5	44	14,0	160	16,5
	to sem počel v bolj oddaljeni preteklosti	98	21,3	41	20,9	78	24,8	217	22,3
	tega nisem nikoli počel	299	64,9	103	52,6	192	61,1	594	61,2

Kako pogosto ste ... (Vir: SJM 2019/1).

Če na koncu strnemo rezultate primerjave treh skupin glede na religioznost in duhovnost, vidimo, da je najnižji delež katoličanov med naklonjenimi, najvišji med odklonilnimi. Glede na standardne parametre ugotovimo, da so strpni najbolj klasično religiozni (po samoocenjeni vernosti, verovanju v boga, življenje po smrti, nebesa in pekel) – najmanj pa so v klasičnem smislu religiozni v skupini naklonjenih (najvišji delež neverujočih, v najmanjši meri verujejo v boga, nebesa in pekel).[18] Podrobnejša analiza glede na različne tipe religioznosti pokaže, da je v skupini naklonjenih izrazito najvišji delež duhovnih, a nereligioznih respondentov in daleč najnižji delež kulturno religioznih brez verovanja. Najnižji delež duhovnih, a nereligioznih je v skupini odklonilnih, kjer je tudi najvišji delež celovito nereligioznih (nimajo se niti za religiozne niti za duhovne). Na drugi strani naklonjeni bolj posegajo po alternativnih duhovnih praksah (pogosteje meditirajo, vadijo jogo ali tai chi ali qigong, berejo duhovno ali ezoterično literaturo, pogosteje uporabljajo alternativno medicino), najmanj pa to počnejo odklonilni.

4 Sklepi

Na podlagi predstavljenih analiz lahko potrdimo, da tipična prehrana v slovenski družbi izrazito temelji na mesu, ki ga prevladujoča večina anketiranih uživa redno večkrat tedensko, če že ne vsak dan. Vegetarijancev in veganov smo v vzorec zajeli le peščico, po grobi oceni bi jih v Sloveniji lahko bilo 2 % ali malce več. Natančnejše ocene zaradi zelo nizkega vzorčnega deleža s tovrstnimi raziskavami na reprezentativnih nacionalnih vzorcih niso možne, saj statistične analize niso dovolj zanesljive. Zato velja biti pri posploševanju rezultatov zadržan.

Večina anketiranih vegetarijancev svoje izogibanje prehranjevanju z mesom in ribami utemeljuje predvsem z etičnimi, neuživanje mleka pa z zdravstvenimi argumenti. V povprečju so v primerjavi s celotno populacijo mlajši in opazno bolj izobraženi. V veliko večji meri prihajajo iz Ljubljane, najmanj pa iz kmečkih naselij. Večinoma pripadajo srednjemu in višjemu družbenemu sloju. Vse te ugotovitve so pričakovane[19] in skladne z našo predhodno študijo izpred dobrega desetletja, v kateri smo ugotavljali,

da med slovenskimi vegetarijanci najverjetneje prevladujejo nadpovprečno izobražene ženske srednjih let, ki so rahlo nadpovprečno zadovoljne s

18. Glede udeležbe pri religijskih obredih med preučevanimi skupinami ne zasledimo pomembnejših razlik.
19. Pfeiler in Egloff (2018: 253) navajata vrsto mednarodnih raziskav, ki enako kot njuna študija na nemškem nacionalno reprezentativnem vzorcu kažejo, da so med vegetarijanci pogosteje ženske, mlajši, bolj izobraženi in tisti z višjimi prihodki.

> *svojim življenjem. Kaže, da se vegetarijanci v približno enaki meri kot ostala populacija izrekajo za (ne)religiozne, vendar pa očitno manj obiskujejo verske obrede, hkrati pa v večji meri posegajo po alternativnih duhovnih praksah. Vegetarijanci nadpovprečno dobro ocenjujejo svoje zdravje in tudi dejansko bolj zdravo živijo (pijejo manj alkoholnih pijač, manj kadijo in se bolj redno ukvarjajo s športom). Sklepali bi lahko, da je tudi pri nas vegetarijanstvo najbolj razširjeno med srednjimi družbenimi sloji* (Črnič 2012a: 131).

Glede splošne percepcije in odnosa do vegetarijanstva in veganstva lahko na podlagi predstavljenih analiz potrdimo, da je splošna populacija do vegetarijanstva in veganstva prevladujoče skeptična; argumenti zanju je niti približno ne prepričajo, do samih praks je pretežno odklonilna. Respondentom se odločitev za veganstvo v povprečju zdi precej radikalna. Mlajši so opazno manj kritični do veganstva, s starostjo kritičnost praviloma narašča. Zaznavna je tudi povezava z izobrazbo, čeprav je slika glede tega bolj kompleksna: najnižje izobraženi veganstvo v večji meri zaznavajo kot radikalno, odklonilen odnos pa z rastjo izobrazbe upada.

Tudi to se v veliki meri ujema z rezultati predhodne raziskave (čeprav smo tam izmerili manj izrazito odklonilen odnos prebivalcev Ljubljane in Maribora), v kateri smo ugotovili:

> *Srednja generacija je vegetarijanstvu najbolj naklonjena, mlajša je do pojava manj izrazito odklonilna. Mariborčani so do vegetarijanstva bolj kritični kot Ljubljančani. Bolj izobraženi so vegetarijanstvu bolj naklonjeni, manj izobraženi mu očitno bolj nasprotujejo. Nižji sloji mu najbolj nasprotujejo, največ naklonjenih pa se uvršča v višji srednji sloj. To prepričljivo potrjuje tudi analiza poklicev, saj skupina, ki opravlja nižje poklice (rutinska dela, nižji uslužbenci), vegetarijanstvu najbolj nasprotuje, na drugi strani pa med naklonjenimi vegetarijanstvu očitno prevladujejo tisti, ki zasedajo višje in vodilne zaposlitvene položaje. Iz tega bi lahko zaključili, da je vegetarijanstvo v Sloveniji najbrž prevladujoč pojav med srednjimi družbenimi sloji, ki mu očitno tudi najmanj nasprotujejo* (Črnič 2012a: 131).

Tokrat smo opravili še bolj poglobljeno analizo, ki v preučevanem reprezentativnem vzorcu splošne populacije odkrije tri distinktivne skupine: skoraj polovica anketirancev je do vegetarijanstva in veganstva izrazito odklonilna, petina rahlo naklonjena, tretjina pa je nekje vmes: čeprav argumenti za odrekanje živilom živalskega izvora respondentov v tej tretji skupini ne prepričajo (v tem so zelo podobni tistim v prvi, odklonilni skupini), so manj kritični in v tem smislu bolj strpni do prakticiranja veganstva. To napeljuje na pomembno ugotovitev, da individualno (ne)razumevanje in (ne)sprejemanje motivov za vegetarijanstvo in veganstvo ne vpliva nujno tudi na osebno (ne)sprejemanje same prakse veganstva.

Primerjalne analize med tremi skupinami pokažejo pomembne razlike, na podlagi katerih se zariše bolj profilirana slika v splošnem prevladujoče odklonilnega odnosa slovenske družbe do vegetarijanstva in veganstva.

1. V (največji) skupini izrazito **odklonilnih** je nekaj več moških kot žensk, primerjalno gre za starejšo populacijo, ki ima nižjo izobrazbo in v večji meri živi v kmečkih naseljih. V povprečju ima občutno nižji mesečni družinski dohodek, nižje ocenjuje svoje gmotne razmere in se nižje samouvršča na družbeni lestvici. Ta skupina vsebuje primerjalno najnižja deleža zaposlenih ter dijakov in študentov, najvišji pa je delež upokojencev. V povprečju je najmanj zadovoljna s svojim življenjem, najmanj srečna in tudi manj optimistična kot drugi dve skupini. Respondenti najslabše ocenjujejo svoje zdravje in se najmanj gibajo. Izražajo najvišjo skepso do demokracije, največjo naklonjenost avtoritarizmu in se daleč najbolj bojijo grožnje beguncev našemu načinu življenja. Hkrati pa so bolj volilno aktivni kot drugi dve skupini – največji delež se jih je udeležil zadnjih volitev. Gre za konservativno skupino, ki najbolj podpira tradicionalne delitve vlog med spoloma ter daleč najbolj nasprotuje homoseksualnosti in istospolnim porokam. V tej skupini je najvišji delež samoopredeljenih katoličanov, a hkrati tudi najvišji delež respondentov, ki se nimajo niti za religiozne niti za duhovne. Respondenti iz te skupine izražajo najmanj zanimanja za alternativne duhovne prakse (kot so meditacija, joga, tai chi, qigong, duhovna ali ezoterična literatura) in alternativno medicino.
2. V (najmanjši) skupini rahlo **naklonjenih** je v primerjavi z drugima dvema skupinama višji delež mlajših od 30 let, višji delež bolje izobraženih, v njej je najvišji delež dijakov in študentov. Respondenti iz te skupine v večji meri živijo v Ljubljani, najvišje ocenjujejo svoj gmotni položaj, zasedajo največ vodilnih in vodstvenih ter najmanj izvršilnih delavskih položajev. V primerjavi z drugima skupinama so fizično bolj aktivni, izražajo višje zadovoljstvo z življenjem, so bolj optimistični in bolj zaupajo drugim ljudem. Najbolj se (samo)umeščajo na politično levico in izražajo najbolj liberalna stališča: skupina naklonjenih je najbolj tolerantna do homoseksualnosti, najbolj podpira istospolne poroke, rahlo bolj podpira evtanazijo in daleč najbolj nasprotuje smrtni kazni. Med vegetarijanstvu naklonjenimi je najnižji deleč katoličanov, v povprečju so najmanj religiozni v klasičnem smislu: v primerjavi z drugima dvema skupinama je med njimi najvišji delež neverujočih, v najmanjši meri verujejo v boga, nebesa in pekel, hkrati pa je med njimi izrazito najvišji delež duhovnih,

a nereligioznih respondentov in daleč najnižji delež kulturno religioznih brez verovanja. Na drugi strani respondenti iz te skupine v največji meri posegajo po alternativnih duhovnih praksah.

3. V skupini **strpnih** je neproporcionalno več žensk kot moških, v njej prevladujejo respondenti srednjih let (hkrati pa je to skupina z najmanjšim deležem starejših). Glede izobrazbe, tipa bivanja in glede na razredno strukturo (finančno stanje in družbeni položaj) se uvrščajo nekje vmes med preostali dve skupini. V tej skupini je najvišji delež zaposlenih in najmanjši delež upokojencev. Anketiranci iz te skupine v rahlo manjši meri spremljajo aktualna družbena dogajanja v Sloveniji in po svetu, najmanj jih zanima politika in se v najmanjši meri udeležujejo volitev. Glede odnosa do družbe in politike so primerjalno bliže konservativni skupini odklonilnih (z izjemo tradicionalne delitve vlog med spoloma, s katero se strinjajo v najmanjši meri).[20] Respondenti v tej skupini so najbolj religiozni (po samoocenjeni vernosti in izraženem verovanju v boga, življenje po smrti, nebesa in pekel).

Tako smo z analitično razdelitvijo v skupine zarisali natančnejšo segmentirano sliko slovenske splošne percepcije vegetarijanstva in veganstva, ki pa predvsem zaradi pomanjkanja prostora ostaja razmeroma groba. Dobrodošle bi bile nadaljnje bolj poglobljene konceptualne in teoretske analize vsaj posameznih delov predstavljene empirične slike – ta članek ponuja nujno osnovo za to.

SUMMARY

The paper presents analysis of the results of a study on vegetarianism and veganism and their general perception carried out on a representative sample of the adult population of Slovenia.

Only a handful of vegetarians and vegans were sampled; a rough estimate of the number of vegetarians and vegans in Slovenia is 2% or slightly higher. The majority of vegetarians surveyed base their avoidance of meat and fish primarily on ethical grounds, and their avoidance of dairy on health grounds. On average, they seem to be younger and noticeably more educated than the general population. They are much more likely to come from Ljubljana, and least likely to come from rural areas. Further, they are mostly from the middle and upper social classes.

The main part of the paper focuses on the perception of and attitudes to vegetarian and vegan ideas and practices in the population. The analyses pre-

20. Vsaj v nekem delu je to bržkone povezano z dejstvom, da je v tej skupini opazno več žensk.

sented here allow the assumption that Slovenians are overwhelmingly sceptical of vegetarianism and veganism, unconvinced by the reasoning behind them, and largely dismissive of the practices themselves. On average, respondents consider the decision to go vegan to be quite radical (men slightly more so than women). Younger respondents (below 30 years old) are less critical of veganism, with criticism generally increasing with age. The lowest educated seem to perceive veganism as more radical, while the rejection of veganism tends to decline as education increases.

More detailed analysis reveals three distinct groups: almost half the respondents hold strongly negative views of vegetarianism and veganism, one-fifth slightly favourable views, and one-third views that lie somewhere in between. Even though respondents in this third group are not convinced by the arguments for giving up animal foods (here they are very similar to those in the first group), they are less critical and, in this sense, more tolerant of the practice of veganism. Comparative analyses of the three groups show significant differences, which lead to a more profiled picture of the generally dominant negative attitudes held by Slovenian society of vegetarianism and veganism.

The (biggest) group of strong refusers are slightly more male than female, comparatively older, less educated, and more likely to live in rural settlements. On average, they have a significantly lower monthly family income and lower assessment of their material situation. Those in this group are the least satisfied with their life, the least happy and also less optimistic than the other two groups. Such respondents rate their health the lowest and exercise the least. They express the greatest scepticism of democracy, the strongest preference for authoritarianism and by far the biggest fear of the threat of refugees to our way of life. At the same time, they are more likely to vote than the other two groups. This is a conservative group most supportive of traditional gender roles and clearly the most firmly opposed to homosexuality and same-sex marriage. It has the largest share of self-described Catholics, yet also the largest share of respondents who consider themselves neither religious nor spiritual, while they express the least interest in alternative spiritual practices and alternative medicine.

The (smallest) group holding slightly favourable views contains a bigger proportion of people under 30 and members are better educated than those in the other two groups. They live to a greater extent in the capital, have the highest perception of their material situation, hold the highest number of managerial and executive positions and the lowest number of manual labour positions. Compared to the other two groups, they are more physically active, express greater life satisfaction, are more optimistic and trust other people more. They are mostly (self-)positioned on the political left and express the most liberal views: are the most tolerant of homosexuality, most supportive of same-sex marriage, slightly more supportive of euthanasia and by far the most strongly opposed to the death penalty. In this group, we find the smallest share of Catholics, and on average they are the least religious, but simultaneously most likely to use alternative spiritual practices (like meditation, yoga, tai chi, or qigong, spiritual or esoteric literature).

The tolerant group is disproportionately made up more of women than men, and is dominated by middle-aged respondents (yet also has the smallest share of older respondents). Respondents in this group are the least interested in politics and participate in elections to the least extent. They are the most religious (in terms of self-assessed religiosity and expressed belief in God, life after death, heaven and hell).

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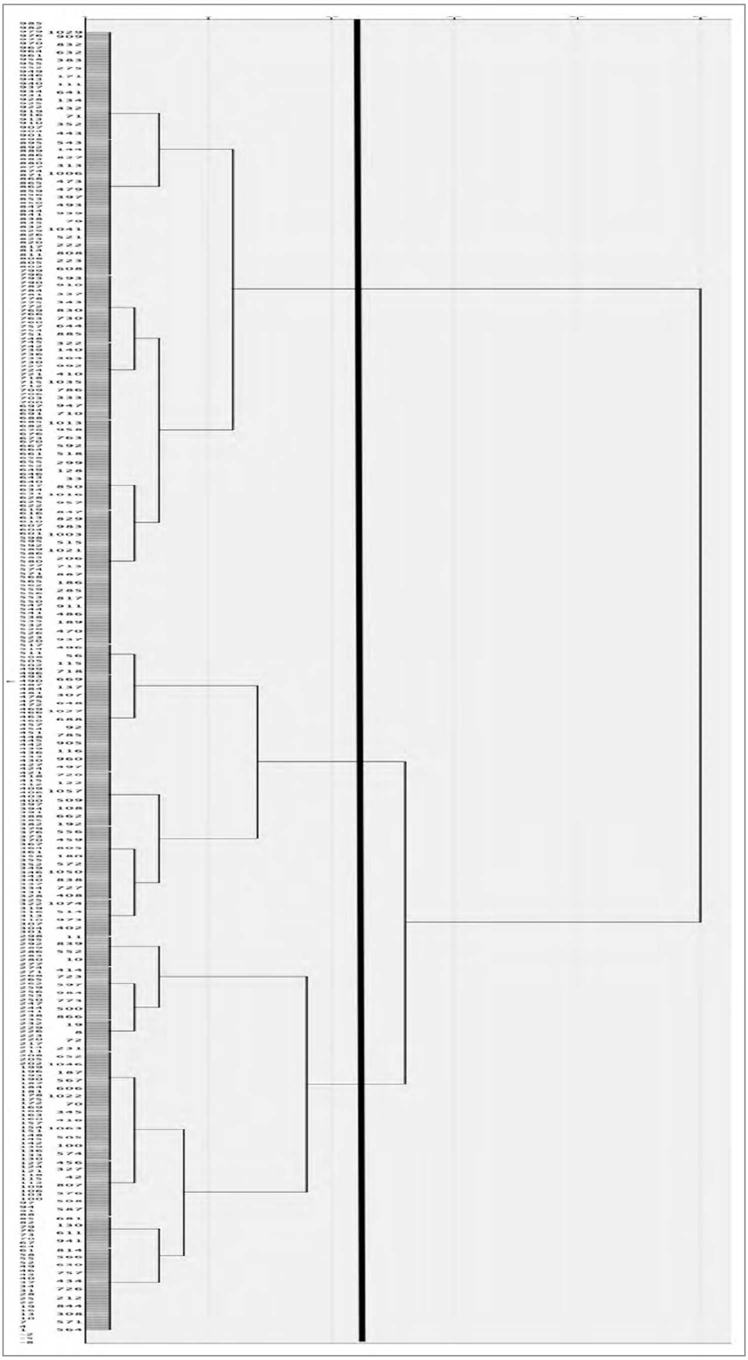
Priloga 1: Dendrogram, Wardova metoda, kvadrat evklidske razdalje.



Odebeljena črta prikazuje »skok« pri združevanju, kjer smo drevo prerezali in dobili tri skupine.

RECENZIJE KNJIG

BOOK REVIEWS

Ičo Vidmar

Walter Rodney: Kako je Evropa podrazvila Afriko.
Ljubljana: Založba /*cf., 2021.
Prevod: Aleksandra Rekar.
473 str., (ISBN 978-961-257-141-2), 28,00 EUR

Delo gvajanskega marksističnega zgodovinarja, »učenjaka aktivista«, kot Walterja Rodneyja v kratkem, silovitem predgovoru k zadnji izdaji v angleščini imenuje znamenita ameriška črnska soborka in kritična intelektualka Angela Davis, je v vseh pogledih temeljno delo afriškega zgodovinopisja. Njegova aktualnost je v njegovi »zastarelosti«, kakršno morebiti uzre današnji bralec, vajen sodobnejših obravnav zgodovinskih učinkov kolonializma in sodobnega imperializma, modnejših pojmov in členitev s področja »postkolonialnih študijev«, ki za seboj puščajo marksističen pojmovni aparat, a to rad počne na račun strogo dosledne historične analize tega, kar natančno zajema naslov dela iz leta 1972, namreč kako je Evropa podrazvila Afriko.

Obsežno delo odlikuje poseben, didaktično agilen »neakademski« slog brez sprotnega navajanja referenc, arhivskih virov in obširnih opomb pod črto. Rodney sam v kratkem uvodu pojasni, da želi z njim doseči tiste Afričane, ki »se želijo še bolj poglobiti v naravo svoje izkoriščanosti, ne pa ugoditi ‚standardom', ki so jih postavili zatiralci in njihovi predstavniki v akademskem svetu« (str. 12), se pravi doseči afriške študente, izobražence in druge prijatelje po svetu, navsezadnje tudi nasprotnike. Le na koncu poda sklepne napotke za nadaljnje branje s priporočeno literaturo, ki se, pazljivo izbrana po področjih – tu se pozna avtorjev teoretski in politični naklon – odmika od »zahodne buržoazne znanosti«.

To je Rodneyjev pogost polemičen očitek v besedilu, ki med drugim tudi evropskim »buržoaznim antropologom« očita njihov filozofski pogled na »primitivne družbe«, ki je povzročil ločevanje afriške družbe od njenega zgodovinskega konteksta (str. 415). Pri njem ne gre za precej razširjeno navado med afriškimi zgodovinarji tistega časa, ki so radi pohiteli s srborito diskvalifikacijo v slogu, da je denimo britanska socialna antropologija pač »kolonialna znanost« v službi kolonialnega gospostva.

Že v svoji prvi monografiji *Zgodovina zgornjegvinejske obale 1545–1800* iz leta 1970 obravnava začetke evropske atlantske trgovine z afriškimi sužnji ter spremenjene gospodarske, politične in družbene odnose v tem zahodnoafriškem območju. Kontekst obravnave je prostor, ki se ne omejuje na Afriko in posebej na del zahodnoafriškega obrežja, marveč na širše atlantsko območje, se pravi vzpostavljene povezave med Evropo, Afriko in Amerikami (ter v manjši meri Azijo), tako kot je celine in njihove družbe med seboj povezal in predrugačil trgovski kapitalizem zaporednih evropskih velesil, od Portugalske do Britanije. Podrobno analizira pojav novih afriških posrednikov pri trgovini s sužnji in drugim blagom ter spodbija označbe antropologov, ki so afriško družbo po koncu trgovine s sužnji označevali za »tradicionalno«. Za Rodneyja so, nasprotno, številni opisi antropologov iz 19. in 20. stoletja, ki so takšno početje imeli za »običajne načine«, za del »tradicije«, ravno proizvod razmer, v katerih je bila zgornjegvinejska obala čedalje bolj vpotegnjena v mrežo »mednarodnega kapitalizma« in je sčasoma postala integralni del njegove delitve dela. Zato pri antropoloških besedilih svetuje previdnost. To je nazoren prikaz njegovega tipa razlage in členitve zgodovinskega razvoja afriških družb in soslednega iskanja družbenih vzrokov za njihovo podrazvitost.

Pričujoče, drugo delo je zgodovinarjeva intervencija v izjemno občutljivem in nemirnem trenutku novejše afriške zgodovine, ki po osamosvajanju afriških držav, pridobitvah neodvisnosti, različnih iskanjih »smeri razvoja« in hkrati potekajočih narodnoosvobodilnih bojih v portugalskih afriških kolonijah ter po vladajočem režimu *apartheida* v Južni Afriki (Nelson Mandela s tovariši je v zaporu) ostro odpira vprašanje afriškega razvoja, ki je po Rodneyjevi ugotovitvi »možen samo na temelju radikalnega preloma z mednarodnim kapitalističnim sistemom« (str. 11). Ta je po njegovem v zadnjih petih stoletjih glavni razlog za podrazvitost Afrike.

Tudi raziskovalno področje afrikanistike (pozneje preimenovane v afriške študije) je v času pridobivanja neodvisnosti afriških držav in boja zanjo dobivalo nov zalet. Raziskave so se še deset let prej posvečale ali mitskemu poveličevanju nekdanjih afriških kraljestev ali družbeno in politično napeti »zdajšnjosti za prihodnost« (na primer mednarodno izjemno vplivna pariška panafriška revija za politiko, kulturo in književnost se imenuje *Présence Africaine*). Novo usmeritev so predstavljala dela mladih nacionalnih zgodovinarjev Afrike, ki se jih je prijelo ime »daresalamska šola«. Na posebno vlogo tanzanijskega glavnega mesta Dar es Salaam v izvrstni spremni besedi opozarja Nikolai Jeffs. Ravno na to usmeritev meri Rodney (v mestu je dokončal knjigo), ko posebej izpostavlja zgodovinarje, ki so poudarjali pomembno preteklost Afrike pred prihodom Evropejcev, a obenem skuša povezati drug primerljiv pristop, ki poudarja transformativno vlogo zunanjih sil (čezmorsko trgovino s sužnji, zlatom in slonovino). Eden ključnih zastavkov je tale: »Če naj razumemo prihod kolonializma v Afriko, je treba preučiti predhodno zgodovinsko evolucijo tako Afrike kot Evrope, še posebno na načine, kako so njuni trgovski stiki vzajemno vplivali na obe celini, da se je to, kar se imenuje ‚predkolonialna' trgovina, izkazalo kot pripravljalna faza kolonialne vladavine« (str. 218).

Tu razgrne periodizacijo razvoja afriških družb, ki sledi izhodiščnemu preizpraševanju osnovnega razmerja med (večidel ekonomsko) razvitostjo in podrazvitostjo ter tematizira temeljni položaj odvisnosti, kjer so njegovo pomagalo dependistične teorije latinskoameriških avtorjev. Pred 15. stoletjem afriška celina zanj razkriva izrazit neenakomeren razvoj posameznih družb, kolikor so ga do tedaj dognale različne vede. Kot primer navaja globoke razlike med Etiopijskim imperijem in sploh različnimi oblikami razmeroma stalnih tributarnih držav ter lovskimi družbami, ko je prevladujoče načelo družbenih razmerij družina s sorodstvom, povezana s komunalizmom. Za osnovo in »evropsko primerjavo« precej togo sledi Marxovim zgodovinskim etapam družb s pripadajočim produkcijskim načinom, kjer ima težave ravno z afriškimi predkolonialnimi državnimi tvorbami, družbenimi formacijami, ki so »nekaj podobnega evropskemu fevdalizmu«. Čas pisanja knjige sovpada z obdobjem, ko so marksistični zgodovinarji še premlevali o »azijskem produkcijskem načinu« in predvsem v francoskem marksizmu tudi o morebitnem »afriškem produkcijskem načinu«, česar se Rodney dotakne; možnost njegovega obstoja sicer zavrže, a se mu ta tema ves čas vtihotaplja v obravnavo, tudi v oceni, da »večina afriških držav ni bila opazno drugačna od komunalizma, zato uporabljam izraz ,prehodna stopnja'«, ki jo umešča na raven pred »zrelim, razredno razslojenim fevdalizmom« (str. 120). Uporaba »fevdalizma« pri analizi afriških držav je lahko le ustrezen primerjalni okvir in nič več.

Vzporedna pot iz »etapnih« zadreg je konceptualizacija tributarnega produkcijskega načina, kot sta ga pozneje vpeljala ekonomist Samir Amin in antropolog Eric Wolf, ki je temu delovnemu okviru pri analizi uporabe družbenega dela v neevropskih družbah dodal še sorodstveni produkcijski način s posebno vlogo poglavarstev. Zanj so zgodovinske variacije znotraj tributarnega načina vedno odvisne od moči države v primerjavi z drugimi, Amin pa bi tu dodal, da je ravno šibka država v razkrajajočem evropskem fevdalizmu v primerjavi s kitajskim imperijem spodbudila oblikovanje kapitalističnega načina v zahodni Evropi.

Rodney večkrat poudarja, da v nobeni afriški družbi ni zaslediti suženjstva kot produkcijskega načina, čeprav so bili sužnji povsod tam, kjer je razgradnja komunalne enakosti prišla najdlje. To je zanj poteza »avtonomije afriške poti znotraj širšega okvira univerzalnega napredka« (str. 120); Afričani so sicer poznali oblike zasužnjevanja (kot zastavno pravico, pravno ločitev človeka od varstva njegovega rodu in kot vojne ujetnike), kjer pa sta bila zastavljenec ali suženj lahko dejavna člana domače skupine, kar je velikanska razlika od blagovnega suženjstva, značilnega za zahod. Ključno je, da so te stare »avtonomne« ustanove od 15. stoletja dalje v službi evropske trgovske širitve, v službi »proto-kolonializma« pred nastopom formalnega kolonializma z berlinsko imperialno delitvijo bogatega afriškega plena z ljudstvi vred konec 19. stoletja.

Rodneyjevo vodilo je razbiranje protislovij. Eno od njih je pri raziskovanju zgodnjega obdobja afriške zgodovine v tem, »da ga je nemogoče v celoti razumeti, ne da bi najprej poglobili svoje znanje o svetu nasploh, in vendar lahko resnično podobo kompleksnosti razvoja človeka in družbe zarišemo šele po intenzivnem proučevanju dolgo zanemarjene celine« (str. 120).

Sledi izčrpna analiza posledic tega, kako je Evropa postala dominantni del svetovnega trgovinskega (kapitalističnega) sistema, ocena afriškega prispevka h kapitalističnemu razvoju Evrope, ki je končno privedel do kolonializma kot izkoriščevalskega sistema za podrazvijanje Afrike. To je dosledno razgrinjanje tem, ki jih je Rodney obdeloval v svojem kratkem življenju (bil je žrtev političnega atentata v domači Gvajani): svetovni kapitalistični sistem, izmuzljivo vprašanje zmožnosti samostojnega delovanja Afričanov, razčlenitev razrednih bojev in pri tem predvsem vloga nebelega afriškega srednjega razreda (kompradorske buržoazije), preplet rasnega in razrednega vprašanja, struktura delovnih razredov (zlasti doma v Karibih); in iskanje družbenih alternativ skozi analizo protislovij ob že zaznanem rušilnem neokolonializmu.

Delo je bilo vse do danes deležno številnih kritik z vseh mogočih, tudi nasprotujočih si strani. To je morda eden izmed indicev, kako inovativno je bilo ob izidu in kako aktualna vprašanja odpira kljub »zastarelosti«. Ob tem prevodu, prevodih *Bremena črnega človeka* (2010) zgodovinarja Basila Davidsona, Evans-Pritchardove antropološke monografije o Nuerih (1993) in nekaterih novejših bolj specifičnih obravnavah sodobnejših afriških problemov, kot so migracije, šele spoznamo, kako osupljivo borna je prevodna in domača družboslovna literatura (med aktualnimi izjemami so pregledne *Države afriškega islama* Bogomila Ferfile) o »zanemarjeni celini«.

Monika Kalin Golob

Jasna Mikić: Spol in jezik.
Ljubljana: Založba FDV, 2021.
175 str., (ISBN 978-961-235-956-0), 15,00 EUR

Opozarjanje na privzgojene in v družbi ustvarjene vzorce razumevanja *ženskega* in *moškega*, dvomi o »naravnem redu stvari«, raziskave o neenakosti, njeno razkrivanje in prizadevanja za družbo, ki bo vključujoča za vse in vsakogar, skladno z nekdanjim sloganom »Vsi drugačni, vsi enakopravni,« vsakič znova razburjajo in delijo (slovensko) javnost.

Ko vprašanje *ženskega* in *moškega* zaide na področje jezika, so odzivi branilk in branilcev »naravnega reda stvari« enako burni in žolčni, saj naj bi šlo pri vključujoči jezikovni rabi za poseg v jezikovni sistem, ki da takih intervencij ne sprejema oz. ga celo rušijo. Še več: v slovenističnem jezikoslovju še vedno najdemo argumente o jeziku kot sistemu, ki raste sam iz sebe in prinaša spremembe samodejno, če in kadar so potrebne. Tako nedavno tega v prispevku o naslavljanju nebinarnih oseb (7. 10. 2023: *Ne le jezikovno, predvsem etično vprašanje*; Delo, str. 14) Saška Štumberger z Oddelka za slovenistiko Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani izreka: »Jezikoslovno stališče je, da je slovnični spol nekaj drugega kot biološki in družbeni spol. Tukaj ni enačaja, rešitve pa so že v jeziku.« Zato meni, da »s stališča jezikoslovja /.../ ni treba iskati nobenih rešitev, ker so se vse oblikovale v jezikovnem razvoju«.

Jezik ni entiteta, ki bi se razvijala sama po sebi kot neko suvereno bitje, ne obstaja v praznem prostoru: uporabljamo, določamo in spreminjamo ga ljudje, predvsem pa z njegovo rabo soustvarjamo družbo, v kateri živimo. Razprave o jeziku in spolu so zato pomemben del ozaveščanja družbe o tem, da tudi jezik lahko prispeva k spolni diskriminaciji ali spodbuja vključenost; lahko sproža nestrpnost ali vodi v strpnost. Seveda je jezik le eden od kazalnikov neenakosti, a pomembno vpliva na vzpostavljanje razmerij v družbi, na razumevanje sveta in njegovo opomenjanje, na vzpostavljanje vloge žensk in moških; neenakost tudi jezikovno presegamo ali vzdržujemo – pogosto zelo subtilno. Tema, ki je od 70. let 20. stoletja predmet številnih študij in raziskav, je analitično zanimala tudi Jasno Mikić. Leta 2020 je objavila disertacijo *Jezik in družbena (ne)enakost spolov na trgu delovne sile* ter jo leta 2021 predelala v znanstveno monografijo *Spol in jezik* (Založba FDV, zbirka Ost).

Knjiga v sedmih poglavjih opredeljuje ključne teme in področja, jih terminološko ureja ter povezuje in razčlenjuje temeljna pojma *spol* in *jezik* v različnih jezikih, prikazuje seksistično rabo jezika bodisi na ravni semantike bodisi sistemskih (obrazilnih) oblik ter se pri tem sklicuje tudi na empirično (doktorsko) raziskavo jezikovne rabe na trgu delovne sile. Raziskava je inovativna prav zaradi meddisciplinarne obravnave: sociološke, jezikoslovne in sociolingvistične teorije in spoznanja je avtorica aplicirala na problematiko človeškega zaznavanja poklicnih poimenovanj. Z metodo ERP (*Event Ralated Potentials*) je merila možgansko dejavnost testiranih oseb med branjem povedi, ki so vsebovale ta poimenovanja v ženski ali moški slovnični obliki. Rezultate raziskave, obširno sklicujoč se na predhodne študije, predstavlja v četrtem poglavju. Potrjuje, da so poimenovanja za moške delujoče osebe manj vključujoča ter ne predstavljajo žensk in moških enakovredno. Hkrati pa opozarja tudi na slabšalne konotacije nekaterih poimenovanj v ženski obliki, ki se jih je treba zavedati ob doslednem upoštevanju obojespolnih poimenovanj.

Navedbe o jezikovni živosti in samoodzivanju jezika, če in ko je to potrebno, zavrača Jasna Mikić v petem poglavju knjige ter ob tem ponuja pristope k jezikovnim spremembam za vključujočo rabo. Navaja dva taka pristopa: vpeljavo »neseksistične jezikovne preobrazbe« ali »feministično jezikovno preobrazbo«, kot ju poimenuje (str. 95–96). Oba obširno in temeljito predstavlja s pregledom in analizo literature od 70. let 20. stoletja, pri čemer opozarja tudi na pasti tovrstnih posegov in nasprotovanja spremembam v jezikovni praksi.

Zanimivo in prvo tako izčrpno je podpoglavje o mednarodni in slovenski jezikovni politiki glede vključujoče rabe (5. poglavje, str. 103–164). V njem natančno povzema zakonodajne in druge formalne podlage, dokumente in priročnike, ki predstavljajo tako rabo oz. k njej usmerjajo.

Enako dragoceno za nadaljnje raziskovanje jezika in spola je 6. poglavje, ki prinaša historiat neseksistične rabe jezika v Sloveniji. V poglavju avtorica razčlenjuje »sistemske in individualne spodbujevalce in zaviralce rabe neseksističnega jezika« (str. 121), nazorno prikazuje javne razprave, medijske prikaze in odzive. Poveden je pregled sprememb v jezikovnonormativnih priročnikih (slovnica, slovarji), ki navajajo k jezikovni vidnosti žensk. Poglavje zaključuje opis razprav po odmevnem sklepu senata Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani leta 2018, ki je za interne pravilnike predvidel izmenjujočo se rabo: enkrat v ženski, drugič v moški obliki, kar je povzročilo silovite odzive ter še danes zbuja posamezne polemike, dvome, odpor in podporo.

Tovrstni (celo zelo nestrpni in sovražni) odzivi – ki pa niso značilni le za Slovenijo, ampak raziskave kažejo podobno tudi drugod – nas opominjajo, kako pomembno je prizadevanje za (spolno) vključujoči jezik in kako nujno je preseganje argumentov, ki jezikovni sistem izrabljajo za nasprotovanje spremembam preživetih jezikovnih rab in s tem prispevajo k ohranjanju razmerij med spoli, v katerih je ženska nevidna, zgolj vsebovana v moškospolnem poimenovanju, priponi ali obrazilu. Kot poudarja avtorica v sklepu (str. 144), je jezik »zato eden pomembnejših vidikov enakosti spolov, brez katerega se enakost ne more udejanjiti«. Iz samoumevne generične poimenovalne vključenosti ženske že desetletja tudi jezikovno izstopamo v samostojna poimenovanja nosilk funkcij, poklicev, dejavnosti in delujočih oseb ob enakovrednih moških poimenovanjih. Prav tovrstna raba v javnih nastopih in besedilih (študentke in študenti; *kolegice in kolegi*; *poslanke in poslanci* ipd.) je prispevala k večji vidnosti žensk v družbi.

Znanstvena monografije Jasne Mikić je prvo slovensko delo, ki interdisciplinarno povezuje vprašanja spola, delovne in družbene vloge žensk ter jezika. Prinaša poglobljene in jasne analize obravnavanih tem v tuji in domači literaturi, jih potrjuje z lastno raziskavo ter postavlja ogledalo tradicionalizmu in konservativizmu, tudi dela slovenskega jezikoslovja. Skoraj trideset let vztrajanja pri mnenju, da je moški slovnični spol generični in zato spremembe niso potrebne, kaže svojevrstno zaprtost in premajhno vpetost nekaterih raziskovalk in raziskovalcev slovenskega jezika v aktualne znanstvene in družbene premisleke.

Knjiga Jasne Mikić (slovenskemu) jezikoslovju nalaga pomembno nalogo: ob možnostih in rešitvah za vključujočo jezikovno rabo, ki jih razčlenjuje avtorica v svoji razpravi, je treba iskati nove in nove, jih jezikovno in stilno analizirati, prilagajati različnim vrstam besedil, torej razmišljati o žanrsko specifičnih, si prizadevati za strpno utemeljevanje vključujočega jezika ter uporabnice in uporabnike jezika seznanjati o obvladljivih možnostih vključujoče rabe, ki besedilo in njegovo sporočilnost čim manj obremenjujejo. Zato je »s stališča jezikoslovja« potrebnega še veliko dela.

Tjaša Turnšek

Aleksej Kalc (ur.): Nadzor migracij na Slovenskem od liberalizma do socializma. Ljubljana: ZRC SAZU, 2021. *335 str., (ISBN 978-961-05-0574-7), 24,00 EUR*

Ob prvem pogledu na naslovnico zbornika *Nadzor migracij na Slovenskem od liberalizma do socializma* lahko dobimo občutek, da bo pričujoče delo nadzor migracij obravnavalo skozi precej ozko usmerjeno perspektivo. Temu namreč botrujeta kombinacija besede »nadzor« in spremljajoča fotografija graničarja z daljnogledom, ki aplicira, da bo zbornik migracije obravnaval predvsem s »sekuritizacijskega« vidika. A za razliko od tega pričujoče delo nadzor migracij razume mnogo širše: kot obvladovanje in usmerjanje družbenih in gospodarskih razmer, urejanje socialnih in državljanskih pravic ter kot implementacijo nacionalnih politik in integracijskih modelov. Nadzor migracij je namreč širok pojem, ki v študijah ni enovito tematsko in problemsko opredeljen ter sega na področja družbene, gospodarske, politične in kulturne sfere (str. 13–14). Pričujoči zbornik nam ponuja vpogled v nekatere vidike tega kompleksnega fenomena z vidika zgodovinske perspektive.

Zbornik, ki je rezultat raziskovalnega projekta »Nadzor nad migracijami na Slovenskem od Avstro-Ogrske do samostojne Slovenije« in raziskovalnega programa »Narodna in kulturna identiteta slovenskega izseljenstva v kontekstu raziskovanja migracij« (oba financira ARIS), vsebuje deset prispevkov enajstih avtorjev in avtoric. Tematsko se deli na tri sklope; vsak sklop se fokusira na določeno zgodovinsko fazo nadzora migracij v slovenskem etničnem prostoru.

V prvem delu se prispevki nanašajo na obdobje od sredine 19. stoletja do prve svetovne vojne, tj. obdobje, ko je slovenski etnični prostor postal eno najbolj izrazitih selitvenih območij avstro-ogrske monarhije. V Avstriji je bila v obdobju liberalizma svoboda izseljevanja zajamčena z ustavnim zakonom – določene politične opcije, gospodarski interesi in deli državnega aparata so se zavzemali za njeno polno uveljavljanje, drugi pa za njeno omejevanje. Iz postopkov izdajanja potnih listov so razvidna ravnanja krajevnih uprav, ki so ugotavljale tehtnost argumentov za izselitev; v primerih, ko bi lahko migracija imela negativne posledice za družino in občinsko blagajno, so preprečile odhod. S perspektive priseljevanja v Avstrijo se na primeru priseljencev iz Italije v Trstu pokaže, kako se je kot sredstvo nadzora uporabljalo državljanstvo in kako je bila naturalizacija državljanov v Avstriji odvisna od političnih in gospodarskih okoliščin, družbenega statusa in politične usmeritve prosilcev (str. 18). Porast migracij ter z njimi povezana vprašanja in konflikti pa so posledično privedli do potrebe po regulaciji migracij, kar se pokaže na primeru priseljenske politike Združenih držav Amerike, kamor se je izselilo večje število Slovencev; po prvi svetovni vojni je namreč ta uvedla kvotni sistem in s tem postavila omejitve priseljevanja, ki so temeljile na etničnih in rasnih podlagah.

Drugi tematski sklop se nanaša na obdobje med svetovnima vojnama. Za slovenske dežele in Hrvaško, ki v prejšnjih državnih okvirih niso imele vpliva pri političnem urejanju izseljenskega vprašanja, je konstitucija skupne države pomenila možnost za uravnavanje in usmerjaje migracijskih gibanj z ozirom na gospodarske, socialne in nacionalne interese (str. 19). Kako se je ta odnos do migracij spremenil, priča jugoslovanski primer, ko se je država osredotočila na povezovanje z diasporo in si v ta namen »izmislila« koncept izventeritorialne »desete banovine«, s katerim si je prizadevala razširiti svojo suverenost nad jugoslovanskimi izseljenci in njihovimi potomci po svetu. Izseljenskih skupnosti država ni dojemala v sklopu njihovih življenjskih kontekstov, ampak jih je obravnavala kot živeče na lastnem državnem ozemlju, zato se je v diaspori izoblikovala alternativna podoba jugoslovanstva (str. 20).

Zanimiv primer iz tega obdobja so Slovenci in Hrvati iz Julijske krajine, ki so se z izselitvijo umaknili fašizmu, zlasti v Argentino, in tako postali vprašanje nadzora s strani treh držav: Italija, katere državljani so bili, je v njih videla antifašistične nasprotnike, Jugoslavija jih je na lastnem ozemlju obravnavala kot begunce, v tujini pa so jih imeli za pripadnike jugoslovanske nacije. Njihovo angažiranost za manjšinsko vprašanje Julijske krajine je izkoristila za utrjevanje centralizma s pomočjo lojalnih emigrantskih organizacij na jugoslovanskih tleh, ki so gibanju dajale politično usmeritev. Integracijska politika »desete banovine« je pri primorskih izseljencih v Argentini naletela na večji odpor, zato je – tudi zaradi ovajanja jugoslovanskih konzularnih služb – postala tarča političnega nadzora in preganjanja argentinske diktature (str. 20–21).

Konec druge svetovne vojne in vzpostavitev socialističnega družbenopolitičnega sistema sta pomenila novo zgodovinsko prelomnico v odnosu do migracij, na kar se osredotoča zadnji, najobsežnejši sklop zbornika. Temeljni instrument je bila zaprta in varovana državna meja, ki je izključevala prosto prehajanje; čezmejna in obmejna gibanja je dovoljevala le pod določenimi pogoji in pod nadzorom oblasti (prav tam). Poseben predmet nadzora so bili domači in tuji dvolastniki, predvsem na mejah z Avstrijo in Italijo, saj so bile čezmejne osebne vezi z vidika oblasti pojmovane kot potencialni kanali kapitalistične propagande in spodbujanja prebegov, ostri kriteriji za pridobitev potnega lista pa so bili sami po sebi razlog za nezakonito zapuščanje državnega ozemlja (str. 22). Na goriškem ozemlju, ki ga je razmejitev dodelila Italiji, izseljevanje ni bilo enosmerno, čeprav je močno prevladovalo prehajanje z vzhoda na zahod. Vzroki za odhajanje v zahodni svet so bili povezani z boljšimi življenjskimi razmerami, nezaupanjem v prihodnost, pa tudi z osebnimi, čustvenimi razlogi. Izkušnje in izpovedi nezakonitih prebežnikov v kontekstu nastanka Nove Gorice kažejo, da to niso bili pobegi v neznano, saj so poznali teren in nadzorne prakse jugoslovanskih oblasti. To je pomenilo, da so bili lokalni prebežniki pripravljeni na možne ovire in pasti pri pobegu, zaradi česar so bili pri svojem početju neprimerno bolj uspešni, kot če praks nadzora jugoslovanskih oblasti ne bi poznali (str. 22–23). Časopisje kot sredstvo usmerjanja javnega mnenja je v tem obdobju (re)produciralo predvsem negativno podobo nezakonitih prebežnikov z namenom odvračanja državljanov od izseljevanja. Diskurz je z besediščem, naracijo in situacijskimi okoliščinami potekal na ravneh njihove kriminalizacije in moraliziranja. Za pisanje je bil značilen emocionalen naboj za dosego čustvenega odziva bralcev (prav tam).

Vzpostavljanje zahodne meje po drugi svetovni vojni je jugoslovanskemu migracijskemu nadzoru prinašalo svojevrstne izzive. Izvori teh izzivov so bila neskladja med sistemi za določanje statusa migrantov in njihovih pravic. Poleg tega je bilo zaradi spremenljivosti meja in državljanstev težko oblikovati ustrezen sistem kategorij za klasifikacijo ljudi na podlagi državljanstva in etnične pripadnosti (str. 23–24). A ne glede na to so bili odnosi Jugoslavije z izseljenstvom tudi v povojnem obdobju v splošnem pomembno družbeno-politično področje. Bistvo programov povezovanja sta tvorila ustvarjanje simpatije in spodbujanje navezanosti s pomočjo kulturnih in gospodarskih dejavnosti, med katere so sodili tudi organizirani obiski domovine v sklopu Slovenske izseljenske matice. Obiski so se uveljavili kot najbolj prodorna oblika grajenja obojestranskih vezi, vsebovali pa so tudi ekonomski vidik, saj so postali dejavnik razvoja turističnega sektorja v Jugoslaviji (str. 25).

Prispevki v zborniku v večini temeljijo na arhivskih in muzejskih virih iz različnih državnih arhivov ter na sekundarni literaturi, ki obravnava nadzor migracij v slovenskem etničnem prostoru. V tem smislu so dragocen dokument preteklosti, ki je lahko v pomoč različnim družbenim vedam, ki se ukvarjajo s področjem migracij (npr. sociologija, kulturologija). Metodološko izstopata 8. (Milharčič Hladnik) in 10. poglavje (Kavrečič in Koderman), ki se osredotočata na analizo vsebine oz. diskurza v slovenskem časopisju in reviji *Rodna gruda*. Čeprav poglavji pod drobnogled vzameta razmeroma majhno število analiziranih medijskih tekstov, pa je njun doprinos v tem, da problematiko proučevanja nadzora migracij v obdobju socializma v Sloveniji razširita na področje proučevanja medijev.

Ena izmed problematičnih točk zbornika kot celote se nanaša na nedosledno rabo terminov »begunec«, »migrant«, »izseljenec« ipd., saj ne ponudi teoretske opredelitve ali jasne analitične razmejitve teh temeljnih konceptualnih kategorij za opis oseb, ki se selijo. Poleg tega je v zadnjem delu zbornika, ki obravnava obdobje socializma, na določenih izsekih moč zaznati že vnaprej aplicirano negativno podobo tega družbenopolitičnega sistema. A kljub nekaterim manjšim pomanjkljivostim zbornik kot celota pomenljivo ilustrira, da nadzora migracij ne moremo obravnavati kot enosmeren proces oblasti do izseljencev, ampak ga moramo razumeti kot dinamičen odnos »obeh strani« v družbenem, gospodarskem, političnem in kulturnem smislu. Posebna odlika zbornika je tudi to, da je napisan tako, da ne služi zgolj stroki na tem področju, ampak je lahko informativno branje za vsakogar, ki se želi poučiti o bistvenih zgodovinskih trendih na področju migracij v slovenskem etničnem prostoru.

Tina Kogovšek

Karl H. Müller, Niko Toš: Naproti novim oblikam družboslovja: družboslovne raziskave v kontekstu Znanosti 2.0 in družb tveganja, RISC.
Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede, 2021 (e-knjiga).
264 str., (ISBN 978-961-235-959-1), prost dostop

Zbirka besedil pod naslovom *Naproti novim oblikam družboslovja* je slovenski prevod monografije, ki je v angleščini izšla leta 2012 pri založbi Echoraum z Dunaja, pet od osmih poglavij pa je predhodno že bilo objavljenih tudi v recenziranih znanstvenih revijah. Kot uvodoma k slovenski izdaji monografije pravi slovenski soavtor, dolgoletni vodja Centra za raziskovanje javnega mnenja in množičnih komunikacij ter profesor na Fakulteti za družbene vede v Ljubljani Niko Toš, naj bi knjiga spodbujala nove, širše in kompleksnejše zasnove znanstvenega raziskovanja, pri tem pa se osredotoči na sociološko empirično raziskovanje tipa družboslovna anketna raziskava. Monografija je nastala kot nasledek (samo)kritičnih razmislekov in na osnovi lastnih dolgoletnih, bogatih izkušenj obeh avtorjev z raznolikimi tovrstnimi raziskavami v njunih znanstvenoraziskovalnih okoljih. Med temi so tako domače nacionalne (npr. SJM) kot priznane mednarodnoprimerjalne raziskave (npr. ESS, ISSP, Share, EVS, WVS). Tovrstne raziskave so se in se v svojih zasnovah vedno morajo prilagajati spreminjajočim se družbam, kar ima tako ožje metodološke posledice (spremembe v motiviranosti anketirancev za sodelovanje, problem zagotavljanja reprezentativnih vzorcev itd.) kot tudi širši družbeni kontekst (npr. hitri, globoki premiki v strukturah sodobnih družb, tehnološki razvoj, predvsem sodobnih informacijsko-komunikacijskih tehnologij itd.). Nekoliko ožje so besedila nastala v kontekstu oblikovanja metodološko ene najbolj dodelanih mednarodnoprimerjalnih družboslovnih raziskav, že omenjene Evropske družboslovne raziskave (angl. *European Social Survey* – ESS).

Monografija je osredotočena na tri glavne teme, organizirane v štiri dele, ki si sledijo od splošnejših k bolj konkretnim vsebinam. Prva tema v prvem delu (prvo poglavje) je razmislek o prehodu celotnega področja znanosti iz tradicionalne konfiguracije, poimenovane Znanost 1.0 (od nastanka znanstvenega pristopa v 16. stoletju do obdobja med letom 1900 in 1950), v nastajajoči kompleks Znanosti 2.0 (od leta 1950 dalje). Če naštejemo le nekaj značilnosti prvega in drugega obdobja, so za Znanost 1.0 na primer značilni večja ločnica med odkritji in njihovimi aplikacijami, relativna zaprtost v ožje disciplinarne okvire in s tem homogenost raziskovalnih skupin, v večji meri notranji nadzor nad kakovostjo. Za Znanost 2.0 pa so bolj značilni večja povezanost med odkritji in aplikacijami, večja odprtost ter inter- in transdisciplinarnost ter večja samorefleksivnost, družbena odgovornost in širši, tudi zunanji kriteriji presoje kakovosti. Poglavje obravnava dolgoročno evolucijo znanosti, se nato osredotoči na sistem znanosti med letoma 1900 in 1950, stanje stvari v času nastanka monografije leta 2012 ter poskuša predvidevati prihodnji razvoj znanosti v obdobju med 2050 in 2100. V zaključku avtorja svoje razmisleke s spletno anketo preverita še na vzorcu strokovnjakov s področja preučevanja znanosti kot sistema. Pri tem ves čas kritično reflektirata položaj in razvoj sodobnih družboslovnih ved in humanistike ter v kontekstu razvoja sistema znanosti iščeta možnosti njunega kvalitativnega preskoka v tem razvoju.

Druga tema v drugem in tretjem delu knjige se osredotoča na posledice prehoda iz Znanosti 1.0 v Znanost 2.0 za sodobno empirično kvantitativno usmerjeno družboslovje, pri čemer je drugi del zastavljen nekoliko bolj teoretsko epistemološko, tretji pa že išče bolj praktične, konkretnejše rešitve. Pri tem se avtorja v veliki meri opirata na sodobnejša spoznanja raziskovanja kognitivnih procesov in nevroznanosti. V drugem delu (drugo in tretje poglavje) tako ugotavljata, da je bilo tradicionalno anketno raziskovanje zgrajeno na predpostavkah Znanosti 1.0 ter je v tem okviru doseglo svoj vrhunec in tudi mejo. Na ozadju prehoda v Znanost 2.0 pa se postavlja vprašanje, kako snovati tovrstne raziskave v pogojih nove konfiguracije znanstvenega sistema (od njihove zasnove in organizacije do zbiranja, urejanja in analize anketnih podatkov). V tretjem delu pa, kot rečeno, avtorja iščeta konkretne rešitve, predvsem v smeri vizualnega oblikovanja anketnih vprašalnikov (četrto poglavje) in širjenja možnosti sekundarne analize v smeri predlogov novih načinov primerjalne analize v pogojih omejene primerljivosti podatkov ali celo raziskav kot celot (njihove izvedbe itd.).

Tretja tema, z najbolj sociološkimi poudarki, predstavljena v četrtem delu knjige, se osredotoča na družbe tveganja in družbe RISC, kar je okrajšava za *Rare Incidences, Strong Consequences*, torej redki dogodki s hudimi posledicami, katerih značilnosti in procesi so predstavljeni v šestem poglavju (»družbe tveganja« Ulricha Becka bi torej lahko imeli za eno od bolj znanih ožjih konceptualizacij družb RISC). V tem kontekstu sledita še dva ključna vidika, ki ju avtorja ponazorita z mednarodnoprimerjalnimi anketnimi podatki. Eden je specifikacija osnovnih družbenih struktur sodobnih družb tipa RISC; ključno je vprašanje strukturiranja zaposlitve za polni delovni čas – ali sledi strukturi jedro/periferija ali klasični vertikalni organizaciji (sedmo poglavje). Vertikalni model družbene organizacije predpostavlja, da delovni procesi vodijo do vertikalne delitve na razrede oziroma sloje, pri čemer se te delitve pojavljajo že pri zaposlenih za polni delovni čas, druge družbene skupine pa temu modelu organiziranosti sledijo. Model jedro/periferija pa poskuša konceptualizirati v sodobnosti izrazitejši pojav vedno več perifernih skupin, ki poleg brezposelnih zajemajo tudi marginalno zaposlene, periferno samozaposlene, začasno zaposlene ipd., torej tiste, ki jih danes običajno nekoliko poenostavljeno imenujemo s pojmom prekarno zaposleni. Vertikalni razcep je v tem primeru med zaposlitvijo za polni delovni čas (jedro z razmeroma majhnimi razlikami znotraj tega jedra) in drugimi oblikami zaposlitve, vključno z brezposelnostjo (periferija z veliko vertikalno razdaljo do jedra). Primera anketnih raziskav v Sloveniji in Avstriji sicer potrdita prevlado klasičnega vertikalnega modela organizacije. Drugi vidik je povezava med družbeno neenakostjo in zdravstvenimi razmerami v osmem poglavju, v katerem avtorja razvijeta kompleksno novo metriko socioekonomskih tveganj in življenjskih možnosti na osnovi več različnih sodobnih življenjskih pogojev ter jo preučujeta v kontekstu sicer že znanih razmerij med stratifikacijo, družbeno neenakostjo in zdravjem (na podatkih več držav npr. ugotavljata povezanost zdravja z dohodki in izobrazbo).

Kljub temu da je izvirna monografija dejansko stara že več kot deset let, to ne zmanjša njene aktualnosti; še več, menimo, da se je njena aktualnost v teh letih še povečala in dodatno poudarila trende v razvoju znanosti, ki so se v tem vmesnem času še pospešili. Monografija je izrazito interdisciplinarno zastavljena, saj ne pokriva le ožjega področja družboslovne metodologije, ampak posega tudi na področja epistemologije, sociologije ter teorije, filozofije in zgodovine znanosti, ne le družboslovnih, temveč tudi naravoslovnih ved in v svojem prizadevanju išče tudi povezave med njimi. Kar se kaže danes še bolj izrazito kot v času nastanka besedil, je, da se bodo ob sodobnih izzivih človeške družbe (podnebne spremembe, digitalizacija, razvoj umetne inteligence itd.) in tudi skokovitem razvoju novejših področij, kot so npr. nevroznanost, biotehnologija itd., morale različne znanstvene discipline med seboj še bolj povezovati in sodelovati. Monografija sicer ni namenjena širši, ampak bolj specifično strokovni javnosti (ali kot omeni Toš, je bolj hermetično zastavljena), a to seveda ne zmanjšuje njene relevance, saj sili h kritičnemu razmisleku o sodobni empirični družboslovni znanosti v pogojih sodobnih družb (in ožje področja znanosti) ter išče nove, včasih drzne načine tega početja v prihodnosti.

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   - Aratani, Lauren (2020): "Tsunami of Untruths": Trump Has Made 20,000 False or Misleading Claims. Report. The Guardian, 13. 7. 2020. Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/jul/13/donald-trump-20000-false-or-misleading-claims (Accessed 10. 10. 2020).
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Slovene Sociological Association
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