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THE CONCEPT OF ECONOMIC RATIONALITY:
SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY VERSUS ECONOMICS

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ABSTRACT

The article analyzes a key for the understanding of economic behavior in different societies and culture aspects: economic rationality. In this sense, a theoretical review of the concept is performed, interrelating two social disciplines that are essential for understanding the causes and individual and social consequences of economic processes. This is, therefore, a comparative analysis between social anthropology and economics, their contributions, theoretical approaches, their convergences and divergences. These two aspects imply the originality of the topic analyzed. Furthermore, the comparative historical approach which enhances the relevance of this work.

Keywords: economic rationality, cultural behavior, social anthropology, economics. utility.

IL CONCETTO DI RAZIONALITÀ ECONOMICA:
ANTROPOLOGIA SOCIALE VERSUS ECONOMIA

SINTESI

L'articolo analizza una chiave per la comprensione del comportamento economico in diverse società e aspetti della cultura: la razionalità economica. In questo senso, viene eseguita una revisione teorica del concetto, tra due discipline sociali che sono essenziali per comprendere le cause e le conseguenze individuali e sociali dei processi economici. Questo è, pertanto, un'analisi comparativa tra antropologia sociale ed economia, i loro contributi, approcci teorici, le loro convergenze e divergenze. Questi due aspetti implicano l'originalità dell'argomento analizzato. Pertanto,l'avvicinamento storico comparato è quello che apporta rilevanza a questo lavoro.

Parole chiave: razionalità económica, comportamento culturale, antropologia sociale, economia, utility.

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BETWEEN ANTHROPOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

This section compares the interrelations between social anthropology and economics since the establishment of economic anthropology as a specialized branch of knowledge. Accordingly, it reviews scientific literature on convergences and divergences between both scientific disciplines in order to fill the scientific gap caused by out-of-date and/or incomplete previous research.

There has been a certain incompatibility and mutual lack of knowledge between anthropology and economics, practically ever since both sciences became consolidated, possibly due to the enormous methodological differences between them, that is, the juxtaposition between qualitative and quantitative aspects, referred to by some researchers as the "Q^2". This term was referred to by Bardhan and Ray, and today they consider both disciplines to act "*as extremes along the social science continuum*" (2008, 427). For this authors (2006, 655-676), some methodological differences between economics and anthropology include quantitative versus qualitative (p. e. econometric models/ethnographic models), aggregative versus particular (collective action/individual action), and positivist versus reflexive (causal relations/circular relationship).

In fact, even though anthropology has seen the emergence of a specific branch that focuses on the analysis of "economic" problems - economic anthropology - economics has ignored or bypassed the contributions made by this closely related specialty area. For example, Knight (1941), the founder of the Chicago School, came face to face with Herskovits (1952), who had coined the term "economic anthropology". He made relatively harsh statements and even argued that economics is the only social science to employ a deductive hypothetical method.

But there are three methodological issues that distinguish the mainstream economy from economic anthropology, which are more important than the mentioned differences. The first question refers to the rational behaviour of individuals (in which we focus on in this paper) and the use that the economy makes about it to explain collective social phenomena: it is self-interest against behaviour which is influenced by the cultural environment and institutions. Second, the research objectives differ. While economists focus on the outcomes, anthropologists focus on the processes which lead to them. Third, while anthropology is based on analysing the complexity of social relations through ethnographic techniques (participant observation, informant interviews, discourse analysis, etc.) to reach conclusions by interrelating the data obtained, the economy using econometrics based on the formulation of models that simplify reality by few hypotheses (behaviour aggregation, ceteris paribus, etc.), their estimation and testing using aggregated statistical data.

At first there were no specific works on economic anthropology. Nevertheless, the importance of economic aspects was indeed underscored in the most advanced classic ethnographies, thus allowing for a holistic understanding of any given cultural system. A case in point is Malinowski, followed by works by Firth and Evans-Pritchard. In this respect, Pearson (2000) reviews this early interaction between anthropology and economics. The development of economic anthropology, starting from the concepts introduced by Herskovits, initiates with the debate between two opposing currents: the formalists, who assumed they could apply the principles of neoclassical economics to any society, and the substantivists, who rejected these principles because they were difficult to apply in the so-called "primitive societies".

However, despite this relative isolation, in the 1960s new voices started gaining ground in the field of economics, promoting interdisciplinary perspectives by integrating other social sciences' contributions to economic phenomena. Devons and Gluckman (1964) wrote one of the first works to portray this cooperation between economists and anthropologists. They recognised the difficulty that specialists face when crossing the boundaries of one's own academic field. They proposed procedures in order to address economic problems from an anthropological perspective. Conversely, Joy (1967) believed that anthropological models cannot be applied in economics, and vice-versa, without first having to recur to methods and variables from other disciplines, and therefore suggested the need for cooperation between both fields. Economists analyse a specific type of society, the market economy, while initially anthropologists only analysed non-market societies, and were therefore of the opinion that economic theories should not be applied to these cultural contexts. For instance, Dalton (1961, 1) believed that the "primitive economy" is different to "market industrialism", where "*everyone derives his livelihood from selling something to the market*". Although some practices and economic principles may be generalised (the principle of universality, defended by economists), each society's prevailing organisational and institutional structures must be taken into account (the diversity and cultural variables, as argued by anthropologists). Other authors, such as P. S. Cohen (1967, 110), stated that it is possible to apply economic analysis to "primitive societies", and recognised that methodological barriers and the acquisition of mathematical tools and techniques had been the most relevant factors leading to the relative distancing between anthropology and economics.

The debate on the difficult interaction between economics and anthropology has been ongoing until very recently. Economics has been accused of certain imperialism over other social sciences (Posner, 1980; Buckley, Casson, 1993). And yet, over the last few years we have witnessed a rapprochement between these disciplines, and there are authors who even firmly believe

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in a marriage between them (Grossbard, 1978), having observed certain convergences in their methodologies. For example, Douglas (1973) already suggested applying economic analysis to the anthropological study of specific cultural institutions, such as marriage. Dalton (1978) also chose to demonstrate how economic anthropology could contribute to economics. He promoted what he himself defined as "eco-anthro dialogue" (Bardhan, Ray, 2008).

Moreover, there has been an attempt to jointly analyse other important aspects that had been dealt with by social anthropology (such as family, kinship and marriage) from an economic approach. Neoclassical economic pure theory works co-exist alongside works that introduce variables hardly used in conventional economics. Lipton (1992, 1541), rejected the belief that differences in methodology lead to this difficult interdisciplinary cooperation, and argued that these sciences are separated by their object, because whilst "*economics is mainly about outcomes; anthropology is mainly about processes*". But this does not imply that economists are not interested in causality, but rather that the purpose is usually simulation and prediction.

More recently, interesting works have been undertaken in order to merge ethnographic methodology with experimental economics, up to the point that some anthropologists put forward this branch of economics as a method to compare anthropological theories (Ensminger, 2002). Studies performed by Henrich et al. (2004) are an example of how to bring together methodologies in order to study specific cases of traditional micro-societies in a transcultural comparison.

In the book "Culture and Public Action" (Rao, Walton, 2004), several relevant economists and anthropologists analyse the advantages of integrating cultural notions in the design of economic development policies. By that time, it had become clear that one of the main contributions made by anthropologists to the analysis of economic phenomena was the understanding of power relations in a society - in a market, in an industrial brand, among users of commons etc.- taking into account that these are established by means of symbolic interpretations, rather than merely material means.

Recently, anthropologists have also used econometric methods to study issues such as reciprocity and altruism, income distribution in hunter-gatherer societies or the evolution of social institutions. Additionally, new topics of interest that methodologically link both disciplines are emerging: tourism, alternative money, strategies before the economic crisis, division of labour in globalisation, confidence/risk in expert systems, eco-

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nomic and ecological sustainability, and new ways of exchange on Internet and social networks.

Nonetheless, it is true that the mainstream of the economy aims at maintaining the monopoly of economic science, but there are many examples that illustrate the evolution of significant researchers towards less closed positions. The case of the Nobel Prize Winner Vernon L. Smith is paradigmatic. He started with the neoclassical analysis of the fishing activity and in 1970 he became responsible for problems related to primitive societies. Afterwards, he focused on the development of experimental economics and he became one of the staunch supporters of the multiplicity of economic rationalities, as we shall see later.

Given our conviction that there really are theoretical and methodological links between the approaches of economists and anthropologists, our goal is to provide a joint review of the responses given by both disciplines on one of the main problems in the praxis and thought process of economics in our societies: economic rationality. This paper aims to show how both scientific fields complement each other and how there is the need for a multidisciplinary analysis of this subject.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOMO ECONOMICUS

At this point, the concept of rationality is developed since mainstream economics discussing some scientific contributions influenced by anthropology. These contributions are mainly due to Veblen, Sen, Simon and most neo-institutional economists, and investigate the transition from *homo economicus* to *homo reciprocans* together with other typologies of rationality in experimental economics.

Although economics, as a science, tries to explain human behaviour, it has become clear that reducing the individual to the concept of *homo economicus* has generally prevented a sufficiently in-depth analysis of the causes behind the motivations and preferences of an individual. The prevailing economic theories are based on the model of a human who has needs, tastes, desires, and in addition, a perfect knowledge of the level of satisfaction achieved from any change inexisting resources. The rationality of economic agents has traditionally been built on the vision of a selfish human being that maximises utilities and whose sole purpose in dealing with other individuals is to optimise his/her own level of wellbeing. The principle of selfish rationality is usually attributed to Adam Smith (1904). But other later authors radicalised the conception of economic rationality, such as Mill (1967), who coined the term *homo economicus*. Conventional microeconomics sees agents as subjects who make rational choices. These choices arise through preferences (desires), restrictions and expectations (beliefs), the former having been defined by each individual in a moment in time, that is, depending on the situation and the circumstances.

Individuals are selfish and only pursue their own interests, without any consideration of the consequences of their actions on other individuals, and they are recognised for the economic rationality of maximising. It stems from the predominant marginalist revolution in neoclassical economics, in which the most efficient use of resources and eternal adjustment "*between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses*" (Robbins, 1932, 16) makes up the backbone of the whole economic machinery.

But this model of human being is not affected, for instance, by the influence of emulation, marketing and advertising strategies, cultural values and social categories. This individual does not accept new ideas, has a fixed system of preferences, does not feel passions and emotions, does not learn or forget anything nor have ethical and immaterial values. Furthermore, generated money and expectations do not play a role in this theoretical framework. All in all, it is ultimately an arbitrary construction and set apart for ignoring human attributes as well as social, institutional and cultural determinants, based on a negative view of human beings (Sen, 1977).

This interpretation of human beings evidently led to a rapid response from prominent economists, such as Veblen, one of the founders of "old institutional economics". He strongly criticised the neoclassical model of rational man, based on the proposals put forward by anthropologists such as Morgan, although he does not quote him. Morgan (1877) defined a three-age system in the development of human societies; savages, barbarians and civilisation. Veblen (1915), funnily enough, reached his conclusions after comparing capitalist and primitive societies, to the point of including societies from "preying barbarism" in "pacific savagism". He argued that human action is determined by habits, hereditary traits and past experience, within a context of traditions, inherited conventions and customs, determined by norms, in a world of interlinked and mutually strengthening institutions, whereas the concept of *homo economicus* and maximiser of utilities, reduces the role of cultural and institutional elements that set the scene in which the determining action unfolds, without allowing for research or analysis. Neoclassical rationality, a term coined by Veblen (1898), does not view the individual as a social actor, immersed in the fabric of collective live, but rather as an individual reduced to the condition of an isolated and selfish atom, only slightly affected by social relations. His interpretation, on the contrary, was based on the concept of emulation, traditions and inherited customs that determine habits, and yet it prevailed in North American institutionalism.

Keynes (1936) also criticised the excessive mechanic style of neoclassical economics, given the fact that it had little in common with mankind, whose main feature is uncertainty, and thus redesigned the model of economic man by integrating expectations, which are necessary in order to explain the phenomenon of saving. A

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Keynesian individual has motivations that go beyond a mere automatic response, has doubts and takes different decisions by assessing the future, while maintaining a selfish streak and a maximising behaviour. But its only aim in establishing relations with other economic agents is still the optimisation of personal welfare. This model of economic man may be more realistic, yet it does not take into account ethical, cultural and institutional factors, leaving it up to other sciences to explain the implicit behaviour in their theories.

With the rise of the "rational choice theory" (Arrow, 1951), choice prevailed over desire, in such a way that "economic man" was able to have any type of motivation, as long as he chose rationally. The choice may be based on beliefs, desires or preferences. Preferences refer to subjective states, whereas the concept of choice fluctuates between subjective deliberation and subsequent action. Preferences must be complete and transitional, and choice is rational when there is no other feasible option that subjects may prefer more than the chosen one. Each individual, therefore, has a relationship of preferences -a pre-order- known a priori, and the choice is determined by the maximisation of this relationship in each considered feasible subset. In this context, and from the point of view of anthropology, authors such as Firth or Cohen analysed the process of rational choice based on the maximisation of utilities, and concluded that the individuals' abilities to "haggle" between two people or the "power of negotiation" between companies invalidate the analysis supported by indifference curves, while admitting that the optimisation process is not affected by the exclusion of "*the custom, moral restriction, or force*" (Cohen, 1967, 105).

The development of the "revealed preference theory" (Samuelson, 1938) is also based on the axiomatic principles that justify the neoclassical consumer theory. The coherence of individual choices can be reached through a relationship of revealed preferences based on choices, which are maximised and therefore define the choices that the individual makes in each feasible subset. Even if the individual behaves irrationally, given the "noise" he/she is subjected to, it can be demonstrated that the average expected behaviour satisfies the axioms of revealed preference, and the representative agent acts as if he/she were maximising a certain function of utility. In this way, the "revealed preference theory" allows for a research field that opens the door to the interrelationship of economic theory with other social sciences.

In 1977, Sen harshly rebuked the predominant economic academic current of thought, and deemed the idea of reducing selfishness and utilitarianism to the behaviour of economic agents to be simplistic. He claimed that the reality in which decisions are taken is much more complex and proposed a middle ground between self-interest and the interest of others. He did not completely break away from the traditional vision of economic rationality, but enhanced it with further content. His proposals aimed to combine the legitimate pursuit of self-interest with a conceptualisation of the individual, who acts under the influence of "feelings" and "commitments". All in all, values, commitments rules and moral feelings play an important role in the individual's rational behaviour.

A different perspective is found in the works of Simon (1955), who states that individuals are only partially rational and decision taking is not always based on optimisation, although this may be desired, given the limits that reality imposes on decisions due to a lack of information, to the individual's abilities or to the amount of time available to take the decision, leading to the proposal of the "limited rationality" concept. The optimisation of choices thus becomes unfeasible, because the cost of necessary information would make it impracticable. Rational action is therefore defined by exogenous factors that arise from the social environment (Simon, 1985).

V. L. Smith (2002) distinguishes between two types of rationality: the constructivist rationality and ecological rationality. The first stems from the theories of Descartes, Bacon and Hobbes and leads to utilitarianism, considering that social institutions are created by deductive processes of human reason; while the second is the result of evolutionary both cultural and biological processes that lead to a cultural heritage that is not the result of deliberate human design.

Ostrom (2003) reached similar conclusions based on his "game theory" experiments. He rejected the idea that selfishness and opportunism are the basis of mankind's economic rationality, and believes that this is simply one of the possible rationalities, together with other options, such as the expectations we have on the behaviour of others (trust), social norms and life experience (reciprocity), and the identity formed on actions (reputation). Hence the "rational choice theory" needed to be rebuilt by integrating those exogenous and endogenous variables that influence the behaviour of individuals in specific settings, among these, the role of institutions that limit or condition individual decision (North, 1990).

Institutional economics and anthropology converge in their common interest in collective action, the role of technology and social change. Economic anthropologists, except for the most extreme formalists, share many aspects with the neo-institutionalist economics. In this sense, institutional economics and anthropology converge in their common interest in collective action, the role of technology and social change. Economic anthropologists, except for the most extreme formalists, share many aspects with the neo-institutionalist economics (Burling, 1962; Leclair, 1962). As stated Esminger (1998, 774), "*anthropolgy is the last of the social sciences to take notice of the current interest in institutionalism*", because anthropologist have more to offer than any other group by way of diverse empirical case studies that are essential to a theory of institutions.

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Through game theory experiments, Gintis (2000) makes a difference between different types of individuals in relation to economics, and *homo economicus* would be just one of the possible categories. Thus, he explains all the different alternatives of human action and observable behaviour patterns. In fact, his interpretation is based on the view that human beings really act according to their intuition and previous experience, and are defined by behaviour patterns that would lead to collective coopera-tion and altruism, that is, to *homo reciprocans*.

THE VIEW FROM THE ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY

This section includes the first historical review in scientific literature on the concept of economic rationa-lity in anthropology from its beginnings to the present day when it merges with specific schools of economic though. Additionally, it also shows the opening the idea of rationality to culture and cultural diversity.

From all of the recent economic schools of thought, the neo-institutionalist school is the one that stands out the most for its explicit rapprochement to anthropo-logy, especially because it underscores the role played by social institutions. As we have seen, conventional economic theory has avoided addressing the problem of rationality by assigning patterns of behaviour to the economic agents' preferences and tastes, whose goal is to maximise a function of utility, without considering the configuration of these preferences, which become the objects of study of other social sciences (anthropology, psychology, sociology, even philosophy). The truth is that certain facts cannot be ignored, such as socialisa-tion, enculturation, the predominant cultural models, customs, interpersonal imitation, formal education and group linkage… for they determine individual prefe-rences and patterns of behaviour. As Polanyi stated: "*He does not act so as to safeguard his individual interest in the possession of material goods; he acts so as to safeguard his social standing, his social claims, his social assets*" (1944, 106). Polanyi also differentiated between two types of economy: the formal and the substantive economy. The formal economy is linked to the idea of economic rationality and economising, that is to say, the appropriate assignment of available means to an end. The substantive economy is related to the interaction between man and his social and natural environment, in order to satisfy needs that are not necessarily mate-rial. On the other hand, as Joy (1967) recalled, Firth highlighted the difficulty in applying rational choice models when studying social change and the difference between what people think they should be doing, what they had been hoping to do and what they actually do in reality, as observed.

In this classic ethnography on the Trobriand, Malinowski (1922) underlined the absence of utility maximising patterns of behaviour in this society, where payments were made in kind to family members and by means of ceremonial donations (Kula), and therefore concluded that the behaviour of economic man is con-ditioned by culture and not by human nature. He thus denied the possibility of drawing parallels or similarities between the economic behaviour of individuals from "primitive societies" and those in "western societies", while also rejecting the universality of the maximisation of utilities.

Ever since Mauss and Polanyi devised the "theories of reciprocity", anthropologists thereafter based their analysis on these theories and made a distinction bet-ween social relations versus the contract, and goods versus merchandise, marked by a vision of opposition between "primitive" cultures and capitalist societies. Vis-à-vis *homo economicus*, in his "Essay on the Gift", Mauss shows how the commons, corporate solidarity and reciprocal generosity are priorities in traditional societies. Measures are implemented (sometimes by means of rituals) for the redistribution of goods before leading to an individual's accumulation. Additionally, Mauss (1966, 74) stated: "*It is only our western societies who have recently made man an 'economic animal'. But we are not yet all creatures of this genus. Among the masses and the elites in our society purely irrational ex-penditure is commonly practised. It is still characteristic of a few of the fossilized remnants of our aristocracy. Homo oeconomicus is not behind us, but lies ahead…*".

On the other hand, Polanyi (1944) defends the idea that the market economy is relatively new, while the principle of reciprocity in pre-state societies, helps to ensure family production and subsistence, even though both reciprocity and redistribution became market modulators once the state took on the central role in the economy and the protection of society.

As we know, economic anthropology has been at the heart of an open debate between formalists (Herskovits, Firth, Cohen) and substantivists (Polanyi, Dalton, Kaplan). The formalists declare themselves supporters of the applicability of neoclassical economic theory to all societies, including the rational, selfish and maximising behaviour, while substantivists claim that this economic theory is not of general but rather of particular and substantive application, in such a way that economic institutions have to be studies on a case-by-case basis, and therefore reject the separation of individual economic behaviour from the historical, cultural and institutional context. The formalists argue that there are no specifically economic means or pur-poses. Only the process of assigning scarce resources to alternative ends is economic, thus strengthening the idea of maximisation. According to substantivists, scarcity is not an essential condition for man, but rather simply a condition of market economies, while produc-tion and distribution of goods in market-less societies is embedded in non-economic institutions and social rela-tions (religion, kinship, moral values, politics, etc.), and not in an independent or separate sphere. Therefore,

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individual choice is not necessarily based on economic maximisation and profit.

In dealing with the disagreement between formalists and substantivists, Kaplan (1968) points out that, while the formal theory is strictly deductive, the substantivist method is markedly inductive; the former excessively "economises" society and holds an ethnocentric position, while the latter excessively "socialises" the economy and holds a relativist position. Cook (1966) harshly criticised the substantivist approach and branded it as romantic for believing that "primitives" are cooperative and altruist. Cancian (1966) believed that the controversy stemmed from the different interpretations of maximising behaviour, and suggested that an analysis of how the term maximisation is used would be needed for a wider understanding. The main issue lies in how to compare institutional models in different societies, taking into account cultural diversity, which would imply transcultural research. Cancian concluded by criticising both formalism and substantivism for he did not consider all the possible meanings of the term maximisation.

One of difficult areas that have been worked on is the difficulty of explaining individual economic behaviour, with the common social aim of supplying provisions, along with the consequences that arise from interaction of individual versus social objectives.

Barth (1967) highlighted how individual wealth accumulation, together with the provision of supplies, determines the spheres of exchange. However, the exchange system model, in terms of rational action logic, is based on the idea that the sum of individual decisions shapes the global behaviour of society as a whole. Salisbury (1962) believed that the pursuit of individual economic performance and the structural models of generated exchanges make up two different but complementary perspectives that should be jointly observed. Bennett (1967) raised an issue he believed to have been badly defined, yet crucial for economic anthropology: the relationship between unwanted consequences of conscious decisions and the economic aims of any given society. For this reason, he adopted the double terminology "adaptation strategies" and "assignment decisions". Bourdieu (1979) links the idea of value with the social hierarchy, so that individuals tend to consider those valuable goods that incorporate social classes considered high; this is related to the ideas of taste and distinction that shape a classificatory system of values, lifestyles or habitus.

In short, the debate surrounding exchange centres on the opposition between "material substratum" (in Malinowski's terms), and social relations, that is to say, between a culture's material and immaterial aspects. Anthropology gives priority to social questions, sometimes conflicting with the vision of conventional economics. Hence Sahlins understood that "*a material transaction is usually a momentary episode in a continu-*ous social relation*" (1972, 185). However, when an individual takes a rational decision, he/she is conditioned by existing rules and structures, by the institutionalisation of social relations, the fact of belonging to a group, and everything that is related to the social organisation of an economy in different cultural and historical contexts. In this line of thought, some economists suggested including these social factors in their models, such as the fact of the existence of formal or customary rules (Sethi, Somanathan, 1996), what links with the proposed Gintis (2000) on the *homo parochius* and with work of Fehr and Gächter (1998) on the role of reciprocity (*homo reciprocans*). Despite the attempts to narrow the gap with other social disciplines, current economic schools of thought have maintained this simplistic vision of man, except for neo-institutionalism perhaps, and for some authors who are excluded from the mainstream. It is thus appropriate to show how different conclusions are reached by economics and anthropology for the same problems.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the proposals made so far by anthropology and economics suggests that, although we may need to use generalisations as a starting point in order to understand economic behaviour, one single model is not enough. As demonstrated, the concept of "economic rationality" has changed over time. Meanings have been changed according to the different theoretical currents of thought and the increasing influence between disciplines. Economists have widened their perspectives towards other social sciences, such as anthropology, and have gradually left behind the selfish, calculating and antisocial human being, while anthropologists have become interested in economic behaviour patterns. Despite the difficulties that interdisciplinary cooperation entails (sometimes an excuse for curbing scientific hegemony over certain areas, rather than insurmountable difficulties), we have found outstanding examples of how the gap has narrowed, even in terms of cooperation. This has challenged some of the theoretical arguments that were forged on economic rationality, and has gradually enriched possible responses.

Economic anthropology provides economists with a more microscopic and qualitative vision on analysing economic behaviour, and a wider overview thanks to the inclusion of non-capitalist societies and their cultural diversity. The assumption that every individual acts merely in self-interest may be a useful simplification, which allows for the construction of a model, yet this paper doubts the applicability and validity of this model for all cases, as it should try and illustrate reality. The influence and the marriage between social sciences calls into question the concept of a selfish, utility-maximising *homo economicus*, who makes rational choices and interacts with other individuals with the aim of optimising his so-

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cial welfare level. Firstly, due to the importance granted to the institutionalisation of socio-economic practices, that is, the organisation of economics in institutions - be they prescriptive or customary - involved in establishing an order. Different alternatives on which a subject is able to take decisions are put forward, from a "rational choice" to observable "revealed preferences". Secondly, in opposition to rationality and the idea that an individual makes choices based on his preferential desires, an ethical approach develops, taking into account feelings, commitments, exogenous factors ("limited rationality") and interpersonal relations. Hedonist rationality based on utilitarianism and self-interest is left behind and replaced by a broader concept that includes goals and very different objectives. Thirdly, individuals are placed in their respective sociocultural context in order to understand their respective economic behaviour, and in those collective settings in which it is possible to observe patterns of cooperation and altruism, which clearly leads to an overlapping of anthropology and economics.

Therefore, we have gone from *homo economicus* to *homo reciprocans*, and neoclassical economic rationality is no longer the only possible rationality, having touched on other factors such as the commons, prestige, solidarity, justice and equity. There are other types of rationality that are neither pragmatic nor instrumental, because their goals are inherent to action or because they follow another reasoning, for example, a symbolic reasoning that does not pursue optimisation or maximisation but rather other objectives.

In anthropology, these conclusions had been reached before economics. Reciprocity, based on the ethnographic examples of "primitive societies", underscores the diversity in economic patterns of behaviour and also addresses cultural diversity. But above all, reciprocity rejects the universality of the notion of maximising utilities and of economic rationality. Nonetheless, differences of opinion also arise among anthropologists, not only among economists or between economists and anthropologists.

The difference of opinion between formalists and substantivists sheds light on the dichotomous parameters that feed into the debate on economic behaviour: capitalism versus primitivism, individuals versus collectives, maximisation versus reciprocity, selfishness verses altruism, accumulation versus distribution, inequality versus equality, rationality versus arbitrariness, desires and feelings. All in all, we question the existence of a rational, utility and profit-maximising *homo economicus*. Rather, the economic nature of human beings is recreated, redefined, in each time and place, in each sociocultural context... in each setting, because at the end of the day, each economic exercise is an enactment.

KONCEPT EKONOMSKE RACIONALNOSTI: SOCIALNA ANTROPOLOGIJA PROTI EKONOMIJI

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POVZETEK

Prispevek si je za cilj zastavil pregled socialno-antropološkega in ekonomskega pristopa k racionalnemu vedenju. Socialna antropologija in ekonomija sta se v obravnavo ekonomskih pojavov doslej navadno podajali vsaka zase, saj je multidisciplinaren pristop k temu vprašanju navadno zahteval preseganje velikih formalnih in metodoloških razlik. Vzrok za to tiči v antropološki teoriji, pri kateri sta se v kulturni in ekonomski strokovni literaturi razvili dve

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antitetični šoli: formalistična in substantivistična. Polemike in konflikti med šolama so spodkopavali skupni teoretični in metodološki prispevek ekonomije in ekonomske antropologije. Ekonomija kot znanost se je namreč razvila na temelju (včasih idealiziranih) etnografskih primerov o ekonomsko racionalnem vedenju ‚primitivnih' družb in zato sklepa, da posameznikom največjo korist prinaša sebično vedenje. Tega zaključka ni preverjala niti ekonomija niti antropologija, ki je bila do nedavna osredotočena na vzajemno vedenje posameznikov. Sklep pričujočega prispevka je, da je osnove ekonomske racionalnosti treba ponovno preučiti in razmisliti o veljavnosti koncepta homo economicus vs. homo reciprocans.

Ključne besede: ekonomska racionalnost, kulturno vedenje, socialna antropologija, ekonomija, korist

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GLOBAL JUSTICE AND AGENTS OF HOSPITALITY

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ABSTRACT

The paper deals with selected dimensions of the global justice, especially those that are connected with the concept of hospitality. It introduces and elaborates the concept of agents of justice as developed by Onora O'Neill and situates its importance in the global justice perspective. The aim is to defend the right to hospitality, develop the notion of an agent of hospitality and in relation to it develop a framework of correlated duties and responsibilities that these have within the cosmopolitan justice perspective.

Key words*: global ethics, global justice, cosmopolitan justice, agents of justice, hospitality.*

GIUSTIZIA GLOBALE E AGENTI DI OSPITALITÀ

SINTESI

L'articolo affronta alcune tematiche specifiche della giustizia globale, in particolare quelle collegate al concetto di ospitalità. Il concetto di agenti di giustizia viene introdotto ed elaborato sulla base di quanto sviluppato da Onora O'Neill e la sua importanza viene presentata nella prospettiva della giustizia globale. L'obiettivo è difendere il diritto di ospitalità, sviluppare il concetto di agente di ospitalità e, in relazione con esso, definire un quadro dei relativi doveri e responsabilità che sono propri degli agenti in una prospettiva di giustizia cosmopolita.

Parole chiave: *Etica globale, giustizia globale, giustizia cosmopolita, agente di giustizia, ospitalità.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The paper addresses selected dimensions of the global justice debate, especially those that are connected with the concept of hospitality. It begins by defining the key notions in the mentioned debate and briefly presents the major challenges that are addressed by them. Next, it introduces and elaborates the concept of agents of justice, as developed by Onora O'Neill, and situates its importance in the global justice perspective. This subsequently enables one to approach the notion of hospitality and, within the global justice perspective, to address some open questions, especially the questions related to duties and responsibilities in relation to hospitality. The importance of these questions will be demonstrated with the work of Seyla Benhabib and her defence of the right to hospitality. This will pave the way for the development of a notion of agents of hospitality and, in this way, to chart a new direction in the field of ethics of hospitality.

II. GLOBAL JUSTICE AND COSMOPOLITAN JUSTICE

The concepts of global justice and cosmopolitan justice both figure within an exceedingly broad area of global ethics. The development of the area of global ethics and its justification are first and foremost grounded in a response to the recognition that the gravest challenges, including the moral challenges that we are facing today, are global in their essence and can only be addressed within a similarly global framework (Singer, 2004; Audi, 2007; Sen 2009; Appiah, 2007; van Hooft, 2009). Some authors are even employing the conception of planetary ethics in relation to these (Benhabib, 2011, 193). In addition, most of these challenges call for an urgent response. Living in a world marked with modern globalization, which remarkably affects our daily lives, we struggle to obtain a clearer grasp of its dynamics in various aspects, from economic, socio-cultural, technological, geostrategic, informational, ecological to political and ethical. This process of widening and deepening the interconnectedness and interdependence has brought with it outlooks of greater economic prosperity, access to the global market and more equal opportunities for many, breaking of local monopolies, exchange of knowledge and ideas, enhancements of civil liberties and democracy and increased opportunities for establishing a proper framework for solving some of the most pertinent issues that the world as a whole faces today, as well as the perils of unjust economic exploitation, sweatshop economies and (over)exploitation of resources, diminished cultural diversity, lower standards of democratic accountability, new sources of fears and new threats to our safety, and increased possibilities of conflict (Held et al., 1999, 2; Strahovnik, 2009). Often contradictory and fragmented as a process, globalization changes the world and global community with a fast tempo. Thus, the task of global ethics is, first and foremost, to scale ethical dimensions of such a condition and put forward normative frameworks of global or transnational justice, collective action, maintenance of peace and set the limits of an acceptable and productive division of moral labour. Global ethics can be framed in a number of ways, following diverse approaches, but its overall focus and goals remain the same. For example, working within a framework of ethics of basic capabilities, Martha Nussbaum exposed the following vision of moral decency, which is highly marked with this global dimension and encompasses the recognition that a sustainable, just, and morally decent future for us all includes an acknowledgment that "we are citizens of one interdependent world, held together by mutual fellowship, as well as the pursuit of mutual advantage, by compassion as well as self-interest, by a love of human dignity in all people, even when there is nothing we have to gain from cooperating with them" (Nussbaum, 2006b, 324; cf. Nussbaum, 2006a). This notion of moral decency requires us to formulate, embed, and enforce ethical frameworks on the global scale. In what follows, we will briefly expose the role of conceptions of global justice and cosmopolitan justice within such a global ethical context.

Global justice is an aspect of global ethics, that is centred on justice on a world scale, focusing especially on the domain of international and global institutions and those actions and policies of states and other actors in the global sphere that affect the world order (Nagel, 2005, 113). Within such a perspective, it searches for the universal standards of justice. It can be divided into two parts, the first one encompassing political dimensions of justice and the second part encompassing socio-economical dimensions of justice. The former focuses on the just processes of (global) governance, justice as an aspect political decision making and protection of basic human rights, while the latter encompasses a plethora of issues and questions related to social, economic and cultural statuses and conditions, including aspects of poverty and inequalities, distribution and exploitation of resources, global rules of trade and the possibility to access the global markets, etc. Beitz (2005, 26-27) further differentiated between a broader and narrower sense of global justice. In the broader sense, the notion relates to all normative problems that arise on the political and socio-economical life beyond the state (e.g., the just war and morality of war, humanitarian intervention, human rights framework, emigration and immigration policy, sovereignty and the responsibility to protect, etc.) while in the narrower sense, it refers to "global requirements of *justice*, conceived as a special class of reasons for action that apply primarily to the institutional structure of political and economic life" (Beitz, 2005, 27).

Cosmopolitan justice can be defined as a view within global justice, or a conception of global justice, that starts from the presupposition that "every human being has a global stature as the ultimate unit of moral concern" (Pogge, 2002, 169) and is, in this sense, individu-

alistic and inclusive (Beitz, 2005, 17). It is individualistic in a sense that it gives priority to individuals as a basic moral unit of global justice, as opposed to states, peoples, or other groups when considering a global justice framework. Thus, the international sphere of justice is not seen merely as a society of states or peoples arriving at rules of mutual recognition and conduct, and limiting justification within these groups. Cosmopolitan justice is based upon the presupposition, which demands that justice "derives from an equal concern, or a duty of fairness, that we owe in principle to all our fellow human beings, and the institutions to which standards of justice can be applied are instruments for the fulfillment of that duty" (Nagel, 2005, 119). At the same time, the position of cosmopolitan justice is inclusive in that it does not leave out any individual or group based on whatever criteria it might be offered for such a special case.

While we have seen an increase of interest in global ethics, it is important to note that global ethics for the globalized world requires several important changes of perspective when considering global justice. One of the changes pertains to who is to be considered as an agent of such justice and how we can delimit the scope of its responsibilities and corresponding obligations. This is not a pertinent issue merely for those approaches to global ethics that focus primarily on human rights, but also for other approaches, such as global ethos initiatives (Weltethos), global law and global justice approaches, ethical cosmopolitanism, capability approach, development ethics, etc. Despite the differences between particular approaches, any theory of global justice has to be attentive to ascription of relevant duties and responsibilities to agents of justice. For example, in relation to human rights and duties and responsibilities associated with them, one of the open questions pertains to non-state actors as bearers of at least a portion of those responsibilities. In establishing global justice, Martha Nussbaum pointed out that any "viable theory of justice for the contemporary world ought to have some way of coming to grips with the changing centres of influence and advantage that make our world very different from the world of free republican states envisaged in Kant's Perpetual Peace" (Nussbaum, 2006b, 324.) This also includes the incentive to search for centres of influence and power beyond national states as bearers of responsibility in regard to global justice and determining their corresponding responsibilities. In the next section, we will present Onora O'Neill's theory of agents of justice, which will afterwards further serve us as a basis for developing the ethics of hospitality, together with the focus on agents of hospitality.

III. AGENTS OF JUSTICE

Given the mentioned perplexities surrounding the debate on global and cosmopolitan justice, it is justified to pose the question about the roles and responsibilities of different actors in this regard. O'Neill offers a plausi-

Hans von Aachen, *Allegory* **or** *The Triumph of Justice* **(1598). From Wikimedia Commons**

ble proposal regarding this issue. She begins by noting that the perspective of the "agents of justice", i.e., all agents and agencies that can contribute to the construction of justice, play some part in institutionalizing principles of justice or are conformed by them, have been largely neglected in the theoretical debates on global justice, as well as human rights and other global ethics movements (O'Neill 2011, 181). The spotlight on global ethics that was, in part, backed up with the stress on the importance of internationally recognized human rights, was primarily focused on the range and extent of those rights from the beneficiary perspective by claiming their universality, but has left a clear distribution of obligations and responsibilities unclear and underdetermined. She demonstrated this using the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* of 1948 as an example: "In this brief and celebrated text, nations, peoples, states, societies, and countries are variously gestured to as agents against whom individuals may have rights. Little is said about any differences between the varying types of agents, or about their capacities and vulnerabilities, and there is no systematic allocation of obligations of different sorts to agents and agencies of specific types" (O'Neill, 2011, 183). A deep presupposition remains that national states are primary bearers of responsibilities, as well as privileges. Thus the *Declaration* does not support institutional cosmopolitanism, but an interstatal model of global order (O'Neill, 2000, 180; cf. Benhabib, 2004, loc. 269).

Therefore, we are faced with is a state of affairs where we have a cosmopolitan view of human rights and a statist view of obligations in regard to them.

Within such a setting there is a pervasive assumption that the primary agents of justice are states (e.g., since they have the relevant powers to secure basic human rights) and that all other agents are merely secondary or auxiliary agents of justice, in the sense that the latter are "thought to contribute to justice mainly by meeting the demands of primary agents, most evidently by conforming to any legal requirements they establish" (O'Neill, 2011, 181). This is highly problematic, especially in the globalized world, where we can see a lot of cases of weak and failed states, which are unable to efficiently play the role of primary agents of justice. In such cases, other states, the international community, international organizations or strong transnational corporations can both assist such states or, on the other hand, take advantage of them (through corruption, imposition of unjust conditions, impositions of particular policies, or opportunism, etc.) (Deva, 2012, 103; Monshipouri et al., 2003, 972–977; Strahovnik, 2015). Therefore, we must opt for a more realistic and robust division of responsibilities and obligations that would be more sensitive to the global, political and social context. O'Neill's conclusion in regard to this is that "it may be worth reconsidering whether all second-order obligations to secure human rights should lie with states. [...] The assumption that states, and states alone, should hold all the relevant obligations may reflect the extraordinary dominance of state power in the late twentieth century, rather than a timeless solution to the problem of allocating obligations to provide goods and services effectively" (O'Neill, 2005, 435). Therefore, we can conclude that agents of justice are numerous and diverse.

But this recognition in only the first step towards building a more robust model of global justice, since what is still lacking is a more determinate allocation of responsibilities among the relevant agents of justice. One way to approach this issue is by focusing on the capabilities and capacities of different agents to contribute to the global system of justice. O'Neill utilizes Amartya Sen's notion of capability in order to move the discussion about obligations and responsibilities for global justice from considerations about the status and motives of different agents to their effective powers, with the hope to achieve a more realistic view of what we can reasonably expect to achieve. Capability is not the same as capacity of power in the abstract and in relation to justice "agents and agencies must dispose, not only of capacities which they could deploy if circumstances were favourable, but of capabilities, that is to say, of *specific, effectively resourced capacities which they can deploy in actual circumstances*" (O'Neill, 2011, 189). What is relevant in determining the scope of responsibilities regarding justice are specific capabilities of agents and agencies in concrete situations and not their abstract capacities

or their aggregate power. From this we progress towards the subsequent step in establishing a global justice framework. Since weak states often lack such actual capabilities regarding justice, so particular non-state actors, given their relevant effective capabilities, might step into a part of their role, with full awareness that such agents probably would not be able to have or develop the same scope or depth of such capabilities for justice that a state has in normal circumstances.

The development of ideal global justice, based on a set of perfectly just institutions "would certainly demand a sovereign global state, and in the absence of such a state, questions of global justice appear to the transcendentalists to be un-addressable" (Sen, 2009, 25). However, since such an attitude readily reduces any endeavours towards global justice as an unachievable rhetoric, a more pragmatic approach could prove more useful. Such an approach could be aimed at the abolition of manifest injustices under non-ideal circumstances using a strategy of piecemeal engineering and also focusing on feasible institutional reforms (Mieth, 2012, 55). A more comprehensive inclusion of various non-state agents in frameworks for protection of human rights and other aspects of a normative framework of global justice constitutes just this sort of strategic and pragmatic approach. This is why it is so important to stress the notion of agents of justice and include non-state actors or agents within it (e.g., international nongovernmental organizations, transnational or multinational corporations and global social movements), since these can further develop important capabilities with regard to global (in) justice (Strahovnik, 2015).

We can demonstrate this by reviewing cases of weak states, which are not necessarily just rare exceptions and isolated phenomena, but a consequence of a more general trend of a "twilight of sovereignty" emerging as a result of globalization and global capitalism. This twilight is connected with deteriorating stateness as a "dynamic capacity of states to react and to control their environments in multiple ways" (Benhabib, 2011, 103) and a capacity of states to channel as least some impacts of economic globalization to their own advantage. There are many examples of states that lack full capacities of stateness across their territory, as is the case with special economic zones within some states, in which "this form of economic globalization results in the disaggregation of states' sovereignty, with their own complicity. ... There is an uncoupling of jurisdiction and territory in that the state transfers its own powers of jurisdiction, whether in full knowledge, or by unintended consequence, to non-statal private and corporate bodies" (Benhabib, 2011, 104). This can give rise to diminished state protection of citizens and increased dependence on actions of other agents (both other states and non-state agents). This presents a special context in which a distinction between primary and secondary agents of justice loses its grip.

This digression into the notion of an agent of justice was needed, since we will later attempt to develop an ethics of hospitality with special emphasis on agents of such an ethics, which play the role of agents of hospitality. Next, we will see that the network of such agents is similarly extensive and multi-layered, with their obligations both overlapping and complementing each other. The notion of hospitality, itself, is in its essence also incredibly close to the very perspective of the "agent", since it essentially involves at least two key agents, a host and the one who is hosted and we cannot understand it without this agent-perspective.

IV. ON THE NOTION OF HOSPITALITY AND ITS ROLE IN GLOBAL JUSTICE: SEYLA BENHABIB AND THE RIGHT TO HOSPITALITY

The notion of hospitality is becoming more and more present in modern discourse on global ethics. It is employed both in a narrow and a wider sense. In a narrower sense, it is closely connected with moral issues pertaining to the debates and practices regarding immigration and related phenomena (the right of asylum, lawful residence, citizenship, integration, etc.). This area represents an exceptionally important aspect of global ethics, since the scale of these phenomena and related suffering, misery, and frustration are extensive and growing more and more. In 2013, the UN estimated that approximately 232 million people were living abroad as migrants (UN, 2014); in 2000 this number was 175 million and in 1910, it was 33 million (Benhabib, 2004, loc. 180). The number of refugees and forcibly displaced people has risen to over 50 million in 2014 (UNHCR, 2014). In this context, the notion of hospitality is key for transgressing the traditional statist framework of exclusive membership based on some supposed national characteristics. In a wider sense, the concept of hospitality represents a particular basis for global ethics and global justice that reaches beyond issues related to immigration and is akin to a sort of pervasive cosmopolitan attitude of openness towards others. An instance of this understanding is Derrida's work on unconditional hospitality, for example, which reaches beyond the issues of law, politics, and ethics (Derrida & Dufourmantelle, 2000). Hospitality in this sense is understood as some sort of foundational ethical attitude that grounds the global justice sphere. The broader debate is important for deepening our understanding of the notion of hospitality, e.g., by exposing different models (gift *vs* forgiveness model) and the moral economy that accompanies them (Ahn, 2010), but all this is beyond the scope of this paper. This is not to deny that these debates are not relevant for a proposal being put forward here. Indeed, Derrida (1997a; 1997b; 1997c) builds upon the ideas of radical friendship, inclusive democracy, genuine universality, new forms of sovereignty within his cosmopolitical framework and puts forward a comprehensive proposal of "cities of refuge" that could be understood as proper agents of hospitality. This is a proposal in a similar direction, although some of the underlying considerations diverge, as well as the practical aspects of both proposals.

In what follows, we will focus on the former, narrower understanding of hospitality and we will use the work of Seyla Benhabib and her arguments in support of a right to hospitality to demonstrate the basic ethical dimensions pervading it. Next, we will amend her view with a more explicit introduction to the notion of agent of hospitality into her theory, which will also enable us to construct a wider normative framework of duties and responsibilities of agents beyond states. Benhabib stresses the long overlooked importance of political membership in relation to global justice, since a "cosmopolitan theory of justice cannot be restricted to schemes of just distribution on a global scale, but must also incorporate a vision of just membership" (Benhabib, 2004, loc. 162-163). After that, she presents a convincing case for a right to hospitality, which will further benefit from the introduction of the mentioned wider normative framework.

Benhabib begins this defence by defining her thesis in the following way. The right to membership is a human right that can be defended within the principles of morality (Benhabib, 2004, loc. 724). She uses the horizon of discourse ethics and Kant's thoughts on cosmopolitan rights (*ius cosmopoliticum*) to establish a positive case for the right of hospitality. The latter puts limits on the sovereignty of states to close off their borders. Defending the right to hospitality and the correlated network of obligations and responsibilities of states and other agents, presents itself as a project of post-national solidarity and "a moral project that transcends existing state boundaries, and nowhere are the tensions between the demands of post-national universalistic solidarity and the practices of exclusive membership more apparent than at the site of territorial borders and boundaries" (Benhabib, 2004, loc. 343-345). What emerges is a more open relationship between temporary residence and (full) membership. A tension or paradox between universal human rights, on the one hand, and sovereignty claims on the other cannot be completely bypassed, but its consequences can be at least, in part, mitigated through the process of democratic iterations of the concept of membership related concepts (Benhabib, 2004, loc. 793-799). Benhabib understands democratic iterations as a "complex processes of public argument, deliberation, and exchange through which universalist rights claims and principles are contested and contextualized, invoked and revoked, posited and positioned, throughout legal and political institutions, as well as in the associations of civil society" (Benhabib, 2004, loc. 2656-2658).

More specifically, starting from Kant's understanding of hospitality, it is not to be understood as a sort of so-

ciable gesture of kindness and generosity, but as a right that belongs to all human beings due to their potential membership in a world republic on the basis of cosmopolitan right (Benhabib, 2004, loc. 503-505). Benhabib argued for an amended understanding, which extends this right from the realm of imperfect duty and temporary visit towards the right to membership. Membership is an important aspect since in provides protection. Nowhere has this been more dramatically exposed as in the writing of Hannah Arendt, who based it upon the immediate experience of totalitarian systems and the related genocidal acts, and clearly stated that the organization of Europe after the First World War created minorities that posed as easy targets of genocidal persecution, "stateless people", "scum of the earth", "undesirable", "unidentifiable beggars, without nationality, without money and without passports" (Arendt, 1962, 269), to which the supposedly inalienable basic human rights were denied. What emerged was a form of "organized solitude" and isolation. The role, function or value of a national group (in this case) and group membership is that it offers an effective protection of an individual's rights. "The second World War and the DP [displaced-persons, n. VS] camps were not necessary to show that the only practical substitute for a non-existent homeland was an internment camp. Indeed, as early as the thirties this was the only 'country' the world had to offer the stateless" (Arendt, 1962, 284). The value of the group for Arendt in relation to this is first and foremost in that it offers protection (legal or statutory) to an individual, which was related to the basic right, i.e., "the right to have rights", which represents a right of every human being to be recognized by others (and recognize others in turn) as a person entitled to moral respect and legally protected rights on the basis of common humanity (Benhabib, 2011, 59–60). But even this conceptual framework and justification behind the right to hospitality is permuted with tensions between the universalist nature of its demands, exclusion provisions, and historical contingencies of state membership. Therefore, Benhabib argues that what we have to leave behind is a strong notion of sovereignty, which includes exclusionary control over the territory, with a model of cosmopolitan rights creating an overlapping network of "obligations and imbrications around sovereignty" (Benhabib, 2004, loc 1083). One of her main goals was to establish the "assumption that liberal peoples have "fairly open borders"; that they not only permit a fundamental right to emigrate, but that they coexist within a system of mutual obligations and privileges, an essential component of which is the privilege to immigrate, that is, to enter another people's territory and become a member of its society peacefully" (Benhabib, 2004, loc. 1418-1421). This paper, therefore, discusses the notion of agents of hospitality in this developing framework. But before proceeding, we will take a closer look at some more details in Benhabib's proposal, which hint towards such an amendment.

In relation to the question of agents of cosmopolitan justice, Benhabib rightfully criticized Rawls and his distribute justice-based theory of global justice. One of her main points was that in trying to escape the statist conception of international justice, Rawls introduced the concept of "peoples" as main agents of this justice, instead of states (Benhabib, 2004, loc. 1212-1215; cf. Rawls, 1999), but these in the end become equated with the state, or what we are left with is just an empty and empirically implausible substitute, given that Rawls associates some kind of homogenous identity and moral nature with peoples. Benhabib therefore states that "if we understand peoples to be governed by liberal-democratic institutions, there cannot be nor is it desirable that there ought to be an uncontested collective narrative of common sympathies and a unique moral nature. Collective identities are formed by strands of competing and contentious narratives in which universalizing aspirations and particularistic memories compete with one another to create temporary narrative syntheses, which are then subsequently challenged and riven by new divisions and debates" (Benhabib, 2004, loc. 1281-1284).

Finally, let us turn our attention to the agents and agencies that Benhabib appeals to in her cosmopolitan defence of the right to hospitality. Primarily the addressees of this right were national states. She did appeal to other agents as well, and to the conception of overlapping responsibilities, but we wish to argue that her account would benefit with the inclusion of the notion of an agent of hospitality and related normative framework of obligations. Starting from the recognition about the functioning of the world economy what Benhabib noticed is that it is not the question if either national states or peoples are agents in this arena, but that there are many more agents involved (e.g. WTO, IMF, etc.). Also, going beyond the sphere of economy, the "world community […] should be viewed as a global civil society, in which peoples organized as states are major players, but by no means the only players" (Benhabib, 2004, loc. 1538-1539). In relation to this, Benhabib points out that a lot of these "players" must be included in the sphere of democratic principles of transparency and accountability. What remains open is the nature of correlated obligations and responsibilities of these players. This is the task that we will undertake in the subsequent section.

V. AN ETHICS OF HOSPITALITY AND AGENTS OF HOSPITALITY

In this section, we will outline the notion of agents of hospitality and put forward a suggestion of a normative framework of related obligations and responsibilities. An agent of hospitality could be defined as any agent or agency that can contribute to the construction of those aspects of justice (either by playing a part in institutionalizing norms, being conformed by them, contributing so that other agents are conformed by them, or some

other type of activity), which are related to the right to hospitality, i.e., all pertinent problems and issues related to membership, emigration and immigration, the right to asylum, the right to residence, etc.

One of the key tasks is to formulate a general outline of the duties and responsibilities of these agents regarding the right to hospitality. For a more general approach to the agent of justice in general and transnational corporations as agents of justice, in particular, see Strahovnik (2015). Among the agents of hospitality, we must first include every agent or agency that has the capability, effective power or decisive influence for protection, promotion and fulfilment of the right to hospitality. Next, these agents can be held responsible and ascribed with both negative and positive duties regarding the right to hospitality. We all accept this for states as agents of hospitality. Organizations other than national states (non-state agents) can be legitimately seen as agents of hospitality, especially in circumstances where they are deeply intertwined with basic institutions and practices of weak or developing states regarding membership and the right to hospitality. Agents other than national states can be ascribed with both negative and positive duties regarding the right to hospitality.

Rights, including the right of hospitality (and correlative claims and demands against others) imply duties, that is, rights must be secured by a corresponding allocation of duties if we are to surpass a merely inspirational understanding of human rights. "A normative view of rights claims has to take obligations seriously, since they are the counterparts of rights; it must view them as articulating the normative requirements that fall either on all or on specified obligations-bearers" (O'Neill, 2005, 430). Rights create corresponding duties.

What is further needed is a framework to conceptualize different duties and responsibilities of both state and non-state agents. Besides more traditional distinctions like those between positive ones (duties to act in a certain way to achieve x; e.g., protect, promote or fulfil human rights) and negative duties (refraining from acting in a certain way, e.g., refraining from directly violating human rights) or universal ones (applying to all agents of justice at all times) and non-universal duties (not owned by all agents of justice); we must find further ways to lay foundations for a more complex structure of human rights protection, and especially the right to hospitality, in the light of global justice. This structure must be such to be able to accommodate questions regarding different agents of justice and their priority position in this system of protection, the extent of their possible human rights duties, differences between particular human rights and the time perspective of their respect, protection and fulfilment.

Given the nature of the globalized world and the state-centric practice of human rights protection, it is especially useful to first employ concepts of unconditional and conditional duties and of division of moral labour (Kolstad, 2007). The concept of unconditional duties can be understood as duties which every agent has, regardless of what duties others observe, and conditional duties as "duties to be assumed depending on the actions of other agents in a more closely specified succession of duty-bearers" (Kolstad, 2007, 3). The use of these terms here is a bit different from a more standard use, where unconditional duties are understood as universal and binding for all agents and conditional duties are seen as arising out of specific arrangements, contracts, relations, or roles one occupies. Nonetheless, when understanding it in the former way, the distinction is helpful when introducing the structure of the division of moral work, where "different agents fulfil different duties whose sum total is full coverage in terms of rights realization" (Kolstad, 2007, 2). So we can inter alia talk about primary, secondary, tertiary, duty-bearers within this division. Such a solution also has advantages over a sort of zero sum view, where an increase of responsibility of one (type of) agent of justice results in a reduced responsibility of another.

Another dimension that we can add to this is a distinction between exclusive and supplementary duties. The former are duties that can only be ascribed to one type of agent of justice in general and an agent of hospitality, in particular (e.g., states), while the latter are duties that allow for a division of work and joint protection, respect or fulfilment. Within this category, we can further differentiate between simultaneous (also, in a sense, joint) and subsidiary duties, the former either requiring or allowing for simultaneous responsibility of several agents of justice, while latter allowing for one agent of justice to step into the place of another. If we now conjoin these distinctions with the aforementioned more traditional distinction, like that between positive and negative duties, we can develop a useful multidimensional framework of different categories of duties, which of course should not be understood as entirely static over time. What such categories of duties should include and who has them depends upon the division of moral labour. Again, there are several adjoining questions and issues which determine that: resources, capability, roles (primary, secondary, tertiary...), possible justifiable excuses and discharges of duties, etc.

As a short demonstration of this outline, we can turn to the role of transnational corporations, which are not the agents that would be first associated with the right to hospitality and agents of hospitality, since they (at least in the most direct sense) lack the territory for hosting and, therefore, do not have the corresponding unconditional positive duties in regard to the right to hospitality. Conditional duties of corporations include duties to protect, promote and fulfil human rights as non-primary bearers of those duties. In the usual case, the state has a role of a primary bearer of such duties and the international community, or other countries, have the role of secondary bearer. In numerous cases, corporations can be

Melanie Cervantes, Fabric Banner, Dye Sublimation Printing, 2010.

the next in line (as the most powerful non-state agents with relevant capabilities), and are, therefore, tertiary bearers. The exact character of actions that such duties require can vary, e.g., if the state is unable to secure some human rights and the international community is not responsive, corporations might just find themselves in the role of fulfilling at least some of them; if, on the other hand, the state is able to fulfil them, but unwilling, the actions of corporations might go in the direction of putting pressure on a government or a state to start fulfilling them (Kolstad, 2007; cf. Strahovnik, 2015).

VI. CONCLUSION

The questions of membership, immigration, and hospitality are one of the most pertinent questions within the scheme of cosmopolitan justice. In relation to the European Union, the waves of refugees and other immigrants trying to reach and cross its borders, and the associated death toll that we are witnessing daily are a painful example of this. That is why it is so important to focus our attention on the notion of hospitality and

conceptualize a wider network of agents of hospitality together with corresponding duties and obligations. Only a joint effort of these agents could pave the way for progress towards cosmopolitan justice, embodying the genuine ethics of hospitality. The proposal in this paper aims exactly towards this aim.

The general argument can be generalized as follows. The aspect of agents of justice is crucial for the full implementation of any kind of global or cosmopolitan justice. It enables us to locate duties and other responsibilities correlated to human rights. The bearers of duties and responsibilities regarding human rights extend beyond states and include various types of non-state agents. Also, the nature of their duties and responsibilities varies in regard to their capabilities, relevance and a place within a sensible scheme of division of moral labour (primary, secondary, tertiary… bearers). Cosmopolitan justice and human rights include the right to hospitality. Therefore, agents of justice include agents of hospitality. The project within such a cosmopolitan justice outline is thus locating these agents of hospitality (that include non-state agents as well) and identifying

their duties and responsibilities regarding the right to hospitality. Given the pertinent global need to address the issues related to membership, immigration and, especially, refugee status and asylum, this project is one of the central projects for cosmopolitan ethics and the ethics of hospitality.

GLOBALNA PRAVIČNOST IN AKTERJI GOSTOLJUBJA

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POVZETEK

Članek se ukvarja z izbranimi vidiki razprave globalni pravičnosti, posebej s tistimi, povezanimi s pojmom gostoljubja. Uvede in razišče pojem akterjev pravičnosti, ki ga je razvila Onora O'Neill, ter umesti njegov pomen v perspektivo globalne pravičnosti. To nam potem omogoča približati se pojmu gostoljubja in ter nasloviti nekatera odprta vprašanja v razpravi o globalni pravičnosti: kdo mora ponuditi gostoljubje, komu ga dolgujemo in v kolikšni meri. Na pomen teh vprašanj članek pokaže preko dela Seyle Benhabib in njenega zagovor pravice do gostoljubja. Vse to pa tlakuje pot za razvoj pojma akterjev gostoljubja. Na koncu članek poda splošen okvir dolžnosti in odgovornosti teh akterjev v povezavi s pravico do gostoljubja.

Ključne besede: globalna etika, globalna pravičnost, kozmopolitska pravičnost, akterji pravičnosti, gostoljubje.

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THE MATERIAL PRINCIPLE AND AN ETHICS OF HOSPITALITY AND COMPASSION: REQUIEM FOR LAMPEDUSA

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ABSTRACT

The paper comprises a meditation and an attempt at an ethical analysis of the humanitarian crisis of migrants at Lampedusa. First, a reflection on the mythical tale of Fair Vida is offered in order to inaugurate the poetical and ethical dimensions of the feminine desire to secure the cosmic order for the others. Then follows a reflection on ancient mythological and cosmogonical traditions to provide a context for discussing the growing ethical crisis in the world – i.e., the forgetting of a primeval hospitality, offered to the humanity by those ancient Gods and Nature. A plea for new ethics and an ethical criterion is a part of this reflection; an ethics that is sensitive to the material element in humans. In these contexts, tears are presented and analysed as a sign of this primeval memory in humans towards what has been radically forgotten in our times. In conclusion, the paper offers a meditation on the Buddhist mode of pratityasamutpada, as reflected in the liberating principle – the liberating of our selves from the vicious cycle of recurrent deaths through bodily and visceral compassion and hospitality.

Keywords: hospitality, compassion, material ethics, Lampedusa, Mediterranean, Fair Vida, migrations

IL PRINCIPIO MATERIALE E L'ETICA DELL'OSPITALITÀ E COMPASSIONE: REQUIEM PER LAMPEDUSA

SINTESI

L'articolo rappresenta un momento di meditazione ed una prova di analisi etica sulla crisi umanitaria delle migrazioni nel Mediterraneo, in particolare quella riferita alla tragedia di Lampedusa. In tale circostanza, dapprima, ci dedichiamo al motivo mitologico mediterraneo di Lepa Vida, con il quale si apre lo spazio etico e poetico della bramosia femminile, diretta alla conservazione dell'ordine cosmico nel mondo. Segue la riflessione sulle antiche tradizioni cosmologiche e mitologiche, con la quale si tematizza la crisi etica sempre più presente nel mondo moderno – ovvero la dimenticanza dell'ospitalità primordiale, che veniva offerta agli uomini da dei e natura. L'appello alla nuova etica è parte della presente riflessione, un'etica che si basa sul principio materiale della corporeità e della primazia dei sentimenti, oramai dimenticate nei tempi moderni. Segue l'analisi del capoverso buddista da Chandrak rti, che ci fa notare le dicotomie e le antinomie della logica dell'ospitalità, che viene offerta senza cognizione della logica intracorporea della compassione e che così rappresenta un dono che non è un dono. In conclusione offriamo uno spunto di meditazione sulla compassione e sull'ospitalità concepite quali misericordia, anche alla luce dei pensieri di Bracha Ettinger, Luce Irigaray e Jacques Derrida.

Parole chiave: ospitalità, compassione, etica materiale, Lampedusa, Mediterraneo, Lepa Vida, migrazioni

INTROITUS

Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine.
Et lux perpetua luceat eis.

One year after 366 refugees died off Lampedusa, refugees still have no other choice but to risk their lives in order to seek protection.[1]

More than 2,500 people have drowned or gone missing in the Mediterranean on their way from North Africa since the start of the year.[2]

Life is death, and death is also a life.[3]

Homage to those compassions for migrators, seen as evanescent and empty of inherent existence, like a moon in rippling water.[4]

This symptomatology is as enigmatic as tears. Even if one knows why one weeps, in what situation, and what it signifies (I weep because 1 have lost one of my nearest and dearest, the child cries because he has been beaten or because she is not loved: she causes herself grief, complains, he makes himself complain or allows himself to be felt sorry for – by means of the other), but that still doesn't explain why the lachrymal glands come to secrete these drops of water which are brought to the eyes rather than elsewhere, the mouth or the ears.[5]

For the altars of our city and of our hearths have been tainted, one and all, by birds and dogs, with carrion from the hapless corpse, the son of Oedipus.[6]

Aquamater /noun/ 1. First primordial moisture emanating from The splitting of the Cosmic Egg in Ancient Greek mythology (tripartite form of Phanes, Erikapaios and Metis), therefore maternal water deity of All, and mother of Athena, contrary to popular myth that references Zeus as ruler, father and mother of Athena and the world.[7]

Photo: www.mereja.com

1   See European Council on Refugees and Exiles, 2014.
2   See Amnesty International, 2014. According to the IOM (*International Organization for Migration*), 22,000 refugees and migrants died in the Mediterranean from the 2000 trying to reach Europe.
3   Hölderlin's closing verse from "In Beautiful Blue…" (Heidegger, 1996, 118).
4   Newland, 1984, 57.
5   Derrida, 1977, 55.
6   Sophocles, 1900, v. 1017.
7   Hawke, 2014, 1.

KYRIE ELEISON

In a tale from Slovenian folk tradition, the original mythical tale of the so called Fair Vida, a young woman and a mother, is seeking true – or absolute/unconditional – hospitality for her child ("come, come, I will help you") and for her family; however, in reality, being only a woman, she is abducted to a foreign land by the promise of a false hospitality. The principal message from this literary motif stands for the individuals as well as cultures, being threatened or kidnaped (colonised) by the more powerful, by personal, cultural or political domination, and ultimately shows a lack or lacuna in the very structure of a world community and its broken laws of justice and hospitality of any age since now. The legend of *Fair Vida*, about the beautiful, young woman with a sick child, is originally located in the Mediterranean in the early Middle Ages (9–11th century). Out of Vida's pure maternal/feminine desire to help her poor child, she steps aboard the ship belonging to a foreign trader, who promises her to give her the medicine for the sick child. However, instead of receiving the medicine, she is tricked and abducted from her home. Upon knowing the terrible truth and its fatal consequences (she will never more see her child), she jumps from the boat in despair and drowns in the middle of the Mediterranean.[8] What is the relation between the femininity and the water?

This death is not a normal death. It is a suicide somehow related to Antigone's act. It is an act of despair, but also a heroic death act, which aims to prevent – once and for all – the interruption of injustice into this world. Fair Vida will not allow cosmic laws to be violated in this manner. With her act, she claims for justice that which cannot be secured yet for her child and her family, but which is hoped for others in the future. In this sense, her death is a rebellion, but also it is an act having a divine and redemptive character. Let us hold for a moment in our hearts and our thoughts the suffering and vanished hopes of all the mothers, children and men drowned in the Mediterranean, at Lampedusa; and this only because they wanted to reach the promised land of Europe. But Europe did not want to offer hospitality to them. Instead Europe sacrificed many of them by following its own laws. But why? To fulfil justice? Which justice? Whose laws? Should not justice on the contrary be capable of eternally protecting the weak and those in pain? Should not justice eternally transcend our civic laws and offer them a secure path towards their destination?

DIES IRAE ET OFFERTORIUM

This proto-ethical thought of ancient cosmologies (of Egypt and Mesopotamia, ancient other Indo-European cultures and other unjustly marginalised civilisational and cultural loci throughout world history (Dussel, 2013)[9]) was forgotten in order to ground and develop new ontologies in ethics. These ontologies have destabilised the world, suppressed and forgotten the ancient proto-religious/ethical criterion, and established and inaugurated a world of unjust justice,[10] being ignorant of cosmic, sexual, generational, and cultural differences. In this world, the monosubjective Self governs and guides both epistemological as well as ontological enterprises. Our gods remain distant and do not want to accept our offerings – the many compassions and many hospitalities we offer. In Sophocles' *Antigone*, Creon is haunted and cursed by Erinyes, the goddesses, whose altars were polluted by his acts:

> Then know thou – aye, know it well – that thou shalt not live through many more courses of the sun's swift chariot, ere one begotten of thine own loins shall have been given by thee, a corpse for corpses; because thou hast thrust children of the sunlight to the shades and ruthlessly lodged a living soul in the grave; but keepest in this world one who belongs to the gods infernal, a corpse unburied, unhonoured, all unhallowed. In such thou hast no part, nor have the gods above, but this is a violence done to them by thee. Therefore the avenging destroyers lie in wait for thee, the Furies of Hades and of the gods, that thou mayest be taken in these same ills (Sophocles, 1900, 1064–1077).

The understanding of this world is marked by its feminine cosmic character: whatever disturbs cosmic laws not only disturbs the sacred order of the life and death, but also transgresses an ancient order of hospitality – the sanctity of the dinner-table (*Odyssey* XXI, 28) – which relates to the care for those who seek refuge and shelter in our house, at our hearth. In his reading of Antigone, Heidegger interprets the hearth as Being: not our stranger, whom we did not invite to our home and offer him the hospitality of our dinner table, but we have been expelled from the hearth (*der Herd ist das Sein*) and now "stand outside of Being" (Heidegger, 1996, 109). It is thus our own strangeness, the

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8   For the mythical tale of Fair Vida and its variety of motifs see I. Avsenik Nabergoj (2010), *Hrepenenje in skušnjava v svetu literarure: motiv Lepe Vide*.

9   In this work Dussel chronologically introduces four stages of the "interregional system" (3): the Egyptian-Mesopotamian, Indo-European (with Persian, Hellenistic, Indian, and Mediterranean centres), Asiatic-Afro-Mediterranean (with Persian, Chinese, African, and Byzantine-Russian centres) and modern world system (with its centre in Western Europe and "periphery" in Latin America, Africa, Muslim world, India, Southwestern Asia and Eastern Europe).

10 I refer to Lewis R. Gordon's dichotomy between "just justice" and "unjust justice" from *Her Majesty's Other Children: Sketches of Racism from a Neocolonial Age* (Gordon, 1977, 166).

Orestes at Delphi flanked by Athena and Pylades among the Erinyes and priestesses of the oracle. From Wikimedia Commons.

strangeness of our being, which leads us to *ignorance* for the life and for the being of the other – on which I will elaborate later. The Erinyes are thus the highest ancient guardians of the cosmic genealogies – those of life and death, of hospitality, and of generational orders (parents and their children, brothers and sisters) (Otto, 1987). We have forgotten those laws; we have also lost our relation to the elements, to the earth and waters, wind (breath) and fire (Sun) as begetters and guardians of our lives. Even Prometheus, in his suffering, calls

upon these elements – as witnesses of the injustice he has been enduring, and as witnesses of his broken being:

O you bright sky of heaven, you swift-winged breezes, you river-waters, and infinite laughter of the waves of ocean, O universal mother Earth, and you, all-seeing orb of the sun, to you I call! See what I, a god, endure from the gods! (Aeschylus, 1926)

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There is a need for new ethical criterion in today's unjust world. Since the early times of the history of philosophy, Western philosophers have been in a search for a new ethics. In a series of attempts to ground a new ethics, these efforts resulted in the history of ethics, culminating for the first time in Kant's system of morals (*Groundwork of the Metaphysics of Morals*, 1785). Later, the 19th and 20th century anti- or post-Kantian critical thought (Feuerbach, Marx and Nietzsche; intercultural philosophy, feminism, postcolonial philosophy, liberation philosophy, deconstruction, and phenomenology) convincingly showed the radical insufficiency of the Western ethical hegemonic model with reason/rationality as its sole criterion. Thus, as a result, Enrique Dussel points out (radically, but correctly) that today, neither in Europe nor in the USA "an absolutely postconventional morality [is] possible." (Dussel, 2013, 1). For Dussel, the possibility of this other or new morality builds on the "'great critics' (Feuerbach, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse, and particularly Marx, Freud, and Levinas) and the Latin American experience" (Dussel, 2013, 218) with its inherent criticism of Modernity and any form of domination (in the systems of ethics, politics and economics and in relations between "races", dominant and marginalised cultures, between sexes, hierarchies of age etc.). However, to this group of thinkers it is important to add Schelling, who stood at the very beginning of this critical line of thinking and whose influence, as Dussel shows, spread among the many immediate listeners of his Berlin lectures – such as Feuerbach and Kierkegaard, or Engels and Bakunin. In his lectures from 1842–43, Schelling approached philosophy from the "positive" point of view and declared old ("negative") metaphysics as one, positing the "first source of knowledge in the pure understanding." (Schelling, 2007, 114)[11] For Schelling the new approach is now to be referred to under the heading of "metaphysical empiricism" and is in its essence directly linked to the content of *life* (Schelling, 2007, 169, 198).[12] But not only life, for death also constitutes part of this logic: in his *Clara*, Schelling argues:

> *Shouldn't we generally more often observe the same sensitivity to the departed that we believe we owe to the living? (Schelling, 2002, 76)*

With this, in the midst of the critical and positive era of philosophy, Schelling already knows intuitively (Clara originates from around 1810) that in order to secure peace for future generations, we have to secure peace for those that passed away. Our care is for them and our hospitality also extends its sensitivities to their dwellings.

LACRIMOSA

However, in order to proceed towards the new ethical criterion that I intend to present and defend in this essay, I offer the following hypothesis: there are two ontological genealogies guiding our ethical lives – the first is the ontology of thinking (which is transcendental) and the second is ontology of love (which is empirical). The topic of hospitality – which represents one of the key questions in today's world – can be a part of both ontologies but it only expresses itself in a "material" way within the latter. We will see that hospitality builds upon compassion; both must be understood and felt as a part of a new *material-maternal-matrixial* ethics. According to Derrida – and this indeed is the secret core of compassion – "one doesn't know *why one trembles*." (Derrida, 1977, 55) Ancient Greek, Semitic and Sanskrit words for compassion all testify equally for this ethics of compassion: they all relate us to the most intimate bodily phenomena of trembling for/with the other, such as Greek verb *spagkhnízomai* ("to be moved by visceral compassion"), the Hebrew word *rakhamim* ("matrixial compassion"), or the Sanskrit Vedic and Buddhist terms *rdudara* and *anukampa* ("compassionate inside" and "compassionate co-trembling"). All these sacred words testify for the *inside* as a locus of compassionate feelings, and also as a locus of hospitality.[13]

We pay homage to *our* civic laws of compassion and *our* civic laws of hospitality, but these were not *their* laws. In the future, we must bring our laws of compassion and hospitality to bear upon this difficult – indeed, impossible – thought. The philosophical genre that testifies to this intrusion I will now refer to as *lamentation* – the lamentation for the thousands of deaths. In *The Gift of Death*, as already noted, Derrida inaugurated the philosophical discipline I want now to put in the most closest vicinity of the new material ethics or thinking of the body: this is the *philosophical symptomatology*. We need to come to that "cause closest to our body, that which means that one trembles or weeps rather than doing something else," as he puts it (Derrida, 1977, 55). Therefore we have an ethical anatomy of the body: one trembles from the outside (skin) to the inside (viscera, bowels) and vice versa; one laments in the eyes (tears) and in the heart (*kardía*); then, finally, one breathes with lungs full of the wind of alterity (*pneûma*) in an inspiration that is yet to come (Levinas). Interiority and exteriority, inside and outside: our tears (and their hidden memory of the primeval and all-encompassing cosmic

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11   "Negative" philosophy, for Schelling, is determination and is grounded in Spinoza's *omnis determinatio est negatio* (Schelling, 2007, 24).
12   The negative philosophy is, on the contrary, linked with the *Academy*.
13   For an exposition of this form of compassion see L. Škof (2006), "Metaphysical Ethics Reconsidered: Compassion and World Religions".

The Madonna in Sorrow

waters) are able to transgress this invisible border between the body and soul, debordering them at the very threshold, which is pain, in its most elemental form; lamentation, tears and our sadness – our longest compassion for the pain of mothers, fathers and their children at the shores of Lampedusa, for the hospitality that did not come, with Derrida (1977, 55):

God is the cause of the mysterium tremendum, and the death that is given is always what makes us tremble, or what makes us weep as well.

SANCTUS

Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus!
Dominus Deus Sabaoth!
Lord God of hosts! [14]

Never is he injured whom the Gods
Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman,
The excellently wise, protect.[15]

LIBERA ME

Let me now begin this questioning of hospitality and compassion with the following words of a great Tibetan philosopher Dzong-ka-ba on compassion:

Chandrakirti's homage to compassion observing phenomena is: Homage to compassion viewing migrators as evanescent or momentarily disintegrating, like a moon in the water stirred by a breeze. His homage to compassion observing the unapprehendable is: Homage to compassion viewing migrators as empty of inherent existence, though they appear to exist inherently, like the reflection of the moon in the water. (Newland, 1984, 57)

According to the Buddhist philosophy, sentient beings do not have a permanent nature; they are composed of impermanent aggregates, which all is based on the Buddhist Mahayana theory of dependent origination and the emptiness (*shunyata*) of all existence. This is the Buddhist metaphysical-material view of the human person and

compassion. But there is an intrusion into this logic, which requires from us another view of justice, of compassion, and perhaps hospitality. The intrusion transfers migrators to concrete migrators: we all have been distant witnesses of their deaths, of children, little sisters and brothers, of their mothers and fathers, being drowned in the water, disappearing from the surface, becoming only a reflection for us, being reflected in a terrifying way; disintegrating in front of our eyes, they are the worst possible intrusion into the cosmic order, as depicted by the Buddhist and other ancient cosmologies (Metis and Erinyes; but also other similar genealogies in ancient Greek, ancient Near Eastern and ancient Vedic religions[16]). Already Sophocles' Antigone testifies to this kind of violent death: being violent even towards dead bodies, which are prevented from finding their rest in peace – this is what dangerously interrupts the cosmic order. Without hospitality, there is no peace. Hence gods refuse to take our offerings: our lamentations, sorrows, they all come *plus tard*.

This is what is happening in the Mediterranean Sea, at Lampedusa. For us, these bodies and these souls were emptied of inherent existence, but in a manner that perverts the ontological and ethical order. Between them and us, there was a bond that has been broken; between us and them there was a threshold, but as a place without our visitation: first designating *cháos*, or a primeval gap, difference, grief (der Schmerz; *das Unter-schied*) (Heidegger, 1971), as in the ancient Greek (Hesiod) or ancient Indian (Vedic) cosmogonies – as a threshold, this dwelling on the plane of the first ontological difference between Being and Nonbeing, which can only be secured and, as it were, carried over with love and hospitality, our welcome of the other. There was no compassion or hospitality offered for them when they needed it, nobody was able to give them shelter in the moments when they needed it most. Who is able to liberate us from this ignorance? According to Bracha Ettinger and her ethics of femininity, compassion and hospitality are related to the matrixial (womb-mother) sphere: what must become our home, habitation, and what, at the same moment is the most vulnerable of all, is a "creative gesture in *copoiesis*" – of me for the (m)other, which only brings care to this world (Ettinger, 2007, 114).[17] This care, feminine or maternal (*rakhamim*) in its character, is represented by the primeval compassionate and corporeal relation of the infant and his (m)other. As such, then, our compas-

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14 Yahweh Zebaoth as a divine name is etymologically derived from the Semitic root ṢB', found in Hebrew *ṣābā'* ("army, host") (Toorn et al., 1999, 920). Yahweh Zebaoth, the lord of heavenly host, represents the idea of an intersection between heaven and earth (i.e., his role in the temple): "the temple is the point, at which the dimensions of space are transcended (923) – is this not the ultimate sign of his hospitality towards humans, his act of *debordering* within the cosmos."

15 *The Hymns of the Ṛgveda* (1995, 27). Hymn 1.41 is dedicated to Vedic Adityas, and among them to Aryaman, the Vedic god of hospitality.

16 Let me here only mention ancient Indian tale of Savitri, a heroine from the *Mahabharata*. Her name originates from the Sanskrit term *prasavitrī* (from *pra-savā*) referring to her roles as being the "procreatrix", "mother", "bestowing progeny" (Parpola, 2000, 197). In this, she inhabits the very threshold between the night and day, between *not-yet-life* and *life*, dying and creating/resurrecting, with femininity and masculinity represented in their different roles. Savitri thus represents ancient cosmic generational and sexual orders, similar to those, propounded by Irigaray in her reading of *Antigone*. (Parpola, 2000; Parpola 1998; Deshpande, 1995).

17 And also: "Hospitality and compassion (...) are not only the direct path to the connection between sacrifice and redemption but also the direct path to the connection between grace, solace, care and misericord." (Ettinger, 2007, 114)

Photo: Alberto Pizzoli

sions and hospitalities are primary and an-archic; together they represent what could be called *misericord*: being compassionately hospitable for the other. Misericord is proximity and home: primarily being home on the most intimate plane – that of our "flesh and breath" (Irigaray, 2008, 26) – and at the same moment offering our place to the other; here Irigaray also rightly observes that what we offer in our everyday hospitalities are empty places and empty gestures, giving to the other what we already and always possess: we offer them "empty territories",[18] our own traumas, our own possessions. In this sense, the hospitality offered by Levite to the stranger ("In the morning ... with her hands on the threshold"; Judges 19:27) is also false hospitality. Moreover, to return for the moment to Candrakirti, we are not yet able to empty our own compassions of their masculinities, directednesses, gravities, all enclosed by a desire we nourish for ourselves; only then, sharing with the others becomes the most precious gift we possess – the offering of the place we yet have to inhabit, our unlimited *misericord*, beyond the interiority-exteriority divide, beyond *our* time, beyond *our* place (Newland, 1984, 74):

> Mercy alone is seen as the seed
> Of a Conqueror's rich harvest,
> As water for development, and as
> Ripening in a state of long enjoyment;
> Therefore at the start I praise compassion.[19]

IN PARADISUM

Absolute hospitality, then. We pay homage to *our* civic laws of compassion, and *our* civic laws of hospitality, we said, but these were not *their* laws. We offer them territories, but they are not their territories; what we offer to them instead of our subtle selflessness is our unhomeliness (Candrakirti), gathered around the hearth of Being (Heidegger), which should be no one's possession. According to Derrida – and here I return to the problem of justice –, "justice is an experience of the impossible" (Derrida, 2002, 244) and law is not justice. In a Levinasian voice, Derrida speaks of that justice, which is only possible when its essential or constitutive part is an ethical relation to the other, as a promise of *sainteté*, a promise, which paradoxically and anarchically comes before all philosophy and all theology (Levinas, 2008)[20]. This emanation of holiness from the ethical plane of *misericord* (as hospitality and compassion) is what now, finally, designates the very materiality of the human person and its ethics, understood within the ethical cluster of *Maternity – Matrix – Material – Matrimony*.[21]

The dignity and the future (*avenir*) of humanity rest on this thought.

Peace, peace, peace.

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18 Cf. op. cit., p. 24. Irigaray states: "To be sure, the other will be sheltered, but in an enclosed space, a place already defined by our norms, our rules, our lacks and our voids. The other will have the possibility of dwelling only in a loop of the interlacing of relations where we ourselves are situated by our culture, our language, our surroundings. Blind to our lack of freedom." (Irigaray, 2008, 26)

19 The excerpt is from Candrakirti's *Madhyamakavatarabhasya*.

20 Of course this thought originates from *Totality and Infinity* (Levinas, 1969, 89).

21 On the root *mat-* and its ethical meaning see *After »Rwanda«: In Search of a New Ethics* (Martinon, 2013, 36). Here Martinon refers to Lyotard's genealogies; see n. 79.

MATERIALNO NAČELO IN ETIKA GOSTOLJUBJA IN SOČUTJA: REKVIJEM ZA LAMPEDUSO

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Prispevek tematizira vprašanje sočutja in gostoljubja kot se zastavlja ob humanitarni in etični krizi v Mediteranu, konkretneje ob obalah Lampeduse. Etično vprašanje migracij in tragične usode migrantov je vzgib k razmisleku o našem odnosu do samega temelja etike in zakonov moralnosti ter političnih zakonov, ki iz nje izhajajo. Najprej v članku tematiziramo motiv Lepe Vide, ki ga prepoznamo kot izraz feminilnega sočutja, ki presega sočutje do drugih in se razširja v kozmos – Lepa Vida s svojim dejanjem ščiti kozmični red in ne dovoli vdora kaotičnega in zlega vanj. S tem se vpisuje v tok dejanj, ki jih inavgurira Antigona. V nadaljevanju se ukvarjamo z refleksijo in analizo starih kozmoloških elementov, ki jih najdemo pri starogrški mitologiji in kozmologiji, da bi na tej podlagi lahko utemeljili nov etični kriterij, poimenovan z izrazom materialna etika. V okviru nove etike telesnosti, kot podlage nove etike gostoljubja in sočutja, na podlagi Derridajevega dela Dar smrti analiziramo vlogo solz v etiki. Prispevek sklenemo z meditacijo in refleksijo o anarhični naravi sočutja in gostoljubja kot milosrčnosti (misericordia), navezujoč se na misel B. Ettinger in L. Irigaray.

Ključne besede: gostoljubje, sočutje, materialna etika, Lampedusa, Mediteran, Lepa Vida, migracije

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WELCOME TO IZOLA!
OFFERING »AUTHENTIC HOSPITALITY« ON FISHING BOATS

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the article is to present everyday uses of authenticity within the popular and tourist discourses along the present-day Slovene coastline and to highlight the active role of individuals in the process of hospitality. In particular, we will be interested in the uses of "authentic hospitality" connected to fishing tourism that was developed due to the economic and other problems within Slovene fishing sector and will pose question: How authentic is hospitality on fishing boats? Methods used are participant observation and interviews.

Key words: fishing tourism, authenticity, hospitality, Izola, Slovene coast

BENVENUTI A ISOLA!
OFFERTA DELL'«OSPITALITÀ AUTENTICA« SUI PESCHERECCI

SINTESI

Lo scopo dell'articolo è di presentare l'uso d'autenticità sulla costa slovena odierna così nel discorso turistico come anche nel linguaggio popolare e dimostrare il ruolo attivo dell'individuo nel processo dell'ospitalità. Nel centro dell'interesse sarà l'uso dell'«ospitalità autentica«, collegato con turismo di pesca, sviluppatosi a causa delle difficoltà economiche e altre nell'ambito del settore di pesca marina. Ci porremo la domanda seguente: Quanto è autentica l'ospitalità sui pescherecci? I dati usati sono stati ottenuti con metodo di osservazione, con partecipazione e le interviste.

Parole-chiave: turismo peschereccio, autenticità, ospitalità, Isola, Costa slovena

INTRODUCTION

Along with myths, imaginaries, host-guest and center-periphery relations, as well as other tourism-related issues, hospitality has been *"…one of the most pervasive metaphors within tourism studies referring in one sense to the commercial project of the tourist industry (such as hotels, catering, and tour operation) and in another sense to the social interactions between local people and tourists—that is, hosts and guests"* (Germann Molz & Gibson, 2007, 6). Hospitality brings to the discussion numerous contemporary questions related to cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, relations between social groups, tourist images as well as personal experiences of exclusion or inclusion. As Bell observed, the last decade has seen a renewed interest in the concept of hospitality, bringing to the fore the critical turn in hospitality studies (away from the solely functional emphasis) and the adoption of the concept and practices of hospitality across a range of social science disciplines (Bell, 2012). Although there are some general tendencies that can be observed in recent approaches to hospitability, the disciplinary location however additionally tailors the main focus as well as the way of combining three angles of the "hospitality story": product, process and experience. When dealing with hospitality from an anthropological perspective - that is an ethnographically informed view - the relations between hosts and guests as well as the personal experience in this relation assume special importance.

Another important concept within tourist studies that deserves mention in relation to hospitality is that of authenticity. Anthropology of tourism - dealing with consumption of myths and staged authenticity - was the only sub- discipline of anthropology in which the concept of authenticity was frequently reflected or/and criticized (see among many MacCannell, 1989; Selwyn, 1996; Rojek & Urry 1997; Theodossopolus, 2013). As stressed by Selwyn: *»Tourism is about the invention and reinvention of tradition. It is about the production and consumption of myths and staged inautheniticites. It also has far-reaching economic, political and social consequences at levels ranging from the household to nation"* (Selwyn, 1996, 30). Following tourist narratives and tourist sites many anthropologists have observed that the history and archaeology aimed at tourists presents a homogenous singular narrative despite the many conflicting interpretations of history and furthermore recognised different levels of authenticity (Duke, 2007; Field, 2009; Selwyn, 1996). As Theodossopolou points out that while deconstructing the "inauthentic" singular tourist narratives offered to tourists as "authentic", anthropology can also fall into the trap of operating within the binary framework of "authentic-inauthentic". After detecting the singular and constructed authenticity of

the tourist site one can still be pursuing the question: Would this tourist site be more authentic if we would make people aware of heterogeneous interpretations? In his synoptic article on the concept of authenticity *"Laying claim to Authenticity: five Anthropological Dilemas"* Theodossopolous (2013) stresses that *"…The development of analytical conceptualizations of authenticity with qualifying adjectives or nouns is not a sign of academic verbalism, but an academic response to authenticity's multiple vernacular uses: in many evaluations of objects, performances, or cultural practices, more than one conceptualization or criteria of authenticity is debated at any given moment"* (Theodossopolou, 2013, 340). In this article we would like to follow this direction, acknowledging the stresses of the current debate within anthropology of tourism that has moved beyond the essentialist conceptualizations of culture, recognizing that there are no bounded, single, and self-contained cultures, neither is there an all-embracing anthropological definition of authenticity (Field, 2009).

Although we will follow several theoretical debates on authenticity (Selwyn 1996, Bendix, 1997; Macdonald, 1997; Theodossopoulos, 2013) and hospitality (Lashley, 2007; Selwyn, 2007; Bell, 2012) this article will neither dwell on the theoretical discussion of authenticity and hospitality in general, nor will it engage in any extended sense the dilemmas about the use of the concepts of authenticity in anthropological analysis. Our more focused and modest intent is to present everyday uses of authenticity within the popular and tourist discourses along the present-day Slovene coastline and to highlight the active role of individuals in the process of hospitality within fishing tourism. In particular, we will be interested in the uses of "authentic hospitality"[1] connected to fishing tourism that has developed in response to economic and other pressures within Slovene fishing sector, and will pose question such as: How authentic is hospitality on fishing boats? Our contention is that different understandings of this "authentic hospitality" attached to Slovene coastal area and fishing tourism can best be understood as holding a key element of innovation leaving the binary framework of authentic-inauthentic tension aside. We will focus on the case of fishing tourism in the present-day Slovene coastal town of Izola, where for many decades now fishing has been the first and foremost local activity (Kramar, 2003).

IZOLA – HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND CONTEMPORARY TOURIST RHETORIC

Within the politic regime of SFR Yugoslavia government, tourism became one of the most developed sectors of the Yugoslav economy. Yugoslav tourism aimed

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1   The term »authentic hospitality« is not an emic term developed by our interlocutors or local tourist agencies but it serves as a metaphor with which we would like to elaborate on innovative strategies developed by local actors.

at several directions; attracting foreign tourists with hard currency, supporting socialist projects of building a nation in the spirit of brotherhood through domestic tourism migrations and putting accent on personal fulfillment and free time instead of on consumerism (Walton, 2010, x). From 1965 onwards, tourism expanded rapidly, mostly within two Yugoslav republics, Croatia and Slovenia. Along the Slovene coast, tourism developed in different ways mostly in accordance with the specificities of each coastal town - Koper, Izola, Portorož and Piran. As one of the inhabitants from Koper stated: *"…the port of Koper closed the sea and rendered impossible the development of tourism".* Izola on the other hand built its identity around the fishing industry and kept its image throughout the Yugoslav and Slovene period as fishermen's' and workers' town. Although Izola had the capacity of 300 beds for tourists before the 2nd WW, in the period after the war, tourism was slow to develop. In 1952 Izola started to develop holiday camps for children in villa *Isolina* and several restaurants for visitors were opened such as *At the Fishermen, Tourist, In the Park* (Kramar, 2002, 269). Slowly the former hotel *Luigi Menis* was renovated in 1956 and renamed into *Zora* (*Dawn*). In 1962 they started to build holiday homes and bungalows in Belvedere and later on, two camps (*Jadranka* and *Belveder*) were established (Kramar, 2002, 270-271). In the beginning of the 1980s, holiday houses for the retired were built as well as several syndicate homes and later on holiday homes for the handicapped (Tome-Marinac, 1994, 130). Despite this development, tourism still only played a minor role in Izola around the 1980s (Tome-Marinac, 1994, 130), and the strong accent on syndicate tourism was specific to Izola. Portorož, on the other hand, focused the most (in comparison to other Slovene coastal towns) on foreign tourism, developing alongside also a measure of domestic tourism in the holiday homes. Piran was also specific for its numerous second homes, as many of the former Italian houses were transformed into weekend retreats of urban people (Jeršič, 1968).

Recent touristic brochures partly continues with this rhetoric, adding some new aspects representing Izola and its hinterland as a town where people appreciate healthy local food and refuse to buy into capitalist consumerism, aiming instead at *Kilometer zero* philosophy. As written in the promotional brochure: *"The diverse and rich Mediterranean – Istrian cuisine in Izola has been further enhanced with the initiative "Kilometer zero". The idea of Kilometer zero is to offer in selected local restaurants autochthon and authentic food. […] Guests will have the opportunity to taste the typical dishes of our local seafood as part of the "Sea on the table", where the catch of the morning is on the table at lunch."* [2] The above quotation is in consonance with Slovenia's national marketing strategy for the Littoral, and it foregrounds four key aspects relevant to our discussion: the Mediterranean, Istria, authenticity and "mute", mysterious history. Although the case of Izola's fishermen remains in the background of this campaign, it is closely interwoven with all these aspects. First of all, Izola is seen to be represented primarily through its fishing and work culture, as an *»… old Mediterranean town […] where the genuine traditions of fishing and winemaking, mysterious traces of the past, and the welcoming character of the locals merge together to form an unforgettable mosaic of experiences.«* [3] Nowadays Izola still remains a fishing town and fishing is promoted as one of the main landscape attributes from the town's history. One can find old photos of fishermen and fishing boats blown up into large posters looking out on the pavement from the Mercator shop windows alongside the information on working hours of this Slovenian commercial enterprise, or attached to the walls and doors in public toilets – mysterious traces of the early 20th century - staring at visitors without any explanation but merely, it seems, for aesthetic pleasure. The last two decades have also seen extensive promotion of the authentic experience of spending free time with Izola's fishermen (*»With fishing boat Zlatoperka you will get to know hard fishing life«; »Experience a different day, experience a fishing day!«*) coupled with the demonstration of mending and sewing fishing nets. [4] Fishing is promoted mostly through notions of healthy climate and food (Rogelja, 2006) in relation to Istria or the Mediterranean more generally. Local innovations of authenticity are indeed deeply connected also with the historical context. The troubled history of

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2   Corrections to the original text: *"The rich and diverse Mediterranean – Istrian cuisine in Izola has been given an extra boost with the initiative "kilometer zero". The idea of Kilometer zero is to offer in selected local restaurants local, authentic food. […] Guests will have the opportunity to taste typical seafood dishes of the area as part of the "Sea on the table", where the catch of the morning is on the table at lunchtime."* The Kilometre zero (Kmnič) is a project, which intends to offer *"indigenous/autochtonous and authentic gastronomic products of Izola and its rural areas to the visitors and tourists".* The aim of the project is to seasonally present authentic dishes from locally-obtained, fresh and healthy ingredients cultivated with the help of local communities and prepared according to traditional local recipes. This spring the project carried out a campaign *"Erbe per ovi"* (Herbs for eggs), which took place from 15 March to 17 May 2014. Houses and farmhouses of rural Izola offered their guests egg dishes with seasonal herbs. *Kilometre zero: fresh and from nearby* (Kilometer nič: sveže in blizu) as an initiative started in 2012 in cooperation with the mayor of Izola, mag. Igor Kolenc, director of the Tourist Association of Izola, Danilo Markočič and a fisherman and tenant of the Izola Fish Market, Fabio Steffe. Together they presented their first campaign under the slogan *"Sea on the table (where the catch of the morning is on the table at lunchtime)"*. This slogan was used also in the year 2013 on the basis of a rich catch of one-and-a-half tons of mullet in March 2013 (from the article *Kilometer nič* [Kilometre Zero], http://www.obala.net/obala/kilometer-nic-58726/clanek, dated from 6. 3. 2013; last accessed 6. 5. 2014).

3   Welcome to Izola http://www.slovenia.info/?_ctg_kraji=2784&lng=2 (last accessed 6. 5. 2014)

4   Ribiške počitnice [Fishing holidays] http://ribiske-pocitnice.si/partnerji/morski_ribolov/ (last accessed 6. 5. 2014)

Fish cantina at sea (Photo: Nataša Rogelja)

the exodus of the Italian-speaking inhabitants (among whom there were also fishermen) who after the 2[nd]WW left *en masse* the coastal towns of the present-day Slovenia constitutes, for example, a chapter in history that is still considered to be too problematic, to be openly talked about and refashioned for the purposes of tourism. Furthermore, the marketing of industrial fishing heritage is also not without its silences, since most of the factories were closed in the last 20 years and the fishing industry restructured, sometimes even collapsed due to unsuccessful attempts at privatization from 1991 onwards. After the establishment of the new maritime border between Slovenia and Croatia (which is still not fixed), Slovene fishermen on the one hand experienced a narrowing of fishing territories but on the other, by joining the EU in 2004, they also experienced new possibilities derived from EU funds for regional development. Regional development funds have provided new opportunities and marketing niches, whereby authenticity becomes on the one hand popular and up-to-date and on the other it is still semantically loose enough to provide a space than can accommodate the hidden and suppressed historical episodes (wrapping them up in phrases such as *"mysterious traces of the past"*) and

simultaneously allow for the development of new innovative contents. One of them is "authentic hospitality" on fishing boats, developed by local fishermen in their effort to survive, to be able to stay on the sea and on their boats and sometimes even to collectively enjoy the fishing tourism together with their guests.

FISHING TOURISM

One of the factors that fishermen in Slovenia see as having most impacted their daily lives after 1991 was the establishment of the new state border as this caused significant losses to their fishing territories. After 1991, this closure of substantial swathes of fishing ground (along the previously joint Yugoslav coastline) coupled with the prohibition of fishing with driftnets during late spring and summer periods, meant a dead season for fishermen used to this kind of fishing technology. Additionally, during the dead season the state of Slovenia withheld their support to fishermen by paying their health insurance and neither did the new Slovenian government with its appointed ministry put any effort into improving their employment status[5]. The status of fishermen was initially regulated within the category of individual entrepreneurship and

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5   As shown already in the second part of the book some substantial changes were nevertheless triggered by the efforts of the fishermen office and its inputs for better communication between fishermen, national political actors and the international network *Medisamak*.

later on it was regulated on the same basis as the status of farmers. Furthermore, the number of Slovenian fishing boats that have previously fished in present-day Croatian waters was, after the establishment of the new state border (which is still subject of the international arbitrage), suddenly much too high for the Slovene sea with less than 50 km of coastline divided into three protected areas within Slovene national waters. Another negative consequence was that the market for the fish cannery factory diminished drastically. Further restrictions on commercial sea fisheries were brought about *"by changes to the shipping regime to the commercial Port of Koper as of December 2004, which abolished existing rules giving priority of way to fishing vessels over commercial ships"* (NSP, 2014, 8). Due to all this as well as because of the fact that Slovene fishing[6] is strictly seasonal, and the Gulf of Trieste is overused, several fishermen decided to combine fishery with tourism in the summer months in a form of passenger transportation, fish picnics, fishing with fishermen tours and school excursions. Izola, as a "town of fishermen", and its inhabitants took on a special role in these endeavors (Rogelja, 2006; 2004a; 2004b).

Fishermen who engage with fishing tourism advertise their activity during the summer spring and autumn period on notice-boards placed on the fishing pear (usually in front of their boat), they hang them on their boat or stick them to the doors of their vans. Some of them use also web to promote their activity. Their advertisements can be found on the web sites of local tourist information centres[7] or municipal webpages where one can find a photo of the boat with the telephone number of a captain, a pricelist and a menu. Individual fishermen cooperate with certain tourist agencies who promote their activity in a simple way – with a photo and a phone number. On the home page of municipality www.izola.eu visitors can find different offers and images. Pamphlet "*Visit Izola, a delightful fishing town with delicious vedutas*" is accompanied with estheticized pictured of fishing nets, port and boats and with an invitation to excursions with different local boats. If we click on one of the links connected with the boat named *Jež* [Hedgehog/Urchin] we reach the slogan "*With fishermen in a fishermen way*" and some additional information on excursions (food details etc.). Several fishermen promote themselves on their own web-sites. On the website www.delfin2.si the boat *Delfin II* [Dolphin II] and its owner "fish" their visitors with extensive number of photos showing a boat, cheerful visitors or a captain with a big smile, standing in his aft cabin and holding the rudders. The sea-food showed on photos

are anchovy, sardines and calamari. The homepage is designed in a blue colour and photographs are framed in blue frames. They give the appearance of trendy tourist look and are in no way connected with "traditional or ancient times". A visitor can see photos of two boats; *Meduza* and *Delfin II*; one on the sea and the other in the port. They are both very clean and tidy, shining in a fresh white colour. Beside photos there are just few data on prices, different tourist packages (fish picnics, panoramic excursions, bathing and route: Izola – Piran – Portorož – Izola) and a contact address.

Additional web presentation of fishing tourism can be found under the name *Fishing holidays*[8]. This programme was developed by the group of actors (among which there are also local fishermen) who are connected through common work within the framework of EU fishery politics, EU fond for fisheries and sustainable development issues. The programme's moto is »*Spend a different day, experience a fishing day!*«. Within this programme different thematic excursions, culinary and tourist programmes, programmes for special groups and sport fishing are offered. The text on the webpage explains that the hosts will: » *…disclose their trade secrets of fishing and fish farming, and offer their products for tasting in a traditional way or high culinary style. […]* « Although it resembles some of the previously presented approaches such as the excursions within *Riba* company for industrial fishing or fish picnics the novelty of the *Fishing holidays* programme is a joint cooperation of different actors (fishermen, aquaculture farmers, biologists, tourist transporters, culinary experts, sport fishermen, fish food processing experts...). Prices of the excursions are higher in compare with "ordinary" fish picnics and although the rhetoric may seem quite similar as in the previous material the target public group that this programme wants to attract is obviously a different one, the frame of reference is more likely to be connected with the "cool authenticity"[9].

TWO ETHNOGRAPHIC NARRATIVES

In the following lines we will present two ethnographic narratives connected with fishing tourism that will further help us to elaborate on the question: How authentic is hospitality on fishing boats? The first ethnographic narrative, *A day off for coal-miners and peasant women* took place in the first phase (1999-2004) of our ethnographic research, while the second one *Fishing with fishermen* (describing the activity, which was later developed in *Fishing holidays* tourist product[10]) draw

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6   The data of SURS (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia) from 2005 shows that there 159 fishermen have been active on the strip between Piran and Ankaran. Furthermore 72 fishermen were involved in fishing as their primary occupation and 87 are part-time fishermen (source: SURS, Maritime fishing 2005 cited in Operational Programme for Fisheries Development in the Republic of Slovenia 2007-2013, 2013: 155.

7   http://www.izola.eu/index.php?page=static&item=96&tree_root=5

8   Ribiške počitnice – Fishing holidays http://ribiske-pocitnice.si/en/

9   On the distinction between the cool and hot authenticity see Tom Selwyn (1996).

10   *Fishing Holidays: Spend a different day, experience a fishing day.* http://ribiske-pocitnice.si/en/partners/marine_fishing/

on our second ethnographic phase (2010-2014). These ethnographic stories obtained through the method of participant observation reveal a variety of approaches in fishing tourism, from daily excursions, fishing with fishermen excursions, to educational trips.

A day off for coal-miners and peasant women

The most frequent excursions practiced among the fishermen from Izola between May and September in the period between 1999 and 2004, as also during the last decade, were those of panoramic excursions and fish picnics (as they call the excursions where seafood is offered). The average number of working days connected with such excursions in the season is seen to vary between 70 and 100 days. The visitors who signed up for such excursions were at the time mostly people living in Slovenia, which gives a special character to this particular line of business. When fishermen talked about their visitors, they tended to stress that they were not involved in business with tourists but were dealing mostly with "organized groups", that is closed collectives of coworkers and friends). In saying so, it became clear that the word *tourist* was strictly reserved for foreigners or strangers, defined as those not living close by and not speaking Slovene or Italian, and the term *organized groups* was linked to school groups, work collectives, or other professional groups from various seminars and congresses, all coming from Slovenia. Other terms (rather than organized groups) the fishermen have described their guests with are: *visitors, home guests, and the world of business*.

During the summer 2001 we participated in several full-day fish picnics were the visitors were work collectives such as a group of coal-miners or a group of peasant women. Both excursions featured the same Dalmatian pop music that used to be popular also on Yugoslav holidays along the coast. As stated by one of the visitors, songs of the popular Croatian singer Oliver Dragojević bring back the memories of *"the sea as we used to know it"*. After the panoramic tour along the Slovenian coast sardines and wine were offered to the visitors. Not much attention was paid to the history of the region or to the natural peculiarities of the area. There was small conversation about the boat and fishing itself and about the problems that Slovene fishermen are facing, whereas the capital of Ljubljana as the new administrative center was perceived as a "bad" influence on fishing. Fishermen stressed to their visitors that the times of Yugoslavia were better for them, with the fishing center located in Split and thus situated in the maritime culture area, something Ljubljana, in their perception, certainly did not possess. The main motive for the excursion, however, was relaxation. Usually there were two fishermen on the boat, occasionally also a friend of fishermen who would help out with the anchor. Usually one fisherman steered the boat and the other prepared the food. While

talking on one such occasion to the fisherman preparing the fish, the fisherman explained to Nataša that sardines were the best fish for him. Sardines are supposedly healthier and taste like real fish, unlike, as they said in joke *"the rich people's white fish"*. One of the fishermen stated that he wants to do his best for his visitors as they are hard workers enjoying the sea for one day. The relation between the fishermen and visitors was always congenial and even egalitarian in the sense that enjoyment was reciprocal and on both sides. It seemed that the relation between fishermen and visitors was forged out of the relationship between tourists and tourist workers and in a way resembled the Yugoslav type of domestic tourism that "covered" underdeveloped regions (Tylor & Grandits, 2010, 9) (or in this case disappearing fishing economy). Personally, we were able to witness the fishermen's encounter with two hard-working groups (coal-miners and peasants), enjoying a day together in the context of an economic transaction of a paid excursion (at a reasonable if not low-price rate). On the basis of these examples one could talk about domestic tourists also in the function of useful consumers. Furthermore we can observe the hospitality within the already established frame of references. Since the visitors were domestic tourists from the same social class as fishermen the "hospitality approach" was based on already established relationship. As Tom Selwyn wrote: *"The basic function of hospitality is to establish a relationship or to promote an already established relationship. Acts of hospitality achieve this in the course of exchanges of goods and services, both material and symbolic, between those who give hospitality (hosts) and those who receive it (guests)"* (Selwyn, 2007, 19). As he continues, this relationship between hosts and guests necessarily evolve within moral frameworks and one of the principal functions of any act of hospitality is either to consolidate the recognition that hosts and guests already share the same moral universe or to enable the construction of a (new) moral universe to which both host and guest agree to belong (Selwyn, 2007, 19). In the case presented the act of hospitality in a way consolidates existing structures of relations (domestic tourism, Yugoslav coastal tourism, economic transaction as useful consumerism, host and guest belonging to the working class…) by symbolically affirming them and enjoying them collectively.

It was a calm and hot summer day when we came to Izola to participate and film the one day excursion of peasant women. We agreed with fishermen which excursion was to be filmed and the women agreed to have us around on their day off. We met on the peer and introduced ourselves and the fishermen helped the women to embark in a kind, gentlemanly manner offering each woman a hand, a bow and a smile, guiding them across the bridge. The passage from the peer to the boat already gave rise to a fair amount of laughter and comments, already bonding us as a group. When

the boat took off we sat comfortably on the benches taking in the blue surroundings and beginning to chat casually. The plastic canvas protected us from the heat and with the boat starting to move it felt the wind also blew away the heat from the peer. One group of women started to sing a Slovene song *Barčica po morju plava [The boat sails the sea]* as some other women played the accordion. The atmosphere was relaxed and joyful. One of the fishermen offered us a drink. One of the women explained to us that this was her only free summer day as she has to take care of her family farm and cows. She said that she had been looking forward to this day for a long time and that is seemed to her like all her troubles just fell into the water the minute she embarked on the boat. The women were of different ages dressed in casual sport clothes. After a few glasses of *bevanda [wine with water]* they lightened up even more. They took a walk around the boat and around the cabin, observing fishermen's equipment. One of the fishermen showed them a dried sea-horse, hanging down from a tiny string in the saloon. Women didn't pay much attention to the historical peculiarities of the region neither did fishermen bother them with such information. While one of the fishermen was steering the boat the second one mixed with the group and chatted with women. He asked them about their farms and their work and talked about their working fishing day. After a few rather formal sentences about their work as fishermen, they started to make joking comments about the women coming to the boat alone, leaving their husbands behind. The comments reaped a lot of laughter. One of the fishermen started to prepare sardines that were later served as the main dish. Nataša started a small chat with the cook and her colleague who was filming the event for the purpose of ethnographic film was explaining the women about the nature of their work. She promised to send a VHS copy of a movie for their families. After a while the food was served and before we started to eat the captain gave an explanation of how sardines are eaten properly; he told us to throw the bones into the sea if we didn't want to eat them; he told us about the fresh fish we were about to eat, adding that sardines in his opinion are the best fish as they have the real taste of the sea. Fishermen mixed with the group and the feast began. One of the women told Nataša how happy she was, because she didn't have to cook that day. After lunch the boat stopped for a swim. Fishermen lowered a ladder into the sea from the boat so the women could go in. Again there was a lot of laughter, shouting and joking. The lunch and the after-lunch swim were the two big events of the

excursion. In the late afternoon the boat slowly approached the homeport of Izola. Once again the fishermen helped women to disembark safely from the boat, chatting with them for a while still on the peer. Eventually they said goodbye and waved while walking away. We waited on the peer for fishermen to clean up the boat and afterwards went for a coffee together. Fishermen finally told us that such excursions were once they liked best. They remembered practically with horror how last week they had to take a group of drunken guys for a stag party on a similar excursion and ended up feeling utterly exhausted from it all…

Fishing with fishermen

Fishing with fishermen excursions are, according to the fishermen themselves, emphatically a very distinctive form among all other forms of tourist products. Primarily, this product was not meant to be profitable as a job, but rather as an extra activity, which came in the first place from visitors 'own interests. In other words, it aims to please the visitors, since, after all, as one of the fishermen had said, visitors *'live with fishermen for a day, which is something special; they become one of us for a day'*. Officially, in 2010 participation was practiced only in the company *Riba*, whereas other fishermen sometimes take occasional visitors on board to fish with them or just observe them working, but as the fishermen say, they do not do so to earn money, but to please the visitors. The adapted demonstration of fishing mostly involves school groups or group of friends while in the case of participatory fishing there are smaller groups of people (3-5 persons) who stay on board with fishermen the entire day as in the above story. Fishing with dragnet seems the most appropriate, if not the only appropriate way to enable such an experience for the visitors. In accordance with the explanation of our interlocutors, fishing with nets, for example, is unsuitable because there is a 12-hour period between setting and raising the nets, unless someone is using two boats, one for fishing and one for excursion. Fishing for mullet, which is generally one of the big events in the area, is also unsuitable since the timing for catching this type of fish is unpredictable – often it takes place during the night and frequently during wintertime. As will be seen from the following ethnographic story one can note certain less appealing aspects to these excursions (such as the intense smell of fish, the heat, the noisy engines, the smoke, pornographic calendars and long working hours…) that visitors need to contend with if they are to embark on such adventures. The "authentic hospitality" of the whole event is "so pristine" that it is sometimes "hard to digest", which may be the reason why such excursions were less popular in comparison with other trips and were developed recently in others, more official forms of tourist offer.

In June 2010 we embarked on one such Fishing with fishermen excursion organized by the company Riba. One of Nataša's friends from Izola, a former school mate of the captain, organized the excursion. Together with their children, Nataša and her friend met the captain at Izola's peer at 5.30 in the morning. There were three other visitors sharing the Saturday morning with us, turned with their sleepy faces against the sea; a couple and another acquaintance of the captain. The sharp smell of dead fish lay heavily on our morning stomachs. The journey began as two twin fishing boats left the peer. Soon after we took off, we were invited for a morning coffee. There were four other fishermen in the saloon smoking and talking loudly. They had a survey book on the table, and were giving us figures of their previous catches. On the walls there were two pornographic calendars. Nataša sat her children so they were facing away from the photos. The small saloon was soon completely filled with smoke. Children wanted to go out. Running past the noisy machine room and escaping the smoke, they were able to inhale deeply the fresh morning sea air. The four children were happy to be together and they started to observe the sea while talking about the events of the previous day at school. It was a bright sunny day with the sea being calm. After a few hours fishermen finally found a spot to start fishing. Fishing was done with driftnets between the two boats. They lowered and pulled the nets several times over the next four hours. The first hour was quite exciting, as we watched a huge quantity of sardines being pulled onboard. At around 12.00, children started asking their mothers if they could go home. The summer heat was building up slowly. All visitors felt tired. Two people occupied a shade on the roof and the children asked the fishermen if they could play cards in their bedrooms. The fishermen agreed. After the catch was done, fishermen started to sort out the fish and to clean the nets. All the visitors just looked on, observing the process. Nobody asked to join in. Both outside and inside the boat the heat was incredible. Children became irritable. After the fish was packed on the ice, the fishermen asked the children to fill up a big round tub (for swimming), where the fish were jumping just a minute ago, with water, to which they happily agreed. The mothers exchanged a few glances and helplessly agreed to this odd/unusual suggestion. The smell of fish was anyway everywhere. It was one of the biggest catches of the year that they had made. Fishermen were pleased. They offered us a stew for the meal. Children refused to eat and continued with their game in the fish pool. It was late afternoon when the boats Riba 1 and Riba 2 reached Izola. Visitors and fishermen were exhausted but satisfied. All of the visitors received a big plastic bag full of sardines and a big hug.

Certain aspects of, exoticized version of authenticity, as Theodossopoulous described it (2013, 342) – the version of authenticity connected with Western philosophical tradition encompassing expectations of discovering authenticity of the untouched world and realising self among uncorrupted natives - can be used also for the interpretation of the ethnographic case attached to the *Riba* company that organised a day with the true fishermen. It seems like the fishermen played exactly on those cards – on "deep" expectations of their visitor to spend an ordinary day with the real fishermen although it appeared that guests did not shared exactly the same expectations as their hosts. In the above presented ethnographic story the fishermen did play their part of the role and they presented themselves to the guests as they are; they treated their guests "genuinely", they acted as simple hosts and permitted their guests to enter their privacy as they for example invited children to play on their messy beds, showed cabins where they keep documentation, cabins where they eat and where they amuse themselves with watching pornographic calendars, expressing their sexual masculine intimacy to all their guests regardless of their age. They fished with pelagic trawl for industrial fishing and exposed their visitors to the noisy engine, they did not play Dalmatian or any other music on board that would stimulate romantic, nostalgic, adventurous or cheerful feelings during the navigation neither they occupy themselves with the extra comfort of their guests. After the long working day in the heat of the Mediterranean summer they offered to their guests to cool their heated bodies in a tub full of cold water. It was the same tub where sardines have swam just a minute ago for the last time - before they put them into ice. They shared their goulash with guests, while no special sea food – the one that is often offered on fish picnics - was offered to their visitors. Nevertheless the cohabitation and a joint meal can be interpreted as a gift in Mauss's terms (Mauss, 1996) bringing to the fore the symbolic knitting of social relations between hosts and guests. At parting the fishermen also symbolically split their catch of the fish with their visitors (each person got a bag of sardines) who were their colleagues for a day and they (almost) caught fish together. Instead of a hand shake or a formal regards, the closure of the event was marked with a hug on the peer. In this case the act of hospitality was in a way structurally transformative (fishermen and their guests did not share exactly the same expectations) and similar yet different excursions developed during the years in a more accommodated version of *Fishing holidays*.[11] Due to the fact that

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11 Ribiške počitnice – Fishing holidays http://ribiske-pocitnice.si/en/

On a trip with a fishing boat (Photo: Nataša Rogelja)

the fishing boats of company *Riba* were cut up in November 2012 or sold away[12] as well as because of the fact that such excursions were not profitable nor were they "digestible" for a broader public, the additional types of "cool" and much more expensive educational excursions appeared. These novel approaches that are developing only recently (fishing holidays with fishermen, visit of a mariculture farm with farmers, educational excursions with biology experts etc.) must be furthermore understood within the sustainable development discourse and the development of the type of project financing within EU[13].

HOW AUTHENTIC IS HOSPITALITY ON FISHING BOATS?

While preforming and advertising their activity fishermen are well aware of the symbolic context in which their work takes place. They are aware of the attractiveness of their profession in the context of sea imaginaries but also in the context of the "problematic history". In their efforts to attract visitors, to offer them genuine hospitability and to stay themselves on the sea, they cooperate with various discourses and navigate in different directions according to given circumstances. On their web pages they do not discuss the fishing history, but they do refer to their family tradition[14]; they expect that the majority of their guests will be fascinated by staying on fishing boats listening to the music that resembles Yugoslav holidays, but they are also open to other possibilities with new boats aimed exclusively for passenger transportation, alternative food menus or "adjusted versions of authenticity". Apart from the fact that fishermen are actively cooperating with various discourses and representations of the Slovene coast and the sea as well as with meanings attached to "traditional" professions, we can also notice a kind of "collective" enjoyment of these representations by both sides - hosts and guests

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12 The company is still active formally in business registers while the actual site is locked and closed firmly.

13 These novel approaches are not the subject of this paper.

14 Such symbolic aspects of fishing can be noticed also on tourist boats that are not fishing boats and where captains are not fishermen. We noticed that they also stress in their advertisements certain aspects of their connection with fishing in order to attract more visitors (they for example highlight the fact that the boat was once used for fishing or they stress that their crew members are coming from a fishing families etc.) Such example is the boat *Meja* [Border] aimed exclusively for passenger transportation.

that gives their hospitality a special character. In their relation with mine-workers they would express their solidarity, while in relation to peasant-women, they would offer them their masculinity. In both cases, however, they act from within the frame of "real fishermen" developing their own approach of "authentic hospitality". These approached build on previous historical experiences, the intertwining of different discourses found in the area where they perform their activity (the "unspoken history" tourist imaginaries of the sea, notions of fishing as "traditional" and "authentic" maritime occupation) and on their ability to enjoy collectively the situation of fishing tourism. Participation in imaginaries was even more evident among those fishermen who were the most critical towards the connection between fishing and tourism and who proposed their alternative solutions in which fishermen would still continue to be fishermen instead of being transformed into the tourist worker, and consequently to "babysitters". Such examples actually indicate both sides of the story; the compatibility between tourist imaginary and everyday life along the coast but also an incompatibility between them. As Selwyn contends, apart from introducing capitalist relations of production on the coast, tourism also introduces a 'parallel reality' – a kind of aesthetification of the landscape that is, following Selwyn, increasingly unrelated to the uses to which it is put (Selwyn, 2004, 57). Even though we agree with this statement, our ethnographic case reveals the possibility of relatedness and compatibility between the everyday aspects of life along the coast and tourist imaginaries. The idea of a "proper" connection between fishing and tourism, as stressed by several of our interlocutors, tries to combine the aesthetification of the landscape with everyday uses. Within this process different aspects of authenticity merge and leave the binary framework far behind. As such - as merged in the "bag of everyday use", they in a way relieve anthropology of its dilemmas about the use of authenticity and, referring back to the initial question "How authentic is hospitality on fishing boats?", expose it as unimportant and redundant. The true nature of the "authentic hospitality" on fishing boats lies in the notion of innovation. Innovations develop in response to many different impulses such as tourist industry, national narratives, social and economic crises or simply in response to various changes that can break the everyday routine or personal beliefs. They act trough many different agents and are expressed in various forms. As Theodossopolus pointed out, in local "authentic" adaptations, authenticity can be understood as agency and rhetorical flexibility. Innovation, attached to the here presented ethnographic case, is closely connected to authenticity yet it also elaborates more on other aspects such as emotions and self-image while leaving out essentialist meanings of traditional Slovene fishing, the original fishing culture, etc. Fishermen's innovative approach lies precisely in the fact that they avoid the "burden" of local history (connected with the exodus of Italian speaking inhabitants after the 2nd WW or with nationalistic narratives) focusing more on present-day relations between hosts and guests. If they were to engage in those meanings of the original tradition they would have to incorporate historical aspects attached to heritage and tradition. Instead they put stress on the actual activities (fishing, aquaculture and shellfish farming, passenger transportation, restaurant services, providing fresh and healthy Mediterranean food…) and build their hospitality on "genuine" relations with their visitors as Slovene fishermen who do this mainly in order to survive and in some cases even to share enjoyment with their guests. Instead of fishing for heritage, as Jane Nadel-Klein describes Scottish fishermen in her book *Fishing for Heritage* (2003), Slovene fishermen took almost the opposite direction and chose to ignore their heritage. As they do not claim their right to posterity on the basis of the original Slovene fishing, they are rather strongly rooted in the present circumstances as they fish for tourists, for new ideas, and for discourses that help them contrive and imagine new hospitable activities.

DOBRODOŠLI V IZOLI!
PONUDBA »AVTENTIČNEGA GOSTOLJUBJA« NA RIBIŠKIH BARKAH

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POVZETEK

Članek sledi različne teoretične diskusije vezane na avtentičnost in gostoljubje, pri tem pa se ne spušča v teo-retiziranje konceptov, kakor tudi ne v problematiziranje uporabe avtentičnosti v antropoloških analizah. Pričujoči tekst ima zmernejše in bolj osredotočene cilje, ki skušajo prikazati rabe avtentičnosti na današnji slovenski obali tako v turističnem diskurzu, kot tudi v vsakdanjem govoru in ob tem pokazati na aktivno vlogo posameznikov v procesu gostoljubja pri čemer so uporabljeni podatki pridobljeni z metodo opazovanja z udeležbo in z intervjuji. V središču zanimanja bo uporaba »avtentičnega gostoljubja« v povezavi z ribiškim turizmom, ki se je razvil zavoljo ekonomskih in drugih problemov v okviru slovenskega morskega ribiškega sektorja. Ob tem si bomo zastavili vprašanje: Kako avtentično je gostoljubje na ribiških barkah? Osrednja ugotovitev članka je, da lahko različna razumevanja »avten-tičnega gostoljubja« vezanega na ribiški turizem ob Slovenski obali interpretiramo kot inovacijo, ki presega binarni okvir napetosti med avtentičnostjo in neavtentičnostjo. Ugotovitev bomo prikazali na primeru ribiškega turizma v enem izmed današnjih Slovenskih obalnih mest Izoli, kjer je ribištvo od nekdaj bila ena prvih in najpomembnejših lokalnih dejavnosti.

Ključne besede: ribiški turizem, avtentičnost, gostoljubje, Izola, Slovenska obala

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HOSPITALITY IN COLONIAL INDIA: ANCIENT LEGACY, MODERN TOOL OF RESISTANCE

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the understudied link between hospitality and anti-colonial dissent in British India of the second half of the 19th and first half of the 20th century. More precisely, with reference to India's foremost writer and international figure, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), it investigates how during colonial times, hospitality, as the welcoming of a guest (either as friend or enemy), became an embattled concept of emancipation in its relation with distant and close 'others'. It suggests that the discourse of hospitality was a part of the urgent reappraisal and refashioning of the 'Indian self' under the trying circumstances of political and cultural subjugation.

Keywords: hospitality, anti-colonial resistance, Rabindranath Tagore, alternative modernity, the Upanishads

OSPITALITÀ NELL'INDIA COLONIALE: EREDITÀ ANTICA, STRUMENTO MODERNO DELLA RESISTENZA

SINTESI

Questo saggio esplora il collegamento non studiato tra l'ospitalità ed il dissenso anticoloniale nell'India britannica della seconda metà del XIX° e la prima metà del XX° secolo. Più precisamente, referendosi al principale scrittore e la figura internazionale di Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), indaga su come, nei tempi di colonialismo, l'ospitalità tale atto di accogliere l'ospite (amico o nemico che sia), divenne un concetto rinforzato d'emancipazione in relazione agli "altri" distanti e vicini. Suggerisce che il discorso d'ospitalità faceva parte della rivalutazione urgente e della rielaborazione dell' "Indiano stesso" nelle esigenti circostanze della sottomissione politica e culturale.

Parole chiave: ospitalità, resistenza anticoloniale, Rabindranath Tagore, modernità alternativa, Upanisad

INTRODUCTION: HOSPITALITY AND ANTI-COLONIAL DISSENT

Over the last two decades, hospitality has emerged as a category across disciplines for addressing a variety of issues associated with the welcome of the stranger. It has been considered in a range of contexts, most prominently in international relations, immigration policies, asylum and refugee crises, tourism, travel, as part of various interdisciplinary approaches in the humanities and social sciences alike. Broadly defined as the receiving and welcoming of a stranger, it has also marked a crucial intervention in thinking about new cosmopolitan ethics in the contemporary globalized world (Derrida, 2001; Benhabib, 2006; Baker, 2009; Baker (ed.), 2013). Most influentially, Jacques Derrida has conceptualized a notion of *radical* or *unconditional* hospitality in the 1990s and placed it at the heart of a welcoming cosmopolitanism. His is a trenchant critique of the way in which hospitality is offered in the modern world, strictly regulated by the state and its normative restrictions policing the movement of the so-called 'foreigners' across national boundaries. In current discussions, the notion is thus commonly attached to the experience of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. Indeed, a growing body of works testifies to the fact that hospitality is re-emerging as a valuable notion in political philosophy and international relations. Gideon Baker has recently argued that hospitality, analytically speaking, "provides a new framework for understanding many of the challenges in world politics today" (Baker (ed.), 2013, 1). The 'guest' these various approaches are concerned with, however, is most often either a refugee seeking sanctuary, or an impoverished immigrant, or a job-seeking worker or simply a European tourist – all in need of a better welcome by a host country. The reverse topic of the historically abusive guests in the form of 'colonizers' and the welcoming response of the host in the form of 'the colonized' has on the other hand received much less scholarly attention.

This paper presents an attempt to investigate the nature and role of hospitality in the specific context of British colonialism in nineteenth- and twentieth-century colonial India through the voice of India's foremost poet and international figure, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941). I will try to show that hospitality as an ancient legacy became an embattled concept of emancipation under the aegis of the modern Empire and was part of the larger reappraisal and refashioning of the 'Indian self' in the face of trying political conditions. The idea is to link the notion of hospitality to strategies of (post-)colonial dissent, and to show that hospitality for Tagore, seen as an ancient legacy, became a highly relevant concept for his cosmopolitan/universalist ideal.

To this day, hospitality is invoked across South Asia as a virtue and a distinctive mark of its cultures. The old Upanishadic saying 'atithidev bhavah' (lit. treat thy guest as god), which likens the guest (*atithi*) to a god, has recently been turned into a slogan for promoting tourism by India's hospitality industry. However, in contrast to this superficial celebratory use in the context of market-based, consumerist cosmopolitanism, this same guest-centric maxim was invoked by Tagore in the 1920s in the constitution of his international university Visva-Bharati founded explicitly with the idea to host people and knowledge systems from all over the world. Given the precarious setting of early 20th century colonial India, this was as much a gesture against colonialism and its prescriptive education as it was a bold alternative to it.

The notion of modern-day colonialism as abuse of native hospitality is not new in itself. Already Kant condemned colonialism in Asia and elsewhere as "a strong abuse of cosmopolitan hospitality" and "a major obstacle to perpetual peace" (Giesen, Author's copy, 762). Indeed, Kant castigated the East India Company's economic venture as "a flagrant offence to hospitality granted to Europeans" (758). Even before Kant, and in the context of early 16th-century Spanish colonization of 'the New World', the Spanish philosopher and theologian Francisco de Vitoria questioned the basis of Spanish conquest as a right to hospitality when harm is done to the natives (Baker, 2013a, 44ff). In this scenario, the guest has the right of entry and protection but he should be benign and not abuse his powers. In this both Kant and Vitoria built on the primordial premise of all human beings sharing the right to the common possession of the earth, well before the globe was carved up into nations. A century later, Tagore used the same argument from a structurally weaker position of a colonized subject to articulate his anti-nationalist and deterritorialized conception of India as a place of paramount hospitality, where everyone was welcome, including the British (Tagore, 1961, 133). The primary source of Tagore's radical ethics of hospitality was, however, not modern Western philosophy, but rather the classical Upanishads, as they were rediscovered by the religious and social movement of the Brahmo Samaj of the 19th- and early 20th-century colonial Bengal. Tagore, in turn, gave the concept a modern-day oppositional interpretation intended to bolster a vision of individual and social liberation. Hospitality and anti-colonial dissent became unexpected bed fellows.

TAGORE'S COSMOPOLITAN VISION AND AN ALTERNATIVE MODERNITY

The nineteenth- and early-twentieth- centuries in colonial Bengal (and India) was a time of unprecedented social change and unrest, marked by a transition from the feudal-religious into the secular world of Indian modernity under increasing pressures of the British colonial rule. The new English-educated middle classes found themselves negotiating European influences at every

level of social life, in the process giving rise to new paradigms of consciousness (historical, national, religious, and literary). In the ensuing period of great intellectual ferment, known as the 'Bengal Renaissance', ancient sources ranging from the Upanishads to Buddhist texts were plumbed afresh to articulate a new 'Indian' identity that was at once oppositional (different) and 'universal'. Drawing primarily on the ancient Upanishadic ideal of the guest as divine, Tagore – considered the foremost representative of this intellectual efflorescence – strove to refashion an ancient notion of hospitality into a *modern tool of resistance*, and use it to oppose colonial, nationalist, religious and patriarchal hegemonies.

Tagore, however, did not expound on the theme of hospitality in any systematic way in his writings, but the idea figures amply in both his creative and non-fictional works. In this paper, I will be considering examples from his essays, foreign addresses as well as works of fiction, particularly the novels of *Gora* (1910) and *Ghare-baire / Home and the World* (1915/6), which in my reading are both hospitality tales *par excellence* or rather, lessons in hospitality. Hospitality for Tagore was a sign of civilization and he placed it at the core of a universalist philosophy intended as an alternative anti-colonial response to the then dominant strain of political and cultural nationalisms (cf. Jelnikar, 2012; 2012a).

In the 1920s, Tagore wrote these paradigmatic lines: "The true universalism is not the breaking down of the walls of one's own house, but the offering of hospitality to one's guests and neighbours." (Tagore, 1996, 75) Presumably, if the British were 'guests', then Muslims and Hindus, the two largest communities in Bengal, were each other's 'neighbours', and therefore all connected through this notion of hospitality. Of course, Muslims were once (usurping) guests too, as had been Aryans before them, but having stayed, they turned themselves into potential hosts. "True" universalism that Tagore upholds is thus emphatically a *welcoming gesture of hospitality* and stance towards both foreigners *and* neighbours. This stance informed his life's social commitments, his pioneering education experiments and it is also a theme that runs through his work as a creative writer.

Although foremost a poet, Tagore devoted half of his life to an experiment in education. Deeply dissatisfied with the existing colonial system of education, which in his view produced parrots rather than independently thinking and feeling individuals, Tagore

decided to set up an alternative schooling system that would be rooted in one's immediate natural and cultural environment, but capable of branching out to the wider world. In 1918 in Santiniketan, he founded the international university Visva-Bharati with the vision to promote a coordinated study of India's cultures (Vedic, Puranic, Buddhist, Jain, Islamic, Sikh, Zoroastrian) alongside other Asian and European knowledge systems and languages (Tagore, 1961a, 220; O'Connell, 2002). As already mentioned, in the making of the university's constitution, Tagore used the phrase *atithi deba bhavo*, which likens the guest to the divine, so as to underline his intention to make Visva-Bharati a meeting place where people from all over the world would receive generous hospitality and share their perspectives in what would be a self-critical exchange of ideas. Its motto in Sanskrit, *Yatra vishvam bhavatyeka nidam*, meaning 'where the world becomes one nest', further suggests a development of intimate ties between the various cultures/guests of the world. Arguably then, Visva-Bharati was Tagore's most *concrete* expression of a hospitality ethos. It was also a protest of sorts against what he felt was an increasingly inhospitable world driven by greed and selfishness.

Indeed, hospitality can be seen to connect with Tagore's vision of an alternative modernity, one in which nationalism is rejected as a potential culture-political emancipatory force even as an anti-colonial stance is upheld (cf. Jelnikar, 2012). When Tagore saw how the first popular anti-colonial movement in India 'Swadeshi'[1] aligned itself with Hindu revivalism, giving rise to communal violence, he became suspicious of the nationalists' motives. He questioned the 'patriotic' credentials of nationalists who would readily tread over the lives of the Muslim and Hindu poor (their own people) in pursuit of their swadeshi goals: "Your main motive is hatred of the foreigner, not love of country." (Tagore, letter to Gandhi, in Bhattacharya (ed.) 2005, 70) As self-appointed guardians of 'country' or 'nation', they have made hatred the propeller for social change, as opposed to love, as Tagore was proposing. Furthermore, they also betrayed what Tagore upheld as a venerable tradition of Indian or Asian hospitality. As he said to the Japanese in a lecture delivered in Tokyo in May 1929, "Hospitality to distant races should be an expression of patriotism for one's own country". (Tagore, 2001, 608) But can one teach hospitality? Can hospitality even be turned into

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1   *Swadesh* literally means 'of our own country'; The Swadeshi movement was the first large-scale popular anti-colonial movement in India, sparked off by Lord Curzon's decision to partition Bengal in 1905 into into eastern and western provinces along religious lines. The official argument was administrative – the province of Bengal was too large to be efficiently run – and though there were genuine administrative considerations, the real reason was political. It arose out of a pressing need to undermine growing nationalism in Bengal; Bengali professional class, represented predominantly by Hindus, were the most articulate political voice at the time. For the first time too, Indian politics saw the emergence of organized urban terrorism. A time of great political turmoil, affecting all segments of society including the rural areas, the Partition of Bengal in 1905 and its aftermath came to occupy something of a landmark in Tagore's life. Many of his most compelling literary works arose out of his engagement with this particular moment in India's history. For a seminal study of the movement, cf. Sarkar, 1973.

a transforming social force?[2] And what kind of hospitality exactly are we talking about here? Patriotic love of one's country, Tagore would caution elsewhere, is readily turned into a menacing, destructive force, set on assimilating and annulling the difference of weaker sections of society.[3] Certainly, the education he had in mind was meant to fight "against the education which teaches that a country is greater than the ideals of humanity" (Tagore, 2001, 456). His educational efforts thus staged the possibilities for hospitable *other-directed* and *other-sensitive* love, where personal freedom and individuality were guarded and empathy towards 'others' cultivated.[4]

The oppositionality attached to hospitality that emerges here – and one that we will probe further – turns therefore on the connection between nationalism and hospitality, whereby hospitality runs counter to a separatist nationalist outlook. But unlike nationalism, can hospitality be mobilized as an effective force for social change? And if so, are there any dangers? As ideas of the modern nation state rise in the late 19th and early 20th century, we can anticipate the ancient notion of a right of strangers to a welcome to come into conflict with the right of hosts to refuse this claim and assert rather their sovereignty over their territorial domain.

DECONSTRUCTING (NATIONAL) IDENTITIES

It is easy to imagine Tagore's welcoming cosmopolitanism or openness to an uninvited stranger to jar with a nationalist point of view. Time and again Tagore would interrogate the cultural and territorial boundaries of India and subjecthood. In 1908 in an address to his students in Santinikean, later published as 'East and West', he challenged received notions of 'Indianness' and 'India':

Who are we to say that this country is ours alone? In fact, who is this "We"? Bengali, Marathi, or Punjabi, Hindu or Muslim? Only the larger "We" in whom all these – Hindu and Muslim and British and whoever else there be – must eventually unite, shall have the right to determine what is India and what is of the outside (Tagore, 1961, 133).

In an age of obligatory nationalisms, in which a country's independence could only be imagined from within the political framework of a nation state (cf. Zachariah, 2011) such a statement was not only provocative but also politically inexpedient and utopian. But Tagore had a different 'India' in mind; the deterretorialized and cul-
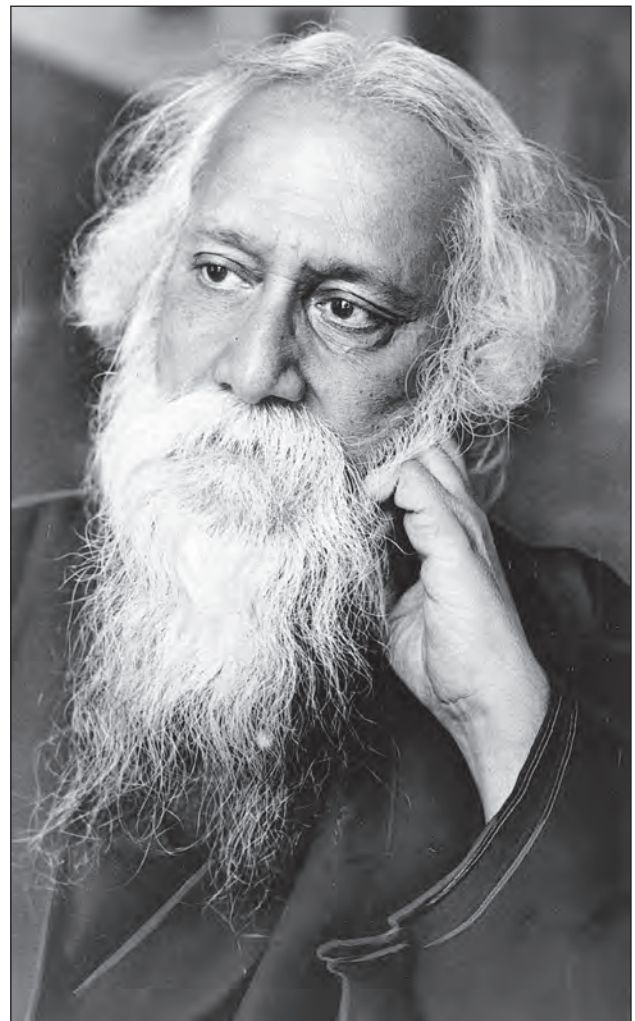
Rabindranath Tagore

turally unbounded conception of 'India' he was proposing was coextensive with a model of ideal hospitality, in which we are all guests of the earth, with no legitimate claim to exclusive possession of any one part of it. Kant had argued similarly in his treatise *Perpetual Peace* that all human beings shared "the right of common possession of the surface of the earth" (Kant, 2006, 82, cited in Popke, 2007, 509), but what Kant had in mind was a liberal world order based on free and peaceful trade amongst self-determined peoples and their respective citizens (Giesen, Author's copy, 759). Tagore, on the other hand, condemned "the Nation" (the nation-state)

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2   I ask these questions inspired by Purushottam Agrawal and his essay on Kabir's ideal of love (2011). Agrawal notes not only a lack of a discourse of love in contemporary social thought but also a reluctance in giving love a space for thinking about social change. It is always hatred that is seen as all-important in the formation of social forces, while love's importance is acknowledged only as a personal impulse.

3   According to my reading (particularly his book *Nationalism*) Tagore opposed patriotism no less than he opposed nationalism. He also, as he famously stated in a letter to C. F. Andrews, disavowed the concept in relation to himself in no uncertain terms: "I love India, but my India is an Idea and not a geographical expression. Therefore, I am *not* a patriot – I shall ever seek my compatriots all over the world. You are one of them and I am sure there are many others (emphasis author's, letter to C. F. Andrews, 1921, in Andrews, 2002, 119).

4   For more on Tagore's concept of education, cf. O'Connell, 2002.

outright, seeing it as the biggest evil modern political civilization has spawned. Defined as a population welded into a political and economic union for the purpose of commercial self-interest, "the Nation", according to Tagore, generated hatred amongst peoples and drove them to imperialist wars (cf. Tagore, 2001).

The philosopher who comes closer to Tagore on this is, of course, Derrida, whose major contribution is precisely in that, while drawing on Levinas, he critically re-evaluates the long-standing Western philosophical traditions of cosmopolitanism. He takes issue in particular with Kant's famous articulation of the cosmopolitan right as a right of hospitality, a right of strangers not to be turned away. Against the hegemony of the nation-state and politicization of hospitality, Derrida's alternative view of cosmopolitanism presents a potential source of hope (Derrida, 2001). His deconstruction of the binary of identity (universalism) and difference (particularism) which continues to plague the debates in thinking about the 'Other' (the foreigner, the stranger, the immigrant), has indeed opened up a space where identity (host) and difference (guest) are mutually constitutive in a *lived* experience of cosmopolitanism-as-hospitality (Baker, 2009). Moreover, his favouring of the 'other', or his 'guest-centric' approach (Baker, 2012), would also destabilize original power structures and make room for previously excluded values.

In that sense, following Derrida, hospitality is never merely about how we relate to others, but primarily about how we relate to ourselves by questioning 'the self' as a given. It is this core insight which suggests a *self-transformative* potential of hospitality that can illuminate Tagore's analytical as well as practical engagements to do with what it meant to be 'Indian' in a particular context. Like Derrida's, Tagore's ideal of hospitality was far more radical than anything Kant had ever anticipated; it was that of *un*conditional hospitality directed at the guest. In Derrida's striking formulation:

Let us say yes to who or what turns up, before any determination, before any anticipation, before any identification, whether or not it has to do with a foreigner, an immigrant, an invited guest, or an unexpected visitor, whether or not the new arrival is the citizen of another county, a human, animal, or divine creature, a living or dead thing, male or female (emphasis author's, Derrida, 2000, 77).

The world we inhabit, according to Derrida, is the world of conditional hospitality. Every act of welcome is premised on the arrival's more or less strict abeyance to the rules laid down by the host, the master of the house. Whether in the physical space of one's home or nation, the guest (the immigrant) must conform to the laws and culture of the host by adopting his – and mainly it is *his* – language, normative behaviour, and cultural mores (Derrida ,2000, 149). Marked by an inherent inequality of positions, host and guest, in this conditional hospitality scenario, only get reasserted in their superior-inferior roles. So, if conditional hospitality can only ever reassert the mastery of the host (on condition you respect my rules), unconditional hospitality, in contrast, destabilizes the hierarchical relations and neat opposition between host and guest. It demands that the self be unsettled and questioned by the welcome of the stranger.

But such *pure* hospitality that opens the door to anyone (or anything) and defies expectations of reciprocity belongs to the realm of the impossible. Not only does unconditional hospitality not exist in this world, but it is impossible even on the level of the conceptual ideal, because when pushed to the extreme, hospitality makes an impossible demand: that I give up my home in the process of this unconditional opening it up. But without a home to offer hospitality there can be no hospitality as such, nor can hospitality exist without a stranger or a guest; a somebody with a face and a name. This paradox at the heart of Derrida's ethics of hospitality, the "double bind" or pull of two inseparable and yet opposing imperatives (one asking us to offer hospitality ungrudgingly to anyone, and the other to limit it so as to protect the boundaries which are the condition for hospitality itself) is inherent to any act of hospitality. Its value is in that it sets a process of responsibility in motion in which we are asked to "decide *uniquely* and singularly each time how to limit, and how much to limit, unconditional hospitality" (emphasis author's, Baker, 2009a: 53). The evocation of the unconditional (true) spirit of hospitality in short asks us to question the laws of conditional hospitality, at the same time it suggests "the welcoming of the other as Other" (52).

There is indeed something almost perverse about hospitality which demands of us to endure the possibility of being deprived of a home. It is also terrible in that it does not protect us from the possibility that the other could colonize me: "I have to accept if I offer unconditional hospitality that the Other may ruin my own space or impose his or her own culture or his or her own language." (Derrida in Bennington, 1997) Obviously, hospitality is something that needs to be negotiated every time anew; it is a risky business and requires invention.[5] Meanwhile, Tagore was intellectually equipped to deal with even such a preposterous proposition as to give up

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5 The issue of the colonizer's language presents an interesting case in point. The fact that Indians adopted (and adapted) English as their own language is still often framed as an instance of denationalized surrender or betrayal on the part of the English educated elite. Seeing the problematic in the light of unconditional hospitality and a measure of assimilation anticipated on the part of the host – we should not forget that it was Indians themselves who asked for English education as early as 1817 – would shift the accent away from such a reductive view.

one's home: "According to India's ideal, even the home must be given up in due course, in quest of the Infinite". (Tagore, 1961, 137) This brings us to the question of the cultural sources on which Tagore drew for his notion of 'unconditional' hospitality.

ANCIENT SOURCES RECLAIMED

The offering of shelter to a stranger whose identity is uncertain and who could potentially endanger one's household, and the subsequent reward for one's ungrudging act of hospitality, are the classic ingredients of hospitality tales found in ancient Sanskrit literature. "Hostly forbearance will bring a divine reward." (Jamison, 1996, 169, on ancient Indian hospitality ethos, cf. also George, 2009) The potential benefits of providing a welcome to vulnerable strangers, because they may be divine messengers in disguise, is a theme Tagore exploits in a number of his literary works, most memorably perhaps in his novel *Gora*, in which the central protagonist *Gora* lives because his adoptive mother Ananadamoyi fearlessly opened the door in the middle of the night to a white woman fleeing the Sepoys at a time of all-round killings, giving her a shelter against the advice of her less generous husband. The woman dies just after giving birth to a white boy. The fair "orphaned boy", as barren Anandamoyi impressed on her sceptical husband, was no less that "a gift from [her] deity" (Tagore, 2009, 31). But even as Tagore alludes to the ancient Sanskrit tales of the guest as divinity in disguise, it is clear at the start of the novel that Anandamayi's deity is the non-sectarian god of humanity or broadly defined humanism (a deity of all castes), to which Tagore himself subscribed, drawing on humanist traditions of India as well as Europe.

Tagore's classic vocabulary of hospitality, I want to suggest, has already been filtered through the religious reformist Brahmo Samaj movement of the 19th-century Bengal which Tagore's father had revived and made available for his son's creative use. The movement was started in 1882 by Rammohun Roy (1772-1833), who is often referred to as the 'father' of modern India, and whose religious universalism was combined with a strong reformist bent, bringing to the table, alongside opposition to the caste system, idol worship and the Hindu orthodoxy, also the question of women's rights and education. Its reformist spiritualism, or Brahmo universalism (cf. Kopf 1988), owed something to Protestant Christianity, particularly the Unitarians, as it sought a return to the original philosophical monotheism of the Vedas and the Upanishads,[6] and was dedicated to "the worship of a universal and formless Divinity that informs all life and being" (Kripalani, 2001, 7).

Therefore, when in his writings Tagore upholds the concept of *dharma,* which he defines as something "inherent in the nature of Man the Eternal", "the universal Man" (Tagore, 2000, 81), and relates it to the duty of hospitality, he is in fact evoking the transcendent absolute of the Upanishads, the all-encompassing divine force that is inclusive of everyone and everything. It is this *universal* dharma that guides Anadamoyi's generous behaviour, as opposed to a particularist dharma pertaining to her caste or familial status. The precept that all individual souls are ultimately identical in Brahman is the key notion out of which Tagore's oppositional thinking flowed (against caste, gender inequality, etc.) The self and other were no enemies, merely different expressions of the same infinite being (so everyone has the right of entry and is welcome). It also informed his paradoxical *hospitable* anti-colonial stance. "To be absolutely simple in one's hospitality to one's enemy, or to a stranger, required generations of training" (84), said Tagore to a Western audience in Oxford in 1930, upholding generous hospitality as a mark of Indian civilization.

In my reading of the novel *Gora*, I have shown how the journey of self discovery of the eponymous character from his misguided aggressive Hindu nationalist identity to someone proclaiming at the end – "Today, I belong to every community of this Bharatvarsha, I accept everyone's food as mine…" – an expression of absolute hospitality *par excellence* – is precisely a journey of ultimately accepting hospitality from the enemy. This journey can be traced through *transformative* hospitality encounters; briefly, Gora can be seen to evolve from initially rejecting hospitality in Poreshbabu's Brahmo's household which he perceives as a threat to his guarded sense of identity, to seeking hospitality in lower-class homes so as to establish a sense of community with the disenfranchised and the oppressed, to finally, when he is put into the magistrate's prison, as he himself writes in his letter to Anandamoyi, "accept(ing) the *hospitality* offered by the prison" – accepting hospitality from his *enemy*. This is the point when Gora is ready to accept the facts of his foreign birth, which blows his constructed sense of identity to smithereens and sets him free. Moreover, in what is a powerful trope of the stranger at home or the enemy within, Tagore, with the character of Gora, suggests how the 'other' does not have to be an external menacing presence but can become an integral part of an enlarged self.[7] (cf. Jelnikar, forthcoming)

In reclaiming an ancient hospitality ethos, Tagore also drew on the classical Hindu discipline of ashramas (*Varnashrama Dharma*) or the four stages of life traditionally prescribed for a Hindu way of life, where the householder stage or Grihasta is considered to be the most

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6   For more on how Hindu (Vedanta) religious modernity became the first vehicle of ideological modernity in India as well as the parallels between the Christian Reformation and the nineteenth-century Indian intelligentsia's rediscovery and reinterpretation of Vedanta, cf. Van Biljert 2003 and 2009.

7   "The West has come into our homes and we cannot turn it out like an unwelcome guest," Tagore 1961, 136.

important ashrama for the society at large on account of its socially-orientated values. Of the five great devotional acts the Hindu householder was expected to perform, Manushyajna mandated the giving of ungrudging hospitality to guests as an expression of human brotherhood. The character of Nikhilesh, for example, the enlightened householder of the novel *Ghare baire/Home and the World* (1916), upholds this ideal even as these classical notions are already merged with the Brahmo theology or "bourgeois Hinduism" (Hatcher, 2008) that strove to reconcile the worldly and the earthly with the divine purpose. If we want to understand the surprising fact of Nikhilesh's inability to throw the usurping guest out of his house, we need to pay attention to the Brahmo householder ethics and its hospitality mandate.

The novel Ghare-baire, is also essentially a novel about hospitality, more precisely the question of limiting hospitality against an ideal which tells us otherwise.[8] The plot is simple enough: a man is invited into the home of his friend, introduced to his wife, and allowed to stay on as a guest. What follows is an unleashing of passions that threaten to tear apart the private and social fabric of the household. Once Sandip becomes the household's guest and Bimala given to crossing the threshold of the inner quarters to which women of the upper class were confined at the time, the 'world' comes flooding in, in ways which affect and change all of the three main protagonists. Hospitality is fraught with danger, and the question that presents itself forcefully here is: If the code of conduct demands to welcome the stranger, either as friend or enemy, what does one do when the host gets blatantly abused; or, put differently, when the guest becomes a usurping guest, a parasite, *a Sandip*, eventually turning the host into a stranger in their own house or home? The fact that husband Nikhilesh has no illusions about Sandip's increasingly harmful presence in his house, but will *not* resort to throwing him out – though eventually he does ask him to leave – in other words, the idea that something is no less legitimate because it is in some way harmful, captures *the unbearable fix* of unconditional hospitality – the contrasting pulls of two opposing forces, in which one demands we honour a hospitality ethos while the other suggests we protect ourselves and our home. It is, of course, tempting to read this hospitality tale also as an allegory of the colonial encounter. India's historically different answers to British colonization have moved, schematically speaking, anywhere between Gandhi's 'Quit India' movement and Tagore's radical insistence that the doors remain open. Once again, all accounts of hospitality are built unsteadily upon the tension between a right of strangers to a welcome and a right of hosts to their domain (Baker 2013, 12).

Tagore clearly understood the tensions and paradoxes inherent in any act of hospitality, as he also understood the fact that colonialism is, in a sense, flagrant abuse of native hospitality. "Do you not see how man is creating suffering, tightening the bonds of slavery on weaker nations, *exploiting hospitality and kindness for cruel diplomacy*?" asked Tagore in an address he gave in Teheran in 1932 (published on Bichitra: Online Tagore Varorium, http://bichitra.jdvu.ac.in/search/english_search.php, 6. 7. 2014). There seems to also be a suggestion here that it is the weaker nations that are hospitable and kind. While in his aptitude as a reformer Tagore criticized, most strongly and consistently, many aspects to India's everyday social realities, recognizing in them the same discriminating and unjust forces at work as existed in imperialist nations, but when it came to hospitality, he upheld this as something of India's forte:

India's special genius has been to acknowledge the divine in human affairs, to offer hospitality to all that is imperishable in human civilization, regardless of racial and national divergence. From the early dawn of our history it has been India's privilege and also its problem, as a host, to harmonize the diverse elements of humanity which have inevitably been brought to our midst, to synthetize contrasting cultures in the light of a comprehensive ideal (Tagore, 2002d, 667).

"India" for Tagore was a world in miniature precisely because of a tradition of hospitality that he was hoping to re-actualize for his time. To what extent this tradition was imagined or imaginary is subject for another debate; what I wish to underline here is simply the dynamics of harnessing cultural resources of a refashioned past for the purpose of envisioning a more humane, hospitable future, not just for India but for the world at large. In many of his addresses across the globe (but particularly across Asia), Tagore would appeal to an ideal of hospitality that he projected as a mark of true civilization and under threat if not already destroyed by the exigencies of the fast-changing modern world. With more than a hint of nostalgia, he would say:

There was a time when our lives were simpler, when the spirit of the people was hospitable. This spirit has been overcome by the spirit of the Nation, with its intense consciousness of self-interest concentrated in political organisation. Such an unlimited cultivation of over-consciousness of self by the whole people, must inevitably produce its harvest of suspicion, hatred and inhospitable exclusiveness. (Tagore, 2002b, 526).

Suspicion, hatred and inhospitable exclusiveness is precisely what Derrida, almost a century later, objected

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8   I write about this at much greater length in as yet unpublished paper entitled, 'Hospitality and Worldliness: Tagore's Household Drama of Love and Responsibility'.

to in the way (in)hospitality is offered in the contemporary world to designated 'others'. Against this, and like Derrida vis-à-vis Europeans, Tagore would entreat the people of Japan to imagine adopting an alternative counter-nationalist/inhospitable scenario: "This is a time for you to be generous in your hospitality, the merit of which virtue is acknowledged by all peoples of the East" (Tagore, 2001, 68).

From these and other examples, there emerges an identifiable strategy, whereby an idealized version of – a 'pre-modern'/'Eastern' – hospitality is recuperated and harnessed to a universalist project of self-emancipation. There is certainly an element of a romantic retrospective gaze at work here as well as essentialzing or conflating of a particular Bengali Brahmo-derived response with "Easternness", which stand uneasily alongside Tagore's otherwise more discriminating take on India's colonial modernity and its past(s).

CONCLUSION

What I have tried to think about in this paper with the example of Rabindranath Tagore is the underexplored connection between colonialism, hospitality and anti-colonial resistance, showing how a particular version of ideal hospitality gained currency in colonial Bengal of the late-19th century and early 20th-century to counter both imperialist and nationalist discourses. Derrida's notions of hospitality have provided the analytical tool for exploring the tensions between *unconditional* ideals of hospitality encapsulated by the idea of the guest as god, and *conditional* hospitality delimited by restrictions of caste, class, religion and gender, which inform India's everyday laws of hospitality. In their every-day practices of (in)hospitality, Tagore did not want his compatriots to forget the ideal of guest-centric hospitality that gives the new arrival or stranger a more prominent place in the hospitality scenario: "We must use our social strength, not to guard ourselves against the touch of others, considering it as contamination, but generously to extend hospitality to the world, taking all its risks, however numerous and grave" (Tagore, 2002c, 465). Tagore's projected ideal of unconditional hospitality, however, must be seen not so much as an endangered species of traditional hospitality as an idealistic construct, or a constructed ideal, which is itself a product of an embattled colonial modernity. It can be related to a particular philosophical response to the larger question of freedom and selfhood against the conflicting cross-currents of modernization, westernization and reinterpreted Hindu traditions which Tagore had inherited as a Brahmo and took forward in his own way.

Dance performance in Santiniketan

GOSTOLJUBJE V KOLONIALNI INDIJI: STARODAVNO IZROČILO, MODERNO ORODJE ODPORA

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POVZETEK

V članku avtorica raziskuje pojem in diskurz gostoljubja v kontekstu Britanske Indije v drugi polovici 19. stoletja skozi dela enega mednarodno najbolj uglednih indijskih pesnikov in pisateljev Rabindranatha Tagoreja (1861-1941). Ugotavlja povezavo med gostoljubjem in protikolonialnim odporom, pri čemer v pojmu gostoljubja prepozna ključ k razumevanju Tagorejeve radikalne alternative za sodobno Indijo, ki bi se namesto k nacionalizmu kot sili, s katero se zoperstaviti politično-kulturni represiji, raje zatekla k 'brezpogojnemu' gostoljubju in odprla vrata slehernemu 'gostu'. Analitično si avtorica sposodi konceptualno orodje pri Jacquesu Derridaju, ki je s svojimi pojmi (brez)pogojnega gostoljubja ključno zaznamoval aktualne razprave o gostoljubju tako v družbenih vedah kot humanistiki. Deridajev radikalni koncept brezpogojnega gostoljubja je moč primerjati s Tagorejevim idealom gostoljubja. Ta ideal – čigar idejne korenine najdemo v Upanišadah, kot jih je preinterpretiralo gibanje Brahmo samaj – moramo razumeti tako v odnosu do Tagorejevih praktičnih pedagoških iniciativ kot do njegovega literarnega ustvarjanja, pri čemer romana Gora in Dom in svet zavzemata posebno mesto. Naposled avtorica pokaže, kako Tagore svoje specifično razumevanje gostoljubja, v katerem prepozna starodavno izročilo, uporabi kot moderno orodje odpora v težkih zgodovinskih pogojih.

Ključne besede: gostoljubje, protikolonialni odpor, Rabindranath Tagore, alternativna modernost, Upanišade

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KONSTRUKCIJE IDENTITET V LUČI EMERGENTNOSTI DRUŽBENE STRUKTURE IN POSAMEZNIKOVEGA ZAMIŠLJANJA DRUŽBENOSTI

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IZVLEČEK

Pričujoče besedilo obravnava identifikacije v transnacionalnem kontekstu, ki odražajo določene spremembe v družbenem redu. Človeška bitja in družbeno okolje obravnavamo kot dva emergentna sistema, vsak s svojimi vzročnimi kapacitetami, ki ne moreta neposredno vplivati drug na drugega. Sledeč Archerjevi (2003) v ospredje postavljamo zmožnost refleksivnosti, ki nastopa kot vmesnik med družbenim kontekstom in posameznikovo kognicijo. Njega vloga se je v času globalnih družbenih transformacij okrepila, kar vodi v večji nadzor nad družbenim kontekstom in se kaže tudi v instrumentalnih identifikacijah, ki služijo kot sredstvo prilagajanja na družbeno okolje. Slednje predstavimo skozi sintezo teoretičnih predpostavk in empiričnih dognanj, pridobljenih z analizo narativov evrokratov.

Ključne besede: evrokrati, instrumentalne identifikacije, narativi, transnacionalnost

COSTRUZIONI DI IDENTITÀ ALLA LUCE DELL'EMERGENZA DELLA STRUTTURA SOCIALE E DEI CONCETTI INDIVIDUALI DI SOCIALITÀ

SINTESI

Il presente testo tratta le identificazioni che riflettono determinati cambiamenti nell'ordine sociale nell'ambito di un contesto transnazionale. Gli esseri umani e l'ambiente sociale vengono studiati come due sistemi emergenti, ognuno con proprie capacità causali, che non possono esercitare un'influenza diretta l'uno sull'altro. Seguendo gli studi di Archer (2003) si pone in primo piano la capacità di riflessione, che funge da interfaccia tra il contesto sociale e la cognizione di ogni singola persona. L'era delle trasformazioni sociali di portata globale ha infatti rafforzato il suo ruolo, portando ad un maggiore controllo nei confronti del contesto sociale e riflettendolo anche nelle identificazioni strumentali che servono come mezzo di adattamento all'ambiente sociale. Queste sono presentate attraverso una sintesi di diversi presupposti teorici e di scoperte empiriche tratte dall'analisi delle narrazioni degli eurocrati.

Parole chiave: eurocrati, identificazioni strumentali, narrazioni, transnazionalità

UVOD

Pričujoče besedilo odseva zanimanje za sodobne identifikacijske procese, katerih dinamika je razpeta med lokalne, nacionalne, transnacionalne in celo nadnacionalne družbene sfere. Kompleksnost, dvoumnost in ambivalentnost referenčnih okvirjev so korenito spremenile procese, ki oblikujejo individualno samozavedanje in definiranje, pa tudi skupinsko pripadnost in privrženost. Poleg večplastnih, prekrivajoč se identitetnih plasti je mogoče opaziti tudi večjo možnost delovanja (agency) v rokah posameznikov, ki je neločljivo povezana s tem fenomenom. Definiranje sebe v odnosu z drugimi je od nekdaj kompleksen proces, ki združuje intimna presojanja in družbene determinante, vendar dandanes sovpada z globalno povezanostjo in sočasno fragmentacijo družbenih pomenov, ki narekuje prav posebno dinamiko teh procesov. Konstrukcije identitet v sodobnem družbenem redu postavljajo v ospredje osebno intimnost, večjo možnost zamišljanja in refleksivnosti kot tudi njihov odnos do družbenega (in kulturnega) konteksta, ki je izgubil stabilnost in predvidljivost. Pri razumevanju subjektivnosti posameznikov in konstrukcije identitet se naslanjamo na idejo ontološke subjektivnosti, ki izpodbija neposredno družbeno determiniranost človeka. Ključno vprašanje, ki uokvirja pričujoče besedilo, je, do katere mere so pomeni dani v naprej oziroma so repertoar posameznikovih izbir in samoodločanja ter kako to vpliva na samodefiniranje in identificiranje.

Pri soočanju z omenjenim problemom se oklepamo filozofske tradicije kritičnega realizma, ki se ga najpogosteje povezuje z deli Roya Bhaskarja, na področju družboslovja pa se kaže predvsem skozi dela Margaret Archer. Človeška bitja (psihične sisteme) in družbo (družbene sisteme) obravnavamo kot dva emergentna sistema, vsakega s svojimi vzročnimi kapacitetami, ki ne moreta neposredno vplivati drug na drugega (Archer, 1988, 2003). Družbeni sistem je okolje posamezniku in obratno, posameznik je okolje družbenemu sistemu. V medsebojnem odnosu in tudi v vplivu drug na drugega pomembno vlogo igra tako imenovana »sprožilnost – vzročnost« (Luhmann, 1995; v Seidl, 2004). Družbeni sistem je sprožilec posameznikove kognicije, ki se odziva na njegov oziroma njen specifičen način, medtem ko je posameznik sprožilec družbenemu sistemu, katerega strukture se odzovejo na specifičen način lastne reprodukcije. Povezavo med obema ravnema je mogoče najti v konfrontaciji emergentnih značilnosti obeh. Kot meni Seidl, sta oba sistema strukturno prilagojena drug drugemu na način, ki omogoča vzajemno iritacijo (2004, 11). Odziv posameznika na iritacijo družbenega sistema razumemo kot refleksivnost, ki predstavlja ključni mehanizem za družbene spremembe (cf. Archer, 2003, 2012).

Kompleksnost tako imenovane pozne moderne je okrepila vlogo refleksivnosti kot vmesnika med posamezniki in strukturo. V tradicionalnih družbah je bila prevladujoča oblika refleksivnosti komunikacijska, ki je v odnosu do družbenega kolektivistična. Obdobje moderne je omogočilo avtonomno refleksivnost, ki je v odnosu do družbenega okolja prilagodljiva, v zadnjih desetletjih pa so strukturne negotovosti povečale vlogo metarefleksivnosti, ki je transcendentna v odnosu do družbenega, in omogočile tudi podkategorijo zlomljene refleksivnosti (več v Archer, 2012). Pomembno vlogo igra dejstvo, da različne oblike refleksivnosti ne zadevajo le določenega časovnega obdobja, temveč so povezane tudi z različnimi sferami družbenega v istem času (Donati, 2011). Menimo, da sodobni družbeni red omogoča večjo in intenzivnejšo refleksivnost samo do določene mere in ta ni neizpodbiten »imperativ modernosti« (Archer, 2012). Ključen je tudi položaj posameznika znotraj družbenega konteksta in viri, s katerimi razpolaga.

Aktivna prisotnost v transnacionalni ali nadnacionalni družbeni sferi, oziroma vsakodnevne družbene prakse znotraj nje, predstavlja spremenjeno umeščenost v družbeni kontekst, ki družbene imperative oblikuje v aktivne sprožilce posameznikove kognicije. Viri (materialni, družbeni, kulturni), ki določajo posameznikovo umeščenost v družbeno okolje, so v primeru vstopa v transnacionalno sfero znatno večji kot v primeru posameznika, ki je v vsakodnevnih praksah omejen le na lokalno ali nacionalno okolje. Kot je bilo prikazano na primeru evropskih družbenih polj, ki so transnacionalna po svoji naravi, so v njih prisotni bolj izobraženi, bogatejši in mlajši ljudje (cf. Fligstein, 2008). Ali pa v primeru transnacionalne ekonomske elite (Bühlmann, 2013), ki poseduje večjo količino transnacionalnih virov oziroma kapitala, ki je spet lahko ekonomski, pa tudi kulturni ali socialni. Slednji je predvsem pomemben v primeru diasporičnih skupnosti, ki temeljijo na vzdrževanju družbenih omrežij in kulturnih narativov skupnega izvora (Repič, 2010). Prisotnost v transnacionalni sferi pomeni sočasno vpetost v lokalna in nacionalna okolja, kar doprinese k mnoštvu družbenih spominov, narativov, vrednot in tudi institucionalnih pravil ter norm. Družbeno okolje je tako nenehen sprožilec posameznikove psihične notranjosti in miselnih procesov, saj zaradi mnogoterosti in dvoumnosti pomenov, ki jih generira, ob konfrontaciji z mislimi oziroma zavestjo posameznika izgublja samoumevnost. Emergentne strukturne značilnosti lokalnega in nacionalnega okolja v transnacionalnem kontekstu začnejo posameznikom predstavljati omejitve, ki svoje življenjske cilje usmerjajo na različne konce (v navezavi s prednostmi in omejitvami družbenega okolja kot emergentne značilnosti strukture). Po drugi strani pa transnacionalno okolje predstavlja prednosti in tako pospešuje refleksivne premisleke posameznika, ki vodijo k strateškim odločitvam in tudi instrumentalnim identifikacijam. Posamezniki aktivirajo vzročne zmožnosti strukturnih značilnosti z namenom doseganja lastnih ciljev.

Okrepljena vloga refleksivnosti vodi v večji nadzor nad družbenim kontekstom, kar se kaže tudi v instrumentalnih in večplastnih identifikacijah, ki služijo kot sred-

stvo prilagajanja na družbeno okolje. Predpostavko, da posamezniki, ki so vsakodnevno vpeti v množtvo družbenih prostorov, oblikujejo instrumentalne identifikacije, ki so rezultat refleksivne obravnave družbenega konteksta, bomo predstavili tudi na etnografsko pridobljenem gradivu. Sinteza teoretičnih predpostavk in empiričnih dognanj bo obravnavana na podlagi analize narativov, tako imenovanih evrokratov, katerih vsakodnevno delovanje je vezano na prisotnost v evropskih družbenih poljih. Slednja razumemo kot lokalni red, kjer akterji delujejo in uokvirjajo pomene delovanja v odnosu z drugimi na podlagi skupnih pravil (cf. Fligstein, 2001, 108). Družbena polja omogočajo obravnavo tako mikro- kot makroperspektiv v razumevanju družbene realnosti. Poleg splošnih konceptualnih in empiričnih usmeritev omogočajo raziskovanje konkretnih družbenih skupin, ki delujejo v družbenih prostorih vezanih na integrativne procese Evropske unije. Slednje so namreč spodbudile nastanek ne le ekonomskih in političnih prostorov, temveč tudi družbenih, ki povezujejo člane nacionalnih skupnosti v specifično transnacionalno družbeno sfero (Rumford, 2003; Delhey, 2004). Transnacionalne povezave vodijo do skupnih občutkov pripadnosti in povezovanja na evropski ravni, vendar pa je tako imenovana 'horizontalna evropeizacija' (Mau in Büttner, 2010) neločljivo povezana z družbeno stratifikacijo. Posledično ne more vsak aktivno prisostvovati v evropskih družbenih poljih in oblikovati tovrstnih transnacionalnih identifikacij (Golob et al., 2014). Dinamika identificiranja posameznikov je vezana na specifične družbene sile znotraj polja in na posameznikove unikatne psihološke strukture.

SINTEZA ETNOGRAFSKEGA GRADIVA IN TEORETIČNIH NASTAVKOV

Teoretična razglabljanja, predstavljena uvodoma, temeljijo na empiričnih dognanjih, vezanih na večletna etnografska raziskovanja različnih transnacionalnih skupin, katerih vsakodnevne prakse so vezane na transnacionalno oziroma nadnacionalno družbeno sfero. V pričujočem besedilu bomo predstavili posameznike, ki so vpeti v evropsko transnacionalno družbeno sfero, ki seže tudi v nadnacionalne okvirje. V okvirjih specifičnega družbenega konteksta so oblikovali določene identitetne plasti marmornega kolača, ki zaobjemajo tako nacionalne kot tudi evropske identifikacije. Prisotni so v transnacionalnem okolju, ki omogoča vznik določenih družbenih prostorov, ki so podvrženi vplivom individualizacije in visoki kompleksnosti družbene diferenciacije, ki izpodbijajo tradicionalne, kolektivne identitete. V ospredju so tako imenovani evrokrati, zaposleni v različnih oddelkih Evropske komisije, ki kot visoko birokratska institucija zaposluje več kot 30000 ljudi. Večina je stalno zaposlenih, medtem kot je ena tretjina zaposlena le začasno. Naša študija se osredotoča na uradnike oziroma administracijo Evropske unije, ki je vključena v »dolgotrajni proces konstruiranja evropske družbe v tesni po-

vezavi z evropskimi institucijami« (Georgakakis, 2010, 140). Črpa iz intervjujev, ki so bili izvedeni med septembrom 2013 in junijem 2014. Nekatere med njimi je spremljalo etnografsko opazovanje v Bruslju, medtem ko so bili nekateri intervjuji predvsem zaradi pomanjkanja časa sodelujočih izvedeni tudi preko »skypa«. Sogovornike smo pridobili na podlagi snežne kepe, ki ima določene omejitve, saj omogoča dostop do posameznikov znotraj določenega omrežja, vendar pa po drugi strani s tem olajša definicijo izbranega vzorca. Vsi sogovorniki prihajajo iz držav članic, ki so se Evropski uniji pridružile po letu 2004, in znotraj birokratskega ustroja veljajo kot »the new stuff«. Slednje ima lahko odločilno vlogo pri vplivu strukturnih sil znotraj posameznih družbenih sfer, saj so institucionalna pravila, ustaljeni figuracijski odnosi in predvsem kognitivni »know how« prilagojeni starim članicam (Ban, 2008). Poleg tega je skupina sogovornikov tudi starostno kar homogena, saj je večina stara med trideset in štirideset let.

Na podlagi pogovorov smo skušali izbrati prevladujoče narative, ki lahko osvetlijo obravnavano problematiko instrumentalnih identifikacij znotraj medigre družbenih sil in posameznikove refleksivnosti. Pripovedovanje življenjskih zgodb prikazuje spreminjajoča se zgodovinska, kulturna in ekonomska okolja (Cashman, 2008) ter skupinsko konstrukcijo pomenov, na podlagi katerih se posameznikovi spomini umestijo v skupni konceptualni sistem (Nelson, 2003). Narative razumemo kot jezikovne prakse, ki tudi vzpostavljajo kontekst družbene realnosti in konstruirajo identitete. Osebne zgodbe odražajo skupne karakteristike določene skupine, pri iskanju skupnega glasu pa ne smemo zanemariti subjektivnih izkušenj sogovornikov (Malkki, 1995). Narativi namreč usmerjajo delovanje posameznikov v določenem času in prostoru ter povezujejo dogodke preko miselnih, fizičnih vzročnih in časovnih sekvenc, ki so usmerjene k zastavljenim ciljem v določenem življenjskem obdobju (Nelson, 2003). Na podlagi narativov smo oblikovali pojme, kategorije in odnose med njimi, kar omogoča prepoznavo kontekstualnega pomena izbranih kategorij znotraj celotne sheme kvalitativne etnografske raziskave. Kategorizacija pojmov je sovpadla s predhodnimi teoretičnimi usmeritvami. Vsebinske enote analize so: predispozicije, ki omogočajo vstop v transnacionalno družbeno sfero, ki so v teoretičnem modelu opredeljene kot viri, transnacionalne družbene sile oziroma imperativi, ki se odražajo kot specifične kode, nacionalne družbene sile, medsubjektivni pomen, ki izhaja iz figuracijskih razmerij, in instrumentalnost identifikacij ter strateške odločitve, ki izhajajo iz možnosti refleksivnosti.

Predispozicije, ki omogočajo vstop v transnacionalno družbeno sfero

Narativi sogovornikov prikazujejo različna ozadja, družbene in osebne kontekste, ki so jih pripeljala v

evropski institucionalni ustroj. Najprej je mogoče opaziti narativ Evrope kot obljubljene dežele nekdanjih socialističnih držav. Diskurzi se nanašajo na mitološka obzorja, asociirana z Evropo, ki so vzniknila v času padca komunističnih režimov ustanavljanja neodvisnih držav. Sogovorniki so odraščali v državah, zaznamovanih s komunistično tradicijo, v katerih je vstop v Evropsko unijo predstavljal »vrnitev nazaj v Evropo«. Združitev in integracija z evropskimi državami sta bila ena od največjih prioritet novoustanovljenih vlad in delo v evropskih institucijah je bil prestiž. Kot je na primer pripovedovala ena od sogovornic:

>»Želja po delu v Bruslju je bila prisotna, še preden je naša država postala članica EU-ja. Spominjam se, ko sem bila še v srednji šoli in smo govorili o prihodnjih planih, saj veste, na katero fakulteto bi šli, kje študirat, kaj delat, so bile najbolj imenitne službe v tujini. Ampak ne kar vsepovsod, ampak tam, kjer so plače visoke, kjer je življenjski standard visok, ne tako kot doma. In ker je Amerika daleč (smeh), so evropske institucije bile super. Predstavljali smo si, da je življenje tam nekaj posebnega, veliko boljše kot doma. In enkrat, ne vem, mogoče v tretjem letniku, smo šli s šolo na ekskurzijo v Bruselj in Luksemburg in tam smo videli draga oblačila in avtomobile in vse je bilo lepo urejeno.«*

Vendar pa vstop v transnacionalno (evropsko) družbeno sfer ni kar samoumevno dejstvo in tudi transnacionalne identitetne plasti bi lahko videli tudi kot privilegij le nekaterih (Bagnolli, 2007). Kot že omenjeno, ima pomembno vlogo razpoložljivost virov: ekonomskih, družbenih in kulturnih. Vsi sogovorniki so bili z njimi dobro opremljeni. Večina je odraščala v družini, zaznamovani z nadnacionalnimi, kozmopolitskimi vrednotami. Potovanje po Evropi in tudi drugih kontinentih je bilo pogosto. Večina je imela redne stike z drugimi nacionalnostmi, pa naj so to prijatelji, sorodniki ali poslovni partnerji. Kot je na primer dejal eden od sogovornikov:

>»Ko sem bil star osemnajst let, smo se preselili v Kanado, ker se je moja mama tam še enkrat poročila. Tam sem hodil na kolidž. Bil sem nov, prišlek in najlažji način, da pridobiš prijatelje, je, da se družiš s tujci. Moj najboljši prijatelj je bil iz Francije. Skupaj z mojimi prijatelji smo bili prava večkulturna, večnacionalna družba.«*

Za vse sogovornike velja, da so imeli v otroštvu in mladosti veliko spodbude pri učenju tujega jezika in pri pridobivanju znanja, da bi lahko enkrat uspeli in »naredili nekaj iz sebe«. Kot je izrazila sogovornica:

>»Moji starši so me zelo spodbujali pri učenju tujih jezikov. Študirala sem angleščino in francoščino in kasneje občasno delala kot prevajalka. In več, ko sem le lahko, sem zagrabila priložnost in šla v tujino in izboljšala znanje jezika. Po priključitvi EU-ju so imele vse te institucije veliko potrebo po prevajalcih, še posebej, če znaš francosko. In tako sem začela delati kot prevajalka v Luksemburgu. In to je bil začetek moje zgodbe.«*

Sogovorniki so bili dobro opremljeni z viri, ki so jim omogočili oziroma olajšali vstop v transnacionalno sfero, vendar je med njimi razvidna heterogenost. Eden od sogovornikov je izpostavil, da finančno stanje njegove družine ni bilo ravno dobro, vendar pa so vzdrževali redne stike s sorodniki v tujini. Kot je dejal, je bilo širjenje obzorij vrednota. Pri tem je morda smiselno omeniti, da so v času ekspanzije tehnološkega razvoja transnacionalni stiki izgubili spone fizičnih omejitev in spodbudili prenos informacij in posledično tudi virov. Slednje je še posebno razvidno pri sogovorniku, ki je odraščal v slovenski diaspori.

>»Vzgojen sem bil v duhu, da se bom nekoč vrnil. Imeli smo redne stike s sorodniki in prijatelji preko skypa in facebooka, smo pa tudi potovali. Enkrat sem prišel domov na obisk in sem imel možnost obiskati izseljence v različnih delih Evrope, tudi v Bruslju. Ker govorim več jezikov, sem dobil priložnost za delo v Evropskem parlamentu. Potem sem naredil diplomo in se malo potrudil ter dobil delo v komisiji.«*

Drugi sogovornik je recimo izpostavil, da so bili njegovi starši premožni in mu omogočili, da se je redno vključeval v jezikovne tečaje v tujini. Ozadje vsakega od sogovornikov je specifično, unikatno, vendar pa so bili izpolnjeni določeni pogoji. Prav tako je opazen tudi narativ, da v domovini ni bilo dovolj priložnosti za uspeh, kar je sogovornike usmerjalo v delo v tujini. Njihove vsakdanje prakse niso bile omejene le z nacionalnim okoljem, zaposlitev v Evropski komisiji pa jim je omogočila, da so izkoristili prednosti, ki jih ponuja svoboda gibanja znotraj Evrope, in ostale prednosti EU-ja. Predispozicije igrajo pomembno vlogo, saj odpirajo vrata iz lokalne in nacionalne v transnacionalno sfero, vsi sogovorniki pa so izkazali tudi visoko stopnjo družbenih veščin in sposobnosti. Kot je na primer dejal Favell, ki je preučeval evropsko družbo v nastajanju, zavestno gibanje pogosto spodbudijo priložnosti, ki nastanejo v določenem trenutku, ki sovpada s pomanjkanjem ostalih omejitev (2008, 65). Kot smo že omenili, oblika refleksivnosti, ki spodbuja nastanek instrumentalnih identifikacij, je predvsem avtonomna in je po mnenju Archerjeve (2003) pogosto rezultat kontekstualne diskontinuitete. Pripovedi sogovornikov ne prikazujejo le vloge virov, ki omogočajo vstop v transnacionalno družbeni sfero, ampak tudi nelagodje v obstoječem družbenem kontekstu. Sogovorniki niso

uspeli splesti dovolj tesnih vezi v določeni skupnosti ali pa so te vezi postale utesnjujoče v kasnejšem obdobju. Posamezniki, ki se soočajo s kontekstualno diskontinuiteto, skušajo razrahljati svoje korenine, uresničiti svoje cilje in tako pogosto dajejo prednost svojemu delu (glej Mutch, 2007, 1130). Zbrani narativi prikazujejo, da so specifične družbene interakcije, izobrazba in priložnosti za potovanje delovali kot sprožilec refleksivnosti sogovornikov, ki so v nacionalnem okolju prepoznali omejitve svojega delovanja. Posledično so oblikovali osebne cilje, usmerjene k transnacionalnemu, večkulturnemu evropskemu okolju, ki ponuja osebni uspeh in tudi boljši ekonomski status.

Družbeni imperativi v transnacionalni sferi

Transnacionalna družbena sfera ima v medigri družbenih sil in posameznikove kognicije specifičen vpliv. Družbene sile v konkretnem okolju sogovornikov določajo skozi institucionalna pravila paleto norm in zakonov, ki vplivajo na njihovo delovanje, topografija omrežij spodbuja horizontalno povezovanje na transnacionalni in nadnacionalni ravni, kognitivni okvirji kot mentalna organizacija prostora pa odražajo trk lokalnih, nacionalnih in transnacionalnih kod. Vse tri oblike družbenih sil delujejo kot imperativi na posameznikovo kognicijo. Slednje je v prvi vrsti razvidno skozi pripovedi, ki prikazujejo internacionalizacijo institucionalnih narativov. Vsi sogovorniki so v pogovoru o pripadnosti in odnosu do okolja, v katerem živijo, izrazili skoraj identične opise Evrope kot skupne usode, postnacionalnem prostoru, v katerem ljudje izgrajujejo življenja, temelječa na človeških pravicah in univerzalnih vrednotah. Je prostor boljših priložnosti. Prav tako so izrazili enaka mnenja o Evropski uniji, ki se ujemajo z uradnimi opisi Evropske komisije. Njihovi narativi zaobjemajo uniformirane izraze o političnih ciljih, kulturnih vplivih in družbenih dimenzijah Unije. Podobna opažanja so bila že zabeležena v diskurzivni analizi pripovedi zaposlenih v Evropskem parlamentu in komisiji, ki se je nanašala na evropsko identiteto (glej Wodak, 2004). Antropološko poročilo o Evropski komisiji (Abélès et al., 1993) je prepoznalo obstoj posebne kulture Komisije, ki zaobjema občutek skupnih konceptov in vrednot – ideja Evrope ali »l'idee Europeenne« pa je v njenem središču. Relativna konsistentost pri opisu, kaj pomeni evropskost, naj bi delovala celo kot »evropska zavest« (Cini, 1996; v Wodak, 2004). Kot meni Georgakakis, je objektivizacija evropske administracije zakoreninjena prav v institucionalnih narativih, ki temeljijo na pravnih osnovah (2006, 7). Specifični diskurzi pripadnosti se oblikujejo že v času šolanja in ni nepomembno dejstvo, da je večina sogovornikov pridobila del izobrazbe v posebnih evropskih šolah. Pomen prenosa narativov v času šolanja in oblikovanje občutka pripadnosti sta še posebej razvidna v kontrastu z odsotnostjo slednjega. Ena od sogovornic je spontano izpostavila svojo »posebnost«:

»Kot sem rekla, sem prišla bolj po naključju sem. Nisem študirala evropske zadeve ali karkoli, tukaj pa so bili vsi zelo vešči tega. Jaz sem komunikologinja, ampak na začetku sem se počutila, da nekako ne spadam sem, ampak dlje kot sem tukaj, bolj se mi zdi, da je to fajn, zaradi tega, ker prineseš nek svež pogled na zadeve.«

Prenos specifičnih diskurzov poteka tudi skozi posebna preverjanja znanja, ki jih morajo opraviti, preden dobijo zaposlitev. Ta preverjanja so oblikovana posebej za posamezne skupine znotraj institucij. Obstoj statusa določene skupine vznikne tudi skozi paleto družbenih filtrov (Andréone, 2008; v Georgakakis in Rowel, 2013, 38). Kot je dejala ena od sogovornic:

»Kader ljudi, ki dela za EU institucije, je zelo specifičen. Prvič so večinoma zelo inteligentni, zelo ambiciozni, predvsem nova generacija iz novih članic, ampak predvsem zelo birokratski. Sploh starejša generacija do neke mere, bi rekla, da so odrezani od realnega sveta zunaj EU institucij. S tega vidika mi je bilo na začetku težko navezat kontakte, ker se na začetku nisem čutila čisto del tega.«

Večina sogovornikov je poudarila razliko med njimi in uradniki v nacionalnih okoljih. Večji del birokratskega ustroja je že delal ali živel v tujini, govori več jezikov, ima podiplomsko izobrazbo in je predvsem zavezan Evropski uniji. Kot pravita Hooghe in Taylor Smith (2011), je slednje zelo redko opaziti med državnimi uradniki. Sogovorniki so izpostavljali razliko tudi med njimi in ostalimi, naj bodo to prijatelji, družina, znanci, ki so ostali v nacionalnem okolju. Kot je na primer dejala sogovornica, se ob vrnitvi domov ne more pogovarjati o svojih službenih zadevah:

»Če se že pogovarjamo o političnih zadevah, se pogovarjamo o slovenski politiki, o EU kot taki pa ne. Večina jih niti ne razume koncepta EU-ja, večina jih sploh ne razume, kaj je razlika med Evropsko komisijo in Evropskim parlamentom, in ne moreš.«

Pripadnost in lojalnost do Evropske unije naraščata z leti vpetosti v evropske institucije, vpliv transnacionalnih družbenih sil pa je tudi opaznejši. Sčasoma naj bi pridobili skupne nadnacionalne, evropske vrednote (Hooghe in Taylor Smith, 2011), ki se nanašajo na Evropo kot skupen cilj za politično motivacijo. Kot je na primer dejal sogovornik, ki dela znotraj Evropske komisije že osem let:

»Jaz osebno, čisto ideološko, motivacija prihaja iz tega, ker jaz vidim svoje delo v vsem tem, v čemer je EU dobila Nobelovo nagrado za mir. Imaš ful različnih interesov, imaš mafijo, vse, am-

pak to imaš tudi v Slovenji. Samo da je tukaj na večjem nivoju, večje dimenzije tega. Ampak jaz verjamem v to idejo in sem se pripravljen za njo borit. Ker to delam vsak dan, v bistvu. Jaz kot del institucije lahko vidim te rezultate.«

Evropska komisija oblikuje življenja zaposlenih tudi z vplivom na družbena omrežja. Zaposleni so na primer v Bruslju oproščeni plačila davka na določenih predelih, kjer imajo svoje klube, šole, športna društva ipd. Večinoma so izolirani od ostalih delov Bruslja, kljub temu, da se zavestno vključujejo v življenje izven »bruseljskega mehurčka«. Posledično so vsi sogovorniki oblikovali močne občutke pripadnosti nadnacionalni politični in družbeni entiteti. Znotraj marmornega kolača identitet je evropska plast precej očitna, je pa vedno komplementarna z nacionalnimi. Kljub temu, da so evrokrati prisotni v transnacionalni družbeni sferi, je del njih še vedno vpet v nacionalno. Pogovor o interesih in motivaciji nanese tudi na diskurz o nas in njih, ki se nanaša na državo izvora in ostale nacionalnosti. Kot je na primer dejal eden od sogovornikov: »Če si ne bomo pomagali sami, nam tudi Nemci ne bodo.« Država izvora je pogosto asociirana tudi z domovino, ki ima močno konotacijo doma, občutka varnosti in topline. Te podobe se vzdržujejo skozi redne stike preko družbenih omrežij, vezanih na nacionalno okolje. Kot je na primer dejala sogovornica:

»Tukaj imam svoj krog prijateljev, imam jih pa tudi doma in se niso nič razrahljale. Vseeno mi je dobro, ko pridem domov in vidim prijatelje in se dobim z njimi. Na nek način bi celo rekla, da so tista prijateljstva močnejša. So iz srednje šole še ali pa še iz otroštva. Tukaj pač spoznaš ljudi, saj si prijatelj in vse, ampak mogoče tudi, da ko pri teh letih spoznaš ljudi, ne navežeš tako močnih vezi kot v otroštvu.«

Daljava doma je lahko tudi vir tesnobe. Po eni strani želijo živeti v večkulturnem, več-jezičnem okolju, ki pa lahko povzroča tudi nelagodje. Slednje se odraža tudi v številu klubov v Bruslju, vezanih na nacionalne države. Vpliv nacionalnih družbenih imperativov se kaže tudi v delovnih situacijah znotraj institucij. Prehajanje iz enega uradnega jezika v drugega je nenehen opomnik nacionalnih tradicij in diverzitete. Kot menijo Abélès in drugi (1993, 38-41), lahko trk nacionalnih kulturnih spominov okrepi določene stereotipe, ki se nanašajo na dihotomijo sever-jug, vzhod-zahod, angleško-francosko govoreči ipd. Nacionalni kulturni spomini so globoko zakoreninjeni v posameznikih. Kot je na primer dejala ena od sogovornic:

»To je posebna dinamika dela, na drugačen način komuniciraš z ljudmi, kulturne razlike pridejo bolj v ospredje in moraš pazit, na kakšen način

komuniciraš. Mogoče je malo manj sproščeno, kot če delaš samo v slovenskem okolju, kjer ti je kultura blizu. Če rečeš nek vic, ljudje poznajo ta način komuniciranja. Pri ljudeh iz različnih kultur so ene nianse.«

Kljub temu pa prevladuje percepcija različnosti kot vrednota in nacionalni interes je pogosto vezan na skupno evropsko blaginjo.

Instrumentalnost identifikacij in strateško delovanje

Analiza gradiva se je do sedaj nanašala na vpliv družbenih sil na artikulacijo posameznikove pozicije znotraj prekrivajočih se družbenih okolij. Njihovo delovanje je podvrženo vplivom družbenih imperativov, ki lahko delujejo na nezavedni ravni, so pa v primeru sogovornikov pogosto zavedni. Evrokrati niso le administrativni ustroj evropskih institucij, ampak tudi transnacionalni posamezniki, ki ustvarjajo svoje življenjske zgodbe v različnih družbenih sferah. Niso omejeni le z nacionalnim okoljem, ampak so aktivno udeleženi v transnacionalnem in tako reproducirajo specifične družbene kontekste. Dobro opremljeni z različnimi viri zavestno izkoriščajo prednosti evropskega državljanstva. Razviden je narativ osvobojenosti od nacionalnega okolja, ki jim omogoča uspeh in osebno zadovoljstvo. Kot je na primer dejal sogovornik:

»Tukaj je dosti drugače kot pri mojih kolegih, ki delajo v javni upravi doma. Tukaj je razlika ključna ravno v tem, da imam jaz občutek, da me obravnavajo resno, da me obravnavajo enako kot nekega Nemca, Francoza, Španca … Tukaj res ni važno, iz kje si. Šteje samo, da imaš dobro idejo in da jo znaš predstavit. Preveč je ljudi tukaj. Veliko je res na sposobnosti ljudi. Počutim se enakovrednega, da lahko napredujem, kar sem tudi pokazal. Če si priden in uspešen, ti uspe.«

Njihova motivacija ni vezana le na dobro plačilo, ampak tudi osebno izpolnitev. Večina sogovornikov je izpostavila, da se nekega dne morda namerava vrniti nazaj, ampak bo to premišljena, strateška odločitev in ne nuja. Prisoten je občutek superiornosti, možnost kontrole nad lastnim življenjem, ki sta vezana na možnosti agencije. Odločitev za zaposlitev v Evropski komisiji je bila premišljena in individualizirana ter odseva visoko stopnjo refleksivnosti. Če uporabimo Favellov stavek: »in preračunavanje še vedno traja« (2008, 63). Tudi stres v delovnem okolju jim večinoma ustreza. Kot je dejal sogovornik:

»Včasih je res težko. Ampak mi je v redu. Ko bom imel dovolj, bom šel. Mogoče bom začel z lastnim biznisom doma ali pa bo šel na kakšno drugo pozicijo v EU-ju.«

V svetu nepredvidljivih in nestabilnih družbenih pogojev odražajo visoko stopnjo veščosti in sprejemanja tveganja v navezavi z Beckovo (1992) formulacijo družbe. Vedo, kako izkoristiti institucionalna pravila, da ustvarijo varno okolje za življenje. Imajo lastne imaginacije in aspiracije, ki vodijo v visoko zastavljene cilje, in število priložnosti, ki jih znajo izkoristiti. Znajo oceniti svojo situacijo v nacionalnem okolju skozi različne perspektive – ekonomske, politične ali družbene. Nekateri sogovorniki so celo eksplicitno izpostavili možnost vplivanja na nacionalno situacijo. Prehod med družbenimi okolji omogoča intenzivnejšo refleksivnost in zavedanja posameznikovih dejanj znotraj institucionalnih in kognitivnih okvirjev, ki jih obdajajo. Imajo občutek, da doprinašajo nekaj k družbenim pogojem. Življenje nad nacionalnim okoljem omogoča večplastne spreminjajoče se identitete, kjer ima nadnacionalna evropska komponenta močno vlogo. Te identitete so sredstvo povezovanja različnih ljudi iz različnih okolij in tega se tudi povsem zavedajo. Prevladujoče vrednote so vezane na raznolikost in širjenje obzorij. Slednje želijo prenesti tudi na svoje otroke. Tisti, ki že imajo družino, rušijo ustaljene vzorce tradicionalnih skupnosti in domov in se kažejo v življenjskih zgodbah, kot pravi Favell (2008), evropske družbe v nastajanju. Otroci odraščajo v specifičnih večjezičnih okoljih in se družijo z vrstniki različnih etničnih in jezikovnih ozadij. Kot je na primer izrazila ena od zaposlenih:

> »Včasih zna biti pri nas doma zelo zanimivo, prav po babilonsko, vendar smo se sedaj že vsi navadili tega režima.«

Transnacionalne plasti identitetnega kolača prevzamejo instrumentalen pomen in omogočajo posameznikom večjo kontrolo nad življenjem in lažje doseganje ciljev. Prikazujejo, kako nenehno prehajanje med mejami (fizičnimi in imaginarnimi), transnacionalnimi in nacionalnimi interakcijami in institucijami ter življenjskimi preizkušnjami iz preteklosti in sedanjosti vpliva na dojemanje sebe. Prav tako lahko brez napora in povsem zavedno preklapljajo med identitetnimi plasti. Kot smo prikazali, je za evrokrate značilen močen vpliv institucionalnega diskurza, ki vpliva na evropske institucionalne identitete. Slednje je lahko nezavedno, vendar pa ob trku z njihovimi interesi postane zavedno in prikazuje vlogo refleksivnosti v tem procesu. Dimenzije družbenih imperativov delujejo tudi kot sprožilec njihove notranje konverzacije, če družben kontekst ni v skladu z njihovimi interesi. Internalizacija določenih institucionalnih vrednot in uradnih narativov jim lahko pomaga utrditi njihovo pozicijo znotraj družbenega okolja in služi njihovim interesom ter potrebam. Zavezani so Evropski uniji in se čutijo Evropejce, vendar pa v skladu z določenim družbenim kontekstom lahko vzpostavijo tudi distanco. Kot je na primer sogovornica opisala pripadnost evropskim institucijam:

> »Sem del tega, na nek način se z njim identificiram, na nek ne, ampak to zavestno kultiviram, ker se mi ne zdi zdravo, da se preveč s tem evrokratskim mehurjem, če samo znotraj tega stojiš, potem izgubiš stik z ostalim. Zato mi je fajn, da z eno nogo stojim notri in z eno ven (smeh).«

Transnacionalni družbeni imperativi, tako kot nacionalni, vplivajo na njihove narative o pripadnosti in razumevanju sebe znotraj družbenega okolja, vendar, če se jim zdi potrebno, stopijo iz njega ven. Ti narativi prikazujejo vpliv kulturnih okvirjev, ki pa niso trdni, zakoreninjeni, ampak bolj individualistični in predvsem racionalni. Kot je dejal eden od sogovornikov:

> »Počutim se Evropejca, ampak kar je najbolj pomembno, je, da EU omogoča določene stvari, kot so potovanja, zaposlitev drugje, to nam olajša življenje.«

Ti posamezniki so oboroženi s paleto transnacionalnih virov, ki jim omogoča ne samo intenzivno refleksivnost v definiranju zastavljenih življenjskih ciljev, ampak tudi post- refleksivne odločitve (Adams, 2006). Sposobni so prepoznati prednosti in omejitve družbene strukture in družbeni imperativi delujejo ne samo kot potencialni sprožilci, ampak dejansko to so. Imajo možnost zamišljanja in refleksivnega premisleka o lastnih interesih, ki jih preusmerijo v zastavljene projekte in dosežene cilje. Slednje lahko ilustriramo s ponazoritvijo izkušenj enega od sogovornikov, ki je več let delal kot uradnik na različnih pozicijah znotraj Evropske komisije in se kasneje odločil, da se vrne nazaj v domovino, vendar še vedno v okviru komisije. V pripovedi sta prisotna narativ nacionalnega interesa in občutek, da ga dejansko lahko doseže. Pri tem pa ne gre za prevlado nacionalnih družbenih imperativov nad transnacionalnimi, ampak je slednje vezano na osebne interese in željo, da si v domovini ustvari družino, ki si je zaradi določenih razlogov v Bruslju ne more. Njegov položaj v institucionalnem okolju mu je omogočil, da prevzame kontrolo nad svojim življenjem. Selitev v domovino ne predstavlja izstopa iz transnacionalnega okolja, saj je z njim povezan tako formalno kot tudi neformalno preko osebnih omrežij. Sposoben je načrtovati in usmerjati svojo življenjsko pot, preklapljati med različnimi kulturnimi repertoarji in instrumentalno prilagajati osebne, organizacijske, nacionalne in transnacionalne identifikacije glede na družbeni kontekst.

ZAKLJUČEK

Evropski birokrati so izpostavljeni kot primer transnacionalnih posameznikov, ki so sposobni aktivirati lastne emergentne značilnosti in tako vplivati na družbeni kontekst z namenom doseganja lastnih ciljev. Instrumentalne identifikacije so odraz refleksivnih premisle-

kov, ki jim omogočajo prilagajanje na družbeno okolje ter evaluacijo lastne pozicije znotraj družbenega konteksta. Delovanje izbranih sogovornikov odseva preplet družbenih imperativov, vezanih na nacionalne in trans(nad)nacionalne družbene imperative, ki ob medsebojnem trku delujejo kot sprožilci posameznikove kognicije. Identitete so vedno rezultat konstrukcije posameznikov, niso pa vedno instrumentalne. Posameznik je z rojstvom umeščen v določen družbeni kontekst, ki ponuja potencialne sprožilce kognicije. Pomanjkanje primernih virov vpliva na neprepoznavanje priložnosti ali pa omejitev družbenega konteksta, kar vodi v pasivno internalizacijo in diseminacijo družbenih informacij. Identitete so v tem primeru globoko zakoreninjene in sprejete kot naravno dejstvo. Sodoben družbeni red z visoko intenziteto nepredvidljivosti in hitrega pretoka informacij izpodbija samoumevnost družbenega konteksta in tudi identitet, možnost refleksivnih premislekov in tudi kreiranja ter doseganja lastnih ciljev pa nikakor ni pri vseh enako prisotna. Temu sledi tudi intenziteta instrumentalnih identifikacij.

Evrokrati so bogato opremljeni z različnimi oblikami virov (kulturnimi, ekonomskimi, socialnimi in političnimi), ki spodbujajo refleksivnost, zavedanje lastnega delovanja in možnost vplivanja na družben kontekst, v katerem se nahajajo. Zbrani narativi prikazujejo zgodbe posameznikov, ki so zmožni uresničevati zastavljene cilje in s tem tudi oblikovati instrumentalne identifikacije, ki odražajo adaptacijo na družben kontekst. Zgodbe, vezane na življenjske izkušnje, cilje in identitete, pa ne odražajo le instrumentalnosti identitetnih plasti, temveč tudi usmerjajo delovanje v času in prostoru (Nelson, 2003). Pri tem igra pomembno vlogo dejstvo, da so instrumentalne transnacionalne identifikacije le del marmornega kolača, ki vsebuje tudi druge identitetne plasti. Identitetni markerji se skozi pripovedi vzposta-

vljajo nezavedno in ne vedno v povezavi z izpostavljeno instrumentalno identitetno plastjo. Naracije evrokratov prikazujejo in pa tudi ustvarjajo lasten kontekst, ki se skozi aktivno rabo jezika spreminja. Skozi pripovedovanje se posamezniki umeščajo v določene skupine, ki v danem trenutku pogovora ustvarjajo občutek pripadnosti. Sogovorniki so lahko v enem trenutku neodvisni posamezniki, ki bežijo iz nacionalnega okolja, hkrati pa v drugem trenutku izražajo močno pripadnost svojemu narodu. Na tem mestu velja izpostaviti odnos med plitvimi in trdnimi kulturnimi elementi, ki je korenito zaznamoval sodobne identifikacijske procese. Transnacionalne identifikacije, ki so vezane na plitve kulturne sentimente, se skozi naracije kažejo kot neločljivo povezane tudi z nacionalnimi identitetami, ki nikakor niso izginile z obzorja posameznikovega samo-zavedanja. Prav tako sogovorniki mestoma v pogovoru zavračajo pripadnost evropskemu birokratskemu ustroju, že čez nekaj trenutkov pa močno zagovarjajo svoje vizije, ki so neločljivo vezane ravno na ta ustroj. Ponos na svoje delo, opis vsakodnevnih aktivnosti ter prihodnjih ciljev odraža specifične identitetne markerje. Njihove zgodbe so proces, skozi katerega se opredeljujejo za pripadnike določene skupnosti. Tako so skozi pripoved hkrati ambiciozni, izobraženi posamezniki, ki sledijo svojim ciljem, prav tako so pripadniki svojega naroda in delajo za skupen nacionalni interes, spet v drugem trenutku se dvignejo nad nacionalno skupnost in so močno zavedni evrokrati. Njihovi identifikacijski procesi so razpeti med lokalne, nacionalne in transnacionalne družbene sfere. Njihovo nenehno prehajanje meja (fizično in zamišljeno), transnacionalne interakcije ter življenjske izkušnje iz preteklosti ter iz nacionalnih in lokalnih okolij omogočajo kompleksen proces samoprepoznavanja in umeščanja v družben kontekst, njihovi narativi pa odražajo tudi performativen vidik konstrukcij identitet.

CONSTRUCTIONS OF THE IDENTITIES IN THE LIGHT OF THE EMERGENT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND INDIVIDUAL COGNITION

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SUMMARY

The article explores the processes of identification in a transnational social sphere, which reflects certain transformations in the contemporary social order. Identities are seen as a result of the complex interplay between individual deliberations and social forces. Considering the relation between individual and society, the article ensues from the philosophical tradition of critical realism. Human persons and social environment are considered as two emergent entities, which cannot directly influence each other. Following Archer (2003), article focuses on the ability of reflexivity, which mediates the social context and individual concerns. Due to global social transformations, one can see that the role of reflexivity has been reinforced. Article shows that transnational identities resulting from increased reflexivity can take on instrumental meanings and allow individuals to have greater control over their lives and more easily achieve their goals. In order to enrich theoretical conceptualisations, the article draws its insight from the interviews conducted with Eurocrats. Their narratives reveal that substantial role in that regard is played by the individual's ability to access to various types of capital. Further, they also have more social skills enabling social actions and constructions of the meaning of our lives (cf. Fligstein, 2001).

Key words: Eurocrats, instrumental identifications, narratives, transnationality

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WORLDVIEW CULTURE OF PERFORMING MUSICIAN

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ABSTRACT

The essential characteristic of the ideological culture of the performing musician includes a reasoned analysis of concepts like 'worldview' and 'culture', their interactions, and speaking as a serial multi-stage process - a system of knowledge, attitudes, ideals, defining relevant to their chosen specialty, to himself, understanding and emotional evaluation of musical art. By virtue of that the balance is kept between the rational and the emotional, personal and social aspects, the process of understanding, knowledge of the laws of musical development, including the level of ideological orientations, beliefs, professional position, value meanings, artistic views, reflective manifestations of self and others. The worldview culture of a specialist contains various aspects of personal and professional life, course of action and behavior, attitudes.

Key words: worldview, culture, worldview culture, performing musician, professional activity

LA VISIONE MONDIALE CULTURALE DI UN MUSICISTA

SINTESI

La caratteristica essenziale della cultura ideologica di un musicista comprende un'analisi ponderata di concetti come 'mondo' e 'cultura', le loro interazioni e il parlare come un processo multistadio seriale – un sistema di sapere, di mentalità, ideali, definiti rilevanti per le loro specialità prescelte, per lo stesso musicista, la comprensione e la valutazione emozionale dell'arte musicale. Grazie a questo, un equilibrio viene mantenuto tra il razionale e l'emozionale, tra il personale e il sociale, tra il processo della comprensione e la conoscenza delle leggi di sviluppo musicale, compreso il livello degli orientamenti ideologici, le credenze, le posizioni professionali, significati di valore, opinioni artistiche, manifestazioni riflessive di se stessi e degli altri. La cultura che riflette una visione del mondo di uno specialista contiene vari aspetti di vita personale e professionale, della linea di azione e comportamento, degli atteggiamenti.

Parole chiave: visione del mondo, cultura, cultura riflettente una visione del mondo, musicista, attività professionale

INTRODUCTION

In the shadow of latest emergence of new social and cultural realities in modern society, the idea of re-evaluation of many spiritual values and, respectively, their personal worldview, has become extremely relevant. In this regard, priority becomes the leading tenet of the Education Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan, which stands for the formation of a qualitatively new type of man, deeply moral and thinking creatively, which in turn implies the existence of a high worldview culture as the essential manifestation of his personal image. Proceeding from the importance of the sociocultural functions of art, the relevance of researching a performing musician's worldview culture becomes a fundamental factor in terms of forming a contemporary cultural worker.

Being a complex and multi-level formation in the structure of divergent aspirations of an artistically oriented personality, the worldview appears as a particularly important and at the same time universal characteristic, as the core of the professional culture of the current generation of professionals, reflecting and weaving together the most essential aspects of its personalized expression.

At the same time the worldview finds its social mission primarily in its dualistic functions: 'external', where it becomes an oriented tool in socio-cultural and professional space itself, as well as 'internal', associated with an analytically conscious perception of its spiritual and professional 'Self' for its further improvement and self-development.

Particularly, the first of these functions is associated with the willingness of a specialist to develop evaluation categories with regard to certain events, trends occurring in the surrounding reality, and, above all, in the field of culture and art in reliance on the sufficiently clear and already existing worldview position. Here, the worldview acts as a sort of translator of already formed foundations and ideas of society, its 'axis' of artistic views and ideals. As for the second 'internal' function, its effectiveness is directly interfaced with the unlimited possibilities of the personality to continuously enrich the spiritual world, to know it and self-create, not to mention the ability to model a 'script' of formation and the steady increase in person-centered worldview.

The aim of the paper is to research the worldview culture of a performing musician, using modern scientific sources on worldview problems, preliminary works of domestic and foreign researchers in the field of culture.

The following tasks were set during the research:
- to emphasize and analyze the notions of "worldview" and "culture"
- to emphasize the factors, which define the properties of cultural and worldview origins
- to research a specialist's worldview culture
- to characterize the worldview culture of a performing musician as a consistent and multistage process

The methods of scientific systematization, structural analysis, generalization and description are used to achieve the set aim.

The scientific novelty of the given research consists in the fact that for the first time the worldview culture of a performing musician is studied as a system of moral-esthetic principles, value relations, knowledge, artistic opinions and ideals, conceptual ideas in light of logical consistency, based on the Law on education of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the programs of ethnic music studies, educational and practical courses, the definition of the music teacher's worldview. The importance of worldview culture in the activity of a skilled professional in the field of music interpretation has been proven for the first time, which is of particular value for modern science. The practical value of the research lies in the provision of specific recommendations to the performing musician. The materials of the article can be used in courses of cultural studies, philosophical, art studies, and music studies and can be applied in music teaching methods, student and postgraduate student education systems of art study, philosophy and cultural study departments. The given research is useful to anybody specializing in music history and theory teaching methods, as well as the student and postgraduate student education system of art study, philosophy and cultural study departments.

METHOD

It is known that in solving any research problem methodologically it is important to understand its deep philosophical meaning, because, as scientists say 'philosophy - is the core of the worldview, indication of education' (Kasian, 1996).

Thus, in the Philosophical Encyclopedia (1964) the worldview is interpreted as 'a generalized system of views of the human on the world as a whole, on place of individual phenomena in the world and his or her own place in it, understanding and personal assessment of the meaning of the work and the fate of humanity, the totality of scientific, philosophical, political, legal, moral, religious, aesthetic beliefs and ideals'. It is no mere chance that in the development of conceptual ideas about the philosophical concept of personality, the 'mechanisms' of their origin and subsequent maturation, an important role is played by theoretical understanding of key aspects of the 'humanistic psychology' (Maslow, 1982), 'Open learning' (Evans, 1995), where 'teaching through discovery' (Bruner, 1978) is supported by an effective formula of 'pedagogy of cooperation' (Amonashvili, 1990).

Thus, using the philosophical approach provides an 'entrance' to the leading semantic perspectives of the essential structural and content parameters of worldview. 'The advantage of this approach is in seeing the general circumstances by sketching some principal

heuristic landmarks and leaving aside a more detailed conceptual mapping for a later day. My analysis is predicated on two assumptions. Firstly, I employ a dialectic approach, in which two positions are contrasted in a systematic way and where, rather than being melded in a bland mix, each will take center stage from time to time. Secondly, each position is construed as an ideal or theoretical type, in terms of profiles of characteristic symptoms that are systematically compared... given that they each provide a basis for epistemological approaches to music, music education can be better illuminated through an analysis of their views of music psychology' (Jorgensen, 2013, 64). Along with it there is a so-called historical approach, considered in studying features and characteristics of different philosophical systems and closely interrelated with the sociological approach to their consideration as large-scale socially significant phenomenon. An axiological approach lies in a similar course, where the value and evaluation component is located with its emphasized branched structure equally to the psychological approach that embodies a purely personal dominance within the worldview (orientation, self-awareness, self-regulation etc.).

And finally, the pedagogical bias in understanding the worldview implies its inclusion in the educational system as one of the fundamental objectives of the educational process with the various concepts of its phased implementation. In this sense, the 'worldview' category practical component is studied in the philosophical writings of Eugene Bistritskiy (1991), Viktor Kozlowskiy (1990) et al., which not only point to the need of a coordinated and justified interpretation of the pressing issues of human existence, but focuses on finding those attitudes, which develop as a result of socio-civic, cultural and personal experiences of any individual.

On the of the sociological trend part, the worldview as a holistic phenomenon is inseparable from the social and cultural environment at the core of which are primary personal views, concretized, on the one hand, by the confrontation between the subject and the surrounding reality, and on the other hand - by a flexible and often unpredictable system of their complex relationships. This characteristic is emphasized by Roman Artsishevsky, who believes that "the mediating link in the worldview reflection is always the subject - object or object - subjective relatedness" (Artsishevskiy, 1986, 74). 'In essence... that in the process of musicking all participants are unconsciously doing three things. Firstly, they are exploring, affirming and celebrating a sense of identity. Secondly, they are taking part in an ideal society that has been brought into existence for the duration of the performance. Finally, they are modelling in the actual sounds of the music the relationships of their ideal society.

In its turn, cultural orientation, undividable from the generalized 'vision' of the worldview in its systematic expression, involves relations to it as to a long-term result of centuries of evolution of the human spirit. From

this perspective, the members of musical and pedagogical knowledge - G.M. Tsypin (1984), Ju. B. Aliyev (2000), I.N. Nemykina (2013) et al., are quite right in putting out the basic components of worldview persuasion (special knowledge, ideals, estimates, beliefs etc.) into the trajectory of idea factors affecting the future of professional specialization.

According to scientists, the abovementioned desires of the individuality are reflected in the way of its activities, by means of which both spiritual and material values are created and reborn. The cultural background stands as an accompanying element in mastering the products of creative work, providing a comprehensive impact on their organic coexistence in a single subject-object worldview. Moreover, the ideological culture in its individualized shell, according to Galina Pozizeyko, is a fundamental and at the same time multifunctional component of any intellectually developed artistic personality (Pozizeyko, 2002).

Delving into the sphere of psychological orientation of the worldview in its most specific manifestations, we note that the concept is simultaneously correlated with a number of personal beliefs, folding into a complex of transformative ideas about the world, its ever-changing relationship to the realities of life and to itself. In this respect the position of musicology of science is a subject of great interest, indicating that art, as a form of reflection of the real world, certainly includes the worldview of a composer, performer and listener, showing a three-level expression of the most adequate sensory reaction of a subjective relation to the objective reality.

In general, the value-semantic content of the worldview culture is defined by its quality content, which features a variety of conceptual incarnations of life of the individual, thus ensuring a consistent ontologization of their internal processes toward their subjective orientation, on the one hand, and on the other hand - an active involvement in a value-object relationship.

Thus, the presence of a cultural approach to the art of music (Kagan, 1996), which in its time was founded by prominent scientists in the field of philosophy and aesthetics (Losev, Likhachev, Bakhtin), largely explains the constant demand for a highly significant methodological aspect of the principle of systematic consideration of the individual in the context of a common cultural space. It is significant that this kind of research problems, exhibiting strong echoes of the ideological culture of individual, are of concern today to foreign experts, especially in the field of musical performance. Thus, according to D. Hargreaves and A. North - contemporary British researchers, there is always a remote gap between theory and practice (Hargreaves, 2001, 189), as a result of which, 'representation of the boundaries and scope of music education should be much more extensive, at least wider than that which is reflected in the educational programs'. The authors emphasize 'the importance of its social and cultural context' (Hargreaves, 2001).

In particular, Huib Schippers distinguishes that music education, for more than forty years, has witnessed a number of important conceptual developments, many of which formed a part of the global cultural modifications: ethnomusicology program, training and practical courses, and others. In Western culture, there are great differences in the relationship between student and teacher, encompassing issues such as - individuality, tolerance, strategy and etc. Transition from the static types of traditions to the recognition of "live" traditions expands the cultural space. Higher concentrations of world music are concentrated in such organizations as UNESCO, IMC, ISME, CDIME, which are widely recognized. '… greater concentrations of world music professionals in institutions, policies by organizations such as UNESCO, IMC, and ISME, as well as dedicated networks such as CDIME (Cultural Diversity in Music Education), have created greater acceptance of the relevance of cultural diversity in music education' (Schippers, 2010).

DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

This suggests an appropriate question: how can culture and worldview interact with each other? It is obvious that by interacting with the latter, culture in all its forms becomes the bearer of the ideological and moral content, while the worldview itself (in its public and specific personality subtypes) is formed largely under the influence of artistic artefacts pertaining to this or that culture. In this regard, it is advisable to distinguish three fundamental factors that immanently determine the properties of the intertwined with each other cultural and ideological principles:

- Culture and worldview as means of a practical and spiritual development of the surrounding reality;
- Culture and worldview as a universal substance having a mutually valuable approach to the man and the world;
- Culture and worldview as a kind of spiritual and practical education that is present in all socio-economic formations.

Thus, the worldview culture of the performing musician is distinguished by developed features of an artistic perception of the world which was indicated by the thoughts of Gector Berlioz, according to which, 'feelings and the mind both simultaneously appear in music; from each person dealing with it - be it performer or composer - it requires a natural inspiration and knowledge, which are acquired only through long study and deep reflection. Connection of knowledge and inspiration forms art. The musician who violates this condition will never become a true artist' (Berlioz, 1956, 159). Therefore, the ideological culture of the performing musician should be considered as an extensive system of stable knowledge, attitudes and ideals that define its relation to the chosen specialty and his creative 'Self' given the emotional and conscious awareness imperatives of musical art.

A stepwise movement of the thoughts, provoked by deep philosophical reflections on a specific artistic phenomenon extremely increases the potential of cultural worldviews of any educated musician, highlighting the problem of performance, available for subsequent self-perception and relevant meditations, spiritual experiences and emotions. We are talking about the feelings of a special kind, not identical to those of life, but always mediated by some artistic ideal system of values, which certainly indicates the indissoluble cohesion of emotions and consciousness in the worldview of the person, in relation to the professional activity of the musician mastering the rich arsenal of expressive means for a truly artistic execution of works, for "if the performer is aware of the feelings and thoughts of the fact that he creates, reigns over the text, not only are his feelings not hurt, but, on the contrary, they become liberating: the thought clears the way for the feeling" (Belinskiy, 1954, 311).

The existence of such a harmonious relationship between culture and worldview, says researcher S.Ch. Bekturganov, citing the fact that 'human culture sets the historically changing ideals and standards of holistic knowledge. As a result, certain historical structures are formed, in which knowledge of the world flows and methods for their preparation are accumulated and found. The set of knowledge about the world along with nurturing and education is dynamic and make up a motor basis of culture' (Bekturganov, 2001, 5).

This means that both culture, and the worldview, as a unique phenomenon of spiritual and creative practice of personality, have their own typological content that has a lot of common points, depending on their specific expression. Meanwhile, a more in-depth insight into the nature of the designated categories allows us to conclude the following: they both have a long and fruitful interaction with each other, which in the figurative definition of M.S. Kagan testifies to their historically conditioned 'cross pollination' of a unusual confluence, which resulted in the birth of a deeper meaning in the understanding of the world, human nature, their communication (Kagan, 1996).

It is sufficient to refer to the observations of G.V. Platonov to make sure that the structural analysis of the worldview includes such consistent with each other components as attitude, perception, imagination, understanding, assessment, relationship and so on, where the first of the six are combined in the view of the world, and the next three are preparing the transition of the worldview to well-established beliefs (Platonov, 1972, 153). In such a psychological transcription, architectonic series formed by the worldview clearly evince the desire to, on the one hand 'legitimize' the ideological content of communications with all other aspects of a holistic consciousness of the person, and on the other hand - to distinguish among them the highest priority

features involved in the interaction with one or another cultural environment. No proof is needed to justify the fact that with the help of the worldview a musician-performer 'tracts' into the world created by cultural environment to gain unforgettable moments of the highest spiritual insight, exceptional in their unique artistic moments of 'living'.

Turning to the art of music in various contexts of culture, Leon Sachs highlights the methodological importance of the message that "music is the mirror and battery-specific content and form of social and psychological states - the highest spiritual senses, mentality, aspirations and sustainable integral - world perception" (Zax, 1987). In his turn, the A.I. Shcherbakov adheres to the idea that the personality-valued beginning in understanding of the integrity of life in all its diversity and its aspirations of authentic, puts a new perspective on the assessment and semantic aspects of the worldview, which can be seen as a huge research field for the performing musician for maximum personal self-development and self-improvement (Shcherbakov, 2002).

In this context, value-comprehension of music, carrying a mentality of the individual - the Creator in all its multiplicity of styles and genres, offers a contemporary artist immediate idea about the creative and conscious phenomena and facts of objective reality, perceived through the prism of personal motivations, interests, etc. Pointing to the inexhaustible reserves of worldviews in the work of a talented individual, Arnold Sochor wrote that self-perception of the composer, his own attitude to life, worked out on the basis of value orientations realize themselves as a worldview in the content of a piece of music (Sochor, 1970).

Accordingly, the process of performance of musical works and formed aesthetic tastes, preferences, etc. is perceived not as a mechanical transmission of artistic information to the ordinary listener, but as the action, the sacrament in which each time creative signals broadcasted in the mind of the perceiver are mastered anew, where their reinterpretation takes place with a certain degree of modernization in the construction of the general composition, interpretable images character. And only then the performing knowledge and skills acquire a worldview connotation, refined into his thoughts and aspirations, affecting the nature of creativity itself.

The concept of aesthetic interaction developed by Arnold Berleant, occupies a central place in the musical experience of the researcher, becoming significant in contemporary art. Because of this concept theatre audience experiences growing interest through such forms of art as an artistic and performing. 'Another musical influence, equally central, appears in the concept of aesthetic engagement, which I first developed in my book, Art and Engagement (1991), and subsequently refined in other essays and books. Offered as a clear alternative to Kant's aesthetic disinterestedness, the idea of aesthetic engagement formulates what, at the same time, is central to musical experience, at least in my own practice as a performer and listener. To be sure, that was not the motive for developing the idea. Rather, I had been struck by the practices in the contemporary arts that subverted the dualism of art object and appreciator, deliberately breaching their separation. I had first noted the significance of this transgression in a paper I published in the JAAC in 1970 called "Aesthetics and the Contemporary Arts," and am now gratified that this observation anticipated what has taken many forms to become one of the most conspicuous trends in contemporary art, from audience participation in theatre, fiction, and other arts, to relational art, performance art, and the growing interest in the aesthetics of everyday life. Musical experience, like the appreciative experience of dance and film, has, I think, always invited aesthetic engagement, which is why I continue to wonder what have been the consequences for aesthetic theory if music, rather than painting, with its apparent (but misleading) dualism of object and viewer, had been taken as the paradigmatic art' (Berleant, 2012).

According to Nick Zangwill such reflexive processes allow a deeper understand the aesthetics of musical sounds and to relive them. 'Aesthetic realism, applied to the art of music, is at least the idea that music has aesthetic properties, which are in some sense 'mind-independent' and that in experiencing music and talking about it, we think of music as having such aesthetic properties. Furthermore, music does not just have aesthetic properties, it is designed to have them; I shall also put this to one side in this article. A more controversial idea would be that the sounds that constitute music have mind-independent aesthetic properties, and in experiencing music and talking about it we ascribe aesthetic properties to sounds. But I will ignore this further controversial thesis about the sounds that constitute music' (Zangwill, 2014).

It comes as no surprise that up to now there is an ongoing debate about the nature of music, mystery of its creation, complexity of understanding, relationship of music and thinking, specifics of reflection with the ever increasing frequency of considering the idea that music is more than just a form of art, that it not only creates a certain image of the world, but also represents the highest manifestation of the human spirit. This gives the right to interpret music as a sounding existence space possessing inexhaustible 'information potential' (Slawina, 2011, 22), where the performing musician's reflexive processes have the property of involvement (inclusivity) in the regulation of virtually all spheres of reality.

It can be said with great confidence that music is constantly penetrated by one or another ideological content of a certain direction at all stages of its existence in artistic practice - creation, performance and perception. Basically, therein the dominant role of worldview in the works of the individual is traced, which is emphasized by E.S. Gromov, who notes that 'the worldview of

the artist (creator) is polyphonic and includes its political, philosophical, ethical, aesthetic views, which find their expressions in the living, complete images' (Gromov, 1986, 97).

'Another instance of the affect music has on philosophy struck me years ago when I was teaching Bergson's "An Introduction to Metaphysics." Bergson was particularly fond of music and knowledgeable about it, and the influence of musical experience may be recognized in his distinction between relative and absolute ways of knowing a thing. Relative knowledge, he held, comes from our external relations to an object, whereas absolute knowledge is acquired by directly entering into it' (Bergson, 1998, 113).

Arnold Berleant noted that Bergson was undoubtedly right to believe that creativity was a continuous creation of new, the essence of life, the flow of creative form that passes through reflexive processes of man. It is something that is objectively happening, as in nature (as the processes of birth, growth, maturation, etc.), as well as in the mind (in the form of new images and experiences) as opposed to the subjective activity of design, the essence of which is to combine old things.

'Bergson's characterization of absolute knowing bears a close resemblance to musical experience. But apart from the content of "An Introduction to Metaphysics," I discovered a more recondite but profound musical influence on Bergson's essay: its structure bears a striking resemblance to what is known in music as the sonata-allegro form, commonly used for the first movements of symphonies, concerti, sonatas, and other standard compositional types of the classical repertory. Exposition, development, and recapitulation of thematic materials, followed by a coda, are the basic components of the sonata-allegro form, and Bergson's essay embodies an identical structure. Bergson's interest in music was not unique, for there are notable instances of philosophers who have also written music, among them Nietzsche and Adorno. Whether music had an influence on their philosophical work and on that of other important philosophers as well, would be a fascinating subject to pursue, but it is beyond the scope of this autobiographical sketch'(Berleant, 2012, 4).

D.D. Shostakovich expresses his ideas about profound correlation of worldview positions of the composer to his creative research, emphasizing that the ideological and moral beliefs are the priority in his activities in the field of musical art. Another well-known musical figure – Alexander Goldenveizer, paid special attention to the high culture of the expert in his quest to achieve inner balance between the spiritual world of the composer and ideological maturity of the performing musician. According to his theory, even with the most virtuoso mastery of technical skill, the artist, being a person of little mark, is doomed to fail in his or her impact on the audience, which is inexpressive, if not to say insignificant (Goldenveizer, 1975).

Noteworthy are the views on the matter of Samuel Feinberg who believes that the personality configuration of the performer, his character, temperament, cultural level, inevitably give new color to any piece of music, so that "the performer must have a progressive ideology, versatile aesthetic and musical education" (Feinberg, 1984). The constant and sometimes painful search for personal meaning in comprehending the basics of musical performance, that usually accompanies the entire thorny path of becoming an ideological culture specialist, is the basis on which the general and professional knowledge is transformed into creative activity of the personality, becoming a prerequisite for the formation and development of both its artistic essence and individual style of interpretation.

Studying aspects are present in any professionally-oriented activities of the musician as a significant means of bringing cultural framework into it, contributing to fruitful development of its general human ideals and aspirations inseparable from the leading orientations of the humanistic education paradigm. 'Cultural understanding, however, is complex in nature and multi-layered. Even if research findings concerning the relationship between singing and cultural understanding are mixed, we argue that there is value in enhancing students' cultural understanding through singing multicultural songs. Singing multicultural songs can also promote the well-being of students. It is beyond the education of music. It is about a comprehensive education of humans as social beings and music as a human endeavor' (Schippers, 2012, 87). The author discusses the interaction of singing and cultural understanding, believing that singing appears during infancy and develops as a process of enculturation and sociologization. The reflexive process allows to deeper understand different cultures, perceive cultural interaction through singing. Therein lies the value of cultural understanding, for multicultural song singing promotes the integrated educational aspect of students, reaching beyond cultural improvement by means of music.

The original point of view is shared by Boris Tselkovnikov, according to whom it is tolerance that is the feeling of expressing patience to various manifestations of 'otherness' on the Other's part and, firstly, to his or her ideological and artistic attitudes, beliefs and orientations, and should be a core characteristic, a kind of nucleus dialectically directed ideological consciousness of the musician-performer's personality (Tselkovnikov, 2010). It is noteworthy that the author of the idea gives considerable prominence to the procedural side of finding the 'true' judgments about the music, the foundation of which is the experience of it as a cathartic settling into the artistic reality, into the world of other individual (the composer, the work's persona).

The influence of music on the tolerant behavior of a person is written about by Dina Kirnarskaya, who emphasizes the fact that a person engaged in music, lives

among sound worlds saturated by different senses, perceiving their diversity as a norm. In accordance with this, the comparison of 'my-foreign' is less dramatic to him and less fraught with all sorts of psychological conflicts than for other subjects in their activities (Kirnarskaya, 2004). The explanation lies in the fact that 'foreign' is considered by a musician as not speculative, but directly sensitive, sometimes imperceptibly to 'foreign' personal, because, as a 'foreign' is powered to persuade, to capture and enthrall artistic nature of an artist.

Giving special importance to situational ethics in music education, Randall Everett Allsup (2012) believes that the theory of sensitivity to become a powerful factor in the creative activity of the arts. Ability to reflect promotes sensitivity in the atmosphere surrounding reality of the artist, composer, musician, and performer. We share the view John Kratus, that modern music education and teacher training acquires novelty, significance in non-formal education, the value of which is the effectiveness of educational space, going beyond the narrow specialization. Researcher Allsup rightly points out that the old model of teacher training focused primarily on mechanical skills. Modern methods of learning encourage teachers to look for interesting shapes, developing skills appropriate to the needs of the teacher and students. 'If music education researchers are now finding new favor in informal learning as a reaction to a history of poorly trained music educators (Kratus, 2007), or if a profession's collective loss of faith in teachers and their capacity to educate is engendered, we may be sowing the seeds of our own demise'(Allsup & Olson, 2012, 11).

'Older models of music teacher preparation focused primarily on mechanical skills like baton technique and woodwind fingerings, with the expectation of placing these a priori skills without reference into faceless schools in faceless neighborhoods. Today's music educator is often called upon to work in partnership with the particulars of location and context. Looking outward, this is an interesting inversion of formal learning, where the teacher places skill at the service of student needs, rather than personal expertise. But neither should teacher expertise be hard to locate, only redirected or refocused toward a common good' (Allsup & Olson, 2012)**.**

It is well known that the professional activity of the performing musician is different in that its experienced senses are always emotional, becoming, according to Boris Teplov, a true musical experience that can capture and translate judgments into intonations and semantic elements of music of multiple colors and powers (Kirnarskaya, 2004). Reflections about music as a way of its theoretical interpretation should be on the same spiritual level as perceived sound images, recreating in the notes the new artistic meanings and penetrating them with feelings, will, intuition, thought to such a depth where 'growing into each other' they merge into a single entity. However, to achieve a true understanding of the artistic content of the work, a musician must feel its essential parameters not only with the mind but also with the heart in order to personify the spiritual energy, wisdom and beauty of the plan being put into life by him, thus expressing the most important thing in a value judgment process of the music - his personal position and faith in it as a true art (Teplov, 1985).

The problem of music psychology is directly examined by Dean Rickles, who claims that mental activity in the perception of music occurs on the frequency of wolf note. This pitch level, being the main feature of the human mind, its reflexive process, allows saving the musical structure and its melodic contour. Thus, aspects of cognitive performing musician phenomena are related to the nature of music. 'There are, of course, a variety of elements, beyond tonality, that go into music, forming the structure of a musical work (though it is possible to carve this structure in different ways, depending on the method of analysis). This includes pitch, meter, and loudness as important elements. Pitch is simply the brain's representation of the periodicity (frequency) of sound waves. It is not frequency itself, but is linked to perception, thus demanding a subject: frequency does not. Relative pitch is central to music perception: we can change absolute pitch leaving relative pitches invariant and 'preserve the musical structure.' In fact, relative pitch recognition appears to be a rather basic feature of the human mind: infants can recognize transposed melodies as the same melody. But general melodic contour information is easier to assess than interval information... Hence, we see clearly how aspects of human cognitive architecture filter in to the nature of music and musicology - this is what I meant by my phrase "observer selection" above' (Rickles, 2013, 4).

On this basis, among the top sides of artistic and worldview value of culture it is impossible not to mention the process of a specialist individual sides self-cognition in the carried out analysis in musical-performing issues, where priority qualities are: the ability to determine the prospects for personal development in self-improvement and self-determination, as well as the need to accumulate and develop new professional knowledge. This is confirmed by the views of Edward Abdullin (2002): 'Detection of gaps in their professional activities, the lack of development of professional qualities of the person may be timely and successfully overcome by the action of reflection, provided:

- Constant self-control and ability to objectively assess the level of ideological training, the presence of certain flaws in the real-world performing activities;
- Determine the individual development programs of the future teacher-musician-artist;
- Implementation of this program' (Steiner, 1998).

It is easy to notice that reflective thinking of this kind is a real tool to penetrate the space of the new semantic references of ideological culture of the performing musician, where, self-control is identified with

the personal-assessment formation of achieved results and self-regulation "allows one to efficiently produce a kind of correction and adjustment of the psyche and the whole organism to solving life's problems, eliminate a state of uncertainty, anxiety and depression" (Abdullin, 2002, 190).

On the other side, S.L. Rubinstein invariably linked the high level of self-regulation with the manifestation of philosophical and worldview moods, i.e. a person's conscious relation to the world, to other people, to himself (Grimak, 1991). It is appropriate in this context to rely on the well-known formula of Burns, R. 'Self-concept', by virtue of which the developed system of personal perceptions about oneself helps reveal the essential nature of self-regulation in the context of 'Self-acceptance'. Curiously, the so-called idea of 'Self-concept' is regarded by the author as a relatively stable, more or less conscious and experiencing design, on the basis of which the individual is correlated with their inner world. Scientists discovered a deep relationship between the positive 'Self-concept' and personal fulfillment, and the negative 'Self-concept' and insufficient degree of one's potential actualization (Burns, 1986), which, no doubt, speaks in favor of the effectiveness of complex reflexive mechanisms in relation to ideological culture of a performing musician.

It is also important that the musical performance reflection successfully manifests itself as an understanding-process, cognition of the laws of musical development, providing access to the highlighting of undiscovered opportunities for intellectual and creative development of a personality, for every musical intonation in concentrated form contains a complete description of, and separate music fragment gives an idea of the personal worldview of the author, and the historical, cultural, and national basis of his artistic orientation. Therefore, worldview beliefs constitute the most tangible product of reflective analysis, due to the fact that both for society and for an individual, life without a worldview appears as a pathological disorder of the ability to a developed sense of orientation (Schweitzer, 1992, 72). Subsequently, the reflective level of the performing musician is crystallized by the cognitive development of the driving forces behind the artistic evolution, providing a close-up of the creator's figure in the complex intellectually-realized properties of his personality.

We emphasize once again that professional and personal position in the development of their own ideological culture of a musician most fully realizes his potential, and above all, the ability to justify his 'vision' of the problem, the essential and organizational side of the process of performance. And, at each stage of production, the worldview presents its goals and objectives that correlate with the standards of artistic expression and its own resources, interests, needs and values. Musical and performing experience suggests that the profession-al and personal position formed in this activity may be defined as the ability to:

- Establish himself as a trained and competent musician;
- Show abilities as a knowledgeable professional;
- Show creative individuality in performing the interpretation of musical works;
- Change the stereotypes of the genre - a thematic approach to the concert repertoire;
- Correctly diagnose and overcome the causes of their creative failures.

It must be remembered that the performing musician should be afraid of overconfidence in search of true convincing intonation of one's own philosophical propositions, strongly eliminate inappropriate and unacceptable actions in their categorical aggressive tones of statements, which often occurs in captivity of this fatal condition, while maintaining a high spiritual and moral 'image' of his beliefs and steadily increasing demands to himself. It is necessary to avoid excessive suspiciousness and uncertainty, replacing them in their creative experiments with such a ubiquitous quality of the ideologically cultural consciousness as doubt. "It is necessary, wrote Lev Shestov, - for the doubts to become a permanent creative power, permeating with itself every essence of our life, because firm knowledge is a condition of imperfect perception" (Shestov, 1991, 88).

Shalva Amonashvili wrote about the significance of the referred phenomenon: 'Doubt is a cautious attitude of the human towards his thoughts (ideas, facts, phenomena), the truth of which, in this case, he can neither deny nor justify. If a man is in doubt - then he is still looking to believe either in the truth, authenticity, rationality, or falsity, invalidity, non-rationality of this idea, fact, etc.' (Amonashvili, 1990, 354). The scientist shrewdly notices that only through inner doubts does one acquires faith in himself, as their presence, in his opinion, makes it possible to perceive and comprehend the full extent of personal belief, not as a 'fixed symbol of truth', but as continuous state of boiling feelings, thoughts, strong-willed and other energy efforts - the process.

In light of the above mentioned revelations, such soul elation may contribute to useful and inspiring worldview beliefs of life in the creative process of a musician, when a special approach to truly diverse artistic ideas follows their comprehension. Close collaboration of an artist with the music interpreted by him relentlessly pushes his professional consciousness to the saturation of internal resources inherent in him with spiritual and moral content. In a situation of 'settling' of the work into the worldview field of the artist, the latter is often faced with the choice of one or another individual interpretation, taking a 'free act' in the formation of his or her 'Self'. The artistic and professional reflexive comprehension of musical message born in such a way, is aimed at a more profound and insightful understanding of the specifics of their own relationship with the surrounding musical reality.

Kurmangazy Sagyrbay-uly's statue in Almaty, with dombra, the most popular traditional musical instrument of Kazakhstan. From Wikimedia Commons

CONCLUSIONS

Due to these significant manifestations, inseparable from the worldview culture of the performing musician, emotional and sensual aspects of his ideological and moral system not just 'work' and become greatly mobilized, but are 'involved' in all of his individual personal experiences, including empirical observation and logical generalization that ultimately leads to the harmonization of the 'internal' and 'external' images of a musical work in the disclosure of artistic life, the emergence of associative series, the main purpose of which is to 'excite the soul, cause strong feelings' (Tsypin, 1984).

To summarize, we emphasize once again the fundamental message that the ideological culture of the performing musician is a sequential and multi-step process, deployed in accordance with the specific substantive aspects of each of its constituent phases. Identification of the hierarchy in the structure of professional activity of a specialist essentially marks the transition to the establishment of mechanisms underlying its progressive development, which includes a set of ideological orientations, beliefs, moral and aesthetic principles, values, relationships, artistic views and ideals, conceptual ideas, reflective displays, a system of knowledge, self-control, etc. It only remains to add that we have built a chain of theoretical reasoning, grouped around the basic concept of the 'worldview', which has the following logical sequence: from the 'worldview' to 'attitudes, beliefs and ideals' and further; through activities - music and creative at their core - to the identity of the 'performing musician', as well as worldview culture - to the 'worldview culture of the subject of artistic and performing process'.

All of the above is concrete evidence of the importance of the ideological culture in the operation of skilled professional in the field of musical interpretation. After all, music is the highest form of art, the specificity of which lies in a powerful emotional impact on the audience, has immeasurable potential in the implementation of value-semantic facets of the worldview of the person. In this sense, the preservation and enrichment of the most important properties related directly to the

worldview of the performing artist is provided by the structure of special 'signs and symbols' of an aesthetic attitude in the spiritual and harmonious combination of 'emotional and rational', 'conscious and intuitive' 'objective and subjective' senses.

Worldview culture, accumulating in itself a focused attitude of a performing musician in various aspects of personal and professional life, contains all the parameters of this creative state - a certain direction, indicative of actions performed and behavioral attitudes, value-sensible position on the artistic phenomena in general. Of course our set of ideas about the nature of the ideological culture of the performing musician cannot be considered a complete, as some of them bear the imprint of observations, but, on the other hand, their substantive level draws you closer to the most holistic views of the phenomenon. In any case, the very essential characteristics of the issue presented for discussion requires the continuation of an extensive dialogue with the participation of experienced specialists, experts in their field, eminent scientists performing arts, valuable views and recommendations which provided additional material for its systematic study in the light of existing generalizing information.

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POVZETEK

Svetovnonazorska kultura glasbenega izvajalca je zaporeden in več stopenjski proces, porazdeljen v skladu s specifičnimi vsebinskimi vidiki vsake od faz, ki ga sestavljajo. Razpoznavanje hierarhije v strukturi poklicne dejavnosti strokovnjaka bistveno zaznamuje prehod k vzpostavitvi mehanizmov, na katerih temelji njen postopni razvoj, ki vključuje nabor ideoloških usmeritev, verovanj, moralnih in estetskih načel, vrednot, odnosov, umetniških stališč in idealov, konceptualnih idej, refleksivnih izrazov, sistem znanja in samonadzora. S filozofskim pristopom glasbeni izvajalec tako omogoči 'dostop' do vodilnih semantičnih perspektiv bistvenih strukturnih in vsebinskih parametrov svetovnega nazora. Poleg njega je tu še tako imenovani zgodovinski pristop, ki se uporablja pri preučevanju posebnosti in značilnosti različnih filozofskih sistemov in je tesno povezan s sociološkim pristopom k obravnavanju le-teh kot obsežnih družbeno pomembnih pojavov. Na podoben način je zasnovan aksiološki pristop, kjer je komponenta vrednosti in vrednotenja s svojo poudarjeno razvejeno strukturo umeščena ob bok psihološkemu pristopu, ki uteleša zgolj osebno prevlado v svetu. Pedagoška težnja pri razumevanju svetovnega nazora pomeni njihovo vključevanje v sistem izobraževanja kot enega izmed temeljnih ciljev vzgojno-izobraževalnega procesa z različnimi koncepti njegovega postopnega izvajanja.

Ključne besede: svetovni nazor, kultura, svetovnonazorska kultura, glasbeni izvajalec, poklicna dejavnost

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TRANSFORMATIONS OF WOMAN'S SOCIAL STATUS IN CHINA

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with the changes, which concern woman's social status in China since ancient times till nowadays. This question deserves special attention because of specific social norms and traditions in China society. Chinese woman have passed a long way in the fight for their freedom and rights, but this process hasn't finished yet and they are still fighting for their right to born babies, to build a career and to be simply happy. The author describes the main difficulties which woman was challenged: forced marriage, cruel cultural traditions such as foot binding, lack of voting rights. She also discusses the key periods of this process and analyzes the perspectives of woman's social status transformations in the future.

Key Words: women's status, feudal culture, gender harmony, patriarchy, political participation.

TRASFORMAZIONI DELLO STATUS DELLA DONNA IN CINA

SINTESI

L'articolo esamina i cambiamenti relativi allo status sociale della donna in Cina, dall'antichità al presente. Questo è un argomento che, in considerazione delle specifiche norme sociali e tradizioni della società cinese, merita una particolare attenzione. Le donne cinesi hanno fatto strada nella lotta per la propria libertà e i propri diritti, ma il processo non è ancora completato; così stanno ancora combattendo per il loro diritto di avere figli, di costruirsi una carriera e di essere semplicemente felici. L'autrice descrive le principali difficoltà che hanno dovuto affrontare – il matrimonio forzato, usanze culturali crudeli quali i piedi fasciati, diritto di voto negato – e discute dei periodi chiave di questo processo, analizzando quindi le prospettive per i potenziali miglioramenti dello status sociale delle donne in futuro.

Parole chiave: status delle donne, cultura feudale, armonia dei sessi, patriarcato, partecipazione politica

THE WOMEN'S ROLE IN CHINESE SOCIETY. HISTORICAL ASPECTS

When retrospecting the civilization history of China in the past 5,000 years in general, it can be found that women's social status has been on the low side, with the development of various aspects lagging behind those in the western world. After experiencing several far-reaching social reforms or revolutions, women's status and the situation with the development have been improved to some extent; however, there still are blocks of various aspects. In the course of its long history, Chinese women's status has undergone situations with ups and downs; and in the mind of the modern Chinese, in the ancient time women whose social status was relatively low were subordinated, even attached to men. Then what is the real status of women in the long course of history?

Today, PRC is the one of the global powers, which holds an important economic and political position on the world stage. However, the earnest of development of the PRC's power is not only strong business ties and political decisions, but also the social structure of the Chinese society. Taking into consideration that China had been a closed-off country for a long time (Tkachenko, Barysheva & Ovchinnikov, 2005), it can be stated that the keystone of the Chinese society is made by traditions and social-cultural dominants connected with the commitment to historic and national and cultural practices. The country's development is to a great extent determined by the factors of optimal correlation between social statuses of members of the society. As in the Chinese tradition the woman was regarded as a person of the lowest status, a sexual object, etc., the gender-based discrimination may be a serious obstacle to integration of the country into the world community. Moreover, because of that, this problem has to be analyzed in respect of the aspect of formation of the institution of social relations in China, of national traditional culture and other spheres of social life in China.

The relevance of the study is determined by the fact that in the contemporary Chinese society dramatic changes of social roles are observed. Women gain influence in the society. Today, Chinese women may participate in different civic movements including those for protection of their rights, work in different organizations without segregation and gender-based discrimination. In aggregate, that sets the objective to review the role of women in the history of China and in modern age in a new fashion.

Undoubtedly, the issues of the status and function of women in the society were of researches' concern at all times. However, the fact that at each historical stage of country development the role of women was different cannot be ignored. The place of women in the society was influenced by such factors as political situation, economic environment, national and cultural traditions (which are regarded by the authors as the strongest factor due to the norms and rules of behavior rooted in minds), etc.

Methodology of Study. The study of the role of women in Chinese culture is of interest for understanding the peculiarities of the hierarchy of family and social relations, as well as of the specifics of the women's status in the system of the country's cultural values. The studies of the status of women in China commenced in the end of the 20th century with the development of the attention to cultural and anthropologic values of different ethno-cultures.

The methodological basis of the work is the historical method, which presumes the analysis of special theoretical literature.

The works of foreign and domestic scientists are dedicated to the studies of the role of women in China. Among Chinese studies of the women's status, the following may be named: Te Ai Hua studies the role of the women from the scholars' stratum of the Sung era. In particular, the scientist pays special attention to the problems of marriage, family relations of women, women's property rights, as well as to the role of women in social life (Hua, 2011). Chungmei and Goin study the status of women and the problems of development of their social status, the role of education in changing the status of women, the peculiarities of their family relations, etc. (Chungmei & Goin, 2007).

Lishuk L. V. studies the gender roles in the aspect of the history of civilization (Lishuk, 2007). Mylnikova Y. S. studies women's property rights in the system of inheritance of the medieval China as exemplified by the Tang-Sung Dynasty (Mylnikova, 2011), Chaukerova A. N. studies the role of the woman in the Chinese society. She pays special attention to the social status of women in China (Chaukerova, 2012). Among Russian scientists, many works are dedicated to the role of women in family relations: Berger Y., Pochagina O., Sinetskaya E. study the peculiarities of planning family relations in China and the status of the woman in the family. The studies by Berger Y. are interesting because the scientist provides statistical data, which make it possible to analyze the changes of the demographic situation in China in various historical periods (Berger, 2001; Pochagina, 1999; Sinetskaya, 2003).

Highlighting the parts of the general problem which were not resolved earlier and which are covered in this article. Despite numerous studies dedicated to the problems of women's status in the Chinese society, the issue of the dynamics of the change of women's role and functions in the social life, in family, in the process of the country's historical development, remains unsolved. The scientific novelty of the study lies in conducting a retrospective analysis of the women's status in China and a comparative analysis of their roles in history and in modern times.

DISCUSSION ON ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES

Women's Status and Behavior in the Pre-Qin Period

The fundamentals of family relations in China began forming as early as in the in the primitive society (before 1500 BC). It is known that in the primitive society of Ancient China there was no tradition to get married. Sexual relations were disordered; there were no clear traditions of understanding the role of mother and father. According to the study of Robert van Gulik in his work titled *Sexual Life in Ancient China*, despite a limited quantity of materials allowing to exactly ascertain all the peculiarities of social relations in Ancient China, it is reliably known that "although starting from Chou era, the Chinese society had mainly been patriarchal, before and/or during Ying Dynasty times, it was dominated by the female principle" (van Gulik, 2000). Patriarchal bases of the society were supported by Confucianism. That was motivated by the need of the society to create a firm system of family relations. That is, the man was regarded as the family head and leader, while the woman had to obey him.

During the Pre-Qin Period featuring semi-feudal semi-salve society[1], no unified and restricted social norms were formed. According to The Book of Songs[2], the earliest anthology of verse in China, women's status was not low then. According to National Customs, "How can I not miss you? I'm worried that you are not brave enough, that you don't dare to elope with me; we can't be together when we are alive, but I hope that I can be buried with you." As another verse in The Book of Songs described: "Plums drop on the floor one after another, with seventy percent of them still hanging on the tree; those youngsters intending to run after me, please don't delay such a great moment. Plums drop on the floor one after another with only thirty percent of them hanging on the tree; those youngsters intending to run after me, please don't wait today". These verses show that the society then still respected women's right to pursue their loves and women possessed certain social status.

Women's Status Changes and the Behavior at the Times of the Iron Age Feudal Society

In the period of Ying and Zhou (approximately 1500-222 B.C.), marriages started to be solemnized among representatives of the ruling class. These marriages were exogamic. Women had no social rights, for example, no right to express their opinion. The women's attitude towards motherhood also was ambiguous. Pronina I. Sadykova V.Z. and Voropayeva L.S. describe the duties of mothers in Ancient China the following way: "The main duty of a woman as a mother in Ancient China was to prepare female children to future marriage" (Pronina, Sadykova & Voropayeva, 2013).

Along with the social development, a number of advanced tools represented by iron farm tools had been implemented in agricultural production, leading to the full display of men's physical advantage and the gradual formation of the production relation as "men-outside-and-women-inside". The society then advocated the idea of men tilling the farm and women weaving, believing that women should be obedient to men; therefore, facing such a social reform, women had to abide by and implement such a code of conduct. However, in the Han Dynasty, the social economy gained further development, the national territory was further expanded; in order to enhance his governance and stabilize the order, the emperor of the Han Dynasty formulated the policy of "abolishing all the free speeches but worshiping Confucianism", leading to a sharp fall of women's social status. According to The Book of Rites[3], unmarried women had to be obedient to their fathers; and married women had to be obedient to their husbands or sons in case if their husbands were dead. According to principles of "distinction between inside and outside" and "men's superior position with women's inferior position" proposed by Confucianism and rituals, women's morality, behaviors and civilization during their entire lives had been regulated. Compared to the Pre-Qin Period, in this period women had no right to pursue their loves at liberty, they lost the right to make their own decisions and the economic right in particular, resulting in women's social status, which was extremely inferior to men's. Child brides, slaves and maid-servants, even prostitutes emerged because of women's loss of right to make their own economic decisions, which gave rise to their loss of personal freedom accordingly. Especially when China entered the period of feudal society, men's social superiority complex became more distinct, with women gradually losing their original advantages. A complete series of laws about political ideas and moral regulations that conformed to the political benefit formulated by the rulers had further deepened and strengthened men's idea that women shall serve men by "instinct" and deepened women's so-called "instinc-

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1   Pre-Qin Era is a time interval of China to separate the ancient dynasties, and the abbreviation of Pre-Qin Period (or Pre-Qin Era), the joint name of the era prior to the Qin Dynasty (BC 221).

2   The Classic of Poetry, also Shijing or Shih-ching, translated variously as the Book of Songs, Book of Odes, or simply known as the Odes or Poetry (Chinese: 詩; pinyin: Shī) is the oldest existing collection of Chinese poetry, comprising 305 works dating from the 11th to 7th centuries BC.

3   The Book of Rites or Liji, literally the Record of Rites, is a collection of texts describing the social forms, administration, and ceremonial rites of the Zhou dynasty as they were understood in the Warring States and the early Han periods.

Fig. 1: Slip skirt in the Tang Dynasty (Zhaofang, 2014, 633)

tive" obedience and attachment to men. Besides, when main irrational requirements about women that had been also proposed in the society, such as "innocence is the virtue for women", became the mainstream values and thoughts of ancient Chinese, women's tragic period had just begun (Elisseeff, 1988).

Batyr K. I. calls the Ying and Zhou periods the period of absolute patriarchate and cult of ancestors, in particular, cult of the father's power. The woman, on the contrary, was fully dependent on the power and the status of her husband in the society. Accordingly, the woman had no personal property, and her rights to

inherit something were extremely limited. In addition, Batyr K. I. mentions that the woman could not choose a husband, because marriages were solemnized only at will and under the decision of the parents from the both sides. (Batyr, 2003).

Turnaround: Reasons and Expressions of Women's Status Improvement during the Tang Dynasty

The economy and influence of the Tang Dynasty (617-762)[4] had reached the period of great prosperity, leading to a more distinct social superiority complex of men; however, in the history of the Tang Dynasty, the "tolerance" of women had been unprecedented; even the unique female emperor, Empress Wu Zetian, appeared in the Tang Dynasty[5]. This was, firstly, because the national strength had attracted representatives of various countries; the western culture and the national cultures of other minorities they brought had introduced some new factors to China's traditional culture; secondly, shocked by Buddhism, the dominant position boasted by Confucianism had been fluctuated; finally, the royal family of the Tang Dynasty were not pure Han people, but with a certain bloodline of minorities; and the daughter of the emperor, Princess Ping Yang had once led armies to battle. Certainly, the Tang Dynasty had also been influenced by the Han culture, so it set up the intermarriage system. Even after the foundation of the empire, there were still many royal princesses marrying to other nations, in order to consolidate the rule of the empire, such as Princess Wen Cheng, Princess Jin Cheng and Princess Ning Guo. Therefore, under the guidance of the royal family, women in the society became active. Taking apparels as an instance: the slip skirt was the one of the typical apparels that women wore in the Tang Dynasty, featuring a large opening at the upper neckline that caused the view of half-covered breasts. The slip skirt – the upper clothes – is a kind of short jacket with a length of no longer than the knee. The lower part is a piece of skirt (see Figure 1). Thus, it can be seen that, as a matter of fact, the slip skirt is the collective name of the two kinds of clothes.

It had fully expressed women's desire to show their beauty and follow fashion. In the painting called Court Ladies Wearing Flowered Headdresses[6] painted by Zhou Fang (see Figure 2), noble women, who dressed gorgeously, were also wearing tube tops half covering their breasts while leisurely playing in the courtyard, picking

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4   The Tang dynasty. Chinese: Dâng (618–907 AD) was an imperial dynasty of China preceded by the Sui dynasty and followed by the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period. It was founded by the Li family, who seized power during the decline and collapse of the Sui Empire. The dynasty was briefly interrupted when Empress Wu Zetian seized the throne, proclaiming the Second Zhou dynasty (October 8, 690 – March 3, 705) and becoming the only Chinese empress regnant.

5   Wu Zetian seized the throne, proclaiming the Second Zhou dynasty (October 8, 690 – March 3, 705) and becoming the only Chinese empress regnant.

6   Court Ladies Wearing Flowered Headdresses attributed, attributed to Zhou Fang. Zhou Fang (730-800 CE, Chinese: 周昉, Wade–Giles Chou Fang) was one of two influential painters during the mid-Tang dynasty. He came from a noble background and this was reflected in his works, such as Court Ladies Adorning Their Hair with Flowers (attributed) or Court Lady With Servants.

Fig. 2: Court Ladies Wearing Flowered Headdresses. Painted by Zhou Fang, Tang Dynasty. Collected by Liaoning Provincial Museum. Uploaded by Eugene a at en.wikipedia [Public domain]. Transferred from - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zhou_Fang_(Tang_dynasty)#/media/File:Zhou_Fang._Court_Ladies_Wearing_Flowered_Headdresses._(46x180)_Liaoning_Provincial_Museum,_Shenyang..jpg

up flowers, catching butterflies and playing with dogs. This painting directly demonstrated the fact that women of this period had a relatively loose social environment, felt free and at ease. Politically speaking, women in the Tang Dynasty had also participated in politics unprecedentedly, although limited to several special positions, such as sorceresses and female secretaries. However, it was more common for women from the royal family to participate in politics, e.g. Princess Ping Yang, Empress Zhangsun and Princess Tai Ping, daughter of Empress Wu Zetian; among them, the most remarkable one was Empress Wu Zetian who ruled ancient China for as long as four decades. At the same time, in terms of inheritance of family properties, unmarried daughters had the right of inheritance; however, according to the laws of the Tang Dynasty, couples who were not harmonious could opt to divorce. In the royal family of the Tang Dynasty, among the 210 princesses, 27 of them were married twice and 3 of them were married 3 times; except for the princesses who died early or became monks, the remarried princesses in the Tang Dynasty accounted for 23% of the overall number of princesses, far higher than that of the lower class. Yet in the lower class, the divorce rate was not high due to their poor education background and the restriction of traditional rituals. Consequently, women's status during the Tang Dynasty, in terms of family relation, social life, even politics, had been remarkably improved, compared to that of past dynasties.

The period of Tang Dynasty may be characterized as the period of high disinhibition of behavior morals. It is the very period when women actively participated in the political life. According to Selezneva E. A., in Tang era women gained rights equal to the rights of men. They could be conferred titles upon, which never happened before (Selezneva, 2007). If referred to feudal China, it can be seen that the woman was deemed property and the principal power was in the hands of men. In such s

way, being deprived of rights, women had no possibility not only to participate in the political governance of the country, but also to hold an active position in social life.

The improvement of women's status in the Tang era was contributed to by the changes in the family law. For example, according to the *Tang Penal Code with Explanations* by Rybakov V. M., the law provided for punishment of parents by 60 stick strokes if they affianced their daughter and refused to a groom. In addition, pursuant to the law of Tang era, the marriage of a woman with relatives was prohibited (Rybakov, 1999). This law gives grounds to state that the society attempted to regulate the institute of marriage and family relations. Certain restrictions were observed for men too. For example, the prohibition to have two wives who had the same status. That was regarded as bigamy. At the same time, a man could have any number of concubines, which indicates that his social status still prevailed over the status of the woman, who had no right to choose a husband, no right to divorce, etc.

Nevertheless, if the almost rights-deprived status of women in the feudal China is compared with the woman's role in the Tang era, a radical change of attitude towards the woman can be seen. This is especially obvious when taking into consideration the fact that traditions had always been venerated in China. The disinhibition in the Tang era resulted in the possibility for women to speak freely to men and to visit public places together. Even concubines were allowed to leave the palace, which was inconceivable in the feudal society (Elisseeff, 1988).

Reasons and Expressions of the Women's Declined Status in Song, Ming and Qing Dynasties

In the Song Dynasty[7], in order to strengthen the social order, rulers advocated Neo-Confucianism, represented

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7   The Song dynasty was an era of Chinese history that began in 960 and continued until 1279. It succeeded the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period, and was followed by the Yuan dynasty.

Fig. 3: A woman with her feet unwrapped. Uploaded by Haabet at en.wikipedia [Public domain]. Transferred from – en.wikipedia - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Foot_binding#/media/File:A_HIGH_CASTE_LADYS_ DAINTY_LILY_FEET.jpg

by Zhu Xi, the appearance of which had suggested that women's social status started to disappear rapidly. Zhu Xi[8] offered the idea of "preserving the natural justice and abolishing the selfishness"[9] and further stressed women's "three obediences and four virtues"[10]. This had further restricted women's right to marry. At the same time, in the Song Dynasty, women's foot binding (see Figure 3), popular among the royal family since the late Tang Dynasty, had also quickly developed among the people.

While among the folk women's feet size and shape determined their marriages, in terms of social aesthetics it showed a morbid tendency. In families, women's rights were rigorously restricted, and the partial disability of their feet limited the range of activities. However, men in their families, who vigorously promoted their paternities and authorities as husbands, treated women as their attachments. Yet, the repetitive defeats in the wars between the Song Dynasty and the surrounding minorities had also led to an extreme self-abasement and unwillingness of men in the Song Dynasty and such a distorted state of mind had been transferred to women, who worshiped the food-binding, the corset and appreciated bound feet and extreme thinness. When the thoughts of Neo-Confucianism infiltrated the folk, this situation had been persistent until the late Qing Dynasty[11].

Liberty and Restrictions on Women in the Modern Times and in the Republic of China

In the wake of the "visits" of missionaries, western vessels and various western civilizations bringing about gunfire for China, the thousand-year-old feudal dynasty could not be defended any more. Especially "among Christians, many of them clearly believed in the principle of gender equality and were determined to throw themselves into a huge social movement in order to fight for rights equality for Chinese women." After that, Liang Qichao[12], a famous revolutionist, declared, that "men and women are born to be equal"; in the social practice, in December 1899, the China Natural Foot Society was founded in Shanghai to start abolishing food binding. However, women then said "we'd rather die to be free or independent", showing women's willingness to seek their own rights and marking the vivification of women's consciousness of rights. In the subsequent Republic of China, under the support of Sun Yat-sen[13], Regulations on Prohibiting Women to Bind Feet was formulated, to prohibit women's food-binding; and the feminist movements in large cities had gained a prosperous development. The Natural Breasts Movement had also started

8   Zhu Xi or Chu Hsi (Chinese: 朱熹, October 18, 1130 – April 23, 1200) was a Song Dynasty Confucian scholar who became the leading figure of the School of Principle and the most influential rationalist Neo-Confucian in China.

9   Zhu Xi's formulation of the Neo-Confucian world view is as follows. He believed that the Tao (Chinese: 道; pinyin: dào; literally "way") of Tian (Chinese: 天; pinyin: tiān; literally "heaven") is expressed in principle or li (Chinese: 理; pinyin: lǐ), but that it is sheathed in matter or qi (Chinese: 氣; pinyin: qì). In this, his system is based on Buddhist systems of the time that divided things into principle (again, li), and shi (Chinese: 事; pinyin: shì). In the Neo-Confucian formulation, li in itself is pure and almost-perfect, but with the addition of qi, base emotions and conflicts arise. Human nature is originally good, the Neo-Confucians argued (following Mencius), but not pure unless action is taken to purify it. The imperative is then to purify one's li.

10   The Three Obediences and Four Virtues were a set of basic moral principles specifically for women in Confucianism. The two terms ("three obediences" and "four virtues") first appeared in the Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial and in the Rites of Zhou respectively.

11   The Qing dynasty, also Empire of the Great Qing, Great Qing or Manchu dynasty, was the last imperial dynasty of China, ruling from 1644 to 1912 with a brief, abortive restoration in 1917. It was preceded by the Ming dynasty and succeeded by the Republic of China.

12   Liang Qichao (Chinese: 梁啟超; February 23, 1873 – January 19, 1929), courtesy name Zhuoru, pseudonym Rengong, was a Chinese scholar, journalist, philosopher and reformist who lived during the late Qing Dynasty and early Republican China. He inspired Chinese scholars with his writings and reform movements.

13   Sun Yat-sen (12 November 1866 – 12 March 1925) was a Chinese revolutionary, first president and founding father of the Republic of China, and medical practitioner. As the foremost pioneer of Republic of China, Sun is referred to as the "Father of the Nation" in the Republic of China (ROC), and the "forerunner of democratic revolution" in the People's Republic of China.

in 1927, advocating that women shall shake off the restriction of chest wrapping cloths to show off the natural curves of women; in that period, China was going through a phase of capitalism, when many trendy women acted as the examples of the society to initiatively wear the bras coming from the western world and the high-slit and sleeveless cheongsams instead of the modified cheongsams, with their gracefully sexual figure covered by high fashion dresses. Women started to come upon a historical stage. They pursued rights to education, marital autonomy and political participation equal to those of men. Yet the vast inland still stuck to the old fashion, that is to say that despite the fact that democracy and equality ideology was transmitted into China from the western world and resonated with the capitalist intellectuals at that time, the transmission range was only limited to southeastern coastal cities with the vast majority of the inland remaining outside influence.

The reason is that women in those regions had still been under the influence of the rooted feudalism with the history of thousands of years and their freedom and education had been restricted by the men in their families; however, the political power of the Republic of China[14] was still not stable enough, with years of wars and natural disasters; at the same time, the laws on gender equality had been completely implemented in those underdeveloped regions without the strong restriction, leading to the incomplete liberty of women.

FEMALE LIBERATION AND RIGHTS IN THE NEW ERA

Since the foundation of New China, the majority of Chinese women had been ultimately liberated, at least formally. After the establishment of the country, the social status and the development of Chinese women underwent a qualitative leap. Firstly, women's various basic rights had been gradually admitted in the form of law. For the first time ever, women had their own right to vote and to be voted for, as well as the right of political participation.

Pursuant to the Constitution of the PRC, women gained rights equal to men's rights. In such a way, women acquired the possibility of active participation in the economic, political, social and cultural life of the country. The movement of May 4, 1919, which emerged under the influence of the October Revolution in Russia, contributed to the development of the women's legal equality in China. A demonstrative step in the equalization of the men's and women's rights was the 'Cultural Revolution' in China, which took place in 1966-1976. That 'Revolution' took place under the slogan expressing the key ideas of the cultural movement: "A woman can do what a man can do". Accordingly, the strengthening of women's rights in the social life provoked the

changes in gender roles of men and women in the Chinese society. Actually, it is possible to speak of the commencement of forming of a new model of gender relations, in which women were invested with masculine traits (Vavilenko, 2014). In 1980, thanks to the signing the UN Convention, an attempt was made in China to eliminate all forms of discrimination of women at the legislative level. In addition, an important step was taken in the form of changes in the women's labor status. Thus, in 1990 a decision was made to equalize the salaries of men and women in China (Chaukerova, 2012).

The formulation of Marriage Law fundamentally resulted in gaining the freedom of marriage by women. Women's Rights and Interests Protection Law had provided women with the path to safeguard their rights legitimately. Women could also receive education and get jobs the same way as men, giving women the opportunity for their own development and independence, with women's social status being constantly improved. During the period of China's opening to the outside world and reforms, women even showed unprecedented achievements in the fields of politics, economy, culture and education: in terms of politics, the degree of women's participation in politics and democracy was higher; in terms of economics, women's employment rate increased, along with a wider employment scale and strengthened entrepreneurship ability; in terms of culture and education, the gap between men and women in terms of the enrollment rate, school attendance rate and the rate of admission into higher schools had been further narrowed. However, in the 1980s, in the wake of the deepening of the reform and opening up to the outside world and the in-depth market economy, the significance of women's participation in social labor began to be questioned, with the emergence of the voice of "female workers going home". It meant that China's social transformation, the establishment of the market mechanism and the decrease of state intervention brought about severe challenges for women, leading to their adverse position in the market compared to men[15]; the gender discrimination, the increase of unemployment rate and the expansion of the income gap between the two genders were typical manifestations in that period, with women being washed ashore by the market wave once again. Due to China's politically-oriented development model in the 1980s, the processes of women's liberation movements was the means and goal of making male standards universal to apply uncritically to women's liberation. Western scholars believed that in the equality wave in the period of the Great Cultural Revolution, people usually simply denied the difference between the two genders and refused to admit the so-called "feminist characters"; and sometimes, people did not accept the difference between the two sexes and

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14 A name for the period of ROC government's effective ruling of Chinese mainland (1912-1949). Please see the history of ROC.
15 **Renzong Q. (1998):** Chinese Women and Feminism. Beijing: China Social Sciences Publishing House.
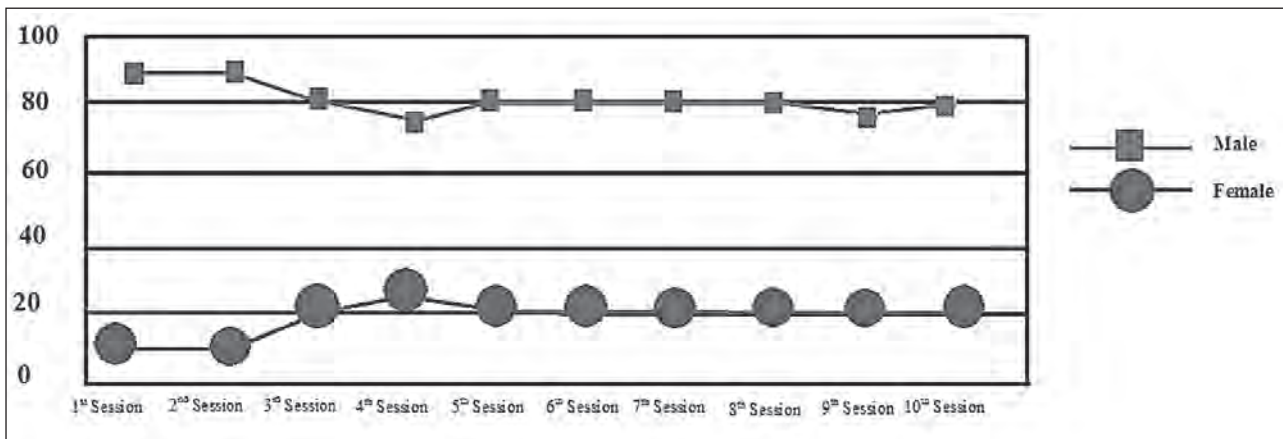
Fig. 4: The dynamics of Chinese woman participation in politics in period since 1st Session in 1956 to 10th Session in 2002. Round points indicate female representatives, square points indicate male representatives.

tried to make those characters highly appraised[16]. It is not difficult to find that because China's women liber-1ation movements are a kind of national behavior focused on men and promoted by the coercive force of the state, a comparative equality between the two genders was achieved formally, instead actually. Women did not play the role of someone being rescued, but were instrument-oriented objects. Women had always been placed at the great background of national prosperity and ethnic florescence, acting as those "being liberated" instead of "liberating themselves". However, scholars' discussions mainly focus on the role played by women at the economic level and the issue of whether women's liberty, promoted by the coercive force of the state, is significant, instead of explaining the reason leading to gender inequality, whether equality can be achieved and how to achieve equality from the origin.

In the process of liberation of China's women, the difference between the two genders was simply denied with the "feminist characters" being highly appreciated. Such a seemingly rational process is achieved due to the concept of social construction without gender difference, which results in two negative aspects. On the one hand, under the influence of the male domination, masculine identity and patriarchal thought pattern, the feminist characters are simply regarded as identical to the masculine characters; the difference between the two genders is denied, leading to obliteration of unique feminist characters and demands; the essence of gender equality is the equality of obligations instead of the equality of rights. On the other hand, based on the women's nature, the natural care, feeding and softness (such interpretation of cultural universalism ignores the fact that women's characters are based on the special history, cultural phenomenon and subjected to the economics and political institutions) of women are stressed;

however, in fact, it actually provides for a legitimate basis for the low status of women in employment and salary and for the decisions of employers to make away with women from the labor force. Those are the reasons why the vigorous momentum of women's liberty movements did not change the gender equality in essence. Therefore, it shall be clarified that there is a difference between the two genders, yet this difference is not natural, but constructed during the socialization process; therefore, such difference shall not lead to gender inequality. In order to achieve equality, this difference shall be destructed; proceeding from women themselves, the research on women should be conducted while treating them as the flesh-and-blood individuals with unique living experience, instead of placing them into the grand background of social facts.

Compared to feminism in the western world, Chinese feminism was characterized by softness; although China was also dominated by political voices with the ideology guided by politics, China's liberty aimed at the entire society instead of women alone; with women's liberty included in the social liberty, feminist consciousness was left behind by the society and politics without special attention; consequently, women did not have the right to speak up and a strong awareness to contend for power, so they tended to be silent and maintained the attitude of making no enemies with men in a great environment advocating gender equality. Therefore, during the process of the transmission of western feminist theory to China, the awareness of "right" had been gradually decreased; when Chinese women were under special protection with extremely serious depression, many female writers were not willing to admit that they were feminists or study the feminist theory with the soft attitude; they intended to hold themselves aback from politics, because feminism meant the confrontation with

16 **Renzong Q. (1998):** Chinese Women and Feminism. Beijing: China Social Sciences Publishing House.

the patriarchy-centered social order, making enemies with the entire traditional culture. Besides, it required utterly inadequate measures to shock the roots of traditional culture by virtue of individual forces and it was impossible to master one's own right of speech without the transformation of the ideas in the entire society. Most female scholars in China held suspicious, even negative attitudes towards feminist theories.

However, the participation of Chinese women in governence was still at a low level. Taking the female NPC members, the highest proportion of women's political participation in China during the 15 years between 1978 and 1993 after China's reform and opening up to the outside world and was at the level of 21%; it increased by 0.8% until 1998. However, such a slight achievement was lost four years later; the proportion of the year was decreased by 0.8% as compared to that of the year 1978 (as shown on Figure 4).

The standstill of the proportion of political participation of Chinese women was even more distinct in the core of state power. The proportion of China's NPC members has been the highest among all the fields of women's participation in politics. If various fields are ranked according to the amount of power, the closer women are to the core of power, the lower proportion of women's political participation is observed. By the end of 2002, female members of the standing committee of NPC accounted for 13.20%, female members of the standing committee of CPPC accounted for 11.7%, while the female membership of the standing committee of the ruling party, CPC, was zero, lower than the proportion of the 9th Session of NCP in 1969 and far from the level observed during the period of the Great Culture Revolution – 13% (McMillan, 2006).

This is mainly because the related policies did not take full consideration of women's physical characters and law of growth. For instance, certain regulations stipulated in the Ordinance on Appointing Party and Government Leading Cadres apply to men and women equally while ignoring the gender difference; the ignorance of women's childbearing period will directly influence female cadres in adherence to the conditions and regulations for cadre appointment and demission, leading to the adverse development of female cadres. The lower quality of women's education and the traditional thought of "men-outside-and-women-inside" hindered the increase of women's level of political participation. Over 80% of illiterate people in the contemporary China were women. According to the questionnaire survey on women's political participation conducted in a province, women's share in the political participation was less than 20%, showing that various historical reasons, current reasons and women's personal reasons have led to a lower ability and less confidence of women at the present time.

Under the influence of traditions, most women have not realized the importance of the women's participation in politics or the difference between male and female domination. Therefore, women do not pay attention to the issue of gender of leaders, believing that "any gender of leaders is the same" with a lack of understanding and support of female political participation. This has led to the situation where female political participators are "facing male competitors without any female followers".

Besides, women are often oriented as understanding wives and loving mothers. The public lacks mature and natural psychological readiness for accepting female leaders. Once women become stronger, the publics' appreciation can evolve into a kind of exclusion and depreciation, influencing the women's passion in the issue of democracy and the awareness in achieving higher goals. The news media contain insufficient propaganda of women's political participation. According to the survey in 8 newspapers in China, conducted by China Women, among all the newsmakers, men accounted for 83.19% and women accounted for 16.81%; male political participators accounted for 87.3%, and female political participators accounted for 12.7%; the news reports focusing on men accounted for 91% and the ones focusing on women accounted for only 9%. Many reports on advanced women were only concentrated around the March 8, the International Women's Day. The women's images transmitted by the media were still dominated by the traditional culture, e.g. many movies and TV soap operas just blindly promoted the soft and submissive characters of women who often suffered from the toughness and pressures coming from their families and the society; those women changed with their bearing and sacrifice for the well-being of their families, and such kinds of women became typical among those traditional men in China. Such treatment of women oppress women's personality and creative spirit, and have an extremely negative influence on the women's confidence and images of participation in social development in the secular society (McMillan, 2006).

In fact, women in the new era are often trapped in the contradiction of family and business. Women take upon themselves the "dual roles" (the family role and the social role) and the "triple responsibilities" (as wives, mothers and workers), they have to accomplish all of their works while performing the trivial and heavy housework (including daily needs). However, one's time and spirit are limited, so women have no spare time and spirit to improve themselves, especially in the face of the contradiction of family and business. It is a common phenomenon that some professional women who may put too much attention to their careers and ignore their families have to give up their business. Objectively speaking, women, compared to men, are taking upon themselves the special task of reproduction of human beings; they have to care for their families and to teach their children while working on the social stage, and it is easy to imagine the physical and psychological pressure they undergo.

Chaukerova A. N. when characterizing the life of Chinese women in the present-day society, notes that the status of women in China remains shaky. It is commonly believed that sons are the bearers of the family line, and in connection with that, the tradition to kill baby girls gained new meaning in the modern society (Chaukerova, 2012). Today, many women who find out at an ultrasonic examination that the gender of the baby is female prefer abortion. In such a way, it is possible to say that the status of women in China remains low as compared to the status of men. In order to solve this problem, the Chinese government enacted the prohibition to inform the parents of the gender of their future child. This is how Y. Solovyev describes the striving of Chinese women to give birth to boys: "Well, a boy is a "little emperor", and for many people the birth of a son is the evidence of success in life, after all he is the bearer of family line, the main support and hope for the old age. To some extent, the system of birth restriction is to blame for that. In the attempt to stop the explosive increase of population at the end of 70s of the last century, the government proclaimed the principle of "one family – one child". Because of that, "some people regard the birth of a girl as a failure, which is sometimes transferred to the attitude towards the child" (Solovyev, 2013). As a comparison, the example of Azerbaijan may be given, where the discussion of similar law On Reproductive Health and Family Planning was initiated, which is connected with the preference to have a son, but not a daughter (Attane, 2013; MedNews, 2015)

Under the influence of western feminist ideas, the model of the so-called "little family" became spread in China (Olikhova, 2012). According to that model, the values of the Chinese family are still preserved, but the woman actively participates in ensuring the financial soundness of the family.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the ancient and modern times, despite the fact that women's status has been improved greatly, China today is still influenced by the thousand-year-old traditional idea, including the domination of men in the world; therefore, there is still a long way to go to achieve gender equality fundamentally. In the author's opinion, in order to improve women's status and achieve the gender equality, the idea has to come first. Women have their special experiences and feelings that shall be heard by the society. Women shall create their own series of speaking methods and have the right to tell their own stories in their own languages. From politics perspective, the society shall provide opportunities for women to choose instead of treating them as the subjects to help them choose. Secondly, the society shall pay attention to defusing the issue of women's participation in the democratic politics, which is very significant in China. This is not only required by gender equality and

democratization in the new era, but also the necessary exploration to structure the socialist harmonious society. Women issues in the Chinese society at present are the results jointly caused by the traditional cultural factors, economic factors, political factors, social factors and artificial factors. Guided by the scientific outlook of development, the society shall advocate gender equality, constantly promote the democratic progress, integrate advanced institutions into the actual situations and policies to raise women to achieve self-growth, to affect the society with the unique power of women in the new era and enhance women's growth in various aspects. These are the effective paths to solve the issue of women's social status in China.

The research shows that the woman's status underwent changes as the Chinese society developed and established. Disregard towards women, their deprivation of any property rights whatsoever at the early stages of the Chinese social institution's establishment (before 1500 B.C.) gradually changed to female emancipation.

The main reason for breaching female rights was the fact that unlike sons, after marriage the woman no longer belonged to her family. Thus, she could not aid or support her parents in old age. It is also possible to state that the reason for women's low status in the society of Ancient and Medieval China was the Confucian dogmas that declared rules of female behavior, the main moral whereof came down to the following regulation: "a woman shall not be heard of beyond her home" (Usov, 2006: 26).

The role of the woman in modern society continues to change. According to demographic researcher Professor Yang Juhua, women's status changes are showing a negative trend. Having obtained equal rights with men, including labor rights, women have begun searching for self-fulfillment in labor. Participation in labor life and achievement of careers has led to a considerable rise of competition among women under market relations (Andreyev, 2014).

The reasons for founding a family have also changed. The parents used to choose the husband for a woman, while marriage was an obligatory condition for procreation. However, nowadays, families are founded based on the personal needs of women and men, their love and care. The authors believe that the family institution of marriage, based on the married couple's psychological comfort, is the most promising direction for developing the woman's status in marriage and forming her family values. Savchenko A.V. states the following: "The world view of the Chinese youth already firmly includes the obligatory presence of love when forming family relationships. The youth believes that without love there can be no harmony and, therefore, no happiness in life" (Savchenko, 2013). A new tendency of premarital relationships has formed in China, influenced by the "sexual emancipation of the West". In particular, according to traditional Chinese dogmas, a woman had no right

to premarital relationships. As of today, premarital relationships are common in China. However, it is worth noting that many Chinese continue to uphold traditions. Nevertheless, if premarital sex used to be condemned, nowadays the attitude thereto is not that critical. Chinese women themselves strive for self-fulfillment, career building, financial independence from parents, etc., which is why their marriage is motivated, usually, by a serious intention to found a family. Savchenko A.V. also acknowledges another trend: approximately 50.2% of Chinese women do not strive for marriage at all, preferring childfree life (Savchenko, 2013).

Thus, it is possible to draw a conclusion that the women's status formation remains dynamic. Globalization and internationalization play their roles. It is certainly impossible to predict what manner of influence a radical equalization of men's and women's rights will have in China – a country that has long preferred traditions, however the future development of the state itself is impossible without these changes.

SPREMEMBE V DRUŽBENEM POLOŽAJU ŽENSK NA KITAJSKEM

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POVZETEK

Tako v suženjstvu kot v obdobju fevdalizma in kapitalizma, na zgodovinskem prizorišču daljne preteklosti in moderne dobe, so ženskam v Republiki Kitajski priznavali določen družbeni položaj ob rojstvu in v življenju, ki pa je z gospodarskim in političnim razvojem družbe doživljal vzpone in padce. V patriarhalno urejeni zgodovinski družbi so bila pravila obnašanja za ženske in razpon njihovih dejavnosti podvrženi različnim nepravičnim omejitvam, nenehno so jih ovirali in zatirali. Po ustanovitvi nove Kitajske so se ženske začele postopoma osvobajati položaja, ki so ga opredeljevali vplivi kulture spolov v tradicionalni družbi, dolgoročna ekonomska odvisnost žensk od moških ter androcentrična družba, vendar je vpliv teh dejavnikov na njihov status še dandanes močan. Avtorica v prispevku sklene in povzema predhodno objavljeno literaturo, analizira razvoj družbenega položaja žensk, odkriva, ali je enakopravnost med spoloma mogoča ter kako doseči enakost z vidika sociologije spolov. Njen cilj je v širši akademski skupnosti odpreti razpravo na temo spolne enakopravnosti na Kitajskem.

Ključne besede: status žensk, fevdalna kultura, sožitje med spoloma, patriarhat, politično udejstvovanje

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AZERBAIJANI ENLIGHTENMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS DURING THE PERIOD OF TSARIST RUSSIA

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ABSTRACT

The primary objective of the paper is the analysis of the educational policy of Azerbaijan in Tsarist Russia. The paper also reveals how the Azerbaijani nation and its national idea were born. The comparative-historical, structural and systemic methods, which revealed the peculiarities in the educational and cultural spheres of Azerbaijan, were used. The results showed that the new stage of development began in the history of Azerbaijan under the influence of tsarist Russia. Due to a partial assimilation of the Russian culture, the social way of life changed and the level of spirituality of the Azerbaijani increased.

Key words: Azerbaijani educational policy, mentality, national consciousness, national enlightenment, national distance education

L'ILLUMINISMO AZERO E LA FORMAZIONE DELLA COSCIENZA NAZIONALE DURANTE IL PERIODO DELLA RUSSIA ZARISTA

SINTESI

L'obiettivo principale del presente articolo è un'analisi della politica dell'istruzione azera nella Russia zarista. L'autore spiega poi anche come venne a formarsi l'idea nazionale degli Azeri e come essa maturò nella nascita del loro Stato. Per la ricerca sono stati utilizzati i metodi storico-comparativi, strutturali e sistematici, che rivelano le peculiarità della sfera educativa e culturale dell'Azerbaigian e suggeriscono che la nuova fase di sviluppo nella storia dell'Azerbaigian ebbe inizio sotto l'influenza della Russia zarista, quando un'assimilazione parziale della cultura russa portò a una trasformazione della vita sociale e a un'elevazione del livello spirituale degli Azeri.

Parole chiave: politica dell'istruzione azera, mentalità, coscienza nazionale, illuminismo nazionale, educazione nazionale a distanza

INTRODUCTION

The period of the Russian conquest of Azerbaijan is marked in the history of Azerbaijan as an important stage in the development of national consciousness and cultural identity of the Azerbaijani people.

Despite the fact that at the dawn of the 20th century most of the population of the Russian Empire consisted of non-Russian peoples, the imperial power pursued dominant chauvinistic policy and did not pay much attention to the development of education in the country's regions. As Lieven (2000) described, looking at the political history of imperial Russia, the effort to merge Western liberal principles with authoritarian tsarist traditions can be seen.

The essence of the absolutist russification policy added up to infringing national interests of the peoples living in the country, humiliation of the national languages and cultures, up to the prosecution of teaching children in their native languages. For example, tsarist officials considered Byelorussians and Ukrainians part of a greater Russian nation and thus, forcefully discouraged the use of the Slavic languages of the western provinces (Suny, 1998). This policy, in particular, implied fragmentation of the workers, and generally aimed at putting nations in opposition to each other, which, in turn, aimed at providing the full and unlimited absolutist power in the country.

One of the main innovations related to intervention of Tsarist Russia, was the decision of its government to develop a course aimed at changing the management system in Azerbaijan. Above all, these changes had the following impact on the economic and cultural development of the country:

- These innovations related to the Azerbaijani educational system.
- The necessity of training the new generation of officials, who would persistently strengthen the political and economic development of tsarism on the occupied territory, served as the main factor that determined the changes in the educational policy.

Therefore, if in 1894 about 1580 persons on average attended one elementary school in the European part of Russia, in the Caucasus this figure reached 1986 persons in Siberia - 2600, and in Turkestan - 31958 persons. These schools provided low quality of education. In the early 1900s, the imperial government actually controlled all the "national schools" in Azerbaijan. Besides, the government also tried to eliminate national specificity of these schools along with local educational traditions. Most of the schools were kept out of studying national history, cultural heritage and national literary works.

Under the influence of Tsarist Russia, the social way of life in Azerbaijan changed dramatically as well as the cultural legacy and national consciousness of the Azerbaijani people. Namely, in the epoch of Tsarist Russia

attachment of the Azerbaijani culture to the Russian one began instead of Azerbaijan's traditional orientation on the national-cultural originality of Iran.

The exceptional contribution to the socio-historical development of humanitarian consciousness in Azerbaijan was made by the socio-pedagogical movement, which opposed to the cultural influence of the Russian governmental education network.

The research objective is to study specific features of enlightenment in Azerbaijan and the process of national consciousness development during the period of Tsarist Russia.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The research papers by G. Akhmedov (2011), E. Acton (1995), V. Bashirov (1988), A. Seidov (1947), S. Aliyeva (1990), A. Tagiyev (1943), F. Rustamov (2006), A. Abdulov (2007) attempted to study development trends of the national consciousness of Azerbaijanis during their stay under the rule of the Russian Empire. The mentioned authors noted that the development of the country's public education and national consciousness was formed due to antagonism of public masses striving for education and the state bureaucracy (Azerbaijan Realities, 2014). Tadeusz Swietochowski in his work "Russian Azerbaijan, 1905–1920: The Shaping of a National Identity in a Muslim Community" (1985) describes the rise of national identity among the Azerbaijanis. He analyzes the development of a sense of nationality in the Azerbaijani society.

For many years, researchers suspended general studies related to the development of schools and pedagogy and focused on resolution of specific problems (Agayev, 2000). Of course, there were many achievements in this field. These studies were based on extensive factual material and complemented each other (eliminating the lack of historical and pedagogical studies), and therefore could reveal the specificity and diversity of the public education practice in Azerbaijan (Kecharli, 1963).

Most historical and pedagogical works devoted to the history of education, written in Azerbaijan in the 19th and early 20th centuries could not get rid of the ideological stereotypes (Rustamov, 2006). Most of these works, repeating each other, were superficial by character. However, that period became well known by several studies, which highlighted the scientific basis of the historical and social realities, analyzing development of the statutory educational system beyond the class approach viewpoint.

This study considered many scientific papers, devoted to the Tsarist Russia's impact on the enlightenment in Azerbaijan and distinctive features of the national-cultural originality and consciousness of Azerbaijani people. Agasieva (2010) explores the process of national consciousness development of the Azerbaijani people, as the priority feature of its national character development.

Balayev (1998) explores the ethnic-political and social-economic pre-conditions of the Azerbaijan national movement origins as well as peculiarities of the process of its political evolution after the February revolution. Based upon facts, the reasons of political differentiation of the national movement were analysed and the systematized picture of theoretical doctrines and practical steps of different political directions inside the movement, its purposes, forms and methods of their activity were given.

Ismail (1995) explores the questions of history of Azerbaijan from the most ancient times until the beginning of the XX century. The author examines the peculiarities of the Azerbaijani national development, the national-liberation movement and the history of Azerbaijan, the conquest of Azerbaijan by Tsarist Russia, establishment and activity of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, and some other issues related to socio-economic position and cultural life of Azerbaijani people.

Nazarli (2008) explores specific features of the governmental activity of the Azerbaijan Republic in 1918-1920 with regard to the development of the national democratic education system. Studying the archive documents the authors considered specificity of the teaching staff training, organization and support of the material-technical study base etc.

At the same time, only a few researchers, trying to examine in detail the educational policy of the imperial state as regards its colonies, considered development of public education in connection with the activities undertaken by the state. However, viewing the state bureaucracy as a destructive factor, they decided that the state monopoly in education should be abolished (Aliyeva, 1990). The literature devoted to the consideration of these problems shows the incompetence of the state bureaucracy as regards education, stresses the elimination of educational initiatives and the sharply dismissive attitude towards the needs of the teachers (Babayeva, 1995; Balayev, 2005).

The studies conducted after the mid-1820s not only expressed negative attitude towards the school policy, but also questioned the activities held by schools under the influence of socio-pedagogical movement and hinted at the pursuit of ideological goals related to the development of national consciousness of the Azerbaijani people (Agayev, 1987).

Thus, despite the number of studies devoted to the imperial policy of the Russian government related to the educational system of Azerbaijan, which outline particular fields of social and educational activities, this problem by and large has not been specifically studied. Problems, determining the direction and nature of the national consciousness development in the Caucasus, including Azerbaijan, the development mechanism of this policy, specific results and the interconnection between social development and social and economic problems remained undiscovered in terms of research studies. Members, composition, and the key forces of social and educational movement were poorly studied, and the results of public activities in the field of education as well as other pivotal issues have not been fundamentally studied. The lack of proper approach complicated objective analysis of school policy, practical contradictions in the process of the educational system development, as well as the ways and means of their resolution.

Despite numerous studies of the enlightenment peculiarities in Azerbaijan and the national consciousness of Azerbaijani people during the period of Tsarist Russia, detection of some specific features of former values and cultural traditions remains problematic.

RESEARCH METHODS

Addressing the historical aspects of the interrelations of Tsarist Russia and Azerbaijan requires certain research methodology. Analysis of the Tsarist Russia impact on the development of enlightenment and national consciousness of Azerbaijani people requires consideration of different written sources: scientific articles, chronicles, historical documents and references, letters etc. (for example, "History of Azerbaijan in documents and publications" edited by the academician Z.M. Buniyatov (1990).

The analysis of the specified material allows verifying relevant facts of the required historical period. The study of historical material implies the use of the following types of historical analysis: historical-genetic, historical-comparative, historical-typological. The historical-genetic method allows establishing historical facts and considering different phenomena in their development process.

The historical-comparative method allows analysing the historical period (subject, phenomena) upon similarity with other periods (subjects, phenomena). For example, this study gives insight into parallels between the development of two states - the Tsarist Russia and Azerbaijan, the peculiarities of national mentality, national traditions, culture, self-consciousness etc.

The application of the historical-typological method gives the possibility to determine the general and distinguishing features in the history of development of the specified states that serves the basis for detection of factors of Tsarist Russia's influence on the history and culture of Azerbaijan.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

After the occupation of Azerbaijan by Tsarist Russia, the development of science and culture was subject to the influence on the national consciousness of Azerbaijani people and later on, the socially accepted ideals were subject to exclusion through the dominance of soviet stereotypes.

Mirza Fatali Akhundzade, Azerbaijani author, playwright, philosopher, and founder of modern literary criticism. https://commons.wikimedia.org
"M. F. Axundzadə (M.F. Akhundov)" uploaded by Goran tek-en [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons - https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAxundzad%C9%99_M._F..jpg

Proceeding from the above-mentioned, the system of education underwent dramatic changes. In the first half of the XIX century, masjid schools and madrasah were the basic institutions of education in Azerbaijan. After the occupation of Azerbaijan by Tsarist Russia, the first Azerbaijan-Russian school appeared on the territory of state. The development of education in the Russian language formed the basis for the Russian culture distribution in Azerbaijan.

The active development of the Azerbaijani printing followed the changes in the system of education. Surely, printing of the weekly newspapers, as for example the "Tatar news" (1832), supporting poets and writers of a new direction through relevant newspaper publications (A. Bakihanov, Mirsa Shafi Vazeh, Kasumbek Zakir etc.) provided development of the general literacy of population and personal interest of Azerbaijani people in keeping their culture and traditions. Due to cultural exchange promotion, such types of art as folk music and dances,

painting, decorative-applied art etc. were actively developed. Theatrical art was one of the first innovations in the field of popular enlightenment.

The first publishing of the "Ekinchi" newspaper, development of the media, further publication of books, as well as the development of democratic movement was reflected in the Azerbaijan's social education. The works of one of the well-known Azerbaijani educators, M.F. Akhundov, contributed to the convergence of the literary language into the spoken one and to the development of the national language at the first stage of the Azerbaijani nation's development. The vocabulary of the Azerbaijani language enriched increasingly and this language became the major and common language of literature, science, economy and the nation's everyday life. The prominent representatives of the Azerbaijan literature, such as J. Mammadguluzadeh, A. Hakverdiyev, N. Vazirov, H. Zardabi and others enriched the content of the Azerbaijan culture with new ideas and developed democratic values.

The representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie appealed to Azerbaijani people as regards the importance of education and science. Around the "Kaspi" newspaper, Ahmed bey Agayev, Husein Ali Bey, Alimardan Topchubashov contributed to the development of the national identity (Buniyatov, 1990).

In the end of the 19th century due to the rapid development of capitalism in the Russian Empire, substantial progress was reached in the field of industrial and agricultural development in the national outskirts of the country, including Azerbaijan (Baykara, 1992). Given the Russian prosperity in terms of industrial development as the leading and developed country, as well as periodic updating of material and technical base of industry in Azerbaijan, public and social attention to the well-educated people and to the problems of public education and school needs, increased rapidly. Thus, in the second half of the XIX century the Azerbaijani nation was formed quite intensively. Like all other nations, the establishment of the Azerbaijani nation united all social strata including clans.

Development of the country's educational system started from the weak (at that time) efforts made by the society and a certain part of the local and urban population in 1870-1880. Russian social structures and rural associations, including the Caucasus region, laid the foundations of school education, available for all social strata, without exception. During that period, substantial efforts were directed at strengthening the role and importance of scientific knowledge as well as at the special and public initiative regarding the construction of schools.

The social-pedagogical movement, which appeared in 1850-1860s, developed substantially in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, keeping its commitment to democratic traditions in the new historical environment. The new and intensive development of socio-pedagogical movement was determined by the famine that came

to many Russian provinces of Russia in the early 1890s. Democratic society representatives, who analysed its reasons, were unanimous as regards the fact that one of the main reasons of famine was directly linked to mass illiteracy of rural people and poor development of cultural and productive forces in villages ... The focus of "all sensible forces" of Russia on education as a vital source of social welfare, considered issues of public education and the opening of schools for all, as the most sensitive and important issues of the Russian life during that period. Public relations, complicated due to the development of capitalist relations, division of forces against the government in the opposition camp could not but reflect on the socio-pedagogical movement (Ismailov, 2000).

In order to promote assimilation of the Caucasus center with Russia, the tsarist government tried to turn the Caucasus into a special subject of the empire. In this regard, the new form of governance was created in the 1880s. The Caucasus governor position was replaced by the position of chief judge for property affairs. This change led to the fact that the training organizations, previously subordinated to the former Governor General of the Caucasus, were directly subordinated since then to the Ministry of Public Education of Russia (Mostashari, 2006).

Educational ideas put forward a century ago, remain relevant today. Development of the country's socio-pedagogical movement was determined by the activities and actions of its participants under these or other conditions, and by the internal relations of social structures (Akhmedov, 2011). This process, starting from the requirements related to democratization of the educational system, aimed at overthrowing absolutism and the establishment of a democratic republic instead. This direction was vivid in the socio-pedagogical movement in Russia.

It should be mentioned that teachers formed the core of this movement in Azerbaijan. Their initiatives attracted the majority of their contemporaries to work in high spirits thus raising their conscience. Teachers living with the idea of returning the "national duty" were increasingly becoming "prisoners" of their own views and beliefs. Due to the socio-pedagogical movement, representatives of Azerbaijani intelligentsia, as a specific social stratum, became the heralds of social ideals. Such people are ready to sacrifice themselves for the sake of implementing ideas into practice, and this predetermined successful identification of the new areas of intellectual nature. This very feature attracted the attention of our researchers. However, despite the mentioned circumstances, this issue remained undiscovered.

The struggle for public education between the conservative government and the leading social forces was not only interesting from the social dynamics viewpoint, but was also regarded as a means of direct impact on the pedagogy and school of the studied period. The Russian school, being in the center of all the country's important processes, generated the specific genetic social code. During that period in the context of Azerbaijan, those schools were responsible for all the bad and /or good that happened and developed in terms of education (Pashayev, 1991).

According to the views of the Azerbaijani educators, who deeply realize the national interests, a number of problems and difficulties, which the country faces, could be resolved through knowledge and education. These are: promoting the industrial and agricultural development to meet the European standards; "improving the health of the people", as it was stated during that time; upbringing young people with sense of personal and civic duty and, what is more important - making human relations more humane and harmonious (Kadyrova, 2007).

Azerbaijani Enlightenment, in contrast to the relevant European period, was more romantic, and more revolutionary, and its anti-clerical orientation was more vividly expressed as compared with philosophers of the seventeenth century. In this regard, the well-known researcher of that period, Akhmedov (1983) is truly correct stating that: "One of the features of the Enlightenment philosophy of Azerbaijan lies in the fact that its emergence coincided with the process of the people's national consciousness development".

Development of the Azerbaijani nation was reflected in the development of all features and strengths that characterize this nation. As a communication tool, the Azerbaijani language was the national language. Despite long struggle against the alien invaders, and the policy of assimilation, people managed to keep their language. For sure, occupying Azerbaijan, Russia began to consider it as a colony in both political and economic aspects. At the same time, as Melikov (2006) specifies, Russia provided the possibility for independent cultural development of Azerbaijan.

It is well known that the terms "Azerbaijan" and "Azerbaijani" were not allowed to be used during the tsarist Russian government. The Azerbaijanis were called Muslims and Tatars. But the idea of "Azerbajan" was kept alive due to the intellectuals. M.F. Akhundov and H. Zardabi used the term "nation" in the literature and press in the second half of XIX century. The newspaper "Kashkul", published in the 1880s promoted the idea of the Azerbaijanis on its pages, and for the first time used the concept "Azerbaijani nation".

In 1891, the "Kaspi" newspaper published the article "How to name the Caucasus Muslims" Mohammad Agha Sakhtakhtli stated that the nation having Turkish origin was the Azerbaijani nation. In 1892, Kemal Unsizadeh took the initiative to publish a newspaper to rise the national consciousness of Azerbaijan but the imperial government did not allow him to do it. All this clearly indicates that the intellectuals tried to enlighten the idea of Azerbaijan. At the beginning of the XX century, the idea of Azerbaijan was put on the political stage in the form of a political doctrine by M.A. Rasulzadeh (1990).

"Azerbaijani_students_in_Paris_1920 uploaded by Interfase [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons - https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AAzerbaijani_students_in_Paris_1920.jpg

The tsarist government found that certain liberality in the teaching of national languages, which existed in the first half of the XIX century, has lost its sense in its second half. In this regard, since the 1880s, native language was taught only in elementary school, that is, in the early stages of education. Further education was conducted entirely in Russian. The forced russification during this period was promoted by the active missionary activities of military governmental schools and boarding schools. Tough mandatory russification policy was not very effective, so the government opted for a softer "velvet" russification policy. This policy was largely focused on the gradual spreading of the Russian-speaking people throughout the Caucasus.

Speaking about the national consciousness of Azerbaijan people, it is necessary to specify that it was formed historically under the influence of different factors (Sumbatzade, 1990). The impact of Tsarist Russia on the development of the cultural originality of Azerbaijan served as one of such factors. The influence of Russia affected the system of views of social, economic and religious aspects. The perception of the material and spiritual values by people, primarily, serves as a basic element of the national consciousness. During the Tsarist Russia period, the political doctrine foresaw the formation of the "soviet man" character and the character of other people as a community. It was important for Tsarist Russia to identify the national consciousness of a soviet man and to present the dignities and features inherent to him.

Morale was also one of the areas of colonial policy. In that regards cruelty was even more severe. The government did not allow to open schools and to print newspapers in the national language. All higher education institutions used Russian, and therefore, the value of traditional religious curricula was diminished (Altstadt, 1992). During those times, the upper social stratum, the privileged classes, supported the establishment of the school by the Tsarist government. They were encouraged to be involved in the development of the Russian morality, customs and were trying to spread imaginations (Akhmedov, 2011).

The major schools, opened with difficulty, were in the interests of the empire. For example, the government prohibited the release of the book devoted to the New Testament "Method – *sovt*" (voice) for Azerbaijan schools with the alphabet and reading, written by outstanding educator Ismail Bey Qaspıralı. Instead of that, the book "World Language", written by A.O. Chernyayevski was allowed for reading. The mother tongue did not have the compulsory subject status in new schools.

Despite all the pressure and obstacles in the implementation of tsarist educational reform, massive opening of state schools in Azerbaijan and the development of national distant education became the main factors in the development of national consciousness. Graduates of these schools became the outstanding figures of the national education and culture, and continued struggling for the national identity, albeit with difficulties.

Azerbaijani statesmen and intellectuals like Ottoman began to reform the edifice of the nation and search for

new modes of solidarity under the impact of Russia's southward thrust and its pan-Slavic, Christian ideology (Davison 1963).

Despite the imperial attitude towards culture, the establishment of province schools proceeded rapidly because of the above process. The school in Shusha was opened in December of 1830 for the first time, in addition to the number of schools in Nuha (1831), Baku (1832), Ganja (1833), Nakhchevan (1837), Shamakha (1837), and finally Shamakha four-class high school (1854) was opened. Later elementary schools in Guba (1854), Ordubad (1854), Lankaran (1856), Zakatala (1862), and Baku (1881) were opened (Sultanov, 2004).

During this period, in Gori, Yerevan, Yelizavetpol 3 rail, 8 art schools, several teacher seminaries were functioning, so most of the Russian schools graduates, later graduated from different high schools, promoted the national education development and fostered the process of the national consciousness development.

During this period, the sense of national identity of the Azerbaijani "national idea" becomes more and more interesting from both romantic and pragmatic viewpoint. Taking into account the events of the past and the present historical period as well as the method of historical processes modelling, the academician Mehdiyev (2010) argues that the "national idea" can be analysed at least through three main directions:

- First, the "national idea" does not correspond to the historical reality, but this reality should be valued with regard to this idea, and should be taken as a spiritual food, like metaphysical reality. In this regard, the "national idea" (although it is possible, in principle, within the framework of Islamic view) should be determined as the national philosophy.
- Secondly, the Azerbaijani "national idea" was spread among publicists, writers, leaders of political parties in the beginning of the XX century, and during the same period, it was also the main idea of some parties and therefore could be valued as an intellectual complex of that time.
- Thirdly, the Azerbaijani "national idea" can be synonymous to the "Turkism" idea as far as such an idea, was not only theoretic but was also used in the political practice through attempts to prevent social modernization. However, until the end of the XIX century, the very word "Turk" had pejorative connotations (Lewis, 1968, 343). And mainly due to Tatars and Azeris in Tsarist Russia, it was rehabilitated and then adopted by Turks within the Ottoman empire (Smith, 1999).

The revival of the national consciousness of Azerbaijani people affected the role of women in society, in particular, in different areas – education, literature, music, and theatre. It should be noted that changes of women's position in the Azerbaijan society derived from the policy of peasant liberation in Tsarist Russia (Mehdiyev, 2010). Peasant liberation was a sign of freedom and the possibility to be educated, to reach the intellectual development level, which would be equal for both men and women. In Russia similar changes came into effect during the period of Catherine II, who conducted the educational reform which implied teaching of children from early age in special educational establishments.

It is well known that teaching of pupils started from the age of six and finished after the age of twelve. Girls had the possibility to study the Russian grammar and foreign languages, arithmetic, history, literature, needlework and other subjects important for their intellectual development. Another prototype of womanish ideal that promoted the change of woman's role in Azerbaijani society was the image of Decembrist's wives. Namely, this image can be regarded as one of the strongest signs of the Russian woman character. F. Dostoyevsky wrote "these very women who, for the sake of the highest moral debt, endowing all, blessed us in a new way" (Ismail, 1995). Women were perceived as mothers, domestic hearth keepers and faithful friends of men. Azerbaijan also began to pay attention to women's education. Women were given the possibility to be engaged in art and literature. In the second half of the XIX century, such famous poets as Gonchabeim, Fatmahanum Kamine and Hurshud Banu Natavan became popular.

CONCLUSIONS AND PERSPECTIVES OF FURTHER STUDIES

Generally, the impact of the Russian Empire on the development of national consciousness in Azerbaijan had the following key directions:

1. Consistent implementation of the russification policy towards the Caucasian peoples, including - the Azerbaijani people, using all types of state and public educational institutions. After the suppression of evident resistance of the Caucasian peoples, this policy became a hundred times tougher.
2. During the forced russification the tsarist government faced a number of difficulties and frequently had to change the legislation in the field of education, authorizing different educational and administrative authorities to carry out its management.
3. One of the insidious steps related to the russification of the Caucasus peoples was the education and training of teaching staff fluent in both native and Russian languages, opening of training centers, which did not correspond to the mentality of the Azerbaijani people. These steps eventually led to emergence of intellectuals being in "opposition" to the Muslim fanaticism. These intellectuals (both during their direct activities and in the press statements) criticized the level of socio-economic and cultural development of their compatriots (based on evident facts), stressed the achievements of the neighboring Christian peoples, and viewed salvation of the Azerbaijani society in the development of modern schools and education, as well

as in increasing the number of Azerbaijani students in modern educational centers (Mardanov, 2011).

4. In the 1870s, along with the beginning of the national revival and the national liberation movement, rethinking of its national role in the modern world, passive observation position of the Azerbaijani society was replaced by the proactive one, with the fighting elements. This eventually played a fundamental role in the development of modern Azerbaijani nation.

Thus, unification of the teaching community aimed at comprehensive action in the field of public education became one of the most specific and noteworthy features of the social-pedagogical movement, which existed in the early 1900s. Feeling the impact of socio-pedagogical movement in Russia, the movement in Azerbaijan was aimed at promoting cultural development and progress of the country's educational system.

The results of this study showed that after the occupation of Azerbaijan by Tsarist Russia, a new stage of Azerbaijan development started. This stage was characterized by attachment of the Russian cultural values including the "idea of spiritual freedom" and the "idea of spiritual-moral consciousness". The movement for freedom in the fight against tsarism appeared in Azerbaijan. The social way of life changed. Handicrafts and manufactories appeared, and cities became centres of development. Joining of Azerbaijan to Russia resulted in the increase of the spirituality level of Azerbaijani people, partial assimilation of the Russian culture and in the increase of the socio-economic life standards.

The study of the Azerbaijan cultural tradition features during the period of Tsarist Russia represents further research interest.

AZERBAJDŽANSKO RAZSVETLJENSTVO IN OBLIKOVANJE NARODNE ZAVESTI V ČASU CARSKE RUSIJE

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POVZETEK

Glavni cilj prispevka je analiza izobraževalne politike v Azerbajdžanu v obdobju carske Rusije. Avtor se poglobi v proces formiranja ruskega vladnega izobraževalnega omrežja in v razvoj narodne zavesti v kontekstu nacionalnega prosvetljenstva, ki se je oblikovala skozi odpor proti ruskemu kulturnemu vplivu, ob čemer pojasni razliko med političnima sistemoma v iranskem in ruskem delu Azerbajdžana ter navede osrednje javne osebnosti, ki so omogočile azerbajdžansko prosvetlitev. S pomočjo primerjalno-zgodovinskih, strukturnih in sistemskih metod avtor nadalje razkrije, kako sta se rodili azerbajdžanska nacija in njena narodnostna ideja ter kako in kdaj sta se ločili od drugih muslimanov. Potem ko je carska Rusija zasedla Azerbajdžan, se je začelo novo obdobje njegovega razvoja s pripojitvijo ruskih kulturnih vrednot, med drugim tudi 'ideje duhovne svobode' in 'ideje duhovno-moralne zavesti'. Takrat se je v Azerbajdžanu začelo razvijati osvobodilno gibanje v boju proti carski oblasti. Priključitev Azerbajdžana k Rusiji je povzročila dvig duhovne ozaveščenosti azerbajdžanskega naroda, delno asimiliranje ruske kulture ter dvig družbenoekonomskega življenjskega standarda.

Ključne besede: azerbajdžanska izobraževalna politika, mentaliteta, narodna zavest, nacionalna prosvetlitev, nacionalno izobraževanje na daljavo

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SOCIOCULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE KAZAKH STATEHOOD

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this research is to analyze the sociocultural aspects of the Kazakh statehood at different stages of its development. The notions of "state" and "statehood", their peculiarities, as well as the correlations between a state and the spiritual and cultural life of society are studied. Theoretical methods, particularly, the systematic approach, which covers the generalization and synthesis in historical knowledge, and the comparative-historical method are applied. The paper proves that problems of civilization foundations of the Kazakh statehood could be solved only on the assumption of extremely broad perspectives, which influence its development, as well as spiritual, moral and cultural factors of social development.

Key words: state, statehood, nomadic society, steppe nomads, civilization development

GLI ASPETTI SOCIOCULTURALI DEL CONCETTO DELLO STATO KAZAKO

SINTESI

Questo articolo si propone come scopo di analizzare gli aspetti socioculturali della statualità kazaka nelle diverse fasi del suo sviluppo. Studia le nozioni dello Stato e della statualità, le loro peculiarità nonché le correlazioni tra lo Stato e la vita spirituale e culturale della società. Nella ricerca l'autrice si è avvalsa di metodi teorici, in particolare dell'approccio sistematico, che comprende la generalizzazione e sintetizzazione del sapere storico, e del metodo storico-comparativo. L'articolo dimostra che i problemi alla base della civiltà relativi alla statualità kazaka si potrebbero risolvere solo sul presupposto di prospettive estremamente ampie che potrebbero influenzare il suo sviluppo, nonché i fattori spirituali, morali e culturali dello sviluppo sociale.

Parole chiave: Stato, statualità, società nomade, nomadi delle steppe, civilizzazione

INTRODUCTION

In the civilizational paradigm, the role of the State is a matter of particular importance. According to some historians, the State is the main reason of civilization`s formation, while others associate it with the phase of the rise of civilization. To all effects and purposes, the recognition of the State as one of the major characteristics of civilization is generally accepted by the academic community.

Firstly, it is worth mentioning that in terms of civilizational formation of the society, the State or national identity need to be considered not as a superstructural element, legitimate means of power, which reflects class conflict in the society, but as a functional, stable, and evolutionary component of civilizational regulation. According to Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, an expert in the theory of civilization, one should regard legitimation as the "evaluation of rulers and their deeds in the frames of values, essential for the society and ideas regarding the rule of law" (Yerasov, 2001, 157). He mentions only the difference between traditional, charismatic, legal and rational legitimacy, developed by M. Weber.

Considering such a social phenomenon as the national identity within the framework of the civilization theory, it is impossible to be limited by the epistemological analysis of common factors of origin and development without taking into consideration the axiological appraisal of its inward nature. The core of the problem, therefore, does not consist in the observation of judicial aspects of given social and political institution formation, but in its axiological perception by the society. In fact, only the axiological perception of the State as a cultural and social institution, intended to function for the sake and good of the people, gives researchers vast opportunities to understand the true essence of its different types and variations.

According to the civilizational theory, the type of State, its social nature is defined not so much by objective material factors as by ideal and spiritual ones.

Thus, the civilizational approach suggests three important principles of correlation between the State and spiritual and cultural life of the society, which will be used to define the model of national identity, as an alternative to the single line theory of social evolution of the Eurasian steppe nomads' civilization:

- Firstly, the essence of the State is defined not only by the correlation of existing forces, but also by notions of the world, values, conduct ideals, obtained during the historical process and transferred within the cultural framework. While examining the State, it is essential to consider not only the social interests and active forces, but also the entire past historical experience;
- Secondly, governmental power, as a central phenomenon of the world of politics, can be simultaneously considered as part of cultural life. It

allows avoiding schematization of the State and especially the policy it pursues as a result of an abstract game; on the contrary, it helps reveal the connection between governmental power and the prestige of moral, axiomatic orientations, fully formed worldview, symbolism, etc.;
- Thirdly, cultural diversity in time and space enables us to understand why certain types of states existed under certain conditions and stopped developing under different ones. In the field of state life, particular significance is attributed to the differences caused by uniqueness of national cultures and special features of the national character.

The chronological scope of the research covers the period of the Kazakh Khanate – XV-XVIII century. However, since the entire evolution process of statehood in Kazakhstan was examined in the course of the analysis, this chronological scope can be extended to cover the period of the emergence of nomadism as an economic system, in other words, at least since 1000 B.C.

Theoretical methods were used in the research, in particular, the systematic approach, which covered generalization, synthesis, comparison, abstraction in historical knowledge, as well as the comparative-historical method. Special techniques were also applied, which borrowed from other disciplines; for instance, sociology analyzed the civilizational basis of the Kazakh statehood, the national identity within the framework of the civilization theory, the sociopolitical organization of the Eurasian steppe nomads' civilization, while, for example, the notion of "population" was studied from a linguistic point of view.

INSTITUTION OF STATE IN THE NOMADIC SOCIETY

In spite of the conclusions of certain researchers, who reckon nomad societies have all the main State attributes, there is a different popular opinion, formed on the basis of certain contemporary theories of State, that nomad cultures in general and the Eurasian steppe nomads' civilization in particular and therefore the subcivilization of Kazakhs did not have an actual institution of State: "In this respect, it is important to emphasize that nomads lacked more or less developed forms of rule and its institutional form – statehood. Coordination of public functions which underlay the processes of centralization with further bureaucratization of public and political life of society could not evolve into any developed forms of statehood... military potestarian organizations cannot be regarded as state organizations" (Masanov, 1995, 160).

If this statement is accepted as correct, how is it possible to explain the indisputable fact of the existence of powerful mechanisms, which united the nomad society into a consolidated and controlled governmental organism? How can one explain the use by Eurasian steppe nomads of the notion of "state", which originates from

the Old Turkic era and is expressed by the word *"el"*, which directly or indirectly corresponds in all Turkic dialects to the meaning of "connection, relation, union" (Maksudi, 2002, 214)? This is without taking into consideration the Orkhon inscriptions, wherein the words *"il"* or *"el"* meant "state, country", and the famous work of Yusuf Khass Hajib – "Kutadgu Bilig" – devoted to the Turkic state structure organization. Finally, it should be reminded that in Chinese historiography, the term *"Sin go"* (nomadic country) appeared, which literally meant "moving country" or nomadic country, a state of nomads who "move with their livestock"; according to some sinologists, this term dates back to the times of Sima Qian (Kychanov, 1997, 264).

The attempt to examine the history of the nomadic state as a politico-legal formation separate from the living ethno-social organism and territorial settlement of nomads inevitably loses authenticity and reliability. Because of such an approach, one can conclude that nomads did not have a traditionally accepted state model, which, in a certain way, would make it schematic or excessively theorized, lacking consideration of nomads' social and political life. According to historiographical materials, early governmental forms of nomads "were the leading and shaping power of the entire steppe world; their influence spread to other tribes and nations that did not achieve the level of these states" (Martynov, 1989, 291).

It should be admitted that the existing point of view regarding the absence of the state institution in the nomadic society appears due to reduction or attempts to view the nomadic state within the frames of Western or Eastern states without mentioning the inadmissibility of its different types' assimilation, such as African or Eurasian nomadism. It is easy to notice that such an approach seems to be tendentious, wherefore the examination of one phenomenon by means of simple application of existing theoretical constructs to a very specific and living material of nomadic society suggests a one-sided and predictable result. Needless to say, an objective examination of territorial organization, as well as specifics of the nomadic state requires a different approach, which could play the role of a sufficient and effective cognitive instrument.

It is well known that the definition of parameters of nomadic societies' social structure in general, and Eurasian nomads in particular, changed periodically, depending on the Soviet Union ideology, which was based on the Marxist formation theory of state typology, where social and political formations defined a certain historical type of state. Thus, one can observe that in this problem's historiography, among different theories and hypotheses, the most interesting one is the theory of Markov (1998) about a "mixed method of production" of nomadic societies, which affords ground for suggesting that some lifestyle attributes or formation belonging were acquired by nomads due to contacts with different

civilizations. Specifically, such fictive social institutions, which did not play any significant role, were introduced into the Eurasian steppe nomads' civilization. These are slave owning, which based on capture of war prisoners, feudalism, due to the contact with geo-social organisms and, eventually, capitalistic – a social-economic structure, which occurred recently because of world geopolitics. Although a one-way connection of all superstructural elements of nomadic societies with a settled "external world", the idea of asymmetrical relations between nomads and their settled surroundings, the confirmation that without them "…nomads would never be able to exist on their own" (Khazanov, 2000, 69), seem to be unacceptable.

Therefore, in the author's opinion, it is more justified to talk not about borrowing, but specifics in the organization of the nomadic state, where unity of the three constants in the state triad – "territory," "population" and "power" – played the key role in the state character formation of Eurasian steppes nomads. An additional point is that it is possible to better understand the nature of the nomadic state if one were to dwell on such notions as "state" and "statehood", since the question of statehood is one of initial borders of the civilizational area, social space that separates one region from another. A research of the nomadic state using these characteristics, in the author's opinion, can help clarify ambiguity and accomplish the tasks of this work.

The notions of "state" and "statehood"

It is expedient to start by defining the term that seems to be the most adequate one to apply to the political organization of the Eurasian steppe nomads' civilization - "state" or "statehood", the meanings whereof, according to researchers, are not entirely identical. For instance, an encyclopedic dictionary of political science provides the following definition: "Statehood – a special feature, which marks the historical development of countries (nations, groups of nationalities, tribe unities and other similar formations), which managed to create their own state or reconstruct the country, lost for certain reasons. Statehood is not only a social heritage and an indicator of state development, but also the ideology, social, political, and cultural orientation, which direct the country to its development and defense. There are certain symbolic attributes of autonomous statehood, such as national language, national symbols, and specific forms of society's political organization" (Aver'ianov, 1993, 64).

Consequently, statehood is not only equal to the state, but has a much broader meaning. Certainly, the state plays an important role because it accumulates power; it becomes a carrier of sovereignty, the protector of society's cultural values. However, statehood suggests that all systems of people`s relation to the organization of life at a certain historical period, the sophisticated complex of elements, structures, institutions of public

power, are conditioned by the specificity of social and economic, political, moral and spiritual living conditions of a certain nation or unity of nations at a certain stage of the society's historical development. Among political scientists, a similar interpretation of the given phenomenon was made by Pastukhov (1994), according to whom "…statehood is a product of society in general. Its history is almost similar to the history of the society. States are products of the Modern age. Statehood historically develops into the state".

To conclude, it could be noted that statehood is:

- Firstly, a complex notion, which reflects the qualitative status of a governmentally organized society at certain historical period;
- Secondly, of national and spiritual nature, is nationally and culturally oriented, because it reflects the spiritual and social values, accumulated by a certain nation (nations);
- Thirdly, a concrete historical phenomenon, because it characterizes society at certain stage of its development within a certain historical situation.

THE KAZAKH SOCIETY: EURASIAN STEPPE NOMADS' STATEHOOD

The notion of "statehood" embraces different types and forms of governmental organization of the society at different stages of its development. The problem of statehood becomes very relevant during the modern period of scientific knowledge, especially since there is a problem of theoretical understanding of the long history of the Kazakh society state legal organization. At that, the methodological approach characteristics of the Kazakh statehood at different stages of its development should contain a scientific assessment, evaluative judgment of what things were done effectively according to life quality criteria and when they were done, while also including the things that were done wrong, falsely. They should eliminate unsolvable conflicts and contradictions. In addition, all this should be considered, taking into account specific historical peculiarities, culture, Kazakh traditions, national and social psychology, religious and spiritual development of Kazakhstan at certain stage, etc.

Thus, in contrast to the traditional formation of a state as publically political power, Eurasian steppe nomads' statehood developed in a centuries-long intercivilizational dynamics, the key characteristic of which was its focus on interior life. In comparison with the "primary" eastern civilizations, where the state became a uniting and organizing structure, defining social and economic structures, and with "secondary" states of the western civilization, which were only components, mostly dependent on the cultural and religious system of statehood, in nomadic societies the state formed as a special type of ethno-social and ethno-territorial unity. This refers to the inequality of social development, i.e. the time

difference in historical stages that the communities went through, to the influence on this process of not only objective, but also certain subjective factors, which becomes one of the fundamental principles. As a result, it leads to a difference in the time when statehood occurs i.e. the process of state development at different nations. Hence, in this context, the author considers reasonable the conclusion made by the authors of the monograph "Kazakhstan: evolution of state and society": "… a state is a result of the Western and Eastern civilizations, while the Great Steppe statehood (not state) is a basis (not a result) of the civilizational process. This is the fundamental difference between their political characteristics" (Abenov et al., 1996, 24-25).

The Kazakh statehood is not restricted only by the borders of the Kazakh khanate (XV–XVIII c.), because it supposes the formation and development of the Kazakh society, its different forms, types and functions at different stages of history, continuity and renovation of political, structural and territorial organization of the Kazakh society in general, in a word, the state-legal processes that take place during the long period of the Turkic ethnos human activity. Consequently, in order to theoretically understand the Kazakh statehood, it is necessary to consider the political power, genetically beginning with the early nomad states of Saks, Huns, Mongols, Usuns, Turks, Kazakhs, taking into account the very important state-legal reforms that were conducted at the times of such rulers as Modu Chanyu, Bumin Qaghan, Istämi, and finishing with the Kazakh khans Esim, Kasym, Tauke, Kenesary: "the nomadic civilization was the most original one in terms of the social structure organization of the society, especially in the matter of statehood. Hundreds and thousands of years passed, but the essence of nomadic statehood remained the same: the power was traditional (monarchical), while the basis or fundament was formed by tribes that led a nomadic stock-raising lifestyle. Conservation of tribes does not indicate underdevelopment of the society that is at the stage of primitive-communal system but amazing adaptation to nature by human beings, conditions of nomadic lifestyle and relevant production practice" (Irmuhanov, 2003, 107).

Preliminary methodological studies regarding the meaning of the "Kazakh statehood" notion, its content, the reasons to use it at the modern stage and the general issue of the Kazakh statehood theoretical study had to be made before proceeding to the study of the Kazakh statehood civilizational basis and its possible consideration from the civilization theory's perspective.

Thus, territorial and special factors play a great role in making a state unique. The dominating influence of the territorial factor should be regarded as a special feature of the nomadic civilization. Natural climatic conditions not only became a major constant in economic life, but also left an indelible imprint on the system of political, spiritual, and existential values. It is impossible to avoid noticing the obvious fact that the entire

Inside a Kazakh yurt (1911). From Wikimedia Commons

structure of the Eurasian steppe nomads' civilization was imbued with a worldview of harmonious development of the human being and the natural environment, our ancestors' perception of the land as the beginning of life, ancestors' dwelling – "*Atameken*", respectful and trusted attitude towards it, generated in this civilizational area a land ownership form, which happened without regard to the fact that they did not maintain strict continuity of governmental tradition, founded by the already mentioned Modu Chanyu, according to whom "the basis of a state" for nomads was the land: "Primal fear is the prevailing feeling of a farmer who sits on his small, infertile land plot in his divided small country and struggles with northern nature for poor crops… so he lives in constant dread of accidents, concerned about his future, in a constant struggle with weeds, afraid of hail, frost, droughts and floods. By contrast, initial trust is the prevailing feeling of a nomad. Without any plans, he tends his flocks in the immense endless steppe, which seems inexhaustible. He is carefree, he does not know the difficulties of settled life, and he is certain of the inexhaustible nourishing power of the Earth Mother. Unlike farmers, he reaps his fruits of labor not from an enemy, but from a kind and generous mother" (Schubart, 2000, 89).

Besides, when understanding the nature of sociopolitical organization of the Eurasian steppe nomads' civ-

ilization, special attention is drawn to the connection between demo-social organisms and territory. Thus, in comparison with fixed territorial borders of geo-social organisms, territorial borders of demo-social organisms had a natural spatial structure. Skipping the complicated problem (which requires a separate study) of the natural predetermination of territorial borders' outlines of the Eurasian steppe nomads' civilization, the author notes that due to their mobility, nomadic social organisms were more independent in the territories they occupied than farmers who depended directly on the initially occupied territories. The mobility of the entire social construction as a unified entity should be admitted as the representation of such independency of demo-social organisms in relation to the territorial factor: "The separation of the population forming the social organism as a comparatively independent element is associated with the fact that the social organism fundament – system of relations – got its own spatial and territorial organization, which was different from the population organization" (Semenov, 1982, 56).

Eurasian steppe nomads' statehood was different because of the constant movement of separate social organisms within the unity, which, in its turn, was defined by essential features of the civilizational structure and specific historical internal and external impulses. Prob-

ably for these reasons, typical features of the nomads' political and potestarian system that were mentioned by nomadologists, such as the ephemeral and temporary character, military intendance, non-stratification, economical autarchy, duality of steppe empires, which were centralized in terms of foreign affairs, but consultative and heterogeneous in terms interior ones, the absence of bureaucracy and managerial redistributive activity, the absence of succession to the throne, etc. do not allow acknowledging the state as a form of organization.

As a result, the underestimation of the dominant phenomenon of sociopolitical structure self-mobility caused the rejection of any possibility of functioning and development of the state institution and its attributes in the context of the nomadic lifestyle. The author absolutely agree with the conclusion of nomadologist Kychanov (1997), who confirms the following: "realization that the administrative office or any other department of the nomadic state, located in a yurt and moving with livestock in search of grass and water, essentially does not differ from some district yamen or an office in a palace. Administrative office mobility did not transform it from an administrative body into a patriarchal or military democratic institution".

Thus, the social belonging of nomads at any level is realized by means of flexibility of its own public organization through free reconstruction of their social structure. Such a peculiarity of nomadic organisms' transformation in temporary, integrated, homogeneous unities in extreme situations determined the concentration of civil service in the military and judicial fields. Consequently, it is understandable that administrative structures that were on a higher level than the traditional social institution formed in the nomadic society not as a result of class formation, but based on military and tribal organization. For example, state authority historically originated through the transformation of military democratic organization forms into military potestarian chiefdoms, and from chiefdoms into the state structure – the phenomenon called the "aristocratic way" in political science. Such systems of public relations as a foundation of military organization of nomads' nation became not only cultural nomads' traditions, but also a basis for the political organization of a "free nation" (including the Kazakh nation), which is independent, freedom-loving, representing the symbol of its cultural self-identity. It should the mentioned that according to the ancient Turks, an organizational structure is not sufficient for the existence of a state. Another factor of existence of "ils" is independency. For example, based on Orkhon inscriptions, Turkish researcher Sadri Maksudi Arsal concluded: "At the time of Kutlug-Khaghan, the Turks undoubtedly had an organizational structure. However, despite the fact that they were governed by Turkic tuduns, they were Chinese civil servants, who obeyed Chinese governance. Turks who left the Orkhon inscriptions considered that before Kutlug they did not have "il". Turks left their "il" and "tore" (Maksudi,

2002, 215). The same situation was noted during the study of the late history of Kazakhstan in the Mongol rule era. However, sociopolitical structures of Ulus of Jochi, Ak-Horde, Moghulistan, Nogai Horde, Abulkhair Khanate, despite the inherited autocratic forms of governance, typical for Genghis Khan, were slightly different, transformed and adapted to the nomadic Turkic lifestyle, more democratic superstructural institutions. As an example, there are terms of Turkic origin that were used by Mongols in military and governmental fields: орда, оғлан, би, жырау, тархан, түмен, жарлық, тамғашы, бітікші, жасауыл, шығын, түтін, etc.

Thus, preliminary studies of the territorial organization character of the nomadic state (in this case, nomadic nations of the Eurasian steppes) prove the presence of specific features that are not equal to western and eastern counterparts, because this is a case of a "home ground factor" that was invented by W. Ajons (Kradin and Bondarenko, 2002, 26), according to whom, mechanisms and means of territorial organization are distinguished by extreme mobility.

Naturalness of the nomadic society territorial borders is of key importance in the reflection of economic, political, and spiritual organization of nomadic life. From this point of view, the domination of the territorial principle played a leading role in the formation of nomadic civilization outlines.

The legal basis of nomadic statehood is founded on the implicit need for power integration, which saves the huge conglomerate of ethnically homogeneous tribes from endless conflicts. A similar initial principle can be applied when defining the civilizational basis of the Kazakh statehood, which implies that it originated as a super-territorial heterogeneous unity, consisting of several substrates, and formed by three areas, namely nomadic, nomadic and agricultural, and agricultural and nomadic. In this case, by the super-territory, which is a "material basis for the formation of an ethnical unity of people" (Kozlov, 1967, 106), the author means the integrity of the elements of culture and household, specific for certain geographical parts. It seems quite reasonable to emphasize the emergence of the source of political regulative functions – statehood – as the last step towards social unity. It was based on the equivalence of the military political organization (zhurt→el→ memleket, people→state→ statehood) and the ethnical unity, where the khanate functioned as a form of governmental power. In terms of ideology, it was believed that all three Kazakh zhuzes, alongside the Kirghizes, Karakalpaks, Kattagans, Zhaimas (Tynyshpaev, 1993, 151), originated from common great ancestor Alash-khan.

It is expedient continue with the consideration of the next structure-forming component of a state – the "population", "nation" category, which is associated with demo-social organisms of the Eurasian steppe nomads' civilization and is directly related to a certain social unity or a group of social organisms, depending on their in-

Abylai Khan was khan of Kazakh Khanate from 1771 to 1781. From Wikimedia Commons

ternal tribal belonging rather than geo-social organisms, which are united regardless of the differences inside the group. In the author's previous works, attention is drawn to the special organization of a complicated, internally differentiated horizontal-vertical system of social coordinates of Eurasian steppe nomads and it is noted that despite the external integrity of the entire social organism, the place of an individual or a group of individuals was defined based on the belonging to a certain family, then to a tribe, and, eventually, to zhuzes and state, while the population, being a separate phenomenon, different from a social organism, can be regarded only in geo-social societies. For example, when talking about the population of France, one implies the French, Germany – Germans, England – English, etc., because there are no internal differentiation criteria.

Moreover, it would be interesting to note that in the traditional Kazakh society, there is no definition of the word "*turgyn*", which could become an equivalent of the static category of "population" in the civil society, while the most adequate word to reflect relations between a state and a unity of people is the term "*zhurt*" (Zhanuzakov, 1999, 251), which, at the same time, being a synonym of the word "*el*", "*halyk*" (state, population), showed their close connection and interdepen-

dence on one hand, and defined a more dynamic status of the ethnic unity of this state type on the other hand.

Such peculiarity of population organization, based on principles of consanguinity, explained the formation of another type of statehood in the Eurasian steppe nomads' civilization, where people were regarded not as a source to exploit, but a source of political power itself: "in Turkic "*ils*" there were three elements of governmental power, three elements that used power: the khan, beys, and people ("*budun*"). The participation of these elements in the governing power is different. While the khan's power is unlimited, the bey's power is relatively limited. The power of people appears at certain periods. However, according to the Turkic worldview, people become a constant source of political power" (Maksudi, 2002, 215).

In Turkic states, "population" (*budun*, *zhurt*, *halyk*) not only represented the nationals, but was an element that played a certain role in the governing of the country and had great power, because people not only participated in *kurultays* and their decisions regarding the election of khans and beys, but, primarily, they became a source of "tore" formation, which was a type of code of laws, basic principles of the state that everybody obeyed. However, the main factor that defined the status of the population is its role as the bearer of traditions, believes, customs, habits, views, which are the basis and heritage of the entire country. This circumstance caused an appropriate respectful attitude to people by their governor. The Orkhon inscriptions and other works on the history of the steppes have many examples proving this statement.

The first person to raise the problem of defining the origin of the "consanguinity" notion in the nomadic society was Arabic researcher Ibn Khaldun (1965). According to him, "asabiya," which means "group instinct" (translated by G.-H. Bousquet) or "connection of people of the same origin" (translated by Batsiyev S.), becomes a basis of solidarity and consolidation of nomads, in contrast to the citizenship in a territorial state (Khaldoûn, 1965, 36).

Due to asabiya, nomadic nations were more successful at seizing power, expanding the territories of their "empires", and, if the governing power was lost by one of the asabiyas, then the power could be transferred to a different asabiya. So long as they have asabiyas, they can transfer power, and only the nation that loses asabiya is conquerable and will soon die out. Taking into account the similarity of features of Bedouin nomads and the Nuers of Eastern Africa described by Ibn Khaldun (Evans-Pritchard, 1940, 55), where these segments and lineages were united by relations of actual or fictive congeniality, and the more complicated model of the Balochi and Tuaregs, where people were divided into clans and smaller divisions, down to households, and representatives of Eurasian steppe nomads' civilization, one should mention that alongside the similarities,

the horizontal social mobility, in comparison with the nomadic communities mentioned above, was a more powerful, centralized sociopolitical organization, which is demonstrated by the phenomenon of zhuzes that played a role of administrative territorial, political and legislative, economical regulative mechanisms in the traditional Kazakh society: "The Kazakh khanate as a state is a symbiosis of two origins – political, represented by the institution of supreme power and the special class, and tribal organization of power, represented by the chiefdom and potestarian structure. The chiefdom plays the role of the main powerful and efficient element of governing power and, at the same time, acts as a buffer between the people and the political class. That is the explanation of its high stability level" (Artykbaev, 1999, 46).

Consequently, it is the tribal tradition of the Eurasian steppe nomads, which is based on the principle of "from clan to state", that explains the fact of a rapid formation of new states instead of former disintegrated ones, since tribes and tribal unities in this case became a fundament for the formation of new states.

Thus, here it is possible to see two more aspects of interrelation between the population and the state in nomadic societies. The first one concerns the permanency of the "basis" and the instability of superstructural institutions of nomadic societies, while the second aspect concerns the non-egalitarian democratic principles of sociopolitical institutions' organization. Since the last issue is directly related to the category of "power", attention should be focused on the specifics of its implementation in the Eurasian steppe nomads' civilization.

There is a tendency in scientific world to revive approaches that caused scientists' keen interest in the phenomenon of power, which is directly associated with "socio cultural way of ruling", and, according to Bessmertniy (1995), includes: "specifics of political discourses being used in a given community, special ideas about governing power and its functions, notions of acceptable and unacceptable types of governing power; the image of governing power (including notions of how sacral or transcendental it is), which guarantees people's obedience; special features of symbolic representation of power, accepted forms of its self-presentation and different cultural toposes in general…". In other words, this type of analysis of the power phenomenon prioritizes the complex of sociocultural notions of governmental power and its changes.

Therefore, before studying the notions of governmental power in the Eurasian steppe nomads' civilization, it is important to differentiate the two types of power: social and political. Social power is defined as a "special feature of a group of interrelated individuals, their common ability to act, existing as a distribution of knowledge …and knowledge is a generally accepted conviction, belief, which is constantly related to social activity" (Ivanov et al., 1994, 92), while, contrast to it,

political power is characterized by the ability to direct activity of people, social groups, classes by means of economical, ideological, organizational, and legitimate influence and with the help of reputation, traditions, and force. To put differently, the main difference between political power and power itself consists in an inextricable connection with one or another form and type of statehood development.

It is well known that since ancient times, the notion of governing power in the Eurasian steppe nomadic society was primarily associated with something sacral and traditional, fair and lawful. The power perception archetypes were also accepted in the Kazakh society of XV–XVIII centuries, because, according to the classification of Shatsky (1990), it belongs to the integral type of traditionalism, when during a long period of time traditions remain unchanged, they are preserved and authentically reproduced in the ethic society and "viewed as valuable for life and ensuring prosperity" knowledge and experience. Such traditionalism can be "fulfilled only if the traditionalistic point of view spread in all spheres of life – political, economic, cultural, religious – and these spheres are united by a common understanding of sacred, inherited from the past".

Thus, traditional power is based on personality, loyalty and belief in the holiness of a legitimately elected charismatic person, who rules based on law and justice. That is the reason behind the special features of the consensual origin, sanctity, democracy of power in the Eurasian steppe nomads' civilization. For example, the notion of a governor as a charismatic person, responsible for the prosperity of the entire nation was widely spread among Turks. Governors of steppe states were people "blessed by the heavens" - "kut". "Heaven's blessing" giving the right to rule was obtained not only by one person, but also by the entire clan, dynasty. In ancient and contemporary Turkic languages, the semantics of the word "kut" has different meanings: soul, life force, dignity, bravery, luck, happiness, well-being, etc. In this context, another meaning of this word becomes very important: "strength of political power, force and right to rule a state, greatness (greatness of power)." The word "kut" that was a part of every governor`s title had a meaning, different from that of "happiness." This word could contain the meaning of "strength of political power, strength to rule a state, greatness of supreme power". Generally speaking, this word implied "full authority" (salakhiet); in French legal language it was represented by "Autoire de l`Etat" (authority of the State), "Souverainete" (sovereignty), in German terminology – "Staatsmacht" (power of state) or "Staatsgewalt" (supremacy of a state), in Roman law terminology – "imperium" (supreme power)" (Maksudi, 2002, 118).

According to the Turk understanding, the state, "El", apart from maintaining peace and order, has a high aim: to guarantee law and justice. These are the words about the essence of justice, uttered by Khan Künto dı in the

Kerey and Janybek, founders of the Kazakh Khanate. From Wikimedia Commons

"Holy Knowledge", written by Yusuf Khass Hajib:
I am a sign of justice, the law of the truth,
Which is holy and glorious…
And this is the throne where I sit so almighty
Look at it: supported by three legs:
It is solid, inviolable
All legs are immovable there is no sway at all
But if only one fails
Then the others and the throne will break after all…
Look at me – I am always fair
And the wiggles of true and wrong are delicate
Truly I manage all the affairs
Who is before me? A slave or a bey
I honestly do not care
For power is justice which is a base
And power that is true is alive and healthy
Strict justice only gives strength to the power
The path of a bey is to follow a fair road
My deeds bring blessing to people around

When law is fair, it will blossom the stones (Balasa-gunskii, 1983, 101) (translated by G. Beisenova).

Despite the poetical nature of these lines, once can notice the connection between the image of the "silver khan's throne on three steady legs" with three classic subjects of nomadic countries (khans, beys and buduns), three notions of power (law, justice, kut), and three Kazakh Zhuzes, not to mention the triadic perception of Space, Time and Cosmos by Eurasian steppe nomads.

Therefore, the research analyzes the sociocultural aspect of the Kazakh statehood development at different stages. The social and historic phenomena, studied in the given paper, are explained by the original search for harmony with themselves, with society or the environment by the representatives of the Eurasian steppe nomads' civilization. Consequently, the statehood formula of the Eurasian steppe nomads' civilization is based on the axiomatic and moral principles, while attempts to find social origin features of proprietary types are of primary importance.

SOCIOKULTURNI VIDIKI KAZAŠKE DRŽAVNOSTI

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POVZETEK

Poglavitni cilj raziskave je analiza sociokulturnih vidikov kazaške državnosti na različnih stopnjah njenega razvoja. Avtorica preučuje pojma države in državnosti ter njune posebnosti in ugotavlja, da omenjenih pojmov ne moremo enačiti, saj je pomen državnosti veliko širši. Država igra pomembno vlogo kot zbirnik moči; tako postane nosilka suverenosti in zaščitnica kulturnih vrednot družbe. V članku se nadalje raziskujejo korelacije med državo ter duhovnim in kulturnim življenjem družbe, pri čemer se uporabljajo teoretične metode, zlasti sistematični pristop, ki zajema posploševanje, sintetiziranje, primerjavo, abstrahiranje v zgodovinskem védenju, ter primerjalno-zgodovinsko metodo. Avtorica dokazuje, da bi bilo teoretične probleme civilizacijskih zasnov kazaške državnosti moč rešiti samo ob predpostavki izjemno širokega pogleda na njen razvoj kot tudi na duhovne, moralne in kulturne dejavnike družbenega razvoja. Poda tudi formulo državnosti za civilizacijo evrazijskih stepskih nomadov, ki temelji na aksiomatičnih in moralnih načelih.

Ključne besede: država, državnost, nomadska družba, stepski nomadi, civilizacijski razvoj

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PROBLEMS OF MODERNIZATION OF THE KAZAKH SOCIETY IN 1920-1936 YEARS

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ABSTRACT

Reasons and consequences of the social, economic and political transformation in Kazakhstan in the first half of the 20th century are consecutively analyzed. Kazakh social modernization problems in Soviet times and its most controversial moments in the first half of the 20th century are investigated. Problems associated with the modernization of virtually all life spheres of the Kazakh society are researched. The contemporary Kazakh society is experiencing a new phase of identification, which is closely associated with the historical past.

Keywords: modernization, Kazakh society, ethnic and cultural integration

I PROBLEMI DELLA MODERNIZZAZIONE DELLA SOCIETÀ KAZAKA TRA IL 1920 E IL 1936

SINTESI

Il contributo analizza in modo consecutivo le cause e le conseguenze della trasformazione sociale, economica e politica svoltasi nel Kazakistan durante la prima metà del XX secolo.
Si indaga quindi sui problemi di modernizzazione sociale kazaka nel periodo sovietico e i suoi momenti più controversi risalenti alla prima metà del XX secolo.
Vengono esaminati i problemi associati con la modernizzazione di praticamente tutte le sfere della società kazaka.
La società contemporanea kazaka sta vivendo una nuova fase di identificazione strettamente associata con il passato storico.

Parole chiave: modernizzazione, società kazaka, integrazione etnica e culturale

INTRODUCTION

Ethnic and identification indexes of all the peoples of the USSR in the period under study were subjected to a strong qualitative transformation, primarily, due to changes in the social structure, large-scale involvement of the lower classes in the educational, political and administrative areas. At the same time, historically established ethnic and cultural mosaic dictated its features. Modern science notes that in multiethnic societies, there are two types of ethnic and cultural integration: cultural unity with titular communities and leveling cultural differences, or a political alliance that allows to preserve cultural differences between ethnic groups in multinational European societies such as Kazakhstan. According to A. Khazanov, in the USSR "modernization was carried out ... with a minimal participation of the indigenous population: industrialization, urbanization, demographic revolution, the revolution in education and labor mobility were not implemented here in full" (Khazanov, 1995). Some aspects of the issue (modernization of Kazakh society) were studied by other foreign authors (Amanzholova, 2004; Priestland, 2007; Matsuzato, 2007; Service, 2009; Tomohiko, 2012; Shane, 2013; Gorodetsky, 2014).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

According to the researchers, in the studied period in the Kazakh society, kinship system predetermines "communism" and "community property" of its members, "the closer is the kinship circle, the more uncontrolled the use of each other's property by its members." The nomadic lifestyle also led to consolidation of immutable rules of hospitality and the so-called "Konakasy"– property for guests – in traditions and mythology of the Kazakhs. The most important components of the ethnic and cultural values were also quite acceptable for the Bolshevik traditions of collective mutual assistance, especially in cases of natural disasters or epidemics, such as the so-called "Court of Conscience", a deeply thoughtful and sensible judgment of "cleansing oath" with a sacred meaning which eliminated falsity or breach of promise (Bukinich, 1919, 39).

Along with a profound transformation of the social organization of the society and the formation of new structural elements, groups and strata of society of the past were preserved, although their social role and quantitative indicators were undergoing significant changes. However, all these structures existed concurrently, sometimes intertwined in a particular way. A distinctive feature of the social organization of the society in transition was the high degree of fragmentation of social groups, their increased mosaicism. This was due to the increasing complexity of the social structure and the existence of elements of both new and traditional structures. As a result, individual social groups were divided into numerous, sometimes loosely connected subgroups representing different and sometimes conflicting social and economic interests. Traditional communities had a question about their place in the social hierarchy, the level of cohesion and the value system. The main features defining marginality were, firstly, the intermediate state associated with the period of transition, and, secondly, the uncertainty of the social situation, the fact that they didn't join or partially joined social structures or groups. Meanwhile, the state of general culture and social development, and hence the opportunity to realize the potential of modernization, still required huge efforts. In Dzhetysuyskii region, for example, as of September 1924, up to 90.7% of the population was illiterate; half were illiterate among communists and 57% of the believers. In Akmola district of the same province, the executive committee "on the national tradition associated with the bais (the rich) hungry to feed" proclaimed that 25 thousand people were among the exploited ones. The civil initiative was politically oriented and testified to the growing initiative and activity of "the common people". In Aktobe province, for example, on the initiative of the inhabitants of 25 villages of Chelkarskiy District, where "party cells" were formed, in a number of townships and villages they decided to close mosques and to transform them into schools and to open new schools. Workers felt their opportunities and actively participated in production meetings, demanding that their decisions are implemented and the discipline is strengthened. At the same time, cooperatives caused mistrust and even animosity due to the facts of theft by their activists. Moreover, these workers demonstrated "krestyanofilstvo" ("strive to lead rural life") keeping the economy in rural areas and suggesting to impose even lower taxes on the kulaks and shopkeepers. By April 1926, the network of schools and groups of party education in Kazakhstan covered 40.4% of the communists (9154 out of 22674 people.), 27.6% of the total number of communists graduated from high school, and the rate for peasants was 4.9% (Russian State Archives of Socio-Political History (RGASPI)).

The resolution of the 5th Conference on continuous land management (5th All-Kazakh Conference of the RCP (b), 1925, 33) has led to significant shifts in the social structure of the Kazakh aul (village). The former scheme of communal land tenure was destroyed, and the poor people were given a piece of land and became less dependent on the traditional hierarchy of social relations. At the same time, it caused the aggravation of interethnic relations. The implementation of the Kazakhs' priority right to land resulted in suffering of not only the representatives of the European Nationalities – Russians, Ukrainians, Belarusians, Germans – but also of Uzbeks, Uighurs, Taranchi, who sent numerous complaints to Moscow (Chebotareva, 2006, 101).

Along with the economic, social and cultural problems were being solved. But this sphere remained very

problematic throughout the USSR. In Kazakhstan, in the middle of 1920s the illiteracy reached 90%, and in Karakalpakstan Autonomous Region the rate was 100%. Primary schools covered only 10% of school-age children of the indigenous population. According to Akmola Provincial Party Committee, in 1925, "despite the sixth year of Soviet power in the province, so far no medical centers or hospitals for Kyrgyz population have been founded. Of course, the obstacle to a certain extent is the lack of health workers from the Kazakhs and relevant space. If we consider a large incidence of diseases in Kazakh population, especially venereal diseases, scabies, smallpox, etc., it becomes clear how little has been done yet in this field" (Milestones of Consolidation 1990, 105).

As was noted in April 1926 by N. Nurmakov, "... 90% of the indigenous population have never used and do not use any medical help.

... Medical and school network in Kazakhstan exists only in large sedentary settlements, i.e. where the population is most cultural, European. There is no medical care in 90% of Kazakh villages. The same can be said with regard to the school network. ... If one says that there is a school system, in the most cases it is just an imitation. In the old days in Kazakh villages, tsarist government did not build any schools, and now under the Soviet regime it is the same – no funds for construction of schools precludes that, and this year is not an exclusion. ... The same is the situation in almost all of the autonomous republics and regions" (State Archives of the Russian Federation (GA RF, 7-9).

On February 16, 1927, All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks adopted a special resolution "On Health Care of Kazakh Population" which provided for allocation of state and local budget funds for capital construction of hospital buildings, for medical assistance district accelerated mobile units for medical institutions and ambulatories, and further, of medical-hospital sites, while maintaining medical search teams. In 1926, the republic had 8 mobile medical units, and only 13.5% of all Kazakh townships were covered by constant medical aid (Russian districts: 44%). The time of their work was increasing, and the radius of their action was reducing. But still, qualified medical aid was possible to provide "only to a very limited extent, mainly the eye, obstetric and venereal medical care." District doctors, as their number increased, also had to be engaged in the survey of water supply and housing, school sanitary inspection, the struggle for a healthy life. The funding was increased from all types of budgets for fighting against syphilis, tuberculosis, trachoma, gynecological diseases which became "very alarmingly" spread. It was forbidden to violate the principle of free medical care. At the same time, the following was scheduled to open in 1927/28 financial year: three Kazakh midwifery college in Kyzyl-Orda, Semipalatinsk and Uralsk, as well as one-year course of training nurses social assistance from Kazakh girls in Kyzyl-Orda at the expense of the state budget;

it was planned that the following would be done from the funds of local budget: Kazakh schools' support at all provincial hospitals, attracting Kazakh doctors to work without graduating or graduating in other republics (Milestones of Consolidation 1990, 127-129, 139, 163).

There was a high social mobility, people moved vertically from one class, social group, strata to another, a higher one, or vice versa, to a lower one, different horizontal displacements (professional, territorial, etc.), due to economic instability, political changes, structural adjustment and other factors of the period of transformation. There were changes of ideological orientations, values and norms, political and economic priorities. As a result, new social groups and strata of society tended to occupy their respective place of power and influence in the social hierarchy. There were changes in the political and economic elite of society.

In fact, one of the leading national thinkers of the first third of the 20th century, J. Aymauytuly (1889-1931) recorded and clearly defined the fundamental contradictions and consequences of rapid modernization for the social and moral status and the significance of introduction of a new governance and cultural elite of the Kazakh society. Meanwhile, Alash Orda intellectuals, the elite of the Kazakh society, were seeking to preserve their influence and participate in the cultural modernization undertaken by the state. The meeting in June 1924 of the Congress of Kazakh Scientists was attended by 19 people, of which 7 were communists. Among the participants were the leaders of Alash: A. Bukeikhanov, Kh. Dosmukhamedov and others. They discussed the problems of phonetics and Kazakh alphabet, language. The majority of 11 people accepted the proposal by A. Baitursynov to keep Arabic script (Turyakulov advocated the introduction of the Latin alphabet). Having indorsed in their resolution the activities of Soviet government, the delegates at the same time condemned the "nationalist movement Alash Orda" (Russian State Archives of Socio-Political History (RGASPI), 6-9).

In 1927, 23% Kazakhs in Kazakhstan were central trade union members and 32% were members of the regional organization (a similar situation was in Uzbekistan and Tatarstan). Trade union officials sent from the center didn't stay in the country for more than two years, and that undermined the stability and the consistency of their work. In the county offices, the part of Kazakhs was 15%, and 9% in the lower authorities. In cooperative organizations, the Kazakh population showed little activity at re-elections and meetings; attendance at meetings of 6 Union of the Republic was 43.4%, and that was attributed mainly to the credit cooperatives, which could provide real support to people. Thus, the real union democracy for the mass was formal, but the reporting, which mainly drew attention to the case presented, rated it as quite satisfactory.

The politicization of ethnicity as a condition of the people's life in the Bolshevik doctrine provided a pow-

erful attractive force to ethnic nationalism, buoyed by national elites striving to improve access to power and resources, to official cultural institutions. That, in turn, determined the contradictory actions of the government and its relations with intellectuals, whom it never trusted, and who were the main source of recruiting people to the Soviet bureaucracy in national regions.

Constructed in the Soviet times, the national bureaucracy, preferring the values of stability and compromise with the government while maintaining the formal rule of Union center, and budget allocations in favor of the Republic, successfully occupied a dominant position in politics and culture at the regional level. Official secular ideology, Marxism-Leninism, was mainly assimilated only to the extent to which its postulates were consisting with the traditional ideas of justice. That in its own way confirmed the high importance of the values of collectivism and obedience and, conversely, introduced additional obstacles to formation of an independent, independently thinking individual. The mind-set to restore peace and human rights and to use violence for the sake of the natural course of life in fact prepared the ground for the nationalist ideology and ethnocratic policy (Panarin, 1994).

The political practice acted along the same lines, especially in the first 10 years of Soviet ruling. However, strict political censorship, excessive personalization of power, a high degree of ritualization of political actions, closed decision-making process, etc., in fact reinforced rather than undermined the Kazakhs' own traditions of political culture which smoothly combined the features of Nomadism, Tengrism and Islamic zhuzh-clan (kinship) identity, and the complex hierarchy of social ties with the Soviet collectivism, the new patriotism and citizenship.

Taking into account the specifics to the legal culture is of great importance for understanding the ethnic and cultural evolution of Kazakh society. Zh. Akpayev (1876-1934), in particular, paid attention to the combination of legal and sociological sense, as the "hidden value" in the conceptual framework of the traditional law of the Kazakhs. They were crystallized and "unconsciously reasonably" evolved from generation to generation, creating the psychological and semantic context of relations. In particular, there were no articulated notions of rights in the studied period in the Kazakh society, therefore, the speech practice, for example, expressed the notion 'right', was very flexible, saturating it with rich cultural symbols (Akpan, 2002, 318-319).

Dynamics of Kazakh identity, where intertwined geographically zhuz (kinship) localization of ethnic groups, migratory habits, pagan and Islamic guidance, as well as emerging civil self-definition, reflected the desire and unique ways of embedding slowly reformed archaic structures and practices into a rapidly modernizing reality.

Modernization was accompanied by changes in the social structure of the society, by the destruction of tradi-tional ties and formation of new ones. The main conditions for that were overcoming collectivism, community, extended family and transition to individualism, improving literacy. Nevertheless, this indicator cannot be the only one of modernization. According to Sh. Eisenstadt, "The presence of initial social and demographic and structural features of modernization – such as modern education, the growth of literacy, urbanization, mass media, etc. – is a necessary condition, but not a guarantee of the success of modernization process" (Nikitin, 1998, 69).

Moreover, "rooted traditions play a major role in maintaining the stability of the society undergoing painful changes" (Smelser, 1994, 626).

Formation of new population segments (intellectuals, civil servants and managers, etc.) and the increase of their proportion in the structure of the society inevitably lead to interest in political activity, striving to express their own specific needs in political form. Modernization should be supported by mainstream society, not just by the leading groups. To solve this problem, the Communist party's monopoly power resorted to the "conductors" of its political line to the multitudes – all sorts of social organizations, including those related to education (the Union Extraordinary Committee, the Society for Assistance to Defense, Aviation and Chemical Construction, the "Down with Illiteracy!" society, the Voluntary Association for Assistance to Army, Air Force and Navy, the Union of Atheists, etc.) – the participants of which were the most active members of the community, to raise their cultural level and to realize their potential in the fields set by the civil authorities. Systematic activities to transform the society led to a stable instability, when the place and the role of a particular individual, not to mention the appurtenance to a stable group, were extremely vague and variable. At the same time, party leaders themselves, at least in the period of the New Economical Party, admitted the actual inconsistency, low efficiency and the bureaucratic nature of public relations created in different social environments. Modernization means the formation of a new social structure, which, at a certain long enough stage, combined with the former grouping. For example, by the end of 1927 in Kazakhstan, 42% of workers were Kazakhs, and 17% of the rural population was united in cooperatives. In 1927-28, of the 11,226 industrial workers 3,316 were Kazakhs. The average monthly salary which increased in 1926-27 was 53.4 to 58.7 rubles. More than 47 thousands workers were engaged in fine arts and crafts (Dosov, 1928, 4-8).

This led not only to the complexity of the social structure of the society, but also to the need to form a new system of relations between different social groups. The struggle between the traditional and the new groups did not always mean that the internal unity was deteriorated and the development was discontinued.

If the society is able to resolve the problem of the relationships between the new and old groups and be-

tween groups within them, it will generate new instruments and change the old mechanisms of social relations. As it was said above, formation of population's new segments (civil servants, managers, engineers, etc.) and the increase of their proportion in the structure of the society inevitably lead to interest in political activity, striving to express their own specific needs in political form. Modernization should be supported by mainstream society, not just by the leading groups. But if there are no conditions for meeting their requirements and coordinating positions with other population groups, there may be political instability. With the abandonment of the New Economical Party and the strengthening of Stalin's personal power, all public organizations were put under strict control of public authorities. Spontaneous actions and self-action were strictly regulated by numerous regulations and directives, and the elected body made of the most active functionaries became the governor of the giant bureaucratic machine horizontally permeating the entire society. Thus, in June 1929, the World Communist Party of Bolsheviks Central Committee Organizational Bureau entrusted the issues of coordination and approvals, convening congresses and meetings of all mass organizations (cooperatives, International Organization Assistance Revolution, Society of Assistance Defence Aviation and Chemical Construction, Automobile Road Organization, Organization on Struggle Against Alcoholism, Anti-religious Organization, Union Society of Cultural Relations, rescue waters, esperantist, philatelists and so on.) to the National Commissariat for Inspection of Working Rural Dwellers. The National Committee for Internal Affairs supervised the convocation of congresses and meetings of voluntary public organizations (in 1929, 120 organizations had the registration), the coordination of their decisions with the Peoples Commissariat in relevant fields of work (education, health, etc.). The National Committee for Internal Affairs itself had to report to the Central Committee of the World Communist Party of Bolsheviks on the political and social significance of the activities of public institutions, and gave permissions for conducting thereof in consultation with the State Political Administration Body. In the voluntary organizations themselves, control functions were performed by party factions (the Russian State Archives of Socio-Political History (RGASPI), 1-12, 30-34).

All the necessary parameters of the Kazakhs as a nation, writes S. Akiner, were established only in the Soviet era. The tragic events of 1930, related to the transfer of the Kazakhs to a sedentary lifestyle, did not occupy "... a central place in the consciousness of Kazakhs, like the Armenian genocide and burning Jews in the furnaces of concentration camps respectively had a central place in Armenian and Jewish identity ... Maybe because entire populations died and only few survived families remained to keep the memory of the dead ... and the rest of the population was exposed to intense propagan-

da... the misfortune of such a magnitude was doomed to oblivion ..." (Akiner, 1995).

Class priorities prevailed over all other considerations and motives. According to the head of the Kazakh government Y. Isayev, for example, the creation of the first five republics required 615.8 thousand people. 24.5 th. professionals, including highly qualified, were needed, whereas the number of people trained in the universities of the country in 1930/31 was 2,537 and the number trained in colleges was 8 thousand people. At the same time, Goloshchekin again and again warned that settling nomadic nation was the matter of class struggle, and rich people and atkaminery(officials) educated in Russian schools, would not had "laid down their pens in the pants" (Report of the Regional Committee of the 6-th All-Kazakh Party Conference 1928, 31-33, 34, 56, 69, 104).

In Kazakhstan, the number of intellectuals years increased 8-fold – from 22.5 thousand to 177.9 thousand people – in 1926-1939. However, in 1933, in 70 districts of the country where the indigenous population was over 90%, one doctor had to serve 38 thousand residents. Meanwhile, 52.8% of the population lived here, and that was 83% of the Kazakh Republic. And in 1939, 75% of the collective farms specialists had no professional education (The Economy of Kazakhstan 1930; Abzhanov, 1988; The Party Life of Kazakhstan 1990).

Characteristically, the transformation of the Kazakh Autonomy into a Federal Republic took place in 1936, when a full-blooded national intelligentsia who advocated national development and democratic content of the Soviet federalism was politically and largely physically eliminated. The real life of ethnic groups had virtually no connection with the discussions and decisions of the chairpersons, while remaining extremely difficult and sometimes even tragic (Amanzholova, 2005, 350-351).

In cases where the person sought to make a political career, linguistic and cultural assimilation were of crucial importance and significance. Moreover, the federal structure of the state granted privileges to "natsmen" (ethnic men) only in "their" republics, which led to low migration of the indigenous population of the region during the Soviet period and fixation of priorities in the aggregate of behavioral norms. It is possible to agree with R. Suni that no full assimilation of the Kazakhs took place; in fact, ethnic differences – both emerged and primordial –strengthened in the Soviet era (Suny, 2001).

Toynbee proposed a slightly different view: "The introduction of an alien culture is a painful and difficult process; while the instinctive resistance of the victim to innovations that threaten to destroy the traditional way of life makes it even more painful for the resisting nation, the first injection of another cultural paradigm results in its victim's splitting into individual elements, and then reluctantly adoption of smaller, seemingly insignificant and therefore not as destructive (of all of its poisonous), elements of foreign culture in the hope that it will be able to stop further invasion. Yet, as one inevitably leads

to another, the victim soon discovers that it is necessary to adopt in parts all other elements of the invading culture, too. Therefore, it is not surprising that the natural attitude of the victim to the invading alien culture is a self-destructive sense of hostility and aggression." But "Neither mastery of foreign high technology nor zealous preservation of the traditional way of life can be a complete and final answer to the challenge of invading alien civilization" (Toynbee, 2003, 436-437).

According to T. Omarbekova, in 1929-1931 in Kazakhstan, there were 372 anti-Soviet actions (Omarbekov, 1994).

CONCLUSION

One cannot deny the objectively progressive inclusion of the ethnic aspects into mass active social forms of public life, to provide for improvement of civic responsibility and of people's political and legal culture. But more often, the mass participation in new forms of social organization has not meant qualitative changes in the culture and mentality of recent nomads. There was a habit to obey authority and command and externally imposed rules, while remaining in a closed world of traditional stereotypes and customs. Many political, economic, educational, cultural and other projects which had been developed and approved in the Soviet era in Moscow, did not have a special colonial nature, but in the context of Central Asia, diverse social actors could be used or considered as instruments of repression and control on behalf of the "mother country." Much of the Soviet nation structure existed mainly on a public level, whereas at the level of a household, the family remained a strong parallel source of loyalty and solidarity (tribal and traditional aspects). At the same time, the researchers emphasize that much of the "invention" was an internalized population. So, language dialects had stopped functioning and people used to speak a codified language created by the Soviet state. In some parts of the society, they believed that the Soviet era created "national" history. Nevertheless, despite the strong influence of the Stalinist national policy, pre-modern identities were tenacious and preserved enough – for example, the genealogical kinship system – to transform the Soviet era nomenclature system into clan ties. The preservation of traditionalist solidarity and demographic policy of the USSR led to emergence of enclaves of modernization, industrialization through the migration of Russian-speaking to large cities and construction sites in the region. The contemporary Kazakh society is experiencing a new phase of identification which is closely connected with the historical past. Michael Fink, for example, reconstructs in this regard the continuity of Kazakh identity on the basis of Braudel's historicism and identifies three levels of the structure thereof. The first – the history of human interaction with the environment (ecohistory), the most prolonged and repeated; social history as a temporal one, characterized by changes in rhythms, acting groups, etc.; Traditional History Facts – a temporal history (history of major events, movements, "... the most exciting and richest ...") (Fink, 1999, 11).

In this very third historical "layer" lies the genesis of the Kazakhs, while the second layer reflects the interaction between the society and the official ideology, as a link between the history of long duration and the situational history. Finally, the reference to the first "layer" helps to revive the clan, tribe, zhuz ties, the functioning of language and religion.

TEŽAVE Z MODERNIZACIJO KAZAŠKE DRUŽBE MED LETOMA 1920 IN 1936

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POVZETEK

V članku se v zaporedju analizirajo vzroki in posledice družbene, gospodarske in politične preobrazbe, ki se je v Kazahstanu odvijala v prvi polovici 20. stoletja.

Avtorica raziskuje težave z modernizacijo kazaške družbe v sovjetskih časih, zlasti njene najbolj kontroverzne trenutke v prvi polovici prejšnjega stoletja, in obravnava težave z modernizacijo v tako rekoč vseh življenjskih sferah kazaške družbe.

Po izsledkih raziskovalcev iz obravnavanega obdobja je kazaški družbeni sorodstveni sistem vnaprej določal ,življenje v skupnosti' in ,skupnostno lastnino' njenih članov; čim tesnejši je bil krog sorodstveno povezanih ljudi, tem bolj vzajemno so njegovi člani uporabljali lastnino drug drugega.

Značilno je, da se je preoblikovanje kazaške avtonomije znotraj federativne republike zgodilo leta 1936, ko je bilo v sovjetskem federalizmu onemogočeno že razvejano kazaško nacionalno gibanje, demokratična substanca narodnega izobraženstva pa tudi fizično odstranjena.

Kljub močnemu vplivu stalinistične državne politike so bile predsodobne identitete vztrajne in so, denimo, ohranile sistem genealoškega sorodstva, da bi preoblikovale nomenklaturni klanski sistem iz sovjetskega obdobja.

Sodobna kazahstanska družba doživlja novo fazo identifikacije, tesno povezano z zgodovinsko preteklostjo.

Ključne besede: modernizacija, kazaška družba, etnična in kulturna integracija

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KEY LINES OF DIVERSIFICATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER PEDAGOGICAL EDUCATION IN AZERBAIJAN (1921-1991)

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ABSTRACT

The paper examines the educational development in Azerbaijan in the last century. It considers major aspects of higher education as well as the educational policy under the Soviet influence. In the course of this study, the following methods were used: theoretical analysis, historical-comparative method and the analysis of the archived documents. The article also provides comparative analysis of the textbooks issued before and after 1991. It analyses training dynamics in the educational institutions, highlighting achievements and failures in this area. The paper proves that the principles of historical succession, contemporaneity and nationality will promote well-founded development of the educational system.

Key words*: higher pedagogical education, essence of education, educational policy, higher pedagogical training school*

LE DIREZIONI PRINCIPALI DELLA DIVERSIFICAZIONE E DELLO SVILUPPO DELL'ISTRUZIONE SUPERIORE IN AZERBAIGIAN (1921-1991)

SINTESI

L'articolo prende in esame lo sviluppo educativo in Azerbaigian nel secolo scorso, analizzando i principali aspetti dell'istruzione superiore, nonché la politica educativa sotto l'influenza sovietica. Nella ricerca l'autrice si è avvalsa dell'analisi teorica, del metodo storico-comparativo e dello studio della documentazione archiviale per fornire anche un'analisi comparativa dei libri di testo dei periodi prima e dopo il 1991. Esaminando la dinamica della formazione nelle istituzioni educative, l'autrice ne evidenzia i successi e i fallimenti. L'articolo mostra come i principi della successione storica, della contemporaneità e della nazionalità aiuteranno a costruire un sistema educativo dalle basi solide.

Parole chiave: *istruzione superiore, essenza dell'educazione, politica dell'istruzione, scuola superiore di formazione pedagogica*

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INTRODUCTION

The revolutionary events of the early twentieth century led to significant changes in all spheres of life in Azerbaijan. According to Akhmedov (2005), "... the annexation of Azerbaijan by Russia in the early nineteenth century marked an important turn in the historical fate of the Azerbaijani people and predetermined all further steps in the socio-economic, political and cultural development of the country." The previously mentioned historical event, despite severe pressure of the Russian tsarist government, significantly promoted the introduction of progressive social ideas in many spheres, including pedagogy and education, which were further disseminated and supported in Azerbaijan during the twentieth century.

The events that took place in the 1920s refer to the formation of the Soviet higher educational school. During that period the foundation of the higher pedagogical education was created in the country, along with the creation of the following institutions: the Azerbaijani Institute of Teachers (1929), the Azerbaijani State Pedagogical University (1930), the Azerbaijani University of Cooperation (1930), the Gyandzhinsky State University (1939), the Nakhichevan State University (1967), the Azerbaijani University of Languages (1973), which became the first higher educational pedagogical institutions of the Azerbaijani Republic (Amrakhov et al., 2008).

Later on, higher education began to play particularly important role in the comprehensive development of Azerbaijani society, namely, in the development of its intellectual potential, as well as in the process of in turning material values into the human capital. The higher education became a real force to "push" sustainable development in the social, economic and moral spheres, both in the middle and the second half of the twentieth century, and during the integration of the Azerbaijani education into the European educational system in the late twentieth century. As a result, in recent years the content of the higher pedagogical education was updated pursuant to the principles of national statehood and the Azerbaijani ideology, comprehensive reforms at this level of education were carried out, along with training of competitive personnel, pursuant to the country's needs, and this all in all became an important step towards the formation of human capital.

Recently, substantial progress was achieved in the development of higher pedagogical education: the integration of the national system of higher education into the world educational system, upon the principles of Bologna process; this corresponds to the requirements of the country's economic development and, therefore, a lot of activities aiming at the provision of effective education, both with regard to the economic and social perspective, were carried out.

The objective of this article is to highlight the for-mation and development of the higher pedagogical education of Azerbaijan during 1921-1991 in the historical aspect, with regard to certain historical stages of its development. Consequently, this study is supposed to solve the following tasks:

- the study of historical and pedagogical traditions and the development of the higher pedagogical education in Azerbaijan;
- the analysis of pedagogical, historical, educational and methodological literature related to the study problem;
- the definition of the major challenges and problems related to the development of the higher pedagogical education in Azerbaijan during relevant period.

RESEARCH METHODS

In the course of this study, the following methods were used: theoretical analysis, historical-comparative method and the analysis of the archived documents.

Theoretical analysis gave the possibility to consider the works devoted to the development of higher pedagogical education in Azerbaijan; the shortages of studies, conducted in the Soviet period, were generalized and detected. The use of the historical-comparative method allowed determining that the development of pedagogical education in Azerbaijan was not an exclusion; it also developed alongside the higher pedagogical education in the former USSR. The author used the documents from the Central State Archive of the Azerbaijani Republic as well as the archives of universities providing higher pedagogical training in Azerbaijan – the Baku Slavic University, the Azerbaijani State Pedagogical University, the Azerbaijani University of Languages, and the Nakhichevan University.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The author analysed different papers of both national and foreign scientists, namely, the studies of such Russian scientists as V.P. Borisenkov (2006), K.I. Vasiliev (1977), G.A. Dorokhova (1965), M.N. Kruglyanskii (1970), the Australian researcher Erich Leitner (1999), the American and Danish scientists Jeroen Huisman and Christopher C. Morphew (1999), German researcher Michael Daxner (1995).

The theory and practice of foreign educational process has been the research subject for many leading researchers (Altbach et al., 2009; Ashcroft and Rayner, 2011; Eckel and Kezar, 2003; Albrecht and Ziderman, 1992; Darling-Hammond, 2000; Skelton, 2005).

The analysis of recent studies and publications revealed the problem of the higher pedagogical education development in the world, which gained popularity among specialists in comparative studies in the late twentieth century. The questions related to the training

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of future teachers and to the work of educational institutions were and remain relevant today for many foreign scientists (Hyatt and Meraud, 2015; Lepori and Bonaccorsi, 2013; Thomas, 2011; Land, 2001). At the same time, the problem of pedagogical education development in Azerbaijan in the beginning – the second half of the XX century for a long time remained unexplored by the leading scientists, and therefore caused the author's research interest.

Undoubtedly, conducting the comparative analysis focused on the status of the higher pedagogical education in different countries, one should highlight the historical stages of this process, which correspond to the realities of social and cultural development of these countries. In particular, the author considers it expedient that the following two historical stages related to the period 1921-1991 (relevant for Azerbaijan) be analyzed:

1) The establishment of the national systems of higher education in many countries of the world, in particular, in Azerbaijan. This stage covers the period starting from the opening of the first higher educational institution (of a university type) up to democratic reforms in the country in the early twentieth century.

2) The recent historic stage related to the development of the national systems of higher pedagogical education. The chronological limits of this stage cover the period from the beginning of the democratic changes in Azerbaijan to the large-scale geopolitical changes that occurred in the 1990s.

With regard to the system - historical analysis of the main stages of the establishment of higher education in Azerbaijan (in the context of these stages related to the post-Soviet countries, for which one can note the general trend of higher education development in the twentieth century: Ukraine (Gluzman, 1997), Belarus and Russia (Pionova, 2003) Georgia (Matiashvili, 2004), the author believes that the formation and establishment of national systems of higher education in these countries occurred during the recent historic period of their development; therefore, these countries are presently at the second stage of development of their higher pedagogical education systems, due to the "artificial forcing" of modernization process, carried out through reforms "from above", caused by the direct and often indirect pressure (competition) from the more developed countries (Boyce, 2003; Field et al., 2007).

Educational reforms and various modernization processes identified new trends in the field of higher pedagogical education at the beginning of the XXI century. First of all, one should note the following trends: the upward trend as regards the quantitative and qualitative level of education (Albania and Turkey), the trend towards decentralization of management (Bulgaria), budget funding reduction and the rise of tuition fees (Armenia), reformist trends in teaching foreign languages (Romania) (Mayboroda, 1991). It should be noted as well, that in Bulgaria the tendency to reduce the net-

work of higher education institutions are not observed, but in Ukraine, on the contrary, it is clearly seen, since 2004 and this trend was especially obvious during the last year. There is also a clear trend as regards permanent rapprochement between the university-based fundamental education with the special / professional one (the training of "trainers" in most countries is carried out in classical universities) (Dall'Alba, 1991; Gibbons et al., 1994).

What seems also obvious - the "implementation" of certain forms of social relations that have not yet received adequate support in the socio-economic structure and the mass consciousness and in some places of social and cultural conflict with the specifics of society (Bauman, 1997). Today there is a clear tendency among the countries of the post-Soviet educational space to move to the next phase – systematic integration into the global educational community; this is explained by the fact that the above-mentioned countries joined the Bologna Process only in the last decade.

Therefore, studying the experience and development of higher educational institutions in the world, their activities under various conditions (national oppression, the revolutionary transformations, gaining the state independence) is particularly important to identify specific features of modern higher pedagogical education in Azerbaijan, which will determine the ways of harmonious modernization of the higher pedagogical education in this country.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The period 1920-1991 was very distinctive in the life of Azerbaijan. This country was not independent, but it passed a long way in its development. During that period, education in Azerbaijan acquired new content, as the policy of education was directed at the preparation of the new generation to the requirements of socialism and communism. The aim of the soviet educational system was to "remove" all the people from their roots, and to form of the single soviet nation. Despite these common approaches and serious limitations, huge success was achieved in the field of higher pedagogical education in Azerbaijan. In the years of Soviet power, both public-political and scientific-pedagogical environment took the shape of "zigzag", according to Bukharin's words, "complete mess". The leaders of the Azerbaijani national consciousness, around one thousand of intellectuals, became the victims of Stalin's repressions. The morality of the nation was thus subject to an enormous impact. During 1930-1940s the decisions regarding application of the rigid and serious laws were taken, the Stalin's idea regarding intensification of class fight was an obstacle on the way towards development of democratic traditions in the school life and it became the reason of the undesired policy formation. The educational institutions forcedly kept away from the democratic tra-

ditions. During that period, the soviet study principles became highly important in the process of higher pedagogical education and its development. However, all its stages and directions were not professionally studied; it was impossible to outline the objective facts and different phenomena were explained one-sidedly. Thus, in the comprehensive and system study all historical and pedagogical works, connected with the topic, problems (dissertations, monographs, books, textbooks and training books, archive documents, statistical collections, and materials of periodical printing) were considered "from scratch".

In 1920s opening of the higher pedagogical schools became one of the top priority directions of the higher education in Azerbaijan. This was determined by the rapid development of the general education schools network in the Republic, and that was put as the most essential task. Execution of this responsible task required training of around one thousand well-trained teachers.

In 1921, the first higher educational institution was created. On 26 August 1921 the chairperson of the Council of People's Commissars of Azerbaijan, Nariman Narimanov signed the decree "On the establishment of the Azerbaijani Male Pedagogical Institute". This institute started its activity in November 1921. In the same year, the Azerbaijani Pre-school Educational Institute for Females was established. Due to such attention and care as regards training of staff with higher pedagogical education, its number increased considerably. During 1920/21 out of 3279 teachers, only 141 had higher education.

In the 1922/23 academic year, the Azerbaijani Pre-school Educational Institute for Females was transformed into the Higher Female Pedagogical Institute (Vasiliev, 1977). In 1924, both the Male and Female Institutes were united into the single Higher Pedagogical Institute. Before unification of these institutes, only 256 persons

in total were getting their higher education. Both the Higher Male Pedagogical Institute and the Higher Female Pedagogical Institute provided higher education during three-year term.

Since 1924/25 academic year, the Azerbaijani Pedagogical Institute began to work according to the four-year academic plan. At that time, 142 students studied there. The higher pedagogical educational institutions received students not only from Azerbaijan, but also from the neighbouring and different autonomous republics. In 1925 the boarding house of the institute accommodated 125 persons from different districts of Azerbaijan, 12 persons from Dagestan, 9 persons from Uzbekistan, 5 persons from Turkmenistan, 8 persons from the Crimea, 3 persons from Armenia, 1 person from Georgia. In the 1926/27 academic year, the Higher Male Pedagogical Institute was liquidated and united into the Baku State University. On 19 July 1930, the Council of People's Commissars of Azerbaijan took the decision "On the reforming and districting of higher schools and higher technical schools of Azerbaijani SSR and their transfer to corresponding economic administrations and people's commissariats". The Baku State University was shut down. The Zakavkazie Physical Training, the Azerbaijani State Pedagogical, the Azerbaijani Medical and the Azerbaijani Trade-Cooperative Institutes were organized on its basis. The proletarian policy, the "divide-unite" experiment in the system of higher education had negative impact on the higher education, including the development of higher pedagogical education, as well as the training of highly qualified staff. In 1934, the Azerbaijani State University was restored again (Borisenkov, 2006). In the mid - 1930s the proletarian policy in the area of staff training lost its relevance.

On 29 December 1935, the USSR government took the decision "On admission to the higher educational establishments and technical schools". This decision

Academic years	Student contingents at the beginning of academic year	Admission	Graduation
1930/31	1039	350	126
1931/32	1531	455	265
1932/33	921	555	256
1933/34	1015	500	63
1934/35	1339	800	224
1935/36	1867	960	389
1936/37	2154	1030	365
1937/38	1533	560	218
1938/39	1934	1050	334
1939/40	2045	600	261
1940/41	2055	600	571

Table 1: Student contingent, dynamics of admission and graduation in 1930-1941

abolished limitation on admission to the higher educational institutions and secondary special institutions by a person's social origin. The right for higher education was given to all citizens in the country. At the beginning of 1930s, the evening department was opened in the Azerbaijani Pedagogical Institute. In 1936, the Pedagogical Institute for Correspondence Studies was organized, based on separate faculties of correspondence departments, (Vasiliev, 1977).

In 1930s, because of the above-mentioned measures, the scientific research activities became relevant in the Azerbaijani Pedagogical Institute, and it was transformed into the scientific centre, responsible for the scientific-pedagogical staff training. Serious scientific studies in different areas of science became widespread.

Upon reorganization of the academic work, and training of the qualified pedagogical staff, in 1930s the Azerbaijani Pedagogical Institute became the basic and leading school in the Republic. The efforts of educational institutions, which trained staff for the system of public education, resulted in the rise of the new generation of teachers in the Republic. In the 1939/40 academic year out of 21310 teachers, working in the Azerbaijani schools, 4386 persons had higher education. Their main part included the graduates of the Azerbaijani State Pedagogical Institute.

In the mid-1930s, because of transition to the seven-year compulsory education, the demand in teaching staff grew rapidly. In order to satisfy this demand, the Kirovabad (Gyandzha) Pedagogical Institute was opened. In the post-war years, the Azerbaijani government focused on the improvement of the national higher educational institutions. The demands of separate regions of the Republic were considered during training of the pedagogical staff. In 1946, with a view to provide the schools of the Republic with the teachers of the Russian language and literature, the M.F. Akhundov two-year Azerbaijani Institute for Teachers was organized. Two years later the Azerbaijan State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages was organized (Aliyev, 2005). In 1950s, specific attention was paid to the development of higher pedagogical education.

After the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC CPSU) and the Council of Ministers of the USSR took the decision "On the improvement of training, division and use of specialists with higher and secondary special education" dated 30 March 1954, all higher educational institutions of the Republic carried out a number of activities, aimed at the improvement of specialists' training and the students' admission. The wide-scale measures aimed at restoration and strengthening of the learning and material-technical basis were taken in all higher educational institutions.

In March 1959, the Law "On consolidating the links between school and life and the development of people's educational system" was adopted. That law set new tasks before the institutions of higher pedagogical

education. With regard to that law, the Azerbaijani Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages was united with the Institute of the Russian Language and Literature, and the M. F. Akhundov Azerbaijani Pedagogical Institute of Languages was created (Mamedov, 2012). The Azerbaijani Pedagogical Institute for Correspondence Studies was united with the Azerbaijani Pedagogical Institute (API). In these years, the general number of students, including API considerably increased. If in the 1957/58 academic year the general quantity of students in the Institute made 2623 persons, it reached 3256 persons in the subsequent academic year. During that period, the students got the possibility to receive two specialties (Akhmadov, 2014).

In 1960s, specific attention was paid to the development of higher pedagogical education. In 1962, the Committee of higher and secondary special education of the USSR was transformed into the relevant Ministry. Since then, the Committee of higher and secondary special education of Azerbaijan was called as the ministry (Mardanov, 2011).

The decisions taken by the Azerbaijani government "On the measures aimed at improvement of the development of the higher and secondary special education" dated 11 July 1963, and the decision taken by the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR "On the measures aimed at the development of higher and secondary special education, and the improvement of specialists' training and their use" dated 9 May 1963 played specific role in the development of higher pedagogical education. They created conditions for the establishment of the new pedagogical educational institutions. In Nakhichevan (1967) and Khankendi (1968), API branches were opened. The above-mentioned decisions determined the ways of further development of higher education, and set new tasks before the staff of higher educational establishments as regards improvement of the highly qualified specialists' training. In 1960s, the training of pedagogical staff was accomplished by the Azerbaijani State Pedagogical Institute, the Azerbaijani State Physical Training Institute, the Kirovabad (Gyandzha) Pedagogical Institute, and the Azerbaijani Pedagogical Institute of Languages and partially by the Azerbaijani State University (Mardanov, 2011).

Coming of the nation-wide leader Geydar Aliyev to power in the end of 1960s marked great success in the field of pedagogical staff training. The intensive work and serious efforts resulted in the fact that knowledge quickly became the single criteria during the admission into the higher educational establishments. The publicity in admission and the use of technical devices during the exams (radio, television, and different electronic computers) were provided.

Training of specialists in the higher educational institutions was expanded. Considerable success in the development and improvement of pedagogical education was achieved.

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During 1971-1975 three new higher educational institutions were created – the 50th USSR Anniversary Azerbaijani Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages (1972), the Yu. Mamedaliev Nakhichevan State Pedagogical Institute (1972), the Khankendi State Pedagogical Institute (1973) (Mardanov, 2011; Amrakhov et al., 2008).

During the 1971/72, academic year 2260 persons were accepted in API for full-time study, 794 persons for correspondence studies, and 175 persons for evening studies. If the contingent in the institute made 13747 persons, in a decade, in the 1981/82 academic year the admission for full-time department made 1428 persons, and 725 persons for the evening department. Totally, the contingent made 9075 persons. The admission to evening department was completely stopped. Such decrease-increase was observed in other institutes as well – in the Gyandzha State Pedagogical Institute, the Azerbaijani State Pedagogical Institute, and in the Azerbaijani Pedagogical Institute of the Russian Language and Literature. In the 1978/79 academic year in the Gyandzha Pedagogical Institute, 2266 persons studied on 8 specialties, being taught by 271 teachers (Amrakhov et al., 2008). In the 1979/80, academic year 4453 students studied in the Azerbaijani Pedagogical Institute of the Russian Language and Literature, which were taught by 291 persons. Thus, in the Azerbaijani Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages 808 persons studied on 3 specialties, which were taught by 295 persons (Akhmadov, 2014).

Development of higher education in Azerbaijan during 1970-1980s is connected with the activity of Geydar Aliyev. He was the person, who in 1970-1980s created possibilities and conditions for the highly qualified teaching and training of more than 15 thousand of Azerbaijani young boys on more than 250 specialties; this was the demand of the Republic, and in 170 well-known higher educational establishments in more than 50 big cities of the former USSR. During that period,

Yukhari Govhar Agha Mosque in Shusha
"The Mosque in 2010" by Ліонкінг (Own work) [GFDL (http://www.gnu.org/copyleft/fdl.html) or CC BY-SA 4.0-3.0-2.5-2.0-1.0 (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0-3.0-2.5-2.0-1.0)], via Wikimedia Commons - https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AShushi039.JPG

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certain advancement in pedagogical staff training was apparent in the higher pedagogical institutions. In 1970, 517 persons worked in the scientific area of pedagogy, out of these only 15 persons had doctoral degrees and 105 had PhD degrees. In 1980, 504 persons worked in the scientific area of pedagogy, out of these 10 persons had doctoral degrees and 122 had PhD degrees (1,350) (Mardanov, 2011).

In 1988 the Ministry of higher and secondary special education, the Ministry of Education, and the State Committee on the professional-technical education were abolished. On their basis, the Ministry of Public Education was established and all the higher and secondary special educational institutions were subordinated to that ministry.

In the end of 1980s out of each 1000 persons, aged above 15, 129 persons had higher education. However, despite this fact, the processes, which started both in the in the system of higher education and in other areas, led to crisis. The war conflict, which began in Nagorny Karabakh, hit the Azerbaijani higher education.

The teachers and students of the Azerbaijani department of the Khankendi Pedagogical Institute (which was created as the Stepanakert (Khankendi) branch of the V. I. Lenin Azerbaijani State Pedagogical Institute (presently, the ASPU) and which in 1973 transformed into the independent higher educational institution) were driven out from Khankendi and found their temporary shelter in Shusha city (Amrakhov et al., 2008).

After long discussions with the Ministry of Education, the teaching staff of 100 persons since October 25, 1988 started teaching 1200 students in G. Zardabi Gyandzha State Pedagogical Institute. Next year, on October 25, 1989 upon the insistent requirement of this pedagogical staff and the majority of students, the department returned to Shusha. Soon after the classes started, the Ministry of Public Education was forced to create the Shusha faculty of the N. Tusi Azerbaijani State Pedagogical Institute based on the Azerbaijani department of the Khankendi Pedagogical Institute. Pursuant to the decision of the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijani Republic, and the decree of the Ministry of Education dated 22 February 1991, the Shusha faculty was transformed into the branch of the N. Tusi Azerbaijani State Pedagogical Institute. After the creation of Shusha branch, the structural change was conducted in the educational institution, the staff of faculty, department and division was determined according to the personnel schedule (Mardanov, 2011).

The joint Armenian and Russian armies already surrounded the ancient city Shusha. Given the impossibility to continue the education process, the Shusha branch administration was forced to remove branch in Agdzhabedin district in 1992 and continued its activity in the building of the district professional school.

The Azerbaijani system of education was hit not only by the war in Karabakh. During 1988-1991, more than 250000 Azerbaijani people were forcedly deported from Armenia. In the first years of state sovereignty such big numbers of refugees and forced re-settlers in the Republic caused problems later formed in the system of higher pedagogical education (Amrakhov et al., 2008).

Despite all these problems, both the general education and the higher pedagogical education has changed dramatically. During Soviet times, the Moscow scientists prepared curricula and textbooks for secondary schools in mathematics, physics, chemistry, nature, biology, history, social sciences, geography, labor and drawing. These books did not consider history, literature, philosophy, flora and fauna, and the geography of the national republics, including Azerbaijan. These books were in fact the accurate translation from Russian into the Azerbaijani language, without any changes. The outstanding Russian educator, P.P. Blonskii, criticizing the policy of the USSR, wrote: "Studying the history of educational thought our generation will laugh that from Odessa to Vladivostok, the children are taught by a single curriculum. However, having regard in this case to the characteristics of each city, village, and region may result in a variety of programs, forms and methods one could never dream of." These textbooks strongly praised the Soviet socialist system, it was said that eventually, the capitalist system would collapse; they offered implausible ideas to the students.

Despite the high ideological and theoretical level of historical education, textbooks on the history of the USSR did not meet the demands of Azerbaijan. These textbooks mainly offered the history of the Russian people, distorted the history of the Turkic peoples, including the people of Azerbaijan. Therefore, the Minister of Education M. Ibragimov, was not afraid of pressure from the totalitarian state machine, and with great pain, wrote: "Our children study the history of Greece, Italy, the UK, Russia, but do not study the history of the land, where they were born and grew up, they graduate from school without knowing national history and the people."

After gaining independence (1991), the new generation of textbooks appeared in Azerbaijan. These textbooks were formed with regard to both national and moral human values. These textbooks were written by the national authors. The textbook policy in the system of general education is a key priority, in terms of the governmental strategy (Akhmadov, 2014). The policy objective here is to prepare students pursuant to modern knowledge and skills, oriented to the motherland, the people, its traditions, to form these skills based on both national and universal values, to prepare the physically and mentally healthy, democratic-minded citizens who are ready for an independent life. All students of the secondary schools of the Republic are provided with free textbooks.

CONCLUSION

Having due regard to the principles of historical succession, contemporaneity and nationality in the present

development of higher pedagogical education in Azerbaijan along with the study of the European educational traditions, determination of the basic stages and specific features of higher pedagogical education in Azerbaijan during 1920-1991, generalization of 70-year long experience in this area will promote substantial development of modern higher pedagogical education.

Diversification and incorporation processes, which were widespread in the field of higher pedagogical education of Azerbaijan during 1920-1960s, were connected with the social-economic and cultural life of the country, but not with the experience of the state bodies of the Republic related to education and its development.

After 1960, the process of diversification was decisively and deliberately considered; this resulted in the successful beginning of staff training on higher educational specialities. This event became the impetus for increase of the number of educational institutions with pedagogical bias and expanding the geography; this also had an impact on changes related to the total cultural panorama of the Republic.

Education is of pivotal importance as regards comprehensive social development, development of the country's intellectual potential and transformation of material values into the human capital, while higher education in the social-economic and cultural fields is considered the real force, giving impetus to the long-term development. Consequently, the content of higher pedagogical education was updated according to the ideology of the national statehood and the Azerbaijan national idea; relevant reforms were implemented and the measures aiming at the competitive staff training were taken in this field according to the needs of state and the human capital development.

The public self-recognition of the 70-year long past is impossible without critical discussion and evaluation of its historical material.

Foreign countries have rich experience related to the development of higher pedagogical education. Having entered into the Bologna process, Azerbaijan studied the apparent foreign experience in the area of higher pedagogical education and started using it since 2005. Presently, there are the bachelor's and master's degrees in the Azerbaijani education. All the requirements of the Bologna process are taken into account in the Azerbaijani educational process. The study of the European experience and its application in the Azerbaijani system of education were always topical and important. In the 1920s in Azerbaijan, the number of teachers with higher education reached 100. Presently 170,000 teachers are working at high schools in Azerbaijan, 93% have higher education. It is very honourable to achieve such goal during such a short term. Today one cannot meet a child in Azerbaijan, who is unable to write and read or who doesn't have secondary education. The secondary education is compulsory. This experience could be of interest for the European countries.

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OSNOVNE SMERI DIVERZIFIKACIJE IN RAZVOJA VIŠJE- IN VISOKOŠOLSKEGA IZOBRAŽEVANJA V AZERBAJDŽANU (1921–1991)

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POVZETEK

Cilj pričujočega prispevka je analizirati glavna področja razvoja v azerbajdžanskem izobraževanju v prejšnjem stoletju. Obravnavani so osrednji vidiki višjega in visokega šolstva kot tudi izobraževalna politika pod sovjetskim vplivom. Med izvajanjem raziskave so bile uporabljene naslednje metode: teoretska analiza, zgodovinsko-primerjalna metoda in preučevanje arhivskih dokumentov. Prispevek ponuja tudi primerjalno analizo učbenikov pred letom 1991 in po njem ter pokaže, da pred letom 1991 niso upoštevali zgodovinskih, književnih, filozofskih ali geografskih vidikov nacionalnih republik, vključno z Azerbajdžanom, temveč so hvalili sovjetski socialistični sistem. Zgodovinski učbeniki ZSSR niso izpolnjevali zahtev azerbajdžanskih šol, saj so v glavnem vsebovali zgodovino ruskega naroda in izkrivljali zgodovino turških narodov, tudi azerbajdžanskega. Zasnova učbenikov iz obdobja po letu 1991 temelji zlasti na nacionalnih, moralnih in človeških vrednotah. V prispevku je podana tudi primerjalna analiza dinamike usposabljanja v izobraževalnih ustanovah, ki izpostavi dosežke na tem področju ter odkrije objektivne in subjektivne razloge za najdene pomanjkljivosti. Pokaže, kako bodo načela zgodovinskega nasledstva, sodobnosti in narodne zavesti pripomogla k izgradnji izobraževalnega sistema na trdnih temeljih.

Ključne besede: višje- in visokošolsko izobraževanje, bistvo izobraževanja, izobraževalna politika, višja šola za pedagoško usposabljanje

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INTEGRATION EXAMINATION FOR MIGRANTS IN RUSSIA: LEGAL REGULATION AND METHODICAL PROVISION

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article lies in the consideration of integration examination on Russian as a foreign language, history of Russia and basics of the Russian legal system for different categories of migrants in Russia. In the article the legal and methodical aspects of the complex examination introduction and the principles of the examination are analysed. The dialectical method, synthesis and theoretical approaches are used for the elaboration of the legal basis, testing and preparatory materials for introduction of the complex examination. The paper proves that the implementation of such examination will play the role of integration factor prescribed to it.

Key words: international law, migration, Russia, integration test, adaptation and integration of foreign citizens, legal regulation of migration, methodological basis of testing migrants

ESAME DI INTEGRAZIONE PER I MIGRANTI IN RUSSIA: REGOLAMENTAZIONE GIURIDICA E DISPOSIZIONE METODICA

SINTESI

L'articolo si propone di valutare l'esame di integrazione previsto per diverse categorie di migranti in Russia, che consiste nelle prove di russo come lingua straniera, storia russa e fondamenti del sistema legale russo. Vengono così analizzati gli aspetti legali e metodici dell'introduzione di questo complesso esame e i principi dello stesso. Per ana-lizzare la base giuridica, i test e i materiali preparatori per l'introduzione di questo difficile esame sono stati usati il metodo dialettico, la sintesi e gli approcci teoretici. Per mezzo di questi si è comprovato che l'implementazione di un esame di questo tipo indubbiamente svolgerà il ruolo del fattore di integrazione che gli si attribuisce.

Parole chiave: legge internazionale, migrazioni, Russia, esame di integrazione, adattamento e integrazione di cittadini stranieri, regolamentazione giuridica della migrazione, basi metodologiche per esaminare i migranti.

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PROBLEM STATEMENT

A part of the migrants among population of the developed states is being increased, especially in the last decades. If in the developed countries a migrant is 1 of 70 humans, and averagely in the world approximately 1 of 33-37, then in Europe one migrant falls at 6-10 local residents. The times, when long-term and/or non-returnable migration took place between the states of one civilized or even simple historical-cultural type, go in the past. Presently, not only sufficient level of state language possession can aggravate the problems of migrants' integration into the host society, but much deeper differences (of outlook, valuable, religious, cultural order), too. In this connection, the migrants' receiving states introduce and expand the practice of integration tests for migrants. The tests (interviews, exams) of language and civic character, in increasing number of countries and for widening circle of persons become the means of facilitation of the integration process and this integration success control.

Being the second country in the world on the quantity of migrants, Russia has very small experience of application of integration tests for migrants (United Nations, 2013). Two years the linguo-didactic testing system functioned for individual categories of working migrants and this system expanded since January 1, 2015 in relation to the circle of persons, who must pass testing, and to the content of testing: instead of linguo-didactic testing, the migrants will have to pass the exam on the Russian language as a foreign one, history of Russia and basics of the Russian legal system (Dolzhikova, 2014a). As any scaled innovation of the state, the integration exam deserves attention of scientific public, and even more requires it. This article highlights the legal and methodical aspects of the examination introduction. As Russia became the first country in the world to introduce such a comprehensive test for almost all of its labour migrants, its experience bears considerable value for all states that are currently at the edge of introducing similar examinations. Scarcity of the English-language literature about Russia's participation in migration flows regulation doubles the contribution of the present article to the analysis of integration examinations of migrants world-wide.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Although integration tests for migrants raise attention of policy and academia, there is a significant lack in scientific evaluation of the exams (Kiseleva and Khlgatian, 2014). Among completed researches we should mention a project of the Radboud University Nijmegen (Centre for Migration Law) called The INTEC Project 'Integration and Naturalisation tests: the new way to European Citizenship: A Comparative study in nine Member States on the national policies concerning integration and naturalisation tests and their effects on integration' (Strik et

al., 2010). The title of the project speaks for itself, nine countries' experience is explored separately and, then, comparatively. Several latest documents by the Council of Europe are also directly devoted to the problems caused by integration tests (Resolution, 2014; Recommendation, 2014; Strik, 2013). Taken in a wider context, integration procedures for migrants are also studied in frames of different naturalization procedures (Wallace Goodman, 2010), liberal values of democratic societies (Bauboeck and Joppke, 2010), etc. In the Russian Federation the first review paper about civic tests legal aspects was an analytical report by Kommersant-Vlast', published in 2007 (Kachurovskaya and Kukolevskii, 2007). In 2014, great work in the field of analyzing legal regulation of integration tests in various states was done by the team of the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (Agrba and Kazhaeva, 2014; Kazhaeva, 2014; Kazhaeva and Kiseleva, 2014; Kazhaeva and Khlgatian, 2014a-b; Kiseleva, 2014a-d; Kiseleva and Kazhaeva, 2014; Kiseleva and Kazhaeva, 2015; Kiseleva and Khlgatian, 2014). It should also be noted that practice of integration tests engages, besides mentioned, with wider problems, e.g. role of education in maintaining inter-ethnic concord or international peace (Semenova, 2013; Semenova, 2012).

METHODS AND DATA

The present article is in a sense an insider's information on the development of the Russian language testing system.

The data for the present article derives from the experience of the authors in elaboration of the legal basis, testing and preparatory materials for introduction of the complex examination for migrants in Russia in Russian as a foreign language, history of Russia and the basics of the Russian legal system. The authors are members of the team of the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia. This University is one of the four members of the Russian Testing Consortium that was at the beginnings of migrants testing in Russia in 2012. The whole work from the issuance of the state order for elaboration of scientific and experimental basis for the introduction of the comprehensive examination of migrants up to the present moment went in the authors' eyes and with authors' direct involvement through academia, state officials and civil society meetings, discussions, etc.

The approbation of the test was carried out through more than 50 testing centres in Russia and 10 testing centres abroad covering more than 500 tested persons. Synthesizing the results of the approbation was either accessible to the authors or made themselves. Besides that, many wise remarks that became a part of the present article were given to the authors during a number of retraining courses organized at the Russian Testing Consortium Members throughout 2014.

The legal basis for the examination was elaborated

with personal participation by the authors through multiple meetings with experts, representatives of state, academia and civil society that were held throughout 2014, as well as in 2013 and in 2015. Many aspects of the present legal regulation were formulated with the authors' contribution, either survived the debates or were amended thereby.

The sources behind the present text are the newest and most up-to-date in the respective field.

LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF INTRODUCING THE EXAMINATION FOR MIGRANTS

As many other states, accepting the considerable number of migrants, Russia came by the way of introduction of the different type of tests for differentiation of the approaches to regulation of migration flows in dependence on the aims and terms of staying, social-demographic and professional-qualification characteristics of migrants (Garant: Legal Information Portal, 2012), creation of the conditions for adaption and integration of migrants, protection of their rights and freedoms in avoidance of isolation of the migrants from the accepting society and growth of the negative relation to migrants, harmonization of international relations, strengthening of the unity of multi-national people of the Russian Federation and provision of the conditions for its full-right development (Presidential Decree, 2012).

Complex examination on Russian as a foreign language, history of Russia and basics of the Russian legal system is introduced for execution of Decree of the President of the Russian Federation from May 7, 2012 under No. 602 "About securing inter-ethnic concord" (2012). Federal law from April 20, 2014 under No. 74-FZ "About making amendments into the Federal law "On legal state of foreign citizens in the Russian Federation" (2014) provides the basic organizational principles of conduction of this examination, namely:

- expansion of categories of the foreign citizens, who pass examination (besides labour migrants who apply for labour permit or patent on labour activity execution, examination will be passed by the foreign citizens, who obtain the temporary residence permit and residence permit),
- provision to the Ministry of Education and Science of Russia with corresponding authorities,
- conduction of the examination by only educational organizations,
- possibility to pass examination from September 1, 2014, for securing the painless transition from linguo-didactic testing to the integration examination.

Adopted Federal law required additional normative regulation on the part of the Ministry of Education and Science of Russia. As to the date of November 1, 2014, the following decrees were published:

- the Decree from August 29, 2014 under number 1153 "About approval of the Procedure and criteria of inclusion of the educational organizations into the list of educational organizations, conducting the examination on the Russian language as a foreign one, history of Russia and bases of Russian Federation legislation" (2014a);
- the Decree from August 29, 2014 under number 1154 "About approval of the form and procedure of certificate issue about knowledge of the Russian language, history of Russia and bases of Russian Federation legislation and technical requirements to it" (2014b);
- the Decree from August 29, 2014 under number 1156 "About approval of the form and procedure of conducting the examination on the Russian language as a foreign one, history of Russia and bases of Russian Federation legislation, requirements to the minimal level of knowledge, necessary for passing the specified examination" (2014c).

The determination of the examination conduct agenda is essential one. The adoption of the above-mentioned decrees leads to finishing the work on establishment of the normative-legal basis for conduction of the complex integration examination for foreign citizens (Kazhaeva and Khlgatian, 2014a; Kazhaeva and Khlgatian, 2014b; Kiseleva and Khlgatian, 2014). Nevertheless, the range of the unsolved issues of legal character remains. The most important of them lie on the surface:

1. Will the integration examination be implemented for the persons, applying for citizenship of the Russian Federation? Now four mentioned categories of foreign citizens pass comparatively complex integration examination on Russian as a foreign language, history of Russia and basics of the Russian legal system since January 1, 2015, and persons, applying for citizenship will continue to pass linguo-didactic test or pass interview about their recognition as Russian language speakers. Thus, the requirements to the persons, executing labour activity in the country will be substantially higher than to the foreign citizens, who plan to receive citizenship.
2. In the released legal documents the payment basis of integration examination is not reflected.
3. The result accounting procedure of test passing on the Russian language as foreign one on higher levels of testing system on the Russian language as a foreign one, than the basic one was not determined.

Furthermore, we may state that for giving the completeness of rule-making activity in the area of migrants' testing it is extremely appropriate to prepare document that determines the strategy of actions in the area of educational training of foreign citizens, who arrive in the Russian Federation, with working title "Conception of the educational policy in relation to foreign citizens,

who arrive in the Russian Federation". "The provision on state testing system for foreign citizens" must become the other important documents that construct in single logic all educational procedures for foreign citizens in the country, and also determine the procedure and interaction of all participants of state testing system (Dolzhikova, 2014b).

METHODICAL PROVISION OF THE EXAMINATION FOR MIGRANTS

Let's appeal to the methodical part of conduction of the integration examination. The basic provisions of the organizational-methodical character were stated in the Conception on the Russian language, history of Russia and bases of Russian Federation legislation (hereinafter referred to Conception), which project was approved at the meeting of the Committee on the Russian language of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation from December 20, 2013 (Russian Test Consortium, 2013).

The conception of examination on the Russian language, history of Russia and bases of Russian Federation legislation determines the basic organizational principles, methodical basis, aims, tasks and direction of activity of the participants of state testing system on organization of functioning the system of education, preparation and conduction of examination on the Russian language, history of Russia and bases of Russian language legislation for separate categories of the migrants taking into account that examination is intended to become the instrument of estimation of foreign citizens' readiness to integrate themselves into the Russian society (Kazhaeva, 2014).

The Russian language is considered as a key component of the national culture and the basic means of migrants' adaptation in Russia. At that the Conception acknowledges that for successful integration of foreign citizens into the accepting society not only knowledge of the state language of the country is required, but also the knowledge of history of Russia, its culture and bases of legislation.

The development of scientific-methodical bases of examination on the Russian language, history of Russia and bases of Russian Federation legislation and creation of effective organizational mechanism of its conduction, and also determination of the foreign citizens' preparation to examination was announced as the aim of Examination Conception (Kazhaeva and Kiseleva, 2014).

For the achievement of specified aim, the solution of the following tasks is supposed:
- development of the requirements to the level of knowledge on the Russian language, history of Russia and bases of Russian Federation legislation (approved by the above-mentioned Decree of the Ministry of Education and Science of Russia from August 29, 2014 under No. 1156 and

also disclosed in legally non-obligatory form by the developers) (Dolzhikova et al., 2014b);
- the development of organizational principles and regulations of conducting examination on the Russian language, history of Russia and bases of Russian Federation legislation (final regulations of examination conduction on November 1, 2014 are not approved);
- preparation of the methods and methodology of examination conduction;
- the development of the effective models of preparation of labour migrants to examination on Russian language, history of Russia and bases of Russian Federation legislation;
- training the specialists for examination conduction;
- provision of the information support for training and conducting the examination on Russian language, History of Russia and bases of Russian Federation legislation.

The development of all types of test tasks for Russian state testing system, and also scientific-methodical support of testing is conducted by the Russian test consortium, which includes Moscow State University named after M.V. Lomonosov, Saint-Petersburg State University, Peoples' Friendship University of Russia, and State Institute of the Russian Language named after A.S. Pushkin.

The Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation as a main body in the system of federal executive authorities in the area of education accomplishes coordination of activity on education and preparation to passing the exam (Moseikina, 2014). At that the basic subjects executing the practical activity on education and preparation to passing the exam are educational organizations of Russia, representative offices of RCSC in the world, Russian-Slavic universities, educational centers of religious organizations of different confessional directions.

Methodical provision of the complex examination is based on the following principles:
- priority of the Russian language (the bar of successful examination passing on it is higher than on two other modules; non-passing of this module leads to non-passing of the whole exam as opposed to modules on the history and legislation);
- mutual integration of the educational material and methodical means in the separate modules of examination;
- the absence of regional component (such component is, for example, in integration test of Germany; in Russia they not only refused to introduce the regional component, but also rejected the idea to make differences in the content of examination issues in application to the countries of "near" and "far" abroad countries, although such proposals were made on the primary stages).

The structure of the examination task is three-element, it includes modules on Russian as a foreign language, history of Russia and basics of the Russian legal system. It should be noted that if language module remained unchanged and corresponds to the project of Conception (see, art. 19-20 of the project), then two other modules survived substantial transformation: from different variants of inclusion of two sub-tests in the examination tasks on each module in the result transit to exclusively test tasks with necessity of the right answer (Kiseleva, 2014a; Kiseleva, 2014d). In the legal module the variation of such tasks is one-two optional situational tasks, also suggesting one right answer for the issue from several offered ones.

- The activity on education and preparation to passing examination supposes:
- the development of educational programmes, focusing on preparing to passing examination. For example: the development of the School of educational preparation of migrants (2014);
- the development of scientific-methodical complexes on preparation to passing examination;
- the usage of existing methodical text-books on the Russian language as a foreign one (Stepanenko et al., 2013);
- publication of the reference-books and school-books, containing information that serves the basis for making examination tasks (Kiseleva and Dolzhikova, 2014; Dolzhikova et al., 2014a);
- the development and location on Internet-resources of the test examination tasks;

- location of free-of-charge open mass online-courses on the history of Russia and bases of Russian Federation legislation on the profile Internet-portals;
- conduction of full-time courses on preparation to examination;
- the development of audio- and video courses on preparation to examination.

The material, mentioned in the references to the previous list, illustrates the huge work that was already done on the development of methodical provision of preparation to examination. There are all bases to hope that in brief terms and owning to the efforts of concrete testers and tested organizations the diversity of educational-methodical materials will be created. Until now the higher educational institutions of the Russian test consortium implemented the range of the qualification enhancement programmes on conduction of examination for RF testers, and the employers of the centers of preparation to testing in the Russian Federation; the qualification enhancement programmes for the specialists in the area of testing were created; the educational-methodical materials for teachers of the foreign citizens' educational preparation centers were developed. Moreover, the preparation to integration examination in the centers of migrants' adaptation at FMS of Russia and on the bases of public organizations was organized (for example, in the School of educational preparation of migrants at RFUR; in the Center of testing of foreign citizens at Bashkiria State Pedagogical University named after M. Akmulla; in the Center of Social Adaptation of Labour Migrants (Orenburg); Russian Orthodox Church and etc.) (Kiseleva, 2014b).

New version of test for migrants who want to work in Russia

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CONCLUSIONS

Summarizing the above-said, we'll emphasize that the legal basis of conduction of complex examination for different categories of migrants on Russian as a foreign language, history of Russia and basics of the Russian legal system is almost completely formed, although imperfect. The bases of methodical order are laid. We expect that the implementation of the examination will become successful, and the very procedure will be no formality and unbearable burden for migrants and other acting persons, but will play the role of integration factor prescribed to it.

Several issues are waiting for their clarification in the legal acts of the Russian Federation, and the most pressing among them is balancing the examination level among the different groups of migrants. It is even not reasonably understandable that the short-term migrants pass more difficult testing procedures while the applicants for the citizenship of the country have only higher requirements to their language abilities, but no other civic component in the examination. This question was and is being raised at all levels of discussions about the examination. We are looking forward to state's answer and positive actions.

Paid basis of the examination, though met with no enthusiasm, did not have the significant effect of the whole process. One point here is that the paid basis of the exam-ination is only an element of the reform that took place in Russia. Medical assurance, fixed tax, etc. are other sides of the reform. The greater problem in this field concerns generally the level of legal consciousness of migrants. Whether they choose to undergo the clear legal procedures or to use the 'assistance' of intermediaries in order to obtain the official papers. This is the area to be elaborated both within Russia and in the countries of origin.

As for the methodical provision, the situation develops dynamically and in the direction of diversification of programmes and materials for migrants. Certified centres for preparing migrants for the examination work successfully and created all conditions to comfortably cover all interested migrants.

From the point of academia, the examination for different categories of migrants on Russian as a foreign language, history of Russia and basics of the Russian legal system calls for the analysis of the practice with half a year behind, or in a year or two years of the examination function.

INTEGRACIJSKI TEST ZA MIGRANTE V RUSIJI: PRAVNI PREDPISI IN METODOLOŠKA DOLOČILA

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POVZETEK

Namen prispevka je z vidika ruskih pravnih predpisov in metodoloških določil oceniti integracijski test iz ruščine kot tujega jezika, ruske zgodovine in osnov ruskega pravnega sistema, ki je namenjen različnim kategorijam migrantov v Rusiji. Podatki za članek so bili pridobljeni iz izkušenj avtoric pri preučevanju pravne podlage, testiranja in pripravljalnih materialov za uvajanje zapletenega testa ter z uporabo dialektične metode, sinteze in teoretskih pristopov. Čeprav bo sprejemanje uredb glede predpisov o izobraževanju sklenilo delo na vzpostavljanju pravne podlage za izvajanje tega zapletenega integracijskega testa pri tujih državljanih, bo niz vprašanj pravne narave ostal nerešen. Članek izpostavlja tovrstna vprašanja in dokazuje, da se bo praksa integracijskih testov soočala s širšimi problemi, kot je, denimo, vloga izobraževanja v vzdrževanju medetničnega sožitja, izvajanje takšnih testov pa bo igralo vlogo integracijskih dejavnikov, kakršno se jim pripisuje.

Ključne besede: mednarodno pravo, migracije, Rusija, integracijski test, prilagoditev in integracija tujih državljanov, zakonska ureditev migracij, metodološka osnova za testiranje migrantov

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IMPLEMENTATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM ON THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA AS A PREPARATION OF FOREIGN NATIONALS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE EXAM IN RUSSIAN LANGUAGE, HISTORY AND THE BASIS OF THE LEGISLATION OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

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ABSTRACT

The article deals with consideration of the exam module system and its constituent part of the module "History of Russia". The methodological bases of this module and its competence are revealed and its requirements to the knowledge level on the history of Russian, offered methodologies of preparation and practice of foreign citizens' testing in the area of history are substantiated.

Studying the history by migrants arriving in Russia is considered as a means of their adaptation to the general conditions of life in the country.

Keywords: educational program, history of Russia, preparation of foreign nationals, comprehensive exam, migrants

ATTUAZIONE E SVILUPPO DI UN PROGRAMMA EDUCATIVO SULLA STORIA DELLA RUSSIA DESTINATO A CITTADINI STRANIERI COME PREPARAZIONE PER UN ESAME MULTIDISCIPLINARE DI LINGUA RUSSA, STORIA E LE BASI DELLA LEGISLAZIONE DELLA FEDERAZIONE RUSSA

SINTESI

Il contributo tratta del sistema modulare di esami e una delle sue parti costitutive, il modulo della storia della Russia. L'autrice presenta le basi metodologiche di questo modulo e la sua competenza, leggittimando il livello richiesto di conoscenza della storia della Russia, le metodologie di preparazione offerte e la prassi di esaminare cittadini stranieri in storia.

Lo studio della storia da parte dei migrati è visto come mezzo del loro adattamento alle condizioni generali della vita nel paese russo.

Parole chiave: programma educativo, storia della Russia, preparazione di cittadini stranieri, esame multidisciplinare, migranti

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PROBLEM STATEMENT

The basis of social and cultural adaptation and integration of the foreign citizens in any country is the respect to its state language and culture, observance of the legislation norms and rules of residence in it. In this connection the modern migratory situation in Russia also dictates the necessity of the strategy and method development of execution of socio-cultural adaptation of the foreign citizens and their socialization in the society.

This direction in the Conception of migratory policy of modern Russia has the important meaning, as the presence of big quantity of foreigners in the society, which have not possibility to adapt completely to the cultural and social conditions of the country of staying, provokes tension in the society and creates potential threat to the international consent (Conception of the state migratory policy of the Russian Federation for the period up to 2025, 2014). In its turn, it can cause the effect on the state of national security of Russia as the country of staying.

In the world practice the migratory movement, the methods and strategies of adaption have already been formed, and international, state and public institutes were established, which realized them taking into account the national interests of their states (Vladimirova et al., 2010, 31). Among factors, effecting on the speed of adaptation process, the scientists along with territorial and natural-climatic name the legal, political and cultural ones (Shevtsov et al., 2014; Antropov, 2013, 50-52; Mlechko, 2013, 13-22).

In the Russian Federation in accordance with the federal law (2014) under No. 74 from April 20, 2014 one of such strategies is complex exam on the Russian language, history of Russia and bases of RF legislation that is introduced since January 1, 2015. Passing of this exam by foreign citizens and obtainment of the corresponding certificate that confirms the level of Russian language possession and knowledge on the history of Russia and bases of RF legislation gives them the right for permit obtainment for part-time residence, residence permit, labour permit or patent. In accordance with taken Conception the complex exam has module system and consists of three independent modules: "Russian language as a foreign one", "History of Russia", "Bases of RF legislation" (Conception of the exam on Russian language, history of Russia and bases of Russian Federation legislation for labour migrants – different categories of citizens of CIS, Baltic and non-CIS countries, 2014, 48-64). The additional modules to the Russian language on history and bases of RF legislation implemented in comprehensive exam, are oriented on the legal and socio-cultural adaptation of migrants, which arrive in the country; formation of the intercultural communication skills, as well as xenophobia counteraction, national and racial intolerance, and social inclusiveness of the migrants. According to the just notice of the director of the Institute of Russian History at RAS Yu. A. Petrova, "Inoculation of the history" is "… the best instruments against violence"[1].

Presently, the foreign and first of all European states (Great Britain, Holland, Germany, France, Spain) also expand the practice of application of similar integration procedures, adding the language test with regional geography constituent, focusing attention on the cultural values and principles of civil society[2] (Soto Lema et al., 2014, 58; Oers, 2013, 41). For example, in Great Britain in test tasks the peculiar attention is paid to the issues of history, beginning from the ancient period and arrival of Romans on the territory of the present Great Britain and finishing with the events of summer 2013, when in the capital the countries passed through juvenile XXX Olympic Games. Moreover, all those, who desire to become the nationals of British Kingdom will be "tested" on the knowledge of creativity of English composers, painters and writers (Life in the United Kingdom: A Guide for New Residents)

The regional geography tests, practiced by many states, which take the big quantity of migrants, are traditionally considered as a means of migratory process regulation and concretely integration of migrants in the accepting society (Strik, 2013; Goodman, 2010; New Life in the UK test goes live, 2013).

Aim

Aim of this article is the analysis of exam module system for foreign citizens, which is first introduced in Russia since January 1, 2015 and its constituent part of the module "History of Russia". In connection with it the task is set to detect the methodological base of this complex exam module, its competences, determination of the requirements to the knowledge level on the history of Russia, and analysis of the offered testing practices in the history of Russia in accordance with differential approach to the contingent of foreign citizens, who arrive in the Russian Federation.

Problem statement

At the development of methodical bases of complex exam modules in the Russian Federation the task is set for provision of single (unified) independent, standardized control with aim of detection within the frameworks of three modules of the level of formation of communicative, socio-cultural and legal competence, necessary

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1   Komsomolskaya Pravda (2014): July 4, (No. 73).
2   El Gobierno creará exámenes de idiomas y cultura para conseguir la nacionalidad española (2014): EUROPA PRESS. Madrid. Día. 22.04.2014.

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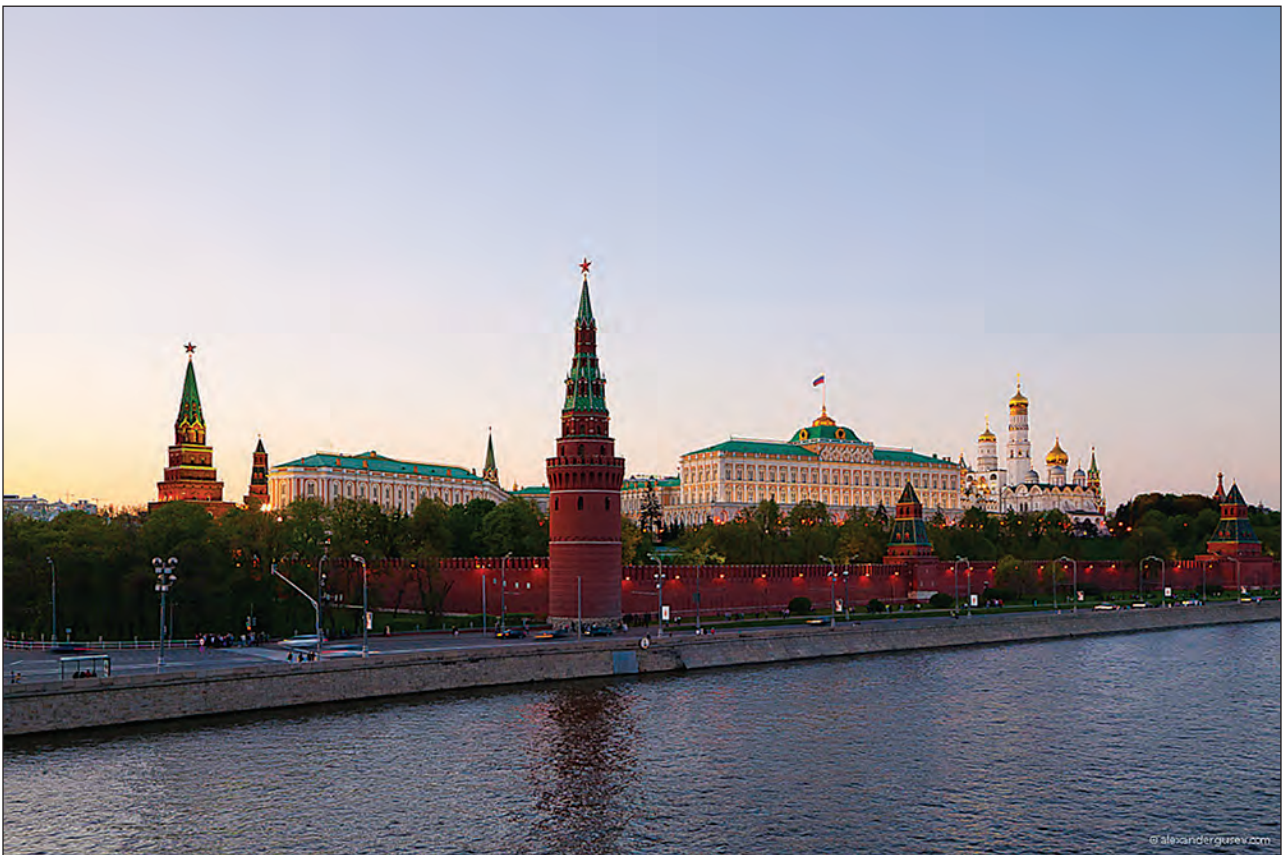
Fig. 1: „ Moscow Kremlin " by Original uploader was Alexandrergusev at en.wikipedia - Transferred from en.wikipedia. Licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0 via Wikimedia Commons - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moscow_Kremlin#/media/File:83AS5017.jpg

to the foreign citizen and which can be applied by the labour migrants on the primary level in such language communication areas, as social-routine, official-business, professional, socio-cultural, and educational one, which earlier was optional, but presently also becomes necessary communication area.

The lexical minimum of this level makes 950 – 1000 units, which provide the communication within the thematic and intentional minimums of these requirements. The basic content of active vocabulary of this level serves both social-routine and official-business, professional and social-cultural communication area. The lexical units, which serve the module 2 "History of Russia" and module 3 "Bases of RF legislation" can include up to 500 units (at that the examinee can use the dictionary of special (historical and legal) terms (Dolzhikova, 2014, 76-77).

In application to the module "History of Russia" it concerns the socio-cultural competence, in accordance with which mastering of historical material in the offered volume will allow foreign citizens, who desire to employ in RF:

- to acquire knowledge, skills and abilities, necessary for adequate perception and correct inter-

pretation of political, economic and socio-cultural processes and events, which take place in the Russian Federation;
- to become acquainted with basic stages of the multinational Russian state development, peculiarities of the Russian national character;
- to form the respected relation to the cultural values, national traditions and laws, and to the state language of Russian Federation;
- to orient in the new socio-cultural environment, including at visiting the objects of culture and cultural buildings (churches, mosques, synagogues and etc.) (Moseikina, 2014, 156-162).

The exam module structure supposes teaching migrants to the Russian language, history and bases of RF legislation, informing about cultural traditions and norms of behaviour on the territory of Russia. For this the normative-methodical document was developed that received name "Requirements to complex exam", in which the minimal obligatory requirements to the level of Russian language possession were represented, and to the volume of knowledge on the history of Russia and bases of Russian Federation legislation, claimed to foreign citizens

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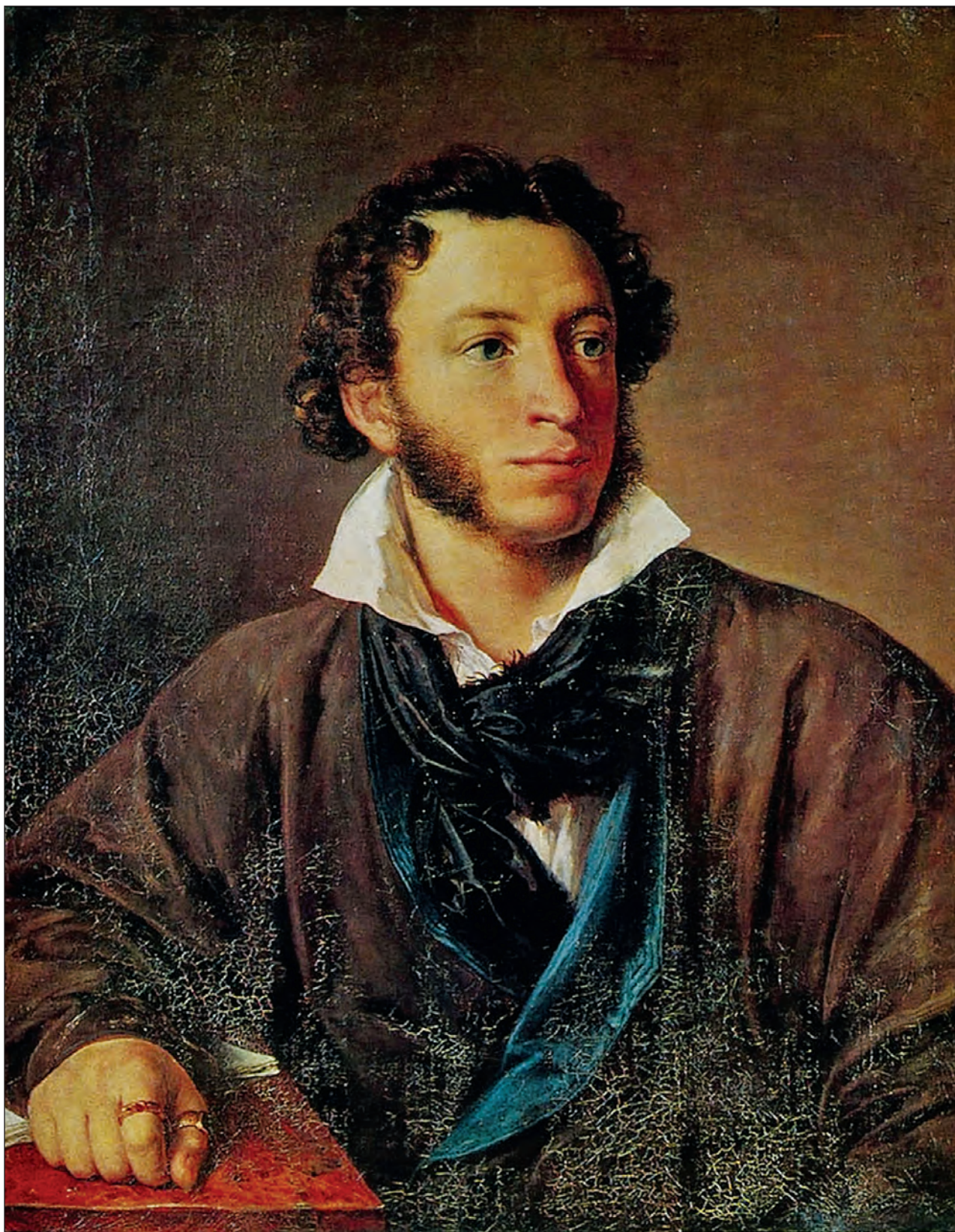
Fig. 2: "Alexander Pushkin" Portrait by Vasily Tropinin at en.wikipedia - Transferred from en.wikipedia (Public Domain). https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_Pushkin#/media/File:AleksandrPushkin.jpg

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(Kozmenko, 2014, 140-148). At that if the Requirements to the level of Russian language possession were already applied at testing foreign citizens on the Russian language as a foreign one (RLF) (similar testing takes place in Russia already more than twenty years), then the Requirements to the volume of knowledge on the history of Russia and base of Russian legislation for such category of citizens as labour migrants were first developed by the specialists from the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia at participation of the Russian test consortium (Russian test consortium, 2014). The development of the methods of complex exam preparation and conduction in the part of module "History of Russia" was executed taking into account the formed practices of testing of the Russian language as a foreign one (RLF) (Tsareva, 2006; Stepanenko et al., 2013; Balykhina et al., 2014), and also the unified state exam system (USE) (Yurkina, 2006; Ponomarev et al., 2013) and international experience of foreign citizens' testing in the countries of Europe and USA (Banulescu-Bogdan, 2012).

In the developed "Complex requirements to exam on the Russian language, history of Russia and bases of Russian Federation legislation" on the part concerning the historical module, the structure and content of the socio-cultural competence are represented, the basic themes are determined, the conceptual apparatus was developed, the list of historical personalities, festivals of modern Russia and chronology of the events, obligatory for remembering by foreign citizens were determined (Arslanov et al., 2014, 22-27).

The substantial part of the module on the history of Russia for complex exam is built in accordance with the Conception of new educational-methodical complex on the native history and its constituent part "Historical-cultural standard", taken in October 2013 (Conception of the new educational-methodical complex on the native history, 2014). In this connection the basic aim of introduced historical module is formation in migrants of the general views about the past of Russia, necessary for formation of the respectful relation to the history, culture and traditions of our state nation.

As a result of material mastering, determined by the requirements of module "History of Russia", a foreign citizen must know the basic facts and events of the Russian history and basic monuments of cultures connected with it; national-cultural and religious traditions of the Russian society; names of famous political and state figures, renowned figures of Russia, their contribution in the history of Russian society and world culture development.

Within the frameworks of the development of training methods and testing practices on the history of Russia the work on standardization of each test task was conducted first in the groups of approbation, then in certified tests and control variants of standard tests were created. At that the developers based themselves on that the testee in advance could look and before-

hand to learn the minimal quantity of right answers. For this purpose, complete list of issues on this module, list of historical dates and national festivals are open and accessible. Also the list of historical personalities (state and military figures, and men of science and culture), which promoted to the grandeur of Russia, is open. Alexander Nevskii, K. Minin and Dm. Pozharskii, Peter I, Ekaterina II, Alexander II, A. Suvorov, M. Kutuzov, M. Lomonosov, D. Mendeleev, Yu. Gagarin, A. Rublev, A. Pushkin, L. Tolstoi, A. Solzhenitsyn and etc. entered in this list (Kozmenko et al., 2014).

In this connection the realization of educational programme on the history of Russia direction is important step on the way of successful socio-cultural adaptation of migrants and their socialization. It is shown in it that Russia is the largest multinational and multi-religious country in the world, which primarily formed as a symbiosis of Slavic, Turkic and Finno-Ugric components. It is stated on what united different people, who inhabited Russia, namely: cultural contacts, interaction in economic and trade areas, interference in daily life, religious tolerance, absence of the feelings of racial and national superiority, peculiar to some western Europeans and those ones, who appeared, for example, in the process of creation of the English and French colonial empires. At the same time, based upon historical facts the idea is substantiated, according to which presence of different people in the content of Russian state, and then USSR on the whole has positive value for them. First of all, the security from external enemies was provides, in the range of regions the slavery was liquidated and internal disorders stopped, and the conditions were created for economic and cultural development, distribution of the enlightenment, education and technologies and etc.

Taking into account the multi-religious character of Russian state, the examples of cooperation of Orthodox believers, Muslims and representatives of other confessions in the deed of Russia defense from the enemies, creation of the monuments of culture, and science and education development were stated. The significant fact that up to third Russian gentry had Turkic roots must cause interest in foreign citizens (Petrov, 2007).

As a result, the leitmotif of history teaching for foreign citizens was the idea that Russia was created by the representatives of different peoples and confessions, and formed tradition of cooperation, having received the new impulse of the development, can become one of the decisive factors, for example, Eurasian integration. As a consequence of history study in foreign citizen, on the one part, the sensation of its demand in the Russian society must be formed, and on the other part – responsibility for future of relations between people.

EMPIRICAL PART

Testing of experimental examination tasks for the new modules – was conducted of the entry into force of the

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law on compulsory exam for foreign nationals (February – May 2014). Approbation on the history of Russia and the basis of the legislation of the Russian Federation was conducted in 50 testing centers in Russian Federation and in 10 centers abroad (in particularly in France, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, China, Moldova and others). On its results, the additional work was carried out to adapt the materials of new modules to the lexical minimum baseline for migrant workers. It allowed increasing the efficiency of pre-exam preparation. The 74th Federal Law on compulsory surrender comprehensive exam by foreign nationals came into force on January 1st. After that, at the beginning of March 2015, a number of migrants, who had passed the exam, were 301,415 people. Among them a category of so-called foreign workers (being granted with a patent) consisted of 220,295 people; a category of foreign citizens, who had received a temporary residence permit, included 54,208 people; and a number of people, who wanted to obtain a residence permit was 18,879. The percentage of people who did not fall into these categories is as follows: 2, 3 and 5 percent, respectively. Those who have passed the exam receive a "certificate of proficiency of Russian as a foreign language, knowledge of the history of Russia and the legal framework of the Russian Federation". As shown by the first results, the greatest difficulty in taking the exam is not the history or fundamentals of legislation but the module "Russian language" which consists of five subjects. Questions (and answers at the same time) on the last two modules are in open access in internet. The list of the dates required to memorize, and the list of Russian holidays and historical personalities are placed there. All this significantly simplifies the process of preparation for the exam, and contributes to the success of his surrender, at least in part modules "History of Russia" and "Fundamentals of the Legislation" (Portal testing).

CONCLUSION

Thus, implementation of the complex exam on the territory of RF for foreign citizens is conditioned by the presence of big flows of migrants, many of which are not ready to quick adaptation to the conditions of Russia culture, society and labour market and can create problems for the social stability and international consent. In its turn, the determination of the requirements to the basic content and level of knowledge on the Russian language, history of Russia and bases of RF legislation for migrants promote to formation of one of the elements of educational instrument of modern migratory policy in Russia, enhancement of the education level of the very migrants, improvement of the knowledge about life in Russia, that finally facilitates adaptation to new socio-cultural environment.

It is evident that migrants and citizens of Russia must obtain mutual benefits from the joint process of adaptation, which provides preservation of the cultural diversity and strengthening of social consent. However, it is possible to attain this only by means of tolerant mutual recognition and mutual respect, and first of all through education.

In this connection owing to inclusion of the module "History of Russia" in the content of complex exam, the possibility appears for foreign citizens not only to consider the past of Russia, comprehend true content of the relation of its historical center and national outskirts, but to form valuable orientations, tolerant perception of the representatives of other nations and confessions, without which it is impossible for foreign citizens, who arrive in our country, to take part both in labour activity, and intercultural interaction on the territory of RF. In other words, the knowledge of the history of Russia and peculiarities of the national mentality will allow a foreign citizen developing the behavioural line in correspondence with cultural traditions and customs of the Russian society. Moreover, the study of history will also allow resisting some negative consequences of the globalization process, for example, leading to oblivion of the range of cultural and national traditions, devaluation of the values of family, disinterested friendship and mutual assistance, to grow of the immorality and domination of mass culture.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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IZVAJANJE IN RAZVIJANJE IZOBRAŽEVALNEGA PROGRAMA O ZGODOVINI RUSIJE KOT PRIPRAVE TUJIH DRŽAVLJANOV NA MULTIDISCIPLINARNI IZPIT IZ RUSKEGA JEZIKA, ZGODOVINE IN OSNOV ZAKONODAJE RUSKE FEDERACIJE

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POVZETEK

Navezujoč se na Zasnovo kompleksnega izpita za tuje državljane iz ruščine kot tujega jezika, zgodovine Rusije in osnov zakonodaje Ruske federacije, ki se izvaja v Ruski federaciji, članek obravnava sistem modularnih izpitov in enega njegovih sestavnih delov – zgodovino Rusije. Avtorica v prispevku razkrije metodološke osnove tega modela in njegove kompetence ter utemeljuje zahtevano raven znanja iz zgodovine Rusije, ponujene metodologije priprav na izpit in prakso testiranja tujih državljanov na področju zgodovine.

Učenje o zgodovini se za migrante, ki pridejo v Rusijo, smatra kot sredstvo prilagajanja splošnim življenjskim pogojem v državi. Upoštevajoč, da trenutno večji del migrantov, ki pridejo v Rusijo, izhaja iz Skupnosti neodvisnih držav, avtorica poudarja, da jim poznavanje zgodovine v tem primeru omogoča ne le obvladovanje osnov kulturnih in izročilnih vrednot Rusije, temveč hkrati postaja tudi eden od duhovnih dejavnikov strpnosti in integracij, ki se v posovjetskem prostoru vse bolj krepijo.

Ključne besede: izobraževalni program, zgodovina Rusije, priprava za tuje državljane, multidisciplinarni izpit, migranti

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UČBENIK PO MERI UČENCA?
MEDNARODNA PRIMERJALNA ANALIZA VPRAŠANJ IN NALOG
V UČBENIKIH ZA ZGODOVINO

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IZVLEČEK

Prispevek obravnava kvalitativno in kvantitativno analizo sodobnih, zakonsko potrjenih 44-ih učbenikov za zgo-dovino, ki so bili izdani pri različnih založbah v Sloveniji, Veliki Britaniji – Angliji in Italiji ter v uporabi v šolskih letih 2010/2011, 2011/12 in 2012/13. Obdelava podatkov je bila izvedena s tehniko analize 11.947 vprašanj in nalog v učbenikih za zgodovino v osnovni šoli, s katero smo ugotavljali stopnjo primernosti in težavnosti vprašanj. Predstaviti želimo predvsem okvire in sodobne učne strategije, ki stremijo k didaktično-metodični prenovi osnovnega šolstva, izhajajoč iz težnje po spodbujanju dela z učno uspešnimi (nadarjenimi) učenci ter možnosti za realizacijo njihovih potencialov.

Ključne besede: učbenik za zgodovino, vprašanja in naloge, mednarodna primerjalna analiza, učno uspešen učenec.

LIBRO DI SCUOLA A MISURA D'ALUNNO?
VALUTAZIONE COMPARATIVA INTERNAZIONALE DELLE DOMANDE E COMPITI NEI LIBRI DI STORIA

SINTESI

Il documento presenta l'analisi qualitativa e quantitativa di 44 moderni testi scolastici di storia, approvati di leg-ge, che sono stati pubblicati da diverse case editrici in Slovenia, Gran Bretagna – Inghilterra e Italia e utilizzati negli anni scolastici 2010/2011, 2011/12 e 2012/ 13. L'elaborazione dei dati è stata effettuata con la tecnica di analisi del contenuto nei libri di storia nella scuola elementare, attraverso la quale avremmo desiderato determinare il livello di appropriatezza e di difficoltà di 11.947 domande e compiti. Partendo dalla tendenza a incentivare il compito edu-cazionale con studenti ad alto livello di apprendimento e le opportunità per realizzare il loro potenziale, abbiamo desiderato presentare le strutture e le moderne strategie che tendono ad un rinnovamento didattico e metodologico dell'educazione di base.

Parole chiave: libro scolastico di storia, domande e compiti, l'analisi comparativa internazionale, l'apprendimento dello studente di successo.

UVOD

Učbenik za zgodovino je najpomembnejše učilo pri pouku zgodovine in hkrati pomemben pokazatelj stanja in razvoja šolske zgodovine v državi. Že v 19. stoletju je bil učbenik za zgodovino posebna nacionalna šolska knjiga, ki je nudila učencem sistematizirano strokovno znanje, temeljne informacije o zgodovinskem dogajanju, pri čemer so le v manjšem obsegu učence spodbujali k razmišljanju in problematizaciji (Trojar, 2001, 315).

Učbeniki za zgodovino so se od osamosvojitve dalje mnogokrat spreminjali in preoblikovali. Od leta 1992, ko je bil sprejet nov učni načrt za Osnovno šolo, so se učbeniki spremenili tako vsebinsko kot tudi didaktično-metodično. O slednjih je že leta 1975 govoril Strmčnik in s svojim delom utrl pot tako splošni kot tudi speci-alni didaktiki pri nadaljnjem raziskovanju učbenikov. Desetletja kasneje so sodobnejša dela, ki obravnavajo splošne (Filipčič, 2003; Justin et al., 2003; Kovač et al., 2005; Senegačnik, 2005) in specifične metodično-di-daktične vidike učbenika za zgodovino (Bernik Burja, 2006; Kukanja Gabrijelčič, 2011; Radonjič, 2002; Ru-stja, 2004; Slivar et al., 2007; Trojar, 2002; Trškan, 2003 idr.) pomembno sooblikovala slovenski pedagoški in raziskovalni prostor.

Na področju terminološke opredelitve učbenika pri-haja do nasprotujočih si mnenj, ki nakazujejo, da sle-dnjega ni moč umestiti v preprosto in enoznačno defi-nicijo. Osnovna konceptualizacija učbenik opredeljuje kot knjigo, ki didaktično transportira znanost skladno s posebnimi nalogami izobraževanja in šole. Znotraj sle-dnjega se znanstvene in strokovne vsebine predelujejo po določenih programskih, pedagoških, psiholoških in didaktično-metodičnih načelih (Malić, 1992, 33–35).

Kljub temu, da nekateri avtorji učbenike uvršča-jo med učila, drugi pa med učne pripomočke, sta obe definiciji tesno povezani z njegovimi funkcijami, ki jih ima v procesu poučevanja in učenja. Pri didaktični funkciji učbenika Malić (1992) razlikuje med informa-cijsko in transformacijsko funkcijo, Štefanc pa (2005) govori o učbeniku v funkciji učiteljevega poučevanja ali v funkciji učenja oz. učne aktivnosti učenca. Učbenik ima torej informativno in formativno funkcijo, ki znanja

posreduje, hkrati pa omogoča razvijanje sposobnosti in spretnosti ter vrednote. Specialni didaktiki zgodovine (Trojar, 2001; Trškan, 2002) delijo sodobne učbenike zgodovine v klasične učbenike, poldelovne učbenike in delovne učbenike, Weber (1993) pa deli slednje na pri-povedne učbenike, tradicionalne učbenike, poldelovne učbenike, delovne učbenike in integralne učbenike ter projektne učbenike zgodovine. Čeprav je funkcij[1] uč-benika veliko, se v prispevku ne usmerjamo na njegovo funkcijo strukturiranja oz. reprezentiranja, temveč smo naklonjeni predvsem analizi funkcije usmerjanja, moti-viranja in utrjevanja znanja.

KLASIFIKACIJE VPRAŠANJ PRI POUKU
OZ. V UČBENIKIH

Delitev vprašanj z vidika miselnih procesov je v osnovi največkrat na: vprašanja višjega in nižjega ni-voja. Vprašanja nižjega nivoja zahtevajo reprodukcijo spominsko usvojenih podatkov in dejstev (preverjajo že usvojeno znanje), vprašanja višjega nivoja pa angažira-jo tudi miselne procese (analiziranje, primerjanje, sinte-tiziranje) in s tem ustvarjajo novo znanje.

Osnovna delitev vprašanj pa je tista, ki jih deli v dve kategoriji: na odprta in zaprta vprašanja (Marentič Po-žarnik, Plut Pregelj, 2009, 108). Če je vprašanje zapr-to, o odgovoru ni mogoča nadaljnja razprava, saj nanj obstaja samo en pravilen odgovor; odprto vprašanje pa omogoča razlago in argumentiranje ter ima vrsto mo-žnih odgovorov. Vprašanja so izredno dobra za razvi-janje veščin razmišljanja pri učencih, ker omogočajo raziskovanje, problemskost, intuitivnost, individualnost in vrsto celotnih pristopov pri iskanju rešitve. Lahko pri-vedejo tudi do preskokov v miselni verigi učencev (Co-wley, 2008; Godinho, Wilson, 2007; Marentič Požarnik, Plut Pregelj, 2009). Poljak (1991 v Rupnik Vec, Kompa-re, 2006) navaja obsežen seznam raznih vrst vprašanj, pri katerih pa se mešajo različni klasifikacijski kriteri-ji: perceptivna, alternativna, indirektna, enopomen-ska, večpomenska, zavajajoča, kategorična, pomožna, razvojna (ali verižna), retorična, skrajšana, sugestivna, večkratna (kaj je vzrok in povod?), izpitna ali kontrolna, fiktivna ali navidezna vprašanja.[2]

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1 Številni avtorji različno označujejo funkcije učbenika kot npr., informativna, formativna, didaktična, vzgojna ipd. Funkcije, ki smo jih povzeli po Hackerju pa se bolj ali manj ujemajo s Strmčnikovo definicijo oz. razlago podrejenosti učbenika zakonitosti in poteku učnega procesa.

2 *Vprašanja nižjega nivoja:* Usmerjena so le na nižje psihične in miselne procese, zlasti na učenčev spomin.
Zahtevajo reprodukcijo ali prepoznavanje določenih, prej naučenih vsebin. Te vsebine so: posameznosti (specifična dejstva) – npr. Kdaj se je pričela prva svetovna vojna?; kategorije, klasifikacije – npr. Katere države so bile v Sveti aliansi?; obči pojmi, teorije – npr. Kaj je reformacija?
(i) Sugestivna vprašanja: Učitelj s samim vprašanjem učencu sugerira odgovor. S tem zavira učenčev svobodni miselni tok in mu preprečuje izražanje njegovih lastnih idej. Primer: Kakšno je bilo življenje kmetov v času turških vpadov, težko? *(ii) Zavajajoča vprašanja:* Vprašanja namerno vsebujejo vsebinsko napako, ki učenca lahko zbega. Zato so z didaktičnega in s psihološkega vidika običajno negativna. Primer: Katere so glavni vzroki za nastanek francoske buržoazne revolucije v 16. stoletju? *(iii) Fiktivna vprašanja:* So sama sebi namen. Učitelj skuša z njimi zapolniti vrzeli v poteku učnega procesa in svojih misli. Primer: Učitelj kaže sliko, na kateri je porušeno mesto po bom-bardiranju, brez konkretne značilnosti, po kateri bi bilo mesto takoj prepoznavno, in vpraša: Morda kdo ve, kako se imenuje mesto na sliki?
(iv) Dodatna vprašanja: Slednja so upravičena, kadar učenca spodbujajo, mu usmerjajo mišljenje, da laže najde pravi ali boljši odgovor. Dodatnih vprašanj ne smemo kopičiti eno na drugo. Postavimo jih po določenem premoru, takrat, ko osnovno vprašanje ni razumljivo ali

Vprašanja glede na Bloomovo taksonomijo učnih ciljev (Bloom, 1970; Heacox, 2009; Marentič Požarnik, 1991, 2002; Marentič Požarnik, Plut Pregelj, 2009; Rutar Ilc, 2003) podajamo na podlagi primerov s področja zgodovine.

Znanje - znanje oz. poznavanje je prva stopnja, kjer se od učenca pričakuje, da prikliče v spomin dejstva in druge podatke, o katerih se je učil. Ta način mišljenja spodbudimo tako, da učencu naročimo, naj nekaj pove, našteje, označi, ponovi, poišče itd. Gre za spominska vprašanja, ki se pogosto začenjajo s »K« – vprašalnicami (kdo, kdaj, kje, kaj, koliko …?) ali iztočnico povej, opiši. *Primer*: Kdaj se je pričela 1. svetovna vojna? Kje se je začela francoska revolucija?

Razumevaje - vprašanja po razumevanju od učenca zahtevajo, da vsebine pove ali opiše s svojimi besedami, poda glavne misli, nadaljuje začeto misel ipd. Učenec mora odgovor oblikovati samostojno in selektivno, nadaljevati začeto misel, razložiti, napovedati, kaj bo sledilo itd., v daljšem odgovoru. *Primer*: Pojasni razloge za nastanek fevdalizma. Razloži, kako je delovala rimska republika.

Uporaba - vprašanja usmerjajo učenca na uporabo pridobljenega znanja v novih, podobnih, tudi praktičnih primerih. Tovrstnih vprašanj se pri pouku pojavlja premalo, čeprav je zmožnost učenca, da je učno snov pravilno razumel in usvojil. *Primer*: Uredi časovni trak prve svetovne vojne glede na najpomembnejše bitke; Kje v domačem kraju lahko najdeš ostanke preteklosti? Kaj pomeni imeti volilno pravico?

Analiza - ko učenec odgovarja na vprašanja po analizi, razčlenjuje neko besedilo, članek, slikovno gradivo, pesem, pojav tako, da v odgovoru navaja sestavine, vzroke, motive, dokaze, sklepe in posplošitve. Ta vprašanja razvijajo sposobnost logičnega in analitičnega mišljenja. *Primer:* Primerjaj gospodarski razvoj Italije in Nemčije med drugo svetovno vojno; Analiziraj vzroke, ki so privedli do francoske revolucije;

Sinteza - povezovanje delov v novo celoto na samosvoj, drugačen način, pri čemer ne gre samo za preoblikovanje, temveč za izvirno ustvarjanje ali ponovno ustvarjanje (Heacox, 2009, 56). Sinteza je torej neka-

kšna ustvarjalna kombinacija spoznanj iz več področij, virov, informacij. Ravno zaradi izvirnosti in ustvarjalnega mišljenja, ki ga mora učenec prikazati, sintezo nekateri avtorji uvrščajo v sam vrh Bloomove taksonomije učnih ciljev. *Primer:* Sestavi pismo predsedniku vlade RS ter mu predlagaj možne poti za reševanje gospodarske krize ali spora med državljani in vlado v zvezi z novo nastajajočimi reformami; Kako bi lahko še drugače pojasnil razvoj totalitarizma?; Kakšna bi bila najboljša rešitev Versajske ureditve Evrope?

Vrednotenje ali evalvacija - s temi vprašanji spodbujamo učenčevo izražanje osebnih, vrednostnih, moralnih in etičnih stališč. Pri tovrstnih vprašanjih (nalogah) zna učenec oceniti uporabnost, vrednost, zanesljivost različnih stališč, virov in podatkov. V odgovoru namreč navaja svoje mnenje o določenih problemih ter presoja prednosti različnih rešitev nekega problema in vrednosti nekih idej ali del. Pogoj je, da pozna kriterije vrednotenja (po določenih merilih) in da svoje sodbe tudi utemelji. *Primer*: Kaj misliš o uporabi jedrskega orožja v vojne namene?; Oceni pomen partizanov v 2. svetovni vojni; Pomen začetkov znanosti za današnji čas; Presodi, iz vidika človekovih pravic, vpliv totalitarnih režimov – ali se podobno kršenje človekovih pravic dogaja še dandanes?; Ovrednoti pomen reformacije na slovenskem.

UVOD V ANALIZO UČBENIKOV ZA ZGODOVINO

Namen analize učbenikov[3] (vprašanj in nalog) za zgodovino v osnovni šoli je bil v tem, da ugotovimo, ali je v zasnovi naših in tujih učbenikov dovolj elementov, ki spodbujajo učno diferenciacijo pouka zgodovine glede na interes in sposobnosti posameznega učenca. Zanimalo nas je predvsem, ali učbeniki spodbujajo uporabo višjih miselnih procesov, kritičnega in ustvarjalnega mišljenja tako pri šolskem kot tudi domačem delu.

Metoda

V nadaljevanju predstavljamo analizo sodobnih, zakonsko potrjenih slovenskih učbenikov za zgodovino,

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pa se nanaša na težjo snov. Če učenec na dodatno vprašanje ne odgovori, pomeni, da učne vsebine ne pozna ali ne razume. *(v) Alternativna vprašanja:* Alternativna vprašanja v odgovoru dopuščajo samo dve možnosti (da ali ne). Odgovori na takšen tip vprašanja učitelju ne pokažejo jasne slike o učenčevem znanju, saj učenec lahko ugane odgovor s polovično verjetnostjo. S takšnimi vprašanji lahko spodbujamo tudi k višjim miselnim procesom in vrednotenju. Primer: Kaj meniš, kateri zgodovinski viri so bolj zanesljivi – materialni ali pisni?
(vi) Enopomenska – spominska vprašanja: enopomenska vprašanja v odgovoru najpogosteje zahtevajo spominsko reprodukcijo določenih posameznosti, včasih tudi dobesedno obnovitev definicij ali teorij. Primer: Kdaj se je začela francoska revolucija?
Vprašanja višjega nivoja: Za razliko od vprašanj nižjega nivoja angažirajo vprašanja višjega nivoja učenčeve višje miselne procese, podpirajo razvoj logičnega, analitičnega, kritičnega in tudi ustvarjalnega mišljenja. Najpogosteje jih delimo na vprašanja, ki sprašujejo po: razumevanju, npr. Pojasni, zakaj je prišlo do prve svetovne vojne?; uporabi, npr. Kaj se zgodi, če med vojno prične primanjkovati orožje?; analizi, npr. Kakšne dokaze imamo, da je sta Hitler in Mussolini sodelovala?; sintezi, npr. Kakšne so bile posledice poraza za Nemčijo in Italijo?; po vrednotenju, npr. Kaj meniš o Hitlerjevi odločitvi za bombni napad na Anglijo?

3   Analiza učbenikov v svetu in Evropi nima zelo dolge tradicije. Največ raziskovalcev se je ukvarjalo predvsem s tematiko ideologije v učbenikih, veliko manj pa z metodično-didaktično zasnovo oz. uporabnostjo učbenika v razredu, nalogami in vprašanji. V Evropi imamo zaenkrat 9 institucij, ki se ukvarjajo s preučevanjem učbenikov, najpomembnejši med njimi je Inštitut Georg Eckert za mednarodno raziskavo učbenikov v Braunschweigu v Nemčiji. Najpomembnejše revije pa so predvsem; International Textbook Research (Nemčija, Hannover), Paradigm (Velika Britanija, Cambridge) in Bulletin d'information sur les manuels scolaires (Francija, Paris).

ki so bili izdani s strani različnih založb ter v uporabi v šolskem letu 2010/2011, 2011/12 in 2012/13. Obdelava podatkov je bila izvedena s tehniko analize vprašanj v učbenikih za zgodovino v devetletni osnovni šoli. Instrument za izvedbo raziskave je bil evidenčni list za vsak izbrani učbenik.

Pri kvalitativni in kvantitativni analizi vprašanj v učbenikih smo ugotavljali stopnjo primernosti in težavnosti vprašanj, pri čemer smo bili pozorni na sodobne učne strategije, ki stremijo k didaktično-metodični prenovi osnovnega šolstva, izhajajoč iz težnje po spodbujanju dela z učno uspešnimi ter možnosti za realizacijo njihovih potencialov.

Evidenčni list za analizo vprašanj in nalog je bil sestavljen iz naslednjih elementov :

(i) Bloomova taksonomija učnih ciljev, ki smo jo preoblikovali v tristopenjsko taksonomijo učnih ciljev;

(ii) Proces – katera raven mišljenja je zahtevana (najnižja, najvišja);

(iii) Spodbujanje ustvarjalnosti, izvirnosti (po Heacox 2002, smo se osredotočili predvsem na področje sinteze in posebej ustvarjalna vprašanja oz. naloge tudi ločeno zapisali);

(iv) Zastopanost Gardnerjevih vrst inteligentnosti. Pri analizi smo se usmerili na naslednja področja, naloge, dejavnosti (po vrstah inteligentnosti): Besedno-jezikovna inteligentnost; Vidno-prostorska; Logično-matematična; Naravoslovna; Glasbena; Telesno-gibalna; Osebna; Medosebna. Vprašanja in naloge smo analizirali glede na vrsto inteligentnosti (po Gardner-ju) in zahtevnost glede na Bloomovo taksonomijo spoznavnih ciljev.

Seznam analiziranih učbenikov

Pri slovenskih, italijanskih in angleških učbenikih je bil kriterij izbora učbenikov osredotočen zgolj na aktualnost učbenikov, saj smo uporabili le tiste, ki so bili v rabi v šolskih letih 2010/2011, 2011/12 in 2012/13 (seznam analiziranih učbenikov, glej viri in literatura).

ANALIZA SLOVENSKIH UČBENIKOV ZA ZGODOVINO

Skupno smo analizirali *15 slovenskih učbenikov in 2361 vprašanj.*

V nadaljevanju prikazujemo skupen prikaz analize vprašanj *po tristopenjski taksonomiji* učnih ciljev ter zastopanosti različnih vrst inteligentnosti v vseh analiziranih slovenskih učbenikih za osnovno šolo.

V zadnjem času se v Sloveniji uporablja tristopenjska taksonomija, sestavljena iz združitve posameznih stopenj po Bloomovi taksonomiji učnih ciljev. Sprejeta je bila s strani Republiške maturitetne komisije, Državne komisije za

pripravo nacionalnih preizkusov znanja v devetletni OŠ[4] in Zavoda RS za šolstvo, in sicer za:

1. stopnja: poznavanje (reprodukcija znanja),
2. stopnja: razumevanje in uporaba znanja,
3. stopnja: analiza, sinteza in vrednotenje (s poudarkom na novosti problemske situacije, na samostojnosti reševanja problemov in na originalnih oz. ustvarjalnih rešitvah).[5]

Graf 1 prikazuje zastopanost vprašanj na različnih kognitivnih ravneh v vseh slovenskih učbenikih za zgodovino v devetletni osnovni šoli, ki so bili v rabi v šolskem letu 2010/2011, 2011/12 in 2012/13.

Ugotovitve analiziranih slovenskih učbenikov od 6. do 9. razreda (po Bloomovi taksonomiji) :

(i) na 1. taksonomski stopnji – znanje, imata največ vprašanj učbenika Raziskujem preteklost 6 (48,70 %) ter Stari svet (44,64 %). Najmanj vprašanj, ki terjajo zgolj znanje in poznavanje ima učbenik Prvi koraki v preteklost (zgolj 4,62 %); (ii) na 2. taksonomski stopnji – razumevanje, ima največ vprašanj učbenik Raziskujem preteklost 8 (53,73 %), najmanj pa učbenik Raziskujem preteklost 6 (28,70 %) vsi ostali učbeniki imajo zastopanost tovrstnih vprašanj visoko nad 30,00 %); (iii) na 3. taksonomski stopnji – uporaba, smo največ vprašanj in nalog zasledili v učbeniku Od prazgodovine skozi stari in srednji vek (4,14 %), nič vprašanj s področja konkretne rabe znanja pa ni bilo v naslednjih učbenikih Spoznavajmo zgodovino, Novi vek, Vzpon meščanstva, Naše stoletje in Raziskujem preteklost 9 (0,00 %);

(iv) na 4. taksonomski stopnji – analiza, ima največ vprašanj učbenik Prvi koraki v preteklost (kar 40,00 %), najmanj pa učbenik Stari svet (9,29 %); (v) na 5. taksonomski stopnji – sinteza, smo največ vprašanj in nalog, ki so tudi ustvarjalno naravnana, zasledili v učbeniku Od prazgodovine skozi stari in srednji vek (14,48 %) in v učbeniku Novi vek (10,76 %), najmanj pa v učbeniku Raziskujem preteklost 7 (1,08%) in Raziskujem preteklost 8 (0,39 %); (vi) na najvišji, 6. taksonomski stopnji, ki terja vrednotenje, smo zasledili največ tovrstnih vprašanj in nalog v učbenikih Prvi koraki v preteklost (12,31 %) in Novi vek (12,03 %), najmanj pa v učbeniku Vzpon meščanstva (0,57 %) in učbenikih Spoznavajmo zgodovino, ki nima nobenega vprašanja oz. naloge na najzahtevnejši ravni.

Analiza vseh vprašanj in nalog po Bloomovi taksonomiji učnih ciljev in Gardnerjevi klasifikaciji različnih vrst inteligentnosti v slovenskih učbenikih za zgodovino:

(i) najpogosteje je zastopana vidno-prostorska inteligentnost s 169-imi nalogami oz. 49, 27 % (v ospredju je delo s slikovnim gradivom, zgodbe v slikah, fotografije); (ii) sledi besedno-jezikovna inteligentnost, kjer smo za-

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4 Državna komisija za vodenje nacionalnega preizkusa znanja je v Izhodiščih nacionalnega preverjanja znanja v osnovni šoli priporočila naslednje deleže taksonomskih ravni: poznavanje 30 %, razumevanje in uporaba 35 % in samostojno reševanje novih problemov, samostojna interpretacija, vrednotenje 35 %.

5 Redukcijo taksonomije na tri kategorije je sprejela Republiška maturitetna komisija, Državna komisija za pripravo nacionalnih preizkusov znanja v devetletni OŠ, 2005.
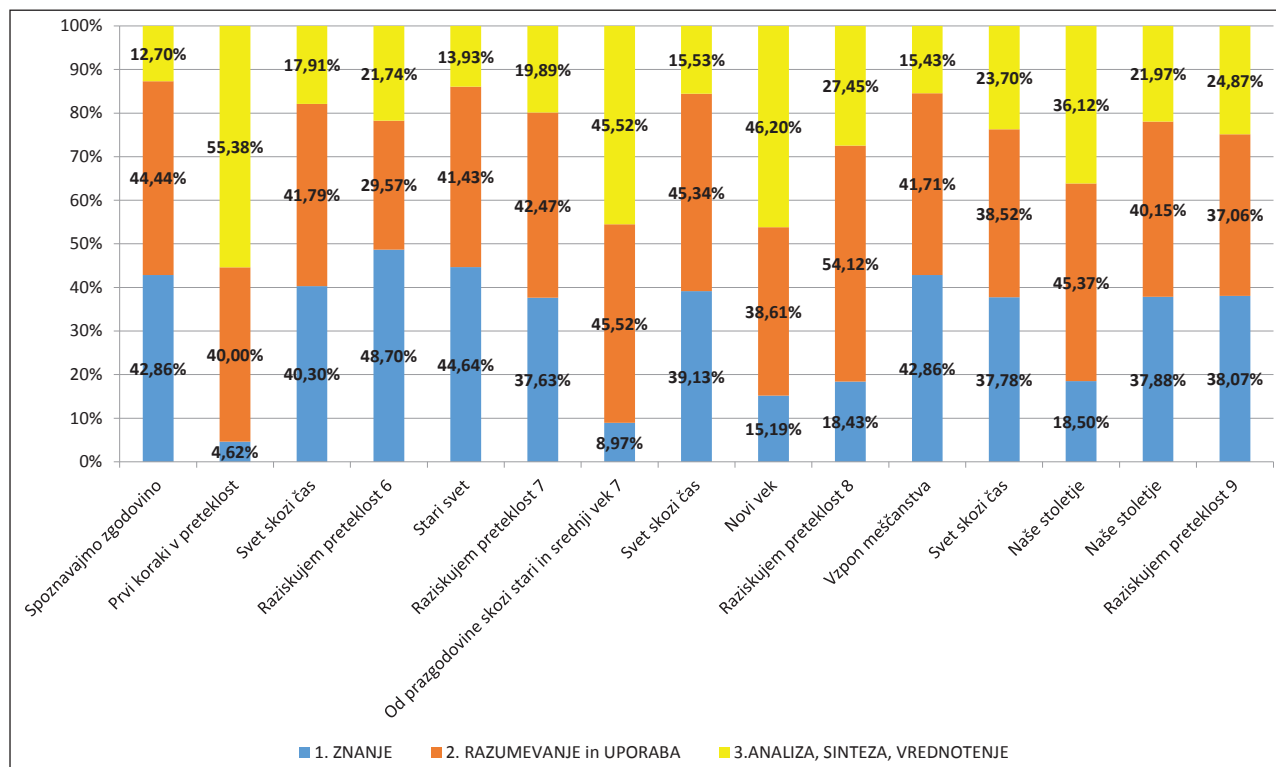
Graf 1: Skupen prikaz analize vprašanj po tristopenjski taksonomiji v slovenskih učbenikih za osnovno šolo

sledili 111 nalog oz. 32,36 % (predvsem gre za sporočanje v pisni in ustni obliki, razprave, pripovedovanje, pisanje zgodb ipd.); (iii) logično-matematična je spodbujena z 49-imi nalogami oz. 13,28 % (urejanje podatkov, razbiranje iz preglednic s statističnimi podatki, računanje, reševanje miselnih problemov, razumevanje vzroka in posledice, zapomnitev številk ipd); (iv) glasbena inteligentnost je spodbujena z 9-imi nalogami oz. 2,62 % (pesmi, skladbe, rime, reklamna gesla ipd.); (v) medosebna se pri učencu lahko razvija s tremi nalogami (predvsem gre za razprave, razgovore, intervjuje in skupinsko delo); (vi) naravoslovna in (vii) telesno-gibalna inteligentnost sta spodbujeni z eno nalogo; (viii) osebna inteligentnost v učbenikih ni zastopana.

Ugotavljamo, da so glede na težavnostne stopnje po Bloomovi taksonomiji v učbenikih zajete vse stopnje, med katerimi so najbolj izrazita in najpogosteje zastopana vprašanja in naloge na stopnji razumevanja (167) in uporabe analize (72 nalog in vprašanj) ter stopnja znanja (46). Najmanj je nalog in vprašanj na zadnji taksonomski stopnji – vrednotenje (zgolj 7).

Diskusija glede na ugotovitve analiziranih slovenskih učbenikov

Ugotovili smo, da imata najbolj enakomerno porazdelitev vprašanj, ki naj bi se približala porazdelitvi (op. glede na priporočila Državne komisije za vodenje naci-

onalnega preizkusa znanja) 30,00 % – 35,00 % – 35,00 % učbenika Raziskujem preteklost 9 (38,00 % – 37,00 % – 25,00 %) in Svet skozi čas (38,00 % – 39,00 % – 24,00 %); (i) najmanj primerna učbenika (ki imata največje število nalog, ki terjajo zgolj znanje v primerjavi z najmanjšim številom nalog na 3. stopnji) sta učbenika Stari svet in Spoznavajmo zgodovino; (ii) najboljši učbenik zgodovine za učno uspešne učence v slovenskih osnovnih šolah učbenik Prvi koraki v preteklost (6. razred), ki mu sledita učbenika Od prazgodovine skozi stari in srednji vek (7. razred) in učbenik Novi vek (8. razred).

Glavna ugotovitev se pri vseh analiziranih učbenikih nanaša predvsem na upoštevanje načela učne individualizacije, ki je pri zasnovi vprašanj in nalog sicer upoštevano, vendar prilagojeno predvsem povprečnim in učno šibkejšim učencem. Ugotavljamo namreč, da imajo le štirje učbeniki (od skupno analiziranih 15, tj. le 26,6 %) več kot 30,00 % vseh vprašanj in nalog na najvišji, tretji taksonomski stopnji (po Tristopenjski taksonomiji), ki terja višje miselne procese in je prilagojena zmožnejšim učencem.

Ugotovitve zahtevnosti vprašanj in nalog v učbenikih za zgodovino glede na razvojne stopnje mišljenja (po Piagetu)

V raziskavi smo zajeli predvsem populacijo otrok, ki spada v stopnjo formalne operacije, saj so učenci v 6.

razredu devetletne osnovne šole stari (v povprečju) 12 let. Čeprav meje med stopnjami niso jasne, saj se slednje v kontinuiranem razvoju prekrivajo, bi morali imeti učenci na stopnji konkretne operacije razvito/e:[6] vzročno-posledično mišljenje; sposobnost logičnega mišljenja v odnosu do fizičnih predmetov, prostorske operacije; sposobnost reverzibilnosti; zmožnost mišljenja na področju odnosov, kot sta klasifikacija in razvrščanje po vrstnem redu; matematične operacije ipd. Operacije na tej stopnji potekajo predvsem na miselni ravni, a so vseeno vezane na konkretne predmete in pojave, ki jih učenec zaznava ali si o njih pridobi izkušnje (Labinowicz, 2010, 69). Učenci na stopnji konkretnih operacij (7.–11. let starosti) torej niso sposobni odgovoriti na vprašanje, če jim ne predstavimo konkretnih predmetov oz. primerov. Pri učenju potrebujejo nazorno razlago. Sposobni so logičnega mišljenja, če stvari vidijo, zaznavajo, opazujejo ali jih sami preizkušajo. Abstraktno zastavljene naloge rešujejo manj uspešno (Labinowicz, 2010, 57; Marentič Požarnik, 2000, 141).

Za našo raziskavo je pomembna formalno-operacijska stopnja (od 11. oz. 12. leta dalje, ki traja do 15. leta starosti) ali t. i. stopnja abstraktno-logičnega mišljenja. To obdobje označuje zmožnost mišljenja izven konkretne stvarnosti, slednje torej ni več vezano le na predmete in konkretne izkušnje, temveč na abstraktnejše pojme, razmerja, besedne izjave in propozicije (Labinowicz, 2010, 80; Marentič Požarnik, 2000, 143). Učenec razvije zmožnosti hipotetičnega mišljenja in razumevanja abstraktnih pojmih, ter se problemov loteva na sistematičen in organiziran način. Na tej stopnji razvije hipotetično-deduktivno mišljenje, ki mu omogoča, da si zamišlja hipotetične situacije in sklepa deduktivno od splošne predpostavke k posameznim primerom in posledicam. Sposoben je tudi metakognicije; znanstvenega mišljenja (spoznavanja); izvajanja miselnih eksperimentov; osvajanja abstraktnih pojmov; zanima se za socialne, politične ideje, filozofske nauke, religijo idr. Pri interpretaciji ustreznosti učbenikov smo se oprli tudi na Strmčnika (2001, 107), ki govori o različnih ravneh učenja glede na namen, kakovost, stopnje miselne aktivnosti in samostojnosti posameznika ter ugotovili, da so za nas pomembni predvsem: produktivno (sposobnost lastnega urejanja naučenega, poglobljeno razumevanje, transfer znanja in vrednot na nove učne situacije); ustvarjalno (sposobnost globljega uvida v učno vsebino in videnja novih vprašanj, reševanja zahtevnejših problemov) ter metakognicijsko učenje (kritično zavedanje spoznavnih in učnih procesov). Če različne ravni učenja primerjamo s klasifikacijo znanja (po Bloom-u) glede na različne stopnje zahtevnosti (od preprostega do komple-

ksnega, konkretnega do abstraktnega) ugotovimo, da se z najvišjimi ravnmi učenja povezujejo taksonomske stopnje analize, sinteze in vrednotenja.

Glede na prikazane značilnosti razvojne stopnje mišljenja v povezavi z različnimi ravnmi učenja ugotavljamo, da so v slovenskih učbenikih za zgodovino ustrezno upoštevane razvojne značilnosti učencev. Učbeniška analiza razkriva, da je najboljši učbenik za učno uspešne učence (in hkrati najzahtevnejši iz vidika nalog in vprašanj) učbenik *Prvi koraki v preteklost* (učbenik za 6. razred). Slednji je prilagojen učencem, ki so na prehodu iz obdobja konkretno-logičnega mišljenja v abstraktno-logično mišljenje. Iz tega vidika je učbenik (pre)zahteven za ostale učence, ki tovrstnih sposobnosti (še) nimajo dobro razvitih, vendar odličen za učno uspešne, nadpovprečno sposobne, nadarjene učence, ki hitreje dosegajo določene razvojne (intelektualne) mejnike. Tudi iz vidika različnih ravni učenja (po Strmčniku) učbenik spodbuja produktivno in ustvarjalno učenje, manj pa metakognicijsko učenje. Nevralgičnost se pojavlja tudi na področju vprašanja ustreznosti učbenikov v 9. razredu osnovne šole, kjer imajo učenci v povprečju 15 let in pri katerih je stopnja abstraktno-logičnega mišljenja, hipotetičnega in deduktivnega mišljenja, že zelo dobro razvita. Pričakovati bi bilo, da bi se stopnji intelektualnega razvoja učencev prilagodili tudi učbeniki z zahtevnejšimi nalogami in vprašanji, ki bi spodbujala višje miselne procese in zahtevnejše ravni učenja. Vendar ugotavljamo, da nobeden izmed analiziranih učbenikov za 9. razred ne zaseda na 3. taksonomski stopnji (po tristopenjski taksonomiji) zadostno (relevantno) število tovrstnih vprašanj in nalog. Prav tako je iz vidika upoštevanja ustvarjalnega mišljenja veliko vrzeli, saj naloge in vprašanja v slovenskih učbenikih za zgodovino slednjega ne spodbujajo v zadostni meri.

ANALIZA ITALIJANSKIH UČBENIKOV ZA ZGODOVINO

Skupno smo analizirali *14 učbenikov in 7743 vprašanj*.

Graf 2 prikazuje zastopanost vprašanj na različnih kognitivnih ravneh v izbranih italijanskih učbenikih za osnovno šolo sekundarne stopnje in liceja (Scuola secondaria in liceo), ki sta primerljiva s slovensko devetletno osnovno šolo od 6.–9. razreda.

Ugotovitve za vse analizirane učbenike po Bloomovi taksonomiji učnih ciljev:

(i) na 1. taksonomski stopnji – znanje, ima največ vprašanj učbenik Le tracce della storia 1 (45,23 % – primerljivost stopnje je s slovenskim 9. razredom OŠ), kar

6   Glede na prikazane značilnosti stopnje konkretnih operacij (obdobja konkretno-logičnega mišljenja) ugotavljamo, da učbeniki za zgodovino od 6. razreda dalje upoštevajo intelektualne (razvojne) zmožnosti učencev ter jim ustrezno sledijo v kontinuiranem razvoju. Za podrobnejši pregled in primerjavo razvoja učenčevega mišljenja iz vidika upoštevanja intelektualnega razvoja (v smislu njegove kontinuitete), bi bilo smiselno opraviti analize učbenikov družboslovja v 4. in 5. razredu devetletne osnovne šole. Na podlagi primerjalne analize bi lahko resnično normativno ocenili vrednost učbenikov iz vidika upoštevanja in sledenja stopnjam intelektualnega razvoja učencev.
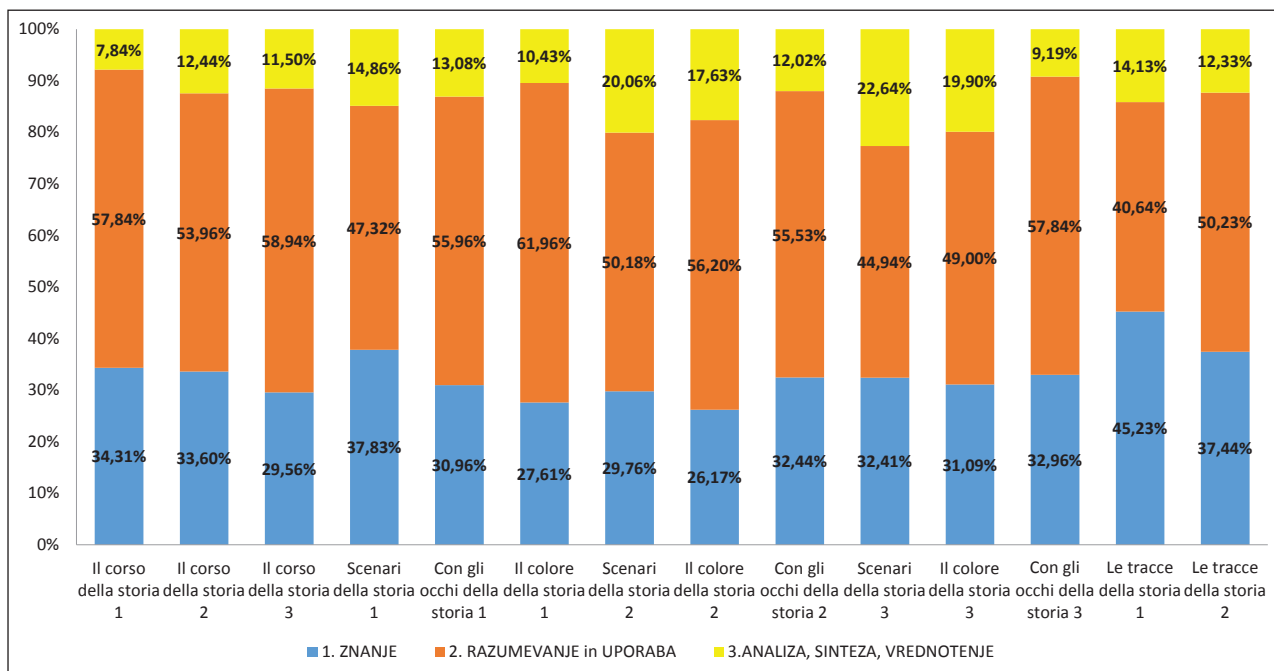
Graf 2: Skupen prikaz analize vprašanj po tristopenjski taksonomiji v italijanskih učbenikih za osnovno šolo

bi posledično pomenilo, da ni najbolj primeren za učno uspešne, najmanj vprašanj pa ima učbenik Il colore della storia 2 (26,17 % – primerljivost stopnje je s slovenskim 7. razredom OŠ); (ii) na 2. taksonomski stopnji – razumevanje, ima največ vprašanj učbenik Il corso della storia 3 (42,48 % – primerljivost stopnje je s slovenskim 8. razredom OŠ), najmanj pa učbenik Le tracce della storia 1 (22,26 % – primerljivost stopnje je s slovenskim 9. razredom OŠ); (iii) na 3. taksonomski stopnji – uporaba, smo največ vprašanj in nalog zasledili v učbeniku Con gli occhi della storia 2 (33,21 % – primerljivost stopnje je s slovenskim 7. razredom OŠ), najmanj pa v učbeniku na isti stopnji, in sicer Il corso della storia 2 (15,02 %); (iv) na 4. taksonomski stopnji – analiza, ima največ vprašanj učbenik Il colore della storia 3 (12,69 % – primerljivost stopnje je s slovenskim 8. razredom OŠ), najmanj pa učbenik Il corso della storia 1 (4,41 % – primerljivost stopnje je s slovenskim 6. razredom OŠ); (v) na 5. taksonomski stopnji – sinteza, smo največ vprašanj in nalog, ki so tudi ustvarjalno naravnana, zasledili v učbeniku Scenari della storia 3 (8,97 % – primerljivost stopnje je s slovenskim 8. razredom OŠ), najmanj pa v učbeniku Il corso della storia 1 (0,65 % – primerljivost stopnje je s slovenskim 6. razredom OŠ). Sinteza je bila pri analiziranih vprašanjih izrednega pomena, saj je po nekaterih avtorjih (kot npr. Heacox) pomembnejša od vrednotenja, zatorej lahko izpostavimo, da je iz tega vidika najboljši italijanski učbenik Scenari della storia 3, ki ima na vseh ravneh nadpovprečno vrednost vprašanj v primerjavi z drugimi učbeniki); (vi) na najvišji, 6. taksonomski stopnji, ki terja vrednotenje, smo zasledili

največ tovrstnih vprašanj in nalog v že omenjenem učbeniku Scenari della storia 3 (4,83 %), najmanj pa jih je v učbeniku Le tracce della storia 2 (0,91 % – primerljivost stopnje je s slovenskim 9. razredom OŠ).

Italijanski učbeniki imajo precej enakomerno porazdeljena vprašanja na vseh stopnjah. Najmanj jih je na zadnjih treh stopnjah (po Bloomovi taksonomiji), predvsem na stopnji sinteze in stopnji vrednotenja. Ugotavljamo, da italijanski učbeniki niso najbolj primerni za učno uspešne učence, saj ne vsebujejo večjega števila zahtevnejših vprašanj, ki silijo k uporabi višjih miselnih procesov.

Diskusija glede na ugotovitve analiziranih italijanskih učbenikov

(i) najbolj enakomerno porazdelitev vprašanj, ki naj bi se približala porazdelitvi 30,00 % – 35,00 % – 35,00 %, ima učbenik Scenari della storia 3, in sicer: 33,00 % – 45,00 % – 23,00 %.

(ii) najmanj primeren učbenik (ki ima največje število nalog, ki terjajo zgolj znanje v primerjavi z najmanjšim številom nalog na 3. stopnji) je Le tracce della storia 1;

(iii) najboljši učbenik zgodovine za učno uspešne učence v italijanskih osnovnih šolah je učbenik Scenari della storia 3, ki ima največ vprašanj in nalog na 3. taksonomski stopnji, čeprav mu tesno sledi učbenik Scenari della storia 2. Pri analizi učbenikov Scenari della storia (1, 2, 3) lahko potrdimo spoznanje, ki smo ga zapisali pred analizo učbenikov, kjer smo poudarili, da so slednji v Italiji najboljši učbeniki, glede na kazalce,

ki jih imajo v knjigarnah in kateri prikazujejo, koliko šol se je zanje odločilo. V Tržaški provinci (Friuli-Venezia Giulia) se je za omenjene učbenike odločilo skorajda 90 % vseh osnovnih šol.[7]

Analiza različnih vrst inteligentnosti po Gardnerju, ki smo jih zasledili v vseh italijanskih učbenikih:

(i) najpogosteje zastopana je besedno-jezikovna inteligentnost z 2052-imi nalogami oz. 52,86 %; (ii) sledi vidno-prostorska, kjer smo zasledili 1434 nalog oz. 36,94 %; (iii) logično-matematična je spodbujena s 297-imi nalogami oz. 7,65 %; (iv) naravoslovna je spodbujena v 41-ih nalogah oz. 1,06 %; (v) osebna inteligentnost je v učbenikih zastopana pri treh nalogah (samovrednotenje); (vi) medosebna pa se pri učencu lahko razvija s 55-imi nalogami oz. v deležu 1,42 %.

Glede na težavnostne stopnje po Bloomovi taksonomiji pa so v italijanskih učbenikih zajete vse stopnje, med katerimi so najbolj izrazita in najpogosteje zastopana vprašanja in naloge na stopnji uporabe znanja, kar v slovenskih učbenikih nismo zasledili (tovrstnih vprašanj oz. nalog je 1210; sledi 2. stopnja – razumevanje (1124 nalog in vprašanj) ter stopnja znanja (779) in stopnja analize (450) ter sinteze (173) in vrednotenja (146).

Ugotavljamo, da imajo vsi analizirani učbeniki za zgodovino vprašanja na različnih taksonomskih ravneh, kar pomeni, da v svoji vsebinski strukturi (zasnovi vprašanj) upoštevajo načelo učne individualizacije in diferenciacije, vendar so manj primerni za delo z učno uspešnimi učenci. Izmed skupno analiziranih 14 učbenikov namreč nima nobeden število vprašanj in nalog na 3. taksonomski stopnji preko 30,00 %.

Glede na značilnosti razvoja mišljenja (po Piagetu) ugotavljamo, da učbeniki slabše sledijo razvojnim zmožnostim učencev na intelektualnem področju, ki so na starostni stopnji 15 let sposobni višjih, zahtevnejših miselnih operacij, abstraktno-logičnega mišljenja, hipotetičnega in deduktivnega mišljenja, moralne presoje idr. Prav tako učbeniki spodbujajo predvsem reproduktivno učenje in produktivno učenje, manj pa ustvarjalno mišljenje (sposobnost globljega uvida v učno vsebino in videnja novih vprašanj, reševanja zahtevnejših problemov) ter metakognicijsko učenje (kritično zavedanje spoznavnih in učnih procesov).

V primerjavi s slovenskimi učbeniki, italijanski bolje sledijo razvojnim stopnjam povprečnega intelektualnega razvoja učencev, saj je najmanj primeren učbenik za učno uspešne učence (ki ima največje število nalog, ki terjajo zgolj znanje učbenik Le tracce della storia 1 (starostna stopnja učencev je 11–12 let). Najboljši učbenik zgodovine za učno uspešne učence v italijanskih osnovnih šolah pa je učbenik Scenari della storia 3 (starostna stopnja učencev je 14–15 let), ki ima največ vprašanj in nalog na 3. taksonomski stopnji, kjer je v povprečju

stopnja abstraktno-logičnega mišljenja, hipotetičnega in deduktivnega mišljenja učencev že zelo dobro razvita.

ANALIZA ANGLEŠKIH UČBENIKOV ZA ZGODOVINO

Skupno smo analizirali *10 učbenikov (ter dodatnih 5, ki vprašanj in nalog niso vsebovali) in 1918 vprašanj.*

Ugotavljamo, da v analiziranih angleških učbenikih vprašanja niso tako sorazmerno porazdeljena kot v italijanskih in slovenskih.

Skupne ugotovitve analiziranih učbenikov po Bloomovi taksonomiji:

(i) na 1. taksonomski stopnji – znanje, ima največ vprašanj učbenik GCSE Modern History, ki je tudi oblikovan v funkciji končnega preverjanja znanja (97,17% – primerljivost stopnje je s slovenskim 9. razredom OŠ), vendar za našo analizo slednji ni najbolj primerljiv, saj je veliko bolj primeren za dijake v 1. letniku slovenske srednje šole. Sledi mu učbenik The world of History (71,65 %). Najmanj vprašanj, ki terjajo zgolj znanje in poznavanje, imata učbenika SHP History 9 (5,35 %) in What is a history (5,13 %, primerljivost s 6. razredom devetletne OŠ);

(ii) na 2. taksonomski stopnji – razumevanje, ima največ vprašanj učbenik The great war (46,09 % – primerljivost stopnje je s slovenskim 8. in 9. razredom OŠ), najmanj pa učbenik GCSE Modern History, (2,83 % – primerljivost stopnje je s slovenskim 9. razredom OŠ);

(iii) na 3. taksonomski stopnji – uporaba, smo največ vprašanj in nalog zasledili v učbeniku What is a history (34,62 %, primerljivost s 6. razredom devetletne OŠ), najmanj pa v učbeniku GCSE – History (3,16 %) in GCSE Modern History (ki od 2. taksonomske stopnje dalje nima nobenega vprašanja oz. naloge);

(iv) na 4. taksonomski stopnji – analiza, ima največ vprašanj učbenik History – Britain 1066–1500 (26,14 % – primerljivost stopnje je s slovenskim 7. razredom OŠ), najmanj pa učbenika History KS 3 (3,88 %) in GCSE Modern History (ki od 2. taksonomske stopnje dalje nima nobenega vprašanja oz. naloge); (v) na 5. taksonomski stopnji – sinteza, smo največ vprašanj in nalog, ki so tudi ustvarjalno naravnana, zasledili v učbeniku SHP History Year 9 (20,16 %) in SHP History Year 7 (14,18 %), najmanj pa v učbeniku The great war (1,74 %) in GCSE Modern History (ki od 2. taksonomske stopnje dalje nima nobenega vprašanja oz. naloge);

(vi) na najvišji, 6. taksonomski stopnji, ki terja vrednotenje, smo zasledili največ tovrstnih vprašanj in nalog v že omenjenih učbenikih The great war (20,00 %), SHP History Year 9 (14,81 %) in SHP History Year 7 (12,77 %), najmanj pa jih je v učbeniku The world of History (1,57 %) in učbenikih GCSE Modern History ter History KS 3, ki nimata nobenega vprašanja oz. naloge na najzahtevnejši ravni.

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7   Podatki so informativne narave in smo jih pridobili v knjigarni v Trstu (Italija), ki skrbi za nabavo učbenikov za osnovne in srednje šole v celotnem Tržaškem območju (4. 4. 2013).
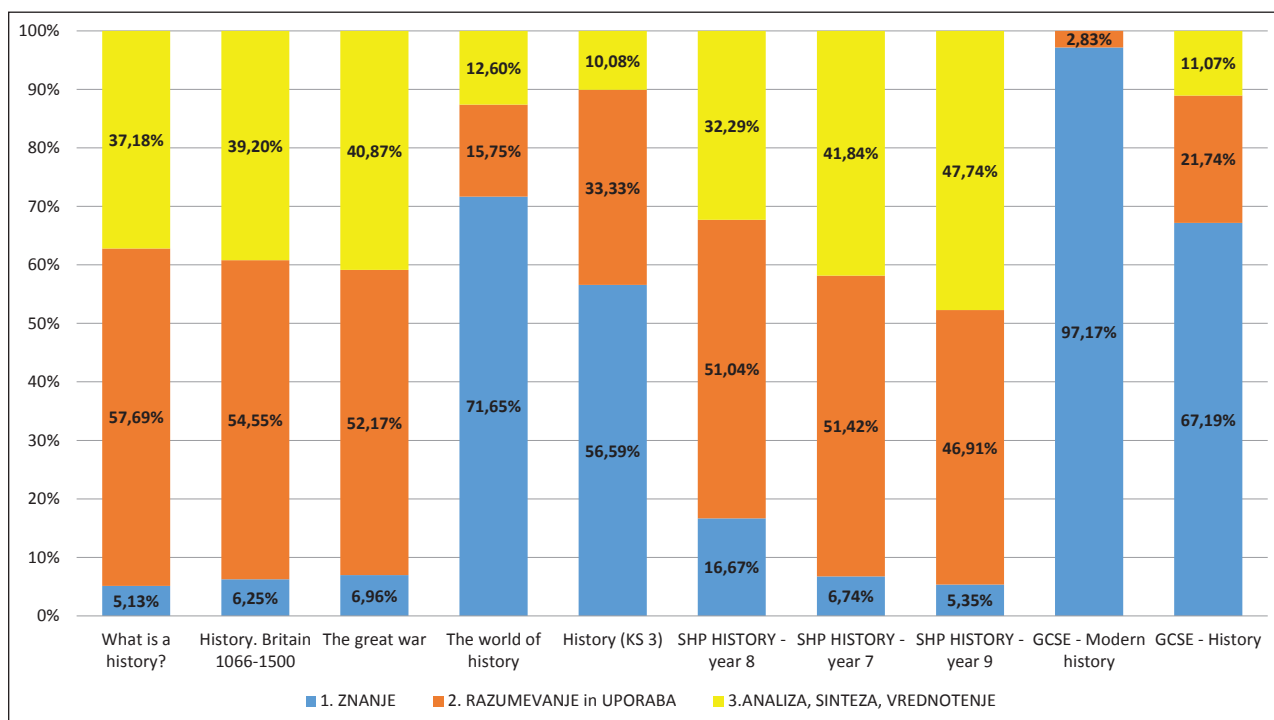
Graf 3: Skupen prikaz analize vprašanj po tristopenjski taksonomiji v angleških učbenikih za osnovno šolo

Ugotavljamo, da imajo vsi analizirani angleški učbeniki precej neenakomerno zastopana vprašanja in naloge (glede na zahtevnost stopenj) in v svoji vsebinski strukturi (zasnovi vprašanj) upoštevajo načelo učne individualizacije in diferenciacije.

Glede na tristopenjsko taksonomijo ima največ vprašanj na 1. stopnji učbenik GCSE Modern History (97,17 % – primerljivost stopnje je s slovenskim 9. razredom OŠ), sledi mu učbenik The world of History (71,65 %). Najmanj vprašanj, ki terjajo zgolj znanje in poznavanje, imata učbenika SHP History 9 in What is a history;

na 2. taksonomski stopnji (razumevanje in uporaba) so vprašanja najpogosteje zastopana v učbeniku What is history (57,69 %), sledi mu učbenik učbenik History – Britain 1066–1500 (54,55 %); najmanj vprašanj smo na 2. taksonomski stopnji zasledili v učbeniku The world of history (15,75 %) in GCSE Modern History (2,83 %);

na 3. taksonomski stopnji, ki predstavlja združitev analize, sinteze in vrednotenja imata največ vprašanj učbenika SHP History Year 9 (47,74 %) in SHP History Year 7 (41,84 %), sledi jima učbenik The great war (40,87 %), vsi ostali učbeniki imajo zastopanost tovrstnih vprašanj in nalog v vrednosti manj kot 40,00 %; najmanj nalog in vprašanj na 3. stopnji je v učbenikih GCSE history (11,07 %), History KS 3 (10,08 %) in GCSE Modern History (0,00 %).

Analiza osmih vrst inteligentnosti po Gardnerju, ki smo jih zasledili v vseh analiziranih angleških učbenikih:
(i) tudi v slednjih je najpogosteje zastopana besedno-jezikovna inteligentnost z 447-imi nalogami oz. 49, 94 %; (ii) sledi vidno-prostorska, kjer smo zasledili 263 nalog oz. 29, 38 %, (delo s slikovnim gradivom, zgodbe v slikah, fotografije); (iii) logično-matematična inteligentnost je spodbujena s 119-imi nalogami oz. 13,29%; (iv) naravoslovna je spodbujena v 15-ih nalogah oz. 1,76 %; (v) glasbena je spodbujena s 13-imi nalogami oz. 1,45 %; (vi) osebna inteligentnost je v učbenikih zastopana pri štirih nalogah; (vii) medosebna se pri učencu lahko razvija s 34-imi nalogami oz. v deležu 3, 79 %.

Glede na težavnostne stopnje po Bloomovi taksonomiji so v učbenikih zajete vse stopnje, med katerimi so najbolj izrazita in najpogosteje zastopana vprašanja in naloge na stopnji razumevanja in uporabe znanja (razumevanje – tovrstnih vprašanj oz. nalog je 257; sledi 3. stopnja – uporaba (217 nalog in vprašanj) ter stopnja analize (143) ter sinteze (123), vrednotenja (107) in na zadnjem mestu – znanja (48).

Diskusija glede na ugotovitve analiziranih angleških učbenikov

(i) Najbolj enakomerno porazdelitev vprašanj, ki naj bi se približala porazdelitvi 30,00 % – 35,00 % – 35,00 % ima učbenik SHP History – Year 8, in sicer: 17,00 % – 52,00 % – 33,00 %;

(ii) najmanj primeren učbenik (ki ima največje število nalog, ki terjajo zgolj znanje v primerjavi z najmanjšim številom nalog na 3. stopnji) je GCSE Modern History, sledijo mu še GCSE History in The world of History;

(iii) najboljši učbenik zgodovine za učno uspešne učence v angleških osnovnih šolah je učbenik SHP History Year 9, ki mu sledita učbenika SHP History Year 7 in učbenik The great war.

Vsi analizirani učbeniki za zgodovino imajo vprašanja na različnih taksonomskih ravneh, kar pomeni, da v svoji vsebinski strukturi (zasnovi vprašanj) upoštevajo načelo učne individualizacije in diferenciacije. Angleški učbeniki za zgodovino so v veliki večini primerni za delo z učno uspešnimi učenci, saj jih ima izmed skupno analiziranih 10, kar 6 učbenikov (tj. 60,00 %) preko 30,00 % vprašanj na 3. taksonomski stopnji.

Glede na prikazane značilnosti razvoja mišljenja (po Piagetu) ugotavljamo, da učbeniki veliko bolje sledijo razvojnim zmožnostim učencev na intelektualnem področju, ki so na starostni stopnji 15 let sposobni višjih, zahtevnejših miselnih operacij, abstraktno-logičnega mišljenja, hipotetičnega in deduktivnega mišljenja, moralne presoje idr., saj je najboljši učbenik zgodovine za učno uspešne učence v angleških osnovnih šolah učbenik SHP History Year 9 (starost učencev je 13–14 let). Prav tako učbeniki spodbujajo predvsem produktivno učenje in ustvarjalno mišljenje (sposobnost globljega uvida v učno vsebino in videnja novih vprašanj, reševanja zahtevnejših problemov) ter metakognitivno učenje (kritično zavedanje spoznavnih in učnih procesov), ki se pomembno povezuje s posameznikovim občutkom učinkovitosti in učne uspešnosti (Čotar Konrad, Kukanja Gabrijelčič, 2013) .

SKLEPI

Pri analizi učbenikov za zgodovino v Republiki Sloveniji, Italiji in Veliki Britaniji – Angliji, s katero smo skupno analizirali *44 učbenikov in 11.947 vprašanj ter nalog,* smo prišli do naslednjih spoznanj (s poudarkom na domačem prostoru):

(i) naloge v sodobnih slovenskih učbenikih za zgodovino v osnovni šoli v veliki večini poudarjajo enciklopedično znanje in zahtevajo realizacijo splošnih učnih ciljev (iz učnih načrtov) na nižjih taksonomskih ravneh po Bloomovi taksonomiji ter ne razvijajo dovolj ustvarjalnosti in višjih miselnih procesov pri učno uspešnih (nadarjenih) učencih. Medtem ko so pri tujih učbenikih (predvsem angleških) naloge oz. vprašanja veliko bolj diferencirana in prilagojena različnim sposobnostim učencev, spodbujajo ustvarjalnost in višje miselne procese;

(ii) ugotavljamo, da v slovenskih učbenikih velika večina avtorjev ne sledi temeljnim priporočilom Sveta Evrope (1999), ki v svojih priporočilih prvovrstno poudarjajo pomen razvijanja kritičnega mišljenja, analize in interpretacije informacij;

(iii) po Bloomovi taksonomiji kognitivnih ciljev so se med slovenskimi učbeniki na določeni starostni stopnji (in med stopnjami) pojavljale manjše razlike. Ugotovili smo, da naloge in vprašanja v slovenskih učbenikih v največji meri stremijo k razumevanju in konkretni upo-

rabi znanja, najmanj pa je tistih na stopnji analize, sinteze in vrednotenja, ki so tudi najpomembnejša pri delu z učno uspešnimi učenci.

(iv) glede na rezultate analize nalog po Gardnerjevih vrstah inteligentnosti, izpostavljamo problem spodbujanja različnih vrst inteligentnosti, saj je slovenskih učbenikih za zgodovino najbolje zastopana *vidno-prostorska* inteligentnost (kjer je v ospredju delo s slikovnim gradivom, zgodbami v slikah, fotografijami, plakati, ilustracijami ipd.), sledi pa ji *besedno-jezikovna* inteligentnost (predvsem gre za sporočanje v pisni in ustni obliki, razprave, pripovedovanje, pisanje zgodb ipd.), ostale vrste inteligentnosti pa so slabše zastopane oz. jih ni;

(v) prav tako ugotavljamo, da naloge in vprašanja v slovenskih učbenikih za zgodovino ne spodbujajo ustvarjalnega mišljenja (slednjih je zanemarljivo malo, predvsem so to naloge, ki sprašujejo po tem, kaj bi bilo, če bi …) ter so usmerjena predvsem h konvergentnemu mišljenju, kjer vsi učenci pridejo do iste rešitve zgodovinskega problema. Divergentno mišljenje, ki je v bistvu ustvarjalno, v slovenskih učbenikih za zgodovino ni spodbujeno. Pri projektnem in raziskovalnem delu pri pouku in izven pouka zgodovine slovenski učbeniki ne ponujajo dodatnih nalog, problemskih iztočnic, raziskovalnih dejavnosti idr., ki bi učence spodbudilo k samostojnemu delu;

(vi) *najboljši učbeniki za zgodovino so v Veliki Britaniji – Angliji*, sledijo jim slovenski učbeniki ter nazadnje italijanski učbeniki, ki izstopajo predvsem po razsežnosti 2. taksonomske stopnje (razumevanje in uporaba). Izbrani angleški učbenik (kot najboljši izmed analiziranih) je najbolj prilagojen delu z učno uspešnimi učenci, saj ima največje število vprašanj in nalog na najtežjih ravneh mišljenja: sintezi (kjer zasledimo tudi ustvarjalnost in izvirnost) ter vrednotenju. Prav tako ima slednji najbolje diferencirana vprašanja in naloge;

(vii) ker je formuliranje ter priprava vprašanj in nalog zahtevno delo, ki terja dobro pedagoško-psihološko usposobljenega specialnega didaktika, je smiselno, da se avtorji učbenikov povežejo v projektni tim, ki ga bodo sestavljali različni strokovnjaki iz predmetnega, pedagoško-psihološkega in drugega polja.

ZAKLJUČEK

Ko govorimo o optimalnem razvoju učenca, smo usmerjeni k celostnemu (holističnemu) pristopu, k zadovoljitvi njegovih potreb, želja in interesov na vseh vidikih razvoja. Pri optimalnem razvoju učno uspešnega učenca pri pouku zgodovine smo bili usmerjeni tako na kognitivne kot tudi afektivne vidike (predvsem pri analizi učbenikov) ter možnosti individualiziranih učnih pristopov, ki jih slednji ponujajo. Afektivni vidiki so bili najbolj nazorno prikazani preko različnih vrst inteligentnosti, kjer smo iskali naloge in vprašanja, ki bi spodbujale osebno in medosebno inteligentnost (predvsem samovrednotenje, skupinsko delo, sodelovalno učenje).

Na kognitivnem področju pa smo slednje želeli dokazati z analizo vprašanj in nalog po izbrani taksonomiji, primerov individualnih zadolžitev (raziskovalnim, projektnim delom in drugimi diferenciranimi strategijami pouka).

Ugotavljamo, da je za optimalni razvoj učno uspešnih (nadarjenih) učencev v Sloveniji (pri pouku zgodovine) slabše poskrbljeno, saj naloge in vprašanja ne spodbujajo ustvarjalnega mišljenja, višjih miselnih procesov, hkrati pa ostale dejavnosti ne stremijo k zadovoljitvi različnih vrst inteligentnosti. Spodbujanje ustvarjalnosti in mnogoterih vrst inteligentnosti pa je najbolje razvito pri angleških učbenikih za zgodovino, najmanj pa v italijanskih.

Glede na prikazane rezultate analize vprašanj in nalog v osnovnošolskih učbenikih za zgodovino, izpostavljamo predvsem pomen temeljite priprave diferenciranega učnega gradiva, ki bo prilagojeno tudi učno uspešnim učencem. Vprašanja in naloge v učbenikih so namreč v veliki meri bolje prilagojena učno manj uspešnim in ne učno uspešnim (nadarjenim) učencem, saj je še vedno največ nalog in vprašanj na prvih takso-

nomskih stopnjah, ki so usmerjene predvsem k znanju, razumevanju in uporabi (preko 72,00 % vseh nalog in vprašanj).

Založbe in avtorji didaktičnega gradiva bi morali upoštevati tudi potrebe in predvsem lastnosti učno uspešnih učencev, različne vrste inteligentnosti in predvsem višje sposobnosti, ki jih ločujejo od povprečja ostalih vrstnikov. Naloge in vprašanja bi morala biti v gradivu ločeno zapisana na višjih kognitivnih ravneh ter spodbujati h kritičnemu in ustvarjalnemu mišljenju. Poleg tega bi morali stremeti k obogatitvi učil in pripravi dodatnih rubrik v učbenikih za zgodovino, ki bodo namenjene učno uspešnejšim učencem z naborom dodatnih vsebin, zahtevnejših vprašanj in nalog ter primeri obogatitvenih, raziskovalnih dejavnosti.

Učbenik v sodobnem svetu ni več en in edini vir informacij, zato je pomembno, da vsebuje tudi druge vsebine, ki so ključnega pomena za delo pri pouku zgodovine; bodisi razvijanje ključnih kompetenc, učenje učenja, medkulturnih odnosov in predvsem ustrezno diferenciacijo vsebin, nalog ter vprašanj, ki jih lahko učitelj uporabi pri delu s heterogeno skupino učencev.

STUDENT TAILORED TEXTBOOK?
INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONS AND TASKS
IN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

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SUMMARY

The paper presents a qualitative and quantitative analysis of 44 contemporary, legally approved history textbooks, which were issued by various publishers in Slovenia, United Kingdom – England and Italy and in use in the school years 2010/2011, 2011/12 and 2012/13. The data processing has been conducted with technique of content analysis in history textbooks in basic school, through which we wished to determine the level of appropriateness and the difficulty of 11.947 questions and tasks. Starting from the tendency to promote educational work with high ability learners and the opportunities to realize their potential, we wished to present the frameworks and modern teaching strategies that strive towards didactic and methodological renewal of basic education. In Slovenia, Italy and in the UK (England) we highlighted history textbooks, as belief that they reflect the ethics, culture and other areas of a society, while their content also reveals the nature of the whole educational system of the country. The research has shown that the most developed system for teaching more successful students is in England, while the least developed is the Italian system. Slovenian history textbooks in majority emphasizes encyclopedic knowledge and require the realization of general learning objectives at lower taxonomic levels according to Bloom's taxonomy, and do not sufficiently promote creativity and higher mental processes with high ability students.

Key words: history textbook, questions and tasks, international comparative analysis, high ability student.

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VPLIV PRAVNE UREDITVE ORGANIZIRANOSTI UNIVERZ NA NJIHOVO AVTONOMNOST. PRIMERJALNA ANALIZA PRAVNE UREDITVE UNIVERZ V SLOVENIJI IN IZBRANIH EVROPSKIH DRŽAVAH

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IZVLEČEK

Univerze predstavljajo pomemben dejavnik razvoja družbe. Pri tem je njihova avtonomnost ključnega pomena. Cilj prispevka je predstaviti ugotovitve analize v letih 2009 in 2015 veljavne pravne ureditve organiziranosti univerz v Republiki Sloveniji in primerjalno-pravne analize ureditev organizacijskega vidika delovanja univerz v izbranih evropskih državah z namenom, da bi javnim univerzam v Sloveniji omogočili delovanje, ki bi bilo avtonomnejše in bolj družbeno odgovorno kot jim ga omogoča veljavna pravna ureditev. Rezultati analize opozarjajo na izredno velik razkorak med ustavno zagotovljeno in dejansko avtonomnostjo slovenskih univerz, zato so v zaključnem delu podani številni predlogi za izboljšave pravne ureditve organiziranosti slovenskih državnih univerz.

Ključne besede: univerza, avtonomnost, pravna ureditev, organiziranost, družbena odgovornost, zakon o visokem šolstvu

L'IMPATTO DEL REGOLAMENTO SULL'AUTONOMIA DELLE UNIVERSITÀ. ANALISI COMPARATIVA DEL REGOLAMENTO LEGALE DELLE UNIVERSITÀ DI SLOVENIA E DEI PAESI EUROPEI SELEZIONATI

SINTESI

Le università rappresentano un fattore di base nello sviluppo di ogni società. In questo ruolo, la loro autonomia è di massima importanza. L'articolo presenta le conclusioni dell'analisi per il periodo 2009-2015 del sistema giuridico vigente nella Repubblica di Slovenia e nei paesi europei prescelti, con lo scopo di permettere alle università in Slovenia di operare con più autonomia e responsabilità sociale. I risultati dell'analisi mostrano un gran divario tra l'autonomia prevista dalla costituzione e tra l'autonomia che le università slovene vivono in pratica. Le conclusioni dell'articolo offrono varie proposte per il miglioramento delle norme relative all'organizzazione delle università slovene pubbliche.

Parole chiave: università, autonomia, sistema giuridico, organizzazione, responsabilità sociale, legge sull'istruzione superiore

UVOD

Univerza kot znanstvena in izobraževalna ustanova lahko svoje temeljno poslanstvo - tvorno prispevati k razvoju okolja in družbe znanja, ki se skozi stoletja ni bistveno spremenilo, izpolnjuje le, če je avtonomna. Ustavno sodišče Republike Slovenije (v nadaljevanju US RS) v 24. točki obrazložitve svoje odločbe (Odl. US RS, 1998a) navaja, da ima za razumevanje pojma ,avtonomnosti univerz' izjemen pomen dokument Magna Charta Universitatum (Magna Charta Universitatum, 1988), čeprav nima narave za državo zavezujoče mednarodne pogodbe. V njem so namreč postavljena temeljna načela, na katerih mora temeljiti, zdaj in v prihodnosti, poslanstvo univerz. Izpostavljeno je tudi, da mora biti univerza v raziskovalni in poučevalni dejavnosti moralno in intelektualno neodvisna v razmerju do vsakršne politične in ekonomske oblasti ter da je temeljno načelo univerzitetnega življenja svoboda raziskovanja, poučevanja in oblikovanja, zato morajo vlade in univerze, vsaka v okviru svojih prostojnosti, zagotoviti spoštovanje te temeljne zahteve. V 3. točki temeljnih načel je navedeno, da je treba vsem članom univerzitetne skupnosti zagotoviti primerne instrumente za zagotavljanje te svobode (Magna Charta Universitatum, 1998).

Avtonomnost univerze je ključnega pomena za dosežke evropskega visokošolskega prostora (ang. European higher education area, v nadaljevanju EHEA), v številnih dokumentih svetovnih in evropskih institucij pa je zapisana tudi kot ena od pomembnih prioritet za dosego cilja ,družbe znanja'. Bolonjska deklaracija (Bologna Declaration, 1999), ki so jo sprejeli ministri evropskih držav, pristojni za področje visokega šolstva, in predstavlja svojevrstno prelomnico v zgodovini evropskega visokega šolstva, prav tako poziva k spoštovanju avtonomnosti visokošolskih sistemov (Obadić in Aristovnik, 2011; Aristovnik, 2012). Podobne poudarke vsebujejo tudi dokumenti, sprejeti na konferencah ministrov, pristojnih za visoko šolstvo, pred bolonjsko konferenco oz. na konferencah, ki so ji sledile (Erfurt Declaration, 1996; Sorbonne Declaration, 1998; Prague Communiqué, 2001; Berlin Communiqué, 2003; Bergen Communiqué, 2005; London Communiqué, 2007; Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve Communiqué, 2009; Budapest-Vienna Declaration, 2010; Bucharest Communiqué, 2012). Tudi Evropska unija (v nadaljevanju EU) - Evropski parlament oz. Evropska komisija - je v več svojih dokumentih (npr. Lisbon Strategy, 2000; EC, 2006, EC, 2007 in EC, 2010) prepoznala potrebo po višji stopnji avtonomnosti univerz in kot prioriteto izpostavila oblikovanje novih podlag oz. izhodišč za pravne ureditve delovanja univerz, ki naj temeljijo na visoki stopnji njihove avtonomnosti in odgovornosti. Evropska zveza univerz - ,European University Association' (v nadaljevanju EUA) v deklaracijah ter drugih dokumentih in študijah (kot npr. EUA, 2001; EUA, 2003; EUA, 2005; EUA, 2009; EUA, 2010 in EUA, 2011) izpostavlja izreden pomen naraš-

čanja institucionalne avtonomnosti univerz kot ključ do izpolnitve novih vlog, pričakovanj in nalog, ki jih pred univerze postavljata globalno okolje in družba.

Avtonomnost univerze je v pravnem sistemu Republike Slovenije (v nadaljevanju RS) ,predpisana' z ustavo. Opredeljuje jo 58. člen Ustave Republike Slovenije (v nadaljevanju Ustava RS), ki določa, da so državne univerze in državne visoke šole avtonomne. Avtonomnost univerze izhaja iz svobode znanosti in umetnosti, kot je določa 59. člen Ustave RS (Ustava RS, 1991). Določilo glede avtonomnosti univerze je eno najbolj kategoričnih določil v vsej Ustavi RS. Ustavni sodnik, dr. Bostjan M. Zupančič (v nadaljevanju Zupančič), je v svojem pritrdilnem ločenem mnenju k odločbi US RS (Odl. US RS, 1995) navedel, da je ta ustavna določba »brez vsake kvalifikacije, pogoja ali zakonske rezerve. Enostavno, jasno in brezprizivno ukazuje, da bodi univerza avtonomna. Drugi odstavek, ki izrecno omejuje z zakonom opredeljeno vlogo države na financiranje univerze, s tem kot izjema, samo še potrjuje pravilo prvega odstavka. V prvem odstavku gre torej za značilno preskriptivno normo, ki ji v drugem odstavku sledi instrumentalna norma. Pridevnik ,avtonomen' (ali samostalnik ,avtonomnost') se ne pojavlja nikjer drugje v ustavi: niti sodstvo, ki je sicer neodvisno, niti izvršna oblast, niti Državni svet, niti Predsednik republike po ustavi niso avtonomni. Vsi so vezani na zakone, ki jih (v okviru Ustave RS) razglaša Državni zbor. Univerza pa je, od zakonske regulative po ustavi expressis verbis izvzeta«.

US RS v 26. točki odločbe (Odl. US RS, 1998a) potrjuje, da avtonomnost univerze, po jezikovnih razlagah pojma, dejansko pomeni, da univerza sama odloča o lastnih zadevah. Vendar je v nadaljevanju iste odločbe izpostavljeno, da je takšna splošna ugotovitev premalo določna, da bi lahko služila kot kriterij pri presoji, o katerih vprašanjih naj univerza odloča sama, ker (27. in 28. točka Odl. US RS, 1998a):

- »mora univerza kot pravna oseba najprej sploh nastati, nastanek in nadaljnji obstoj javne univerze kot pravne osebe pa mora zagotoviti država,

- je univerza, enako kot vsak družbeni podsistem, tako močno povezana z drugimi družbenimi podsistemi, da skoraj ni vprašanj, ki bi se tikala izključno univerze, na drugi strani pa so številna vprašanja, ki na prvi pogled sodijo v področje drugih podsistemov, pa lahko pomembno posegajo tudi v položaj univerz. Popolnoma avtonomen družbeni podsistem je notranje protisloven pojem: če je popolnoma avtonomen, ni več družben in tudi ne podsistem. Hkrati pa vsaka odločitev, ki lahko (pri)zadene avtonomni sistem, daje temu podsistemu pravico, da sodeluje pri odločanju«.

US RS v omenjeni odločbi že uvodoma (evidenčni stavek) pojasnjuje, da »že iz narave stvari (ker gre za pravno, ne pa za fizično osebo, ki nastane po naravnih zakonih), pa tudi iz ustavne določbe (državna univerza) izhaja, da avtonomnost ne vključuje tudi pravice do samoorganiziranja. Da univerza sploh lahko začne

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avtonomno delovati, mora država sprejeti pravila in akt o njeni ustanovitvi, to pa nujno vključuje vsaj temeljne določbe o njenem statusu, načinu vodenja in upravljanja, nalogah oziroma dejavnosti, kot tudi določbe, ki urejajo temeljna razmerja med njenimi konstitutivnimi deli (fakultete, znanstveni delavci, pedagoški delavci, drugi delavci in študentje) in, glede na specifične naloge, ki jih imajo državne univerze kot nosilke javne službe, tudi določbe o vplivu države in državljanov pri njihovem delovanju. Šele po sprejetju teh določb je sploh mogoče govoriti o tem, kdo (kaj) je univerza, ki naj bo avtonomna« (Odl. US RS, 1998a). Zgaga (2010) navaja, da »s tem prihajamo na ,mehko' področje regulacije visokega šolstva: te problematike pa ni mogoče preprosto ,oktroirati' s kakim zakonskim določilom, ker taki posegi v visokem šolstvu ,ne primejo' (in niso nikoli ,prijeli') in ker se prepletajo s poljem akademske avtonomije.«

Na eni strani gre torej za ustavno pravico univerze do avtonomnosti, na drugi strani pa za ustavno dolžnost države, da jo ustanovi in uredi temeljne podlage za njeno delovanje ter temeljna razmerja do drugih družbenih podsistemov. Hkrati ne gre zanemariti tudi ustavne »dolžnosti univerze, da je avtonomna« kot navaja ustavni sodnik Zupančič v svojem odklonilnem ločenem mnenju k odločbi US RS (Odl. US RS, 1998a). Avtonomnosti namreč ni mogoče obravnavati le kot njen privilegij, temveč tudi ali predvsem kot njeno odgovornost in priložnost za prispevek k ustvarjalnemu razvoju sodobne družbe ter sposobnost njenega tvornega odziva na družbena pričakovanja. Ta so predvsem, da univerza svojo pravico do institucionalne avtonomnosti nadomesti z ustreznim odzivom na potrebe družbe in da skozi uresničevanje osnovnih vidikov avtonomnosti ter skozi odprtost in zainteresiranost za vključevanje zunanjih deležnikov v svoje delovanje, uresničuje svojo odgovornost do študentov in drugih uporabnikov storitev, zaposlenih, dobaviteljev, lokalne skupnosti, medijev, naravnega okolja in drugih deležnikov. Tomaževič (2014) navaja, da sta ravno vključevanje vseh deležnikov in upoštevanje njihovih interesov ključna za doseganje dolgoročne odličnosti delovanja katerekoli organizacije.

Zavedajoč se dejstva, da Ustava RS vsebuje določilo, ki univerzam zagotavlja avtonomnost brez vsakega zakonskega pridržka, so imele univerze in drugi deležniki upravičena pričakovanja, da bo država (RS) tako kategorično zapisano ustavno določilo spoštovala in ga v temeljnih nacionalnih dokumentih, predvsem pa v zakonodaji, tudi udejanjila. Določilo, kot ga vsebuje Ustava RS, je celo unikatno glede na primerjane ustavne ureditve drugih evropskih držav. Slednje v nekaterih primerih določajo, da univerze uživajo avtonomnost (ali samoupravo), a hkrati na različne načine določajo zakonske pridržke (npr. ustavne ureditve Grčije, Italije, Portugalske in Španije), nekatere druge ureditve nimajo izrecne določbe o avtonomnosti univerz in jo izvajajo iz drugih ustavnih določb (npr. Nemčija iz svobode umet-

nosti in znanosti), nekatere države pa nimajo ustavnih določb, ki bi izrecno zagotavljale avtonomnost univerze, in tudi ne določb, ki bi zagotavljale svobodo znanosti in raziskovalne dejavnosti (npr. Belgija, Danska, Francija, Luksemburg, Nizozemska in ZDA).

Zakonska ureditev področja slovenskega visokega šolstva, sprejeta v začetku 90-ih let prejšnjega stoletja, predvsem Zakon o zavodih (v nadaljevanju ZZ) ter Zakon o visokem šolstvu (v nadaljevanju ZViS), več kot dve desetletji ni doživela ustrezne prenove. Zastarela ter ustavno sporna še danes predstavlja temeljno zakonsko podlago za delovanje univerz. Ministrstvo za izobraževanje, znanost in šport (v nadaljevanju MIZŠ) je sicer v zadnjih letih – predvsem na podlagi odločbe US RS (Odl. US RS, 2011), s katero je bilo (kot že nekajkrat prej) ugotovljeno, da so posamezna določila Zakona o visokem šolstvu v neskladju z Ustavo RS in da mora Državni zbor Republike Slovenije (v nadaljevanju DZ RS) ugotovljeno neskladje odpraviti v roku devetih mesecev od citirane odločitve US - pripravilo več podlag (resolucijo, osnutke, predloge, izhodišča) za spremembo zakonodaje. Nobena od njih, navkljub več odločbam ustavnega sodišča, ki so narekovale spoštovanje z ustavo zagotovljene ,absolutne' avtonomnosti univerz, ni ponudila rešitev, podobnih pravnim ureditvam s področja visokega šolstva v drugih evropskih državah, v katerih univerze dosegajo visoko stopnjo avtonomnosti. Prav nasprotno, v razpravo so bile dane pretirano regulirane vsebine, ki praktično ne omogočajo oz. ne dopuščajo avtonomnosti.

Na podlagi navedenih dejstev sta avtorici, z namenom ugotovitve stanja na področju pravne ureditve univerz v RS *(de lege lata)* in njenega vpliva na stopnjo avtonomnosti slovenskih univerz, izvedli sistematično analizo v letih 2009 in 2015 veljavne pravne ureditve univerz v RS, primerjaje s pravnimi ureditvami univerz v izbranih evropskih državah. Analiza obsega štiri vidike avtonomnosti univerze - akademskega, finančnega, organizacijskega in kadrovskega - tako, kot jih opredeljuje tudi EUA; kot mero odgovornosti do družbe pa obravnava vključevanje zunanjih deležnikov v dejavnost in poslovanje univerze. Na podlagi ugotovitev ter izpostavljenih sodobnih ureditev in dobrih praks v posameznih analiziranih državah, je bil cilj analize oblikovati smernice za izboljšave pravne ureditve univerz v RS, ki bi lahko predstavljale oporo zakonodajalcu pri sprejemanju odločitev glede konkretnih sprememb oz. izboljšav področne zakonodaje (*de lege ferenda*) – vse z namenom, da bi bilo državnim univerzam v Sloveniji omogočeno delovanje, ki bi bilo avtonomnejše in bolj družbeno odgovorno kot jim ga omogoča veljavna pravna ureditev.

Prispevek uvodoma pojasnjuje temeljne pojme in opredelitve, pomembne za razumevanje celotne analize, torej vseh vidikov avtonomnosti. Ker pa je obravnavano področje zelo obširno, so v nadaljevanju predstavljeni rezulati le enega od vidikov, in sicer **organizacijskega.**

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Sklepno poglavje prispevka ponuja razmišljanje o možni prihodnji pravni ureditvi organiziranosti univerz v RS, s poudarkom na njihovi avtonomnosti in odgovornosti, primerljivi s sodobnimi ureditvami v posameznih evropskih državah.

OPREDELITEV UNIVERZE
IN NJENE AVTONOMNOSTI

Univerza je najvišja izobraževalna in znanstvenoraziskovalna visokošolska ustanova (SSKJ, 2014), ki predstavlja del sistema visokošolskega izobraževanja. Po ZViS (6. člen) so univerze avtonomni, znanstveno-raziskovalni, umetniški in izobraževalni visokošolski zavodi s posebnim položajem. Poslanstvo univerze se skozi stoletja ni bistveno spremenilo. Univerza skozi vso svojo zgodovino prispeva k razvoju okolja/družbe s tem, da razvija nova znanja in skrbi za njihovo prenašanje iz roda v rod. Univerza je najstarejši in še danes najpomembnejši del intelektualne tradicije (Paternu, 2010). Prav zaradi izjemnega pomena univerze za razvoj družbe je pomembno razumeti in podpirati njeno avtonomnost ter ustvariti takšno (zunanje in notranje) okolje, ki bo univerzam v največji možni meri omogočalo avtonomnost pri ustanavljanju in delovanju.

Beseda 'avtonomnost' izhaja iz grških korenov 'autos' in 'nomos' izvira pa iz 'znanstvene metode'. Gre za to, da je tisti, ki je avtonomen, je sam sebi zakonodajalec. Univerze so že od svojih začetkov v Bologni, v Parizu in v Oxfordu v 11. stoletju neodvisne in samostojne. Univerzi Oxford in Cambridge še danes delujeta na podlagi posebnega kraljevega akta. V RS je pojem 'avtonomnost univerze' opredeljen v 58. členu Ustave RS, pri čemer avtonomnost univerze predstavlja temeljno svoboščino. Kot izhaja iz 35. točke obrazložitve odločbe US RS (Odl. US RS, 1998a) »je nosilka pravice do avtonomnosti po navedeni ustavni določbi državna univerza oziroma državna visoka šola. V razmerju do univerze je avtonomen vsekakor posameznik, znanstvenik - ta mora biti znotraj univerze svoboden, znanstveno avtonomen, neodvisen, univerza pa organizirana tako, da izključuje odnose monokratičnosti, hierarhije, oblastne prisile in odvisnosti v smislu vezanosti na navodila na eni strani v razmerju med univerzo in državo, na drugi strani pa tudi v razmerju med univerzo in znanstveniki«.

HIPOTEZI IN METODOLOGIJA RAZISKAVE

V prispevku sta, na podlagi predmeta raziskovanja, logično preverjeni temeljni hipotezi, in sicer:
• hipoteza H1: Veljavna pravna ureditev organiziranosti državnih univerz v Republiki Sloveniji je z vidika spoštovanja ustavnega določila o avtonomnosti univerz ustrezna.
• hipoteza H2: Veljavna pravna ureditev organiziranosti državnih univerz v Republiki Sloveniji je z vidika spoštovanja ustavnega določila o avtonomnosti

univerz primerljiva s pravnimi ureditvami v izbranih evropskih državah.

Prispevek je bil oblikovan na podlagi naslednjih metodoloških pristopov:
• deskriptivne analize veljavne zakonske in podzakonske pravne ureditve (*de lege lata*) s poudarkom na ustavni opredelitvi avtonomnosti univerz v RS ter na zakonski ureditvi ustanavljanja in delovanja univerz,
• primerjalne analize – v primerjavo so vključene pravne ureditve proučevanega področja v izbranih evropskih državah,
• kvalitativne sinteze možne prihodnje pravne ureditve (*de lege ferenda*) z raziskovalnimi sklepi.

DESKRIPTIVNA ANALIZA PRAVNE UREDITVE (DE LEGE LATA) ORGANIZIRANOSTI UNIVERZ V REPUBLIKI SLOVENIJI

Pojem 'pravna ureditev' vključuje ureditev na podlagi pravnih aktov – ustave, zakonov, podzakonskih aktov ter splošnih aktov univerz. V prispevku so analizirani pravni akti, ki urejajo organiziranost visokega šolstva oz. treh državnih - javnih univerz v RS (v nadaljevanju univerz) in sicer Univerze v Ljubljani (v nadaljevanju UL), Univerze v Mariboru (v nadaljevanju UM) in Univerze na Primorskem (v nadaljevanju UP).

Ustavna raven

Avtonomnost univerz, kot jo opredeljuje že omenjeni 58. člen Ustave RS, je predvsem »obrambna pravica negativnega statusa, ki pomeni, da univerza brez posegov države odloča o svoji organiziranosti in delovanju. Hkrati pa vsebuje tudi elemente pozitivnega statusa: država mora zagotavljati temeljne organizacijsko-pravne okvire za delovanje državnih univerz. Prav razmerje oz. konflikt med elementi negativnega in pozitivnega statusa je bilo osrednji predmet proučevanja v dosedanji ustavno-sodni presoji področja varovanja, ki ga zagotavlja ta človekova pravica« je navedeno v komentarju Ustave RS (Testen v Šturm, 2002).

Glede na dejstvo, da avtonomnost ni pojem s pravno jasno določeno vsebino, ga je moralo US RS samo, ko je presojalo o ustavnosti določil ZViS in podzakonskih aktov (predvsem v odločbah Odl. US RS (1995), (1998a), (1998b), (2008), (2011)), natančneje opredeliti ter določiti kriterije dopustnosti poseganja v avtonomnost univerz z zakonom. Pri tem sta se kot že omenjeno izoblikovali dve stališči. Prvo stališče, ki ga je mogoče zaslediti v več ločenih mnenjih ustavnih sodnikov k odločbam US pravi, naj bi avtonomnost po ustavi izvzemala univerzo iz vsakršne zakonske regulative, edina izjema naj bi veljala le za financiranje univerz. Tako npr. ustavni sodnik, Zupančič, v svojem pritrdilnem ločenem mnenju k odločbi (Odl. US RS, 1995) navaja, da je »Zakon o visokem šolstvu protiustaven v celoti, razen

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kolikor ureja golo financiranje univerze, se pravi tako (in samo tako) financiranje, ki ne bo posegalo v avtonomnost univerze«. Drugo stališče izhaja iz odločitev US RS, ki slonijo na dejstvu, da mora država zagotoviti nastanek in nadaljnji obstoj državne univerze kot pravne osebe in da mora zakonska ureditev upoštevati, da avtonomnost univerze predstavlja temeljno svoboščino. Ob presoji ustavne dopustnosti zakonskega urejanja načina uresničevanja avtonomnosti državnih univerz in visokih šol ter morebitnih posegov zakonodajalca v pravico iz 58. člena Ustave RS je zato po tem stališču treba upoštevati tudi 15. člen ustave (uresničevanje in omejevanje človekovih pravic in svoboščin). Od ustavnih pravic drugih, ki lahko, skladno z določbo tretjega odstavka 15. člena ustave, utemeljujejo poseg v avtonomnost državnih univerz oz. so podlaga za omejitev univerzitetne avtonomnosti, tako prihajajo v poštev zlasti določbe prvega in tretjega odstavka 57. člena (izobrazba in šolanje), 59. člen (svoboda znanosti in umetnosti), pa tudi določbe prvih treh odstavkov 49. člena (svoboda dela), 44. člena (sodelovanje pri upravljanju javnih zadev) in 75. člena ustave (soodločanje). Tudi na področju tako omejene oziroma opredeljene avtonomnosti mora univerza ravnati v skladu z vsemi ustavnimi določbami. Avtonomnost torej državnih univerz ne odvezuje od ‚zvestobe' ustavi.

US je v več odločbah ugotovilo, da so izpodbijana določila ZViS protiustavna, tudi zato, ker posegajo v organiziranost univerz in urejajo vprašanja, ki bi jih lahko uredila le univerza sama. Tako je US RS v odločbi (Odl. US RS, 1995) navedlo, da je ZViS neskladen z ustavo ko določa, da so avtonomne tudi članice univerze, kar pa je vprašanje notranje organiziranosti univerze. V odločbi (Odl. US RS, 1998) je US razveljavljavilo besedilo ZViS, ki je opredeljevalo sestavo senata univerze, kar nedvomno sodi v okvir univerzitetne avtonomnosti. Kot izhaja iz izpostavljenih odločb US RS, prihaja do poseganja v avtonomnost univerze takrat, kadar se z zakonskimi oz. podzakonskimi določili, drugače od veljavnega določila 6. člena ZViS (ki določa, da univerza samostojno ureja notranjo organiziranost in delovanje, sprejema merila za izvolitev v naziv ter voli v nazive visokošolskih učiteljev, znanstvenih sodelavcev in visokošolskih sodelavcev, izbira visokošolske učitelje, znanstvene sodelavce in visokošolske sodelavce za zasedbo delovnih mest ter voli, imenuje in odpokliče organe v skladu s statutom in drugimi akti, ureja notranje akademske strukture) uredi več kot le temeljna vprašanja na naštetih področjih delovanja univerze. Za vse našteto je US RS (v zadnji omenjeni in tudi v drugih že citiranih odločbah) nedvoumno ugotovilo, da gre za sestavine načela avtonomnosti oz. da zadeve sodijo med vprašanja, glede katerih je univerza avtonomna. US RS je enotnega mnenja ko pravi, da so našteta področja lahko urejena le z aktom, sprejetim v okviru univerzitetne avtonomnosti in zakonodajalec nima pravice posegati na ta področja. Izjema so torej le določila, ki jih je država dolžna sprejeti oz. urediti, da zagotovi nastanek in nadaljnji obstoj državne univerze kot pravne osebe, in sicer:

- temeljne statusno-pravne, kadrovske, upravljavske in finančne okvire delovanja državnih univerz,
- temeljna razmerja med subjekti znotraj univerze in
- položaj javnosti v upravljanju univerze in v nadzoru nad njenim delovanjem.

Država je dolžna jasno razmejiti polje popolnoma avtonomnega (kjer naj odloča izključno avtonomna univerza) od polja popolnoma ‚neuniverzitetnega' (kjer univerza ne more niti soodločati), pri čemer je zavezana upoštevati predvsem dejstvo glede tega, koga posamična odločitev zadeva (Odl. US RS, 1995).

Zakonska raven

Univerzo oz. njeno delovanje opredeljujejo številni zakoni, za potrebe tega prisepvka so izpostavljeni zgolj tisti, ki urejajo organiziranost univerze (organizacijski vidik avtonomnosti). Veljavni zakon, ki ureja statusno-pravna vprašanja javnih zavodov in opravljanje negospodarskih javnih služb, torej tudi javnih služb v visokem šolstvu (lex generalis), je Zakon o zavodih. Statusno-pravna vprašanja na področju visokega šolstva kot specialni zakon (lex specialis) ureja Zakon o visokem šolstvu (ZViS). Sprejet je bil decembra 1993 in od takrat doživel veliko sprememb. Nekaj členov je bilo na podlagi odločb US RS razveljavljenih, za druge je bila ugotovljena neskladnost z ustavo ter določen rok za odpravo neskladnosti, kar je v nadaljevanju tudi natančneje obrazloženo.

ZViS (1. člen) vsebuje določila glede statusa in ustanovitve, organiziranosti in upravljanja visokošolskih zavodov ter pogoje za opravljanje visokošolske dejavnosti, opredeljuje javno službo v visokem šolstvu in ureja način njenega financiranja. ZViS v 6. členu določa, da so univerze avtonomni, znanstveno-raziskovalni, umetniški in izobraževalni visokošolski zavodi s posebnim položajem, ki delujejo po načelih avtonomnosti. Slednja jim zagotavlja tudi v istem členu naštete pravice, med drugim tudi pravico, ki jo je nujno izpostaviti za potrebe tega prispevka, in sicer da univerza »samostojno ureja notranjo organiziranost in delovanje s statutom v skladu z zakonom«.

Dejansko univerze nimajo popolne avtonomnosti, kot jim je ta zagotovljena po 6. členu ZViS - niti glede urejanja notranje organiziranosti - saj ta isti zakon v členih, ki sledijo, te pravice in pristojnosti tako natančno opredeli, da univerza za avtonomno urejanje s svojimi akti največkrat nima nikakršnih možnosti. Tako zakon predvsem v členih od 20 do 28 natančno določa notranjo organiziranost univerze – našteva organe, določa njihove pristojnosti, način imenovanja/izvolitve, interesne skupine, ki so v organih zastopane, v določenih primerih pa celo število članov posamezne skupine. Univerza ne odloča avtonomno niti o postavljanju po-

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gojev v zvezi s številom prostih vpisnih mest, plačilom šolnine, bivanjem v študentskih domovih ter drugimi pravicami in dolžnostmi študentov. Vse navedeno je natančno določeno v zakonu oz. podzakonskih predpisih, ki jih sprejemata vlada ali visokošolski minister. Natančneje so določila ZViS predstavljena v nadaljevanju prispevka, in sicer v okviru primerjalne analize pravnih ureditev organiziranosti univerz.

Podzakonska raven

Na podlagi odlokov o ustanovitvi oz. preoblikovanju posamezne državne univerze (Odlok o preoblikovanju Univerze v Ljubljani, 2000; Odlok o preoblikovanju Univerze v Mariboru, 2000; Odlok o ustanovitvi Univerze na Primorskem, 2003) (v nadaljevanju odloki), s katerimi je določeno, da je ustanovitelj univerze Republika Slovenija ter da ustanoviteljske pravice in obveznosti izvršuje Vlada RS, so bile ustanovljene oz. preoblikovane slovenske državne univerze. Odloki natančneje od zakona opredeljujejo status, dejavnost, organe univerz in članic, vire in način financiranja, načine in pogoje pridobivanja sredstev za delo univerze in članic, pravice, obveznosti in odgovornosti univerze, članic in ustanovitelja v pravnem prometu, medsebojne pravice in obveznosti ustanovitelja in univerze, razpolaganje s presežkom prihodkov nad odhodki ter poravnavanje primanjkljaja sredstev za delo univerze in članic. Nekatera - za ta prispevek aktualna določila odlokov - so v nadaljevanju natančneje predstavljena.

Poleg odlokov področje delovanja univerz urejajo tudi nekateri drugi podzakonski predpisi - uredbe in pravilniki - ki pa praviloma ne urejajo organiziranosti univerz in zato za namen tega prispevka, v katerem se analizira zgolj enega od vidikov avtonomnosti, t.j. organizacijskega, niso aktualni. Iz tega razloga v prispevku niso natančneje predstavljeni.

Univerzitetna raven - splošni akti univerze

Stopnja avtonomnosti univerz je nedvomno odvisna od stopnje državne regulacije na področju visokega šolstva. Kako in koliko lahko univerze same pravno uredijo svoje delovanje, je seveda odvisno prav od tega, kako in koliko država z zakonom uredi konkretna področja, pomembna za njihovo delovanje. V primerih, ko država z zakonom določi le temeljne okvire, univerza pa s statutom in drugimi internimi akti določi vse preostale vsebine, bi bilo mogoče govoriti o visoki stopnji avtonomnosti. Če pa država z zakonom pretirano regulira področje in sprejme konkretna in zelo natančna določila, univerza nima manevrskega prostora za samostojno in avtonomno urejanje lastnih zadev. Zato statuti državnih univerz v RS večinoma vsebujejo prepisana zakonska določila. Statuti državnih univerz v RS, in sicer Statut Univerze v Ljubljani (2005 in spr.) (v nadaljevanju Statut UL), Statut Univerze v Mariboru (2012) (v nadaljevanju

Statut UM) in Statut Univerze na Primorskem (2008 in spr.) (v nadaljevanju Statut UP), so zasnovani izredno podobno. Določila glede organiziranosti univerze so v vseh treh statutih oblikovana skladno z ZViS ali konkretneje rečeno - so prepisana določila ZViS.

V nadaljevanju prispevka so v primerjalni analizi predstavljena tudi nekatera določila statutov treh državnih univerz, ki se nanašajo na področje organiziranosti univerz. Gre predvsem za tista redka statutarna določila, s katerimi univerza samostojno ureja konkretno materijo.

PRIMERJALNA ANALIZA PRAVNIH UREDITEV ORGANIZIRANOSTI UNIVERZ V IZBRANIH EVROPSKIH DRŽAVAH

Študiji EUA ‚University avtonomy in Europe I' (Estermann in Nokkala, 2009) in ‚EUA University avtonomy in Europe II' (Estermann, Nokkala in Steinel, 2011) (v nadaljevanju ‚študija EUA 2009' in ‚študija EUA 2011'), ki sta bili temeljna vira za analizo, vsebujeta primerjalni pregled avtonomnosti univerz v evropskih visokošolskih sistemih. V študiji EUA 2011 so primerjane stopnje avtonomnosti univerz iz 26 izbranih evropskih držav oz. 28 evropskih visokošolskih sistemih (v Nemčiji so izbrani različni sistemi v treh deželah) - po abecednem vrstnem redu držav: Avstrija (AT), Ciper (CY), Češka (CZ), Danska (DK), Estonija (EE), Finska (FI), Francija (FR), Grčija (GR), Irska (IE), Islandija (IS), Italija (IT), Latvija (LV), Litva (LT), Luksemburg (LU), Madžarska (HU), Nemčija (DE) – Brandenburg (BB), Hesse (HE) in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), Nizozemska (NL), Norveška (NO), Poljska (PL), Portugalska (PT), Slovaška (SK), Španija (ES), Švedska (SE), Švica (CH), Turčija (TR) in Velika Britanija (UK). Študija EUA 2011 dopolnjuje študijo EUA iz leta 2009 in vsebuje novejše podatke, število analiziranih držav pa je glede na prvotno študijo nižje, in sicer iz razloga neodzivnosti pristojnih institucij posameznih držav. Tudi Slovenija v študiji iz leta 2011 ni (več) obravnavana. Zaradi dejstva, da so podatki o avtonomnosti univerz v novejši študiji, glede na prvo, dopolnjeni, so za namen analize, opravljene s strani avtoric prispevka, uporabljeni podatki študije iz leta 2011. Za Slovenijo sta avtorici - z namenom podrobnejše analize stanja v našem visokošolskem prostoru - najprej preverili in analizirali podatke, navedene v študiji EUA iz leta 2009, nato pa sta na podlagi proučitve v letu 2015 veljavne pravne ureditve opravili lastno analizo in primerjavo s pravnimi ureditvami organiziranosti univerz izbranih Evropskih držav (slednje iz leta 2011).

Študiji EUA 2009 in EUA 2011 se opirata na že omenjene štiri vidike avtonomnosti univerz, kot jih opredeljuje Lizbonska deklaracija (EUA, 2007), in sicer: akademski, finančni, organizacijski in kadrovski, pri čemer je bil vsak od navedenih vidikov avtonomnosti presojan po več kriterijih. Prispevek se v nadaljevanju osredotoča zgolj na avtonomnost univerz z vidika organiziranosti. Organizacijska avtonomnost se v omenjenih študijah

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presoja v luči »pristojnosti univerz, da vzpostavijo svoje strukture organiziranosti in organe upravljanja ter oblikujejo svoj vodstveni model« (EUA, 2009; EUA, 2011). Kriteriji presoje stopnje organizacijske avtonomnosti v posamezni državi se nanašajo na možnosti univerz, da samostojno odločajo o (EUA, 2009; EUA, 2011) :

- notranjih akademskih strukturah,
- ustanavljanju pravnih oseb,
- imenovanju/izvolitvi, sestavi in pristojnostih organov univerze ter o postopku in kriterijih za vključitev zunanjih deležnikov vanje,
- postopkih in kriterijih za izvolitev oz. imenovanje in razrešitev rektorja ter določitev trajanja njegovega mandata.

Metodologiji obeh študij sta različni. Prva, iz leta 2009, v zaključku povzema zgolj skupne ugotovitve ter trende, medtem ko je v študiji EUA iz leta 2011 metodologija določena na podlagi kazalnikov po posameznih področjih avtonomnosti in njihovih uteži. Na podlagi tega so izračunani rezultati glede avtonomnosti univerz v posameznih državah, slednje pa so razvrščene glede na stopnjo (delež) avtonomnosti univerz. Avtorici sta oblikovali lastno metodologijo razvrščanja posameznih držav glede na stopnjo avtonomnosti, in sicer na podlagi podatkov iz študije EUA 2011. Metodologija avtorjev študije iz leta 2011 ni bila uporabljena zaradi mnenja avtoric, da je za tovrstno razvrščanje nujno uporabiti izredno natančne podatke o stanju v vsaki od držav, kot tudi dejstva, da so uteži lahko oblikovane zelo subjektivno.

V nadaljevanju je vsak od navedenih kriterijev organizacijske avtonomnosti obravnavan podrobneje. Tabele v nadaljevanju so lastne v zvezi s podatki za Slovenijo (v nadaljevanju SI) in razvrstitvijo držav po stopnjah avtonomnosti, ostali podatki pa so povzeti in prirejeni po obeh citiranih študijah EUA.

Avtonomnost univerz pri določanju notranjih akademskih struktur

Prvi kazalnik organizacijske avtonomnosti se nanaša na avtonomnost univerz pri določanju notranje akademske strukture. Ključni poudarki študije EUA iz leta 2011 so:

- v skoraj dveh tretjinah proučevanih držav so univerze popolnoma avtonomne pri določanju notranje

akademske strukture - v Tabeli 1: ,visoka stopnja avtonomnosti',

- v nekaterih državah notranjo akademsko strukturo sicer določijo univerze same, a je ta pristojnost univerz običajno opredeljena v zakonih, prav tako tudi osnovna izhodišča za njihovo ustanovitev - v Tabeli 1: ,srednja stopnja avtonomnosti',
- v preostali tretjini analiziranih držav univerze (skoraj) nimajo vpliva pri odločanju: država z zakonom ali drugim aktom poimensko določi notranje organizacijske enote univerz ali pa opredeli natančne zakonske smernice za oblikovanje akademske strukture univerz ali celo določi oboje, kot tudi področje delovanja administrativnih enot - v Tabeli 1: ,nizka stopnja avtonomnosti'.

Podatki za Slovenijo so v študiji EUA iz leta 2009 nepravilni in nepopolni, saj je Slovenija uvrščena v skupino držav, v katerih naj bi univerze samostojno določale akademske strukture. Vendar to ne drži. ZViS sicer v 6. členu določa, da imajo univerze, v skladu z zakonom, pristojnost samostojno urejati notranjo organiziranost in delovanje, a že v 9. členu določa drugače, in sicer, da za opravljanje javne službe v visokem šolstvu javne visokošolske zavode oziroma druge javne zavode - članice univerze ter študentske domove - ustanavlja Republika Slovenija. Državni zbor RS torej na podlagi 15. člena ZViS sprejme akt (odlok) o ustanovitvi javnega visokošolskega zavoda in drugega zavoda. S tem aktom država poimensko določi članice univerze, njihova študijska področja ter sedež. Poleg omenjenih pravnih aktov pa mora univerza pred samo ustanovitvijo nove članice izpolniti pogoje, kot jih določa Nacionalna agencija RS za kakovost v visokem šolstvu (v nadaljevanju NAKVIS) v Merilih za akreditacijo in zunanjo evalvacijo visokošolskih zavodov in študijskih programov, ter pridobiti odločbo NAKVIS o akreditaciji visokošolskega zavoda (14. člen ZViS). Na podlagi navedenega je mogoče zaključiti, da Slovenija nikakor ne more biti uvrščena med države, v katerih lahko univerze avtonomno, torej od države neodvisno, določijo svojo notranjo akademsko strukturo, saj univerza razen tega, da je predlagatelj nove članice, na sam postopek ustanovitve nima nikakršnega vpliva. Poznani so tudi primeri v praksi, ko več let od podane vloge univerze, s strani države ni prišlo do ustanovitve nove članice univerze, in sicer z obrazložitvijo, da ob-

Tabela 1: Avtonomnost univerz pri določanju notranjih akademskih struktur

Avtonomnost univerz pri določanju notranjih akademskih struktur	Evropske države
Visoka stopnja avtonomnosti	AT, CH, DE (BB, HE in NRW), DK, EE, ES, FI, HU, IE, LV, LT, NL, NO, PL, PT, UK
Srednja stopnja avtonomnosti	CZ, FR, IS, IT, SE
Nizka stopnja avtonomnosti	CY, GR, LU, **SI**, SK, TR,

Vir: lasten (2015) za SI in razvrstitev držav po stopnjah avtonomnosti, ostali podatki povzeti po Estermann, Nokkala in Steinel, 2011

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stajajo težave v sistemu financiranja (dodatnih sredstev za financiranje novih članic ni bilo na voljo).

Statuti univerz po zakonu in odloku zgolj povzemajo določila glede ustanavljanja novih članic oz. notranjih akademskih struktur, kot tudi opredelitev članic univerze kot subjektov s pravno subjektiviteto, ko le-te opravljajo dejavnost izven nacionalnega programa. Zgolj na UL pa so nekatere članice, poleg univerze, registrirane v sodnem registru in poslujejo v statusnih oblikah javnih zavodov. Za slovenski prostor je značilna nejasna, neustrezna ter posledično tudi neenotna opredelitev pravne subjektivitete članic univerze – tudi v povezavi z nedosledno zakonsko opredelitvijo oz. pravno ureditvijo statusa visokošolskih organizacij v ZZ in ZViS. Na posvetu, ki ga je v zvezi z osnutkom Zakona o univerzi pripravila Rektorska konferenca RS (2008) - Delovna skupina za pripravo Zakona univerzi, je dekan ljubljanske Pravne fakultete in član delovne skupine za pripravo osnutka zakona, Rajko Pirnat menil, da je v zvezi s to problematiko potrebno iskati rešitve, ki pa nikakor ne smejo povzročiti centralizacije delovanja univerze. Navedeno vprašanje predstavlja posebno področje, ki zahteva dodatno analizo (Pirnat, 2008).

Slovenska ureditev je torej v primeru kazalnika avtonomnosti univerz pri določanju notranjih akademskih struktur podobna ureditvi na Cipru, v Turčiji in Luksemburgu. Slovenija je zato v Tabeli 1 uvrščena med države z nizko stopnjo avtonomnosti.

Avtonomnost univerz pri ustanavljanju pravnih oseb

V študiji je navedeno, da sta sposobnost in pristojnost univerze ustanavljati pravne osebe, pomemben element avtonomnosti. Ugotovitve iz študije je mogoče povzeti kot sledi:

- v večini analiziranih držav lahko univerze popolnoma avtonomno ustanavljajo tako profitne, kot neprofitne pravne osebe - v Tabeli 2 ,visoka stopnja avtonomnosti',
- v šestih državah lahko univerze ustanovijo le neprofitne organizacije – v Tabeli 2 ,srednja stopnja avtonomnosti',
- nekatere države – v Tabeli 2 ,nizka stopnja avtonomnosti', imajo v nacionalni zakonodaji določene omejitve glede tega vprašanja (npr. da univerze

ustanavljajo le pravne osebe, katerih dejavnost je skladna z dejavnostjo in poslanstvom univerze, da je zahtevano tudi soglasje pristojnega državnega organa, da lahko univerze ustanovijo le pravne osebe, ki so v celoti v lasti univerze ipd.).

Avtorici prispevka sta ureditev tega vprašanja v Sloveniji analizirali sami, saj ZViS tega vprašanja ne obravnava, urejeno pa je v ZZ, ki v 20. členu določa, da lahko zavod drug zavod ali podjetje ustanovi le okviru svoje dejavnosti, in to le s soglasjem ustanovitelja. Enako določajo tudi odloki o ustanovitvi oz. preoblikovanju univerz (npr. 4. člen Odloka o ustanovitvi Univerze na Primorskem) v katerih je določeno, da lahko univerza ustanovi zavod, gospodarsko družbo, ustanovo ali drugo pravno osebo v okviru svoje dejavnosti in po poprejšnjem soglasju ustanovitelja. Navedeno pomeni, da univerza ne more samostojno ustanavljati pravnih oseb, zato je Slovenija uvrščena v skupino držav z nizko stopnjo avtonomnosti.

Avtonomnost univerz pri sestavi organov, vključenosti zunanjih deležnikov vanje ter pri določanju njihove pristojnosti

Študiji EUA kot organe univerze obravnavata organe, ki sprejemajo najpomembnejše odločitve na univerzi. Ti so po državah različni in imajo različne pristojnosti. Na področju sestave organov študiji podajata naslednje ugotovitve:

- v evropskih državah sta se v splošnem oblikovala dva modela sestave organov univerz, in sicer unitarni in dualni sistem. Prevladuje dualni sistem (v kar 23 državah po študiji EUA iz leta 2009), v katerem si pristojnosti delita odbor oz. svet (z manjšim številom članov) ter senat (širši organ, ki ga sestavljajo predstavniki akademske skupnosti in v določenem deležu tudi drugi zaposleni),
- v treh državah univerze avtonomno urejajo lastno organiziranost (država ne določa organov, njihove sestave in pristojnosti) - v Tabeli 3: ,visoka stopnja avtonomnosti',
- v večini evropskih držav so organi in interesne skupine, katerih predstavniki so člani organa univerze, ter razmerja med njimi, določeni z zakonom - v Tabeli 3: ,srednja stopnja avtonomnosti',

Tabela 2: Avtonomnost univerz pri ustanavljanju pravnih oseb

Avtonomnost univerz pri ustanavljanju pravnih oseb	Evropske države
Visoka stopnja avtonomnosti	AT, CZ, DE (BB, HE, NRW), EE, ES, FI, FR, HU, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, NL, NO, UK
Srednja stopnja avtonomnosti	CH, CY, GR, PT, SK, TR
Nizka stopnja avtonomnosti	DK, IS, PL, SE, **SI**

Vir: lasten (2015) - za SI in razvrstitev držav po stopnjah avtonomnosti – ostali podatki povzeti po Estermann, Nokkala in Steinel, 2011

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Tabela 3: Avtonomnost univerz glede sestave in pristojnosti organov

Avtonomnost univerz glede sestave in pristojnosti organov[1]	Evropske države
Visoka stopnja avtonomnosti	UK
Srednja stopnja avtonomnosti	AT, CH, CY, CZ, DE (BB, HE, NRW), DK, EE, ES, FI, FR, GR, HU, IS, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, NL, NO, PL, PT, SK, SE, TR
Nizka stopnja avtonomnosti	**SI**

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- v Tabeli 3: pod ,nizka stopnja avtonomnosti', so navedene države, v katerih poleg – v prejšnji alineji navedenih izhodišč - država univerzi določa tudi število članov v posameznih interesnih skupinah, ki imajo predstavnike v organih univerze in druga podrobna določila.

Slovenija ima, skladno z ZViS, uveljavljen ,dualni' sistem upravljanja univerze – pristojnosti si delita senat in upravni odbor. Glede sestave in pristojnosti organov univerze, je za slovensko pravno ureditev ključen že citiran 6. člen ZViS, katerega določilo o avtonomnosti univerz pri lastni organiziranosti je ovrženo s členi, ki sledijo (20. do 28. člen) in natančno določajo pristojnosti organov, interesne skupine, način imenovanja organov in trajanje mandata, torej vse temeljne elemente organiziranosti, ki pomembno vplivajo na (ne)avtonomnost delovanja univerze. Navedeno pomeni, da slovenske univerze te materije ne urejajo samostojno, ,interni' akti univerze univerze pa določajo zgolj proceduralna vprašanja glede volitev organov (npr. Pravilnik o volitvah organov Univerze na Primorskem, (2007). V primeru Upravnega odbora univerze (v nadaljevanju UO) predpisi (ZViS in odloki) določajo, poleg sestave UO,

trajanja mandata članov in celo načina izvolitve članov, predsednika in podpredsednika UO ter natančnejše določitve pristojnosti UO, tudi število predstavnikov posameznih interesnih skupin v UO (npr. 9. člen Odloka o ustanovitvi UP).

Pokazatelj organizacijske avtonomnosti je tudi možnost odločanja o vključevanju zunanjih deležnikov v delovanje univerze oz. v njene organe ter imenovanja le-teh. Pri tem je v študiji EUA 2011 izpostavljeno:

- v praksi univerze zelo redko odločajo popolnoma avtonomno tako o vključitvi zunanjih deležnikov v svoje organe, kot tudi o imenovanju le-teh - v Tabeli 4: ,visoka stopnja avtonomnosti',
- v Tabeli 4 so med države s ,srednjo stopnjo avtonomnosti' navedene države, v katerih o vključevanju zunanjih deležnikov odloča država, ki jih tudi na predlog univerze imenuje ali jih imenuje univerza sama; države, v katerih univerza odloči o vključevanju zunanjih deležnikov, imenuje pa jih država ter države, v katerih nekaj zunanjih deležnikov imenuje univerza,
- države, v katerih je univerzi zapovedano, da je v svo-

Tabela 4: Avtonomnost univerz pri vključevanju zunanjih deležnikov v organe univerze

Avtonomnost univerz pri vključevanju zunanjih deležnikov v organe univerze[2]	Evropske države
Visoka stopnja avtonomnosti	EE, UK
Srednja stopnja avtonomnosti	AT, CY, DE (HE), DK, FI, FR, IS, IT, LT, NO, PT, SE, SK
Nizka stopnja avtonomnosti	CH, CZ, DE (NRW), ES, HU, IE, LU, NL
Zakon ne predvideva vključevanja zunanjih deležnikov ali izrecno določa, da ne morejo biti imenovani v organe	DE (BB), GR, LV, PL, **SI**, TR

Vir: lasten (2015) - za SI in razvrstitev držav po stopnjah avtonomnosti – ostali podatki povzeti po Estermann, Nokkala in Steinel, 2011

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1 - Rektor, kot organ univerze, je posebej obravnavan.
   - V Veliki Britaniji (UK) je struktura organiziranosti določena z zakonom, ki ureja področje visokega šolstva, le za univerze, oblikovane po letu 1992, starejše univerze pa imajo strukture določene v svojih statutih.
   - Na Portugalskem in v Latviji osnovna izhodišča sicer določi država, a univerze same odločajo, ali bodo imele samo en organ ali tudi drugega, posvetovalnega.
2 Na Češkem (CZ) se minister pred imenovanjem zunanjih članov v organe univerze posvetuje z rektorjem, v Nemčiji (NRW) zunanje deležnike imenuje posebna zunanja komisija, sestavljena iz predstavnikov univerze in države.

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je organe dolžna vključiti zunanje deležnike, hkrati pa jih država tudi imenuje, so v Tabeli 4 navedene kot države z ‚nizko stopnjo avtonomnosti‘,

- države, v katerih zakonodaja ne določa ničesar o imenovanju zunanjih deležnikov in s tem ne dopušča imenovanja s strani univerze, ali pa celo določa, da ne morejo biti imenovani v organe univerze, so v Tabeli 4 navedene posebej.

Slovenska zakonodaja oz. predpisi ne vsebujejo določil glede vključevanja zunanjih članov v organe univerze, razen primera vključevanja predstavnikov ustanovitelja in delodajalcev v UO. Predpisi pa, formalno gledano, tudi ne preprečujejo, da bi univerza ta kriterij avtonomno uvedla - vsaj v primerih, ko članstvo organov ni tako natančno opredeljeno in dopušča razširitev članstva. Kot navajata Prašnikar in Kern-Pipan (2011), je »povezovanje univerz in članic z gospodarstvom in drugimi uporabniki sicer opredeljeno v temeljnih dokumentih univerz v RS kot ključna aktivnost za odličnost poslovanja in zagotovilo za dosego zastavljenih ciljev univerz ter za uresničitev vizij«, toda univerze zunanjih deležnikov v svoje organe dejansko ne vključujejo. Edini poznani primer dobre prakse pri vključevanju zunanjih članov v delovanje univerze je ustanovitev posebnega posvetovalnega telesa rektorja (ki pa ni organ univerze) - Sveta zaupnikov - na Univerzi na Primorskem (v nadaljevanju UP), ki ga sestavljajo predstavniki podjetij iz širše regije ter lokalnih skupnosti. Svet daje mnenja k predlogom za nove študijske programe, predlogom za ciljne raziskovalne programe in razvojno-raziskovalne grozde oziroma skupne tehnološke parke. Zaradi vsega navedenega ni mogoče pritrditi ugotovitvam študije EUA iz leta 2009, da Slovenija sodi med države, v katerih naj bi bila osnovna struktura organov univerz sicer

določena z zakonodajo, vendar naj bi univerze imele določeno avtonomnost pri implementaciji le-te. To ne drži, saj državne univerze v Sloveniji dejansko nimajo manevrskega prostora, da bi lahko v okviru svoje avtonomnosti z lastnimi akti določile sestavo ali pristojnosti svojih organov in možnosti za vključitev ter odločanje o številu zunanjih deležnikov v organih in njihovem imenovanju.

Avtonomnost univerz pri izvolitvi oz. imenovanju in razrešitvi rektorja, določitvi pogojev za imenovanje ter določitvi trajanja njegovega mandata

Eden od pokazateljev organizacijske avtonomnosti je tudi pristojnost univerz, da odločajo o pogojih in postopku imenovanja/izvolitve ‚izvršilnega organa‘. Ta pojem v analiziranih državah predstavlja različne funkcije in zadolžitve (npr. rektor (v večini analiziranih držav), predsednik (v Franciji, na Portugalskem in Irskem), ‚vice-chancellor‘ (v Veliki Britaniji in na Švedskem) ali ‚principal‘ (na Škotskem), v nekaterih primerih tudi prorektor, glavni tajnik ali dekan ter celo kombinacija več omenjenih funkcij). V nadaljevanju je pojem izvršilnega organa izenačen s pojmom rektorja univerze in tako tudi obravnavan, saj za večino proučevanih držav velja, da se pojem ‚izvršilni organ‘ najpogosteje enači s funkcijo, nalogami ter pooblastili rektorja.

Tabela 5 vsebuje združene podatke glede izvolitve in imenovanja rektorja, določitve pogojev za njegovo imenovanje, trajanja mandata, instituta razrešitve rektorja in podredno tudi načina izvedbe razrešitve (v državah, ki imajo ta institut urejen v zakonodaji). Podatki so razvrščeni v štiri skupine, kot sledi:

Tabela 5: Avtonomnost univerz pri izvolitvi oz. imenovanju in razrešitvi rektorja, določitvi pogojev za imenovanje ter določitvi trajanja njegovega mandata

Avtonomnost univerz pri izvolitvi oz. imenovanju in razrešitvi rektorja, določitvi pogojev za imenovanje ter določitvi trajanja njegovega mandata[3]	Evropske države*
Visoka stopnja avtonomnosti	AT , **SI,** in UK
Srednja stopnja avtonomnosti	CH, CY, CZ, DE (BB, HE, NRW), DK, EE, ES, FR, GR, HU, IE, IS, IT, LT, LV, NL, NO, PL, PT, SE, SK, TR
Nizka stopnja avtonomnosti	FI, LU
Države, ki ne poznajo instituta razrešitve rektorja	CY, CH, DK, EE, FI, IE, IT, NL, **SI,** UK

Vir: lasten (2015) - za SI in razvrstitev držav po stopnjah avtonomnosti – ostali podatki povzeti po Estermann, Nokkala in Steinel, 2011
*Države, ki ne poznajo instituta razrešitve (spodnja vrstica tabele), so po drugih parametrih glede na avtonomnost/neavtonomnost razporejene v osnovne (tri) skupine – torej se v tabeli pojavljajo dvakrat.

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3 - Na Norveškem tudi postopek imenovanja določi univerza sama. Na Norveškem je rektor javni uslužbenec, razrešitev se izvede po zakonu, ki velja za javne uslužbence.
   - V Švici in Nemčiji poznajo različne ureditve po kantonih oz. deželah – od takšnih, ko je rektor imenovan s strani univerze, do ureditev, v katerih je imenovan s strani pristojnega ministrstva
   - V Angliji je rektor imenovan za nedoločeno obdobje.
   - Na Poljskem poznajo oba postopka – razrešitev s strani države in univerze, odvisno od razlogov za razrešitev.

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- kot države z ‚visoko stopnjo avtonomnosti‘ so navedene države, ki so bile pri tej analizi na v prejšnjem odstavku omenjenih področij najmanj 3-krat uvrščene v skupino ‚visoka stopnja avtonomnosti‘ in ne več kot 1-krat v skupino ‚srednja‘ ali ‚nizka stopnja avtonomnosti‘,
- kot države z ‚nizko stopnjo avtonomnosti‘ so v Tabeli 5 navedene tiste države, ki so bile v analizi zgoraj naštetih podatkov najmanj 3-krat uvrščene v skupino ‚nizka stopnja avtonomnosti‘ in ne več kot 1-krat v skupino ‚visoka‘ ali ‚srednja stopnja avtonomnosti‘.
- v skupino ‚srednja stopnja avtonomnosti‘ pa so bile uvrščene vse preostale države.

V Sloveniji je z zakonom (23. člen ZViS) določeno, da rektorja volijo vsi visokošolski učitelji, znanstveni delavci in visokošolski sodelavci, zaposleni na univerzi, da je rektor član senata univerze po svoji funkciji (21. člen ZViS), ga sklicuje in vodi seje (23. člen ZViS) ter da ne more biti izvoljen v UO univerze. Zakon tudi določa, da imajo volilno pravico tudi študentje, in sicer petino glasov vseh volilnih upravičencev. Slovenija torej dejansko sodi med države, ki nimajo zakonskih omejitev glede izobrazbe, poklica in izkušenj rektorja, saj zakon (ali drugi predpis) glede slednjega ne določa ničesar. Ta vprašanja univerze avtonomno določijo s svojimi internimi akti.

V študiji EUA iz leta 2009 navedena trditev, da Slovenija sodi med države, v katerih zakonodaja vsebuje pogoj, da mora biti rektor redni ali izredni profesor, ali celo zaposlen na univerzi, torej ne drži. Univerze o trajanju mandata rektorja odločajo avtonomno - s svojimi akti, prav tako o možnosti, da rektor kandidira in funkcijo opravlja večkrat zapored. V študiji EUA iz leta 2009 Slovenija ni navedena med državami, ki instituta razrešitve rektorja nimajo urejenega, dejansko pa nacionalni predpisi o teh možnostih in postopkih ne določajo ničesar. To omogoča univerzam, da ta instrument uredijo same (npr. Pravilnik o volitvah rektorja Univerze na Primorskem, 2007). V RS je takšno možnost uveljavila samo UM, ki ima v statutu določeno, da lahko predlog za razrešitev rektorja podajo senat, upravni odbor, študentski svet univerze ali senat članice, in sicer le iz razlogov hujše ali večkratne kršitve zakonodaje, ali razlogov nevestnega in nepravilnega dela ali prekoračitve po-

oblastil, s čimer bi rektor univerzi ali članici povzročil večjo škodo ali bi ta lahko nastala, ter v primerih, če bi bile z izvajanjem njegovih sklepov huje kršene pravice zaposlenih in študentov univerze. Razrešitev lahko predlaga senat z dvotretjinsko večino, izvede pa se po enakem postopku kot poteka postopek izvolitve.

Avtonomnost univerz, upoštevaje vse kriterije presoje organizacijske avtonomnosti

V Tabeli 6 so združeni rezultati zgornjih tabel. Vanjo so države uvrščene po skupinah, upoštevaje vse kriterije presoje organizacijske avtonomnosti, kot so bili obravnavani v ločenih tabelah 1 do 5:

- skupina držav, v katerih univerze dosegajo ‚visoko stopnjo avtonomnosti‘: države, ki so bile po posameznih področjih analize najmanj 3-krat uvrščene v skupino ‚visoka stopnja avtonomnosti‘ univerz in največ 2-krat v katero od skupin ‚nizka‘ ali ‚srednja stopnja avtonomnosti univerz‘,
- skupina držav s ‚srednjo stopnjo avtonomnosti univerz‘: vse preostale države, ki niso uvrščene niti v skupino ‚visoka stopnja avtonomnosti‘ niti ‚nizka stopnja avtonomnosti‘,
- skupina držav z ‚nizko stopnjo avtonomnosti univerz‘: države, ki so bile po posameznih področjih analize najmanj 3-krat uvrščene v skupino ‚nizka stopnja avtonomnosti‘ in največ 2-krat v katero od skupin ‚visoka‘ ali ‚srednja stopnja avtonomnosti‘.

Velika Britanija (UK) je 5-krat uvrščena v skupino ‚visoka stopnja avtonomnosti‘ (zgolj pri institutu razrešitve rektorja, ki ga UK nima urejenega, je uvrščena med ‚neavtonomne‘). Avstrija (AT) in Estonija (EE) sta 3-krat uvrščeni v skupino ‚visoka stopnja avtonomnosti‘ in 2-krat v skupino ‚srednja stopnja avtonomnosti‘. Slovenija (SI) je skupno uvrščena med države z ‚nizko stopnjo avtonomnosti‘ univerz, saj je kar 4-krat uvrščena v skupino z ‚nizko stopnjo avtonomnosti‘, le 1-krat pa v skupino ‚visoka stopnja avtonomnosti‘ in sicer pri avtonomnosti glede imenovanja, pogojev in trajanja mandata rektorja (pri čemer je tudi v tem primeru posebej uvrščena v skupino držav, ki instituta razrešitve rektorja ne poznajo, kar je pokazatelj nizke stopnje avtonomnosti in odgovornosti).

Tabela 6: Avtonomnost univerz, upoštevaje vse kriterije presoje organizacijske avtonomnosti

Avtonomnost univerz, upoštevaje vse kriterije presoje organizacijske avtonomnosti	Evropske države
Visoka stopnja avtonomnosti	AT, EE, UK
Srednja stopnja avtonomnosti	CH, CY, CZ, DE (BB, HE, NRW), DK, ES, FI, FR, GR, HU, IE, IS, IT, LT, LU, LV, NL, NO, PL, PT, SK, SE, TR
Nizka stopnja avtonomnosti	**SI**

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PREDLOG IZBOLJŠAV PRAVNE UREDITVE (DE LEGE FERENDA) ORGANIZIRANOSTI UNIVERZ V REPUBLIKI SLOVENIJI

V prispevku preverjani hipotezi, in sicer H1, da je veljavna pravna ureditev organiziranosti državnih univerz v Republiki Sloveniji z vidika spoštovanja ustavnega določila o avtonomnosti univerz 'ustrezna' in H2, da je veljavna pravna ureditev organiziranosti državnih univerz v Republiki Sloveniji z vidika spoštovanja ustavnega določila o avtonomnosti univerz, primerljiva s sodobnimi pravnimi ureditvami v izbranih evropskih državah, sta bili na podlagi izvedenih analiz (deskriptivne in primerjalne), ovrženi. To pomeni, da pravna ureditev javnega visokega šolstva v RS ni zadovoljiva oz. ne sledi trendom v evropskem visokošolskem okolju in potrebam razvoja družbe, zato so v nadaljevanju podani predlogi za njeno izboljšanje.

Večina analiziranih evropskih držav je zadnjem obdobju izvedla spremembe visokošolske zakonodaje v prid večji avtonomnosti univerz – tudi na področju organiziranosti univerz in večje odgovornosti rektorja oz. vodstva. Posamezne evropske države imajo visokošolsko področje urejeno s specialnimi zakoni o univerzi (kot npr. v Avstriji z aktom o univerzi (Bundesgesetz über die Organisation der Universitäten und ihre Studien, Universitätsgesetz, 2002), s katerim je bil odpravljen velik del državne regulacije na obravnavanem področju, univerze pa so postale javne korporacije, ki notranjo organiziranost v celoti določajo same). Razlike med državnimi ureditvami izhajajo iz pojmovanja dopustnosti poseganja v avtonomnost univerz oz. pravne ureditve avtonomnosti v njihovih aktih. Le nekaj držav ima ureditve, v katerih država v posamičnih primerih z zakonom določi podrobnosti, za katere ni dvoma, da so stvar urejanja univerze in nedvomno pomenijo poseg v avtonomnost univerze. Vendar te države nimajo v ustavi določil glede avtonomnosti univerz, vsaj ne primerljivih z ustavnim določilom v RS (ki je unikum v evropskem prostoru).

Za Slovenijo, ki ima med obravnavanimi državami daleč najbolj zavezujočo ustavno normo, je po opravljeni analizi in primerjavi pravnih ureditev univerz v Evropi z veliko stopnjo prepričanja mogoče trditi, da je njen temeljni zakon, ki ureja področje visokega šolstva (ZViS), zastarel in potrebuje temeljito prenovo. Njegova celotna struktura je namreč v nasprotju z ustavnimi normami - kar se tiče avtonomnosti univerz - njegov koncept pa v nasprotju s sodobno zakonodajo, ki odpravlja državno regulacijo do ravni minimalne potrebne normiranosti in temelji na sistemu decentralizacije pristojnosti z državne na nižje ravni ter sistemih odgovornosti in učinkovitega nadzora. Navedeno je potrdilo tudi US RS z več odločbami, s katerimi je ugotovilo neustavnost zakonskih in podzakonskih določil. Roki, ki jih je US RS določilo Državnemu zboru oz. pristojnemu ministrstvu za odpravo neustavnosti, so že davno potekli (zadnji rok po že omenjeni odločbi US iz leta

2011 je potekel v začetku leta 2012), a do realizacije odločitev US RS do danes (še) ni prišlo. Še dodatno je mogoče veljavno ureditev oceniti kot zastarelo, če vemo, da so bile državne univerze v RS primorane močno zakorakati v sistem visokega šolstva kot ga poznajo evropske države - posebej z 'Bolonjsko reformo' - temu pa nikakor ne sledita ustrezna zakonodaja oz. celotna pravna ureditev.

Aktualnost vprašanja o avtonomnosti slovenskih univerz se je v zadnjih letih povečala ob javnih razpravah o predlogih temeljnih dokumentov s področja visokega šolstva npr. Resolucije o Nacionalnem programu visokega šolstva za obdobje od 2011 do 2020 (2011), Delovnega osnutka Zakona o univerzi, ki ga je pripravila Delovna skupina pri Rektorski konferenci RS za pripravo Zakona o univerzi (2008), Osnutka novega zakona o visokem šolstvu (ZViS-1) (MIZŠ, 2013), predloga koncepta Zakona o visokem šolstvu (MIZŠ, 2015). V omenjenih dokumentih se pripravljavec (žal) ni ukvarjal z vsemi s problematičnimi določili, ki jih je US doslej izpostavilo kot 'ustavno sporna'. V predlogu ZViS-1 je bila materija urejena izredno podrobno, mestoma celo bolj od veljavnega zakona (vseboval je več kot 200 členov, medtem ko ima večina evropskih držav zakone s področja visokega šolstva, ki vsebujejo manj kot 100 členov). Takšno 'presežno reguliranje' univerzam ne dopušča avtonomnosti pri urejanju svojega delovanja in organiziranosti, in že samo po sebi odraža stanje nezaupanja med partnerji/deležniki. Hkrati predstavlja 'nevarnost', da se uzakoni veliko število določil, ki zelo natančno urejajo organiziranost in poslovanje univerz in ki bodo v nadaljnjih postopkih ugotovljena kot ustavno sporna, saj bodo posegala v avtonomnost univerze. Žal pa se ob vsej pretirani regulaciji pripravljavec ni jasno opredelil do izredno pomembnega vprašanja – statusa univerze. Sedanja pravna ureditev statusa univerze in njenih članic je namreč nejasna in nedosledna ter v nekaterih delih celo v v medsebojnem protislovju. Opredelitev pravne subjektivitete članic univerze je »na moč sporna ne le z vidika pravne teorije, saj gre za neke vrste deljeno pravno subjektiviteto oz. vprašanje ureditve univerze, kot sestavljene pravne osebe temveč je povsem neživljenska tudi z vidika prakse« (Bohinc, 2005). Glede na vlogo univerze v družbi bi bilo pričakovati, da ji bo z zakonom podeljen status pravne osebe 'sui generis' s posebnim pravnim položajem. Torej ne bi bila niti javni, niti državni zavod in zanjo ne bi veljala določila zakona o zavodih. Prav tako bi se moral zakonodajalec predhodno opredeliti do tega, ali si državne univerze 'zaslužijo' poseben zakon o univerzi, kot ga poznajo nekatere druge evropske države. O celostnem pristopu s strani pristojnega ministrstva ter o njegovi težnji, da pripravi sodoben in ustavno popolnoma nesporen zakon, bi bilo torej mogoče govoriti le, če bi bile navedena izhodišča dejansko upoštevana.

Na podlagi opravljene primerjalne analize prav-

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nih ureditev organiziranosti univerz izbranih evropskih držav, analize odločb US RS, ter predpostavke, da je »moderna univerza na prelomni točki, v kateri se želi distancirati od korporativnega sveta in podrejene vloge, ki ji jo ta pripisuje in se želi dvigniti in zopet uveljaviti kot vodilna družbena in intelektualna sila« (Mlinar, 2011), so v nadaljevanju kratko povzeta nekatera pomembna priporočila - ta se tičejo organiziranosti univerz in so pokazatelj stopnje avtonomnosti univerz, zato je smiselno, da se jih ob pripravi nove pravne ureditve ustrezno upošteva:

- odnos med državo in univerzami mora sloneti na medsebojnem zaupanju in prepričanju, da so univerze sposobne sprejemati najpomembnejše odločitve na področju visokega šolstva,
- »stopnja zunanje avtonomnosti univerze naj se povečuje v premem sorazmerju z uveljavitvijo partnerstva med univerzo in državo kot regulatorjem; vrsta vprašanj iz medsebojnih razmerij naj se ureja partnersko s pogodbami in dogovori, namesto s hierarhičnimi oblastnimi pravnimi normami« (Bohinc, 2010),
- zakonodajalec bi moral v skladu z Ustavo RS za univerzo predvideti status samoupravne javne neprofitne korporacije, kot je to npr. predvideno za Slovensko akademijo znanosti in umetnosti (zakon jo opredeljuje kot ustanovo), kar bi moral urediti s posebnim zakonom o univerzi, v katerem bi bili opredeljeni zgolj temeljni statusno-pravni, kadrovski, upravljavski in finančni okviri delovanja državnih univerz, zgolj temeljna razmerja med subjekti znotraj univerze in položaj javnosti v upravljanju univerze ter nadzor nad njenim delovanjem. Z zakonodajo bi moralo biti tudi jasno razmejeno polje ,popolnoma avtonomnega' od polja ,javnega'. Odloki o ustanovitvi oz. preoblikovanju univerz naj opredelijo zgolj ustanovitev oz. preoblikovanje, ustanovitelja ter posebnosti posamezne univerze, urejanje drugih razmerij in postopkov se mora popolnoma prepustiti univerzam,
- organe univerze, njihovo temeljno funkcijo in osnovno strukturo - skupine, katerih predstavniki so člani organov - se določi z zakonom, univerzi pa naj bo omogočeno, da avtonomno določi razmerja med organi in med interesnimi skupinami znotraj posameznega organa, konkretne naloge, pristojnosti, odgovornosti ter sprejme druga, za delovanje organov pomembna določila,
- senat univerze naj zagotavlja uresničevanje akademskih standardov in standardov kakovosti izključno pri izvajanju izobraževalne, znanstveno-raziskovalne, umetniške in druge dejavnosti univerze in ne (več) nalog s področja managementa – te naj v celoti prevzame rektor oz. poslovodni direktor (če se poslovodna in strokovna funkcija ločita),
- način izvolitve rektorja, določitev trajanja njegovega mandata, pogoji za opravljanje funkcije in razmerja

z drugimi organi univerze so v veljavni zakonodaji v Sloveniji primerno urejeni in zagotavljajo visoko stopnjo avtonomnosti univerze glede teh vprašanj. V kolikor rektor opravlja hkrati naloge akademskega vodje in managementa, je pri volitvah rektorja nujno vključiti vse zaposlene – tudi strokovni kader in druge zaposlene, katerim trenutna pravna ureditve tega ne omogoča. Spremembe so potrebne tudi glede postavitve zahtev pri kandidatih za rektorja - po znanjih in izkušnjah s področja managementa (v primeru če se managerska in akademska funkcija ne ločita), ter v zvezi z nujnostjo uvedbe možnosti odpoklica rektorja, kar je uveljavljeno tudi v večini evropskih univerz,

- univerza mora imeti pravico avtonomno določiti svojo notranjo akademsko strukturo, način ustanovitve svojih članic (pri tem naj se jasno opredeli pojem članice oz. notranje akademske strukture) in drugih notranjih enot ter opredeliti razmerja z in med njimi,
- loči naj se akademske funkcije ter funkcije managementa: posamezniki, usposobljeni za management, naj izvajajo te naloge ločeno od akademskih vodij, ki bi bili na ta način razbremenjeni poslovno-managerskega dela in bi se posvečali akademskim (strokovnim) vprašanjem, to je kakovosti pedagoškega in raziskovalnega dela ter skrbi za akademsko osebje in študente,
- zakon mora opredeli temeljna izhodišča za sodelovanje zaposlenih pri upravljanju univerze - tako pedagoških kot tudi nepedagoških delavcev (tudi tistih, katerih avtonomnosti ne ščiti zahteva po svobodi znanosti), kar nedvomno predstavlja dovoljen poseg v avtonomnost univerze, podrobnejšo ureditev pa naj opredeli univerza sama,
- samostojno, v sodelovanju s študenti, naj univerza uredi tudi načine, oblike in postopke uresničevanja partnerskih razmerij med akademsko skupnostjo in študenti. Zakon naj določa le minimalno stopnjo sodelovanja študentov pri upravljanju,
- sodelovanje javnosti oz. interesnih skupin pri upravljanju univerze, vključevanje zunanjih deležnikov v organe univerze in način določitve oz. izbora le-teh, naj bodo naloga, skrb in izključna pristojnost univerze; država naj z zakonom določi le obvezo univerzi po vključevanju zunanjih deležnikov v svoje organe in dejavnosti,
- univerza mora imeti možnost, da v okviru svoje dejavnosti in brez soglasij državnih institucij ustanovi zavod, gospodarsko družbo, ustanovo ali drugo pravno osebo, pri čemer se v zakonu jasno opredeli njeno odgovornost, povezano z dotično ustanovitvijo,
- univerza naj postane lastnica vseh nepremičnin, ki jih uporablja, in so v lasti RS,
- sodobna pravna ureditev naj omogoča razvoj visoke stopnje kakovosti delovanja in odgovornosti univerz za dejanja oz. dejavnosti, ravnanja ter za postopke,

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ki jih le-te izvajajo, kot tudi za razvoj izobraževanja, znanosti, kulture in konkurenčnosti,

- država mora, glede na predvideno visoko stopnjo samoregulacije univerz, na novo urediti tudi nadzor nad delovanjem univerz - vsekakor ob spoštovanju ustavnega določila o avtonomnosti univerz.

Izgovori, češ da bi državne univerze v RS ne bile ,zmožne' visoke stopnje samoregulacije, ne vzdržijo že samo zaradi dejstva, da je ob tako kategoričnem ustavnem določilu glede avtonomnosti univerz, vsakršna drugačna ureditev najmanj ,ustavno sporna'. Pojem in pomen avtonomnosti, kot izhajata iz ustave in odločitev US RS, in sta bila predstavljena že uvodoma, sta odgovor na očitke o nezmožnosti, kajti ustavna dolžnost univerze do svoje avtonomnosti t.j. do odgovornega izvajanja svoje dejavnosti v odnosu do vseh deležnikov in širše družbe ter hkrati učinkovit (predvsem pa ustaven oz. zakonit) nadzor države nad njenim delovanjem, sta zagotovili, da bodo univerze svoje naloge in pristojnosti izvajale tako, kot od njih pričakuje družba, ki jim je prav na podlagi ustavnega določila to veliko odgovornost tudi naložila.

ZAKLJUČEK

Univerze v Evropi delujejo v različnih nacionalnih sistemih, ki se med seboj pomembno razlikujejo glede zgodovinskega, gospodarskega, družbenega in kulturnega razvoja, kar se nato naravno zrcali v različnih ureditvah sistemov visokega šolstva in v različnih razmerjih med državo in univerzo. Večina evropskih držav je v zadnjem desetletju izvedla (oz. izvaja) reforme visokošolskega sistema. V zvezi s tem je mogoče ugotoviti, da je skupni cilj vseh sprememb na področju organiziranja univerz doseganje večje uspešnosti in učinkovitosti delovanja univerz, hitrejše odzivnosti na izzive okolja, učinkovitosti pri porabi (javnih in nejavnih) sredstev, večje transparentnosti pri delovanju univerz in, splošno gledano, večje avtonomnosti in odgovornosti univerz do družbe.

Uspešnega razvoja univerze ni mogoče doseči brez ustrezne pravne ureditve njihovega ustanavljanja in delovanja. Če je le-ta omejujoča, ne omogoča vzpostavitve instrumentov avtonomnosti, odgovornosti in nadzora. Na področju organiziranosti slovenskih univerz obstaja veliko odprtih vprašanj, v zvezi s katerimi bi bi

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bilo smotrno, da zanje vsaka univerza - glede na svoje posebnosti - poišče lastne rešitve, ki bi nudile ‚pravo' ravnotežje med smernicami evropskega visokošolskega okolja, zahtevami in konkurenco domačega prostora ter notranjo kulturo in vrednotami univerzitetne skupnosti. To pa je mogoče le v primeru, da je univerza dejansko avtonomna in lahko svoje delovanje v največji možni meri ureja sama. V prispevku je na podlagi analize pravne ureditve organiziranosti univerz v Republiki Sloveniji in primerjave le-te s pravnimi ureditvami v izbranih evropskih državah ugotovljeno, da je stopnja avtonomnosti slovenskih univerz izredno nizka in celo najnižja med primerjanimi državami ter da je pravna ureditev preregulirana, zastarela in v veliki meri univerzam ne mogoča avtonomnega delovanja. Veljavna pravna ureditev v RS zavira razvoj in zapira vrata slovenskim univerzam na poti do cilja - pridružiti se najboljšim svetovnim univerzam. Slovenske univerze nujno potrebujejo reforme, ki bodo omogočile modernizacijo njihovega sistema organiziranosti z namenom večje avtonomnosti in hkrati odgovornosti ter odzivnosti na nove zahteve, ki jih prednje postavljajo njeni partnerji/odjemalci (država, študentje, zaposleni, gospodarstvo, lokalne oblasti idr.). Univerza je lahko odlična in se lahko kosa ter sodeluje s primerljimi institucijami doma in v svetu le z učinkovito organiziranostjo, uspešnim in odgovornim upravljanjem in managementom ter z visoko usposobljenimi in motiviranimi sodelavci.

Predstavljena primerjalno-pravna analiza opozarja na izredno velik razkorak med ustavno zagotovljeno avtonomnostjo univerz 'ki je na najvišji možni ravni' in dejansko uveljavljeno, ki je najnižja glede na obravnavane evropske države. Ta razkorak je mogoče preseči le na podlagi uvedbe popolnoma drugačnega zakonskega koncepta, ki pa naj temelji na zavedanju o pomembnosti vloge univerze v družbi ter njene avtonomnosti in družbene odgovornosti.

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IMPACT OF LEGAL REGULATION OF ORGANIZATION OF UNIVERSITIES ON THEIR AUTONOMY. COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LEGAL REGULATION OF UNIVERSITIES IN SLOVENIA AND SELECTED EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

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SUMMARY

Universities represent an important factor in the development of society. Their autonomy is of key importance in this regard, and accordingly appears in numerous documents published by international and European institutions as one of the top priorities in the quest to achieve a ‚knowledge society'. The European University Association, for example, as the basic dimensions of autonomy lists organizational, financial, academic and staff autonomy, and at the same time understands the inclusion of external stakeholders in the operations of the university as an expression of responsibility to society. These points of departure were used to conduct an analysis of the regulation of higher education in the Republic of Slovenia as valid in 2009 and in 2015 and a comparative legal research of the frame-works governing this field in selected European countries. On the basis of the findings of the analyses, guidelines for the improvement of regulation in the field of public higher education in Slovenia were created for each of the four dimensions of autonomy with the aim of facilitating operations of the Slovenian universities that would be more autonomous and more socially responsible than those foreseen and provided for by current regulation. The introduction to the paper explains key terms and definitions that are important for a comprehensive understanding of the comparative legal research described above. In the continuation, a more detailed analysis of one of these dimensions of autonomy, the organizational dimension, is presented. The conclusion - in accordance with the fact that valid regulation in the field of higher education in Slovenia is outdated and not in harmony with the Constitution, as it unambiguously incurs on the autonomy of universities in multiple instances (as evidenced, inter alia, by the decisions of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Slovenia) - offers some ideas for possible future regulation of the organizational dimension of universities. The recommendations for improvements of the existing sector-specific legislation are based on best practices from the countries analysed and on trends in these countries.

Keywords: university, autonomy, legal regulation, organization, social responsibility, Higher Eduaction Act

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1. Revija ANNALES *(Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije* Ser. hist et soc.) objavlja **izvirne** in **pregledne znanstvene članke** z družboslovnimi in humanističnimi vsebinami, ki se navezujejo na preučevanje *zgodovine, kulture in družbe* Istre in Mediterana. Vključujejo pa tudi *primerjalne in medkulturne študije* ter *metodološke in teoretične* razprave, ki se nanašajo na omenjeno področje.

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6. Avtorji naj pod izvleček članka pripišejo ustrezne **ključne besede**. Potrebni so tudi **angleški (ali slovenski) in italijanski prevodi** izvlečka, povzetka, ključnih besed, podnapisov k slikovnemu in tabelarnemu gradivu.

7. Zaželeno je tudi (originalno) **slikovno gradivo**, ki ga avtor posreduje v ločenih datotekah (jpeg, tiff) z najmanj 300 dpi resolucije pri želeni velikosti. Največja velikost slikovnega gradiva je 17x20 cm. Vsa potrebna dovoljenja za objavo slikovnega gradiva (v skladu z Zakonom o avtorski in sorodnih pravicah) priskrbi avtor sam in jih predloži uredništvu pred objavo članka. Vse slike, tabele in grafične prikaze je potrebno tudi podnasloviti in zaporedno oštevilčiti.

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Primer citata med besedilom:

(Kalc, 2010, 426).

Primer navajanja vira kot celote:

(Kalc, 2010).

Popolni podatki o tem viru v poglavju Literatura pa se glasijo:

Kalc, A. (2010): „Statistični podatki o Trstu" ob tretji francoski zasedbi leta 1809. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 20, 2, 423–444.

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(Kalc, 2010a) in (Kalc, 2010b).

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(Kalc, 2010a, 15; Verginella, 2008, 37).

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(ARS-1851, 67, 1808).

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ARS-1589, 1562, Zapisnik seje Okrajnega komiteja ZKS Koper, 19. 12. 1955.

Kratice razložimo v poglavju o virih na koncu članka, kjer arhivske vire navajamo po abecednem vrstnem redu.

Primer:

ARS-1589 – Arhiv republike Slovenije (ARS), Centralni komite Zveze komunistov Slovenije (fond 1589).

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(Primorske novice, 11. 5. 2009, 26).

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Primorske novice, 11. 5. 2009: Ali podjetja merijo učinkovitost?, 26.

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Primer:
Primorske novice. Koper, Primorske novice, 1963–.

11. Poglavje o virih in literaturi je obvezno. Bibliografske podatke navajamo takole:

- Opis zaključene publikacije kot celote – knjige:
Avtor (leto izida): Naslov. Kraj, Založba. Npr.:
Šelih, A., Antić Gaber, M., Puhar, A., Rener, T., Šuklje, R., Verginella, M. & L. Tavčar (2007): Pozabljena polovica. Portreti žensk 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem. Ljubljana, Tuma, SAZU.
V zgornjem primeru, kjer je *avtorjev več kot dva*, je korekten tudi citat:
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Avtor (leto izida): Naslov prispevka. V: Avtor knjige: Naslov knjige. Kraj, Založba, strani od-do. Primer:
Lenarčič, B. (2010): Omrežna družba, medkulturnost in prekokulturnost. V: Sedmak, M. & E. Ženko (ur.): Razprave o medkulturnosti. Koper, Založba Annales, 245–260.

- Opis članka v **reviji:**
Avtor, (leto izida): Naslov članka. Naslov revije, letnik, številka strani od-do. Primer:
Lazar, I. (2008): Celejski forum in njegov okras. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 19, 2, 349–360.

- Opis **ustnega vira**:
Informator (leto izporočila): Ime in priimek informatorja, leto rojstva, vloga, funkcija ali položaj. Način pričevanja. Oblika in kraj nahajanja zapisa. Primer:
Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, župnik v Vižinadi. Ustno izporočilo. Zvočni zapis pri avtorju.

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Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf (15. 9. 2008).
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Il *riassunto* riporterà in maniera sintetica i metodi delle ricerche, i motivi che le hanno determinate assieme all'analisi, cioè all'interpretazione, dei risultati raggiunti. Si eviterà di riportare conclusioni omesse nel testo del contributo.

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I dati completi su questa fonte nel capitolo Fonti e bibliografia verranno riportati in questa maniera:

Borean, L. (2010): Collezionisti e opere d'arte tra Venezia, Istria e Dalmazia nel Settecento. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol. 20, 2, 323–330.

Se si citano *più lavori dello stesso autore* pubblicati nello stesso anno accanto al cognome va aggiunta una lettera in ordine alfabetico progressivo per distinguere i vari lavori. Ad es.:

(Borean, 2010a) e (Borean, 2010b).

Il riferimento bibliografico può essere parte della nota a pié di pagina e va riportato nello stesso modo come sopra.

Singole opere o vari riferimenti bibliografici in una stessa nota vanno divisi dal punto e virgola. Per es.:

(Borean, 2010a, 37; Verginella, 2008, 37).

9. Le **fonti d'archivio** vengono citate nel testo, *tra parentesi*. Si indicherà: sigla dell'archivio – numero (oppure) sigla del fondo, numero della busta, numero del documento (non il suo titolo). Ad es.:

(ASMI-SLV, 273, 7r).

Nel caso in cui un documento non fosse contraddistinto da un numero, ma solo da un titolo, la fonte d'archivio verrà citata *a piè di pagina*. In questo caso si indicherà: sigla dell'archivio – numero (oppure) sigla del fondo, numero della busta, titolo del documento. Ad es.:

ACS-CPC, 3285, Milanovich Natale. Richiesta della Prefettura di Trieste spedita al Ministero degli Interni del 15 giugno 1940.

Le sigle utilizzate verranno svolte per intero, in ordine alfabetico, nella sezione »Fonti« a fine testo. Ad es.:

ASMI-SLV – Archivio di Stato di Milano (ASMI), f. Senato Lombardo-Veneto (SLV).

10. Nel citare fonti di giornale nel testo andranno indicati il nome del giornale, la data di edizione e le pagine:

(Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009, 26)

Nel caso in cui è noto anche il titolo dell'articolo, l'intera indicazione bibliografica verrà indicata *a piè di pagina*:

Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009: Da Mestre all'Archivio segreto del Vaticano, 26.

Nell'elenco Fonti e bibliografia scriviamo il nome del giornale, il luogo di edizione, l'editore ed il periodo di pubblicazione.

Ad es.:

Il Corriere della Sera. Milano, RCS Editoriale Quotidiani, 1876–.

11. Il capitolo **Fonti e bibliografia** è obbligatorio. I dati bibliografici vanno riportati come segue:

- Descrizione di un'opera compiuta:

autore/i (anno di edizione): Titolo. Luogo di edizione, casa editrice. Per es.:

Darovec, D., Kamin Kajfež, V. & M. Vovk (2010): Tra i monumenti di Isola : guida storico-artistica del patrimonio artistico di Isola. Koper, Edizioni Annales.

Se *gli autori sono più di due*, la citazione è corretta anche nel modo seguente:

(**Darovec et al., 2010**)

Se indichiamo una parte della pubblicazione, alla citazione vanno aggiunte le pagine di riferimento.

Descrizione di un articolo che compare in un **volume miscellaneo:**

- autore/i del contributo (anno di edizione): Titolo. In: autore/curatore del libro: titolo del libro, casa editrice, pagine (da-a). Per es.:

Povolo, C. (2014): La giusta vendetta. Il furore di un giovane gentiluomo. In: Povolo, C. & A. Fornasin (eds.): Per Furio. Studi in onore di Furio Bianco. Forum, Udine, 179-195.

Descrizione di un articolo in una **pubblicazione periodica – rivista:**

autore/i (anno di edizione): Titolo del contributo. Titolo del periodico, annata, nro. del periodico, pagine (da-a). Per es.:

Cergna, S. (2013): Fluidità di discorso e fluidità di potere: casi d'internamento nell'ospedale psichiatrico di Pola d'Istria tra il 1938 e il 1950. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 23, 2, 475-486.

Descrizione di una **fonte orale**:

informatore (anno della testimonianza): nome e cognome dell'informatore, anno di nascita, ruolo, posizione o stato sociale. Tipo di testimonianza. Forma e luogo di trascrizione della fonte. Per es.:

Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, parroco a Visinada. Testimonianza orale. Appunti dattiloscritti dell'intervista presso l'archivio personale dell'autore.

Descrizione di una **fonte tratta da pagina internet**:

Se è possibile registriamo la fonte internet come un articolo e aggiungiamo l'indirizzo della pagina web e tra parentesi la data dell'ultimo accesso:

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). (15. 9. 2008). Http://www. trynova. org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf

Se l'autore non è noto, si indichi il webmaster, anno della pubblicazione, titolo ed eventuale sottotitolo del testo, indirizzo web e tra parentesi la data dell'ultimo accesso.

La bibliografia va compilata in ordine alfabetico secondo i cognomi degli autori ed anno di edizione, nel caso in cui ci siano più citazioni riferibili allo stesso autore.

12. Il significato delle **abbreviazioni** va spiegato, tra parentesi, appena queste si presentano nel testo. L'elenco delle abbreviazioni sarà riportato alla fine dell'articolo.

13. Per quanto riguarda le **recensioni**, nel titolo del contributo l'autore deve riportare i dati bibliografici come al punto 10, vale a dire autore, titolo, luogo di edizione, casa editrice, anno di edizione nonché il numero complessivo delle pagine dell'opera recensita.

14. Gli autori ricevono le **prime bozze** di stampa per la revisione. Le bozze corrette vanno quindi rispedite entro una settimana alla Redazione. In questa fase, i testi corretti non possono essere più ampliati. La revisione delle bozze è svolta dalla Redazione.

15. La Redazione rimane a disposizione per eventuali chiarimenti.

LA REDAZIONE

INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS

1. The journal ANNALES *(Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies,* Ser. hist et soc.) publishes **original** and **review scientific articles** dealing with social and human topics related to research on *the history, culture and society of Istria and the Mediterranean,* as well as *comparative and intercultural studies* and *methodological and theoretical discussions* related to the above-mentioned fields.

2. The articles submitted can be written in the Slovene, Italian, Croatian or English language. The authors should ensure that their contributions meet acceptable standards of language, while the editorial board has the right to have them language edited.

3. The articles should be no longer than 8,000 words. They can be submitted via e-mail (Annaleszdjp@gmail.com) or regular mail, with the electronic data carrier (CD) sent to the address of the editorial board. Submission of the article implies that it reports original unpublished work and that it will not be published elsewhere.

4. The front page should include the title and subtitle of the article, the author's name and surname, academic titles, affiliation (institutional name and address) or home address, including post code, and e-mail address. Except initials and acronyms type in lowercase.

5. The article should contain the **summary** and the **abstract,** with the former (c. 200 words) being longer than the latter (max. 100 words).

The *abstract* contains a brief description of the aim of the article, methods of work and results. It should contain no comments and recommendations.

The *summary* contains the description of the aim of the article and methods of work and a brief analysis or interpretation of results. It can contain only the information that appears in the text as well.

6. Beneath the abstract, the author should supply appropriate **keywords**, as well as the **English (or Slovene) and italian translation** of the abstract, summary, keywords, and captions to figures and tables.

7. If possible, the author should also supply (original) **illustrative matter** submitted as separate files (in jpeg or tiff format) and saved at a minimum resolution of 300 dpi per size preferred, with the maximum possible publication size being 17x20 cm. Prior to publication, the author should obtain all necessary authorizations (as stipulated by the Copyright and Related Rights Act) for the publication of the illustrative matter and submit them to the editorial board. All figures, tables and diagrams should be captioned and numbered.

8. Footnotes providing additional explanation to the text should be written at *the foot of the page*. **Bibliographic notes** – i.e. references to other articles or publications – should contain the following data: *author, year of publication* and – when citing an extract from another text – *page*. Bibliographic notes appear in the text.

The entire list of sources cited and referred to should be published in the section *Sources and Bibliography* (starting with sources and ending with bibliography). The author should list only the works and editions cited or referred to in their article.

E.g.: Citation in the text:

(Blaće, 2014, 240).

E.g.: Reference in a text:

(Blaće, 2014).

In the section on *bibliography*, citations or references should be listed as follows:

Blaće, A. (2014): Eastern Adriatic Forts in Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's Isolario Mari, Golfi, Isole, Spiaggie, Porti, Citta ... Annales, Ser hist. sociol., 24, 2, 239-252.

If you are listing *several works published by the same author in the same year*, they should be differentiated by adding a lower case letter after the year for each item.

E.g.:

(Blaće, 2014a) and (Blaće, 2014b).

If the bibliographic note appears in the footnote, it should be written in the same way.

If listed in the same footnote, individual works or sources should be separated by a semicolon. E.g.:

(Blaće, 2014, 241; Verginella, 2008, 37).

9. When **citing archival records** *within the parenthesis* in the text, the archive acronym should be listed first, followed by the record group acronym (or signature), number of the folder, and number of the document. E.g.:

(ASMI-SLV, 273, 7r).

If the number of the document can not be specified, the record should be cited *in the footnote*, listing the archive acronym and the record group acronym (or signature), number of the folder, and document title. E.g.:

TNA-HS 4, 31, Note on Interview between Colonel Fišera and Captain Wilkinson on December 16th 1939.

The abbreviations should be explained in the section on sources in the end of the article, with the archival records arranged in an alphabetical order. E.g.:

TNA-HS 4 – The National Archives, London-Kew (TNA), fond Special Operations Executive, series Eastern Europe (HS 4).

10. If referring to **newspaper sources** in the text, you should cite the name of the newspaper, date of publication and page:

If the title of the article is also known, the whole reference should be stated *in the footnote*:

The New York Times, 16. 5. 2009: Two Studies tie Disaster Risk to Urban Growth, 3.

In the list of sources and bibliography the name of the newspaper. Place, publisher, years of publication.
E.g.:
The New York Times. New York, H.J. Raymond & Co., 1857–.

11. The list of **sources and bibliography** is a mandatory part of the article**.** Bibliographical data should be cited as follows:
- Description of a non-serial publication – a book:
Author (year of publication): Title. Place, Publisher. E.g.:
Darovec, D., Kamin Kajfež, V. & M. Vovk (2010): Among the monuments of Izola : art history guide to the cultural heritage of Izola. Koper, Annales Press.

If there are *more than two authors*, you can also use et al.:
(Darovec et al., 2010)

If citing an excerpt from a non-serial publication, you should also add the number of page from which the citation is taken after the year.

- Description of an article published in a **non-serial publication** – e.g. an article from a collection of papers:
Author (year of publication): Title of article. In: Author of publication: Title of publication. Place, Publisher, pages from-to. E.g.:
Muir, E. (2013): The Anthropology of Venice. In: Dursteler, E. (ed.): A Companion to Venetian History. Leiden - Boston, Brill, 487-511.

- Description of an article from a **serial publication:**
Author (year of publication): Title of article. Title of serial publication, yearbook, number, pages from-to. E.g.:
Faričić, J. & L. Mirošević (2014): Artificial Peninsulas and Pseudo-Islands of Croatia. Annales, Ser hist. et sociol., 24, 2, 113-128.

- Description of an **oral source**:
Informant (year of transmission): Name and surname of informant, year of birth, role, function or position. Manner of transmission. Form and place of data storage. E.g.:
Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, born 1930, priest in Vižinada. Oral history. Audio recording held by the author.

- Description of an **internet source**:

If possible, the internet source should be cited in the same manner as an article. What you should add is the website address and date of last access (with the latter placed within the parenthesis):
Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). Http://www.trynova.org/ victiminfo/ readings/VictimsMovement.pdf (15. 9. 2008).

If the author is unknown, you should cite the organization that set up the website, year of publication, title and subtitle of text, website address and date of last access (with the latter placed within the parenthesis).

If there are more citations by the same author(s), you should list them in the alphabetical order of the authors' surnames and year of publication.

12. The **abbreviations** should *be explained* when they first appear in the *text. You can also add a list of their explanations at the end of the article.*

13. The title of a **review article** should contain the following data: author of the publication reviewed, title of publication, address, place, publisher, year of publication and number of pages (or the appropriate description given in Item 10).

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