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Literary Representations of Non-Human World in Mate Dolenc's *Pes z Atlantide* (The Dog from Atlantis) and Bernhard Kellermann's *Das Meer* (The Sea): Two European Insular Cultures from an Ecocritical Perspective

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The paper first shortly presents ecocriticism as a discipline studying the relationship between literature and the physical environment, as well as its practice, which encourages a more ethical interaction with the world. The main focus is set on the ecocritical view on Mate Dolenc's *Pes z Atlantide* and Bernhard Kellermann's *Das Meer* in order to find out how the non-human world is represented in both novels. Through representations of human relationship to the physical environment and the non-human animals the cultural identity of two European insular communities – those of Biševo and Ushant – is reflected. The ecocritical perspective on the novels thus offers a possibility of rethinking the material and cultural bases of European society and stimulates in the reader a more biocentric consciousness of the world.

Key words: ecocriticism, anthropocentrism, biocentrism, physical environment, European insular cultures



INTRODUCTION

Mate Dolenc (1945), a contemporary Slovenian author, puts the sea in the centre of many of his latest literary works, particularly novels: “/W/ith his symbol of the sea, counterpoised to the world, he describes a vitalistic and ‘neo-pantheistic’ attitude that he developed into an adoration of the sea” (Zupan Sosič 2001, 45). The novel *Pes z Atlantide* (1993, *The Dog from Atlantis*) is undoubtedly one of them. The setting of the novel is a small Croatian island in the Adriatic Sea – Biševo,¹ where the first-person narrator spends his holidays and recalls fragmentary memories of the past mingled with the present.² In his work, Dolenc refers several times to the novel *Das Meer* (1910, *The Sea*) of the German author Bernhard Kellermann (1897–1951), which takes place on the Breton island of Ushant (Ouessant) in the Celtic Sea in the beginning of the 20th century.³

Several parallels can be drawn between both works. First of all, in both novels the modest and traditional life of local people who are strongly connected to the natural environment, the sea in particular, is presented through the eyes of a first-person narrator, who comes from the Continental Europe.⁴ By this means, the particularities of two different cultures – the Mediterranean and the Breton – are gradually revealed to the reader particularly by the representations of the non-human world. The relationship between humans and the natural environment is thus reflected in two different cultures within two different spaces and times. In both novels it seems that the non-human world (the non-human beings as well as other

1 The island is situated in the middle of the Dalmatian archipelago, next to the island of Vis. The author does not explicitly mention the name of the island in the text, in which he refers only to its villages and to its natural attractions. However, at the beginning he dedicates the book to Biševo.

2 The novel ends with the beginning of the war in 1991.

3 Similarly to Dolenc, Kellermann never explicitly mentions the name of the island of Ushant, where he lived for several months in 1907.

4 In Dolenc’s novel the narrator comes from Slovenia, in Kellermann’s novel the narrator’s place of origin is not specified.



non-living entities of the physical environment, such as wind and sea) is represented as inspirited and voluble, as if intercommunicating with humans, who constitute its integral part.

Both works thus thematise the broad relationship between humans and the non-human world, while implicitly posing environmental and ethical questions, which makes them interesting for an analysis and comparison from an ecocritical perspective. The paper thus first shortly presents ecocriticism as a discipline studying the relationship between literature and the physical environment, as well as its practice, which encourages a more ethical interaction with the world. The main focus is set on the ecocritical view on Dolenc's *Pes z Atlantide* and Kellermann's *Das Meer* in order to find out how the non-human world is represented in both novels. Special stress is laid on the physical environment and the non-human animal, the dog in particular. Through representations of human relationship to the physical environment and the non-human animals the cultural identity of two European insular communities – those of Biševo and Ushant with Mediterranean and Breton peculiarities respectively – is reflected.

ECOCRITICISM AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL FUNCTION OF LITERATURE

Ecocriticism represents “the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment”, which takes “an earth-centered approach to literary studies” (Glotfelty and Fromm 1996, xviii). Ecocriticism's subject is thus the interconnection between nature and culture. This discipline was first limited to the study of representations of nature, to ecological themes and genres about nature, but later its thematic area broadened to include various theoretical questions, such as the criticism of anthropocentrism, relations between culture and nature, as well as man and the environment, thus contributing “significantly to the realization that man is defined not only by social relations, but to the same extent by natural environment” (Čeh Steger 2012, 199–212). The ecological turn has brought the awareness of the natural world into literary studies, “reorienting the



humanities toward a more biocentric⁵ worldview” (Oppermann 2011, 230). Literature and its study can in some way help restore our connection to the Earth, since literature “generates knowledge” (ibid.). The basic premise of ecological criticism is that “human culture is connected to the physical world, affecting it and being affected by it” (Glotfelty and Fromm 1996, xix). The role of ecocriticism as a discipline in the humanities is thus to help understand the consequences of human actions for the planet.

In his article ‘Nature and Silence’ Christopher Manes presents an aspect of our society’s relationship with the non-human world, which emerged from the studies of animistic cultures: namely, in Western culture – in literate societies generally – nature is silent. Unlike Western culture, animistic cultures see the natural world as inspirited: for them, beside people, also animals, plants, and inert entities, such as stones, rivers and wind are perceived as being articulate and able to communicate and interact with humans (Manes 1996). In Manes’ opinion, “to regard nature as alive and articulate has consequences in the realm of social practices” (Manes 1996, 15). Moreover, because of this apparent silence that surrounds the human subjectivity an ethic of exploitation of nature has emerged, producing “the ecological crisis that now requires a search for an environmental counter-ethics” (Manes 1996, 16).

In the history of Western representations of nature, Manes (1996, 17) continues, “nature has grown silent in our discourse, shifting from an animistic to a symbolic presence, from a voluble object to a mute object”: the discourse – the reason – attributed to nature the role of silence and instrumentality. The faith in reason, intellect and progress has created “an immense realm of silences, a world of ‘not saids’ called nature, obscured in global claims of eternal truths about human difference, rationality and transcendence” (ibid.). In Manes’ opinion, we need

5 Biocentrism, unlike anthropocentrism, affirms “the intrinsic value of all natural life and displac[e] the current preference of even the most trivial human demands over the needs of other species or integrity of place” (Clark 2014, 2).



a new language, free from directionalities of humanism – a language of ecological humility that comes from deep ecology (ibid.). He also argues that “attending to ecological knowledge means metaphorically relearning ‘the language of birds’ – the passions, pains, and cryptic intents of the other biological communities that surround us and silently interpenetrate our existence” (Manes 1996, 25).

Scott Slovic, on the other hand, stresses the importance of the psychological phenomenon of “awareness” or “attentiveness” of nature writers. Slovic equates the attentiveness to our place in the natural world with the attentiveness to our very existence. According to him, nature writers study the phenomenon of environmental consciousness and attempt to stimulate this heightened awareness among their readers (Slovic 1996, 355). Yet, he warns: “To write about a problem is not necessarily to produce a solution, but the kindling of consciousness – one’s own and one’s reader’s – is a first step, an essential first step” (Slovic 1996, 364). Slovic, however, concludes that a sense of that awareness is a “condition, which helps us to act responsibly and respectfully” (Slovic 1996, 368).

In sum, such concern for becoming open to the non-human environment and ideas of relearning in order to re-establish our relationship, or rather communication with nature, are also present in Mate Dolenc’s and Bernhard Kellermann’s novels. This can be perceived on several levels, such as the representations of non-human animals and other phenomena of the physical world, as well as the relationship between humans and their physical environment.

REPRESENTATIONS OF NON-HUMAN WORLD IN MATE DOLENC’S *PES Z ATLANTIDE* AND BERNHARD KELLERMANN’S *DAS MEER*

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

While discussing the non-human world the physical environment, place in particular, has to be considered. Place in effect plays a pivotal role in understanding the self. For instance,



Neil Evernden (1996, 101–3) maintains that discoveries in biology change our sense of self, teaching us that “the establishment of self is impossible without the context of place” and that “there is no such thing as an individual, only an individual-in-context, individual as a component of place, defined by place.” Similarly, the environmentalist Paul Shepard (1977, 32) argues “knowing who you are is impossible without knowing where you are.” Correspondingly, Cheryll Glotfelty states “literature, via metaphor, should help us to feel the relatedness of self with place” (Glotfelty and Fromm 1996, xxviii). Through the concept of place authors in their literary works can thus express the sense of self of the characters, as well as their dependence and interconnectedness with the environment. Accordingly, literature can subversively draw attention to ecological and ethical problems which are present in the culture of a place. Nonetheless, place can also be tied to the idea of humans as Earth-keepers rather than Earth-exploiters, which is still present in several indigenous societies around the world. For instance, the example of certain African traditional indigenous societies demonstrates that “Earth keeping” provides us with a model for preserving the earth while also being a form of critique of those local and global practices, such as capitalism and consumerism, which have contributed to the degradation of the environment (Holm et al. 2015, 988). Inert entities, such as wind, water and rocks, will also be discussed in this part.

Dolenc’s novel is imbued in the basic ambivalence between land and sea, real world and Atlantis: the narrator, in fact, runs away from a civilisation charged with time and materialism to a genuine and natural life at the seaside (Resinovič 1995). The sea and the barely inhabited island, which are reminiscent of the allegorical Atlantis, are represented as a remedy for the civilizational fallacy (ibid.). Dolenc, as a keen spearfisherman, devotes several passages to the underwater world and life in it, particularly when talking about spearfishing. For instance, during spearfishing the narrator meditates on how little people know about “the other world”, which “stands on its head, in the opposite way of the world on which we stand” (Dolenc



1993, 11).⁶ According to him, the sea is everything: “The sea is everywhere, in us and around us. Sometimes we just do not see it, sometimes we just do not feel it, let alone smell it, but this does not mean that it is not there” (Dolenc 1993, 7). The island of Biševo, which is covered in woods and Mediterranean flora, is compared to the rocky, infertile island of Kellermann’s novel where “there was neither tree nor shrub” (ibid.). Unlike Kellermann’s roaring sea, Dolenc’s sea is the “warm and nice sea of the Mediterranean” (Dolenc 1993, 8). Dolenc’s narrator, however, seems to perceive the sea and the island as an inspirited entity, a complete “FORMA VIVA” (ibid.). He considers himself an “insuloman”⁷ – a descendant of Atlantis who longs for the lost island, therefore creating a new one – Biševo – where he would be accepted. Namely, the island and its sea accept only “insulomen” while exhorting others “who are happy going back to their concrete, asphalt, plastic, and gasses” (Dolenc 1993, 30). The “insulomen” who persist on the island, on the contrary, learn to feel the unimaginable: they, for instance, can hear the grass growing, the fish swimming, and the sea breathing. The non-human world even communicates with them: “It’s only seagulls... or perhaps the combination of all voices and their echoes, the assembly of rocks, waves, winds and animals, which all together call out my name” (Dolenc 1993, 63). Furthermore, the physical environment of the island makes them reflect about their true identity: “Where do I come from? Why? And where am I going to?” (Dolenc 1993, 78).

Throughout Dolenc’s novel the sea is represented as timeless and as an eternal substance, however, it seems that newcomers from the continent do not understand it, since they cannot feel the sea, the land and their non-human inhabitants anymore: they only bring death (spearfishing), pollution (the discarded accumulator in the sea), and destruction (war). Still, it is precisely the sea, which exerts the greatest influence on a genuine “insuloman”, such as the narrator: when underwater, he hears

6 The fragments from both novels were translated into English by the author of this paper.

7 The same word is used in Slovene.



it ceaselessly calling his name. It seems, however, that he is not able to respond to its call: he does not let it absorb him completely, because he still belongs to the civilised, external world. The relationship between humans and their natural environment therefore remains only superficial, since humans have lost their sense of nature. Only the modest local people, represented almost as Earth-keepers, persevere on the island, despite all: “Thus in a circle, as usual” (Dolenc 1993, 109). However, they are also, almost imperceptibly, becoming affected by the external world in the guise of tourism.

The interconnection between the physical environment and all living entities, the fluidity of identity and the transforming of one entity into another is also omnipresent in Dolenc’s novel. For instance, the reason for the good quality of the insular wine is the excellent position of the vineyards. Namely, the vines grow on the ground where soldiers from World War II were buried. The juice of grapes is thus literally created from a universal energy which decants from one entity to another: from human flesh and blood to the soil, finally returning back to humans through wine. Or, as the narrator states by rephrasing Christ’s words: “The fish are my flesh and wine is my blood” (Dolenc 1993, 62). Following this idea of fluidity other reflections of the narrator become clear: “To me it has always seemed that the sea turns up if you set fire to a mirror” (Dolenc 1993, 16).

In Kellermann’s novel the idea of fluidity and interconnection is visible, for instance, in the conception of breathing: “And what else is human breathing, I am asking myself, if not the breathing of the sea, from which we stem?” (Kellermann 1975, 112).⁸ However, the sea in Kellermann’s case is represented as dark and dangerous. Local people respect it while at the same time being attracted to its unknown essence. On the example of an old local man – Jean Louis, also called “the king of the sea”, – the strong connection of local people with the sea is presented: “The king of the sea moved in this desert of

8 The quotation is also to be found at the beginning of Dolenc’s novel.



water as safely as in his own home. He knew its every span and he did not have to be alert” (Kellermann 1975, 63). The narrator, on the contrary, likes to venture out to sea, but seems to be too audacious even for local people. The reason for his coming to the austere island is blurred: he alludes that he lives there in order to “listen to the sea and to fish” (Kellermann 1975, 72–3), but it seems that for him the island represents a sort of escapism. His communicating with animals and other inert entities, such as waves, sand and the wind, is stressed several times. Similarly to Dolenc’s narrator, Kellermann’s narrator hears the call of the sea: “The sea was calling me. I was gazing at it and it was inviting me with thousands of hands” (Kellermann 1975, 146). But, unlike Dolenc’s Mediterranean Sea, the Celtic Sea seems to warn the narrator to leave the island, which does not accept him.

The environmental pollution in Kellermann’s novel is outlined only through the black smoke of the steamers.⁹ Riding aboard one of them, on his way back to the continent, the narrator perceives the “European face” with all its commodities: “From the periphery of civilization I jumped directly into its boiling centre” (Kellermann 1975, 191). Unlike the island, Europe in the narrator’s eyes represents the world “with a saint’s aureole and murderer’s hands” (Kellermann 1975, 76), which is “starting to stink” (Kellermann 1975, 77).¹⁰ Moreover, approaching the continent and listening to the engines of the “big steely heart of Europe” he realizes that he does not belong to the island anymore: “The waves, the wind, the broad sea – I am not theirs anymore” (Kellermann 1975, 192). However, during one last listening to the outer world it seems that the narrator seizes the call of nature and understands what it has been trying to communicate to him.

9 It must be noted that pollution in the 1900s, when the novel was published, was not as big a concern as it is nowadays.

10 The statement could also be understood as an announcement of the World War I.



THE NON-HUMAN ANIMAL

Timothy Clark states that in the question of the animal, ecocriticism finds perhaps its most striking ethical challenge (Clark 2014). Animals in our everyday life are exploited for food, materials, experiments, work, entertainment etc. Humans in their anthropocentrism want to dominate and take advantage of every living being which seems to be valuable exclusively according to the point of view of humans. Writing about animals poses a particular challenge, since an animal ethics often concerns “the animal as an individual existence, more in a way in which a person is considered,” while also bringing with it the question of anthropomorphism: “How to represent animal lives in human language and culture without illusion or injustice?” (Clark 2014, 179). Moreover, representations of non-human animals in literature can be considered as a strong criticism of anthropocentrism. Namely, the resemblance of animals to humans on the one hand and their otherness on the other were probably the reasons of their representations in art, painting and literature; animals are therefore a sort of a known stranger, and for this very reason it is worth considering how well do we know them through literary and literary critical discourse (Kernev Štrajn 2007).

In Dolenc’s and Kellermann’s works animals are represented in different ways, above all as companions, food, a source of earnings, a working force, sport (spearfishing) and as a part of the natural environment. Both Dolenc and Kellermann lay great stress on sea animals, since the life of local people mostly depends upon them. However, the human manner of treating animals varies in both works. The narrator in Dolenc’s novel, for instance, describes the vivid underwater life in detail and wonders about the life of the fish. He reflects on the purpose of an animal and its intrinsic value: “/the conger meandered/ to an exact destination as if it knew exactly where it was going. As you sometimes see a dog in the street, which is going somewhere, and you ask yourself, where is it going so determinedly and without hindrance? And you certainly know that the dog knows. Thus, the conger also knew” (Dolenc 1993, 14). In doing so, the author tries to go beyond his anthropocentrism and attempts to show another perspective (the



perspective of another entity), which does not take the human as centre or norm. This shift in perspective clearly suggests an insight into a more biocentric consciousness of the world.

The description of the underwater life in Dolenc's novel is not embellished. However, the narrator argues that two fish struggling with each other are not enemies: they just perceive each other as food and fight without hatred. He states that in the sea there are countless battles, however, there is no hatred. This shows the author's attempt to de-anthropomorphise the fish, which are, unlike humans, killing each other just in order to survive. Yet the statement is still made from a human perspective and is hence anthropocentric in a weak sense.

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Nevertheless, in Dolenc's work there are also clear representations of anthropomorphised underwater world. The narrator, for instance, describes it as a sort of an underwater kingdom with its castles and towers, in which fish are sunbathing, he discusses the intelligence of fish and even depicts a fish disapproving the human behaviour on the surface. The perspective is also inverted, in a scene of spearfishing when the fish feel through the vibrations of the sea that something is going on in their "homes" (Dolenc 1993, 35), and in an encounter with dolphins, which stare upon "the unfortunate mammals who had to leave the sea" (Dolenc 1993, 69). The reader is thus confronted with a non-human perspective, but nevertheless one needs to recognize that this still represents an anthropomorphic perspective.

Furthermore, Dolenc highly stresses the relationship between humans and the sea animals. Several times the reader bears witness to the gaze between a human and a fish. With regard to the gaze between a human and an animal Jelka Kernev Štrajnc argues that the animal and the human gaze at each other over a "gulf of incomprehension": when the human realizes that the animal observes him just as he observes everything around himself, then he can perceive the gaze of the animal as something familiar: the animal is thus not only different, but also familiar (Kernev Štrajnc 2007, 46).¹¹ Moreover, Dolenc also

11 The importance of the gaze between a human and an animal is stressed several times in both novels.



includes multiple gazes in his work. For instance, the narrator turns his gaze from the dead fish's eyes to the vivid eyes of a woman, who is waiting for the hunter to come back with his prey. The shifting of gazes from human to animal, animal to human and, finally, human to human indicates the communication between different beings: it blurs the identity of an individual entity for the sake of all entities, thus demonstrating their interrelation. Moreover, killing and preparing of fish for eating are represented as a ritual of veneration. Yet, during spearfishing the narrator at some point disapproves of killing the fish, since he is not hungry. Besides, the recurrent motif of apologizing to a fish for killing it and the motif of killing only from need resemble, for instance, to the philosophy of the indigenous peoples of America who teach that humans should respect animals and kill them when there is a real need, and that after killing an animal, they should show respect and ask for pardon. In Dolenc's work the idea of humans as Earth-keepers can be thus clearly perceived.

Fishing plays an important role in both stories. Timothy Clark argues that "to go fishing is to open a temporary utopian space that is at once a form of escapism from daily society and its implicit if limited critique" (Clark 2014, 90). It seems that Clark's statement holds true for both novels. For instance, besides the narrator's venerated relation to fishing in Dolenc's novel, the attitudes to fishing of a local man Nikola and that of a Slovenian young tourist Štefan are also exposed. Nikola fishes only small fish and he refuses the help of other people that could increase his catch. Unlike Nikola, Štefan wants to catch only big fishes: "He did not catch any fish, he left the small ones be, he wanted the bigger ones" (Dolenc 1993, 76). For Štefan spearfishing is a way to confirm his own power and virility, while Nikola represents a modest local individual, who only takes from his natural environment as much as he needs in order to survive. The narrator, however, reflects on the abundance and its paradoxical consequences, while Štefan spearfishes in vain among plenty of evasive fishes: "Perhaps plenitude results in nothing" (ibid.). The reflection seems to include a strong criticism of modern society.

On the contrary, in Kellermann's novel fishing appears to be much rougher. Fish and other sea animals are treated as objects: they are considered as food or as a means of earning money. For instance, the narrator describes a fish struggling to escape from his angle, looking at him with anger: "It was looking at me with wide-opened, angry eyes, shaking of pain and fear, and swinging its tail. I grabbed it, I pulled out the angle, and then I hurled it in the middle of the boat" (Kellermann 1975, 60). In this scene the gaze between the animal and the human is explicitly hostile. A furious fish's gaze also occurs in another passage: "It was goggling at me all furious when I pulled it out from the water, but now it is lying here and the scales are falling off in every direction" (Kellermann 1975, 140). Unlike in Dolenc's novel, Kellermann's narrator does not feel any regret or even gratitude toward the fish. He is impassive to the fish's agony and treats it as a mere object. Moreover, the local fisherman Jean Louis is even more insensible and cruel. For example, he pulls the crabs' claws off yelling at them because they are defending themselves, or when the fish are struggling in agony he kicks them in order to make them quiet. Jean Louis, unlike Dolenc's Nikola, catches only big fish. Moreover, when a small fish swallowed the bait he angrily "crushed it inside the boat, so that the little fish yawned and instantly remained lying without moving" (Kellermann 1975, 63). Other passages on fishing include human cruelty towards the sea animals, such as pulling off crabs' claws when they try to resist, cutting lobsters' sinews, and grilling living crabs.

Other wild animals in Dolenc's work, such as birds, lizards, feral horses and mules, are mentioned to a smaller degree. However, the narrator shortly discusses about the endangered Mediterranean monk seal and tells the story of the last seal which was captured on the island: tied to a stake by local people, the animal tried to free itself but it broke its neck (Dolenc 1993, 81). The narrator, however, seems to write about this in a very unconcerned way.

In Kellermann's novel other animals are mentioned as well. Domesticated animals, such as horses, pigs, sheep, and wethers, are mostly represented as working force, food or a source of money. For instance, the sheep of the young local girl Rosseherre are



depicted as prodigious animals through the eyes of which “fear and respect were trickling” (Kellermann 1975, 49). The narrator stresses the sheep’s sense of smell as their sense of orientation in the world, thus trying to present them as unanthropomorphic as possible: “Sometimes they were sniffing with their meek, contented, camel-like snouts, fearfully withdrawing, since they were afraid of everything, the wind, the insects and even of the things that people do not see” (ibid.). However, the life of the domesticated animals on the island is depicted as arduous because of the barren land: “A hungry cow was standing near the path, deplorably mooing when we came closer. She was not bigger than a calf, a real dwarf cow. Actually, all the cows on the island are so small. Here, the animals do only what is indispensably necessary; the hens lay tiny, pigeon’s eggs” (Kellermann 1975, 45). Still, sometimes local people vent their frustrations on other beings or do them harm for the sake of pure entertainment. For instance, Yann, a local fisherman, shoots at animals just for fun, though in vain. Among wild animals, however, only birds are mentioned. For example, during the migration of birds the entire island makes a living out of those birds which hit the lighthouse and die. Furthermore, in Kellermann’s work, the communication between humans and animals and even among animals themselves is stressed. For instance, besides the narrator’s talking to his dog Poupoul, which will be presented further on, the narrator also talks to other animals. Even Poupoul itself communicates with other animals: “I heard them talking. When the parrot meaningfully broke into laughter, Poupoul replied with a furious yelping” (Kellermann 1975, 19).

THE DOG

The dog plays, besides the sea, a pivotal role in both novels. In Dolenc’s case its importance is stressed already in the title. Moreover, in both novels the human relationship toward the dog, if compared to the relation toward other animals, indicates a strong speciesism. Nevertheless, the representations of dog differ. In Dolenc’s novel the dog comes to the island because its owner wants to get rid of it since it is old, and therefore



useless and inconvenient. The “dog from Atlantis” is depicted as a dog, which faithfully waits for its owner to come back, but passes almost unperceived by locals: “A dog silhouette, a dog apparition, a dog phantom, a dog guard” (Dolenc 1993, 6). The owner leaves the dog thinking that the animal will soon die of hunger, but the narrator reflects that the dog’s owner does not think much “neither about the nature of the dog nor about the nature of eternity” (Dolenc 1993, 13). In his reflection a strong criticism of anthropocentrism is present: humans exploit other animals as much as they can, but do not understand their true nature and value, and, above all, humans underestimate other beings. In fact, the dog despite all manages to survive. His ingenuity in finding food is described in detail: it takes his share from slops and from other animals: “It never chased away any animal, it took only what was offered and it never approached people” (Dolenc 1993, 87). Its modesty and adaptability to its environment keep it alive: it becomes a “fish dog” (Dolenc 1993, 100). The representation of the dog, however, tries to go beyond anthropomorphism. The narrator stresses several times that the dog’s world turns around its sense of smell. For instance, the dog lets Štefan approach it, because he smells of sea and not of humans, which confuses it. Yet, even though the smell of its owner disappears, the dog keeps coming back to the place where it has been abandoned. Another attempt toward a more biocentric approach in representing the animal is visible in the narrator’s reflection on the dog’s capacity of remembering: “How far back a dog’s memories can reach? As far as ours?” (Dolenc 1993, 87).

Moreover, by talking to the dog, the narrator realizes that they seem strange to each other while at the same time being connected: “We were far from the world, alone and strange to each other, but I wanted to be its friend, because I thought that it is an unusual dog and that something must have been binding us together” (Dolenc 1993, 41). This passage confirms Kernev Štrajn’s statement that the animal is a familiar stranger. At last, it seems that the dog symbolises a longing for everything that is lost and fugacious: on the narrator’s level his youth, and on a general level a possibility of a genuine life – it seems that the



almost unperceived slaughter of the dog at the end means the end of hope which it symbolises (Resinovič 1995). Dolenc's dog thus can be perceived as an alter-ego of the narrator and of all those who have lost something that is impossible to regain, including the genuine nature represented by Atlantis. On the other hand, it can also be seen as a symbol of ingenious yet modest and persistent living beings (nature itself), which live in impossible conditions by taking from their environment only as much as needed in order to survive but are destroyed by the artificiality of human progress.

By contrast, the dog Poupoul in Kellermann's work is well provided for by its owner – the narrator himself. Poupoul is described as a retired ship-dog, which has been on all the seas. The dog is the only loyal companion of the narrator's solitary life since his arrival to the island, which makes their bond even stronger. Their communication is continuously emphasized: the narrator talks to the dog while the latter replies through body language or barking. The narrator frequently deliberately anthropomorphises his companion, so that Poupoul appears as human, or rather as an ideal human companion who is ready to sacrifice its own life for that of its human fellow. In doing that, however, the narrator ends to become zoomorphised himself: "I was moving forward on all fours and since I was also barking, Poupoul thought that I was of its breed. /.../ I hugged and kissed it: 'Poupoul, sweetheart, now we are both dogs'" (Kellermann 1975, 36). Similarly as in Dolenc's work, Poupoul's sense of smell is emphasized as the sense which orientates a dog's life. Besides, Poupoul's instinct – the attentiveness to the natural environment, which most humans have lost due to their estrangement to the outer world – saves the narrator from being killed several times. However, at the end the animal – the dog as the most loyal companion of a man – is the target of a perverted revenge between humans. The symbolism of the dog's corpse, which the sea tirelessly brings back to the shore and to its human fellow, is powerful: "Strange! I tried in three, four places, but every time Poupoul was brought to me again" (Kellermann 1975, 182). It seems that nature itself rejects the death of such a pure being by giving it back to the land, but at last the dog is absorbed by the



sea to which it belongs. Through the loss of his animal fellow, the narrator realizes that he has never belonged to the island since the latter has never really accepted him, and leaves it.

CONCLUSION

Mate Dolenc's *Pes z Atlantide* and Bernhard Kellermann's *Das Meer* thematise the relationship between humans and the non-human world. The ecocritical view on both novels unveils the cultural identity of two small European insular communities – a Mediterranean and a Breton –, which is projected through the representations of the non-human world. These representations can be perceived as a criticism of the illusory fixity of the conventionally human (anthropocentric) perspective, which is deep-rooted in different European cultures, and can thus contribute to the reflection of otherwise unimagined modes of perception. In addition, the reflections of both narrators throughout the stories and their insights into local insular cultures from non-local (Continental) standpoints pose ethical and ecological questions. Unlike local people, who are at least in Dolenc's novel mostly presented as Earth-keepers, i.e. people who are strongly connected to their natural environment, the narrators are challenged to uncover the call of nature in themselves and to develop their attentiveness to the natural environment in order to restore the silenced communication between them and nature.

Moreover, it seems that the relationship between local residents and the local non-human world directly results from particularities of the two represented worlds: the Mediterranean and the Breton. In fact, Dolenc's narrator stresses several times the positive influence of the mild Mediterranean climatic and geographical conditions on people; this probably also has a positive effect on their relationship to the natural environment and non-human beings, while the rough natural conditions on the Breton island of Kellermann's novel seem to be reflected in the brutal manners of locals towards the natural environment, animals in particular. Both novels thus offer a rethink of the material and cultural bases of European society, while at the same time also encouraging a more biocentric consciousness of the



world. A more attentive approach to the natural environment, as presented in the analysed novels, would enable Western cultures to hear the call of nature and feel their interconnectedness with it, which would undoubtedly lead to more responsible actions regarding the environment. Western culture should relearn to understand nature just like Kellermann's narrator does at the very end of the novel: "I listened. Out there, there was the wind, the sea, out there, there were the voices, and I understood them".

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The Impact of Government Debt on Economic Growth: An Empirical Investigation of the Lebanese Market

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The accumulation of the Lebanese public debt since 1990 is becoming the most critical and serious risk in the country's future economic growth and stability. This paper investigates the impact of the Lebanese government debt on its economic growth through an econometric analysis using data for about 26 years starting in 1989. The research data is from the Lebanese central bank, the International Monetary Funds and the World Development Indicators then it is regressed in basic time series analysis taking into consideration the different variables that have an influence on the economic growth. After testing its robustness and illustrated through ARMAX, the results show a statistically significant impact of public debt to GDP on the Lebanese economic growth but vary in sign based on a threshold of 128.8%.

Key words: Lebanese public debt, economic growth, public debt threshold, time series analysis



INTRODUCTION

The Lebanon public debt is becoming critical in determining the Lebanese economic growth, due to the sizable accumulation of government debts, since the early 1990s. Several factors in the Lebanese economy lead to increase in the total public debt to GDP about 183 per cent in 2006 and 134 per cent in 2014. Since 1990, the accumulation for the heavy Lebanese public debt was mainly due to the continues Lebanese budget deficits due to the heavy public debt service, high government expenditures on infrastructure, and the inadequate taxes collection and policies. The Lebanese budget deficit increases lead to increases in interest rates in local currency, which attract investment in Lebanese Treasury Bills as the main source for the Lebanese public debt. Beside the Lebanese high public debt, the Lebanese economy characterized by substantial trade deficits with regular imports high level.

The macro financial risk due to high public debt affect the country's long-term economic growth and stability around the world. For example, at the end of 2011, the highest debt to GDP ratio among the world's developed countries was the Japanese public debt to GDP of 233% while the US Debt to GDP ratio reached 102%, and in Europe, the major risk was in Greece with a 165.3% debt to GDP ratio (IMF, 2015). In the Middle East region, the Lebanese economy is facing a major risk due to the high public debt that reached almost 180% of its GDP in 2006. An important question that arises from this observation is whether this high level of public debt have a negative impact on the Lebanese economic growth. Another question is about the Lebanese public debt threshold that starts the negative effect on the economic growth. In other words, is the negative effect is observed only above a certain level of debt.

Reinhart and Rogoff (2010) using simple descriptive statistics showed that high public debt and economic growth have strong negative correlation. They stated that the negative impact of the public debt on the economic growth started considerably after a threshold of 90% of public debt-to-GDP ratio. In the same vein, some econometric studies for a similar set of countries confirmed that the public debt to GDP ratio affected



the economic growth negatively is about 90% of GDP for OECD countries (Cecchetti et al. 2011; Padoan et al. 2012) and for euro area countries (Checherita and Baum et al. 2013). Among these, Panizza and Presbitero (2012) reject the hypothesis that high debt causes lower growth. In spite of the importance of the Lebanese public debt as the highest as the public debtor country in the Middle East, there is a very limited empirical studies (Neaime 2010; Saad 2012) examining the impact of public debt on the economic growth.

The objective of this study is to test the impact of Lebanese public debt on the Lebanese economic growth and its threshold that turn its effect to negative. Accordingly, the study use time series data to test the impact of Lebanese public debt and real economic growth rate for the period 1989–2014. The study conducts within a period of increased public debt rate to GDP on Lebanon. The research main independent variable is the public debt to GDP and its square to check the threshold beside other economic control variables. After we check the model robustness mainly through ARMAX model, we test the public debt threshold that start affecting the Lebanese economic growth. We start the study by introducing the subject then by analyzing the economic situation in Lebanon. The third section presents the literature review of the relationship between Public debt and the economic growth before presenting the research methodology. We end up with main conclusions for the study.

BACKGROUND OF THE LEBANESE ECONOMY

One of the major problems in the Lebanese economy is its huge accumulated public debt to GDP that reached in 2006 180%. Studying the impact of the Lebanese public debt on its economic growth from 1989 to 2014 is the main target of this paper. In achieving this objective, we examine the impact of Lebanese government debt to GDP ratio on the Lebanese economic growth including other macroeconomic and debt variables as mentioned earlier.

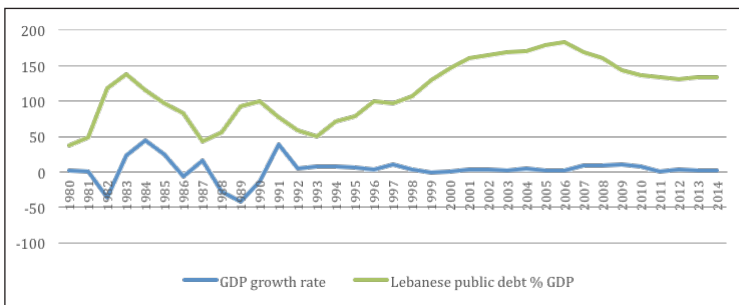
Since 1975 the beginning of the Lebanese civil war, the Lebanese economic situation faced many difficulties due to



several internal and external political instability that caused economic growth fluctuation. After the end of the Lebanese civil war in 1989, the Lebanese economic recovery started to take place to push the economic growth to rise but very slowly with respect to the huge increase in the Lebanese public debt ratio. However, several Lebanese political and security instability beside the continuous budget deficit created unfavorable conditions for investment. These circumstances lead to increase the gap between the economic growth and its public debt to GDP growth.

After the end of the Lebanese civil war in 1989, the Lebanese government used to cover its budget deficits by issuing the treasury bonds as the main source of financing its deficit. The heavy Lebanese government expenditures mainly on infrastructure coupled with corruption and the weak government revenue due to the inadequate collection of taxes led to increase the Lebanese public debt. Another reason in the increase of the Lebanese public debt was its heavy debt service burden. By the end of 2014, total public debt was about 134 per cent of GDP although it reached its highest level 183 % between 2005 and 2006 (see figure 1).

Figure 1: Lebanese economic growth versus public debt change 1980–2014



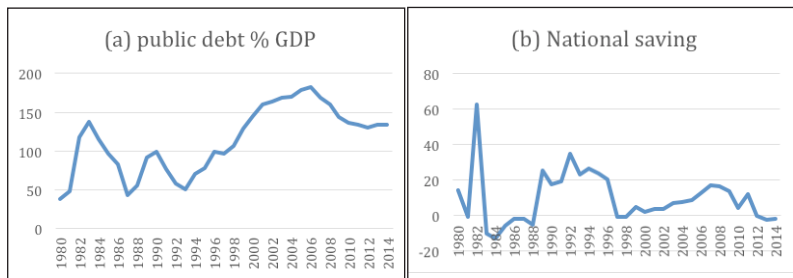
Source: Author estimation based on Lebanese Ministry of Finance and the World Bank’s World Development Indicators 2015.

During the Lebanese civil war from 1975 to 1990, the Lebanese government revenue was very weak mainly due to



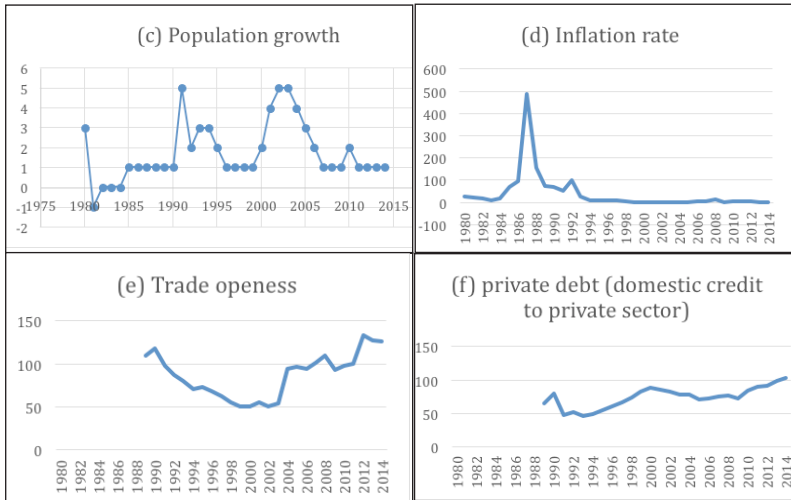
weak tax collection and thus the national saving was fluctuating (Figure 2b). The inflation rate registered its highest levels in 1987 at 488 per cent then it started to decrease but increased again after the civil war to reach 100 per cent in 1992 (Figure 2d). The population growth rate was not recording big difference during all the tested period (Figure 2c). The Lebanese trade indicate active developments in importing between 1989 and 1992 then showed high rates between 2006 and 2014 where an international trade agreement has been established like The Lebanese-European Union Association agreement (Figure 2e). The Lebanese-European Union Association agreement worked intensively on trade liberalization. With helped to make The European Union is the first trading partner for Lebanon with more than 34 % of Lebanese trade as of 2012. Under the agreement framework, the European Union member states with the Mediterranean partners intended to promote socio-political stability, economic and financial cooperation. In addition, this agreement encourages the Mediterranean countries intra-regional cooperation that would lead to better economic growth and sociopolitical stability (Havrylyshyn 1997)

Figure 2: Evolution of Lebanon’s Macroeconomic Fundamentals, 1980–2014¹²



12 Evolution of Lebanon’s Macroeconomic Fundamentals, 1980–2014. (a) GDP per capita growth rate, (b) Public debt % of GDP, (c) Gross national saving (% of GDP), (d) population growth rate, (e) inflation rates, (f) current account balance (% of GDP), (g) trade openness (trade % of GDP), (h) private debt (domestic credit to private sector).





Source: Author estimation based on International Monetary Fund’s (IMF), Lebanese Ministry of Finance, World Development Indicators WDI (2015).

LITERATURE REVIEW

The theoretical literature supports a negative relationship between public debt and economic growth. The results of many empirical studies show the existence of a negative correlation between public debt and GDP growth (see Diamond 1965; Saint Paul 1992; Schclarek 2004; Adam and Bevan 2005; Aizenman et al. 2007). Most empirical literature on this topic examine the impact of external debt on economic growth mainly in developing countries.

Diamond (1965) tested the taxes effect on capital stock by differentiating between public internal and external debt. He noticed that, due to the taxes impact needed to finance the public debt interest payments, both external and internal public debt minimize the tax payers purchasing power, their savings, and then the capital stock. Moreover, he concludes that additional reduction in the capital stock due to the difference between government debt and physical capital in individual portfolios has produced by internal debt. Saint Paul (1992) finds a negative relation between public debt and growth rate through analyzing



the impact of fiscal policy using the neoclassical growth model. More specifically, he shows that an increase in public debt reduces the growth rate, so there will always be a burden on a future generation. In addition, Aizenman (2007) evaluate the fiscal policy and the optimal public investment for limited tax and debt capacities countries. They studying an endogenous growth model where public expenditure has considered as an input in the production process and they find a negative relation between the public debt and the growth rate although the flow of public expenditures raises productivity.

Krugman (1988) studies the creditors' trade-offs for a country with high debt such levels that cannot attract voluntary new lending. In case a country is unable to meet its debt service requirements from its current income, the creditors have either to finance the country by lending with a great loss hoping that the country will be able to repay its debt, or to write off debt to a level that the country can repay. In the same vain, the IMF and the US post-1983 debt strategy has mainly relied on financing, with debt reform call for forgiveness instead. More precisely, he shows that the choice between forgiveness and financing represents a trade-off. In this context, Schclarek (2004) studies the relationship between growth and debt for a number of developing and developed/industrial economies and covers the period 1970–2002. He finds that higher growth rates are associated with lower external debt levels, and mainly this relationship is not by private external debt but by public external debt for developing countries. However, he does not find any significant relationship between government debt and economic growth for industrial countries.

Reinhart and Rogoff (2010) (henceforth R&R) in a sample of 44 countries over a large period between 1790 and 2009 studies the economic growth and inflation at different levels of government and external debt. They find that there is a weak relationship between real GDP growth and government debt for countries with a threshold of less than 90% debt to GDP ratios. While, the average growth rates considerably greater and the median growth rates decrease by one percent, for countries with debt to GDP ratio above 90%. In addition, they noticed that this public



debt threshold is almost the same in advanced and emerging economies. In the same vein, Kumar and Woo (2010) find a similar GDP growth behavioral change in relation to the debt ratio. Based on a panel of emerging and advanced economies for about four decades, they study the high public debt impact on long run economic growth taking into account various economic growth factors. Among these, Panizza and Presbitero (2012) reject the hypothesis that high debt causes lower growth. Pescatori. et al (2014) found that there is no simple threshold for debt ratios in affecting the economic growth. Although they found an evidence for the trajectory of debt influence on the country's economic growth. In other words, the country with high debt but declining levels proved to have a fast growth as its peers.

Empirically, the results show an inverse relationship between subsequent growth and initial debt. However, controlling other determinants of growth and realize that a 10%-point increase in the initial debt to GDP ratio on average is accompanied with a decrease in annual real per capital GDP growth of around 0.2% points per year, while the impact is somehow smaller in advanced economies. In literature, public debt proved to have a positive impact on economic growth until it reaches certain level (Chudik et. al 2015). The risk is for countries with too high debt levels facing difficulties to refinance it, decreasing economic growth and even they can reach a level of default. For the Lebanese economy, the empirical studies on the impact for the Lebanese public debt on its economic growth is still very limited (Neaime 2014; Saad 2012).

METHODOLOGY

This research test used data from the Lebanese central bank, Lebanese ministry of finance, International Monetary and fund, and World Bank statistics from 1989 to 2014 as secondary time series. These data included public and private debt, inflation, population growth, trade openness and national saving. The research used multilinear regression equation using Ordinary Least Squares method. The research testing will start with the baseline-estimated regression before we run other robustness



regression checking. In order to check the fitness of the model through autoregressive along with moving average terms for the disturbance in the model we run the ARMAX. We end up with checking the public debt threshold that turns its impact on the Lebanese economic growth to negative.

In testing the impact of the Lebanese public debt on its economic growth, we compose the dataset focusing on the debt variables, such as public debt and its square in order to check later the public debt to GDP threshold. Based on the variables used by Cecchetti et al. (2011), some explanatory variables included in the model like the private debt, trade openness, national saving, Population growth rate, and the inflation rate. Respecting the nature of the Lebanese economy structure, not all variables used by Cecchetti et al are used here due to the availability of data. Data set in this research has collected from year 1989 until year 2014– in total 26 yearly observations it is limited due to the availability of data.

This research model based on multiple linear regression equation, it composes of one dependent and six independent variables during the time period t equivalent to 26 periods. The model equation is as follows:

$$g.GDP_t = \alpha + \beta_1 PDBT_t + \beta_2 (PDBT_t)^2 + \beta_3 PD_t + \beta_4 \ln(GDP/Cap)_t + \beta_5 PP_t + \beta_6 OPN_t + \beta_7 INF_t + \beta_8 NSAV_t + \epsilon_t$$

According to the model equation, we consider the following: α is a constant variable; β is the regression coefficients; ϵ_t is the error term. The model dependent variable is the growth rate for the gross domestic product used as annual percentage growth rate of real GDP. The model independent variables are: Annual General government gross debt to GDP; private debt is the domestic credit to private sector as percentage of GDP; the natural logarithm for annual GDP per capita; population annual growth rate; trade openness is the total trade of goods and services to GDP; inflation rate is the percentage change in the annual CPI; and national saving is total national saving to GDP. The main hypothesis is that the variability of the GDP growth rate explained by the variability of the government debt different levels.



BASELINE REGRESSION ESTIMATION

In order to construct the above econometric model, we follow the methodology of general to specific in order to produce a parsimonious explanatory model. More specifically, we regress the dependent variable (the growth rate of real GDP) on the government debt on lagged values of the public debt to GDP and its square, the log of the GDP per capita and the other initial value for the explanatory variables. In this study, the impact of public debt on the Lebanese economic growth rate is analysed using regression analyse. The regression model summery is clear in Table 1. The lagged public debt coefficient of determination is positive, its lagged square coefficient of determination is negative, and both are statistically significant even at 1 per cent. The results show that most of the explanatory variables are statistically significant and have the expected sign. The public debt and its square inverted U shape coefficient results illustrate the theoretical findings of Reinhart and Rogoff (2010) changing relationship between real GDP growth and government debt based with a debt threshold.

Table 1: *OLS Public debt and economic growth in Lebanon 1989–2014*¹³

	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t-ratio</i>	<i>p-value</i>	
const	-17.9426	40.3741	-0.4444	0.66235	
Public debt/GDP_1	2.6288	0.897617	2.9286	0.00938	***
Public debt/GDPsq_1	-1.02399	0.346124	-2.9584	0.00880	***
LnGDP/cap	-29.9333	16.5256	-1.8113	0.08780	*
Nsav	0.942737	0.402059	2.3448	0.03144	**
Pop	1.69223	1.14068	1.4835	0.15624	
Inf	-0.476517	0.163806	-2.9090	0.00977	***
Topen	0.203252	0.0356285	5.7047	0.00003	***
prvdebt	-0.590201	0.160529	-3.6766	0.00187	***

13 HAC standard errors, bandwidth 2 (Bartlett kernel).

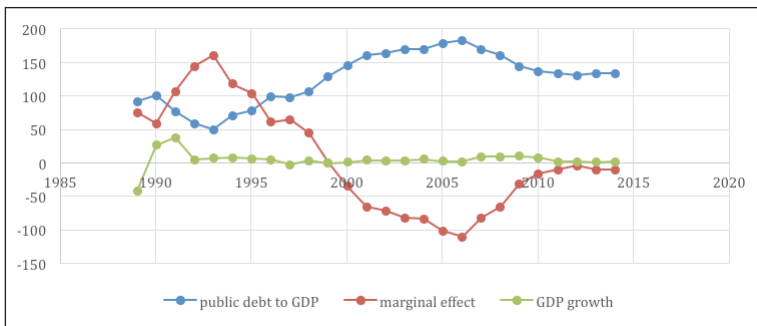


Mean dependent var	4.614853	S.D. dependent var	12.75797
Sum squared resid	1540.839	S.E. of regression	9.520379
R-squared	0.621336	Adjusted R-squared	0.443141
F(8, 17)	11.63692	P-value(F)	0.000016
Log-likelihood	-89.95822	Akaike criterion	197.9164
Schwarz criterion	209.2393	Hannan-Quinn	201.1770
rho	-0.279062	Durbin-Watson	2.206386

Source: Author calculation based on Lebanese Ministry of Finance and the World Bank’s World Development Indicators 2015.

The results suggest that the Log of GDP per capita, inflation rate and private debt are statistically significant with negative impact on GDP growth. While, the gross national savings and trade openness have a positive impact on the economic growth and statistically significant. Population growth rate has a positive impact on the economic growth and statistically insignificant. These findings are on table1.

Figure 3: Lebanese public debt to GDP marginal effect to economic growth



Source: Author estimation based on Lebanese Ministry of Finance and the World Bank’s World Development Indicators 2015.

Once we check the marginal effect for the public debt on the economic growth, we can notice that the Lebanese economic growth vary as per the level of the public debt. These results illustrate the need to check the public debt threshold that turns



its influence on economic growth to negative (see Figure 3). Our support R&R suggest that up to a specific percentage, the impact of government debt on GDP growth is positive before it turns to negative. Although this threshold varies from case to another. the robustness of the model should be checked before testing this threshold.

OTHER ROBUSTNESS CHECKS

Another robustness-checking test based on Least Absolut deviation, illustrate the baseline regression estimation with respect to the public debt to GDP and its square coefficients and clearly explain its robustness (see Appendix table 3). As a second robustness checking method, we refer to robust (sandwich) standard errors. Where we notice no major change deviation for the lagged debt to GDP and its square and the other control variables (see Appendix table 4). The regression baseline estimation beside both robustness-checking results illustrate the inverted U shape for the public debt and its square coefficients with positive coefficient of the public debt and negative sign for its square.

RUNNING ARMAX

For better parsimonious description for our model, we run autoregressive–moving-average (ARMA) models based on auto regression and second moving average polynomial. The AR part involves regressing the variable on its own lagged values while The MA part involves modeling the error term as a linear combination of error terms occurring contemporaneously and at various times in the past.

The ARMAX results show very similar significant results to the ones on baseline variable coefficients. The coefficient labeled phi 1 is the estimate of the autocorrelation parameter. The root of this equation is $1/\phi_1$. The roots (or modulus) is greater than 1 in absolute value thus the model is stationary. The same with theta as coefficient for MA parameter with root greater than one to in Absolut value to prove it stationarity. The advantage to this



approach is that we can see that the model is stable via the root analysis. The moduli are both roots are greater than 1 and Both AR and MA are stationary. The results in table 2 show a good fit for the model.

Table 2: ARMAX, Public debt and economic growth in Lebanon 1989–2014¹⁴

	Coefficient	Std. Error	z	p-value	
const	16.9259	40.2891	0.4201	0.67440	
phi_1	-0.966907	0.0540587	-17.8863	<0.00001	***
theta_1	0.708987	0.188278	3.7656	0.00017	***
Public debt/GDP_1	2.62148	0.389507	6.7303	<0.00001	***
Public debt/GDP	-1.02271	0.153114	-6.6794	<0.00001	***
sqr_1					
LnGDP/cap	-36.6227	12.0609	-3.0365	0.00239	***
Nsav	0.756476	0.315473	2.3979	0.01649	**
Pop	2.06942	1.12916	1.8327	0.06685	*
Inf	-0.556694	0.130189	-4.2761	0.00002	***
Topen	0.261425	0.0634807	4.1182	0.00004	***
prvdebt	-0.752668	0.17271	-4.3580	0.00001	***

Mean dependent var	4.614853	S.D. dependent var	12.75797
Mean of innovations	-0.417763	S.D. of innovations	6.679711
Log-likelihood	-86.82672	Akaike criterion	197.6534
Schwarz criterion	212.7506	Hannan-Quinn	202.0009

		Real	Imaginary	Modulus	Frequency
AR	Root 1	-1.0342	00.0000	1.0342	.5000
MA	Root 1	-1.4105	0.0000	1.4105	0.5000

Source: Author calculation based on Lebanese Ministry of Finance and the World Bank’s World Development Indicators 2015.

14 Standard errors based on Hessian.



LOOKING FOR THRESHOLD

After we checked the robustness of the module, now we check whether there is a threshold, above which the Lebanese public debt has a negative effect on GDP growth. Reinhart and Rogoff, Cecchetti et al. (2011) do not find a clear correlation between different debt levels and GDP growth. In our case study, the regression results prove that there is an inverted U-shape relationship between the public debt to GDP and its square. The results show a positive coefficient for the debt/GDP ratio is, and negative coefficient for its square. In a simplified way to find the threshold for the Lebanese economy public debt to GDP where it starts to affect negatively its GDP growth we refer to the first derivative of the quadratic equation and equalize it to 0. The threshold level therefore is: $D = -\beta_1 * 100 / 2 * \beta_2$, where D is the threshold level, while β_1 and β_2 are the debt and its square variable coefficients (Mkrtchyan 2016).

According to the estimations and the above equation, the level of debt overhang is 128.8%. Once we regress our equation restricting public debt results above 128.8 it has a positive coefficient of variation for public debt to GDP (3.9). However, once we test the regression restricting public debt results below our threshold we get a negative coefficient of variation for the public debt to GDP (-2.5). The test results illustrate the research and theoretical hypothesis of Reinhart and Rogoff (2012) but with different threshold of 128.8.

CONCLUSIONS

This research main objective is to study the impact of Lebanon public debt on its economic growth. We tested the impact of Lebanese public debt on its economic growth using data for 26 years from 1989 to 2014. The lagged public debt coefficient of determination is positive, its lagged square coefficient of determination is negative, and both are statistically significant even at 1 per cent. The results show that most of the explanatory variables are statistically significant and have the expected sign. The public debt and its square inverted U shape coefficient results illustrate the theoretical findings of Reinhart and Rogoff



(2010) changing relationship between real GDP growth and government debt based with a debt threshold. Once we check the marginal effect for the public debt on the economic growth, we noticed that the Lebanese economic growth vary as per the level of the public debt. Another robustness-checking test based on Least Absolut deviation and (sandwich) standard errors, illustrate the baseline regression estimation with respect to the public debt to GDP and its square coefficients and clearly explain its robustness. Moreover, we ran the ARMAX model and the results show very similar significant results to the ones on baseline variable coefficients and both AR and MA are stationary which show a good fit for the model. After checking the robustness for the model, we tested the level of debt overhang is 128.8%. The test results illustrate the research and theoretical hypothesis of Rehan and Rogof but with different threshold of 128.8. The study main results are highly consistent with the public debt and the economic growth relationship empirical literature with the existence of a statistically significant relationship.

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APPENDIX

Table 3: LAD, using observations 1989-2014 ($T = 26$)¹⁵

	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t-ratio</i>	<i>p-value</i>
const	121.886	147.363	0.8271	0.41963
publicdebtGDP_1	1.60822	1.47069	1.0935	0.28942
pdbtsqr_1	-0.583512	0.57204	-1.0201	0.32200
LnGdppercap	-52.8485	48.8589	-1.0817	0.29451
Nsav	0.300542	0.68625	0.4379	0.66694
Pop	-0.226958	2.35691	-0.0963	0.92441
Inf	-0.35161	0.493	-0.7132	0.48540
Topen	0.219146	0.159767	1.3717	0.18800
prvdebt	-0.513223	0.445538	-1.1519	0.26530

Median depend. var	3.731951	S.D. dependent var	12.75797
Sum absolute resid	118.6581	Sum squared resid	2930.888
Log-likelihood	-83.49372	Akaike criterion	184.9874
Schwarz criterion	196.3103	Hannan-Quinn	188.2480

Source: Author calculation based on Lebanese Ministry of Finance and the World Bank's World Development Indicators 2015.

15 Dependent variable: GDP growth rate.



Table 4: Quantile estimates, using observations 1989-2014 (T = 26)¹⁶

	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-ratio	p-value	
const	121.886	131.842	0.9245	0.36817	
publicdebtGDP_1	1.60822	0.638282	2.5196	0.02204	**
Public debt/GDPsq_1	-0.583512	0.262984	-2.2188	0.04040	**
LnGdpperacap	-52.8485	32.4045	-1.6309	0.12130	
Nsav	0.300542	0.461226	0.6516	0.52336	
Pop	-0.226958	1.96703	-0.1154	0.90950	
Inf	-0.35161	0.232836	-1.5101	0.14938	
Topen	0.219146	0.0684407	3.2020	0.00523	***
prvdebt	-0.513223	0.27024	-1.8991	0.07465	*

Median depend. var	3.731951	S.D. dependent var	12.75797
Sum absolute resid	118.6581	Sum squared resid	2930.888
Log-likelihood	-83.49372	Akaike criterion	184.9874
Schwarz criterion	196.3103	Hannan-Quinn	188.2480

Source: Author calculation based on Lebanese Ministry of Finance and the World Bank’s World Development Indicators 2015.

16 Dependent variable: GDP growth rate tau = 0.5.; Robust (sandwich) standard errors.



Identifying Diversity in Rhodes Island, Greece: Dynamics of Otherness, Trauma and Integration¹⁷

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Rhodes island in the South-Eastern part of Greece constitutes an entry point of the mixed migration flow to Europe. At the same time, it is home for a local Muslim community that forms a culturally diverse group within the relatively homogeneous Greek society. The management of diversity in Greece and last centuries' divisionary policies in Rhodes, demonstrate an implicit *othering* process. The historical conditions and the contemporary social conjuncture in Rhodes suggest that, although the community experiences a gradual distancing from its cultural capital, the *othering* process does not consolidate to a social trauma, which remains a "trauma on hold". That incomplete process determines to a degree the stance of the Rhodian Muslims towards the Muslim refugees and immigrants with whom they empathise only on a humanitarian and individual

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level and cannot identify a role in their integration, based upon the common experience of diversity, at a community level.

Key words: refugees, immigrants, Muslims, Rhodes, Greece, diversity, othering, trauma

INTRODUCTION

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During 2015 and 2016 the Mass Media across the world conveyed images of human despair in the short distance between the shores of Asia Minor and the Aegean islands. The image of suffering has become so common in recent years, that turned into a rather trivial statement. Nevertheless, the case of refugees and immigrants continues to attract attention to the degree that its spatial and temporal condensation is combined with the size of the population in movement. While at the forefront of the migration crisis, as one of the few points of entrance to Europe, Rhodes island in Greece has not attracted much media attention compared to other islands in Southern and South-Eastern Europe. That development allowed the examination of integration policies for incoming refugees and immigrants, custom made for the local social conditions.

The *Understanding Diversity in Rhodes: Traditional and New Others* (UnDRho) research project, which received funding from the EEA Mechanism 2009–2014 (GR07/3635), focused on the social formation of Rhodes island and the dynamics of diversity at the local level; a diversity represented by the local Muslim community and the Muslim refugees and immigrants that arrive on the island. More specifically, the qualitative characteristics of the reception of Muslim newcomers from the Rhodian Muslims have been examined with the view to forming innovative integration policies. The research was designed to test two hypotheses concerning the integration of Muslim refugees and immigrants by using the cultural diversity of the Rhodian Muslims as an entry point to the island's society. The first one regards the use of religion, namely the common cultural feature of the two groups, as a connecting point between them and a stepping stone towards the integration of the refugees and immigrants.



The second hypothesis refers to the use of the experienced cultural diversity *per se* as a “convergence point” between the two social groups.

The present article will focus on the theoretical background, the research strategy and the results from the examination of the aforementioned second hypothesis. Before the analysis of the employed methodology, some conceptual clarifications need to be made. The “convergence point” used in the description of the hypothesis is a working concept developed for the needs of the research. It is approached as the moment of empathy that stems from the common experience of diversity and determines the psychological readiness to support the integration of the refugees and immigrants. In the framework of a deductive research strategy, the convergence point concept has been analysed in two researchable questions (Bryman 2004, 8) namely how the Rhodian Muslims make sense of their cultural diversity and how this is affecting their perception of the new diversity represented by refugees and immigrants. The theoretical background informing the process of deduction is rather limited since the particular field of research has not been studied under the light of the same concepts before. Kaurinkoski (2012) approached the Rhodian Muslims as a social group from a descriptive ethnographical point of view, while Georgallidou (2004) conducted a socio-linguistic research. Outside the particular field, there exists a bibliography that focuses on the relations between contemporary migration waves and already settled generations of migrants (see Madibbo 2007). Although culturally diverse social groups with historical presence constitute a different case from that described in the previous bibliography, some interesting analogies regarding the dynamics between inner and outer outgroups are indeed deduced in the chapter regarding the dynamics of trauma.

Those researchable questions, along with pertinent questions concerning the first hypothesis, have been taken into consideration in the methodology designed to accommodate the concepts of the research. The population of the research referred to the Rhodian Muslims over fifty-five years old. That design intended to focus on members of the community with personal memories



from the last period in which their religious identity could have possibly attracted actual diversified behaviour rather than just symbolic. Such behaviour, although rare, not widespread and possibly insignificant (two confirmed incidents of damaged property), was located, based on archival research of the local newspapers and confirmed by the empirical part of the research project, during 1974, when Turkey invaded Cyprus (Kokkinos et al. 2016b). To the extent that the research studied the readiness of the middle-aged and older Rhodian Muslims to support the integration of the Muslim refugees and immigrants, younger members of the community and Muslim immigrants, only formed quasi control groups for comparison purposes. On the other hand, refugees have started arriving on the island only two years ago, while due to the present migration policy they remain on Rhodes between few days and few months depending on their legal status. Therefore, their temporary presence prevents the formation of a thorough impression of the group dynamics from their side. With those caveats in mind, the researchers, in order to shed light on the migration side, interviewed the Syrians that live on the island for decades, as economic immigrants themselves, and serve as interpreters for the refugee camp. All sample segments were generated through a snowball technique that resulted to eighteen interviews and twenty-six cases of non-participant observation from January to May 2016.

In terms of method employed, triangulation was achieved through the conduct of long interviews, in combination with quantitative content analysis and non-participant observation. The main segment of the sample, namely the Rhodian Muslims over fifty-five years old were interviewed with a combination of Life Narrative (Bryman 2004, 322–3) and semi-structured method. The purpose of the preceding Life Narrative part was to allow the interviewees, through retrospection on their life, to understand, before rationalise, and finally express their own perception of their cultural diversity, namely the first researchable question of the second hypothesis. Based on that self-retrospection, the interview would proceed with the semi-structured part of the interview in defining how the way that Rhodian Muslims make sense of their diversity affects their



perception of the new diversity on the island as well as other concepts pertaining to the first hypothesis.

In that research framework, the present article will approach an aspect of the results concerning the second hypothesis. More specifically, it will elaborate on the way that the intergenerational differences, among Rhodian Muslims, in the perception of cultural diversity lead to different tentative constructs of social identities. In that process, the social trauma of the culturally diverse group appears to be a central consideration in the construction of the array of social identities with which it is appointed. The research revealed an incomplete, and intergenerationally diversified, process of social trauma based on the experienced distancing from the cultural capital of the Rhodian Muslim community; a “trauma on hold”. That offers a possible strand of explanation for the reserved empathy of the Rhodian Muslims to the Muslim immigrants and refugees and constitutes the “convergence point” hypothesis of the research unsupported. The next chapter will debrief the contours of diversity in Greece and Rhodes under historical and social perspective. It will be followed by the presentation of the empirical part of the UnDRho project regarding the intergenerational perception of cultural diversity, followed by a brief theoretical discussion of the concept of social trauma before that analysis is projected in the case of the Rhodian Muslim community. In that section, the case of “trauma on hold” will be analysed leading to the discussion of the integration of Muslim refugees and immigrants in Rhodes under the light of the dynamics of trauma with the local Muslim community.

DIVERSITY IN GREECE AND RHODES ISLAND UNDER HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Rhodes Island constitutes the longstanding home of a local Muslim community. Nevertheless, the dominant Greek citizen profile is characterised by Greek ethnic origin and Christian Orthodox religion. Therefore, from the official statistics point of view the existence of such a culturally diverse community in the homogenous Greek society appears as a peculiarity.



Nonetheless, a deeper insight of the social formation in Greece would reveal a number of small, although existing, groups that differ from the aforementioned dominant profile. Their diversity may be identified in religious level (Catholic Christians, Jehovah's Witnesses, Jews etc.) or in the level of language and race (e.g. Roma people). Amongst those diversities –in relation to the mainstream identity- and in accordance to a longstanding regime, it is only the Western Thrace Muslim community that is officially acknowledged under a religious minority status.

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A retrospection requires a focus on the set of 1923 Lausanne treaties between Greece and Turkey that concluded the preceding war between the two countries. Probably the most significant provision of those international agreements was the population exchange, along with the consequent relocation of the Greek Orthodox population from Turkey to Greece and the opposite for Muslims from Greece to Turkey (Lausanne Treaty 1923). The subsequent treaty acknowledged a Muslim religious minority in Greece and a Greek Orthodox minority in Turkey with pertinent protective rights that were exempted from exchange (Lausanne Treaty 1923). In that framework, this treaty regulated also a series of religious, social and economic issues of the aforementioned culturally diverse populations in concern to internal affairs in Greece and Turkey. Interestingly, the minority populations identified in the treaty are defined, amongst else, in reference to their particular areas of origin and more specifically in Western Thrace regarding the Muslim minority of Greece and on the other hand in Istanbul and on the Aegean islands of Imvros and Tenedos regarding the Greek Orthodox minority of Turkey. The significance of the Lausanne treaty is that it forms a legal and institutional “future” both for the population that was exchanged between the two countries, as well as the population that was exempted. The very essence of that legal-cum-institutional “future” is a new *de jure* identity, namely the status of minority (Avramopoulou and Karakatsani 2002).

Nevertheless, statistical data regarding the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the pertinent population of Western Thrace, as well as other culturally diverse communities in Greece, are not available. This shortfall is linked to



methodological issues as well as the reluctance of the central administration to benefit from scientific studies regarding the historical and contemporary multiculturalism in Greece and to develop corresponding policies for its protection. The reasons should be identified with the fear and caution with which diversity is regarded, both as “Trojan horse” and as menace against the national policies and the public order (Manolopoulou-Varvitsioti 2008, 37–8). As a matter of fact, it is claimed (Kahl 2009, 162) that the term minority – used only for the Greek Muslim population in Western Thrace – is indeed not well received by the Christian citizens. More specifically, he notes the various linguistic and cultural diversities found across Greece which are widely perceived as manifestations of an absence of ethnic Greek identity or even as a peculiar “anti-Greekness” and disobedience against the state.

Corresponding to that, the dominant historiographical narrative presents a reserved approach towards the embedded cultural diversity of the Greek society. In a retrospective study of the way that the Muslim communities are presented in Greek historiography, Katsikas demonstrates that, at least until 1989, the majority of Greek academics avoided any reference to the Muslim population that resided in Greece before 1923, namely before the Lausanne Treaty. On the other hand, the primary socio-historical focus on the Greek Muslims of Western Thrace structures a false image about the life of the culturally diverse communities in the complex environment of the Greek state (Katsikas 2012, 453).

Overall, it could be noted that the Greek national narrative has been formed on the basis of cultural, national, religious and linguistic homogeneity of the population (Christopoulos 2002). As a result, the policies implemented throughout the 20th century regarding the culturally diverse communities were balancing between treating them as a destabilising factor and as a foreign body (see Droumpouki 2016, 165).

The immediate effect of the previously described situation is the methodological problems appearing in the scientific analysis of the qualitative and quantitative characteristic of the culturally diverse communities. The indirectly influenced



socio-historical analysis from the dominant national narrative and the fragmented historiography is coupled by the fact that the Greek Statistics Authority discontinued the recording of religious data after 1951. Regardless of those caveats, rigorous scientific research (Christopoulos 2002; Kokkinos et al. 2008; Manolopoulou-Varvitsioti 2008; Benedikter 2006) has recorded indeed a number of small size culturally diverse communities in Greece.

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The previous analysis applies in the case of Rhodes Island as well. In 2022, the local Muslim community will be present on the island for at least seven centuries. In 1522 the siege and conquest of Rhodes by Suleiman the Magnificent (Suleiman al Kanuni 1495–1566) marked an important milestone for the presence of Muslims on Rhodes (Georgallidou et al. 2013; Tsitselikis 2011, 27; Kaurinkoski 2012 47–8). Nonetheless, Islam was present on the island long before that period. Due to the important role of the port of Rhodes along the merchandising routes in the Eastern Mediterranean, the presence of Muslims was recorded as early as the 9th century (Savorianakis 2000, 70). The Ottoman siege and conquest of Rhodes and the surrounding islands have been instrumental for the Ottoman operations against the Hospitaller Knights and the Venetians in the Aegean Sea between the 15th and 17th century; not only as an extension of the empire's possessions but also as a declaration of a power, which was self-identified as Muslim, namely the Ottoman Empire, to convince for its relentless power by God's will (Efthimiou 1992, 23).

One of the first provisions of the Ottoman administration was the implementation of a settlement program in order to reinforce demographically the island after the deadly siege and the fleeing of the Hospitaller Knights along with a number of Rhodians to Malta. A different aspect of the same operation was the effort to transform the religious and ethnic balance of the population. Thus, around 2.000 janissaries, 3.000 soldiers and around 150 Jews were initially settled, followed by a new program with different groups from the coast of Asia Minor (Savorianakis 2000, 69). Throughout the Ottoman administration, Rhodes had been attracting special population groups, as



part of relevant settlement policies. The most recent, within the Ottoman administration period, was the settlement of six hundred Circassians in 1878 (Savorianakis 2000, 87) and a number of Muslims, of Greek ethnic background, from Crete between 1898 and 1899 who relocated during the turbulent period after the Russian occupation of the island of origin (Savorianakis 2000, 58; Tsitselikis 2011, 38; Andriotis, 2004; Williams 2003; Georgallidou et al. 2011).

Despite those settlements, the population balance on the island remained unchanged and characterised by Greek Christian demographic hegemony. Nonetheless, throughout the Ottoman administration of Rhodes (1522 – 1912) the political and economic ruling class was associated with the Muslim population of Turkish decent. Indicative of that development were the formed urban limits. The first settlers reserved the available housing space within the walled medieval city, namely the administrative and commercial centre of the island. Thus, the Christian population resettled in urban cores around the walls. The fortifications therefore, signified a peculiar geography of two separate worlds (Savorianakis 2000, 42). The protection of the *Insiders* designated semiologically the fear of the numerous *Others*.

Relevant to the separated use of space, a unique ethno-religious segmentation was instrumental to the administration of the Ottoman Empire. The religious communities (*millets*) were the subjects and at the same times the operators of a semi-autonomous administrative system under the purview of which the religious affairs along with several aspects of the social policy and the educational system were organised (Tsitselikis 2006; Waltzer 1999; Appiah 2007). After 1912 Rhodes came under Italian rule. The new administration, although initially acknowledged the ethno-religious communities merely as religious communities, gradually truncated their administrative rights, especially after the turn to the fascist regime and during the governance by Cesare Maria de Vecchi. The incorporation of the Dodecanese, the island complex that includes Rhodes, in Greece (1948) ceded automatically the Greek citizenship to the Italian “Aegean Islands” quasi-citizenship (Cittadinanza delle Isole dell’ Egeo). Nevertheless, special arrangements came into force concerning



the education and the operation of religious foundations of the Christian, Muslim and Jewish faith, which demonstrates an indirect acknowledgement of the cultural diversity embedded in the Rhodian multicultural society (Georgallidou et al. 2011).

For the Dodecanese island complex, the first and last time that religion constituted a concept to be measured in a census was in 1951. Therefore, the demography of Muslims or of any other religion in Rhodes island, as well as in the rest of Greece, can only be estimated. The available data from bibliographical sources are far from consistent. What could be ascertained, though, (Papadopoulos 2013; Kaurinkoski 2012; Lantza 2011; Tsitselikis 2006; Dimitropoulos 2004; Savorianakis 2000; Tsirpanlis 1998; Chiotakis 1997) is on the one hand the violent fluctuation, possibly due to the settlement efforts, and on the other hand the steady reduction of the size of the population since mid-19th century. The last estimation from 1997 raises the number of the Rhodian Muslim population to 3.000 people (Chiotakis 1997).

The Muslim community of Rhodes is generally a bilingual group, although this is subject to age, spatial differentiations and ethnic origin. With the exception of Muslims of Greek origin that arrived in Rhodes at the end of the 19th century from Crete who speak only Greek, older Muslims and residents of rural and suburban areas speak a local dialect of Turkish simultaneously with a variety of Greek. Younger generations use a newer version of this language; while, children prefer Greek, accompanied by passive knowledge of Turkish (Georgallidou et al. 2011). Marianthi Georgallidou (2004) connects the particular evolution of bilinguality with the abandoning of the self-consistency and the closeness of the system of social and relative relations. The microstructures of the Muslim social organisation are progressively interrelated and assimilated in the long structures of the wider social and cultural environment of the island (Georgallidou 2004).

Towards that development, a series of causes and consequences cannot ignore the evolution of the special curricula for Muslim students. For centuries under Ottoman administration the educational system was organised and delivered by virtue



of the *millet* system. In other words, the educational system(s) was under the purview of the Christian, Muslim and Jewish ethno-religious communities. It was only in 1894 that the central Ottoman government attempted to control the appointment of teachers at the community schools. The decentralised education system was retained by the Italian administration until 1937 that came under full governmental control, with the Italian curriculum being implemented (Tsitselikis 2006, 523; Lantza 2011, 74). The retrogression continued with the brief spell of British administration (1945–1947) returning to the communitarian educational system (Tsitselikis 2006, 523); while the integration of the Dodecanese into Greece introduced the centrally organised common curriculum throughout the country. Nevertheless, a parallel one was introduced for the Muslim schools with special religious courses, as well as courses both in Greek and Turkish. What is significant is that, although the special curriculum for the Greek Muslim minority in Thrace was prescribed by the 1923 Lausanne Treaty, the parallel curriculum in Rhodes and Kos islands was the result of certain degree of cooperation between Greece and Turkey. For instance, in 1966 an informal bilateral agreement between the two ministers of foreign affairs provided for the use of school handbooks from Turkey (Tsitselikis 2006, 528), while Rhodian Muslims were studying in Turkey in order to return to Rhodes as school teachers. Political reactions and complaints have been recorded from both sides but the particular relations at the level of governance continued. As relations were fragile, the balance was overturned in 1972 when the Greek military coup reacted at the closure of the Greek schools in Turkey and therefore discontinued the parallel curriculum in Rhodes and Kos.

The previous retrospective attests an implicit *othering* process stemming from long embedded divisionary practices among the variety of cultural diversities present on the island of Rhodes. The following section will approach the qualitative characteristic of the Rhodian Muslim cultural diversity.



DIVERSITY AND IDENTITY OF THE RHODIAN MUSLIMS

| 54 | The aforementioned implicit *othering* process is neither a new nor a unilateral process; what is changing is rather the positioning in the power relations reserved by the social groups. More specifically, the position of dominant and dominated social groups changes effectively between the Muslim and the Christian community during the first half of the 20th century. Indications of that interchange could be identified in the vicissitudes of the educational system, as well as the very establishment of the *sui generis* autonomous ethnic-religious communities' system, namely the *millets*. It lasted for centuries during the Ottoman period rendering it a well embedded feature of the local social formation. Although abandoned early during the 20th century, some of its manifestations are still apparent such as the inscription in the memory of the space (Legg 2005). The walled medieval town of Rhodes has been reserved for the protection of the Muslim and Jewish communities while Christians were forced to leave the castle before dusk. Consequently, the Muslim properties today tend to be concentrated in the Medieval town or in fertile land around the island that used to belong to the ruling class. A different survival of the communitarian system, merely as a legal oddity, regards the contemporary administration of the property of religious foundations either Christian (Ελληνορθόδοξη Κοινότητα [Greek Orthodox Community]), Muslim (Βακούφ [Waqf]) or Jewish (Ισραηλιτική Κοινότητα [Jewish Community]).

On the other hand, what the relevant bibliography ascertains and our research confirms is that the Muslim community in Rhodes presents a cultural diversity that is well embedded in the social dynamics of the island in multiple ways (see Kaurinkoski 2012; Tsitselikis 2011; Georgallidou et al. 2013; Georgallidou 2004). They constitute a *sui generis* Other, that is functionally integrated in the contemporary society of the island but not assimilated, despite their centuries long presence. We identified three approaches according to which the Rhodian Muslims make sense of their cultural diversity. That classification corresponds to a generational breakdown of the respondents.



For the older Rhodian Muslims, cultural diversity appears to revolve around memory, as a social construct. In their case the Muslim social identity continuously interconnects with the commemoration of the historical origin of the community's presence on the island. What is more interesting, is the way that this commemoration is communicated. Older members of the community constantly use religious concepts and terms connected to history and through that they make sense of their present social identity. But behind the "religious lines" subtle connotations of the past and current social hierarchy could be identified.

Listen, my family is very old here. When Sultan Suleiman conquered Rhodes, 1522, since that time is my family here. But I have royal blood. Two Pasha... you know Pasha is great official. Two Pasha (from my family) are buried in the graveyard in Madraki. Ahmed Pasha and Mustafa Pasha.

Interview with F.K.

This excerpt from an interview with an old Muslim lady is indicative. In the spontaneous narration of her life, in the framework of the Life Narrative method, she chooses to identify herself through the commemoration of the social hierarchy of the Ottoman past which is further expressed with references to religious terms. Indeed, the graveyard in Madraki hosts Ottoman officials that have fallen in disfavour (Crabites 1933, 78). A different aspect, and quite common in the interviews with older members of the community, is the social identification through references to the family property. The following excerpt from the interview with another Muslim lady that lives next to a church is indicative:

My friend is very religious; she is going to the church. I told her, look Chryssa, tell him [the priest] to avoid offending because the Waqf donated land to make that church. I donated a piece of my land too. He [the priest] should be grateful and not offending. He [the priest] then stopped it. 52 days later during a festivity, he said in the sermon "we thank the people who donated the land". He said that for me. I told my friend to thank him.

Interview with G.A.



Those religious and property connotations are only indicative in a plethora. The way that the social identity of cultural diversity is implied through history, hierarchy (see for example the “required” acknowledgment to the donor) and religion among the older members of the Muslim community reflects the embedded “survivals” of the *millet* system, namely the social hierarchy formed on the basis of religious differentiation. Indeed, the age of the interviewees implies that they would have lived their formative years either during or just after the official abolition of the *millet* system.

The case for the middle-aged Rhodian Muslims, however, is different. Born after the abolition of the *millet* system but during the parallel curriculum, their cultural diversity informs their social identity by expressions referring to their cultural capital. The latter becomes the core of their differentiated identity. More specifically, the content of the cultural capital, at least for those interviewed, was the issue of the language and in no case the religion. Language incorporates such symbolic meaning for them that what has been repeatedly identified amongst interviewees was not their own connection to Turkish but the concern for the younger generations with the gradually diminished knowledge to the mother tongue. They implicitly seem to experience that situation as a worrying reduction from their cultural capital. Interestingly, that concern is always covered under the plausible benefit of multilingualism and its socio-economic value.

If we are talking for every man’s mother tongue, it is good to keep it alive. It is not bad irrespective of the country they live. It is not bad. It benefits both sides. Look, to know a language resembles to being another man. Whatever language this is.

Interview with M. K.

I think that children should have a connection with the mother tongue. To know one more language is definitely good from any point of view. If this [Turkish] is actually needed today... I don’t know how to evaluate, in a positive or negative way. [...] I believe that it would be good to be taught the language, to know the language. There are... for example Rhodes is a tourist island, there are many people who come from the opposite shores [Turkey] as tourists, there is this tourist development in the islands during



Summer, there are many people from tour operators that ask if there are young Rhodians that could handle the Turkish language very well to help them.

Interview with S.T.

Younger generations, on the other hand, lack both historical references, namely the *millet* system and the parallel curriculum. For them the recognition of their cultural differentiation revolves around the manifesting function of religion as component of their identity and cultural tradition but not language or religion as such. Indeed, young Rhodian Muslims live in a cultural context foreign to them since they don't speak and hardly understand Turkish, while from a religious point of view they belong to the "belonging but not believing" part of the population (Karamouzis 2015; Kokkinos et al. 2016a) along with the majority of the Rhodians. Their religious diversity constitutes a symbolic shell rather than an original existential choice. Exactly because they cannot empathise with that symbolic identity, the external manifestations of its religious content bring them in front of awkward moments. Despite that readily recognisable development, their cultural limbo situation makes the identification of the exact linkage between their cultural diversity and the content of the social identity rather difficult.

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After the introduction, just from the name, the other person asks "Sorry, what?". When I tell them about my religion, they look at me in the beginning in a reserved way. Until they get to know me and understand that I am not the stereotypical Muslim who is religious and always there and only believes this and that... until they understand who I really am and get to know me... I faced that and I always face that'

Interview with I.S.

It appears therefore, that the Rhodian Muslim cultural diversity is being internalised and understood in multiple ways by the members of the community. If that diversity indicates the triggering of an *othering* process, as already explained, the question arising regards the particular way that this process is internalised by the Rhodian Muslims.



TRAUMA, SOCIAL IDENTITY AND THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY OF RHODES

The importance of understanding the insights of the *othering* process from the side of internalising part lies with the particular qualitative characteristics presented in the linkage between the perception of cultural diversity and the construction of social identities. In that process, the potential existence of social trauma born by a social group signifies, as will be shown in the following theoretical exploration, that it does not just passively receive a social identity but actively contributes in its determination.

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Trauma is separated from the experienced incident that stands as the cause of trauma. The experience is not straightforwardly narratable but latent under the form of various subconscious reversions to the past (Caruth 1996). Trauma therefore is independent from time. When emerged, it languishes social conformism and the need to comply by the cover up of anguish. Therefore, trauma constitutes a breach of the order of time and at the same time a rift of the social order (Davoine and Gaudillière 2004). An interesting insight is provided by the Freudian perception to the so called “social trauma”. People develop a distinctive quasi-protective relation with social institutions such as the political system or the national community, resembling to that between child and mother. They tend to project upon them the anxieties and existential suffering for which they request acknowledgment. In that respect, social trauma represents the rift of that relation. The most common cause for that rift is when the social institutions and especially the state don’t assume their protective role or when the social formation victimises or stigmatises social groups (de Tubert 2006).

From a sociological perspective, Alexander examines the conditions under which a fact or an imaginary construction could be included in semiotic structures receiving such socio-cultural significance to become a collective trauma (Alexander 2004, 9). In his epistemological approach, the crucial factor behind a collective trauma is the various meanings appointed *ex post facto* from a society or a social group when in need of forming, transforming or reorganizing their collective identity. More specifically, an



incident becomes a trauma when it constitutes the core of the community's historical narrative. Under a temporal perspective, an incident becomes a trauma when the painful inscription at the historical memory is used not only as mental and emotional prism in order to make sense of the past, but also as a direction for the course of the society or social group in the future (Alexander 2004, 10). Alexander holds that meanings, as products of a socio-cultural process, contribute to the creation of identity. At the same time, it is those *ex post facto* meanings that construct at a social level the feeling of shock or fear, rather than facts (Alexander 2004, 10). Therefore, social trauma is not only separated from the experience but also transferred between generations.

Most importantly, though, Alexander analyses the mechanisms that facilitate the reorganisation of the normative identity narrative of a social, political or racial group around the collective trauma. Among those mechanisms, the most important is the mobilisation of a group to rally around effective and extensive communication networks which gradually form the conditions under which an alternative identity narrative becomes hegemonic. Those conditions, in other words, the structural elements of a historical traumatic narrative include the identification of the cause of the collective pain, of the victimised group, of the reasons behind its persecution, of the consequences of that persecution, of the significance of the persecution and of the persecutor. All those processes are necessarily mediated by expedience and dedicated research efforts (Alexander 2004, 13–5). The hegemony of the new historical trauma, is materialised in the institutional fields of religiosity, aesthetics, justice, communication and policy making. In the first field of religiosity, trauma is understood as theodicy or divine injustice. In the field of aesthetics, trauma is identified in an imaginary state using multiple semiotic codes. In the third field trauma is the disputed stake in the justice administration system. Communication through traditional as well as social media constitutes the fourth field for trauma while the last one is the policy making, where trauma is recorded in the bureaucracy and hegemonic ideology and gradually becomes a banality (Alexander 2004, 13–21; Demertzis 2013, 26–9).



As already shown the multiple aspects of the Rhodian Muslim cultural diversity informs respective internalisation processes. The community into question is far from a coherent single entity and along with the transgenerational differences, social and cultural ones were also identified during the empirical part of the research. The most significant of them is the difference between the majority of the community and the descendants of the Cretan Muslims that arrived on the island at the end of the 19th century and constitute a separate group not only historically but also linguistically. Based on the interviews conducted, implicit manifestations of the embedded *othering* process can be identified, mainly through practices that mainstream divisions. What differs among generations is the way that those practices are received and how different generations come in terms with them; in other words, the way that they make sense of their cultural diversity. Having in mind that structure, the question arising is if trauma could be identified among the Rhodian Muslims.

Despite the, self-understandable, denial expressed every time an interviewee was asked directly if he or she has ever experienced *otherness* on Rhodes, the way that they narrated their life history and the everyday social relations outline cases in which their cultural diversity triggers diversified behaviour towards them. Irrespective of the full economic integration of the Muslim community, the generally diversified behaviour or divisive practices vested with the Muslim identity could possibly point towards a traumatic perception of the social interactions. It remains a hypothesis, though, if that perception should be acknowledged as symptom of social trauma. Decisive factors, according to Alexander's approach, that would give meaning *ex post facto* to the primary traumatic incident do not exist. The internal divisions of the community as exemplified, amongst else, in the intergenerational differences demonstrate a community that is far from rallying around a common cause as long as they make sense of diversity in a different way and position their traumatic incident in relatively different fields.

On the other hand, the pervasive sense of cultural capital reduction, especially among the middle-aged members of the community could possibly direct towards a traumatic perception of



cultural diversity. The lack of pertinent courses in the official curriculum is narrated as a breach of the cultural continuity and to that degree as danger to the consciousness of the community's identity. The reason is that language in that case is presented as conveyor of the cultural memory to the descendants. That conception appoints to language the role of a constitutive element of the collective identity. Nevertheless, the potentially traumatic experience of the gradual disuse of the Turkish language as a mother tongue in public space and more specifically at the educational system, tends to be counterbalanced, in an imagery and politically correct level, by defending multilingualism, which is instrumental for economic reasons. Multilingualism, therefore, as appears in the previous interview excerpts, becomes the optional method for the Muslim community to indirectly pursue the endorsement of Turkish as a spoken language in the public space.

Both strands of memories/experiences are repelled and inactivated for different reasons in each generation. When reflecting on those potentially traumatic memories, the middle-aged group risks overturning their functional integration in the society and the participation in the prosperous economic life of the island. For the younger generation, a hypothesis for the "inactivation of those experiences" regards the awkward moments of the manifesting function of religion as demonstrated before. The symbolic belonging to a cultural capital with which they don't empathise would be renewed every time they would be reflecting on the memories of the awkward moments.

THE DYNAMICS OF TRAUMA: OLD OTHERS (RHODIAN MUSLIMS) AND NEW OTHERS (MIGRANTS)

The discussion about the hibernating trauma of the Muslim community of Rhodes goes beyond a mere phenomenology. Its expediency can be identified with the contemporary drama of the mixed migration flows and the consequent need for integration policies. The common denominator between the two cases, namely the population movement and the administration of cultural diversity are found in *otherness*.



Emmanuel Levinas (1974 and 1991) in his account of the industrialised barbarism of the Holocaust notes that the *Other* is a moral predicate against the *Self* which is based on our common nature as human beings; on our common existential status. Therefore, it is unethical to perceive the *Other* in a mechanistic way, or as a combination of biological and cultural characteristics that constitute the human void of content. In that way, the person is “dehydrated” from the diverse categories that at the bottom line constitute him or her a person; he or she becomes a “no-person”. Günther Anders, a Holocaust survivor himself, supports this view (in Cassin 2015, 101–2) by stressing that “human is humans; it exists only in plural... humans are not the plural of human; every human is a form of humans in singular”. Therefore, the concern about the *Other* is not just an ethical one but the, significant for the social relations (see Rosanvallon 2013), need of the human nature to resist to the conditions that create *otherness* and *Others* and more specifically to the obliteration of what constitutes someone a mere participant of externally imposed categorisations (see also the ethical considerations of migration in Sager 2016).

The issue of extraneous categorisations sheds light on a particular aspect of the *othering* experiences and more specifically that of immigrants and social minority groups. In other words, should there be any conceptual link between outgroups that arrive at a place and the diversified outgroups (Taras 2009; Madibbo 2007) that reside in the same place? Following Giorgio Agamben’s approach on refugees, extended for the case of immigrants, it could be argued that the population in movement, abandoned in their cruel or heinous fate, undergo a „state of exclusion“ and live a „bare life“ exposed to cynicism and indifference and sometimes to violence and dehumanization (Agamben 1998; Agamben 1999; Agamben 2005). In that framework, Kymlicka (2001, 275), regardless of his endorsement on the equal treatment of under-represented groups, identifies conceptual differences in the common administration of the inner and outer outgroups. Social minorities, in an attempt to reinforce their diversity from the assimilative tendency towards the majoritarian paradigm, tend to be more assertive in comparison



to refugees and immigrants. His argument seems to be over-focusing on historical and geographical presence of the different categories of social groups (Parekh 2000, 108–109) while disregarding the importance of a common framework, either legal or social.

On the other hand, the interconnection between the two groups has been acknowledged by different scholars (e.g. in Cesarani and Fulbrook 1996) while others have focused particularly on the identification of the relation between them. The potential problems from the unclear conceptual environment lead Toggenburg (2008) as well as Sasse and Thielemann (2005) to begin from clarifying the concepts involved. In their analyses, the two terms participate in a methodological interplay in wider institutional frameworks. Similarly, methodological is the approach by Christopoulos (2006) who holds that between the two concepts there exist common methodological perspectives due to the common denominator which is the *othering* process. The historical framework, according to Christopoulos, can and should delimitate the pertinent concepts. Tsimbiridou (2011, 301) applies an anthropological approach and stresses the need for “creative analytical tools” suitable to approach micro and macro analysis regarding both migration and the under-represented social minorities. Tsimbiridou stresses that the integration of the population in movement is faced with a gradual process of “minoratisation”. In other words, several levels of exclusions, both practical and symbolic, prevent the outgroups (inner and outer) from full participation in the social life (Tsimbiridou 2011, 300–2; Ventoura 2011). Therefore, the points of convergence between social minorities and migration are not only a moral predicate against the demonisation of the *Other*, but also an essential link of their needs with regard to successful integration.

The aforementioned issue of exclusions constitutes the conceptual bridge between the previous analysis and the hibernating trauma of the Rhodian Muslim community. As already mentioned, middle-aged Rhodian Muslims experience the discontinuation of the parallel curriculum as a reduction from their cultural capital, while the younger generations fail to empathise with the



externally imposed symbolic representations of their cultural diversity. The same reduction from the cultural capital, along with a number of different exclusions, will most likely be experienced by refugees and immigrants during their integration on the island. The empirical research in the framework of the UnDRho project, however, did not confirm the hypothesis that the experienced diversity could become a convergence point regarding the two social groups. The reason has been identified with the fact that cultural diversity of the Rhodian Muslims, as *otherness*, does not connect the past with the future. It has not become the constitutive element of their identity to the extent that it remains a “trauma on hold”. By taking into consideration the identity formative function of trauma, it appears that as long as the Rhodian Muslims are only passive bearers of an externally structured social identity they will not identify themselves with an active social role as a community. Indeed, despite the humanitarian approach to the immediate needs of refugees and immigrants on an individual level, Rhodian Muslims cannot see a potential role in the integration of the Muslim newcomers in a community level.

How do you see them?

The immigrants? Let me tell you that... It is a pity, they are human beings. It is a pity, but we should be concerned with our situation /.../ Now you tell me, if I was to help. How many of them should I help?

Interview with G. A.

Do you think, there is space here in Rhodes for them to integrate or to assimilate?

There is always space. The point is that... it will take them a lot of time and many years... to find the best, how can I say that... the suitable groups, the suitable... the suitable persons in order to integrate.

Where could they find them?

Difficult. Difficult. I mean, in the beginning, they may... until they integrate, they may experience racism, they will hear a lot. Until they assimilate to the society.

Here in Rhodes there is a Muslim community, could it be a different case?

It will not be different, because the Muslim community of Rhodes is dispersed. It is virtually inexistent... it is not united. In general, its members don't have the best relations among each other.

Interview with I. S.

The above excerpt is an interesting account of the relation between the Rhodian Muslim community and the Muslim immigrants that came from one of the younger interviewees. The reserved stance of the Muslims in a community level in front of the refugee crisis is confirmed by a Syrian interpreter who volunteers at the transit refugee camp of Rhodes.

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Look, we had cooperation with the Waqf /.../ they have offered help to immigrants that don't have the means to bury their people. Neither opportunity to travel back to their country. But I haven't seen any kind of collective that mentions that it belongs to the Muslim community. Surely, among the people that come and offer provisions etc. there might be some Muslims. You cannot ask anybody "show me what you are..." and nobody says, "I am Muslim and I came to offer". They only come as humans to offer.

Interview with J. N.

CONCLUSION

Identity, diversity and trauma constitute complex concepts that interweave in a consistent whole. Their complexity is found in a multiplicity of fields. They are equally contingent to the personal as well as social levels making them subject to both micro and macro analysis. Their basic contingency, however, is to history and conjuncture to a degree that the latter form a *sine qua non* for their analysis. The particular way in which the personal engrafts the social and in which history and conjuncture dictates inductively the wider image interweave and form the content of the concepts. In that framework, elementary to understanding diversity is the way that individuals and social groups make sense of identity. Trauma, on the other hand, depends on the way that history and conjuncture affects diversity; while, if present,



trauma will be forming the narratives of identity and diversity for both past and future. Thus, trauma becomes a critical point of temporal convergence; a “memory bridge”. Exactly because of its transcendental nature that crosses vertically across time, trauma can also be “present”. As such, it can form indeed the point of convergence, or moment of empathy, between traumatised inner outgroups and outer outgroups; in other words, between marginalised *Others* and migrant *Others*.

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Trauma however is a dynamic social process that can initiate, evolve or halt as it is subject to historical conditions and the social conjuncture. Therefore, despite the existence of a traumatising incident, the temporal lag between the conscious emergence of trauma can render it a “trauma on hold”. This is the case of the Rhodian Muslim community. The empirical part of the UnDRho research project pointed to the reasons for which different generations of Muslims in Rhodes bargain the reduction of their cultural capital in view of their functional integration in the local society. That development provides a hypothesis for the reserved stance of the Rhodian Muslims as a community in front of the issues raised by the integration of the mixed migration flows, in contrast with the clear empathy at the individual level. As the process of the social trauma remains incomplete, the community is found in the receiving part of the structure of social identities, preventing it to identify an active role as a constitutive part of the Rhodian society.

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Comparative Analysis of Migration Policy of 18–19th Century Kazakhstan and 20–21st Century Italy¹⁸

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The article shows that for over a century Kazakhstan has been a region of active migratory movement. Intensification of some migratory processes in most instances was a consequence of a certain state decision. Italy was chosen as the study object in the Mediterranean region, as the country mostly exposed to illegal migration in terms of acceptance of people for residential stay. Research in migration and integration processes in the EU countries as a political, legal and socio-cultural phenomenon has been of great scientific and practical interest. The article

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provides a detailed analysis of the legal, historical, and social spheres of the Italian society, and offers to use Kazakhstan's experience in resolving the issue of illegal migration.

Key words: resettlement of the nation, migration trends, use of historical experience, Mediterranean region, historical time perspective, multi-ethnic society

INTRODUCTION

After gaining its Independence, the Republic of Kazakhstan has faced many problems, and the very existence of the young state depended on these problems to be resolved. The history caused that Kazakhstan in the 20th century became a new native land for many thousand immigrants, who in their majority arrived there against their will. After the USSR disintegration, the Republic inherited its polyethnic population structure with all the arising consequences. The inertness of the “migratory” period when mainly European population was arriving to Kazakhstan is still in place nowadays, and will be there for a long time to come. The large-scale immigration niche that was formed in the first half of the 20th century turned after the USSR disintegration into the intensively producing emigration niche. All this would inevitably affect the dynamics of sociopolitical and economic development of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The reasons of many modern problems of multinational Kazakhstan date back to the events of the first decades of the Soviet power. Reconstruction of historic realities can facilitate understanding of ethnic issues and their resolution in the field of ethnic culture development, working out measures to safeguard and protect the rights of the peoples of Kazakhstan. The migratory movement of the European ethnic groups into Kazakhstan and Central Asia was one of the key components of the large-scale processes of Eurasia arid belt development from the north and the northwest.

There are some social problems that are tackled in the article. They are based on some defining factors in the formation of the polyethnic population structure of Northeast and Western Kazakhstan in the 18th – the beginning of the 20th centuries. They are as follows:



1. Dzhungar and Bashkir attacks on Kazakh camping-grounds;
2. Accession of Junior and later Middle and Senior zhuzes to the Russian Empire, and as a result, the colonial policy of the Russian Empire in Kazakhstan;
3. Russia's migration policy to Kazakhstan in the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries.

So, we tackle with the effects of international migration on local societies and work on understanding of the multiple effects of international migration via different types of migration policies and exposing investigated effects on socio-economic responses of local communities and state responses via legislation to address the social responses. The thesis is: The integration of migrants on the basis of the formation of the civic identity, meaning the empowerment of a person, rather than an ethnic group, was successful in Kazakhstan but has so far failed in Italy.

After the end of accession of the Western Siberia, in the end of the 16th century the Russian Empire borders closely adjoined the camping-grounds of the Kazakh khanate in the steppe Irtysh Land. In attempt to reinforce its positions in the region, and to ensure the security of its new eastern frontiers, the tsar government set up a number of military-administrative fortress localities and stockade towns. In the beginning of the 18th century, the government of Peter I decided to seize the upper reach of Irtysh, and the eastward lands behind it with the aim of further colonization of the region.

THEORETICAL OUTLINE ON INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

From the beginning of the 18th century, the tsarism began to carry out its systematic penetration into Kazakhstan as the integral part of its state policy, in two directions: in the Junior zhuz (the western part) and in the Middle zhuz (the northeast part). Owing to the establishment in the 30–70s of the 18th century by the tsar government of a number of defensive strongpoints on the territory from the Caspian Sea to Transbaikal, and strong fortresses from Verkhoyaisk landing stage down the rivers of Uj and Tobol to Tsarev town for strengthening its military presence in the east



of the country, and protection of the colonized territories from attacks of “nomadic, wild hordes” (Alekseev 1995, 144). Strong fortresses were constructed from Verkhoyaitsk landing stage down the rivers of Uj and Tobol to Tsarev town. Small redoubts were erected between the settlements to accommodate guard teams, and as refuges from enemy attacks. The redoubts were fitted with high guard posts, so that the sentries could have a good view of the enemy (Archives of Russian Empire Foreign Policy). Fortresses, outposts and redoubts from Alabuzhinsky to Ozernyi troops were manned by Orenburg Cossacks. The part of this line was called the Orenburg line, the other part was manned by Ural Cossacks (Mukanov 1991, 8). The aforesaid Cossack troops were formed at different times, with their neighbors being: Kazakhs, Nogais, Tatars, Bashkirs. The Cossacks included Kalmyks, Turkmen, Karakalpaks, Germans of Volga region, Uigurs, Dungans, and peoples of Siberia. The Volga and Yaitsk Cossack troops were the first to be formed in the region. Yaitsk Cossacks were natives of the disintegrated Volga Cossack community, and they settled on the river of Yaik (Bekmakhanova 2000, 3–4). The ethnic structure of Yaitsk Cossacks was diverse. It was manned at the expense of fugitive peasants from the central and northern regions of Russia, as well as by people of Turkic and Iranian origins: Nogais, Tatars, Kalmyks, Bashkirs, Karakalpaks, etc. The Cossacks consisted of Bashkirs, Meshcheriaks, Kalmyks, Cossacks, captured Poles and Swedes, as well as of Don, Ural and Zaporozhye Cossacks deported for crimes to Siberia. They consisted of convicts, ‘free’ people, state peasants, etc. (Mikhailovich 1896, 24). According to R. Pierce, S. Zenkovsky, and other Western historians, the construction of towns and fortresses, fortification lines, and even the very Cossack troops located on the territory of Kazakhstan didn’t guarantee the stability of the “Russian supremacy” in the region (Zenkovsky 1960, 68–9; Pierce 1960, 108–38).

The issues and special aspects of a combination of cultures of migrants and the host society have been studied on the basis of the four theories of integration: the concept of assimilation (the “melting pot”), multiculturalism, structuralism and complete assimilation. The most frequent approach is called “multiculturalism”. And feature of its application in Italy and Kazakhstan is its organic origin. If in the countries neighbors there is an attempt integration of migrants, and also representatives of



nonconventional ethnoses into current state of an ethnic picture of the explored countries, then at Italy and Kazakhstan at the considerable prevalence of the title nations there is a larger share of ethnoses which for the economic, social or cultural reasons became citizens of the country (Kosinov 2016). In Italy it will be fair to note and for Kazakhstan – there is a development of these cultures through a prism of identity and loan of elements of cultures to gradual adaptation of citizens to traditions, laws and living conditions. It allows to realize a possibility of application of multicultural approach without excess problems.

The Kazakh and Italian cases actually are two similar approaches to international migration management. A detailed analysis is given in the legal, historical and social spheres of the Italian society and it is suggested to use the experience of Kazakhstan to solve the problem of illegal migration. Modern Europe is focused on the formation of migration policy, which facilitates legal migration, restricts illegal movements of persons, simplifies the rules for the entry of qualified specialists and scientists, the integration of all living migrants in the territories of the EU member states. In practice, this means the EU's desire to create a single legal and integration field for regulating issues of migration and internal affairs, as was envisaged in the creation of the EU.

The main difference in the approaches of these countries here is the integration of migrants on the basis of the formation of civil identity, that is, the granting of rights is a person, and not an ethnic group, which happened in Kazakhstan, but it does not work in Italy. Supporters of multiculturalism believe that the state should support not only the preservation of the identities of immigrants, but also contribute to their development, that is, to support and strengthen the differentiation of society (Veretevskaya, 2010).

STUDY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC MIGRATION EFFECTS IN 18–19TH CENTURY IN KAZAKHSTAN

In the 17th – the beginning of the 18th centuries, the Irtysh steppe lands, extensive and rich in pastures, and inhabited by Kazakh nomads were subject to frequent devastating attacks by Dzhungar khanate, thus urging the tsar government to temporarily discontinue its offensive movement, and forcing it to pay



attention to the strengthening of its borders. Strengthening of Dzungaria in the 30–40s of the 18th c. prevented Russians lasting settlement, forced them temporarily to refuse offensive movement, and pay attention to strengthening of borders. In 1745 the government made a decision to strengthen the existing fortresses, and to build up additional fortification facilities (outposts, redoubts) in the line stretching by more than 960 km from Omsk to Ust-Kamenogorsk. With the construction of the Irtysh fortresses, Russia took over the portion of the Dzungaria territory (Shuldyakov 2002, 7). With the increasing role of the fortresses, the government began to pay more attention to strengthening of the available armor, and increased recruitment of the Cossacks at the expense of deported persons and POWs. Throughout the 18th century, town Cossacks were temporarily taken to serve at the fortification line. All attempts of the Command to transfer them to regular service at the fortification were futile. The possible reason was the fear of the tsarism to weaken the internal guard garrisons in troubled Siberian towns. For that reason, in 1747 the tsar government initially sent five dragoon regiments to Kolyvansk and New Ishimsk fortification lines (Minenko 1975, 44). Then in 1758, for reinforcement purposes, it sent thousand-men detachments of the Don and Ural Cossacks, and five-hundred-men detachments of Bashkirs and Meshcheriaks, arranging for their annual turnover (Petrov 1965, 208). In 1758, the report was sent to the Government Senate, which informed on sending Meshcheryaks totaling five hundred persons who were a source for strengthening the colonization of the frontier lines (Russian National Military-Historical Archives). The formation of some strong points, such as fortresses, outposts, redoubts, was the beginning of the long process of the Russia's colonization policy in the steppe, the formation of resident population and concentration of agricultural settlements in these places.

The Russian government was interested in the territory of Kazakh camping places most of all from the economic point of view. Orders were given to military troops of Cossacks and administrative persons to learn about the locations of the Kazakh winter and summer camps, to find out whether merchant caravans could safely pass the Kazakh steppe (Kussainuly 2001, 18).



With political processes occurring in the first half of the 19th century, the location geography of Slavic settlements in the territory of Kazakhstan extended considerably, and the first settlements of Russian peasants of the Ural and Siberian Cossacks were set up inside the Kazakh camping areas. The steppe areas of the Western Kazakhstan were most intensively inhabited and cultivated, that was closely connected with building up of the New Iletsk division. The adoption of the Legal Act of April 10, 1822 stimulated the migration of Russian peasants from the European provinces of Russia to various regions of the Northern and Eastern Kazakhstan.

The formation of strong points, fortresses, outposts, and redoubts caused the process of native population settlement. Kazakhs of the Kypshak family – toryaigyrs (altybasses), karabalyks and kuldenens settled first. Their location included the areas of the lower reaches of the Tobol and Uj rivers. The Kypshak tribe Kazakhs of the Dambarsk volost (district) occupied Novolineynyi district, and in the middle of the 19th century, in connection with the building up of Cossack settlements, they moved to the Tobol river area. The Syr-Darya Kazakhs from the Kypshak altybas family joined them and occupied the territory along the lower reaches of the Tobol river, and in Arakaragai pine forest (Tolybekov 1959, 311–312). Kazakhs of the following Argyn families resided in Amankaragai volost: yermens, alimbets, and kyrykmyltyks (Tolybekov 1971, 427). The Kazakhs called “internal Kirghiz” inhabited the territory of Kurgan, Ishim and Omsk areas of the Tobol province. The native population living in the territory of the Omsk region were called “Siberian Kirghiz” (Ermekbayev 1999, 114). The native population called the Siberian Kazakhs were the main residents of the region, and was ruled by the special establishment through the district orders subordinated to the regional management board. The population structure included Kazakhs, Tashkents, Bukhars, Kokands, etc. The demographic situation in the given period was as follows. The Kazakhs reached a total of 370,000 people, Russian population amounted for 18,000 people (Starkov 1860, 96–8), and the number of foreigners amounted for 479 people (Central National Archives of Republic of Kazakhstan).



Along with the native nation, representatives of some other nations inhabited the steppe area. In 1825, Semipalatinsk district was the residence place for 12 people of “Judaic religion”, of which 8 were men and 4 were women. It is very likely to assume that these people were Jews-ashkenazi, and not the Bukhara Jews. In 1825, according to the official report of the governor – general of the Western Siberia, Jews lived along the military fortifications line which separated the internal part of the Omsk region from the so-called external one, where the monad Kazakhs moved. The deported Jews were settled in special localities situated in remote places. Siberia was a permanent place of residence for the Jewish population until 1837. Each Jew had to be attributable to the tax-paying social category: the peasantry or the lower middle class (Volkova 2001, 8–10).

Life realities forced both sides to take steps towards each other. Among merchants there were many natives of the Central Asian territories. Most frequent visitors of East Kazakhstan fortresses were Bukhars. They brought cotton fabrics, skins of wolves, foxes, lambskins, shipskin coats to Siberian fortifications from Dzungaria and Tashkent. In the 40s of the 18th century Kazakhs of the Naiman tribe (a total of 40 persons) of the Middle zhuz visited Jamyshevsk fortress with their goods (horses, furs, lambskins and shipskin coats). In 1747 Asian and Middle Asian merchants delivered goods to Semipalatinsk and Yamyshevsk fortresses in the quantity of 9,749 bales (Kassymbayev 1986, 65–6). Tashkents, Bukhars from Bukhara Minor, as well as Kashgars with their own and Chinese-made goods arrived to Ust-Kamenogorsk and Semipalatinsk fortresses for trading (Slotvsov 1886, 223). There were many facts in the history when Asians (Tashkents and Bukhars) were attributed to Kazakh volosts. The border administration made the decision to expel from external districts all Uzbeks, Bukhars and other Asians who lived in the volosts without any specific purpose. If they wish they could engage in trading in these districts and localities as merchants (National Archives of Omsk oblast of Russian Federation). In the opinion of the infantry general G. Gasfort, the purpose of the government was in admitting Bukhars, Uzbeks not having Russian citizenship to bring their goods within our territory, to allow them to conduct wholesale



trade at exchange yards and bring their goods to Russia (Russian National Historical Archives). In 1850–1851 Asian merchants delivered yuft leather skins, tanning products, knee boots, shoes, mittens to Altay fairs. The merchants brought such food products as tea and sugar for sale by tradesmen from Semipalatinsk and other places. On the way back, merchants purchased at Altay fairs bread, honey, and furs. These commodities were brought by trading people to Ust-Kamenogorsk, Semipalatinsk (Shcheglova 1999, 47). According to the data of 1860, about 280 families of Bukhars, Tashkents, and Kokands totaling 526 men and 539 women not having citizenship of Russia resided in the towns of Ust-Kamenogorsk, Semipalatinsk and Petropavlovsk (Russian National Historical Archives). Many of them chose trading as the main occupation. The government continued to demonstrate its interest in the expansion of the trade and economic relations with the Central Asian khanates by encouraging in every possible way the settling of towns and other localities of Kazakhstan by Bukhars and Uzbek merchants (Kassymbayev 1986, 99).

With the introduction of the “1846 Act” with the purpose of strengthening the Siberian troops, a decision was made to forcibly send the part of Cossacks residing at the fortification line inside the steppes, and to settle nearby up to 5 thousand peasants from Little Russia provinces who wished to move to Siberia, inducting them into the Cossacks. It was the beginning of the formation of Shchuchensk, Koturkul, Zerenda, Aryk-Balyk and other villages. There were a total of 13 settlements settled by immigrants from the European Russia, namely the state peasants (Katanayev 1904, 10). The situation in the agricultural development of the region changed due to the arrival in 1849–1850 of peasants from land-poor Orenburg and Saratov provinces bordering the Siberia. The number of peasants amounted for 3,852 people, later on they were attributed to the Cossack social category (Krassovsky 1868, 387). Among them were descendants of the Kalmyks, Bashkirs and Mordovians. The Cossacks who in their homeland had been used to agriculture, soon accustomed to the new life conditions. The agriculture was most intensively developing in the internal districts inhabited by the Russian population, namely in Petropavlovsk, Omsk and Semipalatinsk



than in external districts of Ayaguz, Bayan-Aul, Karkaralinsk and Kokpekty (Apollova 1976, 185).

The period from 1847 to 1855 in the history of the migration movement was considered as of particular importance because the government provided peasants with the opportunity to migrate, thus resulting in a great flow of migrating peasants. The migration movement contributed to the agricultural development along the fortification lines. The conditions of immigrants were adequately provided with the works and trades. In 1848 the Imperial order was issued on the settlement of 3,600 peasants from land-poor internal provinces, and also of Little Russia Cossacks in the area of the Kokchetav district (Morozov 1900, 84–5). The migrating peasants were given monetary travelling allowances in the amount of seven silver kopecks per person. The arrived immigrants were enrolled into the Siberian maneuver Cossack troops to form the Cossack regiment. From 1849–1851 there was an essential growth in the number of enrolling peasants into the Cossack troops under the government orders. So, a total of 7,500 persons were enrolled into Cossacks troops. Those were the natives of the following provinces: Saratov, Orenburg and Kharkov (Ussov 1879, 74).

In the middle of the 19th century the tsar government carried out re-organization of its administration of Kazakhs and the migration movement. The improvement of the administrative system and the settlement of peasants were necessary for more intense submission of Kazakhs into the Russian empire. This period of time included changes in the demographic situation in the region. The changes were associated to the political and economic colonization of the steppes by the tsar government. According to the 1840 data, the population of the north-eastern Kazakhstan owing to its geopolitical position increased by 31,908 people of both sexes. The given region experienced powerful influence of the migratory flows and caused the peculiar aspects of the demographic situation in Kazakhstan (native population and the Slavs) (National Archives of Omsk oblast of Russian Federation). In Akmolinsk district there were a total of 1,096 male and 325 female Russian residents, in Aman-Karagai district: 459 male and 82 female, in Ayaguz district: 531



male and 114 female, in Bayan-Aul district: 356 male and 131 female, in Karkaralinsk district: 1,025 male and 316 female, in Kokchetav fortification area: 1,112 male and 520 female, in Kokpekty district: 202 male and 182 female Russian residents (Central National Archives of Republic of Kazakhstan). Among Moslems there were representatives of the native population totaling 274,436 persons, 1,189 Tatars, Bashkirs, Uzbeks, Kirghiz, Misharis, and Karakalpaks. The native population prevailed and amounted for 91.8%, while other natives amounted for 8.2 % (Bekmakhanova 1980, 168–71). By the middle of the 19th century the territory of Western Kazakhstan included into the Orenburg Kazakh Region was inhabited by 63,957 persons of non-Kazakh population: Russians, Kalmyks, Bashkirs, Misharis, Tatars, Uzbeks, and Karakalpaks. The overwhelming majority of non-migrating inhabitants of the Western region of Kazakhstan belonged to the Ural Cossack troops. By that time the troops population remained polyethnic by its composition. It included natives of many Turkic and Mongolian people of the Volga region and Southern Ural along with the people of Slavic origin.

These kinds of processes, which involve the integration of diverse ethnicities and cultures, have currently been closely associated with the European Mediterranean. The political and historical issues in the Middle East have caused to the ongoing mass migration, including the illegal migration into the territory of the European Union. The migration route can conditionally be divided into the following three corridors:

Western Mediterranean Corridor: A small portion of refugees reaches Europe, travelling from Morocco and Algeria to Spain. According to the IOM, in 2015 alone, this route was used by 3,845 asylum seekers. In addition, on a regular basis, asylum seekers from Africa are trying to penetrate the Spanish-Moroccan border guarded by the military and representing a 7-meter-high fence.

Central Mediterranean Corridor: A large portion of asylum seekers moving from sub-Saharan Africa (Eritrea, Nigeria and Somali), as well as from Libya, is using the sea route to get to Italy. During 2015 alone, 150,317 asylum seekers landed in Italy. This route path is much more dangerous than the Turkey – Greece route; according to the IOM, in 2015 alone, a total of



2,889 people died using it. Asylum seekers who arrive in Italy are also moving in the direction of Germany and Sweden passing through Austria.

Eastern Mediterranean Corridor: The easiest, cheapest, and safest route to Europe passes through Turkey to Greece. It is the very route used by refugees from Iraq and Syria. There are two ways to get to the destination: by land and by sea. The first way is to take a bus from Istanbul to Greece. This route is chosen by the minority of refugees, because it involves passing through border control points. During the 2015 alone, the Turkey – Greece sea route was used by 801,919 people. Because of the danger of the route, a total of 709 people died during 2015 alone. There is also a number of Syrians coming to Greece by sea from Egypt. Once in Greece, the refugees move through Serbia, Macedonia and Hungary to the north, to reach Germany and Sweden. Due to more rigid border control, refugees are trying to bypass Bulgaria and Romania, which are also on the way (Leto et al. 2016, 789–828).

This process corresponds with the procedures and migration trends, as well as the existence of the multi-ethnic people of Kazakhstan described above.

1. The arriving people do not have a common social platform and long-term living together, as exemplified by Kazakhstan (the former USSR).

2. Religious and ethnic differences are fueled by difference in the standards of living, employment opportunities, assimilation and education and training backgrounds.

STUDY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC MIGRATION EFFECTS IN 20–21ST CENTURY IN ITALY

The host country, which experiences the primary burden, is Italy, since it is genuinely the only G7 member country with the largest contribution to the initial reception of refugees. It is necessary to identify the problems that arise because of the above in Italy as a development driver of the Mediterranean region.

The cooperation of Italy and other Member States of the European Community in the field of justice and internal affairs



began with the conclusion of the Convention of Naples on cooperation and mutual assistance between local authorities (1957), which laid the foundation for the exchange of information and experience in this field. Since 1975, cross-border cooperation began to develop outside the legal framework laid down by the European Union, particularly in matters relating to immigration and granting asylum. At that time informal conditionalities existed in the exchange of best practices, information, expertise, and ways of development of such relations between the Member States were established. With the same purpose, working groups were established, in particular, the TREVI Group, consisting of the Ministers of the relevant agencies of the Member States. The main issues of this Group were primarily the internal security and anti-terrorism activities, as well as problems of illegal immigration and organized crime.

The Italian immigration laws have passed a long way of development, depending on the pro-governmental policies of the respective parties, and the parliamentary majority of, in turns, lefts- and center-rights. Accordingly, the policy towards migrants and the development of the appropriate legislation was formed based on the liberal attitude towards illegal migrants, their integration into the Italian society, or based on radically opposite positions, and transfer to a more rigid model in the regulation of migration flows (Chu 2016, 403–21).

The dynamic development of the Italian economy in the 80–90s of the 20th century, and the increased demand for foreign labor force have gradually made Italy attractive for the “economic” immigration. For instance, K. Leto (2016) classified the immigrant worker as a hard-working, a person that costs the employers/scientists much less than the Italian counterpart, and does not compete in the political scene. The researcher raises the question of resolving the problems of immigrants, and proposes not to resort to the traditional tightening of security measures, but rather seek to integrate them into the Italian society.

Furthermore, during the 80s of the 20th century a number of laws relating to migration were adopted. For instance, on the basis of the international legal instruments, the Italian Law No. 948/1986 (the Fosco Act) was enacted with the aim to



implement the principles of the Convention No. 142/1975 ILO UN on the protection of immigrants in the employment market, and on the fight against human trafficking. This Law regulated the conditions of employment of foreign citizens in Italy, as well as represented equal access opportunities to labor and services markets, and raised the issue of family reunification.

Migration flows between the countries of North Africa and Italy represent a particular intensity. This is due to the geographical proximity of these regions, as well as the close economic, political and cultural ties, which were formed back in the colonial period, and strengthened in the framework of the Barcelona Process. For this reason, starting from the early 90s, Italian researchers have begun to call their country a „black door“ of Europe.

This prompted the Italian Government to urgently adopt the appropriate immigration law on February 28, 1990, known as the Martelli law (Col. Martelli was then the vice-president of the Italian Council of Ministers). According to this law, the entry and stay of foreigners in Italy was regulated by the permission issued by the police or the public security commissioner of the respective territory. In addition, the law legalized immigrants and provided for control and deportation of illegal immigrants, introduced immigration quotas, imprisonment and fines for illegal immigration. However, the aforesaid law could not have significant impact on the scale of migratory flows into Italy. Immigration showed steady growth at the expense of refugees from North Africa, the Balkan countries, and the countries of South-East Asia. The Italian Government was again forced to seek a way out of the critical situation prevailing in the country due to the rapid growth in the number of immigrants (Akay et al. 2017, 265–306).

At the national level, Italy continued to improve its national migration legislation. So, the Minister for Social Policy of Italy issued an order of September 08, 1993 on the establishment of an appropriate commission headed by F. Contre, who presented the draft law on the legal status of foreigners. In 1994, before the end of powers of the legislature, the commission had completed its activities, and sent to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers the draft of this law based on the principles of similar laws in the EU countries.



The entry of Italy in 1997 into the Schengen zone, the struggle between center-right and the center-left parties further intensified the development of the new legislation, which provides for the further steps of integration of immigrants into the Italian society. For this purpose, at the end of the 1990s the National Commission for the integration policy of immigrants was established on the initiative of Mr. Prodi, which was headed by J. Cincone, Professor of the University of Turin. Over the period of her chairmanship, the Commission issued two reports, which served as a contribution to the understanding of the Italian immigration context, by forming the basis of the Italian model of integration, and taking into account the experience of other countries and the Italian specifics. It was based on the priorities of recognition the values and rights of migrants, the expansion of cultural exchange between immigrants and Italian citizens. The Commission determined this specific migration model called the „smart integration model“, which was based on the two main interrelated principles: the recognition of the human integrity, and the low level of conflicts during the person’s integration into the Italian society, or seeking positive interaction with the Italian population. The „smart integration“ is based on the recognition of cultural pluralism, the rejection of assimilation and inter-cultural approach, facilitating the exchange between immigrants and the Italian society.

This model became the basis for the continued formation of political and legal integration platform for migrants in Italy, the implementation of which was the adoption of the new law of Turco-Napolitano (Law No. 40 1998) on the regulation of immigration and the status of foreigners, which included the planning of immigration using the annual quotas system, and the right to stay of migrants in the territory of Italy of up to five years (Hwang 2016, 941– 59).

European analysts pointed out that the Turco-Napolitano law was adopted by Italy only following the pressure from other EU Member States with the requirement to tighten its cross-border cooperation and control the flows of illegal migrants. EU expected from Italy the definition of its national policy on immigration within the EU framework requirements, which would provide



for the consistent steps on the issues of monitoring the legal and illegal migration flows. (Brown and Zimmermann 2017, 11–27). In general, trends in the EU migration „containment policy“ provided for the decrease in the flow of immigrants, the requirements for their legal border crossing and, thus, control of the immigration „milestones“. The Turco-Napolitano law to some extent was consistent with the provisions of the European Commission’s proposals, particularly, as regards to the labor immigrants, students and families of non-residents in the EU. In the future, these provisions were included in the Amsterdam Treaty, and became the EU legal framework on the issues of asylum granting and immigration.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

Thus, summarizing all above-mentioned information, we can state that migration processes plays a significant role in the development of EU Member States. The development of migration is essential for the quantitative and qualitative economic growth of the countries.

Italy tried to implement the basic EU initiatives on immigration issues into its national legislation through a number of laws (the Bossi-Fini, the Security Package, etc.). However, the contradictions that emerged in relation to the Italian government circles towards migration processes complicated the mechanism of their implementation. On the one hand, there was a firm belief in the fact that the free movement of capital, goods and people were an asset for the further development of the national economy. On the other hand, immigration from third world countries was considered a threat to the national security of Italy.

A specific aspect of the Italian migration processes is their multi-ethnic nature. Thanks to the close economic, political and cultural relations, Italy remains the regional immigration leader in the Mediterranean. In addition, high intensity migration flows have been observed from the Balkans and the Eastern Partnership countries.

Challenges imposed by the modern-day immigration processes in Italy suggest that neither the host country, nor the



immigrants turned out to be unprepared to address the related migration issues. However, at the same time it has to be acknowledged that immigrants have made a significant contribution to the development of public welfare, by filling the jobs that were not in demand by the national citizens.

CONCLUSION

In virtue of its geopolitical position, Kazakhstan has experienced a powerful impact of migratory flows, primarily from Russia, which greatly influenced the course of ethno-demographic processes and caused the peculiar specifics of the demographic situation in the country. Military Cossack and peasant colonization in the XVIII – XIX centuries, the mass migration from the Russian provinces of the Slavic and other peoples contributed to the formation of a multi-ethnic composition of the population of Kazakhstan, affecting its qualitative characteristics, in particular, the economic structure and the social life.

Among the European countries, despite the high degree of integration within the EU, there is no consensus with regard to the integration of immigrants. Decisions during the formation of the United States and France in the 80s of the 20th century, the assimilation concept were based on the denial on the part of the migrant of its own identity in favor of the identity of the host society. It acquired no relevance during the study period in Italy.

For the multicultural policy, the important issue is the mixture of cultures, which does not lead to their dissolving in the dominant culture. The main feature here is the integration of migrants on the basis of the formation of the civic identity, that is, the empowerment of a person, rather than an ethnic group, which was the fact in Kazakhstan, but so far has failed in Italy. Proponents of multiculturalism believe that the state should support not only the preservation of identity of immigrants, but also contribute to their development, that is, maintain and enhance the differentiation of the society. However, multiculturalism has transformed into its opposite existence of closed communities within the same country.



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Interorganisational Network Management for Successful Business Internationalisation

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Flexible interorganisational networks, where enterprises and governmental institutions act as partners, present an opportunity to improve effectiveness of internationalisation. However, their role in facilitating internationalisation has been underexplored. We study how such interorganisational networks can be managed in order to increase business engagement in business-to-business and business-government interorganisational networking in internationalisation process. A theoretical framework on interorganisational networking and network management is followed by findings from an international survey involving 376 internationally active companies from a small Euro-Mediterranean country – Slovenia. We confirm learning effects of international interorganisational networking and show that increased market distance, complexity of market entry mode and firm size positively impact firms' (institutionalised) interorganisational networking during internationalisation, whereby business-to-business relationships seem to be more desirable in the initial stages of internationalisation and business-government relationships in its later phases. Internationalisation through interorganisational networking suffers from underexploited network management – at both the governance of a network and the management within networks levels, though.

Key words: network management; interorganisational networking; business-government relations; internationalisation; business clubs



INTRODUCTION

94 | Traditionally, in international business, firms were perceived as independent actors, making rational analytical decisions regarding entry markets, methods of market entry and modes of operation in selected markets. The reality, however, is quite different: Choices and decisions in international business are influenced by *a multitude of relationships* (Donaldson and O'Toole 2001). According to the *institutionalisation theory* the latter are not limited to businesses, but rather form between firms and their environment as a whole (Forsgren 2008). Firms, which are interwoven in a network containing both business and non-business actors (Hadjikhani and Ghauri 2001), consequently need to become committed and trustworthy partners (Doyle 1995) not only to their (domestic and foreign) business counterparts (competitors and non-competitors alike) but also to other types of entities such as governmental and non-governmental organisations (NGOs)¹ that co-develop and co-create the business environment. Although businesses with high levels of international business commitment and (political) knowledge could adapt to the political rules in the business environment they operate in, they instead tend to influence them in order to gain (additional) competitive advantage (see Hadjikhani and Ghauri 2001). Passive consumption of regulations and support services related to internationalisation designed by the somewhat detached governmental organisations has namely failed to meet the specific, constantly changing needs and demands of internationally active businesses when expanding into new markets or strengthening their presence in their existing foreign markets (see e.g. Freixanet 2012; Jaklič 2011; Kotabe and Czinkota 1992; Ruël and Visser 2014).

Firms' engagement in co-shaping the business environment is in the interest of both business and governmental actors. It allows the former to increase their access to information,

1 Relationships with NGOs exceed the scope of our study.



knowledge and 'soft power',² develop capacities and skill-sets, capabilities and intangible assets such as relationships, expertise and reputation for effective communication, negotiation and representation, as well as gain insight into customs of various governmental organisations. Collaboration with business for the latter, on the other hand, helps guarantee that state and non-state participants maintain a uniform position abroad through collaboration with business sectors, allows them to participate in the internal network of information and relations among international companies, and enables learning transnational business methods and management experiences (see e.g. Bolewski 2007; Burt 1995; Donaldson and O'Toole 2001; Hadjikhani and Ghauri 2001; Håkansson and Johanson 2001; Muldoon 2005). It moreover assists supply of support services promoting internationalisation on the governmental side to meet the demand for them from businesses and makes internationalisation more effective.

In our paper we thus *focus* on business' and governmental organisations' cooperation in (institutionalised) interorganisational networks as platforms enabling both types of entities to co-shape a favourable business environment in the process of internationalisation. We thereby note, that not all interorganisational relationships are of strategic importance to every organisation. Christopher et al. (2007) differentiate between *strategic relationships* with stakeholders whose resources, skills and capabilities enable a company to create superior value and *operative or tactic relationships* with stakeholders whose resources are easily substituted. It is thus vital for internationally active organisations to understand which relationships they need to

2 Enhanced 'soft power' is often expressed through firms' increased engagement in commercial diplomacy (either individually or through business-to-business and even business-NGO alliances), which provides both governments and international businesses (as well as other actors) a means to interact and thereby facilitate value creation (Ruël and Visser 2014).



commit more resources to³ and how they can best manage their complex and diverse interorganisational networks – depending on the network's and the involved individual organisations' objectives at the time, perceived organisational culture differences between the parties involved (see e.g. Lu et al. 2016) and the resources available (i.e. both the resources already possessed by the organisation and those expected to be gained through the network).

This research *aims* to identify which types of interorganisational relationships are crucial for various types of firms at different stages of internationalisation as well as the factors and mechanisms impacting their formation, maintenance and success in facilitating internationalisation (firm-level characteristics, network structure, content and management in particular are stressed). Comprehending the factors and mechanisms influencing interorganisational networking in the process of internationalisation is all the more relevant for businesses from small, open economies, which in general tend to demonstrate a higher propensity to internationalise their operations than those from larger economies (Bellak and Cantwell 1998; Svetličič et al. 2000) and are more inclined to network due to usually experiencing greater knowledge gaps regarding foreign markets relative to international firms from large economies (Petersen et al. 2008). We argue that interorganisational networking, in which government, business support organisations, support services and firms are all involved in the business-government interaction (Naray 2012), can mitigate information, knowledge and relationship barriers in the process of internationalisation. This is especially expected for firms from smaller economies, where such networks are strategically cultivating the otherwise limited information transfer and knowledge spillovers through fostering interorganisational networking (see e.g.

3 This is crucial especially since establishing and maintaining a (functional) relationship in a network can require great investments of time and other resources (see e.g. Moorman et al. 1992).



Ellis 2000; Svetličič et al. 2000; Welch et al. 1998).⁴ We test this proposition through studying business-government networking in an institutionalised setting of the *Slovenian business clubs* (platforms where enterprises and governmental institutions act as partners in internationalisation; initially designed as a policy instrument for enhanced interorganisational networking). We namely also argue that cooperation with governments through institutionalised channels such as business clubs allows smaller firms with otherwise limited capacities for engaging in business-government relations (see e.g. Hadjikhani and Ghauri 2001; Hadjikhani and Ghauri 2006) to participate in these processes (see e.g. Koch et al. 2006).

A (business-to-business along with business-government) networked approach to internationalisation has both managerial and policy implications. Yet, integrative research on interorganisational networking and business-government relationships management is scarce and has been identified as a necessity (Ruël and Visser 2014). Our study aims to bridge this gap through addressing the following *research question*: How can interorganisational networks such as business clubs be managed in order to increase business engagement in business-to-business and business-government interorganisational networking aimed at enhancing internationalisation? The paper approaches this question from both the managerial and policy perspectives, whereby particular focus is devoted to firms' motivation for engaging in networks that are enabling their greater engagement in co-creating the business environment(s) they operate in throughout the internationalisation process. Due to a highly complex and interdisciplinary nature of the phenomenon under study we follow an interdisciplinary approach common for international business studies in general. A condensed literature review therefore includes an overview of the key potential internationalisation benefits of interorganisational networking for

4 Koch et al. (2006) for instance argue that business support networks similar to business clubs create transparency in support available and ease access to it, as well as remove overlaps and fill gaps between support services provided by multiple institutions.



both business and non-business actors; identification of determinants of the latter; along with a description of the basic characteristics and principles of network management. A presentation of our empirical results on interorganisational networking within business clubs, several of which pertain especially to the Euro-Mediterranean region, follows. We conclude our discussion with a summary of the main findings (including several managerial and policy implications) and by opening a number of questions for future research.

THE POTENTIAL OF INTERORGANISATIONAL NETWORKING IN INTERNATIONALISATION

Networking is a strategic choice: *»/.../ organisations do not merely cooperate, but cooperate for a reason«* (Schermerhorn 1975, pp. 852). Rarely self-sufficient in terms of critical resources (Varadarajan and Cunningham 1995) – particularly in foreign markets; organisations are motivated to join in cooperative efforts by the (perceived) potential benefits of networking (Schermerhorn 1975). These need to surpass both the benefits of individual activities (Lages et al. 2008) and the costs of networking (Fill and Fill 2005). When this is not the case, an island scenario rather than a networked world scenario triumphs.

The greatest benefit of networking according to many is that relationships are part of the *knowledge and innovation generating process* (Donaldson and O'Toole 2001; Håkansson and Johanson 2001). Networks not only provide information beyond that possessed by a single organisation (Burt 1995; Goerzen and Beamish 2005); 'clashes' of diverse sources of knowledge foster the research process (Eapen 2012) and generate innovations (March 1994). Hence, networks are not merely tools for knowledge transfer and sharing – they also present a forum for its evolution through information and knowledge integration: They promote innovation. *We argue that internationalising businesses network primarily due to information and knowledge benefits.*

The causal *relationship between networking and internationalisation* is unclear, however. Welch and Welch (1996) for instance refer to knowledge, relationships and networks as a strategic



foundation of a firm, whereby learning and network development both impact and are affected by the ongoing process of internationalisation (see also Chiva et al. 2013; Johanson and Vahlne 2009; Raustiala 2002). This means there is a *closed loop between networking and internationalisation*, which are enhancing one another: While membership in (international) interorganisational networks has several benefits for firms when internationalising, international exposure of a firm too is positively correlated to its exploiting these benefits (Ellis 2000). In addition, although according to Burt (1995) networks always generate some benefits, it is questionable to what extent and how efficiently. Since both structure and content of a network can have a significant effect on knowledge creation and spillovers during internationalisation (see e.g. Blau 1964; Rodan and Galunic 2004), we outline the partners' characteristics (including the focal firm's features) and structural factors influencing exchange of resources in interorganisational networking in the following section.

NETWORK CONTENT AND STRUCTURE – DETERMINANTS OF KNOWLEDGE SPILLOVERS IN INTERNATIONALISATION

Characteristics of singular partners in a network can present an important determinant of a network's success in knowledge acquisition, generation, modification, transfer and application. To benefit from the knowledge generating and transferring relationships in a network a firm needs to develop its absorptive capacity (i.e. an ability to understand, assimilate and implement newly gained external knowledge) which is predicated on internal organisational features such as firm size, age, international orientation, experience and prior related knowledge as well as internal organisational networks (Charan 1993; Cohen and Levinthal 1990; Cohen and Levinthal 1994; Eapen 2012; Zaheer and Bell 2005). It does not suffice to simply gain access to resources – the firm needs to be able to exploit them as well.

Both an organisation's intangible capital and its quantitative features can impact networking and its learning potential. Research shows that *size of a company* is positively correlated to exploiting the benefits of a network in a foreign market (Ellis



2000). Firm size namely indicates ability to cooperate or operate without cooperating (Walker et al. 1997). Although a large firm may be less motivated to network due to being more self-sufficient when it comes to relevant resources (see e.g. Kostecki and Naray 2007), the latter may provide further motivation for smaller businesses to network with a larger firm, which in turn enters relationships to trade its excess resources. However, while often rigid large firms face difficulties when managing and/or appropriating benefits in diverse networks (Goerzen and Beamish 2005), small firms are much more adept at collaborating with diverse partners (Powell et al. 1996). Mansion and Bausch (2015) discover network capital to be particularly pertinent for innovating SMEs in developing economies, since their exposure towards liabilities of smallness is more pronounced. *We thus note that business club network benefits may be larger for SMEs from emerging and developing economies and predicate that SMEs dominate international interorganisational networks (e.g. business clubs).*

Similarly to an organisation's size, its *age* is likely to influence networking and knowledge spillover. The latter in general increases a firm's skills of using internal reservoirs of knowledge and information (Pennings et al. 1994): The need for external resources thus decreases with time. In international business, time spent in a foreign market furthermore reduces an organisational need for learning from its foreign partners. Assistance in application of the learned external knowledge becomes more relevant (Lane et al. 2001). (International) alliances are therefore particularly beneficial to young, resource-constrained firms, lacking stable relationships. Startups, for example, can compensate for their inexperience by securing relationships with key actors at the time of their founding, which gives them access to their (accumulated) knowledge, resources, stability and associative legitimacy (Baum et al. 2000). *We hence propose that younger enterprises are more motivated to network compared to older companies and therefore dominate international interorganisational networks (e.g. business clubs).*

Another firm-specific factor positively correlated with exploiting the benefits of a network in a foreign market is (as

mentioned earlier) *international exposure* (Ellis 2000) and the *prevalent market entry mode*. Ovin (2007) discovers that companies with low share of export in their income rarely seek information and support services from institutions and rather gain partners coincidentally. Firms with higher shares of export in their income tend to seek institutional help due to recognition of foreign market potential. Companies which already have a high percentage of export in income and have established their position in the target foreign markets based on their knowledge and experience are less inclined to seek support services provided by institutions. Taking into account that learning is more relevant during the early phases of internationalisation and that the preferred entry mode in these phases is exporting, *we propose that networking aimed at overcoming (internationalisation) knowledge gaps is particularly significant for businesses in early internationalisation stages, starting to employ less complex market entry modes (e.g. for less experienced exporters). We moreover posit that business-government relationships are sought mainly in the initial phases of internationalisation and by firms with less experience in international business.*

Among *structural factors* that influence knowledge spillovers and other internationalisation benefits of international networking authors especially highlight the significance of *network density* and *heterogeneity*. Burt (1995) argues that strongly connected contacts in dense networks are likely to possess similar – i.e. redundant – information, while disconnect contacts in sparse networks are presumed to foster non-redundant (i.e. diverse) knowledge and information. Research findings regarding the impact of network density on knowledge spillovers are inconclusive, however. Firms embedded in dense networks, for instance, are better able to integrate and implement novelties (e.g. technologies), but can be shielded from a range of alternatives – their choices might not be optimal. Firms embedded in sparse networks on the other hand are facing the opposite problem: They have access to information on a broad range of alternatives, but lack the in-depth knowledge and skills to integrate and implement them (Eapen 2012). Heterogeneity of network partners is therefore not necessarily advantageous: Though on



the one hand it can enhance the breadth of perspective, cognitive resources and overall problem-solving capacity of the group (Hambrick et al. 1996), it may also create gulfs and schisms hindering information exchange (Goerzen and Beamish 2005).

Sirmon and Lane (2004) emphasise that the presence of complementary resources needed for performing certain activities alone is insufficient for success of an international alliance. For networking to be an effective learning tool partners' employees must be able to interact effectively in order to share, combine and leverage complementary resources. The fit of professional, organisational and national cultures is crucial, as it increases partner learning, whereby according to Sirmon and Lane (2004) professional culture differences are the most disruptive to (effective) primary value-creating activities of an alliance. The so called 'glitches' (i.e. unsatisfactory results), caused by the deficit of inter-functional or inter-specialty knowledge about problem constraints, can be avoided by ensuring that individuals from partner organisations are cognizant of constraints and opportunities outside the area of their expertise (Hoopes and Postrel 1999). Both weak ties from sparse networks, which facilitate search for novel knowledge, and strong ties characteristic for dense networks, which enable knowledge transfer (Hansen 1999), are needed for effective knowledge spillovers in the process of internationalisation.

Network sparseness does not necessarily imply knowledge heterogeneity, though: Sparseness and knowledge heterogeneity rather act as 'supplements' when it comes to overall managerial performance (one or the other needs to be present) and as 'complements' when we consider innovation performance (Rodan and Galunic 2004). Furthermore, partner heterogeneity (instead of knowledge heterogeneity) may play a more relevant role in successful knowledge spillovers: As firms generate network evolution, governmental institutions provide a legitimate venue and reasoning (motives) for cooperation – acting as a fair broker and a relationship initiator (Ellis 2000; Lam et al. 2004; Svetličič et al. 2000; Welch et al. 1998). Both network content (i.e. individual network members' characteristics) and structure (i.e. combination and interplay of several partners'



characteristics) thus need to be taken into account when assessing effectiveness of (as well as managing) networking in the process of internationalisation. Challenges of managing diverse organisations connected into networks are addressed in the section below.

COORDINATING DIVERSE ORGANISATIONS THROUGH NETWORK MANAGEMENT

Integration of a wide range of different organisations into a network (such as in the case of business clubs) can result in potential *goal incongruence*. This may in turn lead to organisations pursuing their individual objectives rather than common goals of a network or selected network partners (e.g. an alliance formed within a network for a specific task or project): i.e. organisations may act opportunistically (see e.g. Moeller 2010). Moreover, the foundation for trust, which is a prerequisite for cooperation, in such partnerships is weak due to the initial lack of a network culture – especially in interorganisational support networks such as business clubs that include both private and public sector actors and have an ‘artificial’ political origin (Koch et al. 2006). To align the diverse network member goals – as well as enable, promote and direct their joint actions; *network management* is needed.

The latter is defined as the ongoing coordination of activities between (diverse) organisations (i.e. network members) which provides both structure and mechanisms for network members’ joint actions (Johnston and Vitale 1988; Konsynski and McFarlan 1990). Compared to managing a single organisation, managerial activities involved in managing networks are more selective and focused, as networks often serve a specific purpose for their member organisations (Castells 1996; Riggins et al. 1994). This does not make the process simpler, however, since network management usually requires coordinating versatile actors with different knowledge and diverse backgrounds (as well as interests). Creating an environment where collaborative action can evolve and take place, dynamically aligning different strategic, organisational and technological perspectives and systems, is thus a challenge that network management is faced



with (Rierner and Klein 2006). Rierner and Klein (2006) stress that networks are in addition also characterised by a number of *dialectic tensions* – between autonomy and interdependency, between trust and control, cooperation and competition, flexibility and a need for stabilisation, openness and network identity; which result in highly precarious network management.

Moreover, network management often consists of both *governance of a network* and *management within networks* – adding to its complexity further. While the former involves network non-members exercising control, regulation, inducement, incentive or persuasive influence over the entire network (e.g. its structure, the nature and range of ties between network members, network's capacity for collective action, openness to new members, commitment to existing functions, ability or willingness to shoulder new tasks); the latter encompasses a range of decision-making activities by network members that impact (at least) some network members and the nature of their collaboration (it is aimed at network positioning, resource – also power – acquisition and allocation, production, distribution and exchange, co-ordination, planning and strategy development, collective sense-making, etc.) (Six et al. 2006).

Taking into consideration all these complexities, Rierner and Klein (2006) present a *comprehensive network management framework*. In it the authors integrate three distinct perspectives on network management:

1. At the *network level*, which focuses on the network itself, a life cycle view of network management⁵ is assumed for forming management decisions. Network strategy (network mission, positioning, resources, business model), organisation (including policies governing a network as well as network structure and behaviour: defining tasks, roles, linkages and processes, establishing interactions, social ties, selecting people, building teams and capabilities) and information

5 Network life cycle phases include: network initiation, configuration, implementation, stabilisation and potential transformation(s) at various stages of the network life cycle as well as network dissolution (Rierner and Klein 2006).



- management (i.e. managing information and knowledge flows in the network, providing an information system as well as building a network's information (infra)structure) are emphasized.
2. From *the perspective of a single firm*, businesses as network(ed) actors initiate and manage networks or participate in them. Key considerations in managing the network from this viewpoint are: firm strategy, organisation and technology, strategic motivation to join a network as well as strategic implications of network participation.
 3. *The environmental perspective* combines a market and an industry view of firms – recognizing that networks are both shaped by and shape their environments.

Riemer and Klein (2006) neglect a crucial component in their model, though: *the individual*. According to Jolink and Dankbaar (2010) a system of people management practices creates a favourable climate for interorganisational networking, which implies that awareness raising regarding potential networking costs, benefits and network managerial practices leading to a beneficial cost-benefit ratio needs to take place not only at an organisational, network or broader environmental level but also at the level of an individual.

In our empirical study we tackle networking and network management at three levels of analysis (the levels of a network, a single firm and the environment), while the level of an individual transcends the scope of the study. The methodology used and the results derived are presented in the following section.

EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS: EFFECTS OF NETWORKING IN BUSINESS CLUBS AND THEIR MANAGERIAL AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

We conducted an international survey on interorganisational networking in business clubs, involving 376 internationally active companies from a small Euro-Mediterranean country (i.e. Slovenia). The main *purpose* of our research was to identify which types of interorganisational relationships are crucial for various



categories of firms at different stages of internationalisation, define the determinants influencing success of interorganisational networking in the process of internationalisation as well as identify their (network) managerial and policy implications. We specifically evaluated effectiveness of learning and knowledge spillovers as one of the pronounced benefits of networking in the process of internationalisation through international interorganisational networking in business clubs by combining network-, individual firm- and environmental levels of analysis. In our study we considered a company's demographic characteristics (e.g. size) as well as its internationalisation experience (foreign market selection and entry mode). We furthermore investigated a company's (de)motivation for membership in business clubs, importance of specific business clubs' activities for their members and business satisfaction with them, as well as difficulties hindering optimal functioning of business clubs. We addressed the following *research question*: How can business clubs be managed in order to increase business engagement in business-to-business and business-government interorganisational networking aimed at enhancing internationalisation? The relatively small size of the subsample composed of firms with experience as business club members does not allow us to speak about statistical significance regarding this subsample. Qualitative results together with basic quantitative calculations on the subsample are reported instead.

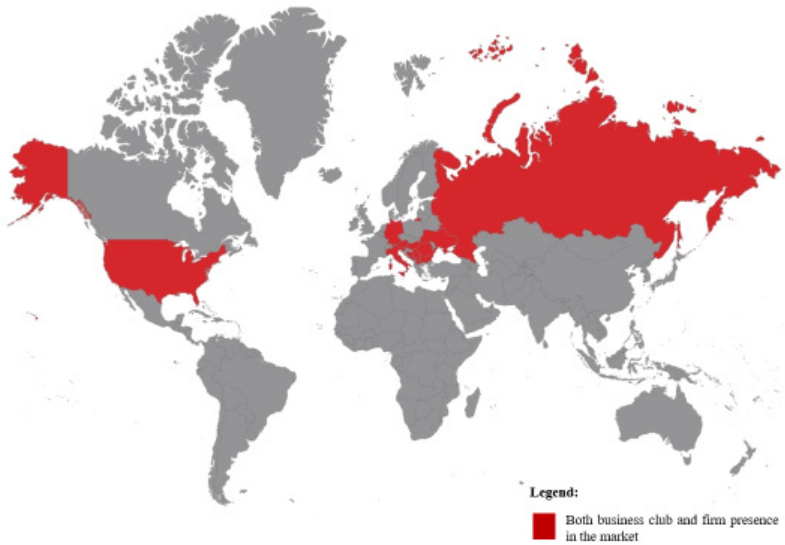
SAMPLE

The presented empirical analysis was part of a large-scale firm-level survey. The entire sample encompassed companies doing business in Slovenia (also foreign affiliates) and in at least one additional selected foreign market where Slovenian business clubs operate: Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Ukraine and the United States of America (see Figure 1). These markets include both developed and emerging markets from the Euro-Mediterranean region and countries outside the latter, which implies that business clubs create opportunities for greater connectedness and cohesion



both within the region and outside of it (i.e. they can also facilitate connectedness of the region to other parts of the World).

Figure 1: Market presence criteria for business clubs' and firms' inclusion in the sample



The list of companies invited to participate in the study was based on a national database of exporters Sloexport, registration to which is optional for internationalised firms – hence, these companies form a specific segment and do not represent the entire population of internationalised companies active in Slovenia. Out of the 3,153 internationalised companies, active in the markets concerned in 2011, 11.9% responded to our structured online questionnaire. We present the main findings hereinafter.

DEMOGRAPHY

More than 50% of respondents to our questionnaire were representatives of small enterprises with 5–49 employees, a fourth were from micro firms (with less than 5 employees), 15.5% of the sample was represented by medium-sized enterprises (with 50–250 employees) and less than 10% were large enterprises

with more than 250 employees. This structure is similar to the macro size structure of companies in Slovenia with micro, small and medium-sized enterprises presenting almost 99% of all firms active in Slovenia in 2011 (see Agency of the Republic of Slovenia for Public Legal Records and Related Services 2012).⁶ Furthermore, more than half of the 376 respondents' businesses operated in Austria (56.1 %), Italy (51.9 %) and Germany (50.8 %). Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina followed with 47.6 % and 46.5 % respectively. These are also top export markets for Slovenian firms, which supports the representativeness of our sample (see Republic of Slovenia Statistical Office 2017). About a third of surveyed firms conducted business in Macedonia, while the smallest share of the sample (10.4 %) was active in Ukraine. This corresponds with previous research findings about firms spreading their activities into less (geographically, culturally, administratively and/or economically) distant markets first (Burger and Kunčič 2013; Ghemawat 2001; Johanson and Vahlne 2009): Markets where most Slovenian companies are active are either the neighbouring countries or states which Slovenia has a common history with (e.g. members of former Yugoslavia).

Almost 80% of respondents employed export as a foreign market entry mode in the markets where business clubs operated, half of the sample entered various forms of partnerships with foreign firms, while only 7.7% of the surveyed companies decided to enter foreign markets analysed with foreign direct investments (FDI). Such structure implies that Slovenian internationalised companies either lack international experience (are at the early stages of the internationalisation process) or do not engage in more complex foreign market entry modes. According to our results international experience are more likely to reflect in geographical spread rather than complexity of international operation. This could be related to the firms' lack of networking and subsequently scarce information and knowledge transfer

6 A slight deviation of the sample from the macro size structure of firms in Slovenia can be attributed to internationalisation being the main sampling criterion.

– regardless their international experience. This is consistent with research by Dikova et al. (2016), who prove that complex strategies with simultaneous geographical, product and entry mode diversification demand high learning capacity and fast knowledge transfer.

Moreover, market entry mode is related to the market: Firms operating in Austria or Italy tend to choose the exporting strategy, which is less favoured by businesses active in Kosovo or Macedonia. Partnering with foreign enterprises is preferred by the companies operating in the USA, while they are rarely employed by Slovenian companies in Italy. This could again be contributed to geographic and cultural distance which may influence a company's (perception of a) need for additional funds and/or knowledge necessary for entering (and operating in) the more distant markets. Greater distance of foreign markets could therefore foster more intensive networking among businesses compared to networking in less distant markets. The share of companies entering foreign markets with FDIs is too small to draw statistically significant conclusions. Nevertheless, businesses in USA, Austria and Germany are less prone to employ such a strategy, while it is more common among Slovenian companies in Macedonia.

MEMBERSHIP IN BUSINESS CLUBS AND ITS BENEFITS

Despite a substantial proportion (over 90%) of respondents in the larger sample being micro, small or medium sized enterprises (i.e. enterprises with more limited financial and informational resources in the process of internationalisation), a vast majority (85.7%) are neither members of a business club, nor do they engage in other forms of institutionalised interorganisational networking. Only 7% of respondents indicate membership in other similar associations as the main reason for not joining business clubs. Over one third (38.4%) of the respondents is not familiar with business clubs' activities (i.e. is unaware of their potential benefits during internationalisation), while 12.6% do not even know that business clubs exist. This implies poor communication by business clubs themselves, but also a restricted inclination of internationalised businesses for interorganisational



networking in general or their preference for engagement in other (also less formal) forms of international interorganisational networking when internationalising their operations. The result may likewise indicate SMEs' limited capacities⁷ and motivation for (institutionalised) interorganisational networking, which is why we look at the impact of firm-specific characteristics on the proneness for engagement in business clubs.

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We note differences in business club membership according to market selection, foreign market entry mode and firm size. Our findings indicate that greater geographic and cultural distance of a foreign market fosters more intensive interorganisational networking compared to such networking in less distant markets since firms need to surpass a far greater information and knowledge gap regarding doing business in the markets concerned for the former case (this especially applies to emerging markets, which are often controlled to a considerable extent by their governments). The results confirm that firms are less likely to engage in (institutionalised) interorganisational networking in geographically and culturally closer markets. While not many business clubs operate in the (to Slovenia) more distant Euro-Mediterranean markets, this finding implies that establishing additional business clubs in these markets could enhance their internationalisation effects by strengthening organisations' active pursuit of networking opportunities and their integration into the otherwise less accessible global value chains.

Moreover, membership in business clubs is related with the market entry mode: While exporters are usually not members of business clubs, membership in at least some business clubs in markets they operate in is more common for companies entering partnerships with foreign firms or implementing the FDI entry mode. We conclude that companies entering partnerships are probably more aware of risks and networking benefits (also due to knowledge and information sharing with partners),

7 This is also one of the reasons for several strategic documents in the region focusing particularly on SMEs and their growth (see e.g. the Small Business Act for Europe 2008 and the Euro-Mediterranean Charter for Enterprise 2004).



since they employ relationships as a strategy and hence actively seek opportunities for networking (including business clubs). Exporters on the other hand might be less cognizant of business club activities, since they themselves do not seek information on networking, which is not their preferred strategy. They do form networks, but are less aware of- and less appreciative of the benefits they (could) reap.

The same principle applies to business club membership and firm size: While micro and small enterprises only rarely decide to enter business clubs, medium-sized and large firms seldom decide not to (this is consistent with previous research which shows that the size of a company is positively correlated to exploiting the benefits of a network in a foreign market (Ellis 2000), but inconsistent with Mansion's and Bausch's (2015) findings regarding greater proneness of innovating SMEs from developing economies towards networking). The Declaration of the Union for the Mediterranean ministerial meeting on industrial cooperation (2014, pp. 1) states that particularly the "small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) require specific support from the public authorities /.../, whereas large companies have a knock-on effect on the integration of SMEs into global value chains /.../." Although Slovenian business clubs are experiencing firm size imbalance, they nevertheless provide an opportunity for synergies between different size-groups of businesses through their services: both in terms of learning from one another and larger partners supporting the smaller firms' integration into global value chains. This business clubs' function could be further enhanced, though, through attracting more SMEs to the network and actively partnering them with complementary larger, internationally more experienced businesses. To sum up: Network engagement in business clubs correlates (and increases) with the amount of resources devoted to internationalisation. Market distance, complexity of market entry mode and firm size are namely positively related to (the institutionalised) interorganisational networking in the process of internationalisation.

Our findings also confirm that firms enter business clubs primarily due to the information and knowledge transfer as well as networking benefits these business support organisations



are expected to foster. Firms do not value organisation of business delegations and promotional appearances as much, however, but rather focus on direct networking effects of business club services. While information transfer from other businesses is the most important motive for firms to join a business club, information obtained from institutions is of medium relevance and greater lobbying power in a group (i.e. in partnership with other business club members) presents minor motivation when contemplating membership in a business club. This implies that internationally active companies enter business clubs primarily as consumers of their services rather than actors co-developing and co-implementing them. This is further supported by their preferences regarding business clubs' activities at the time of entering a business club: They value relationships with both domestic and foreign businesses as well as potential business partners, but are indifferent to relationships with governmental institutions (facilitation of informal relationships among businesses and governmental institutions is ranked as the least relevant service provided by business clubs).

The importance and value of business-government relations (also emphasised in the Declaration of the Union for the Mediterranean ministerial meeting on industrial cooperation (2014)) has not (yet) been widely recognised and does not appear among motives (yet). Nevertheless, prolonging membership in a business club due to satisfaction with its services is highly related with member satisfaction with enabling informal relations among firms and governmental institutions, which may indicate that, when initially entering business clubs, companies have a greater need for support in establishing business-to-business partnerships, but through gaining experience in the market concerned they develop a need for relations with governmental institutions and recognize their value.⁸ Thereby our

8 Such networking not only provides opportunities for businesses to engage in commercial diplomacy and obtain relevant information, but also allows public institutions to gather feedback and ideas on how to improve the business environment and develop demand-driven support services for internationally active firms, which is

findings also imply the important role of institutions when it comes to business-to-business networking due to access to foreign actors, as well as their role in lowering the risks for foreign organisations when entering relations with other Slovenian firms and thereby lowering market entry barriers for the latter. Institutions act as *initiators* and *preservers of relationships*, which in turn enable information and knowledge transfer. This only partially supports our proposition on business-government relationships being mostly sought in the initial phases of internationalisation by firms with less experience in international business, however, as in the initial phases business-to-business relationships are more valued by firms (and business-government relationships are sought for facilitating these relationships), while business-government relationships themselves become more valued at the later stages of business internationalisation (not just based on the evolving market entry mode complexity but also intensity as suggested by Ovin (2007)). Further research on the topic is needed, though. Also, SMEs may underestimate the importance of business-government relations in their initial or early internationalisation stages and discover the value of such relationships only later (or upon encountering the first barriers – themselves or by partners).⁹ Presence in business clubs helps their members recognize the variety and importance of partners needed for successful internationalisation.

According to our quantitative and qualitative findings companies can be categorised into three groups based on their satisfaction with specific business club activities:

1. *Market information seekers* are firms satisfied with provision of market information (i.e. both the services aimed at informing foreign business community about the Slovenian

in line with several aims and objectives of the Euro-Mediterranean Charter for Enterprise (2004).

- 9 A similarly limited understanding of business-government collaboration may be present among public actors also. Further research should focus on this aspect as well to provide insights on the relevance of active involvement of governmental institutions in interorganisational networking from the perspective of internationalisation.



business environment and those concentrated on informing Slovenian firms about changes in the foreign market).

2. *Business relationship seekers* include firms satisfied with services enabling relationships between Slovenian and foreign companies as well as services providing support in establishing relationships with potential business partners.
3. *Institutional relationship seekers* are businesses satisfied with services facilitating relationships among governmental institutions as well as relationships between companies and governmental institutions.

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These groups may partially overlap, as some companies' expectations are met in more than one area. Moreover, specific *expectations* from membership in business clubs are linked to the type of relationships that firms contribute the greatest importance to when internationalising:

1. Companies that treasure relationships with foreign businesses the most rank the following business club activities as crucial: organisation of business delegations and promotional appearances as well as help in establishing relationships with potential business partners abroad.
2. Firms favouring interinstitutional relations list new goals that can be achieved within business clubs as an additional motive for prolonged business club membership.
3. Companies cherishing relationships between firms and governmental institutions emphasize promotion of the Slovenian economy abroad, image campaigns and regular informing of Slovenian actors about the foreign business environment as key business club services.

All in all, companies that see great value in enabling informal relationships among Slovenian companies also emphasize the importance of relationships with and among other actors in the foreign and domestic market (i.e. with foreign companies as well as domestic and foreign governmental institutions) – these firms value interorganisational relationships in general. Still, the study showed that understanding of the value created through business-to-government networks is limited.



In terms of network management we identify several *barriers for business clubs providing effective and efficient support services to internationalising SMEs*, however: (1) a vast majority of internationalised (or internationalising) firms are not members of business clubs – mainly due to poor (or non-existent) communication by institutions unable to effectively present the benefits business clubs can deliver to their members, (2) business clubs are experiencing firm size imbalance (large and medium-sized enterprises tend to network more than micro and small companies), which impairs knowledge transfer from larger onto smaller firms, (3) there is disproportion in business club members regarding market entry modes they employ, which further hinders knowledge transfer, (4) business clubs' services are not modified to specific needs and preferences of different business segments (e.g. according to the type of relationships they value most), (5) business clubs themselves do not employ networking that would allow them to continuously evaluate¹⁰ and improve their services, (6) business clubs vary in funding and organisation which additionally obstructs their collaboration and (7) there is no clear network management – neither at the governance of a network nor at the management within networks level.

Our findings have several *managerial and policy implications*. A systematic governance structure within and among business clubs is needed. This would allow for more effective communication within business clubs, greater transparency and bridging the gaps between supply of and demand for support services provided as well as multilateral rather than solely bilateral networking impact. Communication of business clubs' networking benefits to their (potential) members could also be enhanced and made clearer, as this is crucial not only for acquisition of new members but also for retention of the existing members. Among these benefits information and knowledge transfer as well as informal relations should be stressed the most, as they are assigned the greatest value by internationalising firms when deciding to network. Business partners and institutional actors

10 For an evaluation framework of business support networking interventions see e.g. Lynch et al. (2009).



should be used as the main communicators, since they are assessed as the most valuable sources of information by firms. Moreover, collaboration between both support networks and among governmental and private sector actors would facilitate co-creation of services adjusted to specific business segments, whereby our results already indicate that support activities should be thematically linked to the type of relationship a firm prefers (e.g. for companies that value relations with foreign businesses, organisation of business delegations and promotional appearances as well as help with establishing relationships with potential business partners abroad are important).

Further clubs should be established in the more distant markets and additional members should be recruited by the already established clubs (eliminating the firm size and market entry mode imbalances), while existing members should be retained – an objective only feasible with a clearly defined governance structure. Although dissatisfaction with business clubs' services usually results in membership termination, our study shows permanence of business club membership: A vast majority of businesses that are members of business clubs do not interrupt their business club membership (even in case of mild satisfaction with only a few business clubs' services). Their motivation for prolonging business club membership is mostly related to new goals obtainable through membership in a business club or achievement of objectives set at the time of entry into a business club.

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH

To sum up, the results of our research confirm learning effects of international interorganisational networking in the process of internationalisation as well as indicate an evolutionary nature of business engagement in relationships with governmental actors and joint activities with the latter in the context of institutionalised interorganisational networking. While large enterprises enter business clubs with a variety of more clearly defined motives, SMEs gradually develop their needs (and awareness about them), as well as become more aware of the potentials of



interorganisational learning through business clubs. Enterprise growth (size), rising distance of foreign markets, differences in foreign markets and international experience change motivation for (and learning potential of) business club membership. Motivation and value of interorganisational learning through business clubs increases with resources devoted to internationalisation, whereby the type of interorganisational relationships (business-to-business or business-government) sought by firms (and reasoning behind it) varies throughout different internationalisation phases.

Our findings also have several *practical and policy implications* for managing interorganisational networks and improving learning and knowledge spillovers through networking from the perspective of enterprises entering networks and other international business facilitators (including public actors – business clubs' members and non-members alike) similar to business clubs. We stress a need for (1) a systematic governance structure within and among business clubs that would support effective communication (within and among business clubs as well as with their (potential) members) and improve the overall performance of business clubs and subsequently also facilitate their members' successful internationalisation; (2) clear communication of business club membership benefits for attracting new and retaining the existing members (especially information and knowledge transfer opportunities as well as the value of establishing informal relations through business club membership should be stressed); (3); a more balanced member structure for larger spillover effects; (4) greater engagement of business club members in co-creating and co-implementing both the communication activities and the services provided by business clubs (according to our findings these should be customized to specific business segments and thematically linked to the type of relationship they favour); and (5) establishing additional business clubs – especially in the more distant markets. Organisational theories usually treat cooperation problems separately from coordination problems and knowledge transfer (Hoopes and Postrel 1999); our paper, however, transcends this division, confirms the usefulness of a network approach and integrates



all three types of problems, addressing them as interrelated. Results not only prove knowledge spillovers in institutionalised interorganisational networks, but also provide insights into relationship between the types of actors and activities that enhance internationalisation learning.

Our study is one of the first attempts to explain the factors and mechanisms related to such networks facilitating business-government collaboration in the process of internationalisation by their members in a Euro-Mediterranean country. It demonstrates the unexploited potential of interorganisational learning through business clubs in Euro-Mediterranean region and the poor use and value creation of business-government collaboration within firm-level internationalisation strategies. Firm-level implications call for greater understanding of networks and interorganisational learning in internationalisation. The findings are all the more surprising as enterprises in the region are doing business in several less competitive environments where governments (still) have relatively large influence (and control) over business and (at least older) enterprises (established in the socialist past) had knowledge on the importance of business. These questions may motivate further research on capacity and channels to enhance interorganisational learning and form business-government relations in emerging economies. Results further stimulate questions on how the lack of institutional quality (i.e. the institutional voids)¹¹ identified in parts of the region (see e.g. Kunčič 2012) stimulates networking – particularly formation of business-government relations; and interorganisational learning. Regional development and implementation of cohesion and several other European policies for instance depend on interorganisational learning and networking as well.¹² The latter motive for networking has not been explored in the study and

11 See e.g. Khanna and Palepu (1997).

12 See European Commission's (2016) European Structural & Investment Funds Data for indices of potential correlations between (the lack of) intra- as well as inter-regional networking and (low) absorption of European funds, which varies considerably among countries in the region.



calls for further investigation. Namely, though we are in the 'age of global value chains', the awareness that the ability of firms to integrate value and knowledge from different origins determines regional comparative advantage should be increased.

Other limitations of our study also call for further research. The study focuses on enterprises and excludes governmental institutions as respondents – they are recognised as relevant actors in business clubs only indirectly. Their motivation for interorganisational networking and their role in business engagement in business-government collaboration should hence be explored through additional research, which would provide further insight into implementing networking as a learning and internationalising tool for both firms and institutional actors. Future research should also focus on researching ways to exploit synergies created through networking among SMEs and larger enterprises as well as between domestic and foreign firms and between firms and governmental institutions. Insights into network development, size of networks and their heterogeneity according to different phases/patterns of internationalisation are lacking. We focus solely on institutionalised networking, yet a study of noninstitutionalised (informal) interorganisational networking in the process of internationalisation could provide relevant insights for understanding knowledge spillovers and business-government collaboration in businesses internationalisation. Comparing formal and informal network structures as well as analysing 'networks of networks' rather than solely individual business clubs remain research challenges as well.

Changed network structures and network-based modes of operation may have relevant implications for management of individual organisations as well. The impact of interorganisational networking (in particular networking that involves business-government relations) on corporate governance thus also presents potential for future research. Researchers should moreover focus on the importance of particular relationships based on these providing access to direct partners' relevant connections in the already established networks.

In addition, a comparative study including business clubs and internationalised companies from other emerging as well

as developed countries from both within and outside the region would show whether our findings are generalizable. A wider cross-country comparison of networking as a learning process during internationalisation would also mitigate potential bias due to the 'small country' effect in the case of Slovenia. Finally, testing for sample selection bias (i.e. whether superior firms are better able to secure alliances (Baum et al. 2000)) and reverse causality (i.e. whether networking is in fact an input or an output of enhanced performance) could enhance understanding of interorganisational networking in international business and thereby improve effectiveness and efficiency of both activities as well as network management in business clubs.

All in all, both theory and (the limited) empirical findings (including our own) indicate that interorganisational networking has an even larger potential within regions with greater diversity of actors, activities, development levels and institutional settings, such as the Euro-Mediterranean region. With its underexplored and diverse settings the latter provides an abundance of research questions to be answered by future research.

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Résumés

LES REPRESENTATIONS LITTÉRAIRES DU MONDE NON-HUMAIN DANS LES ROMANS *PES Z ATLANTIDE* (LE CHIEN DE L'ATLANTIDE) DE MATE DOLENC ET *LA MER* DE BERNHARD KELLERMANN: LA PERSPECTIVE ÉCOCRITIQUE SUR DEUX CULTURES INSULAIRES DE L'EUROPE

Tanja Badalič

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L'article présente d'abord l'écocritique comme une discipline qui étudie la relation entre la littérature et l'environnement physique, et sa pratique qui encourage une interaction plus éthique avec le monde. L'accent principal est mis sur la perspective écocritique sur les romans *Pes z Atlantide* (Le chien de l'Atlantide) de Mate Dolenc et *La mer* de Bernhard Kellermann en vue de constater comment le monde non-humain est représenté dans les deux romans. L'identité culturelle de deux communautés insulaires européennes – celles de Biševo et d'Ouessant – se reflète ainsi à travers les représentations de la relation humaine avec l'environnement physique et les animaux non-humains. La perspective écocritique sur les romans nous offre une reconsidération des bases matérielles et culturelles de la société européenne et stimule dans le lecteur une conscience biocentrique du monde.

Mots clés: écocritique, anthropocentrisme, biocentrisme, environnement physique, cultures insulaires européennes
IJEMS 10 (1) : 3–21

L'IMPACT DE LA DETTE GOUVERNEMENTALE SUR LA CROISSANCE ÉCONOMIQUE : UNE ENQUÊTE EMPIRIQUE DU MARCHÉ LIBANAIS

Hanadi Taher

L'accumulation de la dette publique libanaise qui a vu ses débuts en 1990 est en train de devenir le risque le plus dangereux et le plus sérieux dans la future croissance économique et dans la stabilité du pays. Cet article étudie l'impact de la dette publique libanaise sur sa croissance économique grâce à une analyse économétrique qui utilise des données recueillies à partir de 1989, donc pendant environ 26 ans. Les données de la recherche proviennent de la Banque centrale libanaise,



du Fonds monétaire international et des Indicateurs du développement dans le monde et elles sont revenues aussi dans l'analyse basique des séries chronologiques, notamment en tenant compte des différentes variables qui influent sur la croissance économique. Après avoir testé leur solidité et les avoir illustrées par ARMAX, les résultats montrent un impact statistiquement significatif de la dette publique sur le PIB pour ce qui concerne la croissance économique libanaise mais varient en fonction d'un seuil de 128,8%.

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Mots-clés: dette publique libanaise, croissance économique, seuil de dette publique, analyse des séries chronologiques

IJEMS 10 (1) : 23–40

IDENTIFIER LA DIVERSITÉ DANS L'ÎLE DE RHODES, GRÈCE : DYNAMIQUE D'ALTÉRITÉ, TRAUMATISME ET INTÉGRATION

Panagiotis Kimourtzis, Georgios Kokkinos, Ioannis V. Papageorgiou, Polykarpos Karamouzis

L'île de Rhodes dans la partie sud-est de la Grèce constitue un point d'entrée des flux migratoires mixtes en Europe. En même temps, il abrite une communauté musulmane locale qui représente un groupe d'affiliation culturelle différente au sein de la société grecque qui, elle, est relativement homogène. La gestion de la diversité en Grèce et les politiques divisionnaires des derniers siècles à Rhodes, prouvent un processus d'altérité implicite. Les conditions historiques et la conjoncture sociale contemporaine à Rhodes suggèrent que, bien que la communauté éprouve un éloignement progressif de sa capitale culturelle, le processus d'altérité ne se transforme pas en traumatisme social, mais reste un «traumatisme en attente». Ce processus incomplet détermine dans une certaine mesure la position des musulmans rhodiens vis-à-vis des réfugiés et immigrés musulmans avec lesquels ils emphatisent uniquement au niveau humanitaire et individuel et ne peuvent accorder un rôle dans leur intégration, qui est fondée justement sur cette expérience commune de diversité, au niveau communautaire.

Mots clés: réfugiés, immigrés, musulmans, Rhodes, Grèce, diversité, altérité, traumatismes

IJEMS 10 (1) : 42–71



ANALYSE COMPARATIVE DE LA POLITIQUE MIGRATOIRE DU XVIII^E–XIX^E SIECLE AU KAZAKHSTAN ET XX^E–XXI^E SIECLE EN ITALIE

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L'article montre que pour plus d'un siècle, le Kazakhstan a été une région de mouvement migratoire actif. L'intensification de certains processus migratoires dans la plupart des cas a été la conséquence de certaines décisions de l'État. L'Italie a été choisie comme objet d'étude dans la région méditerranéenne en tant que pays le plus exposé à l'immigration clandestine pour ce qui concerne l'acceptation de personnes en vue d'un séjour résidentiel. Cette recherche dans les processus de migration et d'intégration dans les pays de l'UE en tant que phénomène politique, juridique et socioculturel a été d'un grand intérêt scientifique et pratique. L'article fournit une analyse détaillée des sphères juridiques, historiques et sociales de la société italienne et propose d'utiliser l'expérience du Kazakhstan dans la résolution de la question de l'immigration clandestine.

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Mots clés: réinstallation de la nation, tendances migratoires, utilisation de l'expérience historique, région méditerranéenne, perspective de la période historique, société multiethnique
IJEMS 10 (1) : 73–92

GESTION DU RÉSEAU INTERORGANISATIONS POUR UNE EFFICACE INTERNATIONALISATION DES ENTREPRISES

Iris Koleša, Andreja Jaklič

Les réseaux interorganisations flexibles, où les entreprises et les institutions gouvernementales agissent en tant que partenaires, offrent une opportunité d'améliorer l'efficacité de l'internationalisation. Toutefois, leur rôle dans la facilitation de l'internationalisation n'a pas été suffisamment exploré. Nous étudions donc comment les clubs d'entreprises, comme exemple de réseaux interorganisations, peuvent être gérés pour enrichir les ressources mise à disposition via le réseautage dans l'internationalisation des entreprises. Un cadre théorique sur le réseautage interorganisation et la gestion du réseau est suivi



de résultats d'une enquête impliquant 376 entreprises d'un petit pays euro-méditerranéen - La Slovénie - et actives à l'international. Nous confirmons les effets d'apprentissage du réseautage international interorganisation et montrons que la distance du marché, la complexité du mode d'entrée sur le marché et la taille de l'entreprise sont positivement corrélées au réseautage interorganisation (institutionnalisé) pendant l'internationalisation. La gestion du réseau est identifiée comme un facteur de réussite sous-exploité dans l'internationalisation par le biais de clubs d'entreprises - tant à la gouvernance d'un réseau qu'à la gestion au niveau des réseaux. Des barrières pour une gestion réussie du réseau et des implications connexes pour la pratique de gestion de réseau y sont également définies.

Mots clés: gestion du réseau ; réseautage interorganisation ; relations entre les entreprises et les gouvernements ; internationalisation ; clubs d'entreprises.

IJEMS 10 (1) : 93-126

Povzetki

LITERARNE REPREZENTACIJE NE-ČLOVEŠKEGA SVETA V ROMANIH *PES Z ATLANTIDE* MATETA DOLENCA IN *MORJE BERNHARDA KELLERMANNNA*: EKOKRITIŠKI POGLED NA DVE EVROPSKI OTOŠKI KULTURI

Tanja Badalič

Prispevek najprej na kratko predstavi ekokritiko kot disciplino, ki preučuje odnos med literaturo in fizičnim okoljem, ter njeno prakso, ki spodbuja k bolj etični interakciji s svetom. Osrednja pozornost je namenjena ekokritičnemu pogledu na romana *Pes z Atlantide* Mateta Dolenca in *Morje* Bernharda Kellermannna z namenom ugotoviti, kako je ne-človeški svet reprezentiran v obeh delih. Kulturna identiteta dveh evropskih otoških skupnosti (Biševo in Ouessant) se tako odseva skozi reprezentacije človekovega odnosa do fizičnega okolja in ne-človeških živali. Ekokritičski pogled na romana ponuja ponovni razmislek o materialnih in kulturnih temeljih evropske družbe ter v bralcu spodbuja bolj biocentrično zavest o svetu.

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Ključne besede: ekokritika, antropocentrizem, biocentrizem, fizično okolje, evropske otoške kulture

IJEMS 10 (1): 3–21

VPLIV VLADNEGA DOLGA NA EKONOMSKO RAST: EMPIRIČNA RAZISKAVA LIBANONSKEGA TRGA

Hanadi Taher

Kopičenje libanonskega javnega dolga od leta 1990 postaja najbolj kritično in resno tveganje za prihodnjo gospodarsko rast in stabilnost države. Ta članek preučuje vpliv libanonskega javnega dolga na gospodarsko rast države s pomočjo ekonometrične analize, ki uporablja podatke za približno 26 let, z začetkom leta 1989. Podatki za raziskavo izhajajo iz podatkov libanonske centralne banke, IMF-a in svetovnih razvojnih kazalnikov. Za njihovo obdelavo je uporabljena regresija časovne vrste ob upoštevanju različnih spremenljivk, ki imajo vpliv na ekonomsko rast. Po preizkusu njihove robustnosti in ponazoritve s pomočjo ARMAXa, rezultati kažejo statistično znaten vpliv javnega dolga v BDP na libanonsko gospodarsko rast, cendar imajo različen predznak v primeru uporabe 128,8 % praga.



Ključne besede: libanonski javni dolg, gospodarska rast, prag javnega dolga, analiza časovnih vrst
IJEMS 10 (1): 23–40

UGOTAVLJANJE RAZNOLIKOSTI NA OTOKU RODOS V GRČIJI: DINAMIKA DRUGAČNOSTI, TRAUME IN INTEGRACIJE

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Otok Rodos v jugovzhodnem delu Grčije predstavlja vstopno točko mešanega migracijskega toka v Evropo. Hkrati je dom muslimanske skupnosti, ki tvori kulturno raznoliko skupino znotraj relativno homogene grške družbe. Upravljanje raznolikosti v Grčiji ter politike razločevanja na Rodosu v zadnjih stoletjih napeljujejo na impliciten proces drugačenja. Zgodovinski pogoji in sodobna družbena konjunktura na Rodosu kažejo na to, da čeprav skupnost doživlja postopno oddaljevanje od svoje kulturne prestolnice, se drugačnost ne konsolidira v družbeno trauma, ki tako ostaja «trauma na čakanju». Ta nepopolni proces v določeni meri določa stališče rodovskih muslimanov do muslimanskih beguncev in priseljencev, s katerimi sočustvujejo na humanitarni in individualni ravni, ne morejo pa opredeliti svoje vloge pri njihovi integraciji na ravni skupnosti, ki temelji na skupnih izkušnjah raznolikosti.

Ključne besede: begunci, priseljenci, muslimani, Rodos, Grčija, raznolikost, drugačnost, travma
IJEMS 10 (1): 42–71

PRIMERJALNA ANALIZA MIGRACIJSKE POLITIKE KAZAHSTANA V 18.–19. STOLETJU IN ITALIJE V 20.–21. STOLETJU

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Članek prikazuje, da je Kazahstan več kot stoletje območje aktivnega migracijskega gibanja. Krepitev migracijskih procesov je bila v večini primerov posledica določene odločitve države. Italija je bila izbrana za

študijo primera v sredozemski regiji kot država, ki je najbolj izpostavljena nezakonitemu preseljevanju po številu sprejetih ljudi za bivanje v bivalnih prostorih. Raziskave na področju migracijskih in integracijskih procesov v državah EU kot političnem, pravnem in družbeno-kulturnem pojavu imajo velik znanstveni in praktični pomen. Članek vsebuje podrobno analizo pravnih, zgodovinskih in družbenih področij italijanske družbe ter predlaga uporabo izkušenj Kazahstana pri reševanju vprašanja nezakonitega priseljevanja.

Ključne besede: preselitev narodov, migracijski trendi, uporaba zgodovinskih izkušenj, sredozemska regija, zgodovinska časovna perspektiva, večetnična družba
IJEMS 10 (1): 73–92

UPRAVLJANJE MEDORGANIZACIJSKIH OMREŽIJ ZA USPEŠNO INTERNACIONALIZACIJO POSLOVANJA

Iris Koleča, Andreja Jaklič

Prilagodljiva medorganizacijska omrežja, v katerih podjetja in vladne institucije delujejo kot partnerji, predstavljajo priložnost za povečanje uspešnosti internacionalizacije podjetij. Vendar pa je vloga tovrstnih omrežij pri spodbujanju internacionalizacije premalo raziskana. Tako se prispevek osredotoča na vprašanje, kako upravljati tovrstna medorganizacijska omrežja za večjo vpetost podjetij v medorganizacijsko mreženje, ki v procesu internacionalizacije vključuje tako odnose med podjetji kot tudi odnose med podjetji in vladnimi organizacijami. Teoretičnemu okviru o medorganizacijskem mreženju in upravljanju omrežij sledijo izsledki mednarodne ankete, ki vključuje 376 mednarodno aktivnih podjetij iz majhne evro-sredozemske države – Slovenije. Rezultati potrjujejo učne učinke mednarodnega medorganizacijskega mreženja in pokažejo, da velike razdalje med trgi, kompleksnost načina vstopa na trg in velikost podjetja pozitivno vplivajo na (institucionalizirano) medorganizacijsko mreženje podjetij med procesom internacionalizacije. Pri tem je grajenje odnosov med podjetji bolj prisotno in iskano v začetnih stopnjah internacionalizacije, odnosi med podjetji in vladnimi organizacijami pa v njenih kasnejših fazah. Internacionalizacijo prek medorganizacijskega mreženja med drugim ovira slabo upravljanje omrežij – tako z vidika upravljanja celotnega omrežja, kakor tudi na ravni upravljanja znotraj omrežja.



Ključne besede: upravljanje mrež; medorganizacijsko mreženje; odnosi med podjetji in vlado; internacionalizacija; poslovni klubi
IJEMS 10 (1): 93–126



التمثيل الأدبي في العالم للأدبي في رواية مات دولنك (الكلب من أطلنتس) و
ويرنهارد كلرمان (البحر): ثقافة جزيرية أوروبية من منظور النقد البيئي
تأنيه باداليتس

يقدم هذا البحث باختصار النقد الإيكولوجي أو البيئي كمنهج لدراسة العلاقة بين الأدب والطبيعية إلى جانب ممارساته التي تشجع تفاعل أخلاقي أكثر مع العالم. سيكون التركيز على منظور النقد البيئي لمارتن دولنك "الكلب من أطلنتس" وويرنهارد كلرمان "البحر" من أجل اكتشاف كيف يتمثل العالم للأدبي في الروايتين عن طريق تمثيل العلاقة الإنسانية بالطبيعية والحيوانات للأدبية حيث تتعكس الهوية الثقافية لاثان من المجتمعات الأوروبية الجزيرية – بيشيفو وأوشنات. يعرض منظور النقد البيئي للروايات إمكانية إعادة التفكير في جوهر وأصل ثقافة المجتمع الأوروبي كما يحفز القارئ ليكون أكثر إدراكاً بالعالم.

الكلمات الأساسية: النقد البيئي، المركزية الإنسانية، المركزية الحيوية، الطبيعة، الثقافات الجزيرية الأوروبية

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أثر الدين العام للحكومة على النمو الاقتصادي: تحقيق تجريبي للسوق اللبناني

هنادي طاهر

يمثل تراكم الدين العام للحكومة اللبنانية خطر بالغ الأهمية بالنسبة لنمو البلد الاقتصادي واستقراره. يستقصى هذا البحث أثر الدين العام للحكومة اللبنانية على نموها الاقتصادي عن طريق تحليل الاقتصاد القياسي من خلال استخدام بيانات بداية من عام ١٩٨٩ ولمدة ٢٦ عاماً. استعان البحث ببيانات مصدرها البنك المركزي اللبناني وصندوق النقد الدولي ومؤشرات التنمية العالمية تم تراجع في تحليل السلاسل الزمنية الأساسية مع الأخذ في الاعتبار المتغيرات المختلفة التي لديها تأثير على النمو الاقتصادي. بعد اختبار قوتها والذي يتضح من خلال نموذج الانحدار الذاتي والمتوسط المتحرك، اوضحت النتائج وفقاً للإحصائيات أن للدين العام تأثير كبير على إجمالي الناتج المحلي للنمو الاقتصادي اللبناني مع التغيير بناء على حد يبلغ

تعريف التنوع في جزر رودس في اليونان: ديناميكا الآخر والصدمة والاندماج
باناجيوتوس كيمورتيز، جورجوس كوكينوس، ايانوس ف. باباجورجيو، بوليكاربوس كارماميوس

تعتبر جزيرة رودس والتي تقع في الجزء الشرقي- الجنوبي لليونان مدخل لتدفق الهجرة المختلطة لأوروبا وهي في نفس الوقت بيت لمجتمع مسلم يشكل مجموعة من الناس المتنوعة ثقافيا داخل مجتمع يوناني متجانس نسبيا. تعد الطريقة التي تتم بها إدارة التنوع في اليونان وخاصة السياسات الانقسامية التي تم اتخاذها خلال القرون الماضية في رودس جزء من عملية أخرى ضمنية. الظروف التاريخية والوضع الاجتماعي المعاصر في رودس يرجح انه على الرغم من أن المجتمع يتعد تدريجيا عن الثقافة الرئيسية إلا أن العملية الأخرى لا تقوم بتعزيز صدمة اجتماعيه، مما يجعلها "صدمة مؤجلة". تحدد هذه العملية الغير مكتملة إلى درجة ما موقف المسلمين في رودس تجاه المسلمين اللاجئين والمهاجرين الذين يتعاطفوا معهم على مستوى انساني وفردى فقط ولا يستطيعوا تعريف دورهم في الاندماج بناء على الخبرة المشتركة في التنوع على المستوى المجتمع المحلي.

الكلمات الأساسية: اللاجئين، المهاجرين، المسلمين، الرودس، التنوع، الآخر، الصدمة
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تحليل مقارن عن سياسة كازاخستان للهجرة من القرن ١٨ إلى القرن ١٩ وسياسة إيطاليا
للهجرة من القرن ٢٠ إلى ٢١

أجيل ب. تاشكوزينا، أجيل م. بالزاهانوف، تولىكان أ. إيرشيفا، أوتجن أ. ايسنوف، آينيش ب. أناسنوف، زامزاجل ب. شاخمان

تتناول المقالة كيف كانت كازاخستان منطقة شهدت حركة هجرة نشيطة وكيف كان يعتبر تكثيف طرق الهجرة في معظم الحالات نتيجة لقرار معين من قبل الدولة. تم اختبار دولة إيطاليا كنموذج دراسة للهجرة الغير قانونية بشأن قبول الإقامة للأفراد. أن البحث في موضوع عملية الهجرة والاندماج في دول الاتحاد الأوربي كظاهرة سياسية وقانونية واجتماعية ثقافية أصبح يحظى اهتمام علمي وعملي. تتناول المقالة أيضا تحليل مفصل للمجالات القانونية والتاريخية والاجتماعية للمجتمع الإيطالي وتقترح استخدام تجربة كازاخستان كنموذج لحل مشكلة الهجرة الغير قانونية.

الكلمات الأساسية: إعادة توطين الأمة، توجهات الهجرة، الاستفادة بالتجارب التاريخية، منطقة البحر المتوسط، منظور تاريخي، المجتمعات المتعددة الأعراق.

النص بالكامل: المجلة الدولية للدراسات الأرومتوسطية العدد رقم ١٠ (١): ٧٣-٩٢

إدارة شبكات البين-نظامية من أجل تدويل أعمال ناجح

أيريس كولشا، أندريه ياكلينس

تعتبر الشبكات البين-نظامية المرنة فرصة لتحسين فاعلية التدويل بحيث تكون العلاقة بين الشركات والهيئات الحكومية علاقة شراكة. لا يزال دور تيسير التدويل غير مكتشف بالشكل المطلوب ولكن في هذه الدراسة نستعين بأندية الأعمال كمثال لكيف يمكن لإدارة الشبكات البين-نظامية دعم الموارد المتاحة عن طريق ربط الشبكات في تدويل الأعمال. في إطار نظري عن ربط الشبكات البين-نظامية وإدارة الشبكة بالإضافة إلى نتائج استبيان يضم ٣٦٧ شركة دولية عاملة من دول أورو متوسطية صغيرة، نؤكد على الآثار التعليمية لربط الشبكات البين-نظامية ونوضح العلاقة الإيجابية بين مسافة السوق وصعوبة دخول السوق وحجم الشركة وبين (تأسيه) ربط الشبكات البين-النظامية طيلة التدويل. يعتبر إدارة ربط الشبكات عامل نجاح غير مستغل كما ينبغي في مجال تدويل أندية الأعمال على مستوى حوكمة الشبكة والإدارة داخل الشبكات. نعرف العواقب أمام إدارة الشبكات والنتائج ذات صلة لممارسات إدارة الشبكات.

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