

**DRUŠTVENE ZNANOSTI
SOCIAL SCIENCES**

Društvene znanosti 1/HR

SAŽETAK

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U svojoj knjizi "Crna ovca i sivi sokol" objavljenoj 1941. godine, Rebecca West je ostavila trajnu i negativnu predodžbu o Hrvatima u mislima mnogih diljem svijeta, a posebno u Sjedinjenim američkim državama i u zapadnoj Europi. Nazvala je Hrvate idiotima zbog njihove lojalnosti Austro-Ugarskoj monarhiji i beogradskom režimu. Hrvatska lojalnost opresivnim režimima koji su je držali u ropstvu, nagrađena je još većim ropstvom. Danas stvari stoje drugačije. Hrvatska je napokon slobodna, demokratska nacija s definiranim granicama, nadomak pridruživanju Europskoj uniji i izgrađuje svoj vlastiti kulturni identitet. Štoviše, Hrvatska je napokon nadomak tome da je prepoznaju i cijene zbog njenih prošlih i budućih postignuća dok se povezuje i sudjeluje u pletori drugih unija na globalnom nivou. I mora biti mudra u svojim odabirima.

U tom se pogledu, ciljevi Hrvatske ne razlikuju od onih drugih država koje se smatraju zapadnim. Britanci su se "prodali" za one koji su izumili Magna Carta-u, i ta pozitivna predodžba je uvelike izbrisala njihovu povijest okrutnog imperijalizma. Tko se uopće sjeća ili mari da je Italija, u stvari, izumila fašizam? Danas, kad ljudi razmišljaju o Italij, misle na kulturne ikone kao što su pica, umjetnost Michelangela i dobre cipele i vina. Kad ljudi razmišljaju o Sarajevu, misle na Zimske olimpijske igre, a ne na brutalni rat koji se čini neshvatljivim. Sjedinjene američke države teško su bile pogođene slikama Abu Ghraiba i Guantanamo, a ovaj sadašnji rat često se uspoređuje s Vijetnamom, ali je još uvijek trajno umotana u ikonu demokracije i zemlje u kojoj vlada pravda. Koja je asocijacija kod ljudi diljem svijeta, govoreći s gledišta kulture, kada čuju pojam Hrvatska? U najboljem slučaju misle na neke naše košarkaše u Americi, na Gorana Ivaniševića i na Vukovar.

Ne predlažem marketinšku kampanju za Hrvatsku u staromodnom smislu propagande. Nego, iz perspektive kulturalnih studija i društvenih znanosti, predlažem da Hrvati stvore svoju predodžbu o novom svijetu u koji ulaze. Staromodni izrazi "zapadni" i "moderan" neadekvatno opisuju današnji svijet. Govoreći kulturalno, to je postmoderno doba u kojem je predodžba o nekoj naciji jednako, ako ne i važnija od staromodnog fokusiranja na naoružanje, teritorij, bogatstvo, industriju i objektivnu moć. Danas, svi koji gledaju televiziju su i globalni porotnici, i istog časa donose neki emocionalni sud za ili protiv nečega ili nekoga koga vide. Sve koji se pojavljuju u javnim medijima procjenjuju oni njima ravni - i što je najvažnije, svi se osjećaju jednakima čak i s najneobičnijim osobama. Obični su ljudi tugovali za princezom Dijanom kao da im je bila prijateljica, i obični su ljudi vjerovali da je predsjednik Clinton osjećao njihovu bol kad je rekao da ju je osjećao. Meksikanska umjetnica Frida Kahlo preobražena je, i odista je i postala, nacionalno umjetničko blago u Meksiku nakon filma o njoj - ali to je bio film zbog kojeg su ljudi uspostavili "odnos" i "vezu" s njom. Ključno u ovome je, kao što je uočio sociolog David Riesman da je u porastu preusmjeravanje. U porastu je u svim strukama i disciplinama, od vojne i policijske, do prava i medicine, pojedinac mora usmjeriti svoju stručnost ka mišljenju i osjećajima drugih ljudi kao da su njemu ravni. Procjenjuju se profesori, liječnici se moraju znati ophoditi s

pacijentima, a države moraju surađivati globalno. U konačnici, pojedinac mora biti omiljen kako bi bio uspješan - i to se odnosi jednako na narode kao i na pojedince. Ta promjena na planu društvene klime je veoma različita u odnosu na nekad, kada je mišljenje drugih imalo veoma malo utjecaja u procjenjivanju uspjeha.

Samodopadnost više nije dovoljna za uspjeh. Uzmimo na primjer umjetnost mojeg djeda Ivana Meštrovića. Nekad je bio međunarodno priznati umjetnik, premda, i to krivo, kao srpski umjetnik. Ali danas, usprkos objektivne ljepote njegove umjetnosti, njegovo ime nije poslovična uzrečica kao Rodin koji još uvijek služi na čast Francuskoj. A čini se da je jednostavan razlog za to što se u godinama nakon njegove smrti 1962. godine, njegova umjetnost nije dovoljno izlagala izvan Hrvatske. Nema filma o njemu, a malo je i knjiga. Govoreći simbolično, njega su mumificirali u muzejima u hrvatskoj i prestao je biti kulturna vrijednost za Hrvatsku. Isto se može reći i za Nikolu Teslu čiji je genij i kulturnu vrijednost zasjenio Amerikanac Thomas Edison. Lako je zamisliti što bi učinili Britanci, Francuzi i Amerikanci da su oni imali Nikolu Teslu ili jednog Ivana Meštrovića ili bilo koju drugu kulturnu ikonu. Oni bi humanizirali, personalizirali i povezali s ikonom. Na sličan način, Hrvatska ima nekoliko najljepših plaža na svijetu, planine, ljetovališta, hranu i druga bogatstva koja su san svakog turista. Ipak, teško je rezervirati putovanje iz Amerike u Hrvatsku ako to uključuje hrvatsku aviokompaniju. U velikim i malim stvarima, hrvatska kultura nije onoliko dostupna drugim ljudima - kulturalno, emocionalno i fizički - kao što bi mogla biti. A čini se da je osnovni razlog toga što Hrvatska još nije dovoljno preusmjerena. Njena kulturna bogatstva se tek trebaju prepoznati kao bogatstva koja će otkriti ne-Hrvati, i što je još važnije, moraju simbolizirati Hrvatsku. S jedne strane, Hrvatska treba razviti i promovirati svoj kulturni identitet na preusmjeren način. S druge strane, mora se oduprijeti kulturnom ropstvu društvenih silnica čak i silnicama multinacionalnih korporacija. Na primjer, mekdonaldizacija je jedna stvarna društvena silnica koja je penetrirala u mnoge narode i unosi organizaciju života na američki način ali također utječe i na lokalne obrasce prehrane i obiteljskog druženja. Mekdonaldizacija ne pogađa samo restorane. Imamo i mekonalizaciju fakulteta, bolnica, knjižnica, pravnih i drugih birokratskih tijela. Pretjerana racionalnost, učinkovitost, predvidljivost i kontrola, mogu ugušiti spontanost i radost kako pojedinaca tako i grupa. Ako je imperijalizam na stari način oslabio, kulturni imperijalizam ga je zamijenio. Kao i drugi narodi, Hrvatska mora pronaći svoj glas, ali njen se glas ne smije utopiti u buci.

Mnogo će se diskutirati o praktičnim i specifičnim koracima koje Hrvatska mora poduzeti kako bi ušla u kulturnu orbitu koja će je, nadajmo se, odvesti ka većem napretku, u demokraciju, pravdu i druge dobrobiti koje su ljudi oduvijek priželjkivali. Neki skeptici vjeruju da ta dobra više ne postoje kao autentični fenomeni i da najviše čemu se pojedinac može nadati je simuliranje tih dobara koja će ostati samo prazne geste. Na drugoj su krajnosti idealisti koji izražavaju staru, naivnu vjeru u utopiju.. Svaka razumna osoba zna da ispravan put leži između ta dva ekstrema. Mora postojati srednji put između samozadovoljne samodopadnosti koju drugi ne uočavaju i slijepo žudnje za odobravanjem drugih koja uništava autentičnost. Hrvatska mora započeti složenu "jezičnu igru" u kojoj će se emocionalno "priključiti" drugima u informacijsko doba a istovremeno sačuvati svoj autentičan kulturni identitet.

Social sciences 1/ENG

ABSTRACT

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In her book, *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon*, which was published in 1941, Rebecca West left an enduring and negative image of Croatians in the minds of many people all over the world, and especially in the USA and Western Europe. She referred to Croatians as idiotic because of their loyalty to Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Belgrade regime. Croatian loyalty to oppressive regimes that kept them in servitude was rewarded with still more servitude. Things are different now. Croatia is finally a free, democratic nation with defined borders, on the verge of joining the EU and of fashioning its own cultural self-identity. Moreover, Croatia is on the verge of finally being identified and appreciated for its past and future cultural achievements as it joins and participates in a plethora of other unions on a global scale. And it must be smart in the choices it makes.

Croatia's goals in this regard are not different from other nation-states that are regarded as Western. The British have "sold" themselves as the people who invented the Magna Carta, and this positive image has largely erased their history of cruel imperialism. Who remembers or cares that Italy, in fact, invented fascism? Nowadays, when most people think of Italy, they think of cultural icons such as pizza, Michelangelo's art, and fine shoes and wine. When most people think of Sarajevo, they think of the winter Olympics, not the brutal war that seems incomprehensible. The USA has been hurt terribly by the images of Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo, and its current war is increasingly compared with Vietnam, but it still wraps itself up in its enduring icons of democracy and as the land of the rule of law. What do people around the world associate, culturally speaking, when they hear the word, Croatia? At best, they think of some basketball players in the USA, Goran Ivanisević, and Vukovar.

I am not proposing a marketing campaign for Croatia in the old-fashioned sense of propaganda. Rather, and from the perspectives of cultural studies and the social sciences, I am proposing that Croatians need to envision the parameters of the new world they are entering. The old-fashioned words, "Western" and "modern," no longer capture this world adequately. It is a postmodern world, culturally speaking, in which a nation's cultural image is as important if not more important than the old-fashioned focus on weapons, territory, wealth, industry, and objective power. Nowadays, everyone in the world who watches television serves as a global juror, and instantly makes an emotional decision for or against what or whom they see. Everyone who appears in media is judged by the jury of their peers-and most importantly, everyone feels like a peer even to the most extraordinary person. Ordinary people grieved for Princess Diana as if she were their girlfriend, and ordinary people believed that president Clinton felt their pain when he said that he did. The Mexican artist Frida Kahlo was transformed into and became a national art treasure in Mexico after a film was made about her-but it was a film which made people "relate" to and "connect" with her. The key point here is that, as the sociologist

David Riesman observed, the world is becoming increasingly redirected. Increasingly, in all the professions and disciplines, from the military and police to law and medicine, one must direct one's expertise at the opinions and emotions of other people perceived as one's equals. Professors are evaluated, doctors must have a bedside manner, and nation-states must cooperate with the global community. In the end, one must be liked by others in order to succeed-and this applies to nations as well as individuals. This change in social climate has by far departed from the old days when the approval of others counted very little for judging success.

Self-approval is no longer sufficient for success. Take the example of my grandfather, the artist Ivan Meštrović. He was once well-known internationally, albeit, and mistakenly, as a Serbian artist. But today, despite the objective beauty of his art, his name is not a household word like that of Rodin, who still brings honor to France. And the simple reason seems to be that during the many years since his death in 1962, his art was not exhibited sufficiently outside Croatia. There is no film about him, and hardly any books. Symbolically speaking, he has been mummified in his museums in Croatia, and has ceased to bring cultural value to Croatia. Much the same can be said for Nikola Tesla, whose genius and cultural value are eclipsed by the American, Thomas Edison. One can easily imagine what the British, French, and the Americans would have done had they had a Nikola Tesla or an Ivan Mestrovic or any other cultural icon. They would humanize, personalize, and connect with the icon. Similarly, Croatia has some of the world's most beautiful beaches, mountains, resorts, food and other treasures that would make it any tourist's dream. Yet it is difficult to book a trip to Croatia from the USA if the flight involves Croatia Airlines. In big ways and small, Croatian culture is not as accessible to other people-culturally, emotionally, and physically--as it could be. And the primary reason seems to be that Croatia is not yet sufficiently redirected. Its cultural treasures still need to be perceived as treasures, discovered by non-Croatians, and more importantly, need to be associated symbolically with Croatia.

On the one hand, Croatia needs to develop and promote its cultural identity in a redirected way. On the other hand, it needs to resist going into cultural servitude to other social forces, even the forces of multinational corporations. For example, the MacDonalidization of society is a very real social force that has penetrated into many nations and brings in American-styled organization but also impacts local-styled patterns of eating and socializing with one's family. MacDonalidization affects not only restaurants. There exists also the MacDonalidization of universities, hospitals, libraries, law offices and other bureaucracies. Excessive rationality, efficiency, predictability, and control can stifle spontaneity and joy in individuals as well as groups. If old-fashioned imperialism has waned, cultural imperialism has replaced it. Like other nations, Croatia needs to find its own voice even as it listens to the voices of other nations, but its voice must not be drowned in the noise.

There will be much discussion of what practical and specific steps Croatia needs to take in order to get into the cultural orbits that will hopefully lead to greater prosperity, democracy, justice and other goods that all peoples have always desired. Some cynics believe that these goods no longer exist as authentic phenomena, and that the best that one can hope for is the simulation of these goods that will remain empty gestures. On the other extreme, there are idealists who

express the age-old, naive faith in utopianism. Every reasonable person knows that the correct path lies somewhere between these two extremes. Between smug self-approval that is not noticed by others and a blind craving for the approval of others that destroys authenticity, there must lie a middle path. Croatia needs to enter a complex "language game" in which it will "connect" emotionally to others in the information age and at the same time that preserve its authentic cultural identity.

Društvene znanosti 2/HR

HRVATSKA U PROCESU GLOBALIZACIJE ZNANOSTI: ULOGA HRVATSKIH ZNANSTVENIKA I TZV. ZNANSTVENE DIJASPORE I SPECIFIČNOSTI DRUŠTVENIH ZNANOSTI

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1. Specifičnosti društvenih znanosti u procesu globalizacije

Znanost je, uz umjetnost, vjerojatno ono područje u kojemu je ponajprije započeo proces globalizacije. Dapače, čini se kako bi se lako mogla braniti teza o tome kako je globalnost inherentna znanost: znanstvenim istinama smatramo one tvrdnje koje prihvaća (međunarodna) znanstvena javnost. Vjerojatno je to razlog da ni najžešći protivnici globalizacije ne osporavaju univerzalnost znanosti. Univerzalnost znanosti obuhvaća dva zahtjeva: širenje znanja o što većem broju znanstvenih otkrića te diseminaciju toga znanja maksimalno širokom krugu ljudi. Ali, suvremeno društvo, izgleda, pomalo napušta idealistički koncept znanosti kao općeg dobra čovječanstva i integrira znanost u svijet biznisa. Komercijalizacija znanja nameće određene granice tom procesu komercijalizacije, uvodeći pozitivne i negativne elemente. S jedne je strane očito da komercijalizacija postavlja granice edukaciji i znanosti. Obrazovanje i znanost sve više postaju gospodarska/paragospodarska djelatnost ili se na nju reduciraju. To je na pojavnj razini prepoznatljivo po tome što se u mnogim državama školovanje (od osnovnog do visokog) sve više provodi kroz privatna učilišta (koja se financiraju školarinama). Nadalje, čak i države koje su tradicionalno imale besplatno (ili jeftino) visoko obrazovanje uvode školarine pa dio troška obrazovanja s proračuna prebacuju na građane. Takvu ocjenu ne mijenja ni činjenica da mnoge od država imaju razvijen sustav stipendiranja i kreditiranja studenata. Ali, bilo bi nedostavno spomenutu tendenciju oslikati samo mračnom paletom. Ta tendencija može izgledati mračno iz rakursa pojedinaca (studenata, njihovih obitelji) koji s nostalgijom gledaju na vremena kada studij nije bio takav teret za njihove kućne budžete. Isto tako, navedeni koncept financiranja obrazovanja određenom krugu siromašnijih građana onemogućava obrazovanje. Međutim američki model visokog obrazovanja, prožet komercijalnim interesima, koji se često označava kao ekstremno kompetitivan, rezultirao je vrlo pozitivnom selekcijom i vrhunskim rezultatima. Upravo novonaglašena ekonomska komponenta znanosti i obrazovanja, koja je nužno vezuje za gospodarstvo, naglašava globalnu komponentu znanosti i obrazovanja. U zadnjoj instanci globalnost očekuje univerzalnu primjenjivost znanstvenih dostignuća i pokretljivost kadrova, sukladno ekonomskim kriterijima i interesima. Ona pretpostavlja usporedivost i harmoniziranost, kako na razini formalnog i sadržajnog konvergiranja nacionalnih znanstvenih i obrazovnih sustava (Bolonjski proces, ECTS bodovi, tzv. prepoznatljivost i usporedivost, Europski prostor visokog obrazovanja, Europski istraživački prostor, načini osiguranja kvalitete visokoškolskih ustanova i programa i dr.). Iako hrvatsko visoko obrazovanje (pa slijedom toga i znanost) najvećim dijelom prati tzv. humboldtovski (njemački) model sveučilišta, očito je da taj model, čak i u Njemačkoj, posustaje pred američkim modelom. Jasne ocjene o predugom i neefikasnom studiranju u Njemačkoj, koje je preskupo čak i njemačkoj državi,

moгу biti tek utjehom, a nikako opravdanjem za isto ili još teųe stanje u hrvatskom obrazovnom sustavu. Razvoj obrazovnog sustava u europskim drųavama očitо vodi ka primjeni nekih američkih iskustava (komercijalizacija, kompetitivnost, deetatizacija znanosti i obrazovanja), ali ne i potpunom, nekritičkom preuzimanju američkog modela. Dakako, i taj proces, bez obzira koliko bio više ili manje dubok, predstavlja oblik globalizacije znanosti i visokog obrazovanja.

2. Društvene znanosti i globalizacija

Upravo je globalizacija točka na kojoj treba uočiti specifičnosti društvenih znanosti odnosno gotovo očitо činjenicu da rezultati istraživanja mnogih društvenih znanosti (pravo, ekonomija, nacionalna povijest, discipline vezane uz nacionalnu kulturu, npr.) imaju nacionalni karakter. To znači da je predmet njihova izučavanja tek usputno ili sporedno zanimljiv izvan nacionalnih okvira, posebno kada je riječ o malim drųavama poput Hrvatske. Rezultati tih izučavanja primjenjivi su uglavnom u okviru vlastite drųave. Iako od takve karakterizacije ima iznimaka (međunarodno pravo, npr.), a i ukupan proces globalizacije objektivno smanjuje područje nacionalnih specifičnosti, to ne mijenja opću ocjenu o nacionalnom karakteru nekih društvenih znanosti.

Sljedeće su posljedice nacionalnog karaktera nekih rezultata istraživanja društvenih znanosti:

1. *teritorijalno i personalno ograničen interes za nacionalne discipline* (izvan drųave tek rijetki znanstvenici i praktičari imaju interes za rezultate znanstvenih istraživanja koja se specifično odnose na hrvatsko društvo)
2. *teritorijalna ograničenost rezultata* (primijenjivost rezultata, uglavnom je u nacionalnim okvirima)
3. *nemogućnost uspostavljanja posve jasnih kriterija usporedivosti i međunarodnog vrednovanja* (osim što nema osobitog interesa za objavljivanje radova u inozemnim časopisima, ti su radovi često slabije kvalitete od istovrsnih, objavljenih u domaćim. Naime, strane čitatelje ne zanimaju detalji i fineise, primjerice hrvatskog kaznenog prava, već glavne i općenite značajke, čije iznošenje vrlo često, po prirodi stvari, ne doseųe razinu izvornog znanstvenog rada)
4. *teškoće u plasmanu znanstvenih istraživanja i njihovih rezultata izvan drųave*
5. *teškoće u pronalaųenju inozemnih partnera za zajedničke projekte*
6. *smanjena percepcija inozemnih rezultata istraživanja* (zbog česte nemogućnosti primjene na domaću situaciju).

Zaključak koji iz navedenog treba izvesti svakako **NIJE** taj da je nevažno objavljivati radove u inozemstvu ili imati zajedničke znanstvene projekte s inozemnim znanstvenicima. Upravo suprotno tome, valja zaključiti kako su objavljivanje kvalitetnih znanstvenih radova i znanstvena suradnja s inozemstvom na planu društvenih znanosti teųe ostvarivi, da njihova priprema i realizacija traųi posebne napore i da ih treba dodatno vrednovati. S druge strane, polazeći od nacionalnog karaktera nekih društvenih znanosti, treba formirati specifične kriterije vrednovanja, ponešto različite (ali ne i manje zahtjevne) od onih koji vrijede za "univerzalne" znanosti.

3. Teze o pretpostavkama za uspješnu znanstvenu i obrazovnu suradnju s inozemstvom u društvenim znanostima

Polazeći od specifičnosti društvenih znanosti, moguće je postaviti nekoliko teza o načinu na koji se mogu/trebaju uspostavljati različiti oblici međunarodne znanstvene suradnje. Neke od ovih teza mogu biti primijenjive i na ostale znanstvene discipline.

1. Da bi se ostvarili projekti temeljno financirani iznozemnim fondovima, potrebno je projektni zadatak postaviti na način koji je interesantan inozemnom partneru. Njegov je interes u području društvenih znanosti najčešće ekonomske i/ili političke prirode. Interdisciplinarnost projekata gotovo da se pretpostavlja.
2. Potrebno je istražiti učinke (pozitivne i negativne) tzv. odljeva mozgova. Katastrofične teze o stotinu i više tisuća mladih i obrazovanih osoba koje su napustile Hrvatsku (pa i koristeći različite oblike međunarodne obrazovne i znanstvene suradnje) u zadnje se vrijeme istraživačkim pristupom dovode u pitanje. Prema recentnim istraživanjima, "odljev mozgova" je u zadnjih desetak godina bio daleko manji od onoga što se u javnosti iznosi (v. Mirjana Adamović, Silva Mežnarić: Potencijalni i stvarni "odljev" znanstvenog podmlatka iz Hrvatske: empirijsko istraživanje).
3. Tzv. znanstvena dijaspora, koju i na području društvenih znanosti čine iznimno ugledni znanstvenici, premalo je uključena u hrvatske znanstvene projekte i obrazovni proces na hrvatskim sveučilištima. Ugled i kontakti koje ti znanstvenici imaju mogu pomoći u pokretanju i vođenju znanstvenih projekata s inozemstvom (joint research projects).
4. Poželjno je da vrsni znanstvenici iz tzv. znanstvene dijaspore, a i inozemni znanstvenici, budu više uključeni u obrazovni i znanstveni proces u Hrvatskoj (joint appointments). Osim kvalitetnijih rezultata, može se očekivati da bi to uključivanje rezultiralo i već i srednjoročnim, a napose dugoročnim podizanjem kriterija vrednovanja u znanosti i obrazovanju.
5. Povratak (stalni ili povremeni: kroz projekte ili kondenziranu nastavu) znanstvene dijaspore, prihvatanje inozemnih znanstvenika (iz razvijenih ali i manje razvijenih zemalja) i pokretljivost znanstvenika, pojavu "odljeva" mozgova može pretvoriti u "cirkulaciju mozgova". Cirkulacija mozgova pretpostavlja i cirkulaciju znanja, što je posebno važno za zemlje u tranziciji.
6. Nakanu o zamjeni "odljeva mozgova" njihovom "cirkulacijom" treba operacionalizirati raznovrsnim poticajnim mjerama. Razlozi nezadovoljstva i napuštanje Hrvatske leže u dramatičnoj razlici u mogućnostima znanstvenog istraživanja i profesionalnog napretka (uvjeti rada, njegovo vrednovanje, ..)
7. Razvojni ciljevi znanosti i visokog obrazovanja moraju biti međunarodnih aspiracija, ali i realni. U pravilu, znanstveni rezultati ovise o dugoročnom i kvalitetnom ulaganju u obrazovanje i znanost. Činjenica je da ekonomska situacija u Hrvatskoj (a i politički prioriteti) ne idu na ruku potrebnim ulaganjima u znanost i obrazovanje. Čak kada bi se sutra nivo ulaganja u znanost i obrazovanje podigao na znatno višu razinu od postojeće, rezultati bi se, u pravilu, pokazali tek za koju godinu.
8. Razmjene, stipendije, međunarodne konferencije, koliko je moguće, trebali bi biti u funkciji konkretnih znanstvenih (međunarodnih) projekata.

9. Iako je poželjno i razumljivo da hrvatska znanost "gleda na zapad" (zbog znanstvenih, tehnoloških, ekonomskih pa i političkih razloga), treba imati u vidu činjenicu da hrvatska znanost u odnosu na manje razvijene zemlje može biti izvozni artikl.
10. U Hrvatskoj (posebice u društvenim znanostima) ne postoji mehanizam kojim bi se definirale specifične potrebe za znanstvenim projektima. Umjesto da, barem za dio istraživanja koje financira, država odredi projektni zadatak prema određenoj društvenoj potrebi, projekti uglavnom nastaju kao rezultat interesa pojedinih istraživača. Pri tome, činjenica da ne postoje jasni kriteriji vrednovanja, društvena relevantnost projekata na vrlo je niskoj razini. Kada bi se praksa promijenila i kada bi država, kao najveći "naručilj" projekata jasno odredila projektni zadatak, mogao bi se raspisati i međunarodni natječaj za njegovo izvršenje. Na takvim projektima, posebno ako su relevantni i za neku drugu državu, otvorile bi se nove mogućnosti zajedničkih ulaganja u znanost.
11. Plasman hrvatske znanosti i znanstvenika (razmjene, zajednički projekti, stipendije, znanstvena afirmacija objavljivanjem radova u inozemstvu i dr.) traži "znanstveni marketing". Između ostalog, on znači odgovarajuću prisutnost na internetu, brigu o plasmanu radova u inozemne časopise koja prelazi osobne kontakte znanstvenika, tuzemne publikacije na stranim jezicima i njihov plasman u relevantne biblioteke i na tržište.

4. Je li čaša puna ili prazna

Ocjena o sposobnosti naše znanosti i visokog obrazovanja da nađe mjesto na globalnom tržištu znanja uglavno se slika tamnim bojama. Kao i fenomen "odljeva mozgova", i ocjena o slabosti znanosti i obrazovanja često je paušalna. Posebno se u javnosti lošim ocjenjuju upravo društvene znanosti. Prvi korak u određivanju strategije hrvatskog uključivanja u globalni (ili barem europski prostor znanosti i obrazovanja) pretpostavlja realno vrednovanje koje uvažava i parametre koji se danas često zanemaruju. Uvažavanje ekonomske i demografske snage/slabosti hrvatskog društva, stupnja razvoja institucija, ali i nacionalnog ili univerzalnog karaktera pojedine znanstvene discipline moglo bi dovesti do nešto drukčije ocjene o sposobnostima hrvatskih znanstvenika za kompeticiju s inozemstvom. Teza kako je naša znanost upravo onakva ili čak malo bolja nego što bi se to očekivalo s obzirom na financijske i demografske potencijale Hrvatske (implicitno, akademik Vladimir Paar) možda ne bi pomakla Hrvatsku za osjetno veći broj mjesta na ljestvici uspješnosti, ali bi pomogla realnom postavljanju aspiracija. A realno vrednovanje moglo bi imati i drugi efekt. Ako se zaista pokaže da su znanstveni dometi Hrvatske više ili manje razmjerni našim potencijalima, nepoticajni stup srama na kojemu se danas nalaze hrvatska znanost (posebno ona društvena) i visoko obrazovanje, mogao bi se zamijeniti poticajnom atmosferom kompeticije i optimizma. Zato je polupuna čaša znatno bolja od one poluprazne.

Social sciences 2/ENG

**CROATIA IN THE PROCESS OF THE GLOBALIZATION OF KNOWLEDGE:
THE ROLES OF CROATIAN SCIENTISTS, THE SCIENTIFIC DIASPORA
AND THE SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES**

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1. Specific Aspects of the Social Sciences in the Process of Globalization

Science, together with art, is probably the area in which the process of globalization began. Indeed, it appears that it would be easy to defend the assertion that globalism is inherent to the sciences because we consider scientific truths to be assertions that are accepted by the (international) scientific public. This is probably the reason that even the fiercest opponents of globalization do not deny the universality of the sciences. The universality of the sciences includes two prerequisites: spreading knowledge about the largest possible number of scientific discoveries and disseminating this knowledge to the widest possible circle of people. However, it appears that contemporary society is somewhat abandoning the idealistic concept of the sciences as a general good for humankind and is integrating science into the world of business. The commercialization of knowledge imposes certain boundaries upon the process of commercialization, introducing positive and negative elements. From the one side, it is evident that commercialization poses limits to education and science. Education and science are increasingly becoming economic/para-economic activities or are being reduced to them. On the phenomenological level, this is recognizable in that in many countries education (from elementary to higher education) is increasingly being conducted through private schools (financed by the students). Furthermore, even countries that have traditionally had free (or inexpensive) higher education are introducing tuition fees and part of the costs of education from the budget are defrayed by citizens. This assessment does not change the fact that many of the countries have a developed system of scholarships and student loans. However, it would be incomplete to portray this tendency in solely gloomy tones. This tendency may seem gloomy from the angle of the individual (the students, their families) that remember with nostalgia the time when university study was not such a burden on their household budgets. Similarly, the previously mentioned concept of financing education makes education unattainable to a certain circle of impoverished citizens. However, the American model of higher education, permeated with commercial interests that are often characterized as extremely competitive, has resulted in very positive selection and excellent results. Actually the newly emphasized economic component of the sciences and education, that is necessarily connected with the economy, emphasizes the global component of the sciences and education. In the last instance, globalism anticipates the universal applicability of scientific achievements and the mobility of the workforce, pursuant to economic criteria and interests. It presupposes comparability and harmonization, both on the level of the convergence of the form and content of national scientific and educational systems (Bologna Process, European Credit Transfer System [ECTS] points, so-called recognizability and comparability, European Space for Higher Education, the manner of assuring the quality of institutions and programs of higher

education etc.). Although Croatian higher education (and consequently science) to the greatest extent follows the so-called Humboldt (German) University model, it is obvious that this model, even in Germany, loses momentum before the American model. Clear assessments of the excessively long and ineffective college studies in Germany, which are too expensive even in that country, can be of some consolation but in no way justification for the same or even less favorable conditions in the Croatian educational system. The development of the educational system in the European countries obviously is leading to the application of some American experiences (commercialization, competitiveness, denationalization of the sciences and education) but not the completely uncritical acceptance of the American model. Certainly, this process, regardless of how deeply it penetrates, represents a form of the globalization of the sciences and higher education.

2. The Social Sciences and Globalization

Regarding globalization, it is necessary to note the specific nature of the social sciences, i.e. the practically obvious fact that the results of the investigations of many of the social sciences (e.g. law, economics, national history, disciplines connected to the national culture etc.) have a national character. This means that the subjects of their studies are only of incidental or peripheral interest outside of national frameworks, especially in the case of small countries such as Croatia. The results of such studies are mainly applicable within the framework of their own country. Although there are exceptions to such a characterization (e.g., international law), and in the overall process of globalization there is an objective reduction in the area of national specificities, this does not change the general quality of the national character of some of the social sciences.

The following are consequences of a national character of some of the results of an investigation of the social sciences:

1. *territorially and personally limited interest in national disciplines* (outside the country, only few scientists and practitioners have an interest in the results of scientific investigations that specifically refer to the Croatian society)
2. *territorial limitation of the results* (the applicability of the results, generally, is within national frameworks)
3. *the impossibility of establishing completely clear criteria of comparison and international evaluation* (except that there is no particular interest in the publication of works in foreign journals, and these works are often of poorer quality than the same type that are published in domestic journals. Foreign readers are not interested in the details and finesses, for example the Croatian penal code, but in the main and general characteristics, the presentation of which, very often, due to the nature of the subject matter, does not reach the level of authentic scientific work.)
4. *difficulties in the placing of scientific investigations and their results outside the society*
5. *difficulties in finding foreign partners for joint projects*
6. *reduced perception of foreign results of investigations* (due to the frequent inability to apply them to the domestic situation)

The conclusion that should be drawn from the above **IS NOT** that it is not important to publish works in foreign countries or to have joint scientific projects with foreign scientists.

In fact, on the contrary, it should be concluded that the publication of quality scientific works and scientific cooperation with other countries in the social sciences is difficult to achieve, that their preparation and realization require particular efforts and that they should be additionally valued. On the other side, starting from the national character of some social sciences, it is necessary to form specific criteria of evaluation, somewhat different (but not less rigorous) than those that apply to the "universal" sciences.

3. Theses on the prerequisites for successful scientific and educational cooperation with foreign countries in the social sciences

Due to the specific nature of the social sciences, it is possible to pose several theses on how various forms of international scientific cooperation could or should be established. Some of these theses can also be applied to other scientific disciplines.

1. In order to implement projects basically financed by foreign funds, it is necessary for the project task to be presented in a manner that is interesting to a foreign partner. His interest in the area of the social sciences is most often of an economic and/or political nature. Interdisciplinary projects practically do not exist.
2. It is necessary to investigate the effects (positive and negative) of the so-called "brain drain." Catastrophic theories of hundreds and thousands of young and educated persons who have left Croatia (including those using various forms of international education and scientific cooperation) in recent times have called the investigative method into question. According to recent studies, the brain drain in the past ten years has been less than that presented to the public (cf. Mirjana Adamović, Silva Mežnarić, Potencijalni i stvarni "odljev" znanstvenog podmlatka iz Hrvatske: empirijsko istraživanje [Potential and Actual Brain Drain of Young Scientists from Croatia: An Empirical Study]).
3. The so-called "scientific diaspora," that in the area of the social sciences is comprised of exceptionally distinguished scientists, is not sufficiently engaged in Croatian scientific projects and the educational process at Croatian universities. The reputations and contacts these scientists have could help in initiating and conducting joint research projects with foreign countries.
4. It would be desirable for the outstanding scientists from the so-called scientific diaspora, as well as foreign scientists, to be more engaged in the educational and scientific processes in Croatia (joint appointments). In addition to improved results, it could be anticipated that their inclusion would also result in medium-term and particularly long-term elevation of the criteria of evaluation in the sciences and education.
5. With the return (permanent or temporary, through projects or condensed teaching) of the scientific diaspora, the acceptance of foreign scientists (from developed but also from less developed countries) and the mobility of scientists, the phenomenon of the "brain drain" could be transformed into "brain circulation." Brain circulation also presupposes the circulation of knowledge, which is particularly important for countries in transition.
6. The intention of replacing the "brain drain" with "brain circulation" must be made operational through various measures for providing incentives. Reasons for dissatisfaction and abandoning Croatia lie in the dramatic differences in the opportunities for scientific research and professional advancement (working conditions, remuneration etc.)

7. The development goals of the sciences and higher education must be international aspirations but also realistic. As a rule, scientific results depend upon many years of quality investment in education and science. It is a fact that the economic situation in Croatia (as well as the political priorities) is not conducive to the necessary investments in science and education. Even if the level of investment in science and education were raised tomorrow to a significantly higher level than at present, the results would, as a rule, only be evident after several years.
8. Exchanges, scholarships and international conferences should be in the function of concrete scientific (international) projects, to the extent possible.
9. Although it is desirable and understandable that Croatian science looks westward (due to scientific, technological, economic and even political reasons), it is necessary to bear in mind that Croatian science can be an exported article to comparatively less developed countries.
10. In Croatia, especially in the social sciences, there is no mechanism by which to define the specific requirements for scientific projects. Instead of the government stipulating project tasks based on specific social needs for at least a portion of the research that is financed, a project generally happens because individual researchers are interested in it. Moreover, due to the fact that there are no clear criteria for evaluation, the social relevance of projects is at a very low level. If the practice were to change and the government, as the largest "customer" for projects, were to clearly stipulate project tasks, international competitions could be held for their implementation. In such projects, particularly if they are relevant for some other country, new possibilities would be opened for potential joint investments in science.
11. The placement of Croatian sciences and scientists (exchanges, joint projects, scholarships, scientific affirmation through the publication of articles in other countries etc.) requires "scientific marketing." Among other things, this means a suitable presence on the Internet, concern for the placement of articles in foreign journals that are not merely the result of personal contacts among scientists, domestic publications in foreign languages and their placement in the relevant libraries and on the market.

4. Is the glass half full or half empty?

Assessments of the abilities of our sciences and higher education to find a place on the global market are generally painted in gloomy colors. As with the phenomenon of the "brain drain," assessments regarding the weaknesses of the sciences and education are often sweeping in nature. Among the public, the social sciences receive a particularly poor evaluation. The first step in determining the strategies for Croatian inclusion in the global (or at least European) scientific and educational scene requires realistic assessment that takes into account the parameters that are frequently ignored today. Taking into account the economic and demographic strengths and weaknesses of the Croatian society, the level of the development of institutions, but also the national or universal character of individual scientific disciplines, could lead to somewhat different assessments regarding the abilities of Croatian scientists to compete with those in foreign countries. The assertion that our science is actually as good or even a little better than would be expected considering the financial and demographic potentials of Croatia (implicit, Vladimir Paar), perhaps would not raise Croatia by a significantly large number of places on the ladder of success but would

help in the establishment of realistic aspirations. Realistic evaluation could also have another effect. If it is actually demonstrated that the scientific reach of Croatia is more or less proportional to our potentials, the lack of stimulation for Croatian science (particularly the social sciences) and higher education today could be replaced by a stimulative atmosphere of competition and optimism, because a half full glass is significantly better than a half empty one.