

РОЗДІЛ 2

ЕМПІРИЧНІ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ СУЧАСНОГО СУСПІЛЬСТВА

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DANUBE IDENTITY AND BORDER CITIZENSHIP: TOWARDS A NEW EUROPEAN LANDLOCKED («DANUBIAN») HANSA?

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У статті представлені інтелектуальні передумови формування концепту «внутрішньоконтинентальної Ганзи», а також феномену її громадянськості. Автор пропонує розглядати території, що є прилеглими до річки Дунай, як «текучі» кордони, що можуть бути покладені в основу формування інтеграційних кордонів для культурної, торгівельної та соціальної коаліції безпосередньо придунайських і довоколишніх міст. Хоча місцеві ідентичності і громадянськість були утворені в основному всередині локальних національно-етнічних спільнот, а громадська думка з питання ідентичності схильна до її обмеження вузькою територією узбережжя річки Дунай, в рамках проектів з області літератури і мистецтва моделюються дунайські ідентичності в більш широкому розумінні. В якості своєрідних першопроходців, що створюють фундамент для формування подальших торгових і політичних мереж між містами, розглядаються громадянські і культурні мережі. На прикладі дунайського прикордоння аналізується трансформація самої природи кордонів, яка характеризується загальним, але при цьому селективним стиранням кордонів як бар'єрів, зростанням їхньої проникності для потоків капіталів, товарів, інформації та певних груп людей. Пояснюючи ці зміни, автор пов'язує процеси трансформації природи кордонів з історичними періодами формування територіальності, відносин між державними утвореннями. При розгляді «внутрішньоконтинентальної Ганзи» підкреслюється необхідність поєднання підходів до розгляду кордонів з одного боку, як природно сформованих, з іншого – як і штучно сконструйованих.

Ключові слова: дунайська ідентичність, громадянськість пограниччя, кордони, локальні спільноти.

В статье представлены интеллектуальные предпосылки формирования концепта «внутриконтинентальной Ганзы», а также феномена её гражданственности. Автор предлагает рассматривать территории, прилегающие к реке Дунай, в качестве «текущих» границ, которые могут лечь в основу формирования интегративных границ для культурной, торговой и социальной коалиции непосредственно придунайских и близлежащих городов. Хотя местные идентичности и гражданственность были образованы в основном внутри локальных национально-этнических сообществ, а общественное мнение в вопросе идентичности склонно к её ограничению узкой территорией побережья реки Дунай, в рамках проектов из области литературы и искусства моделируются дунайские идентичности в более широком понимании. В роли своеобразных первопроходцев, создающих фундамент для формирования дальнейших торговых и политических сетей между городами рассматриваются гражданские и культурные сети. На примере дунайского пограничья анализируются трансформация самой природы границ, которая характеризуется всеобщим, но при этом селективным стиранием границ как барьеров, возрастанием их проницаемости для потоков капиталов, товаров, информации и определенных групп людей. Объясняя эти изменения автор связывает процессы трансформации природы границ с историческими периодами формирования территориальности, отношений между государственными образованиями. При рассмотрении «внутриконтинентальной Ганзы» подчеркивается необходимость совмещения подходов к рассмотрению границ, с одной стороны, как естественно формирующихся, с другой – как искусственно конструируемых.

Ключевые слова: дунайская идентичность, гражданственность пограничья, границы, локальные сообщества.

The Danube is a natural transport magisterial and a joint water resource; yet identities, local citizenships and communities around the river were created mostly on local bases, inside the national communities, maybe with partial involvement of nearby ethnicities, or communities. Cross-regional tourist projects and travel along the river are predominantly of foreign origin, with the locals participating in it only accidentally. There are cross-natural cultural projects modelling broader Danubian identities in literature and arts, but the broader public opinion does not follow their scope and remains limited to a narrower region around the riverside.

Keywords: danube identity, border citizenship, border, local communities.

The Danube is the longest river inside the EU, crossing a dozen of nations, states, provinces and cultures of the continent. This is a natural transport magisterial and a joint water resource, but identities, local citizenships and communities around the river were created mainly on a local basis, inside the national communities, maybe with partial involvement of nearby ethnicities, or communities. Cross-regional tourist projects and travel along the river are mostly of foreign origin, while the locals participate in it only accidentally. There are cross-natural cultural projects modelling broader Danubian identities in literature and arts, but the broader public opinion does not follow their scope and remains limited to a narrower region around the riverside.

In the given documents- after consultations with experts and civil representatives in Germany, Austria, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria and maybe even in the Izmail region (Ukraine) we offer a concept of the Danube, as fluid borders (the river creates cultural borders, and significant part of them will be interstate ones, as well) which are able to generate an integrating border for cultural, trade, and social coalitions among cities and their „electromagnetic poles” (Regensburg, Passau, Linz, Vienna, Bratislava, Budapest. Osijek- Zagreb, Beograd- Novi Sad, Ruse, Bucuresti-Galati, Izmail). Civil and cultural networks could be the pioneers here, creating platforms for further trade and political networks. We call all these networks „Landlocked Hansa”. In the paper we plan to present the intellectual preconditions and the concept of the „Landlocked Hansa” and its citizenships.

The need for and possibility of constructing a general theoretical framework for understanding borders is highlighted by contemporary 'globalization' and the vision of a 'borderless world'. While this neo-liberal ideology misleadingly exaggerates recent developments, and is directly contradicted by trends towards 'a New Europe', it does point to a general though selective 'lowering' of borders as barriers and their increasing permeability to flows of capital, commodities, information and people, or at least some people. Borders and their adjacent regions constitute gateways and opportunities as well as barriers; state controls over entry and exit seem to be under growing pressure; and social, communal and economic boundaries seem to be increasingly de-linked from territorial borders.

These changes in the significance and often contradictory meanings of borders call for some general theorization which goes beyond, and would help explain, the often fascinating details of the Danube identities. More specifically, the contemporary acceleration of 'Europeanization' (and the popularity of this new term for an old phenomenon) suggests that the historical periodization of global economic and political development is a fruitful route to theorizing about that border region. Changes in the nature of borders may be explained in terms of different historical phases in the shaping of states and territoriality, the internal relations of states and societies and their external interrelationships in the wider system of states. For example, (state) borders were relatively 'open' in the era of imperialism before World War I; then – relatively 'closed' with the growth of 'national' economic 'self-sufficiency' and a closer identification of the state and capital, particularly in the inter-war period; and subsequently there was a progressive '(re-)opening' of borders.

We often tend to view the borders either as good and necessary or as bad and mischievous. In our understanding, the Danube as a fluid border region is much more equivocal or ugly rather than simply good or bad. Most accounts of borders can be divided into two schools. At one level the differences between them are ethical, relating to what borders should and should not do.

At the other level the two schools are about conceptions of power, pitting a broadly modernist view that sees power as primarily contained by borders against those various views which see borders as less and less capable of doing so. In the end, they represent border maintaining versus border opening perspectives. So divided, however, can we begin to rethink borders beyond this elementary opposition? The Danube identities in this respect could be used for regulation of local transregional migration.

From a very different perspective, borders and the Danube in particular are seen as artefacts of dominant discursive processes that have led to the fencing off chunks of territory and people from one another. Such processes can change and, as they do, Danube lifestyles exist as residual phenomena that may still capture our imagination but no longer serve any essential purpose. Borders, therefore, are not simply practical phenomena that

can be taken as given. On an extreme side, perhaps, the existing Inter-Danube networks are the result of processes in the past that are either no longer operative or increasingly eclipsed by transnational or global pressures. In other words, borders are increasingly redundant and thinking to be constrained by them restricts thinking about alternative political, social, and economic possibilities. The Danube regions are disabling. From this viewpoint, rather than reflecting an unambiguous sovereignty that ends/begins at a border, or along the river that must be overcome as such, border thinking should open up to consider (a) territorial spaces as „dwelling” rather than national spaces and (b) political responsibility for pursuit of a decent life as extending beyond the fluid borders of any particular state along the Danube.

Territoriality of the „Landlocked Hansa” Danube city coalition is a particular mode of social organisation and enforcement, which operates by controlling access into and out of specified geographical areas. It is a ‘spatial strategy’ which actively uses territory and borders to classify and communicate; it regulates information, symbols, resources, and people by delimiting and asserting control over territorial borders. Its valuable strengths are that it can greatly simplify issues of control and provide easily understood symbolic markers ‘on the ground’, giving relationships of power a greater tangibility and appearance of permanence. Territoriality of the new Danubian Hansa is however also inherently conflictual and its assertion tends to generate rival territorialities in a ‘space-filling process’.

However, the recent historical tendency for hegemonic states to rely more on economic power and less on direct political domination externally is not the whole story, nor is it as linear or straightforward as suggested. The Danubian Hansa created at the beginning by civic platforms will continue that trend. Counterbalancing it, there has been a tendency for these states to directly control a larger bounded territory as the ‘home base’ for the internal generation of wealth, and for becoming militarily more powerful. Thus Giovanni Arrighi (1996), in focusing on states which were the hegemonic agencies in successive regimes of capital accumulation, notes that the 16th century Genoa was a mere city state, and the 17th century Dutch United Provinces were a hybrid between city state and national state, whereas the 19th century United Kingdom was a full national state with a world empire, while the current hegemon, the USA, is a continental superpower. But Genoa's basis for accumulation was external to its own political borders and was closely linked to the Spanish empire, which bore the costs of direct political rule. Genoese hegemony was superseded by the Dutch, whose state ceded state-like powers to their giant trading companies (e.g., the Dutch East India Company) and amassed wealth from the territories which they controlled, and by more directly controlling and monopolising the associated shipping routes which channelled trade through Amsterdam.

The Danubian Hansa could use some elements of that historical political identity building strategies of city states, associations, trade empires – of course, not downgrading or dissolving nation-states of the region.

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