

MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy

Robert D. Putnam
Princeton University Press,
Princeton, NJ, 1994.

Knjiga Roberta D. Putnama (i njegovih mladih suradnika Roberta Leonardija i Raffaele Y. Nanetti) *Making Democracy Work* nastoji - kao što kažu sami autori u preovlađujućoj predgovoru - kroz studij razvoja različitih regija u Italiji istražiti "neka temeljna pitanja civilnog (građanskog) života" (*civic life*) (str. XIII). Iza ove šture i relativno skromne uvedbe formulacije slijedi, međutim, iznimno zanimljivo i poticajno djelo, koje je u prvom razdoblju od svog prvog objavljivanja (1993) uspjelo probuditi vrlo veliki interes stručne i šire javnosti te mnoge ugledne recenzente nadahnuti na istinu velikodušne komplimente (primjerice na tvrdeju da ta knjiga predstavlja *Democracy in America* našega vremena).

O čemu je, dakle, riječ? Osnovni problem knjige *Making Democracy Work* autori sažimaju u jednostavnom pitanju: "Zašto neke demokratske vlade uspijevaju, a neke ne?" (str. 3). Ili, preciznije formulirano: "Koji su uvjeti za stvaranje snažnih, odgovornih i učinkovitih predstavničkih institucija?" (str. 6). Nastoji se, dakle, proniknuti u narav demokratskih institucija i tajne njihova (dobrog) funkcioniranja. Ono što, međutim, ovo djelo izdvaja iz drugih sličnih nije, dakako, njegovo glavno pitanje - jer tu se radi o općem mjestu socijalnih znanosti i teorije - nego činjenica da njegovi autori odgovor na to glavno pitanje nastoje pronaći (ili verificirati) uglavnom *empirijskim* putem - izvlačeći, naime, pouke iz jednog neobičajnog eksperimenta. Riječ je o odluci talijanske vlade iz 1970. godine o osnivanju pokrajinskih, regionalnih vlada. Bio je to jedan od rijetkih recentnih pokušaja stvaranja novih predstavničkih institucija u nacijama-državama Zapada, hrvabar korak koji je svakako predstavljao krupan konceptijsko-organizacijski zalozaj, jer talijanska je demokratska struktura sve od ujedinjenja 1870. godine bila visoko centraliziranom (prema uzoru napoleonske Francuske).

Našim je, pak, istraživačima talijanski regionalni "eksperiment" pružio istinu, jedinstvenu priliku da dugoročno (više od dvadeset

godina) i "izbliza" promatraju i istražuju procese stvaranja i razvijanja novih demokratskih institucija, kao i njihovo funkcioniranje u vrlo različitim socijalnim okruženjima. I taj je eksperiment, štoviše, utvrđuju Putnam i suradnici, bio "kao nažnjen po mjeri (*tailor made*) za usporedno proučavanje dinamike i ekologije razvoja institucija. Baš kao što botaničar može proučavati razvoj biljke mjereći rast genetički identičnog sjemenca posijanog u različita tla, tako i onaj koji proučava performanse vlade može sudbinu tih novih institucija, formalno identičnih, ispitivati u njihovim različitim društvenim, gospodarstvenim, kulturnim i političkim okvrima" (str. 7). Istraživanje je obuhvatilo dvadeset talijanskih regija - petnaest "običnih" (šije su vlade ustanovljene simultano, 1970. godine) i pet "specijalnih" (osnovanih nekoliko godina ranije, u pograničnim područjima koja su poslije Drugog svjetskog rata bila ugrožavana separatističkim težnjama).

Putnam i suradnici svoja polazišta obrađuju na podlozi bogate tradicije promišljanja problematike institucija, ali uzimaju u obzir i recentnije diskusije. Tako oni između različitih, dugom tradicijom posredovanih shvaćanja posebno izdvajaju tri pristupa. To su: pristup koji glavni naglasak stavlja na institucijski dizajn, zatim koncepcija koja insistira na primatu socio-ekonomskih čimbenika te, na koncu, pristup koji najveću važnost pridaje socio-kulturnim čimbenicima. Naši autori preferiraju upravo treći pristup, čijeg najznačajnijeg tradicijskog predstavnika vide u Alexisu de Tocquevilleu - u svom znamenitom djelu *Democracy in America* Tocqueville, naime, demonstrira pristup koji je "posebno prikladan za naša proučavanja" i koji će "igrati središnju ulogu u našoj analizi" (str. 11). Izdvajajući, pak, iz recentnijih rasprava koncepcije koje su pripisive takozvanim novim institucionalistima, Putnam i suradnici prihvataju dvije ključne premise o kojima u dotičnom teorijskom "laboru", prema njihovom mišljenju, postoji skoro potpuno slaganje. Prva od tih premisa glasi: institucije oblikuju politiku - determinirajući identitete, moći i strategije političkih aktera, one uvelike strukturiraju i njihovo djelovanje te ishode toga djelovanja. Druga teza glasi: institucije su oblikovane poviješću - one posjeduju vlastitu inerciju i "robustnost" zbog kojih također otjelovljuju povijesne trajektorije i prekretnice. Naši autori, dakako, prihvaćaju obje teze,

The Making Of Modern Italy

Mary Clive Bayley



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strong surviving regional identities are important and revealed Taken as a whole *Speak the Culture Italy* gives you an insight into what it means to be Italian but it's also a book to dip into to learn for instance about Giuseppe Verdi Sophia Loren or Umberto Eco Easily read and beautifully illustrated this the fourth in the *Speak the Culture* series offers an intimate understanding of Italian life and culture for new residents second home owners holidaymakers business travelers students and lovers of Italy everywhere

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