

SHAPING TRADITION INTO CULTURAL-ECONOMIC GOODS IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT – CASE OF SERBIAN SILK PRODUCTION

Milica KOČOVIĆ DE SANTO, Research Associate *

Vesna ALEKSIĆ, Senior Research Associate †

Abstract: *The main goal of the paper is to answer the question: How to use traditional knowledge in order to create cultural-economic goods? This is topical because the connection of real tradition and crafts with responsible forms of entrepreneurship represent a real direction to achieve sustainable development goals, with a revitalization of culture that is related to real historical facts.*

This paper represents a continuation of work that relies on our previous research findings (related to key phenomena: silk production, silk roads, proto-industrialization, cultural political economy etc.). Theories we rely on (such as the cultural political economy, sustainable development, common goods, social and cultural entrepreneurship, cultural tourism) have enabled to summarize the facts that are related to our key phenomena.

We used our previous research data which implied strong historical approaches, archive data and field research. This allowed us to strengthen universal findings and conclusions we came to about each element. In confirming mentioned conclusions our specific previous studies helped a lot (Serbia, Calabria cases), as well as the examples of other authors. Moreover, this helped us create a possible solution for a revitalization of silk production as multi-layered heritage that can contribute to sustainable development.

Keywords: *silk production, cultural-economic goods, entrepreneurship, sustainable development, proto-industrial phase, textile trade and markets*

1. INTRODUCTION

We have identified the phenomenon of silk and sericulture (silk industry) as very important because silk represents a multilayered heritage that connects history, culture, agriculture and trade. In one word silk represents ideal cultural-economic good since it had very long tradition, in terms of production and trade (within

* Institute of Economic Sciences, Serbia, milica.kocovic@ien.bg.ac.rs

† Institute of Economic Sciences, Serbia, vesna.aleksic@ien.bg.ac.rs

borders of Serbia (from 18th to the middle of 20th century)). Also, silk cannot be observed only through one country context, since it represents imported heritage from Asia to Europe. Therefore in the next parts, we take into account the silk and its various meanings (cultural, historical, economic), over time (from the proto-industrial phase, significant for textiles in general) relying on the conclusions of our previous research (Serbia and Calabria cases). Previous is important, because it allowed us to model solutions in third part of this research paper that could support silk production revitalization as a traditional knowledge and craftsman skills, by (re)shaping it into the cultural-economic goods, supported by responsible forms of entrepreneurship (cultural, social) and tourism (cultural, eco-cultural, and other alternative forms). Referring to the grand theories helped in the perception of macro systems (such as cultural policy at country level), while middle theories primarily had significance in micro systemic functioning (management in culture options on organizational and/ or institutional level). The most important base of previous theories leads to a cultural political economy (CPE) and cultural economics authors. Moreover most significant as previous important research for this paper are the works of Jessop (Albritton, Jessop and Westra 2010; Jessop, Sum 2013; Jessop 2015) and other authors that contributed strongly to CPE shaping.

Why is proto-industrial phase important? Because our research has a very strong historical background in order to achieve a better understanding of relevant phenomena around silk. The proto-industrial phase of economic development is extremely important since it represents the beginning and initial frame for textile production. Thus silk, as a textile must be seen through proto-industrial discourse.

Proto-industrialization scholars aimed to explain the transition from feudalism to capitalism, as well as the social transition - a traditional society of peasant agriculture to the modern industrial world. Generally, proto/industrial phase represents the period from 15th to 18th century, and it is characterized by small-scale production which is considered to be the beginning of the organized textile (and as well silk) production. In most cases, these were very fragmented economies. As author Huston notes traditional local handicrafts had always existed in rural areas, but in the period from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century a new economic development occurred in many regions (to which considerable attention is now being paid (Houston, K.D.M. Snell 1984)). This period is also characterized by an expansion of rural industry without major changes in the techniques or scale of production, and as a development phase, it is termed as proto-industrial, as an industrialization before industrialization (Houston 1984, Kriedte, McDick 1977). The time of early modernization/proto-modernization (15th century) processes and activities related to the textile production have supported largest worker groups outside the agricultural sector. Mercantile capital in the feudal system, allowed the

integration of regional fragmented economies into the wider international network of commodity (Fennell Mazzaoui 1997), so this early exchanges had the potential to affect multiple transformations especially important in terms of market evolution through production relations between interest groups (merchants, aristocracy, producers, consumers). As Huston noted the trade was seen as an "engine of growth" in the proto-industrial phase (Huston 1984, KMS 1974).

To understand the importance of trade better, we decided to elaborate some previous research ideas in next part of the discussion, in order to spot the elements that had an impact on the global development of the textile industry and markets, with a special emphasis on sericulture (silk industry). This will make our previous main findings on silk industry firmly and universally important.

In terms of transportation options, textile industry strongly relied on road traffic (silk roads, Saharan caravan and others) and later oversea transportation towards colonial but also non-colonial countries (North, South America, Africa, India and other Asian seaside parts). That is why silk roads had and still have a very important role as cultural and economic transnational corridor.

2. PROTO-INDUSTRIAL TEXTILE WORLDS MARKETS -DISCUSSION ABOUT GLOBAL TRAJECTORIES

When talking about European textile markets and international activities the main actors could be separately distinguished: English, Dutch, Spanish, French and Portugal. These actors mostly had the same goals and attempts, at first place to spread markets (from internal to European but furthermore (through the colonial world) in all parts of the world. Largest silk producer in Europe was Italy, (producing half of the total European produced silk) and their export direction was primarily for the European market, and after for the other worlds markets in terms of sophisticated silk products intended for elite consumption. Even as the main producer, Italy imported raw silk from the Levant and other Asian parts. In the 16th century, Spain had attempted to integrate sericulture markets with colonial South America, since they introduced sericulture to the natives (but also wisely expropriated their traditional knowledge about textile in order to be able to satisfy specific market taste and demand) (Grijalva 1989, Mazzaoui 1997). Previous Spanish attempt was disabled by extensive Chinese exports through the triangular trade route China-Manila-Spanish America with involved Chinese community on the Philippines that later in the 17th century represented dominant China silk export direction (Chao 1989, Mazzaoui 1997). In proto-industrial phase, exchanges were based on different types of products with other countries and extensive export that brought significant capital (gold, silver, diamonds, luxury goods and money).

Generally, Mediterranean and Balkan countries except cotton and wool developed silk production (but also other specific nature textiles that came from Mediterranean plants such as ginestra textile) because of suitable climate (Kocovic, Markovic, De Santo 2017). When talking about territory, European silk was produced along the Mediterranean coastal zone, and Balkan, while Asian production was spread everywhere – from China, Japan, to the Middle East, Central Asia, and India, later in the 19th century new areas appeared (Wuxi in Central China or Kashmir in India) (Cafagna, Federico 1992, Kocovic, Markovic, De Santo 2017).

Speaking in terms of continental particularities, Europe was the main importer of Asian goods, later exporting them towards other continents. Europe could not ever come nearly close to the level of Asian production of silk, primarily because of the cultural differences. Not only technology and economic organization but also socio-cultural norms helped in processes of governing the usages of textiles, as market social, political or ethnic status or as ceremonial objects that also favored the consumption of traditional silk and cotton products of the region (Mazzaoui 1997). As previously mentioned, Asian trade has been solid and strong over time, because internal demand was satisfied by internal supply, but also added values were created through the export. Namely, Asian countries and people have always been strongly attached to the tradition, identity, meanings, rituals, societal values that were transported as well to the fashion and taste for textile (which shaped total Asian demand). This is why Asian people have always preferred their own textile (that also implied small proportion of European cloth in Asian markets) (Mazzaoui 1997, Kocovic, Markovic, De Santo 2017). On the first place Asian market development was based on internal markets, and after on export. In opposite European market actors have always been searching for new markets - mostly external. In proto-industrial phase, most of the countries would have applied elementary self-regulating measures in terms of guarding internal markets from price dumping. For example, British export towards colonial markets although highly depended on merchants, recorded most important growth (from England, Scotland and Ireland) thanks to protectionist measures and parallel expansion of the production. Ottoman Industry was already under the pressure of European competition at the second half of 16th century (Mazzaoui 1997, Cizakca 1997). Because European countries in this phase had almost constantly increasing demand for the raw materials (mostly because of lack ability to produce internally on a larger scale raw materials - but instead final products), this would implied the rise of raw fabrics at the international markets and price fluctuations. Speaking about the interdependence of that time, it is valuable to mention that for example Low-cost English and Dutch wool, and Indian cotton, actually cut off the Iranian workers output, and on contrary, the rise of Iranian silk prices had the strong

impact of European manufactures (which mostly used Iranian raw silk). Such situation often led to the rise of European (manufacturers) demand for Italian (French and Spanish) raw silk (Kocovic, Markovic, De Santo 2017). Europeans had the role of Trade Bridge between other sides. Indian textile was superior by many terms (price, low-cost labor, skills, flexibility and adaptability towards demand etc), that made them main supplier in the global economy of quality cotton. Tokugawa Shogunate had strong direction and commitment to the development expanding sericulture and textile industry that made Japan successfully prepared for the future industrialization. What makes Japanese approach towards silk development different than any other is the fact that producers of the final silk products were peasants who processed their own raw materials from the first to the final stage, after they would sell these products to the merchants (who in most cases used credits) (Kocovic, Markovic, De Santo 2017). Rural producers in Japan increased steadily their market share (to the detriment of urban artisans) and until the arrival of technology higher specializations did not exist. This made the development of strong rural communities with social mobility possible. Also, this allowed land-less people to get their fair shares that actually represented the capacity building in all the terms. Japan proto-industrial phase could be explained as a “strengths reinforcement of the vulnerable, through reduced improvements by factual achieved power” (Kocovic, Markovic, De Santo 2017). African mostly elite demand had strong cultural focus, similar to Asian.

Above mentioned vivid textile trade inter-relations between continents and countries were provided by the existence of various routes, trails and roads. More about the multi-layered importance of roads will be shortly explained in next part that is specifically related to silk roads.

In terms of transportation options, textile industry strongly relied on road traffic (silk roads, Saharan caravan and others) and later oversea transportation towards colonial but as well non-colonial countries (North, South America, Africa, India and other Asian seaside parts). In addition to the initial role of trade and transport, Silk roads assumed long-term (millennium) continual process of permanent connectivity of cultures, languages, people, and goods. It could be said that silk roads from the beginning, have been representing the first transnational and global corridors that provided migrations of vibrant values through the respect of culture and economy. As we could see the trade within silk roads took international proportions as initial reason point, evolving into different types of products exchanges (Kocovic, Markovic, De Santo 2017). Processes within the silk roads have been constantly reshaped, allowing deeper understanding and acceptance between (different) people. This created firm relations between people, culture, environment, within natural landscapes and associated capillary tracks, trails,

routes, paths of latter called - silk roads. Besides the silk, parallel exchanges that took place on these roads (such as languages, religions, literature, writings, scripts, spices, legends, materials, grains, animals, people etc.) enabled the great cultural mix, mobility and exchange. (Kocovic, Aleksic, Markovic, 2017).

3. SERICULTURE AND ITS PHASES - SERBIAN EXAMPLE

In the wider terms important for Serbian example, the purchase of raw silk was conducted by the private cartels in the Balkan region. Something very important we found in an archive is that previously mentioned purchases of raw silk would later be launched without any labels by private cartels to the European silk markets (Lyon, Milan, UK, etc.). Moreover, the silk produced in The Kingdom of SHS was sold on the mentioned stock markets, to the wholesale and final buyers as Italian or Hungarian, without right information regarding the country of origin production all until better organization on State level in terms of trade.

The Silk production brought inherent culture and economy in Serbia throughout history. These categories: culture and economy, are very important because with silk arrival they were formed and re-shaped within any terrain in contact with the indigenous. Therefore, the sericulture as much as universal has been very authentically developed in all places. It is likely that mulberry tree, would not arrive in Europe if there was no need for sericulture development (Aleksić, 2010).

Table 1: The three phases of sericulture in Serbia

The first phase of sericulture 1769-1914	The second phase of sericulture 1918-1941	The third phase of sericulture 1946-1960
---	--	---

Source: Authors shaping of information from Archive of Yugoslavia

The first factory of silk was created from the middle of 18th century in Pancevo, the city in Banat part of northern Serbia. This can be recognized as the first phase of sericulture in Serbia. At that time region of Banat was part of Austrian military border. The production of silk was introduced in 1733 and was rebuilt in the Banat border in 1769, at that time there was produced 528 pounds of cocoons. Unwinding silk bureau was founded in 1776, in the city Bela Crkva (White Church) and Panchevo (Mileker, 1926; Đukić 2017).

The second phase of sericulture in Serbia begins after the First World War (1914-1918), and the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (the Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1929-1945). It was divided into three sectors: state, concession (private) and free-range sector. Sericulture in that period was promoted

as a *social and not only profitable category*. The intention was to give the *opportunity to the most vulnerable people* (poorest agricultural population) to earn more. By breeding silkworms they could get additional income before any money from agriculture arrives. The entire organization of the state sericulture was directed towards planting and cultivation of mulberry trees. Planted mulberry trees were mostly located in common and public areas, and planting process was supported by the state budget. Mulberry trees were free for farmers to use, for lives collection in process of silkworms breeding (for the need of further cocoons production). There were only two concession companies for the cultivation of silkworms. One of them was in Croatia and the second was Silk association located in Lapovo (Serbia) that covered a pre-war area of Serbia. Free-range breeding of silkworms existed only in South of Serbia (today's Macedonia).

In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, there were 24 stations for the purchase of silk cocoons, 10 nurseries with about 300 thousand of mulberry trees under 5 years old and even 700 thousand planted mulberry trees along the streets and public roads that were controlled by over 300 municipalities controllers. At the same time, more than 25 thousand of families were engaged in the cultivation of silkworms.

Until 1928, there were three state plants for dispatching silk cocoons. They were all on the rivers because the river water was needed for processing: in Novi Sad on the Danube, in Pančevo on the Tamiš and in Nova Kanjiža on the Tisa. In Novi Sad, there was a special Institute for the production and testing of silkworm seeds with Paster's cellular system and the most modern laboratory. Only in North of Serbia (Vojvodina) where 3 largest factories were located, it was possible to produce annually million to million and a half tons of raw cocoons, which represented around 400 to 500 tons of dry cocoons.

The largest State Silk Factory was located in Novi Sad and could employ 350 to 400 workers. At the annual level, it was able to process 60 tons of raw cocoons, of which about 15 tons of raw silk was produced with corresponding quantities of accompanying products.

The second largest was the State Silk Factory in Pancevo, whit about 300 workers. At the annual level, it was able to process 50 tons of raw cocoons, of which about 12 tons of raw silk was produced with appropriate quantities of accompanying products.

The state silk factory in Nova Kanjiza had 80 sets for raw silk spinning and could employ about 220 workers. At the annual level, it was able to process 45 tons of raw cocoons, of which about 11 tons of raw silk were produced with appropriate

quantities of accompanying products. All three factories were able to produce 38-40 tons of raw silk annually. During the 1920s, a special exhibition space was made in the factory in Novi Sad.

Until 1928 silk production in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was at the third place in Europe with high-quality types of cocoons, due to the good weather conditions that contributed well to sericulture development. Practically there was not a single municipality in Vojvodina (North of Serbia), which has not been breeding silkworm. Previously sericulture was recognized as one of the most important state industries in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. (Archive Yugoslavia, Memorial book 10 years of KSHS 1918-1928).

Table 2: Main silk factories and annual production before IIWW

<i>Factory</i>		
Pancevo city	Novi Sad city Pancevo city Nova Kanjiza city	Novi Sad city Pancevo city Nova Kanjiza city
<i>Production of cocoons</i>		
528 pounds of raw cocoons / annually	1.5 million tons of raw cocoons / annually	2-3 million tons of raw cocoons / annually
<i>Silk Production</i>		
/	38-40 tons of raw silk / annually	55.5 tons of raw silk / annually

Source: Archive of Yugoslavia

The third phase of sericulture begins in 1946 (after the end of II World War). The new established Federative Republic of Yugoslavia begins to develop the planned economy, emphasizing the progressive development of heavy industries (metallurgy, mining etc.). Tough focus on industrialization sidelined even light industry (textile industry). Nevertheless, sericulture was found its place in the first five-year economic plan of socialist Yugoslavia. Within the plan, it was estimated that the expansion of silk raw material base is possible. From 460 tons silk cocoons, that was produced in 1946, it was considered very easy to climb this production to a million and a half tons and even at two million tons in the period from 1947 to 1951. Within the first five-year plan development of the two million tons per year, production was designed. The same five-year plan was provided for the construction of two facilities for final products of silk, with a capacity of about 266 tons per year. One large factory installation containing a capacity of about 180 tons per year was provided in Titov Veles (never built) while the silk factory in Novi Sad was provided to upgrade the capacity on 52.5 to 55.5 tons. However, new directions for the chemical industry came everywhere on the global level and

replaced almost all the natural and clean industries until the 1960s, which caused it to after 1960 silk does not exist on industry level in Yugoslavia (Kocovic, Aleksic, Markovic, 2017).

4. MODELING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT FRAME FOR SILK REVITALIZATION AS A CULTURAL-ECONOMIC GOOD

When talking about culture and cultural goods few important meanings should be included such as culture is seen as a common good; culture represents an everyday way of life and human interrelations, and culture summarizing headquarters of meanings. Fast changing the turbulent environment with asymmetry regarding the distribution of created and existing values characterized by capitalist societies brought us to the position of the lack of ideology, societal values, followed by uncertainty clear political directions at mostly every (state) level. Mentioned flow opened up challenges related to the cultural goods. In neo-liberal market discourse cultural goods are highly influenced by economic policies, so even these goods stepped into the market competition, with added (mostly) economic values, that re-shaped goods into cultural-economic.

Finding new sustainable development frame for silk revitalization implies compatible options to achieve resilient cultural department, through directions of cultural governance that is an integral part of total economic governance processes. Or research question, how to shape silk and its production as a traditional heritage to cultural-economic good, led us to the conclusion that institutional and/or organizational change is inevitable. Moreover, it is constantly happening and it is strongly influenced by capitalistic challenges. If we observe culture organizations and institutions from the point of its purpose, the reflection could be seen in the preservation and promotion, through communication and interpretation of cultural heritage by their meaning. In order to make heritage last in time, management approaches should be more creative, proactive and effective in line with contemporary changes that are happening very fast in other departments. In line with previously mentioned umbrella policies from which the cultural practice depends on, common elements should be sought that make them more compatible with total governmental policies and politics (especially related to economics) (Kocovic, 2017). This part of the study is about synthesis through a combination of theory, policy, ideology and practice through fresh initiatives (strongly based on examples from reports of relevant international bodies) from different disciplines. The interdependence of politics, policies and governance is the key in order to make modelling of silk revitalization and sustainable development possible. Moreover, establishment of comprehensive policies that would enable better integration of cultural and economic policies (having in mind the importance of

culture) is essentially important in terms of silk revitalization since we understand its multilayered nature.

The work of CPE authors is pointing to the institutional changes and cultural turns in political economy and it goes in line with an implicit focus on regulation and state theories, with re-contextualization.

Modern state cumulative genesis in parallel represents capitalism development that is strongly influenced by the arena of total political economy and culture. Moreover, cultural development implies the continuous progress of human activities and lives not only in the field of culture and art but in all other areas. Or, even better development of human activities is continual progress in the field of culture, since it is an arena of social relations (Kocovic, 2017). Sestic notes that the cultural development *occurs as the consequence of the interactions of different cultures, economic prosperity, technological development, social-political system etc.* (Dragicevic, Sestic 2002). Jessop notes that *the revenge of the 'real economy' can be seen in the continuing (as of mid-2015) liquidity, credit, and financial crises and in their role in forcibly reimposing the unity of the circuits of capital by deflating the associated bubbles* (Jessop, 2016). Also in too many terms, a globalized world brought the topic of the State in a real great depression state. Jessop notes that *the crisis of neo-liberalism shows that the national state generally remains the addressee of last resort in appeals to resolve economic, political, and social problems.* Explaining previous, author says *that neo-liberalism has undermined the territorial and temporal sovereignty of states and their capacity to resolve these crises*, and that national states are not in power to coordinate interests at the international forums such as the NAFTA, the European Union, the G8, the G20, the IMF etc. (Jessop, 2016).

In terms of our previous research findings of silk and silk production, four most important findings should be taken into account in creating system solution for modelling silk revitalization in order to achieve sustainable development:

1. Silk and silk production represents a combination of *exogenous and endogenous knowledge* (see also Djukic 2017). To be clearer silk as a product of sericulture is *a combination of exogenous and endogenous knowledge*, as a practice(s) and a work activity. This can be understood through the fact that the silk production as an (economic and cultural) activity *combines traditional and imported knowledge in the processes and management practices (...)* Moreover, *the organization of sericulture work assumed linking of agriculture and textile industry*, or from labour perspective farmers and workers, where mentioned represented a link in a total chain of values in the process of silk production (Kocovic, Aleksic,

- Markovic 2017). In some (silk) production cases labour was elastic working in agriculture or industrial departments but in constant touch;
2. Silk and silk production is *dissonant heritage* (see also Sestic, Rogac 2014). This means that *interpretations of dissonant heritage are tightly influenced by cultural memories and identities of interpreters. The experiences of the present are largely based on specific knowledge of the past - thus the ways of experiencing the present are influenced by different perceptions of the past with which it can be connected(...) all the heritage is a contemporary interpretation shaped by narratives of history(...)* (Kocovic, Aleksic, Markovic 2017, Sestic, Rogac 2014);
 3. Silk and silk production had a strong *social component* for the involved people in process (in case of Serbia and Calabria case), that makes it relevant phenomenon for (re) shaping into cultural-economic good by contribution of social and cultural entrepreneurship;
 4. Silk and silk production represented the *clean industry* that makes decent argument for silk / sericulture re-start in the name of sustainable development (Kocovic, Aleksic, Markovic, 2017).

Previous findings let us understand that silk and silk production allowed the creation of social, financial and cultural linkages between urban and rural territories and people. Seeing it as dissonant heritage helps us in the creation of narratives for new management solutions for responsible forms of alternative tourism that could contribute with entrepreneurship forms to a sustainable revitalization and reshape of silk. This is important (and dangerously indicative) since we found out that people from countries with a long tradition in the silk production (the case of Calabria and Serbia) seem to have lost their collective memory about it, so the reality is almost lost knowledge about silk and silk production. Strong social component in our both research, previous example of Serbia / The kingdom of Yugoslavia and Calabria showed that sericulture as an activity could be understood as a *social entrepreneurship* in today's language that allowed additional money for involved people that in all its phases represented form of *clean industry*.

Speaking in terms of post-millennium *17 Sustainable Development Goals and its 169 targets*, these are pointed strongly to the importance and recognition for achieving human rights, gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls. Silk and sericulture in its essence represent the base for achieving all three dimensions of sustainable development: the economic, cultural-social and environmental. Although the revitalization of sericulture in Serbia represents implicit support for all 17 post-millennium goals of sustainable development, explicitly and specifically it contributes to the 14 following goals: *Goal 1 ; Goal 2*

; Goal 3 ; Goal 4 ; Goal 5 ; Goal 8 ; Goal 9 ; Goal 10 because its international context; Goal 11 ; Goal 12 ; Goal 13 because it is clean industry; Goal 15 because it can promote and protect environment; Goal 16 because it is highly inclusive activity; Goal 17 because it has international character that implies global partnerships (UN General Assembly Agenda 2015).

Taking into account the previously given, new models and solutions in order to make silk and sericulture as cultural-economic good (specified by *heritage, tradition, identity etc*) should go into few possible directions:

- 1) Searching for opportunities and support of (sustainable) development should be based on real resources (commons: natural, cultural, and human)
- 2) Such political economy that places the issues of long term survival of real resources ahead of the consolidation and capital growth (support disciplines: Ecology economics, Cultural political economy)
- 3) Direction where the management of real resources, as commons, is treated in more community inclusive manner (see: Elinor Ostrom views on governing commons also Social and Cultural entrepreneurship theories).
- 4) New forms of participatory governance, that will enable peaceful connection between people, planet and prosperity as most important post-millennia actors and goals (see more: Kocovic, Djukic (2015), Kocovic, Djukic, Vicentijevic (2016), Kocovic, 2017).

In close line with the proposed modelling for silk and sericulture revitalization in Serbia, three examples from Italy - Calabria region could represent cases for blueprinting. Three initiatives happened within municipalities: Mendicino, San Floro and Aciri. Common to all of three initiatives is that they represent partnerships between the civil sector and the state, which were later recognized and supported by EU funds.

Mendicino municipality still has strong marks related to silk. Namely, on the building of the municipality, there is an integrated sculpture cocoon of silk bug – as a municipality brand and clear identity. There is a museum which is constantly open, with traditional basic sericulture equipment. In this municipality, silk production is still happening on a small scale, by several old women who preserved the tradition and knowledge of silk processing and breeding silk bugs. Sericulture lives through women's entrepreneurship at the level of Mendicino municipality.

San Floro example is most interested. This project is initiated twenty years ago, by its Major. He recognized the importance of revitalization of silk production that was very important in this municipality area. Initial support was done by the municipality through planting 3000 mulberry trees, which are necessary for silk

bug breeding. This was a long-term project, first supported by the municipality. After the retired mayor, the new generation of young people from the municipality continued to work on the project. They organized the activities through starting the museum, workshops for the production of silk bugs and cocoons, production of scarves and silk jewellery, production of secondary products – mulberry jam, mulberry liquor, but also organized tours and visits to these production places for schools and tourists. Year-by-year the visits growth have increased a few hundred times. This project is most sustainable because it is depended on three young people that are highly motivated, educated and using silk narratives to talk stories around silk, with cultural and economic sustainable components. This project represents optimal mix of cultural and creative tourism and entrepreneurship that led to the synergy and added values.

Acri municipality is an example of cooperative where the silk production is taking place on a traditional old craft level. They had an expert who had the knowledge about silk production, and they started this production, workshops and courses in order to contribute and help vulnerable groups by their inclusion into processes and also other forms of social assistance.

What we can conclude with regard to the mentioned examples and restoration of silk production is that it is always small scale, it is possible only in places with real history and silk tradition, and last but maybe most important that in all three cases SMEs aspect is a key element. Moreover, as the contribution to sustainable development, we recognize responsible forms of (social, creative and cultural, women's) entrepreneurship and tourism, which in combination generate added values.

5. CONSLUSION

In terms of world's textile markets and its development, we can conclude that proto-industrial phase was a very important step for further industrialization. Previous meant that countries which were following each other in the textile development and international trade in proto-industrial phase, had very good start position for further industrialization because this phase represented the first accumulation of all the necessary conditions for further industrialization. We have shown by the elaboration of many world's examples how the global textile trade looked like because that allowed understanding the importance that textile trade had as an engine of growth in the proto-industrial phase.

Although the silk production in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1928 was at the third place in Europe with high-quality types of cocoons, due the good weather

conditions that contributed well to sericulture development, there was not a single municipality in Vojvodina (North of Serbia), which has not been breeding silkworm, also it is notable that Yugoslavia already had delayed its participation in the process of building textile and silk (proto)industry in comparison to the other proto-industrial actors (since others started from a few thousand to the few hundred years earlier with sericulture).

When talking about significance importance and meaning of silk, we can observe it as multi-layered phenomena that were imported (from Asia), which brought knowledge that was shaped many times during its travel. Namely, silk can be seen as a prestigious textile, also as a know-how product, as well as a combination of added knowledge (from different total economic branches) during its travelling along the silk roads from Eastern to the Western World parts.

In order to highlight the importance of silk and sericulture revitalization and its modelling, we mentioned four most important findings from our previous researches. First of all, silk as a product of sericulture represents a *combination of exogenous and endogenous knowledge*, as a practice(s) and a work activity. Sericulture in Serbian case was hampered mostly by the fact that two Ministries were formally in charge of this industry. Ministry for agriculture and water (MAW) was responsible (through body Central silk management) for the part related to the production of mulberry trees and purchase of cocoons from producers, where Ministry of trade and industry (MTI), was responsible (through body Public Silk Factories) for the further industrial processing and sale of the final product. Main challenges arose because of the fact that necessary determination of value for cocoon in one ministry (MAW) represented input price information for the final product in another ministry (MTI). This led to the silk international trade without having full balance information, and questionable calculated final prices. Moreover, the inability to complete the process of monitoring the production cycle *led to the lower levels of total output than planned (...) Costs of production could not be reduced in time, which put state and producers always in the position of material loss. The Council of Ministers of all government ministries, along with two competent for several years have been discussed the possible directions until 1924 when sericulture got unified management under the MTI.* Another challenge for sericulture, perceived by the Minister (MTI) was reflected in the fact that in certain areas sericulture was hampered by concessions operations (due holding a monopoly in the purchase in some parts of the country and dealing with market speculation on internal, but also external trade). The concessions were engaged in foreign trade. As private citizens, they were not interested in the product and greater social benefits from the Yugoslav silk. They were led by personal benefits, selling the state-made silk unmarked claiming that it was produced in Italy or

Hungary on the silk markets abroad. After the unification of sericulture industry under one MTI, Kingdom of Yugoslavia started to export silk very successfully on international markets mostly to Lyon, Milan and Zurich. In some cases such as Japan case, *it is the notable demarcation of the agricultural and industrial regions* through the combination of employment in the terms of labour structure that combined both aspects). Previous also means that the silk and silk production allowed the creation of (social, financial and cultural) linkages between urban and rural territories or, it was the bridgehead for people from the rural and urban areas that also represent a combination of exogenous and endogenous in terms of departments, but also this finding is support for our finding that *sericulture had strong social component*.

Another important conclusion of this paper is that the *silk carries the meaning and the significance of dissonant heritage*. We came to the conclusion based on our field research that people from countries with a long tradition in the silk production seem to have lost their collective memory about processes around silk and its existence. This is even more critical because it happened in a typical area of silk production, where the result is collectively lost memory in the present. Losing collective memory is dangerous because it implies the loss of culture and identity (Kocovic, Markovic, De Santo 2017).

The third important conclusion is related to *the strong sericulture social component*. The example of Serbia has shown that sericulture as an activity could be understood as a social entrepreneurship in today's language that allowed additional money for involved people. In case of Calabria, it meant surplus or first capital accumulation for landless people. In both cases - vulnerable groups from an agricultural area that was the poorest population benefited directly from silk production. More different world's examples could strengthen previous conclusion (such as Colonial Spanish America and Japan case) that were characterized by stronger involvement of women in total processes, peasant producers, small-scale production with stronger partnerships etc.

The last but not the least universal finding is supported by the fact that *everything around silk is clean and sustainable*, that makes it clean and desirable industry. Moreover, this means that the possibility of re-innovation, re-start, through alternative touristic narratives, new forms of a creative and cultural economy could be very important for silk – as a multi-layered heritage.

In the third part we pointed out the importance of silk and sericulture revitalization with arguments that are in line with 17 sustainable development goals, and desirable steps to include. Calabria examples we gave that are related to restoration

of silk production enabled us bringing more conclusions and arguments about silk revitalization in Serbia. In mentioned examples silk production is always small scale, it is possible only in places with real history and silk tradition, and last but maybe most important that in all three cases SMEs aspect is key element. Moreover, as a contribution to sustainable development, we recognize responsible forms of (social, creative and cultural, women's) entrepreneurship and tourism, which in combination generate added values.

Based on theory, field research, international sustainable development frame, and our previous findings allowed us to give the final conclusion that shaping tradition into cultural-economic goods (knowledge, heritage, real resource) is desirable and possible in case of silk and silk production in Serbia. Moreover, it is very important because it represents strong support for sustainable development in general.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This research is financially supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia, research projects no. III-47009 and no. OI-179015.

REFERENCES

1. Aleksić, V., 2010, *Foreign financial capital as the catalyst of Serbian economic development before the Second World War: Economic and Financial Stability in SE Europe in a Historical and Comparative Perspective*. Beograd: National Bank of Serbia, p.p. 315-333.
2. Albritton, R., Jessop, B. & Westra, R. (2010). *Political Economy and Global Capitalism The 21st Century, Present and Future*. Anthem Press An imprint of Wimbledon Publishing Company, This edition first published in UK and USA 2010 by ANTHEM PRESS, and New York, NY 10016, USA.
3. Archive Yugoslavia, Memorial book 10 years of KSHS 1918-1928.
4. Chao Kang, 1984, La production textile dans la Chine traditionnelle, *Annales: Economic, Societes, Civilisations XXXIX*, Paris pp: 957-976.
5. Cizakca M., 1985, *Incorporation of the Middle East into European World-Economy*, Review VIII New York, pp: 353-377.
6. Djukic, V., 2017, (KO)SMO, Institute for theatre, film, radio and television, Faculty of Dramatic Arts, Belgrade.
7. Federico, G., 2009, An economic history of the silk industry, 1830-1930, *Cambridge Studies in Modern Economic History*, Cambridge University press, digitally printed version.
8. Jessop, B. (2016). *The State Past, Present, Future*, Polity Press 65 Bridge Street Cambridge CB2 1UR, UK.

9. Kocovic, M. 2017, *New initiatives and cultural organizations that makes identity bloom*, 8th International conference of political economy, Institutions, National Identity, Power and Governance in the 21 century ICOPEC, 28-30 june, Belgrade Serbia
10. Kocovic, M. Aleksic, V. Markovic, M. 2017, *Silk production as imported industrial heritage that came from Silk roads to Europe, Serbian example*, International conference: Silk Cities 2017 - Reconnect Population to Urban heritage in the Middle and Central Asia 11-13.07.2017. UCL institute London. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bartlett/development/events/2017/jul/reconnect-population-urban-heritage-middle-east-central-asia>
11. Kocovic, M., Djukic, V & Vicentijevic, D. (2016) *Making heritage more valuable and sustainable through intersectoral networking*, *The ENCATC Journal of Cultural Management and Policy*, online magazine
12. Kocovic, M., Djukić, V. (2015) Partnership as a strategy to achieve optimal participatory governance and risk mitigation (of cultural and natural heritage), *The ENCATC Journal of Cultural Management and Policy*, I SSN 2224-2554, online magazine
13. Kocovic, Markovic, De Santo, 2017, *Silk (as an imported heritage) and its market evolution in the South of Italy Calabria example*, 1st International symposium of silk roads studies, Nevsehir 21-23.09.2017. <http://www.issas.net/program.html>
14. Kriedte, H. Medick and J. Schlumbohm, *Industrialization before industrialization* (Cambridge, 1981). Translated by B. Schempp, first published as *Industrialisierung vor der Industrialisierung* (Göttingen, 1977). (Henceforth KMS)
15. Luciano C., Giovanni F., 1992, *La Seta in Europa SEC.XIII-XX*, International conference 4-9 may, ch: *The World Silk Trade: A long period overview pp: 634-683*.
16. Mino Grijalva, M., 1989, *Proto-Industria Colonial*, *Historia Mexicana XXXVIII* (Mexico, 1989), pp 793-818.
17. Fennell Maureen, M., 1997, *Textiles: Production, Trade, Demand, An expanding World: The European Impact on World History 1450-1800, vol 12*.
18. Mileker, M., 1926, *History of the Banat of military border 1764-1873*, (pp: 10), reprinted Pančevo History Archive 2004
19. Dragičević Šešić, M., *Javna i kulturna politika, socio-kulturološki aspekti*, Magna Agenda, Beograd, 2002.
20. Rab Houston and K. D. M. Snell, 1984, *Proto-Industrialization? Cottage Industry, Social Change, and Industrial Revolution* Author(s): Source: *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (Jun., 1984), pp. 473-492 Published by: Cambridge University Press Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2639188>
21. Sestic, M., Rogac Mijatovic, M., 2014, *"Balkan Dissonant Heritage Narratives (and Their Attractiveness) for Tourism"*, *American Journal of Tourism Management*, doi:10.5923/s.tourism.201402.02
22. Sum, N.-L. & Jessop, B. (2013). *Towards a Cultural Political Economy: Putting Culture in its Place in Political Economy*. Edward Elgar: Cheltenham, UK
23. UN Agenda http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E
24. William B. Hauser, 1974, *Economic Institutional Change in Tokugawa Japan: Osaka and the Kinai Cotton Trade*. London: Cambridge University Press.