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CONTENTS

Language

HISTORY

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UNIVERSITY OF PRIŠTINA IN KOSOVSKA MITROVICA
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AGRICULTURE OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY (1923–1941) IN THE LIGHT OF YUGOSLAV SOURCES

ABSTRACT: Signing the Agreement on the Establishment of Friendly Relations between the Republic of Turkey and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (the Kingdom of Yugoslavia since 1929) on November 28, 1925, provided bases for mutual economic connecting. Concerning the fact that economies of both countries had dominantly agrarian character, they were often rivals to one another in the world markets. Because of that, Yugoslav government aimed at gathering data on the development and modernization of Turkish agriculture by means of its diplomatic representative bodies. In this paper, on the basis of unpublished archival sources, newspapers articles and relevant literature, the following issues will be presented: the state and characteristics of the Turkish agrarian issues during Ataturks's era: the capacity of agricultural production (agriculture, cattle breeding), measures and efforts for its improvement (introducing new kinds and breeds, land-improvement and irrigation projects, the use of modern agro-technical measures, preventing cattle infectious diseases, agrarian reforms, etc.), and the export of agrarian products.

KEYWORDS: agriculture; Republic of Turkey; the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Yugoslavia); Ataturk's era; agrarian reform.

The First World War (1914–1918), beside an enormous number of human losses and material demolition, considerably changed the current political world map. On the ruins of the great traditional empires a row of new states arose, among which there were the two Balkan ones – the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (SCS) and the Republic of Turkey. The Kingdom of SCS (since1929 renamed as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) was created by unision of South Slavs on December 1 in 1918, covering about half the territory of the Balkan Peninsula (248.666 km^2), it served as a natural connection between Southern, Middle and Western Europe and Asia Minor and Near East. Important land routes were built through it, giving it a specific importance in the international relations. It was one of the key pillars of the Versailles Peace Treaty in the territory of Southeast Europe after the First World War.

Due to the dissagreement on the gross amount of the Ottoman debt, left to the formal and legal successor of the Ottoman Empire, on the occasion of signing of the Sevre Peace Treaty in 1920 and the Lausanne Peace Treaty in 1923, the Kingdom of SCS established official diplomatic relations with the Republic of Turkey on October 28 in 1925, when the Treaty of Peace and Friendship was signed in Ankara (Жупанчић, 2004, p. 10). It was the basis for the future cooperation of the two countries possible, not only in political, but also in economic, cultural, and other aspects. Despite some unsolved issues which burdened bilateral relations between the two countries during the second half of the 1920s—such as repatriation of war prisoners and internees from Turkey, restitution of material goods which were taken from Serbia to the Ottoman Empire during the First World War, mutual protection of the subjects, return of the Turkish subjects displaced from the region that was within the Kingdom of SCS after the Balkan wars and the First World War, etc.—cooperation between official Ankara and Belgrade recorded an upward trend. Namely, both countries were faced with big political challenges caused by the tendencies of the revisionary countries, such as Bulgaria and Italy, which directed them to mutual closeness and connection, not only in the field of political relations but also in the field of economy and culture. The starting point of it was the Treaty of Peace and Friendship, signed on October 28, 1925 in Ankara (Stojković, 1998, p. 218–219).

With desire to develop the volume of foreign trade business with the Republic of Turkey,[2] and thus avoid mutual competition in the markets of other countries and realize possible cooperation for the

joint entry in the opium market, as both Turkey and the Kingdom of SCS were the leaders in the production of high quality raw opium. Official Belgrade systematically collected the data on the economy situation in Turkey – volume of production, prices, financial sector, taxes and customs regulations and tariffs, legislative framework, traffic situation, etc.[3] Taking that into account, according to the structure and characteristics of their economies, both the Kingdom of SCS and the newly formed Republic of Turkey were listed as 'agricultural countries' in which agricultural production was the most dominant branch of economy providing more than 80% of population, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Trade and Industry paid full attention to the collecting of information on Turkish agriculture – its most prominent branches, volume of production and measures taken for its development, prices and quality of agricultural products, etc.[4] This data was collected through the activities of diplomatic representatives and the correspondents of the Yugoslav daily newspapers of the Kingdom of SCS in Turkey – obtained by the immediate information in the field, during the talks with representatives of the Turkish state and economy institutions, analysis of the Turkish press and official statistical publications, as well as by certain foreign trade companies which dealt with Turkish tradesmen reports.

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[2] The first Yugoslav-Turkish agreement on trade was signed on July 3, 1934 and was based on the clause "of the greatest privilege" (Đorđević, 1960, p. 212).

[3] Yugoslav-Turkish agreement on the joint placement of opium on the world market was conducted on April 14, 1932 envisaged the establishment of the "Central bureau for opium" with its seat in Istanbul, which would take care of the sale of 77,5% of Turkish and 22,5% of Yugoslav opium. "Central bureau" began with work in February 1934 and operated until June 30, 1941. (Archives of Yugoslavia (AY)-411-15-430, Letter of General Consulate of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Constantinople to the Embassy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Ankara, 1. VII 1941.; Споразум о извозу опиума, *Политика*, 21. IV 1932, 2; Турско-југословенски централни биро за опијум, *Вардар*, 2. I 1934, 1).

[4] According to the official data, the Republic of Turkey, in the year 1935, had a population of 16.188.767 inhabitants, out of which 12.400.852 were peasants (81.69% of the total population). Despite proportionate high number of population for which agriculture was basic occupation in the total population of Turkey, law density of population was very low, and there were only 21 inhabitants per a square kilometre. The region with the highest density of the population in Turkey was the Black Sea coast (*Karadeniz bölgesi*), where the density of the rural population was the highest. Regarding the vilayets, the highest number of agrarian population per a square kilometre lived in Trabzon – 47, then follows Rize – 37, Ordu – 35 and Giresun – 26 (Ibid., 58).

Before the First World War, the Ottoman Empire was a feudal agricultural country with a large volume of production and significant export capacities, cereals, in particular. Thus, for example, in 1904 it exported 1.350.000 t of wheat, 700.000 t of rye and 200.000 t of barley. The crops were the main agricultural product and the land they were cultivated on was estimated as 5.750.000 ha, half of which were wheat sown fields.The total production of crops in 1913 was 408.259.729 kg, out of which 162.500.000 kg went on wheat, partly due to the territory losses, but even more so, to the human losses and immigration of the Greek and Armenian population after the First World War, agriculture of the newly formed Republic of Tukey was facing great difficuties.[5] Domestic production was not able to meet the needs of the country, so that, in order to provide food for the population, it was necessary to start with imports. According to the data of the Consulate of the Kingdom of SCS in Istanbul, the quantity of cereals in Turkey harvested in 1924 was 3.773.840 t. Out of this quantity, it was necessary to separate 925.000 t for the seed for the following harvest, and 471.000 t for feeding the cattle, so that the population could count on it, but at the same time, in this way, the population was left with 1.340.000 t, of food only, which was not enough.[6] Wheat sown fileds took up around 85% of the total arable land. The most important cereals regions were plateaus in Middle Anatolia and fertile plains of Thrace,[7] which were used for cultivation of wheat, ray, maze, oats and millet. By an intensive enlargment of wheat sown fields, Turkey succeeded not only in meeting the needs for food of its population in the mid 30s of the last century, but also achieved considerable surpluses which it then exported.[8] The volume of

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[5] The territory of the Republic of Turkey was 770.000 km^2 (Ibid., 86).

[6] For the needs of Istanbul, as the largest consumer of cereals during 1924, 155.749 t of wheat and 3.850 t of flour were imported from abroad. The largest part of this import came from the United States of America, the Soviet Union, Romania, Australia, Bulgaria and some states of South America. The following year, on Istanbul market appeared wheat from the Kingdom of SCS brought via the Danube, and the Romanian port Braile. Its price was approximately the same as the one in Romania and Bulgaria, but it was lower than the one from the overseas countries. (Archives of Yugoslavia (AY)-411-10-120. The report of the Consulate of the Kingdom of SCS in Istanbul to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of SCS, 26. V 1926).

[7] The main regions of wheat cultivation were the vilayets such as follows: Konya, Ankara, Eskisehir, Bursa, Manisa, Adana, Kocaeli and Thrache (Ibid., 58).

VLADAN A. VIRIJEVIĆ

wheat production during these years is shown in the following table:[9]

YEAR	QUANTITY (IN TONS)	VALUE (IN LIRAS)
1930	7.903	577.000
1931	17.101	856.000
1932	31.618	1.557.000
1933	26.689	1.096.000
1934	86.828	4.081.000
1935	64.602	2.831.000

In the production of crops, barley was in the second place. It was used mainly for the cattle feeding although considerable quantities of it were exported, as it was appreciated highly for its quality abroad and was used in the production of beer.[10] As its cultivation required moist soil, it was mostly cultivated in the fields around Adana, Mersin, Manisa, Konya, Eskisehir, Balikesir and in the Gediz valley. Maze was cultivated mainly in the plowing fileds of the Black Sea vilayets, i.e. around Samsun, Rize and Trabzon, in the area of around 200.000 ha. Rye is a crop that was, combined with wheat, mainly used in the domestic flour milling industry. It was cultivated mostly in the vilayets of Kayseri (120.000 quintals), Kirk-lareli (110.000 quintals) and Edirne (100.000 quintals), in the area covering approximately 360.000 ha. Oats was cultivated to a lesser extent in some plateaus of Anatolia (around 180.000 ha) and was mostly used as forage, while the arable millet sown fields were mainly in the region of the Sea of Marmara. Its production on the annual level was moving around 200.000 quintals (Михајловић, 1937, p. 60).

Favourable climate conditions in the coastal regions of Turkey offered favourable conditions for the cultivation of vegetables. In the surroundings of Istanbul, cabbage, tomato, spinach, leek, carrot

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[8]   While in the mid of the 20s of the 20th century Turkey was forced to pay annualy around 10.000.000 liras for the import of wheat, several years later, it gained from its export around 3.000.000 liras (Михајловић, 1937, p. 59).

[9]   Ibid., 59.

[10]   The export of barley in the beginning of the 30s of the 20th century had strong fluctuations. In 1930, it was 6.184 t, in 1931 it was 91.000 t, in 1932 89.000 t, in 1933 it was 49.612 t, in 1934 148.600 t and, in 1935, it was 52.314 t. (Ibid., p. 60).

and turnip were cultivated, while garlic and onion were mostly cultivated in the regions along the Black Sea coast. The Black Sea region was also leading in the production of beans. The average annual production of beans was around 17.500 t. Out of other legumes, broad bean was cultivated (in the vilayets Canakkale and Izmir – around 20.000 t), chick pea (about 12.500 t), lentil (oko 8.000 t) and pea (oko 2.500 t). Potato was cultivated mainly in the region of Izmir, Afyonkarahisar, Bolu, Konya, Kastamonu, Nigde and Adapazari. Yield of about 25.000 t per year was sufficient for the needs of home market. By modernizing its processing capacities of food industry gradually, Turkey had placed a part of its vegetables for export as canned products, mostly in the markets of Egypt, France and Greece (Михајловић, 1937, p. 62).

An important segment of agriculture was the cultivation of industrial plants – tobacco, cotton, poppy, olive, sugar beet, hemp and sesame. Tobacco was the most important export item of the Turkish agriculture, participating in the total export with more than 20% of its total value. Cultivated in all parts of the country, it was most found in three regions such as follows: around the Black Sea (Samsun, Bafra, Trabzon, Sinop, Tokat), around Izmir (Denizli, Manisa, Bergama, Odemis, Kasaba, Ayasoluk) and in the region of the Sea of Marmara (Bursa, Izmit, Balikesir, Hendek). Aromatic tobacco from Bafra and Samsun was of the best quality, which because of its thin leaf and aromatic scent was used for mixing with the tobacco from the other provinces, Izmir and Bursa, in particular. Production of tobacco varied from year to year, mostly because of the climate conditions. Thus, in 1927, around 56.000.000 kg was produced, in 1930, it was 47.210.890 kg, in 1931, it was 51.111.051 kg, in 1932, it was 18.040.212, while in 1933, it was 35.367.126 kg.[11] The largest market for its placement was Germany (more than 30% of the total export of the tobacco), followed by Belgium, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Austria, Holland and Poland. In order to maintain the quality intended for export, Turkish "Monopoly administration" forbid tobacco planting in some regions of the country where the conditions were unfavourable for it, and whose weak varieties endangered export rating. While in 1925, 179.751 farming

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[11] Narodno gospodarstvo – privreda savremene Turske, *Obzor*, 30. VII 1934, 7.; Производња дувана у Турској и извоз у иностранство, *Привредни йреīлед Консуларно-йривредноī одељења Минисῑарсῑва иносῑраних йослова*, 5. I 1935, 533.

VLADAN A. VIRIJEVIĆ

households (663.000 ha) cultivated tobacco, in 1932, their number was reduced to 48.756 (280.215 ha) (Михајловић, 1937, p. 64).

Cotton was cultivated in the regions around Adana, Mersin, Malatya, in the region of Hatay and in the Aegean part of Turkey (vilayets of Izmir, Aydin, Denizli and Manisa). In accordance with climate and geographical characteristics of these regions, three varieties of cotton were cultivated – home "Yerli" (originated from India) and American "Akala" and "Cleveland". Variety "Akala" was sown only in the Aegean zone where it produced the best quality fibres of white colour, whose length was from 35 to 36 mm. Variety "Cleveland", which was not of the same quality as "Akala" (fibre length was from 22 to 26 mm), was dominant in the fields of Adana, Mersin, Malatya i Hatay, while the autochtonous variety "Yerli", of the poorest quality of the fibre (yellowish-white colour, its length was from 18 to 20 mm) was present in all the regions covering about 50% of land sown by this industrial plant.[12] The volume of production of raw cotton depended on the atmospheric conditions, which resulted in such variations. Thus, in rich yield years such as in 1929 and 1931, the yield was about 70.000 t, while in 1928, it failed completely and hardly reached 15.000 t. (Михајловић, 1937, p. 65). Raw cotton was an important item of Turkish export, but parallel with raising of textile industry its export as a raw material was in decline. According to some estimation, at the end of the 20s of the 20th century, the yield of cotton in Turkey, per hectare, was only 75% in comparison to the average world yield. Production fall of cotton was felt especially in the times of great economic crisis, when a decrease of the total yield from 240.000 quintals in harvesting 1929/30 year to 61.000 quintals in harvesting 1932/33 year was recorded. In this way, the percentage of row cotton participation in the total Turkish export was decreased from 11,4% in 1930, to 3,2% in 1932.[13]

The volume of export of raw cotton for some of the years may be seen from the following table (Михајловић, 1937, p. 66):

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[12] AY-70-228 The report of Josip Fisher to the union of the textile industries of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on Yugoslav trade delegation and textile experts journey to Ankara for the purchase of Turkish cotton, 10. VIII 1940.

[13] Унапређивање производње памука у Турској, *Привредни преглед Консуларно-привредног одељења Министарства иностраних послова*, 120, 25. V 1935.

YEAR	QUANTITY (IN TONS)	VALUE (IN LIRAS)
1930	32.419	16.650.000
1931	22.745	7.400.000
1932	10.548	3.200.000
1933	5.098	1.700.000
1934	13.279	5.200.000
1935	15.589	6.700.000

Turkey was, in the period between the two World Wars, one of the largest world producers of raw opium, obtained from the poppy fruit. According to some data, its production was about 62% of the total world quantity of opium at the annual level. Turkish poppy was of the highest quality as it contained as raw material, 12 to 13% of morphine. The most important areas with plantations of poppy fields were around Izmir, Afyonkarahisar, Amasya, Tokat and between Harput–Malatya. Production of opium depended mostly on the weather conditions in time of seeding and harvesting of poppy. Thus, in 1927, it was only 112 t, 1929 – 190 t, 1930 – 660 t, 1931 – 430 t, 1932 – 123 t. Cultivation of poppy was far more profitable than the cultivation of crops, for opium was very much in demand by the world pharmaceutical industry. Istanbul and Izmir were the main exporting ports for the Turkish opium, whose most important customers were France, Germany, England and the USA.[14] The level of annual export was liable to fluctuation, due to the volume of production and price movements on the markets. In the period from 1925 to 1932, it was within the range from 225 to 320 t, so that it reached 430 t in 1933, and yet in the following year it fell to only 42 t.[15]

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[14] Narodno gospodarstvo – privreda savremene Turske, *Obzor*, 30. VII 1934, 7.

[15] For the joint appearance on the world market of raw opium, which is eliminating the mutual competition and reducing the impact of cartels of the world producers, Yugoslav and Turkish governments signed an agreement on April 14, 1932 in Ankara on establishing a mixed "Central bureau for opium" with its seat in Istanbul. It began with work on January 1, 1934. – AY-370-12-527, Извештај о турско-југословенском споразуму о извозу опиума, s.a.; Закључен је споразум о продаји опијума између нас и Турске, *Време*, 2. II 1932, 8.; Споразум о извозу опиума, *Политика*, 21. IV 1932, 2.; Турско-југословенски централни биро за опијум, *Вардар*, 2. I 1934, 1.

VLADAN A. VIRIJEVIĆ

Sugar beet is an agricultural culture whose cultivation began in Turkey in 1926, when the first factory for its processing was opened in Ushak.[16] During the following years a rapid growth of sugarbeeet sown fileds was recorded. While, in 1933, it was cultivated on 11.850 ha, it went up in the following year to 60.000 ha covering this cultivation. This enabled Turkey to largerly reduce its dependence on import, so that in comparison to 64.000 t, which were imported in 1930, five years later it was only 1.750 t (Михајловић, 1937, p. 72).

Owing to the favourable soil and the climate conditions, the cultivation of olives in the regions of Asia Minor, i.e. in the areas with temperate climate around Aegean (Ayvalik, Edremit and the hinterland of Izmir) and the Sea of Marmara (Mudanya, Gemlik, Erdek, Edincik), has had a long tradition. The top quality olive oil was the one originated from the surroundings of Ayvalik. Turkey was in the fourth place in Europe of both olive and olive oil production – behind Spain, Italy and Greece. They were exported mainly to the Soviet Union, Romania, Bulgaria, Syria and Egypt, while volume and value of olive export, in the period from 1930 to 1935, may be seen from the following table:[17]

YEAR	QUANTITY (IN TONS)	VALUE (IN LIRAS)
1930	4.741	1.884.000
1931	18.259	6.112.000
1932	2.467	773.000
1933	14.181	3.442.000
1934	7.743	1.928
1935	6.669	1.826

Due to the primitive way of filtration with manual presses and non existence of refinery plants, up to the beginning of the 30s of the 20th century, the quantity and quality of Turkish olive oil was on a low level. That is why it was mostly exported as the raw material to France and Italy, where it was processed in their refineries. However, by the etatization of the Turkish agricultural modern installations for refining, which were erected in the area of Ayvalik

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[16] After that, sugar rafineries were opened in Alpul, Turhal and Eskisehir (Михајловић, 1937, p. 72.)

[17] Ibid., 66.

and Edremit, the yield from oil export was considerably increased (Михајловић, 1937, p. 66–67).

Sesame is an industrial plant that was cultivated mostly in the plains around the river Meander and in the vilayet of Adana. Its fruit is used for obtaining the oil that can be used as edible, for production of halvah, soap, scents and for the lighting, while the husk can be used for cattle feeding, milking cows, in particular. Sesame oil was an important item of Turkish export – in 1933, when even 3.765 t were exported, in 1934, 1.796 t, and in 1935, 688 t (Михајловић, 1937, p. 73).

Beside agriculture, fruit growing and wine growing, raising the cattle also presented an important wide spread agricultural activity, particularly in the central and eastern parts of Anatolia. Dragoslav Mihajlović, an expert in economy and a trade delegate of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Turkey, wrote that Anatolia is "a vast pasture sparsed by numerous herds of goats and flock of sheep" adding also that "in terms of cattle raising, Turkey undoubtedly took up one of first places, both in terms of its quality and nobility of the breed" (Михајловић, 1937, p. 80). Great impoverishment of livestock fund during the First World War, due to the sufferings, robbery and epidemies, republican authorities, tried to mitigate by improving ways of raising the livestock. Three large centres for livestock were established in Konya, Karacabey, Sultansuju and Cukurova, as well as in a number of stallion stations and experimental farms for cattle, sheep and goats. They served for improving the domestic breed of cattle and horses by the cross breeding with better quality breed from abroad. In order to make up for the lack of forage, enormous areas which were originally used for grazing of livestock were transformed into artificial meadows from which yields of high quality hey were harvested. These measures contributed to the general increase of livestock number, so that in only two years, from 1923 to 1925, the number of sheep increased from 9.350.000 to 12.430.000 cattle, number of common goat from 5.830.000 to 6.780.000 of cattle, number of "Angora" goats from 2.020.000 to 2.740.000 of cattle, the cattle from 5.020.000 to 5.370.000, camels from 85.000 to 94.000, horses from 538.000 to 601.000, mules from 32.000 to 51.000 of cattle. In this period, the only fall was recorded in buffaloes – from 556.000 to 540.000 (Михајловић, 1937, p. 81).

The most developed branch of livestock, according to the number of cattle, was raising the sheep. The highest percentage of

sheep consisted of autochtonous breed: "Red Karaman", "Kivircik", "Daglic", "Sakiz", "White Karaman" and "Karayaka".[18] They were characterized by great resistence to the atmospheric conditions, and they put up "with an ease the harsh conditions of the summers and winters equally" (Михајловић, 1937, p. 81). Sheep "Kiviricik" was appreciated for its high quality milk and very tasty meat, but the quality of its wool was not at the satisfactory level, thus it was mainly used for production of coarse rugs and thick cloth. The breed "Karaman" was also famous for its high quality meat, but even more so, for its tallow and wool.[19] The "Karayaka" was also highly estimated for its meat, while the "Sakiz", apart from the meat, was also famous for being able to frequently get twins. Areas in which sheep raising was mostly represented were regions around Ankare, Konya, Afyonkarahisar, Balikesir, Manisa, Urfa, Sivas, Izmira, Kars, Kayseri, Eskisehir, Aksaray, Bursa, Kirklareli and Tekirdag.The quality of wool was higher in sheep raised in Thrace than the ones from the Anatolia fields. Production of wool, as row material for textile industry was in rise. Thus, in 1930, 10.000.000 t, was produced while four years later the quantity of wool increased for 70%. The number of sheep reached its maximum in 1927 – 13.630.000, while it fell in 1929 to 10.180.000 (Михајловић, 1937, p. 81).

Goats were an important category of "flocks". According to the data from 1927, 11.768.259 of cattle was listed in Turkey. The most important breed was so-called Angora goat (around 3.099.520 of them), which had high quality wool, long, shimmering and soft wool, known as "mohair" or "tiftik".[20] It was highly appreciated, and was used for production of plush and various luxurious fabrics and was mostly exported to the Unites States of America (USA), England, the Soviet Union, Germany and Spain. An average quantity of mohair obtained from one goat was around ½ kilogram per annum (Михајловић, 1937, p. 82).

[18] Breed "Kiviricik" was raised mostly in the regions of Thrace and west Anatolia, while the breed "karaman" and its varieties were raised in the coastal regions east of the river Sakarya. Breed "Daglic" was commonly found in the regions of Bursa, Balikesir and Canakkale. Sheep "Karayaka" was raised in the Black Sea region, while "Sakiz" was raised in the surroundings of Izmir and Cesme. – Ibid., 80.

[19] Breed "Karaman" had around 15 kg of butterfat in its large tail. – AY-334(KPO)-528, Data on trade agreements between Turkey and other countries, on its economy and communications, 12. XII 1934.

[20] Narodno gospodarstvo – privreda savremene Turske, *Obzor*, 30. VII 1934, 7.

Out of herds, cattle, buffaloes, horses, donkeys and camels were the most raised ones. Horses were used for agricultural work and for the Turkish army needs. Before the Balkan Wars and the First World War, their number was above the number of 130.000 of cattle, but a huge percentage suffered during war activities, so that in the renewal of horsemanship special attention was given. Until 1926, the number of horses grew up to 537.712. As far as the cattle was concerned, the autochtonous breed of law rate of milkiness prevailed and was mostly raised in eastern vilayets. Milk was used for daily nutrition of population and for the production of butter, butter oil and cheese, which were important items of the Turkish export. Out of various kinds of butter and butter oil (fresh, salted, melted or mixed with other fats), butter from the area of Trabzon was especially estimated, while "kasar"and "tulum" cheese, white cheese and cheese in souse were the most wanted in foreign markets (Михајловић, 1937, p. 84).

Rich livestock fund presented, apart from considerable export potential, an important raw base for the intestines and skin processing industry.[21] In the butcheries of Anatolia, meat and intestines of sheep, goats, cattle and buffaloes were processed. Turkey was known for its production of smoked meat, so-called pastirma and "sujuk"– sausages made from a mixture of beef and mutton and garlic added to it.[22] Apart from the domestic use, i.e. for nutrition and meat processing industry, intestines were exported into European countries as well as to the USA. In 1930, 293 t was exported, the value of 958.000 liras, in 1934, 273 t (1.074.000 liras), and in 1935, 231 t (1.594.000 liras). The best quality was achieved in the butheries of Diyarbekir, Malatya, Konya, Adana, Tarsus and Mersin, where the intestines in diameter of 20–32 mm in and the length from 25 to 35 m were processed (Михајловић, 1937, p. 84). Rawhides were processed in the domestic factories and then exported. The average value of annual export of rawhide in the first half of the 20th century was 1.500.000 liras (Михајловић, 1937, p. 84).

[21] Livestock was mostly exported to Syria, Palestine, Greece and the Soviet Union. From 1930 to 1932 it was exported, on average, around 800.000 of livestock, which brought Turkey the income of around 7.800.000 liras. In 1933, the export increased to 896.000, while in 1934, it reached the figure of 1.081.000 (Михајловић, 1937, p. 84).

[22] Smoked meat, especially from the region of Kayseri and "sujuk" was mostly exported to Greece. In 1927, 117 t of "pastirma" worth of 81.151 liras was placed onto its market. – Ibid., 85.

VLADAN A. VIRIJEVIĆ

Raising the poultry was also an important branch of the Turkish agriculture in the period between the two World Wars. According to the information obtained by Dragoslav Mihajlović, around 15.000.000 of poultry were raised in Turkey in mid forties of the 20th century. They were mostly hens – 13.725.580 of them, turkeys – around 541.600 of them, geese around – 595.960 of them and ducks around – 136.860. Beside 'home breeding' in the village households, rasinig the poultry to a larger extent was most present in the region of Samsun, Kars, Bartin, Trabzon, Ordu and Manisa. Export of eggs is shown in the following table for some of the years:[23]

Year	Quantity (in kg)	Value (in liras)
1923	5.213.098	1.421.698
1924	8.661.395	3.726.516
1925	10.055.243	4.859.853
1929	11.165.401	6.528.191
1930	17.870.292	8.324.512
1931	24.466.500	10.345.883
1932	24.753.388	8.026.093

The highest number of customers bying eggs from Turkey were from Spain, Greece, France, Italiy, Germany and Palestine, while the export was carried out via ports in Istanbul, Izmir, Trabzon, Giresun, Ordu, Samsun, Antalia and Mersin, where the exporting contingents were checked by the special expert commissions in order to keep the quality high.

Fruit and wine growing sector was an important segment of Turksih agriculture in the period between the two World Wars, hence a considerable attention was paid to its development. Favourable pedological and climate conditions in the coastal regions of Turkey offered possibilities for cultivation of a number of various sorts of fruit and high quality grapevine. While during the Ottoman Empire, there was only one wine nursery, during the first decade of the republican social system, five more were founded, spreading over the area of 10.000 ha. From their selection viticulturists were given about 826.000 grafts for free. There were seven fruit nurseries in the country out of which up to 1933 the

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[23] Извоз јаја из Турске, *Привредни преглед Консуларно-привредног одељења Министарства иностраних послова*, 28. IX 1935, 907.

peasants were given 7.421.350 of various fruit seedlings (Михајло-вић, 1937, p. 21). The area covered by vineyards during the mid 30s of the 20th century was about 55.000 ha, and their presence, according to the regions, is shown in the following table (Михајловић, 1937, p. 86):

AREA	AREA (IN HECTARES)
Izmir, Aydin, Manisa and Denizli	113.000
Bursa (Hudavendigar)	87.000
Konya, Burdur, Isparta, Niğde	42.000
Diyarbakir	40.000
Elazig and Malatya	27.000
Maras	30.000
Amasya and Tokat	20.000

Grape was, apart from sale in the the home markets, exported as fresh mostly to Syria, the Soviet Union, Greece and Egypt. Out of numerous local sorts by its specific qualities the ones from the surroundings of Konya and Diyarbakir were especially outstanding, for which Dragoslav Mihajlović stressed that their 'taste and smell could not be found in any other country' (Михајловић, 1937, p. 87). Considerable quantities of grapes were exported as dried. The main export port for that type of grape was Izmir, from which around 90% of total production was exported to the customers in Europe. From 1930 to 1934, the export was in the range of 40–54.000 t, while in 1935, even 76.422 t was exported, for which the Turkish exporters collected around 10.500.000 liras (Михајловић, 1937, p. 88). After the state introduction of monopoly on the production of alcoholic beverages in 1927, the production and export of wine and grape brandy with the addition of anise were considerably improved. The most important wine regions were the Aegean region, Thrace and the region around the Sea of Marmara. In the Aegean region, for the production of wine the most used were the sorts of grapes "Sultana", "Rozaki" and "Muscat" (in the surroundings of Bornova near Izmir), in Thrace, the sort "Papazkarasi" (in the surroundings of Kirklareli) was cultivated, while in the region of the Sea of Marmara the sort "Beyaz Yapincak" (around Gelibolu, Silivri and Tekirdag)[24] was cultivated.

Different climate conditions in Turkey were favourable for the cultivation of various kinds of fruit – apples, pears, peaches, apricots, walnuts, plums, chesnuts, hazelnuts, pistachios, figs, oranges, and pomegranate. Vilayets of Ankara and Kastamonu were in particular, famous for the pear quality, Bursa was famous for its tasty apricots, plums and chestnuts, Gaziantep for pistachios, the surroundings of Izmir valley of the rivers Large and Small Menderes) for figs and coastal regions of Hatay for their juicy oranges.

Turkey had a leading position in the world among the growers of hazelnuts. Its hazelnut is greasy and sweet, of much higher quality than the one from Italy and Spain. Huge plantations of hazelnut were spread in the hinterland of the Black Sea coast (regions of Giresun, Trabzon, Ordu) and in the surroundings of Kocaeli, Izmir and Degirmendere. In the mid 30s of the last century, hazelnut trees were covering around 60.000 ha. An average yield in rich yield years was from 1.000 to 1.100 kg per hectare. If the year of 1929 is exempted, when the harvest failed due to the draught, an annual participation of Turkish hazelnut on the world market was within the range from 36,7% to 65,5%, thus it represented the most important fruit in the structure of Turkish export. It was exported both with and without husk, mostly to Germany, Italy, France, England, Egypt and the USA (Михајловић, 1937, p. 91).

Areas with fig plantations, cultivated mostly in the Eagean regions of Asia Minor, covered on average around 150.000 ha with 3.500.000 trees. The four sorts of figs dominated such as follows: "suzme", "eleme", "natural" and "hurda". The sort "suzme", characterized by size and white colour was of the best quality. Sort "eleme" had the same colour but was considerably smaller. The "natural" ones were covered by small freckles, and were used for the domestic consummation mainly, while the "hurda" sort was of the poorest quality. However, as it contained a significant percentage of alchohol it was used as an additional ingredient for production of alchoholic drinks and products known as "fig coffee". Almost 90% of fig harvest was exported both as fresh and dried. In the period of 1930–1934, on average around 26.500 t was exported

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[24] The best quality Turkish wine was made from "Sultana". It had a clear green-yellow colour and contained 12–13 % of alcohol. By mixing this grape with 'Rozaki" sort, sourish and semi sour wine were produced. Wine from grapes of Thrace contained 11–12 % of alcohol and was of "fiery red colour" (Ibid., 89).

per year, while in 1935, a quantity of 37.500 t was achieved (Михај-ловић, 1937, p. 92).

Although they were not of an equal importance as an export item as hazelnuts, walnuts were also important, because of their quality they were very much in demand on foreign markets, both with or without a husk.[25] Apart from the fruit, the walnut trees were exported, which was much in demand for the production of gun and elements in the air industry as they were characterized by weight, firmness and were easy for painting, and were also used for obtaining oil (the percentage was around 40–45%). The main centres of production of walnuts were the regions of Kastamonu, Bursa, Aydin, Antalia, Diyarbakir, Maras, Sivas, Trabzon, Artvin, Isparta, Giresun, Balikesir and Bolu.

Reorganization of agricultural output on the scientific bases – Within the framework of the reform process of all the segments of Turkish state and its society, government of the Republic of Turkey intended to raise agricultural production on a higher level, so that, it would meet not only the domestic needs, but also gain considerable export potentials, paying special attention to its moderization. Hence, it could be said that the the development of agriculture in Turkey from 1923 presented an obvious example of etatization, trying to eradicate the feudal system in the village and to help the peasant masses without ownership of land, as well as the ones which led a difficult life on small estates, the state conducted a large agrarian reform, which encompassed an area of land of around 800.000 ha (Михајловић, 1937, p. 20).

In order to struggle against livestock contagious diseases, which were widely spread, institutes for bacteriology and serum production were established. At the beginning of the 30s of the 20th century, around 100.000 animals on average were vaccinated annually. In that way, health state of the livestock was improved considerably. As an example, bovine plague, which in 1922 caused death of around 27.000 of cattle, ten years later, was almost completely eradicated (Михајловић, 1937, p. 84). In the field of plant production, great efforts were undertaken in applying modern agrarian technical tools. Owing to those applications, it was possible to destroy huge swarms of locusts, which came from Syria and Iraq, devastating fields of Turkish farmers. Milions of hectares of land

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[25] In 1930, around 1.760 t of unshelled and 521 t of shelled walnuts were exported, while in 1935, the export of unshelled walnuts reached 7.057 t, and of the shelled ones was only 1.111 t (Михајловић, 1937, p. 93).

went through the process of deratization, thus being saved from the fatal impact of mice and other field rodents, more than 2.500.000 olive trees were cured, fruit trees and grapevine were protected by the use of various chemical preparations, etc (Михајловић, 1937, p. 21).

As an example of innovation of Turkish agriculture, in the period between the two World Wars, the Yugoslav press often mentioned "Ataturk's estate" in the near vicinity of Ankara. According to the citations of the journalist of Belgrade "Pravda", who paid him a visit in spring in 1938, during 13 years, since the sanation of the terrain which previously consisted of marshes and bulrush, on one side and the arid rocky half desert steppe on the other began, a fascinating change was to be observed. In addition, 3.000.000 of different trees was planted, grapevine gave its fruit three years later, and, in 1930, various sorts of fruit were harvested. The estate became an experimental agricultural property, where selection and breeding of various sorts of crops were carried out, that is their distribution for cultivation in certain geographical regions of Turkey. Moreover, livestock selection station and the largest poultry farm in Turkey were built there.[26]

Selection stations were built in the other parts of the country, too. Thus in Adana and Nazilli they were formed for the cotton quality improvement.[27] In Eskisehir, Ankara, Adapazari, Adana and Yesilkoy near Istanbul, selection stations were formed in order to improve plant agricultural production in which domestic sorts were crossed with sorts of higher quality from abroad which facilitated climatological-pedological conditions of the cultivation in Turkey.[28] A considerable success was achieved in the improvement

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[26] Орман – угледно имање Кемала Ататурка, *Правда*, 11. V 1938, 4.

[27] According to some estimations, by the end of the 20s of the 20th century, yield of cotton in Turkey was per hectare only 75% of the average yield in the world. The fall in production of cotton was especially felt in the period of great world economic crisis, when the fall of the total yield from 240.000 quintals in the harvesting years of 1929/30 to 61.000 quintals in harvesting 1932/33 was recorded. In that way, the percentage of raw cotton participation in the total Turkish export was reduced from 11,4%, the same as it was in 1930, to 3,2% in 1932.– Унапређивање привреде у Турској, *Привредни йреглед Консуларно-йривредног одељења Министарства иностраних йослова*, 2. III 1935, 634; Унапређивање производње памука у Турској, *Привредни йреглед Консуларно-йривредног одељења Министарства иностраних йослова*, 25. V 1935, 764; Турска као произвођач памука, *Привредни йреглед Консуларно-йривредног одељења Министарства иностраних йослова*, 14. IX 1935, 892.

of tobacco and opium cultivation. Some attempts for introducing new agricultural sorts which had not been cultivated in Turkey before were made, thus, in 1932, in the vicinity of Maras, the rice was planted. Unknown plants in Turkey such as clover and vetch used as forage were also introduced. A Soviet professor Žukovski was of the opinion that Turkey has conditions for successful cultivation of some subtropic species originated from other continents, such as various plants which were used for the production of expensive oil, raw material for India rubber, bamboo, sugar cane, tea and so on.[29] In Eskisehir, a project realization of 'Dry farming' was tried, with the aim of propagating American experience in the so-called 'Dry farming', that is, a special way of keeping moisture in the soil by deep plowing.[30] For better preservation of corn reserves and impact on the market movements, the government erected four silos, each of 4.000 t of capacity, in Ankara, Eskisehir, Konya and Sivas (Михајловић, 1937, p. 21). Considerable attention was paid to irrigation, thus in the vilayet of Konya which was rich with lake water, agricultural areas which were irrigated, rose in number from year to year. Thus, in 1923, 533.915 ha were irrigated, while three years later, irrigation was applied to 1.511.232 ha (Михајловић, 1937, p. 59).

Before 1923, in the whole of Turkey there was only one secondary agricultural school in Bursa. Agricultural experts from abroad, particularly from Germany, were engaged to help modernization of agricultural production, to organize teaching in a number of secondary agricultural schools that republican authorities quickly formed throughout Turkey and to conduct scientific researches on the terrain.[31] German experts were also professors at the newly established Institute of Agriculture in Ankara, where four faculties were formed: Faculty of Veterinary Medicine, Faculty of Agricul-

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[28] With such selection methods by which high quality plant sorts from abroad were adapted to the conditions of cultivation in Turkey, a new sort of wheat, called "grain from Metana", was obtained ,which had a short period of vegetation and was resistant to diseases (Михајловић, 1937, p. 21).

[29] Научна обнова турске пољопривреде, *Политика*, 6. XII 1933, 2.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Famous German botanist, Berlin professor Kurt Krauze investigated structure and characteristics of flora in Turkey in the same way, while the Soviet professor Žukovski after several years of studying "in the field", published a book "Agricultural Turkey", in which he described various agricultural sorts that were cultivated in Turkey. – Научна обнова турске пољопривреде, *Политика*, 6. XII 1933, 2.

ture, Faculty of Natural Sciences and Faculty of Agricultural technology. At the end of the 20s and the beginning of the 30s of the 20th century, about a hundred students and professors were sent abroad to study and improve, in order to adopt modern achievements in the agrarian sphere. They were, when they returned home, together with professors from Germany, the first teaching staff in secondary agricultural schools which republican authorities formed throughout Turkey – in Bursa, Izmir, Istanbul and Adana, and were lecturers in agricultural courses organized for teachers and education inspectors throughout the country. In Bursa, Adalia, Erzincan, Adana and Diyarbakir were formed schools for sericulture.[32] With the aim of educating rural population, the government distributed free scientific publications on modern tendencies in agriculture (books, brochures, propaganda posters) and organized experimental lectures and "agricultural ceremonies" (Михајловић, 1937, p. 20).

The government invested a lot into the modernization of agriculture by introducing modern tools. With the aim of replacing the traditional wooden plough, to the extent as large as possible, by an iron one, it distributed 7.677 and 221 tractor in 1933.[33] It also tried to distribute free seed and livestock, various financial reliefs for getting modern agricultural machines, instruments and tools, such as tractor, machines for the seed selection, vineyardsprayers and so on. Neglecting until then rooted fatalistic views of the impact of natural conditions on agricultural production, republican authorities, having understood the importance of timely precise weather forecast, formed a Meteorological institute in 1925 in Ankara. Until the beginning of the 30s of the 20th century, a meteorological network was built, within which there were, with telegraph line connection, 105 meteorological stations in all parts of the country.[34] With the aim of strengthening economic power of peasants, the authorities used a number of economic protectionist measures. Thus, for example, it limited the interest rates for loans which farmers took from the private financial institutions, while, on the other side, by mediation of the state "Agrarian bank" (*Ziraat bankası*), it provided loans with more favourable interest rates. Under its supervision, agricultural cooperatives were developed, both in terms of financial loans, and for agricultural products sale, too.

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

This bank was otherwise a mediator in the agricultural products sale, too, intervening from time to time for the redemption of offered surpluses, in order to maintain price stability (Михајловић, 1937, p. 20, 22). "Agrarian bank" also financed melioration works in the surroundings of Izmir and Adana. It exploited newly gained agricultural areas until it would be able to repay invested fund, and afterwards handed them over to the state ownership.

In an elaborate annual study of the Yugoslav embassy in Ankara on the overall social-economical, political and military safety conditions in Turkey during 1938, it was emphasized that the Turkish agriculture achieved an 'enormous progress' since the introduction of the Republican establishment. However, such progress was seen in an increase of arable land, that is, it was of an extensive nature or, in other words, the growth of the volume of production in the segment of agriculture was not a consequence of considerable appliance of modern agrarian technical measures but the growth of the sown areas. Thus, in 1937, the area of arable, sown parcel was 3.500.000 ha, so that in the following year, it could be increased for the new 1.000.000 ha. However, yields of Turkish agriculture were still under the Yugoslav and European average – in 1938, in Turkey from the area of one hectare, 825 kg of wheat was on average harvested, while in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia an average harvest was 1.100 kg. Barley yield in Turkey was harvested 950 kg per hektare, while Yugoslav average was 1.350 kg. Similar relation was noticed in the case of potato yield – while in Yugoslavia, 5.700 kg per hectare was harvested, in Turkey it hardly reached 3.000 kg. Even more drastic difference was observed in the rice yield – while in Italy, per one hectare 4.950 kg on average was harvested, Turkish producers of rice harvested only 1.860 kg.[35]

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Сажетак

Пољопривреда Републике Турске (1923–1941)
у светлу југословенских извора

У контексту свеобухватних друштвених промена које су захватиле турску државу и друштво након проглашења републиканског државног уређења, нове власти су са циљем модернизације и вестернизације пуно пажње посветиле привредним токовима. У хронолошким оквирима овог рада Турска је, као и Краљевина Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца (Југославија), представљала својеврсни „аграрни океан“, при чему је пољопривреда чинила преовлађујуће занимање становништва, а аграрни продукти представљали су окосницу турског извоза. Упркос изузетној

бmarket блискости на политичком плану и интензивним билатералним односима, на спољнотрговинском нивоу, тј. светском тржишту аграрних производа, југословенска монархија и турска република су, упркос извесних заједничких активности у пласману опијума, једна другу доживљавале као непосредног конкурента. Стога су југословенски државни органи надлежни за спољну трговину с великом пажњом пратили кретања у сфери турске пољопривредне производње, како би захваљујући тим сазнањима успешније креирали експорт југословенских пољопривредних производа, односно избегавали могућност турске конкуренције. У извештајима југословенских дипломатских представништава у Републици Турској, специјалиста за привреду и спољну трговину и новинским написима приказиване су основне карактeристике турске пољопривредне производње и њеног експорта. У њима су се уочавале интензивне модернизацијске промене турског аграра иницииране с највишег државног нивоа које су резултирале увођењем нових сорти и пасмина, те применом савремених агротехничких мера и уздизањем пољопривредне производње на квалитативном и квантитативном нивоу, што је последично резултирало увећањем експорта.

КЉУЧНЕ РЕЧИ: пољопривреда; Република Турска; Краљевина Срба, Хрвата и Словенаца (Југославија); Ататурково доба; аграрна реформа.

HISTORY OF ART

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CULTURAL POLICY AND MEMORY OF THE FIGHTERS OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION WAR: THE CENTRAL ROLE OF THE ARMY IN POLITICAL LEGITIMATION OF THE NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURE

ABSTRACT. The fighters of the People's Liberation War (PLW) enjoyed the social prestige and the monuments of the killed fighters served the role of the ideological interests of the ruling class at the time. The aim of this paper is to show the link between the alive social actors and the chosen dead ones (fighters of the PLW, partisans) through the use of the anthropological anxiety of the cessation of life through metaphorical immortality and eternal memory. Essentially, this was the illusion for ideological foundation, special thematic and ideological orientation of sculptures within the public space. Via symbolic contents, such as monuments in this case, death is shown as the transition, that is, new beginning of life and not its end. Active involvement of a number of artists from all parts of former Yugoslavia with-

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in the units of the Partisan army in the PLW is the phenomenon which unequivocally testifies about the link of their political commitment and artistic creation, which also got particularly strong momentum immediately after the Liberation. The most important social task in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) was nurturing of the revolutionary tradition, especially seen in the erection of memorials, then in (re)naming of the towns with Tito's name or the names of the local heroes, as well as streets, schools, factories, but also in organizing marches to places where the famous battles and Partisan sessions during the PLW occurred, etc. This paper, among other things, deals with extremely fruitful production of the sculptors in the liberated country, especially from the aspect of extensive social orders, which at the same time encouraged and enabled fast and diverse development of the public monuments within urban areas on the ground of the whole former Yugoslavia, whose modus operandi was reshaping of the political and ideological map of The New Yugoslavia and ideological and political battle with "relapses of the past".

INTRODUCTION

The relationship of society to war is paradoxical. It is hard to imagine that somebody could advocate for war in the sense of organized murders of other people, but the fascination and glorification of a certain war and its victims are omnipresent starting from history textbooks, then in books, television and culture and art in public spaces. What is also paradoxical is the fact that the legacy of war is the guarantor of peace. Thus, every call to war is clothed in and justified by ideals such as peace, freedom, brotherly love, democracy.

Even though it is often considered that war is almost the natural state of the mankind just restrained by society (Hobbes, Machiavelli), the truth is that most people avoid war and violence. War in the sense we know it today, that is, as organized violence is a modern social phenomenon.

"Having in mind that violence is not inborn in humans, thus automatically its successful use in mass proportions requires highly developed organizational mechanisms of the social control and well-articulated and institutionally fixed ideological doctrines which can justify such state" (Malešević, 2011, p. 19).

Without a developed social organization, there is no organized violence. On the other hand, it was exactly the development of modern army and its bureaucratic structure and organization that were the pillars of the development of the bureaucratization of modern societies. As Weber (1976) outlines, the middle part of bureaucracy is discipline, and "military discipline gives birth to every kind of discipline". However, it would not be possible for any organization to use force and discipline in the long run if its actions are not justified within the broad layers of society. Therefore, as Malešević (2011) states, every organization needs legitimizing ideology.

This paper deals with war and its social symbolic as the pillar of the ideology and bureaucratic organization of an authority and deals with it on a particular case of the foundation of the new Yugoslav state on the legacy of the People's Liberation War, where one important fact was not ignored, which is that there are many examples like this throughout history, moreover, that they are predominant in modern history. The People's Liberation War and its fighters stood for the pillars of the legitimation of the new government based on the victory in the Second World War. The army was a special medium, which is why it became the central state institution from where the whole ideological corpus was promoted: from brotherhood and unity, via socialist self-management until Tito's charisma. This was not the specificity of the Yugoslav new government back then; the symbolic instrumentalization of war victims in the form of the public monuments can be found since the 19th century. The dominant social function of public monuments is not reverence for the dead but addressing to the living as Kuljić explains, "it is about the instrumental forget-me-not" (Kuljić, 2014, p. 273).

CARE FOR SURVIVORS

The liberation period welcomed a great number of fighters of the PLW, a great number of wounded and a great number of families whose breadwinners died in the war. Social care of this large social group immediately imposed as a priority of the new government. The importance of care of this large group was in the need for legitimation and support based on the victory in the war but also as

proof that social care of the vulnerable categories of the population would be the priority for the new government.

Immediately after the war, the question of the war invalids and families of the fallen fighters were under the military jurisdiction so that the great work of enumeration and recognition of the fighters' status, war invalids' status and families of the fallen fighters' status, status of the disappeared and deceased fighters would be dealt with as soon as and more efficient as possible.

The National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia (NCLY), that is, its President Tito enacted the first regulations on the protection of the military invalids (one-time financial aid) after the liberation of Belgrade and greater parts of Serbia in the fall of 1944 (Маловић, 2011, p.116). As soon as the second half of 1944, homes for accommodation and care for war invalids for all those who did not have where to go after treatment were opened. Immediately after the end of the war, in 1945, the so-called Disability Department in the Ministry of Defense of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY) was formed. This Department existed within this Ministry up until the complete transfer of the jurisdiction to civilian authorities, that is, up until the beginning of 1949. Within the jurisdiction of this Department, the following categories were dealt with: war invalids of the PLW of Yugoslavia and war invalids from the previous wars of Serbia and Montenegro from 1912–1918, war invalids of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia from the April War of 1941, as well as the families of the killed, deceased, and missing fighters. Peacetime war invalids were also under the jurisdiction of this Department, whereas, civilian disabled workers and civilian invalids were not as they remained under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Social Policy (Маловић, 2011a, 2011b)[3]. The first forms of aid were one-time financial aid, and then, regular monthly cash income was introduced which lasted until the problem of social care of these families was regulated by law passed on May 25, 1946.

Military authorities despite many difficulties, such as a war-torn country and the majority of it being an illiterate population, dealt with the questions of care of war invalids and families of fallen fighters pretty efficiently. Already in the first half of 1946, 35.318 civilian invalids were acknowledged. According this record, financial aid was paid and necessary orthopedic aids were assigned. The

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[3]   It should be noted that members of the Yugoslav army in the homeland and Ravna Gora Movement were not taken care of; their rights were recognized only in 2005.

Ministry of Defense had one important job – to elaborate the law as the most urgent task – acts and regulations had to be passed, then, it was necessary to form military disability boards (the Disability Department and Disability Committee at the headquarters of each army and at the each command of the military area). All this was difficult to manage, and due to numerous difficulties, disability officers, who were all military members at the same time, were introduced in every County People's Committee. In the report, detailed testimonies about the problems which disability bodies faced are found, for example, People's Committees were not fully cooperative due to the fact that Committees did not consider dealing with these matters their duties since these matters had been under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Defense. Nevertheless, after the initial difficulties the result was achieved and until the 1st November 1948 the total number of acknowledged cases with disability properties was 293.150, both civilian and family invalids (decreased for the number of received but also rejected properties), out of which 82.258 civilian and 210.892 family invalids.

When this job came to an end, an order was issued "for all the war invalids from previous wars and from the captivity to undergo a medical re-examination under the regulations and guidelines which are valid now" (Маловић, 2011a, p. 400), in fact, an audit was being done and 28.544 cases were audited, and the 3.207 invalids lost the disability status (around 20%).

The disabled exercised the right to: health care (including spas and rehabilitation centers); within the homes for the disabled (there were 27 in 1945, but 14 in 1948) professional trainings of war invalids were organized for performing old or new jobs, the so-called, retraining. According to the *Report* (Маловић, 2011a) within the homes for the disabled 4.134 disabled persons graduated from schools such as gymnasium, agricultural high school, craft and trade school; 7.797 disabled persons completed courses and 7.202 crafts[4]. Besides the homes for the disabled, it was regulated that all state, collective and private companies employ war invalids for training and retraining.

Alongside with dealing with qualifications of the disabled, in parallel the problem of employment of their employment had to be dealt with. The result was that in 1947 the total number of disabled employees was 29.000. The new government was aware of all the

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[4] Even though many disabled asked to be qualified for the administrative jobs, it was hard for them because many of them did not have any education at all.

difficulties of dealing with social problems of the disabled, due to which it decided to place dealing with this hard and demanding problem under the military jurisdiction which had the power to implement decisions in places where there was resistance, and it reported directly to Tito (who was also the Minister of Military Administration).

Due to the great demand for orthopedic aids, orthopedic industry was being developed. Even though there are reports about the great advancement in this industry during the period between 1945–1948 (for example, the production was increased for 819%) "our orthopedic industry does not satisfy all the needs of the country because we have a great number of the work invalids and other citizens disabled during the war", page 408. The development of this industry directly implicated the number of the disabled caused by the greatest war in the human history, alongside even the greater number of the killed.

In November 1948, the jurisdiction of war invalids was transferred from military-disabled authorities to civilian social welfare authorities. As Маловић states the main reason for this transition stated in all acts was that the military authorities successfully dealt with all problems of the disabled matter with resolving the greatest number of care cases of the war invalids so this work could freely be taken over and performed by civilian social welfare authorities. However, the same author considers that the most important reason was tacit, that is, this transition should be viewed in the light of deteriorating relationships and threatening of the armed conflict with the USSR, because of which it was necessary to create the stronger and more mobile army and to enable the more efficient command, whereby the jobs of war veterans represented a ballast to be disposed of (Маловић, 2011a, p. 411). Such were the care and protection of the disabled and other protected persons transferred from the Ministry of Defense to the Social Welfare Committee and its bodies. Officers and military officials were replaced with civilians, and attendants remained in their job positions.

Together with the state authorities that took care of the law regulation as well as its enforcement, the leading role in the care of the fighters of the PLW had the organization Association of Fighters of the People's Liberation War of Yugoslavia (AFPLW).[5]

After the founding assembly of the AFPLW on September 30, 1947 and the approval od the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY) the forming of Republic

Unions followed. The first congress of the Association of Fighters of Serbia took place on May 9, 1948. All forms of work and action were aligned with the Program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Program principles of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia.[6] The Alliance performed diverse activities in its work, which was determined by the Status and Regulations of the Alliance. Thus, the primary activities were: records and personnel policy of the membership, nurturing and developing of the revolutionary traditions of the PLW, care of erection of new memorials of the PLW and thus of preservation and protection of the existing ones. The members of the Alliance besides the fighters could be persons who actively helped the NOR, as well as the captured activists who besides the torture remained on the war line, interns or persons in forced labor for aiding the PLW, as well as those who fought against fascism within another resistance movement (Spanish, French and others). All this made the care of the fighters seem comprehensive and at a very high level of organization.

CULTURAL POLICY IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE LIBERATION AND MEMORY OF THE FIGHTERS OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION WAR

Due to the victories of the allied authorities on the Eastern and Western fronts, but also the units of the People's Liberation Army (PLW) on the Yugoslav battlefield, anti-occupation mood gained new incentives and it affected ever-wider layers of the population. PLW was given the opportunity to merge with the forces of the Red Army in Serbia and thus to form a unique front of the Soviet-Yugoslav military force on the Balkan Peninsula. (Marjanović, 1974, p. 550).

Belgrade occupied an important place in both Red Army strategy and People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia strategy (PLAY). For

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[5]   See: Jakir, A. (2019). "Monuments are the Past and the Future." Political and administrative mechanisms of financing the monuments during the time of the Socialist Yugoslavia. *Journal of Contemporary History (JCH)* Vol. 51 No.1, 151–182. DOI: https://doi.org/10.22586/csp.v51i1.8293; Šimpraga, S. Taken over from the web site: „Jugoslavenski poučak". H-ALTER, 30. 1. 2015. http://h-alter.org/vijesti/jugoslavenski-poucak.

[6]   Statut of AFPLW, according to (?ukić, 2006)

the People's Liberation Movement (PLM) Belgrade, as the capital of Yugoslavia and Serbia, was significant for various reasons but priority tasks were to disable the reactionary forces working on the prevention of spreading of NOP and establishing of the old regime and monarchy on the city area.

A significant role in organization and work of the CPY (the Communist Party of Yugoslavia) in Belgrade and Serbia had the two family houses. *The House of Vladislav Ribnikar* at 10/a Aleksandar Karađorđević Boulevard where the members of Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia held the committee meeting on the July 4, 1941 at which they made the decision to raise an uprising of the People of Yugoslavia against the occupant. This day was later celebrated as the *Fighters' Day.* In this house, in the first days of the war, illegals were hiding, and for some time the *Bilten vrhovnog štaba NOV i POJ* (*Bulletin of the Supreme Headquarters of PLW and PDY)* were printed.[7] Next, *the House of Branko and Dana Maksimović* at 12, Banjički Venac where the print shop of the CKKPJ (Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia) was located and where the *Bulletin of the Central Headquarters of the HOPJ,* newspapers *Glas* and *Proleter, proclamations of the CPY, reports, commands* and other materials were printed. The painter, Đorđe Andrejević Kun worked at the printing house at the time and he made precise clichés in wood for the need of the illegals and their actions for forging various German documents, stamps, personal id cards, etc.[8] Immediately after the Second World War, as a prominent personality, Kun was also highly positioned on the field of the social work amongst the artists. In the Association of Fine Artists of Serbia (AFAS), Association of Fine Artists of Yugoslavia (AFAY) as a professor and then as a rector of the Belgrade Academy of Arts.

His oil on canvass of great dimensions from 1946 named "Column" exhibited nowadays in the Palace of Serbia (once Federal Executive Council /SIV/) is a significant example of the war time topics and evoking memories to heroic partisan fight (Stevanović 1977. pp. 13–14, 55).

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[7] In this house, within the period of 1950 until 2003 the "*4th July"* *Museum* was situated. The Museum was opened on the 1st May 1950 and it belonged to *the Belgrade Museums* In 1982 it was included in *"Josip Broz Tito" Memorial Centre* and upon its abolition in 1996, it was included in the Museum of History of Yugoslavia.

[8] In this house the *Museum of the Secret PrintShop*

Figure 1: Đorđe Andrejević Kun, Column, oil on canvass,
185x216cm, SIV, Belgrade

During the street fights for the liberation of Belgrade, a large number of fighters of the NOVJ, Red Army, German soldiers, but also civilians were killed. Within the context, it is important to look back at the organized care of the wounded on the city area of Belgrade which would grow to be a developed and well-organized social care after the liberation in the New Yugoslavia, as was already stated in the *Introduction.* As early as in 1945, Tito announced, in his speech to the wounded in the hospital of the Second Army in Zagreb, taking special care about the protection of the war invalids (Маловић, 2011, p. 118).

The public authorities, with the aim of care, treatment, recovery of the wounded and exhausted partisan fighters, together with background military authorities organized hospitals as well as their supply of food and medical supplies, etc. Wounded fighters were also accommodated with families who took care of them, and civil hospitals were organized, too. Thus, one anti-fascist group gathered around Pera the Painter, which was the illegal name of the fighter Žarko Mrđenov, organized an infirmary in Belgrade, firstly named "Dressing Room and First Aid" and later "20th October" at 11, Vuk Karadžić St on which date it started working in 1944. Removal and burial of bodies of the killed was another of

urgent tasks during the period of liberation of Belgrade. Special merits for preventing the spread of infection and epidemics in the city were attributed to Doctor Sergej Ramzin, Head of the *Department for Public Hygiene of the Directorate for Social and Health Care* of the Municipality of Belgrade (Lazić, 2014, p.11).

After the liberation of Belgrade on October 20, 1944, the building of the *Officers' Home* was handed over to the military partisan authorities. By the decision of the Supreme Headquarters of the Peoples' Liberation Army (NOV) and Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia (POJ) on October 25, 1944 it became the *Officers' Club*, soon to become the *House of the Yugoslav Army (JA)* "as the central and representative cultural and educational institution of the Yugoslav Army" "(Đurić Mišina, Marić, 2017, p. 73).

FIGURE 2: MARSHAL TITO VISITING WOUNDED FIGHTERS IN THE MAIN MILITARY HOSPITAL IN BELGRADE, 1ST JANUARY 1945.

The city command was situated in the representative palace of pre-war *Warrior's Home* at 19 Braće Jugovića St in Belgrade. Since the inception of the idea about the founding of it, over the architectural contest for the building (1929–1931), sanctification of the cornerstone, building (1932) and upgrading (1939), as a place for creating notions of Yugoslav political and national identity, this building would survive on the political and ideological maps of Belgrade, Serbia and both Yugoslavias. Despite of the fact that all new authorities "until today recognized this" as the symbol of the previ-

ous systems, the primary context of this building and the meaning of its erecting – to highlight the army as the central institution of the Yugoslav society – was not erased (Ignjatović 2005, p. 313).

The Home was erected based on the contest project of the architects Živko Piperski and Jovan Jovanović on the plot of the *Veloci-pede Club* given to the former warriors by the Municipality of Belgrade. It was modeled by social homes in Czechoslovakia and Poland and immediately, numerous associations and alliances were moved in: *Association of reserve officers and warriors, Adriatic Guard, Association of Volunteers, Sokolska Matica, The Society of Friends of France, Shooting Association, Hunting Association, Swordsmen's Club and Actors' Association Fund.* In order for the activities of the Warriors' home to become massive, in 1939 the Club for Reserve Officers and Fighters was formed as an independent body.

With bombing of Belgrade on April 6, 1941, the first chapter of the history of this building is finished.

The period from August 22, 1941 until September 26, 1944 during which the Warriors' Home (Veterans' Club Building) was the Gestapo Headquarters for the Balkans, and its premises on the lowest lever were used as a prison, for torture and killing of patriots is considered the darkest period in the history of this building which was and has been since its founding the nursery of culture (Đurić Mišina, Marić, 2017, p. 69)

The first chief of the Home of the Jugoslav Army was Branko Šotra, an academic painter, later a manager of the Military Museum in Belgrade during the period of its reform, then professor and the first rector of the Academy of the Applied Arts in Belgrade (1948–1956). The program of manifestations in the Home went according to plan and schedule similar to those from the period between the two world wars just waiting the new circumstances. The themes and the content of the program taking place on the premises until the end of 1944 were in the spirit of political propaganda and with the aim of popularization of the legacy of the PLW, and the *Officers' club* was also one of the buildings where the Women's Antifascist Front of Yugoslavia (WAFY) collected help for the fighters on the Syrmian Front. The first concert held in *the Home* by the military orchestra of the First Proleterian Division opened the door to all officers, their families, as well as the citizens. Political work that was going on in the Home of the Jugoslav Army was adjusted to the total political work of the Yugoslav Army (JA). Then, the first normative act was passed – the Order of the Minister of the National

Defense of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia (DFY) about the *Reorganization of the Political and Educational and Cultural Work in the Yugoslav Army* from the August 8, 1945, where, amongst other things, it was stated: "Political work has a task to educate fighters and managers in the spirit of loyalty to the war oath and further development of the NOB legacy!" (Đurić Mišina, Marić, 2017, p. 73). After this, education sections, artwork sections, photographic and film projections, physical activities, library, etc. were formed. Only during 1945, numerous lectures, concerts, film projections, cultural and artistic events with high attendance were held.

Three ceremonial academies were also held: the first one on the occasion of marking the end the war operations and signing of the capitulation on May 9, 1945; the second one for the Belgrade liberation anniversary on the October 20, 1945 and the third one on the occasion of adopting the Declaration on the Proclamation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY) on the November 29, 1945. On that occasion, compositions inspired by the People's Liberation Fight (NOB), such as cantata by Jovan Bandur "Yugoslav Partisan Rhapsody" containing 15 folk partisan songs were performed, dances such as polka and folk circle dance were danced, but in the end, the favorite was the so called "Kolo of Kozara" and the most popular film was "On Our Own Land" about the Yugoslav NOB, made in the Soviet-Yugoslav co-production (Đurić, Mišina, Marić, 2017, p. 73).

FIGURE 3: *JOHN PHILLIPS, TITO, IN THE WHITE PALACE SIGNING HIS SPEECH COLLECTION IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR*

With moving from the building of *the Officers' Home* to the building of *the Warriors' Home (Veterans' Club Building)*, better conditions were obtained for more comprehensive work of *the Yugoslav Army (JA)*. The name *Warriors' Home* was immediately changed into *the Central Home of the Yugoslav Army* directly before moving of the Army into the building on May 8, 1946 and on the occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of the Victory Day. There, the partisan supreme commander, Marshal Josip Broz Tito gave a speech, and among other things stated:

> "This is a solemn day for our Army when the Jugoslav Army Home, as a future center and nursery of the military improvement, political education, advancement of the cultural level, physical and versatile education and advancement of our leading staff, our officers, is being opened (...). *Jugoslav Army Home* will become a strong institution not only for the versatile education which will through you expand to the all Army of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY)" (Đurić Mišina, Marić, 2017, p.75)

With the official political break up with the Cominform (The Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties), the Soviet Union, and the Eastern Bloc countries in the 1948, during the period of 1950 until 1955 the Central Home of the YA raised the quality of work and expanded the fields of its activity connected to the domain of education and culture, and soon changed the name again and becomes the *House of Yugoslav National Army (House of YNA)*.

What could be noticed immediately after 1945 was that the organization of the cultural and artistic life was based on the principle of the party's structure and hierarchy as well as that these two authorities—the state and the Party—were very quickly inextricably united. The Party thought soon spread to the whole society. In this sense, the cultural policy could only be led by the people proposed by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, while it was less important from which social or cultural spheres they originated. Before the artists of all branches, there was a task to create an engaging form of art, include it in the state institutions, and with this "weapon" start the fight with the dissidents.

In connection to this, a clear message was sent from the capital of the newly formed FNRJ that the artists were assigned an important role in reshaping the old and creating the new society in the first place, in making new artistic and visual symbols of the new society. All this would also be announced at the founding congress AFAY in Zagreb in 1947 in the reports of the painters Đorđe Andre-

jević Kun and Đuro Tiljak. (Merenik, 2001, p. 26–27, Đorđević, 1969, p. 71)

The new ideology of the new Partisan government with specific political operations as a goal had the "erasing" of the civil values, conservatism, individualism, national interests, etc., and all this in favor of promoting of leftist ideas, revolutionism, collectivism, internationalism, etc.

In this context, the new government treated the art as an influential social, political and ideological means, as a social weapon whose aim was to act upon the field of visual and with the aim of (re)shaping of the inherited cultural model and the total change of the existing iconosphere in the accordance with partisan politics (Merenik, 2001, p. 25; Dragojević, 2015, p. 69).

CONCLUSION   Immediately after the end of the Second World War the question of war invalids and their families was under the military jurisdiction so that the extensive work about the enumeration and acknowledging the status of the fighters, war invalids and families of the killed, missing and died fighters would be solved sooner and more efficient. That this social category was of great importance to the new government could be seen in the fact that the responsibility for resolving of their status was entrusted to the central state institution whose staff were the most confidential. Under the jurisdiction of the military authorities, the enumeration of the war invalids and families of the fallen fighters were done in spite of numerous difficulties (lack of evidence, illiterate population) within the relatively short period of a few years. Even though this jurisdiction under the military authorities did not last long (until 1948) the privileged position of this group remained as well as the constant affection of the supreme leader and the president.

The privileged position of the fighters of the NOR spoke in the favor of the thesis that their privilege in relation to others, before all else civil invalids, lay in their significance for ideological promotion of the new government. The foundations of a legitimizing ideology of the new government were laid in the Yugoslav Army: multinational content ("brotherhood and unity"), organized discipline, social mobility, of the lowest layers, but also social solidarity with socially vulnerable categories and the poorest (proletarian) layers. PLW actually represented the revolution upon which the new socialist government was based. This government primarily needed wide legitimacy and ideological "glue" which would hold

together in one totality all parts of one relatively new country whose segments were in conflicts. One of rare common components was taking part in the war on the side of PLW led by Tito. On all foundations, it was necessary to disqualify all those forces, in all republics which had support in former authorities and which were in direct conflicts with PLW. New ideological values "brotherhood and unity" and socialist revolution were promoted, and later on the unique project of "Yugoslav self-government". On the other hand, in order for this ideology of new values to be founded in wide layers it was enabled by the omnipresent, widely spread network of central social military organization and its bureaucratic firm discipline.

The promotion of the new ideology immediately after the liberation was taking place under the watchful eye of the Army, as the central state institution, and in this sense, arts also received guidelines within which its official acting was required: social themes and left oriented theoretical and artistic practices. Thus, art was subordinated to the Party and its goals, and the official theory of the Yugoslav art was to shape the vision of the new society.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. *Đorđe Andrejević Kun, Column, oil on canvass, 185 x 216cm, SIV, Belgrade* (Source: ex Federal Executive Council (Yugoslavia), today Palace of Serbia). Belgrade

Figure 2. *Marshal Tito visiting wounded fighters in the Main Military Hospital in Belgrade, 1ˢᵗ January 1945.* (Source: Published in: D. Đurović (1966), Nova Jugoslavija1941–1945, Beograd: NIP "Mladost", p. 64).

Figure 3. *John Phillips, Tito, in the White Palace Signing his Speech Collection immediately After the Second World War* (Source: Published in: Filips, Dž. (1983). Jugoslovenska priča (1943 – 1983). Beograd, Zagreb: Jugoslovenska revija, Mladost, p. 129).

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Сажетак

Културна политика и сећање на борце Народноосло-дилачког рата: централна улога војске у политичкој легитимизацији нове политичке структуре

Борци Народноослободилачког рата (НОР) уживали су друштвени престиж, а споменици погинулим борцима били су у функцији идеолошких интереса тадашње владајуће класе. Циљ рада је да прикаже спону између живих друштвених актера и изабраних мртвих актера (бораца НОР-а, партизана) кроз употребу антрополошке стрепње од прекида живота преко метафоричке бесмртности и вечног сећања. Ово је у суштини био привид за идеолошки темељ, посебну тематску и идеолошку оријентацију скулптуре у јавном простору. Путем симболичких садржаја, у овом случају споменика, смрт се приказује као прелаз, тј. нови почетак живота, а не његов крај. Активно учешће великог броја уметника из свих делова бивше Југославије у јединицама партизанске војске у НОР-у, феномен је који недвосмислено сведочи о спрези њихове политичке опредељености и уметничког стваралаштва, који ће посебно снажан замах добити непосредно након Ослобођења. Најважнији друштвени задатак у Социјалистичкој Федеративној Републици Југославији (СФРЈ) био је неговање револуционарне традиције, што се првенствено огледало у подизању спомен-обележја, потом (пре)именовању назива градова Титовим именом или именима народних хероја, као и улица, школа, фабрика, али и организовањем маршева до места где су се одвијале знамените битке или партизанска заседања током НОР-а итд. Рад се, између осталог, бави изузетно плодном продукцијом вајара у ослобођеној земљи, посебно са аспекта опсежне друштвене наруџбине која је уједно подстицала и омогућавала брз и разнородан развој јавних споменика у градском простору и то на тлу целе бивше Југославије, чији је *modus operandi* био преобликовање политичке

и идеолошке мапе Нове Југославије и идеолошко-политички об-
рачун са „рецидивима прошлости“.

Кључне речи: борци; НОР; НОБ; партизани; ФНРЈ; СФРЈ; идеологија; скулптура; јавни градски простор.

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PSYCHOLOGY

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BREAKUP GRIEF – THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN INITIATOR AND NON-INITIATOR DEPENDING ON COPING STRATEGIES AND ATTACHMENT

ABSTRACT. The aim of this paper is to examine the difference in the intensity of the breakup distress between the initiator and the non-initiator, as well as whether this difference is moderated by coping strategies and inner working models according to the attachment theory. The sample used in the research is convenient and consists of 387 respondents. The age range is between 18-40 (M=23.90; SD=4.22). We used the Close Relationship Experience Questionnaire (Brenan, Clark, & Shaver, 1995), the Brief COPE (Carver, 1997) and the Breakup Distress Scale (Field & al., 2010). The t-test was performed for the independent samples to test the difference between the breakup initiators and non-initiators in the variable of grief after a breakup (t(365)=4.62; p<.01). Within the constructed prediction model, a total of four predictors showed an independent contribution to the explanation of experienced grief after a breakup: the status of the initiator of the breakup, coping aimed at solving problems, coping with avoidance and anxiety. Later, by testing the contribution of the predictor and the variable, the status of the initiator was obtained as a statistically significant interac-

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tion with anxiety. Respondents who have low anxiety do not experience a high level of distress after a breakup and do not differ from each other depending on whether the initiators of the relationship were them or their partner. Respondents who have high anxiety experience a noticeably higher level of emotional distress after the breakup, but there are also differences in that level depending on who initiated the breakup. If the partner initiated the termination, the level of experienced distress will be significantly higher. It seems that presenting as a stressor can be a trigger of an intense emotional reaction, considering that such people are sensitive to rejection by others.

INTRODUCTION

A romantic relationship can be one of the most important relationships in a person's life, while the termination of a relationship can be a painful and stressful event with numerous consequences both for the mental and physical condition of the person. The intensity of distress after a breakup varies, and there is often a difference in its intensity between the initiator and the non-initiator of the breakup. Although it is believed that it is always easier for the one who leaves the relationship, things are not always so simple. There are numerous factors that can make it easier or harder for a person to cope with a situation. Researchers in the field of romantic relationships strive to understand, predict and build conceptual and theoretical models of distress experienced after relationship breakups. This research aims to provide some insights into the distress experienced after a breakup of a relationship in relation to whether a person is the breakup initiator or non-initiator, mediated by coping strategies and the affective attachment style.

INITIATION OF A BREAKUP AND DISTRESS

Romantic relationships can be the main source of happiness and satisfaction for most people (Berscheid & Reis, 1998), while on the other hand, a breakup is considered one of the most difficult events in life and a potential risk factor for developing emotional problems (Monroe, Rohde, Seelei, & Levinsohn, 1999, Menaghan & Lieb-

erman, 1986). Interpersonal rejection is known to be a disturbing experience and results in many negative emotional responses (Koch, 2020). In their essence, people are imbued and motivated by the need to belong, i.e. by a strong desire to form and maintain lasting interpersonal relationships (Baumeister & Leary 1995). The consequences of being rejected by someone in whom a person is emotionally invested have also been shown in laboratory conditions (e.g. Bourgeois & Leari, 2001; Bucklei, Vinkel, & Leari, 2004; Leari, Cottrell, & Phillips, 2001; Leari, Haupt, Strausser, & Chokel, 1998, according to Waller, 2010) where people are quite sensitive even to mild forms of interpersonal rejection, such as imagined rejection. Relationship dissolution was one of the most commonly nominated "worst events" in a large phone survey study of traumatic events (Frazier & Hurliman, 2001). After a breakup, people experience more emotional distress than those who have never been through a breakup (Stack, 1989; Tschann, Johnston & Vallerstein, 1989, according to Chung & al., 2003). They tend to experience significantly more negative emotions (e.g., frustration, depression, and loneliness) than positive ones (e.g., love and relief, Sprecher, 1994). Moreover, psychological and physical symptoms lasting longer than 6 months may occur, such as insomnia, depression, suicidal thoughts, especially among young people (Williams & Siegel, 1989). However, as with other stressful life events, not everyone reacts in the same way (Bonanno, 2004).

Most breakups are not mutual, i.e. there is a difference between the one who "leaves" and the one who is "left" (Hill, Rubin, Zick, & Peplau, 1976; Sprecher, 1994; Vaughan, 1986; Weiss, 1975, according to Chung & al., 2003), therefore, the reactions to the dissolution of a romantic relationship may differ depending on who initiated the breakup. Numerous studies show that non-initiators of break-up, regardless of gender, report more emotional and/or physical distress compared to initiators (Davis & al., 2003; Collins & Clark, 1989; Frazier & Cook, 1993; Sprecher, 1994; Sprecher & al., 1998). Studies suggest that individuals who take responsibility for breaking up a romantic relationship adapt better to a breakup (Collins & Clark, 1989) than those who have no control over that decision, and therefore respond with greater intensity of sadness and depression (Frazier & Cook, 1993; Field & al., 2009; Sprecher & al., 1998). Regardless of gender, the perception that the partner initiated the breakup is positively correlated with the intensity of the distress (Sprecher & al., 1994; Attridge & al. 1995). People who believe

they have no control over a breakup or future relationships tend to develop more depressive symptoms than those who think otherwise (Peterson, Rosenbaum, & Conn, 1985). However, there are also findings that did not observe the difference between the initiator and non-initiator of a breakup in terms of emotional distress (Sbarra, 2006; Simpson, 1990; Tashiro and Frazier, 2003). Since these studies do not systematically differ from each other in terms of the types of dependent variables used, the time period elapsed since the breakup, or whether the respondents are from a complete/incomplete family, these conflicting results are confusing. Moreover, the results suggest that initiator status does not always predict the same intensity of emotional distress after a breakup (Waller & MacDonald, 2010). Furthermore, the person that rejects is not without emotional consequences either, rejecting other person results in feelings of guilt and the need for justification (Baumeister & al., 1993). Breakup initiator can experience negative emotions just like the non-initiator, therefore the initiator status cannot in itself consistently predict the intensity of reaction to the termination of a relationship (Waller & MacDonald, 2010). Waller & al. (2010) argue that a situation in which a partner initiates a breakup generally causes greater distress than when a person makes that decision on their own, although this difference is small in itself if moderator variables are not considered. Break-up initiator status and self-esteem are significant predictors of emotional distress, self-evaluation, and self-esteem after a romantic breakup among students (Waller & MacDonald, 2010). Moreover, the intensity of distress may depend on factors such as relationship length, relationship satisfaction, commitment, partner dependence, type of attachment, existence of alternative partners, coping mechanisms, self-esteem (Fine & Sacher, 1997; Sprecher & al., 1998; Frazier & Cook, 1993; Chung & al., 2003; Koch, 2020).

COPING STRATEGIES

Coping strategies play an important role in the intensity of distress after a breakup. They are most often defined as the behavioral and cognitive efforts to overcome, reduce or tolerate the demands of a stressful situation (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Coping is a mediator of stress, i.e., it implies that stress and various disorders are not directly related, but rather that stress is a factor that triggers cop-

ing behavior, which is actually related to the outcomes of stress (Zotović, 2004). Choosing an appropriate coping behavior depends on stressor characteristics, but also on internal and external factors of individual differences, i.e. moderator variables. Coping has two functions – to solve the problem and regulate emotions. Coping strategies can take many forms, such as active problem solving, information seeking, diverting attention from problems, reducing tension, using humor (Kessler & al., 1985). Krohne (according to Zotović, 2004), distinguishes two basic modes of coping strategies in relation to the focus of attention: directing attention, which involves coping styles that include intensive search for information related to the stressful event and their processing; and cognitive avoidance, which involves distraction from any stimuli and information related to the stressful event. Other authors call the same dimension goal-directed or active coping versus avoidant or passive coping (Ebata & Moos, 1991; Roth & Cohen, 1986, according to Zotović, 2004). Lagrand (1988, according to Chung, 2003) describes some of the coping strategies such as talking to friends, seeking advice, seeking support from people who have gone through a similar experience, thinking about opportunities and choices, focusing on work, forming new relationships, focusing on religion, expressing negative emotions such as anger and sadness. Seeking and receiving social support is one of the most important strategies. It implies that a person feels safe because he or she has people to rely on and who are available to listen and provide support (Chung, & al.,2003). The increase in psychological issues due to a negative life event is most often associated with a lack of social support (Kessler & al., 1985). Some people look for ways to develop a sense of control over the situation and reduce negative emotional consequences after the breakup. Planning or coming up with a problem-solving strategy reduces the intensity of distress, while using strategies that distance a person from problem-solving, such as avoidance, is associated with negative emotional consequences after a traumatic event (Mearns, 1991).

ATTACHMENT STYLE

Attachment style plays an important role in successfully overcoming the dissolution of a romantic relationship (Madey & Jilek, 2012). Sroufe and Waters (1977) believe that attachment theory should be

viewed as a theory of regulation, that is, that different attachment styles may have different mechanisms for regulating and mitigating the negative impact of problems in a romantic relationship. Theoretically speaking, attachment system is activated due to distress and the person reacts in a way specific to their attachment style, in order to reduce the intensity of distress (Davis & al., 2003). The stronger the activation of the attachment system, the more extreme the characteristic behaviors are likely to be. Davis & al (2003) mention three main post-breakup distress coping strategies that are related to affective attachment style. People with prevalent the secure attachment style cope better with negative events in relationships and are more skilled in looking at a negative situation from a positive angle than people with prevalent avoidant or anxious attachment style. They tend to build positive and well-adjusted relationships, and other people describe them as confident and less hostile people. These individuals are characterized by a positive model of themselves and a positive model of others (Bowlby, 1973), as well as greater self-confidence, self-esteem, and a lower degree of anxiety compared to those who are insecurely attached (Feeney & Noller, 1990).

Secure attachment is associated with less concern about seeing an ex-partner again post-breakup, a greater willingness to reunite, and a lower sense of guilt compared to insecure attachment (Madey & Jilek, 2012). Secure attachment strategy is characterized by open, empathetic communication, negotiation about someone's needs and desires. These people openly express their feelings to their partner and rely on family and friends when they need support. They also have greater understanding of the reasons for a breakup, which allows them to react less aggressively and histrionically unlike the insecure types (avoidant, anxious). Insecure attachment type – avoidant and anxious type, experience more distress post-breakup and report that their breakup was hostile and that the partner is more to blame for the breakup. Insecure attachment types tend to use inadequate coping strategies such as distancing, wishful thinking and self-defeating thoughts (Birnbaum, Orr, Mikulincer, & Florian, 1997; Mikulincer, Florian, & Veller, 1993; Sprecher, Felmlee, Metts, Fehr and Vanni, 1998, according to Madey & Jilek, 2012). People with avoidant attachment style use strategies aimed at reducing negative consequences of distress post-dissolution by relying only on themselves. These people have learned that other people cannot respond adequately to their

needs and that open expression of needs could be ignored or punished in some way (Fraley & al., 1998). After a breakup, such people will have less emotional outbursts such as anger, begging, seeking social support, but will turn to emotional avoidance by using alcohol and psychoactive substances, avoiding partners and situations/objects that may be associated with the former relationship and activate the need for connection. Highly avoidant individuals report significantly less emotional distress following romantic break-ups compared to other attachment types (Simpson, 1990). On the other hand, an important characteristic of the anxious type is similar to "desperate love" style that Sperling (1985) describes in his research, and refers to the idealization of the partner, feelings of insecurity outside the relationship, separation anxiety, and extremes of happiness and sadness. Anxious type strategy includes alternation of anger and submission or flirting in an attempt to renew a relationship. People with an anxious or preoccupied attachment style have learned to "meet their needs" with the "coercive strategy" (Crittenden, 1992). Each strategy stems from experiences with parents or guardians during childhood, as well as later experiences with romantic partners (Stefanović Stanojević, 2011). Individual differences in behavior based on attachment style are the consequences of expectations and beliefs that a person has about him/herself and about his/her close relationships, and also based on affective relationships in the past. Although different studies highlight negative effects of a breakup, a relationship does not necessarily have to end with animosity. Unlike insecure attachment, secure attachment is associated with successful dissolution of a relationship. Partners can have an amicable breakup, which results in mutual respect and a willingness to remain friends (Madey & Jilek, 2012).

The focus of this paper is a more detailed examination of whether there is a difference in the intensity of emotional distress after a breakup in the breakup initiator and non-initiator. As previous studies are inconsistent in regard to results, the aim of this paper is to examine the conditions under which such a change in results occurs, i.e. whether this relationship is moderated by some other variables, which might cause the results to be inconsistent. Theory speaks in favor of the existence of a difference, as well as certain empirical results, but it is obvious that some characteristics concerning the respondents play an important role here. The first such characteristic is related to emotional personality development,

assuming that early development and early experiences will create the capacity to make it easier or more difficult to overcome the loss of an attachment figure. On the other hand, there are behavior patterns in situations that we perceive as stressful, that is, stress coping strategies. We assumed that less developed capacity to cope with stressful situations could be significant in understanding potential differences. In accordance with research objectives, the following hypotheses were defined:

h1: It is assumed that there is a difference between the initiator and non-initiator of a relationship breakup in the emotional distress they experience after the breakup.

h2: This difference in the emotional distress that exists between the initiator and non-initiator of a relationship breakup is moderated by coping strategies and attachment style.

METHOD

SAMPLE

The sample used in this research is a convenience sample and consists of 387 respondents, 82,7% of which are females. The age range is between 18-40 (AS=23.90; SD=4.22). All respondents stated that they have had at least one romantic relationship breakup so far (Mod=3). Of the total number of respondents, 60.7% are currently in a romantic relationship. The majority of respondents lives in urban (68%) and suburban areas (19.4), while a smaller number of them live in rural areas (12.7%). An important variable in this study relates to whether respondents initiated a breakup more often and it was their partners who were breakup initiators more frequently. A total of 71.8% of respondents fall under the category of respondents who more often initiated the breakup of a relationship, i.e. 278 respondents, whereas 109 respondents fall into the other category i.e. their partner initiated the breakup.

INSTRUMENTS

Close Relationship Experience Questionnaire (PAVa; Brennan, Clark & Shaver, 1998). The questionnaire consists of 18 items related to experiences in love relationships. This questionnaire exam-

ines how a person feels in any relationship with a loving partner (girlfriend, boyfriend, husband, wife) rather than how specific they feel in the relationship, if any. The sum of scores on the even items refers to the Anxiety dimension, which when it comes to partnerships can be briefly described by behaviors such as: worrying about reciprocating love, worrying about possible leaving, needing too much closeness. On the other hand, the sum of points on odd items refers to the Avoidance dimension, which represents the ability, that is, the inability to establish closeness with others. The answers are given on a seven-point Likert-type scale (1 – strongly disagree; 7 – strongly agree). Higher scores on the Anxiety and Avoidant subscales indicate higher levels of attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance, respectively. The reliability in the initial version of the instrument was higher than .90 on both scales, which indicates the high reliability of the instrument.

Brief COPE (Carver, 1997; translated and adapted for Serbian language by Šakotić-Kurbalija, J. and Kurbalija, D.) is the scale that operationalizes mechanisms to cope with stress. It is a 28-item questionnaire with a five-point Likert type scale. In the initial sample, the scale showed acceptable reliability (.71). Previous checks of the factor structure of the scale have not yielded consistent results, with some meta-analyzes of these studies indicating that the number of extracted factors in different studies varied between 2 and 12 (Krägeloh, 2011; Parker & Endler, 1992). In this study, we used the factor structure extracted in the validation study in one domestic study (Genc, Pekić and Matanović, 2013), whose factor structure most closely resembled the one obtained in this study. Based on the matrix of the structure and structure of isolated factors, it was found that most items are grouped quite meaningfully around three factors that are named as: Seeking social support („I had emotional support from others.“, „I tried to seek advice or help from other people“, „I received comfort and understanding from someone“), Problem-oriented coping („I focused all my efforts on doing something about the situation I found myself in“, „I tried to plan what needs to be done“, „I took some action to improve the situation“) and Coping with avoidance („I told myself: this is not happening to me“ , „I drank alcohol or medication to feel better.“ , „I gave up trying to deal with it.“).

Breakup Distress Scale (Breakup Distress Scale, Field & al., 2010) was created by adapting the Inventory of Complicated Grief, which examines the distress after the death of someone close. This ques-

tionnaire examines distress after relationship dissolution and consists of 16 items (while the original questionnaire had 19) that are related to breakup (e.g. I think about this person so much that it's hard for me to do things I normally do). Items on this scale measure indicators such as: preoccupation with thoughts of the breakup, crying, not accepting the breakup and being stunned by the breakup. Translation and adaptation of this scale was done for the purposes of this research using the back translation method. Participants completed the tests by replying to statements on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The overall result is the sum of the values obtained on individual items. The possible range of results goes from 16 to 80 with a higher score indicating more distress after a breakup. Items measure a range of reactions such as feeling bitter and empty since the breakup. Examples of the items include "I feel disbelief over what happened," and "I feel lonely a great deal of the time since the breakup." The EFA results confirmed that it is possible to interpret one total factor indicating the distress experienced. The reliability of the scale in the initial version of the test is high.

DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

Data were collected through computer-aided testing. Respondents first confirmed that they were familiar with their rights and testing rules, and then moved on to the questions section. Moreover, they were given the opportunity to leave at any time, so the answers would be saved only when the respondent entered all the necessary data and sent them to the database, and in case of leaving, no traces of the respondent's participation were recorded.

RESULTS

Indicator	1	2	3	4	5	Min	Max	M(SD)	Sk	Ku	α
1. Break-up distress	-					1	5	2.51(1.02)	.42	-.90	.94
2. Anxiety	.46**					1	4.89	2.48(.87)	.40	-.42	.86

TABLE 1: PRESENTS DESCRIPTIVELY THE STATISTICAL MEASURES OF THE VARIABLES USED IN THE SURVEY

3. Avoidance	-.02	.05				1	4,56	1.9(.77)	.95	.25	.81
4. Problem	-.17**	-.12*	-.17**			1.36	5	3.93(.66)	-.70	.51	.71
5. Support	.07	.17**	-.16**	.33**		1	5	3.47(.72)	-.36	.26	.71
6. Avoidance	.31**	.37**	.14**	-.14**	.41**	1	5	2.49(.60)	.48	.33	.68

Table 1: PRESENTS DESCRIPTIVELY THE STATISTICAL MEASURES OF THE VARIABLES USED IN THE SURVEY

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$

The results indicate that there is a statistically significant correlation between predictors and criteria, as well as that the level of correlation between predictors is not too high (it is of a medium level), so there is no fear that multicollinearity might occur. Measures of Skewness and Kurtosis indicate that there is no excessive deviation from normal distribution for all variables, so the authors were therefore inclined to use parametric methods. Cronbach's alpha, as a measure of internal consistency, indicates that the reliability of all scales is satisfactory, ranging from low to high. The t-test was performed for the independent samples to test the difference between the breakup initiators and non-initiators in the variable of grief after a breakup. The results have confirmed the hypothesis that claimed the differences existed (t (365) = 4.62; p <.01). The obtained difference indicates that respondents whose partners were more often initiators of a breakup experienced a higher level of grief post-breakup (M = 2.88; SD = 1.05), than respondents who initiated breakups more often (M = 2.36; SD = .98).

In order to predict the distress experienced after the breakup, a regression model was constructed in which the dimensions of coping with stress, attachment style and the categorical variable of breakup initiator-non-initiator were entered as predictors. The regression function obtained significantly explains the examined criterion. Its form is: R^2 = .28; $F(6,380)$ = 24.38, $p < .001$. Properties of predictors in the regression model are given in the following table:

	B	SE	β	t	r0
INITIATOR	-.36	.10	-.16	-3.53**	-.23
PROBLEM	-.18	.08	-.11	-2.26*	-.16

Table 2: REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS IN PREDICTION OF BREAKUP GRIEF BASED ON ATTACHMENT, COPING AND BREAKUP INITIATOR STATUS

SUPPORT	-.06	.08	-.04	-.78	.07
AVOIDANCE	.30	.09	.17	3.24**	.31
ANXIETY	.43	.06	.37	7.64**	.46
AVOIDANCE	-.11	.06	-.08	-1.79	-.02

TABLE 2:   REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS IN PREDICTION OF BREAKUP GRIEF BASED ON ATTACHMENT, COPING AND BREAKUP INITIATOR STATUS

Note: B – unstandardized regression coefficient; *SE* – standard error; β – standardized regression coefficient; *t* – *t value*; *p < .05, **p < .01; *r0* – zero-order correlation between predictors and criteria

As we can see from the table, a total of four predictors show an independent contribution to explaining the criteria: breakup initiator status (β = -.16, *p*<.01), problem-focused coping (β = -.11, *p* < .05), and avoidance coping (β = .17, *p* < .01) but the greatest contribution to explaining distress after a breakup is provided by high attachment anxiety (β = .37, *p*<.01).

After the initial regression model was obtained, the contribution of each of the double interactions between stress coping variables and working models with initiator status during the breakup was tested. The following table only shows interactions that are statistically significant.

As we can see, the multivariance of the predictor of post-breakup grief variable is not too abundant in interactions, i.e. only one statistically significant interaction was obtained for the Anxiety dimension, while a marginally statistically significant interaction was obtained for the Problem dimension, which will only be mentioned this time.

Understanding the interactions between variables greatly facilitates their visual presentation, and the method we used is based on choosing two states (high and low) and their combination which results in four potential solutions (Aiken & West, 1991). High and low scores are defined as one standard deviation above and below the mean value (Chaplin, 2007).

As we can see in the graph, respondents who had low level of attachment anxiety, i.e. positive working model of the self, do not experience a high level of distress after the breakup and do not differ from each other depending on whether they were the breakup initiators or it was their partner. On the other hand, when it comes to respondents who have high level of attachment anxiety, i.e. negative working model of the self, the situation is different. Firstly,
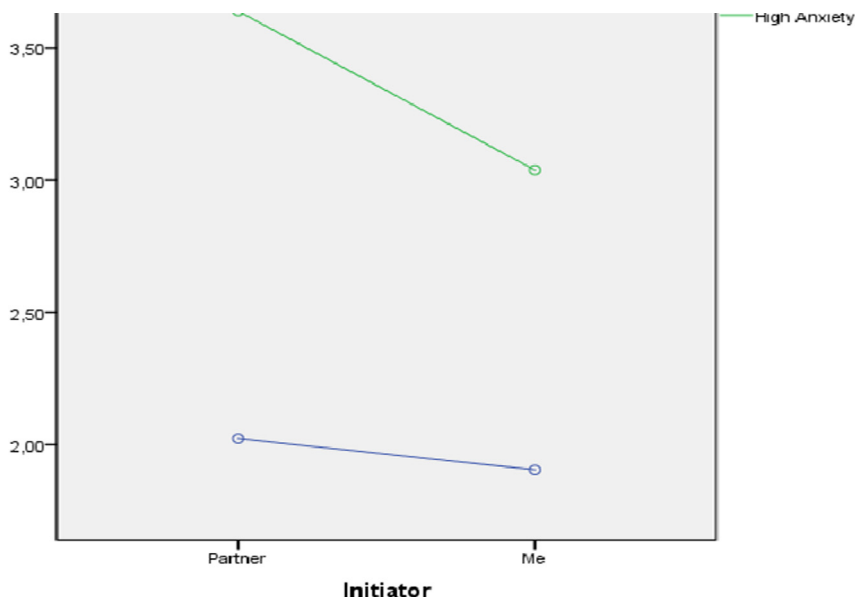
they differ significantly from respondents with low attachment anxiety scores, because they experience a significantly higher level of emotional distress after a breakup, however, that level of distress also depends on who the breakup initiator is. If the partner initiated the breakup, the level of distress will be significantly higher.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research aimed to provide a more detailed insight into whether there is a difference in the intensity of distress after a romantic relationship breakup in the person who initiated the breakup and in the person who did not initiate it, and what that difference depends on. The initial research hypotheses were that there is a difference in the intensity of distress between the breakup initiator and non-initiator, and that this difference is moderated by coping strategies and attachment style.

It is well-known that the termination of a romantic relationship is considered one of the most difficult events in life and a potential risk factor for developing emotional problems (Monroe, Rohde, Seelei, & Levinsohn, 1999, Menaghan & Lieberman, 1986). In their essence, people are imbued and motivated by the need to belong, i.e. by a strong desire to form and maintain lasting interpersonal

relationships (Baumeister & Leary 1995), therefore, interpersonal rejection is known to be a disturbing experience and results in many negative emotional responses (Koch, 2020). Numerous studies show that non-initiators of break-up, regardless of gender, report more emotional and/or physical distress compared to initiators (Davis & al., 2003; Collins & Clark, 1989; Frazier & Cook, 1993; Sprecher, 1994; Sprecher & al., 1998). Studies suggest that individuals who take responsibility for breaking up a romantic relationship adapt better to a breakup (Collins, 1989) than those who have no control over that decision, and therefore respond with greater intensity of sadness and depression (Frazier & Cook, 1993; Field & al., 2009; Sprecher & al., 1998). On the other hand, there are also findings that did not observe the difference between the initiator and non-initiator of a breakup in terms of emotional distress (Sbarra, 2006; Simpson, 1990; Tashiro and Frazier, 2003). Breakup initiator can experience negative emotions just like the non-initiator, therefore the initiator status cannot in itself consistently predict the intensity of reaction to the termination of a relationship (Waller & MacDonald, 2010).

The first specific goal of this study relates to the need to examine whether there is a statistically significant difference in the given sample between respondents who are break-up initiators and those who are not. The hypothesis that there is a difference has been confirmed, and the results indicate that people who were more often non-initiators of a breakup experience a higher level of stress when a relationship dissolves.

Although both groups report a high level of distress after a breakup, the score is higher for non-initiators. The person that rejects is not without emotional consequences either, rejecting other person results in feelings of guilt and the need for justification (Baumeister & al., 1993), which can explain the result obtained in this study. Another specific objective relates to examining the conditions under which such a difference exists. The above-mentioned inconsistent results (Sbarra, 2006; Simpson, 1990; Tashiro and Frazier, 2003) point to the existence of potential mediators, and the moderation effect of coping mechanisms and attachment dimensions was examined in this paper. Previous studies suggest that self-esteem can be a significant predictor of emotional distress after a breakup (Waller & MacDonald, 2010), as well as relationship length, relationship satisfaction, commitment, partner dependence, attachment type, existence of alternative partners, coping

mechanisms, self-esteem (Fine & Sacher, 1997; Sprecher & al., 1998; Frazier & Cook, 1993; Chung & al., 2003; Koch, 2020).

In regard to coping strategies, they have not been proven to be statistically significant moderators that can help to better understand the difference in the intensity of distress between the initiator and non-initiator of a romantic relationship breakup. A marginally statistically significant interaction was obtained for the problem-focused coping dimension and the authors decided to present this in order to highlight the potentially significant role of coping strategies for further research, especially the ability to overcome stress caused by emotional states and losses.

Attachment style, i.e. high level of attachment anxiety, proved to be able to best explain the post-breakup distress in this research. Previous studies support the claim that attachment style plays an important role in successfully overcoming the dissolution of a romantic relationship (Madey & Jilek, 2012). Attachment system is activated due to distress and the person reacts in a way specific to their attachment style, in order to reduce the intensity of distress (Davis & al., 2003). Three sources of distress can activate the attachment system: a threat to a person such as hunger or physical danger; threat to the bond with the attachment figure, that is, perceiving the figure as physically or psychologically inaccessible; challenging situations that motivate a person to use the attachment figure as a base of security. When the system is activated for any of the above reasons, the person tries to alleviate the intensity of emotional reaction in ways that characterize his or her attachment style. The stronger the activation of the attachment system, that is, the higher the distress for a person, the more extreme the characteristic behaviors are likely to be.

A better understanding of the difference in distress depending on the attachment style is provided by the working model of the self and others. Early attachment-related experiences and working models created in childhood have long-term consequences on shaping an individual's future expectations and the quality of his or her close relationships in adulthood (Bowlby, 1973). In this study, respondents who had low level of attachment anxiety, i.e. positive working model of the self, do not experience a high level of distress after the breakup and do not differ from each other depending on whether they were the breakup initiators or it was their partner. They see themselves as worthy of someone else's care and love, they cope well with negative events in relationships and are skilled

in looking at a negative situation from a positive angle (Simpson, 1990). These people also have greater understanding of the reasons for a breakup, which allows them to react calmly and composedly. On the other hand, when it comes to respondents who have high level of attachment anxiety, i.e. negative working model of the self, the results are quite different. First of all, they differ significantly from respondents with low attachment anxiety scores, because they experience a significantly higher level of emotional distress after a breakup. If the partner initiated the breakup, the level of distress will be significantly higher. Anxiety is positively correlated with more intense immediate negative reactions and a higher level of rumination in regard to reacting to negative events (Gentzler & al., 2010). Highly anxious people tend to experience more intense feelings and more variable "highs and lows" in their relationships than other people (e.g. Collins & Read, 1990; Hazan & Shaver, 1987). In general, individuals with high anxiety scores are highly reactive (Brennan and Bosson 1998; Carnellei & al. 2007; Collins and Feeney 2004), which explains significantly higher level of emotional distress after a breakup obtained in this study. Furthermore, people with high anxiety score are characterized by fear of abandonment, they crave emotional support, intimacy, and seek confirmation of their worth from their romantic partners (Hazan and Shaver, 1987). They see themselves as unworthy of love, tend to idealize their partner and have a sense of insecurity outside the relationship (Sperling, 1985). Moreover, anxious people report greater anxiety and impulsivity in their social interactions (Shaver & Brennan, 1992) and experience stronger negative emotions in their romantic relationships (Simpson, 1990). As a stressful event, breakup is a trigger for people with high anxiety, to which they react with high intensity of distress, and the context itself further intensifies the negative affect, given that anxious people are very sensitive to rejection by others. This type of experience, that is, rejection, activates the attachment system – a negative model of self that a person has, which increases the intensity of emotional response.

This research found that a better understanding of the differences in distress depending on attachment style is provided by the working model of the self and the working model of others, i.e. the context of individual differences within the attachment theory. It is clear that variables related to individual differences are important for a better understanding of this relationship, and therefore, the inclusion of other variables related to personality and self-worth

could provide significant insight. It is well-known that the stability of emotional reactions can be influenced by personality traits such as neuroticism (Smith & al., 1989; Watson & Clark, 1984; McCrae & Costa, 1990). In addition to this, it is necessary to keep in mind the limitations of this paper regarding the type of distress experienced. The research did not control which relationship type the respondents had in mind when answering the questions. The responses were viewed as a self-assessment of the general response in a particular breakup situation. Grief after a breakup is very likely to be caused by the level of attachment to a particular partner. The length of the relationship which ended with a breakup also needs to be a controlled variable.

Regardless of certain methodological limitations of this paper, its advantages are reflected in a more detailed insight into the important issue of overcoming emotional difficulties associated with relationship breakups as very intense and emotional experiences, which are very common in everyday life and in psychologists' practice. Therefore, it is necessary to dedicate more attention to the study of the relationship dissolution process and ways of overcoming it, almost as much as of the consequences on the mental health and mental life of the partner that more or less painful breakup experiences can cause.

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КРИСТИНА Ж. РАНЂЕЛОВИЋ
УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У ПРИШТИНИ СА ПРИВРЕМЕНИМ СЕДИШТЕМ
У КОСОВСКОЈ МИТРОВИЦИ, ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ
КАТЕДРА ЗА ПСИХОЛОГИЈУ

НИКОЛА Р. ГОЉОВИЋ
УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У НИШУ
ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ
ДЕПАРТМАН ЗА ПСИХОЛОГИЈУ

САЖЕТАК

ТУГОВАЊЕ НАКОН РАСКИДА – РАЗЛИКА ИЗМЕЂУ ИНИЦИЈАТОРА И НЕИНИЦИЈАТОРА У ЗАВИСНОСТИ ОД СТРАТЕГИЈА ПРЕВЛАДАВАЊА И АФЕКТИВНЕ ВЕЗАНОСТИ

Партнерски однос може бити један од значајнијих односа у животу једне особе, док раскид романтичне везе може бити болан и стресан догађај са бројним последицама како по психичко тако и по физичко стање особе. Већина раскида није узајамна, односно разликују се онај који „оставља" и онај који је „остављен", стога се и реакције на раскид романтичне везе могу разликовати у зависности од тога ко је иницирао раскид. Циљ овог рада је испитати да ли постоји разлика између иницијатора и неиницијатора раскида партнерске везе у нивоу доживљених емоционалних тешкоћа након раскида. Како су претходна истраживања неусаглашена када су резултати у питању, циљ овог рада је испитати под којим условима долази до такве промене у резултатима, тј. да ли је овај однос модериран неким другим варијаблама, због чега су резултати неконзистентни. У фокусу овог рада јесу унутрашњи радни модели теорије афективне везаности и стратегије превладавања стреса. Узорак коришћен у истраживању је пригодан и сачињава га 387 испитаника. Распон година старости је између 18 и 40 (AS=23.90; SD=4.22). Користили смо Close Relationship Experience Questionnaire (Brenan, Clark, Shaver, 1995), Brief COPE (Carver, 1997) и Breakup Distress Scale (Field & al., 2010). Резултат т-теста је потврдио да иницијатори доживљавају мање проблема са превладавањем раскида од неиницијатора раскида везе (t(365)=4.62; p<.01). У оквиру конструисаног предиционог модела укупно четири предиктора показала су независан допринос објашњењу отежаног туговања након раскида: статус иницијатора раскида везе, суочавање усмерено на решавање проблема, суочавање избегавањем и анксиозност. Касније је тестирањем доприноса предиктора и варијабле ста-

тус иницијатора добијена као статистички значајна интеракција са анксиозношћу. Испитаници који имају ниску анксиозност не доживљавају висок ниво дистреса након раскида и међусобно се не разликују у томе у зависности од тога да ли су иницијатори раскида везе били они или њихов партнер. Испитаници који имају високу анксиозност се значајно разликују од испитаника ниских на анксиозности, јер проживљавају упадљиво виши ниво емоционалног дистреса након раскида, али има разлике и у том нивоу у зависности од тога ко је иницијатор раскида. Уколико је партнер иницирао раскид, ниво доживљеног дистреса биће значајно виши. Чини се да раскид као сресор може бити окидач интензивне емоционалне реакције код особа са негативним радним моделом себе, с обзиром на то да су такве особе осетљиве на одбацивање од стране других. Овај вид искуства активира систем афективне везаности, што појачава интензитет емоционалног реаговања. Овим истраживањем добили смо да нам боље разумевање разлике у дистресу у зависности од афективне везаности пружају радни модел себе и радни модел других, тј. контекст индивидуалних разлика теорије афективне везаности. Очигледно да су варијабле из домена индивидуалних разлика значајне за боље разумевање ове везе, па би, стога, укључивање и других варијабли из оквира личности и слике о себи могле да донесу значајне увиде.

КЉУЧНЕ РЕЧИ: туговање након раскида; романтичне везе; иницијатор раскида; стратегије суочавања; афективна везаност.

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RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF LEARNING STYLE INVENTORY FOR PRIMARY SCHOOL STUDENTS BASED ON THE MYERS-BRIGGS LEARNING STYLE MODEL (ISUMB2-O)

Abstract. The goal of this study was to examine reliability and validity of learning styles inventory ISUMB2-O for primary school children. This inventory is based on Myers-Briggs learning style model, and the model itself is based on Jung's personality types. According to this model, the individual's profile is determined based on four pairs of opposite preferences: extraversion/introversion, sensing/intuition, thinking/feeling, and judgement/perception.

Reliability data (in a sample of 100 students of the 4th grade of primary school in Nis) obtained, both for individual dimensions (expressed by the Cronbach's alpha coefficient) and based on item analysis, indicate that this is a stable instrument. Three out of four dimensions have the reliability over 0.93 expressed by the Cronbach's alpha. Validity was verified in two ways: a) Construct validity was checked by using factor analysis in order to check the factor structure of the instrument, and b) external validity was checked by using the degree of correlation of values obtained based on the dimensions of learning styles with the instrument ISUMB2-O and on the teachers' assessment of individual poles of the examined dimensions of learning styles

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in their students based on the descriptions they received. The four-factor solution is the optimal and best possible one for the given instrument and it can explain 57% of the total variance. There is a statistically significant positive correlation between the results for the dimensions of the inventory of learning styles and teachers' assessment of individual poles of the examined dimensions of learning styles in their students based on the descriptions they received. This correlation value is high in the case of dimensions E-I, S-N and J-P, and of medium intensity when it comes to the dimension F-T. No differences in learning styles were observed from gender standpoint, while the dimensions sensing-intuition and judgment-perception were found to be related to school achievement.

The conclusion is that the instrument showed good psychometric characteristics, primarily from the aspect of extremely high reliability, high values for item-total correlation, satisfactory validity construct, and also due to adequate external validity, which indicate that the instrument measures the characteristics for which was originally intended. Limitations of the research were also highlighted, especially those related to the sample size.

KEYWORDS: Psychometric characteristic; inventory of learning styles; Myers-Briggs model.

INTRODUCTION

LEARNING STYLES

For many years, experts in the field of educational psychology have focused their research primarily on learning objectives, while the learning process itself has been neglected. The emphasis was on what students learn and what results they achieve; primarily expressed by the grades they receive. Recent research trends, especially in the field of learning psychology, are focused on the learning process itself, i.e. the focus has changed from the question "what" and "how much" to the question "how" (Ranđelović, 2016, p. 56).

The importance of cognitive styles, learning styles, specific procedures and learning strategies in regard to individual's learning have been recognized, while regarding the organization of teaching (at all levels: primary, secondary, and even universities), research attention is focused on the need for a more efficient individualization of teaching (Ranđelović, 2013).

As for the learning styles, multiple models and classifications of different learning styles have been postulated in the last thirty

DUŠAN J. RANĐELOVIĆ, MILJANA S. PAVIĆEVIĆ

years. Speaking about the need to respect individual differences among students, Stojaković (Stojaković, 2000) explains the different divisions of cognitive styles and learning styles depending on the researcher's approach.

Learning styles can be most broadly defined as the individuals' preferred way of learning (Pritchard, 2009). However, there are many more complex definitions found in literature, depending on the theoretical basis to which the authors refer. For example, Kolb (Kolb, 1984) defines learning style as a way of grasping and transforming experience. When trying to emphasize the need for a comprehensive approach to learning styles, the author Stojaković (Stojaković, 2000), and later in a slightly modified form the author Randjelović (Randjelović, 2012) claim that learning styles should be seen as characteristic ways of receiving, processing and using information during the process of learning (Randjelović, 2012). Witkin and Goodenough (1981) talk about field independent and field dependent cognitive styles, taking as a criterion the characteristics of processes of perception, which each individual possesses. Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences (1983) states that each of these (logical-mathematical, verbal-linguistic, visual-spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, musical-rhythmic, interpersonal and intrapersonal) has a corresponding and appropriate learning style. Hetfield (Hatfield, 1968, according to Kvaščev, 1978) examined the links between creativity, cognitive style and student achievement in school, and Harrison (Harrison, 1970, according to Kvaščev, 1978) examined the links between cognitive personality type and selective attention, and stated that "subjects with a developed analytical style have a more developed selective attention compared to individuals who have a developed non-analytical style".

Renner (Renner, 1970, according to Kvaščev, 1980) concludes that "cognitive personality type is learned and that it is largely acquired through learning and the organization of experience". Bjekić speaks of learning styles as an established and dominant way of receiving, processing and using stimuli or information in the learning process, and is most recognizable during organized learning in the classroom; it is the predominant way of mentally presenting and processing learning content (Bjekić & Dunjić Mandić 2007).

Learning styles most frequently mentioned within education are: Myers-Briggs learning style model; Dunn and Dunn Learning Style Model; Felder-Silverman – Learning Style Model; Kolb's learning

styles model. All of the above learning style model have in common the effort to improve the teaching process and improve student achievement. Based on a large number of studies, Curry (1983) classified learning styles into three layers: personality, information processing, and preferred teaching style. Each of these three categories include three instruments that measure the same construct, using the onion analogy, which is why this classification is called Curry's Onion Model. Personality traits are the inner layer which includes the personality assessment instruments: Witkin's Embedded Figures Test, Myers-Briggs Type Indicator and Kagan's Matching Familiar Figures Test. The middle layer is the layer of information processing that is described as the intellectual approach of an individual to information processing. This layer includes Kolb's Learning Style Inventory, Tamir and Cohen's Cognitive Preferences Inventory, and the Inventory of Learning Processes by Schmeck, Ribich, and Ramaniah. The third layer refers to instructional preferences in the learning process. This category includes Friedman's and Stritter's Instructional Preference Questionnaire, Rezler's and Rezimovich's Learning Preferences Inventory, and The Grasha-Riechmann Student Learning Styles Scale. Curry (1983) defined the fourth layer, which refers to social interaction, i.e. the interaction of an individual with peers during learning. The instruments that measure the social interaction of students are the same instruments that are used for teaching method preferences. According to The Dunn and Dunn Learning Style Model, the learning style implies the way in which each learner begins to concentrate on, process, and retain new information (Dunn & Dunn, 1993, according to Dunn & al., 2009). According to this learning style model, there are 21 elements that affect the effectiveness of learning. These elements are classified into five categories: learning environment; emotional preferences; social preferences; physiological preferences and cognitive preferences.

Felder and Silverman (1988) developed The Felder-Silverman learning style model (FSLSM), according to which individuals differ in their preferred way of perceiving, processing, organizing, and understanding information. Each student's profile is characterized by four pairs of opposite preferences: sensing/intuition, visual/verbal, active/reflective and sequential/global. According to the way of perceiving information – sensory and intuitive, according to the preferred type of information – visual and verbal, according to the way students process perceived information – active and reflec-

tive, and according to the way of understanding information – sequential and global. Felder-Silverman's learning style model is accompanied by the questionnaire The Index of Learning styles questionnaire (ILS).

Kolb's learning style model relies on the work of prominent scientists, especially John Dewey, Kurt Lewin, Jean Piaget, William James, Carl Jung and others whose theories view experience as the central concept. The model is based on six fundamental assumptions (Kolb & Kolb, 2005). The first assumption is that Kolb believed that learning is not the end result, but a process. According to the second assumption, every learning process is a reconstruction of knowledge and includes a re-examination of what has already been learned. The third assumption stipulates that learning requires the resolution of conflicts between dialectically opposed modes of adaptation to the world. During the process of learning, a person relies on observation and action, feeling and thinking. According to the fourth assumption, learning is a holistic process of adaptation to the world. Learning involves the integrated functioning of the total person. According to the fifth assumption, the knowledge acquired during learning is the result of the interaction between a person and the environment. The sixth assumption presumes that experiential learning theory advocates the constructivist learning theory which sees knowledge as a product of individual's own constructions. In other words, the outcome of learning is the construct of one's own knowledge of the world. This assumption stands in contradiction to the model that implies the transfer of knowledge to students, which education practice is mainly based on.

One of the modern learning style models that has been vastly used in practice (both in education and in the field of marketing as well as in industry) is the Myers-Briggs learning style model based on Jung's personality typology. The MBTI (The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator) instrument was designed in 1943 to assess student-learning styles (Zhang & Stenberg, 2011). With MBTI, it is possible to assess learning styles presented as four personality type polarities: extraversion/introversion, sensing/intuition, thinking/feeling, and judgement/perception (Coffield & al., 2004; Li, Chen, & Tsai, 2008; Pušina, 2014; Stojaković, 2000). According to this concept, there are two ways of interacting with the outside world: extraversion (E) and introversion (I). Extroverts are characterized by social interaction, they make new friends easily, they are action-oriented, relaxed, and optimistic, and collaborative learning suits them.

Introverts, on the other hand, are focused on their own inner world, love privacy and silence, are focused on a smaller number of people, they are withdrawn and pessimistic (Li, Chen, & Tsai, 2008; Stojaković, 2000) and prefer to study alone. From the aspect of the way of perceiving information, a person can be a sensing (S) or intuitive type (N). Sensing type personalities predominantly rely on facts gathered through the senses, are focused on the present and specific details, and therefore prefer to solve practical and realistic tasks. Intuitive types have a wide range of different interests, are able to utilize ideas, are focused on solving tasks that require novelty because they do not like routine and repetition, are focused on intuition and finding new solutions to problems (Stojaković, 2000), they like dealing with fundamental science content. Depending on the way the perceived information is processed, people can be thinking (T,) or feeling type (F). Thinking type is characterized by analytical thinking and decision-making based on logical and objective analysis of causes and consequences, while the feeling type base their actions and decisions on subjective assessment (Stojaković, 2000). The last dichotomy reflects a person's preference toward judgment (J) or perception (P). The processes of perception and judgment indicate how the individual perceives the world and how he or she makes connections between things and events. People with more pronounced judgment trait have the ability to organize, plan, and work in accordance with a pre-arranged program and deadlines. Unlike the judgment type, the perceptive type of personality is characterized by flexibility, spontaneity, curiosity, orientation to the process itself, and not to the outcome (Stojaković, 2000); research work and creative problem solving suit them. Most people's characteristics are in-between these extremes or to some extent lean towards one of the four bi-polar dimensions (Stojaković, 2000). In accordance with this point of view, and by using the MBTI instrument, there are 16 personality types derived from all possible combinations of the four bi-polar dimensions. For example, the ISTJ personality type is a sensitive type who is introverted and prefers meaningful judgment. These people are characterized by composure, orderliness, practicality, logic, dedication, etc. (Pušina, 2014). Despite the disputed validity of this instrument, the MBTI is one of the widely used instruments (Salter, Evans, & Forney, 2006; Zhang & Sternberg, 2011).

As a shorter version of the MBTI personality inventory, the Paragon Learning Style Inventory PLSI was created, which is used for

individuals above 8 years of age (Shindler, 2003). This questionnaire consists of 52 items. Within each item, there are two sub-items and the respondent is supposed to choose one of these. Assessment is quantitative. Based on the answers, it can be determined which learning style a person uses: Extraversion (E) – Introversion (I), Sensing (S) – Intuition (N), Thinking (T) – Feeling (F), Judgment (J) – Perception (P). The first dimension (Extraversion/Introversion) implies the relationship of an individual to others, the second dimension (Sensing-Intuition) represents the time it takes an individual to receive information, the third (Thinking-Feeling) shows how long it takes for a person to make a decision, and the fourth (Judgment-Perception) shows the relative importance of the second and third dimension. The combination of the four preferences determines the learning style which is represented by four letters, one letter from each pair (e.g. ESTP, ENFP). The author states that there are two versions of the instrument: a) for pupils and b) for students (Shindler, 2004). Some initial studies, according to Shindler (2003), speak in favor of the instrument's solid psychometric characteristics, noting that the test-retest method that checked the reliability of the instrument, PLSI inventory showed stability of 60-70%, and in regard to reliability expressed by the model of internal consistency, the Cronbach's alpha is almost always above 0.90 (Shindler, 2004). Other studies too, (for example: Garner-O'Neale & Harrison, 2013; Aliakbari & Abol-Nejadian, 2015; Khaki, Ganjabi & Khodamoradi, 2015) in which the PLSI instrument was used, confirmed high reliability of the instrument as well as other metric characteristics.

In addition to conceptual problems and the discussion of learning styles from different perspectives, the specific problem in research practice is measuring learning styles. After analyzing a large number of learning style models and theories, Cassidy (2004) tried to systematize as many as 23 different models and in his study presents various instruments for measuring these constructs.

In his doctoral dissertation, the author Randjelović (2012), adapted the PLSI instrument and after translation and modified, constructed an instrument that was adapted to the population in Serbia. The author applied the instrument to students in the younger grades of primary school and the instrument showed solid psychometric characteristics, especially the reliability that ranged for all dimensions between 0.767 and 0.953. The instrument is called the Inventory of Learning Styles according to the Myers

Briggs model (ISUMB2-O). The application of this instrument proved to be very suitable for identifying student learning styles and later for the construction and implementation of individualized learning programs for students based on student learning styles. In his research, Randjelovic proved that individualized learning based on student learning styles (identified with the help of the ISUMB2-O instrument) provides significantly better results in learning outcomes (seen through the parameters of knowledge, motivation and emotional experience of the lesson) compared to traditional teaching style which does not take into consideration student learning styles. Bearing all the above in mind, the aim of this paper is to check some psychometric characteristics of the ISUMB2-O instrument in a sample of 4th grade primary school students.

METHOD

SAMPLE

Non-random and convenience sampling was used. It included 4th grade students from 3 primary schools in Niš ("Njegos" Primary School, "Sveti Sava" Primary School and "Car Konstantin" Primary School). The initial sample consisted of 120 students, but subsequent reduction eliminated from the sample data from all those questionnaires that were incomplete, and data related to respondents that proved to be unreliable, so that the final sample included 100 respondents. The sample is almost equal concerning gender: 48 male students and 52 female students. The students were 10 and 11 years old (average age was 10.23). The average grade of the examined students was 4.42 (on a scale from 1 to 5). The sample also included six teachers (class teachers) whose students filled out the given inventory of learning styles. Teachers were involved for the purpose of external assessment of the presence of certain dimensions of students' learning styles (external validity of instrument).

PROCEDURE

The survey was conducted in April of the 2017/18 school year. With the consent of teachers and parents of the children who participat-

ed in the research, students filled out questionnaires during one school lesson (45 min). Concerning teachers, they first received a detailed description of the dimensions of student learning styles with characteristics and preferences for each of the poles of the MB learning style models dimensions. Furthermore, on a separate form they assessed each student on which pole of each learning style dimension he/she preferred (E or I, S or I, F or T, J or P).

INSTRUMENT DESCRIPTION

ISUMB2-O. The inventory of learning styles for primary school children is based on the Myers-Briggs learning style model. The instrument relies on The Paragon Learning Style Inventory (Shindler, 2004) and was first used for the Serbian population in the paper written by Randjelović (Randjelović, 2012). Randjelovic states (Randjelovic, 2012, p. 128) that the initial version of the instrument contained 52 items and fully corresponded to The Paragon Learning Style Inventory (Student learning style inventory version 52b, Shindler, 2004). The inventory was translated into Serbian and adapted for the population of fourth grade primary school students. After several pilot studies (N> 850) in samples of 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th grade students attending primary schools in Nis and Kosovska Mitrovica, the final form of the instrument with 64 items (16 items for each dimension) was created. The final version differs significantly from The Paragon inventory (only 25% of original items overlap). After the final form of the instrument was used in a sample of fourth grade primary school students in Nis, stable metric characteristics of the instrument were obtained. The instrument proved to be highly reliable, and Cronbach's alpha coefficient ranged from 0.767 for the feeling-thinking dimension, to 0.9536 for the sensing-intuition dimension (Randjelovic, 2012). All items contain statements to which respondents respond by choosing one between the two answer choices (dichotomous type question). The total scores (total number of *a* or *b* choices) are calculated for each of the poles of the MB model dimensions, and the respondent is assigned a letter representing the dominant pole of a specific dimension depending on whether he or she had more *a* or *b* answer choices. The instrument is a shorter form of Myers Briggs inventory for measuring learning styles and includes four dimensions based on Jung's personality typology (extraversion-introversion, sensing-intuition, thinking-feeling, relying on judgment-relying on

perception). As a result of the combination between dominant poles of all four dimensions, each student will be classified into one of 16 possible types of learning styles (ISTJ, ISFJ, INFJ, INTJ, ISTP, ISFP, INFP, INTP, ESTP, ESFP, ENFP, ENTP, ESTJ, ESFJ, ENFJ, ENTJ). All of these 16 types can be grouped into four categories (Shindler, 2004) based on the combination of extraversion-introversion and sensing-intuition dimensions: ES – extravert, sensing, EN – extravert, intuitive, IS – introvert, sensing, IN – introvert, intuitive. Randjelovic (2012) states that this instrument is intended for 4th to 8th grade students.

RESULTS

The overview of results will first present the main descriptive indicators and information related to the reliability of the instrument, followed by the analysis of the instrument validity and lastly the relationship between the values of certain dimensions of MB learning style models and certain sociodemographic variables will be mentioned.

DESCRIPTIVE PARAMETERS AND INSTRUMENT RELIABILITY

Firstly, descriptive parameters will be presented as well as the reliability of all dimensions of the measured learning styles according to the MB model.

Table 1 shows the reliability of the Learning Style Inventory scales.

DIMENSION	CONTENTS	N	NO. OF ITEMS	AS	SD	CRONBACH'S ALPHA
E-I	Extraversion – Introversion	100	16	5.84	4.82	0.931
S-iN	Sensing – Intuition	100	16	6.71	6.00	0.955
F-T	Feeling – Thinking	100	16	6.91	3.66	0.783
J-P	Judgment – Perception	100	16	7.44	5.857	0.947

TABLE 1. RELIABILITY OF THE LEARNING STYLE INVENTORY SCALES [TABELA 1. POUZDANOST SKALA INVENTARA STILOVA UČENJA]

Based on the data from Table 1, we see that all examined dimensions of learning styles have reliability expressed by the Cronbach's alpha coefficient over 0.78, and this value is over 0.93 in as many as three of the four dimensions.

Reliability at the level of individual items (item analysis) is shown in Tables 2.1 to 2.4.

Item	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
01	5.50	20.475	.610	.919
05	5.69	20.923	.693	.917
08	5.65	20.735	.679	.917
10	5.35	20.028	.678	.917
11	5.67	20.789	.696	.917
15	5.66	20.833	.666	.917
18	5.32	19.735	.749	.914
21	5.36	20.415	.586	.920
23	5.06	22.380	.197	.929
26	5.68	20.806	.710	.917
29	5.42	19.983	.699	.916
36	5.63	20.700	.660	.917
39	5.70	20.899	.724	.916
42	5.21	21.097	.448	.924
50	5.35	19.846	.721	.915
51	5.35	20.088	.663	.917

TABLE 2.1. ITEM ANALYSIS OF ITEMS ON THE EXTRAVERSION-INTROVERSION DIMENSION (E-I) [TABELA 2.1. AJTEM ANALIZA STAVKI NA DIMENZIJI EKTRAVERZIJA-INTROVERZIJA (E-I)]

Item	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
04	6.37	33.306	.465	.955

TABLE 2.2. ITEM ANALYSIS OF ITEMS ON THE SENSING-INTUITION DIMENSION (S-IN) [TABELA 2.2. AJTEM ANALIZA STAVKI NA DIMENZIJI SENZACIJA – INTUICIJA (S-IN)]

07	6.19	31.630	.744	.949
12	6.22	31.850	.703	.950
14	6.33	31.637	.767	.949
17	6.40	32.283	.679	.951
20	6.23	30.886	.887	.947
25	6.27	31.290	.815	.948
28	6.31	31.327	.820	.948
32	6.29	31.602	.760	.949
35	6.43	32.995	.557	.953
45	6.33	32.324	.635	.952
48	6.32	31.291	.831	.948
58	6.23	31.755	.721	.950
62	6.28	31.173	.840	.948
63	6.16	32.095	.660	.951
64	6.29	31.622	.756	.949

TABLE 2.2. ITEM ANALYSIS OF ITEMS ON THE SENSING-INTUITION DIMENSION (S-IN) [TABELA 2.2. AJTEM ANALIZA STAVKI NA DIMENZIJI SENZACIJA – INTUICIJA (S-IN)]

ITEM	SCALE MEAN IF ITEM DELETED	SCALE VARIANCE IF ITEM DELETED	CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION	CRONBACH'S ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
02	6.73	10.765	.335	.748
09	6.59	10.628	.342	.748
12	6.54	12.372	-.180	.794
16	6.80	11.192	.218	.757
19	6.65	9.664	.688	.714
22	6.84	10.600	.480	.738
24	6.49	11.283	.135	.767
30	6.47	9.989	.555	.727
33	6.73	11.775	.001	.776

TABLE 2.3. ITEM ANALYSIS OF ITEMS ON THE FEELING-THINKING DIMENSION (F-T) [TABELA 2.3. AJTEM ANALIZA STAVKI NA DIMENZIJI OSEĆANJE-MIŠLJENJE (F-T)]

37	6.33	10.587	.397	.743
40	6.25	10.795	.373	.745
43	6.31	10.923	.289	.752
46	6.55	9.684	.657	.717
52	6.61	9.513	.729	.710
53	6.73	11.068	.231	.757
54	6.83	10.466	.523	.734

TABLE 2.3. ITEM ANALYSIS OF ITEMS ON THE FEELING-THINKING DIMENSION (F-T) [TABELA 2.3. AJTEM ANALIZA STAVKI NA DIMENZIJI OSEĆANJE-MIŠLJENJE (F-T)]

	SCALE MEAN IF ITEM DELETED	SCALE VARIANCE IF ITEM DELETED	CORRECTED ITEM-TOTAL CORRELATION	CRONBACH'S ALPHA IF ITEM DELETED
03	7.05	30.917	.670	.945
06	7.12	30.713	.726	.944
27	7.07	30.591	.736	.944
31	7.11	30.564	.752	.943
34	7.02	29.838	.876	.941
38	7.00	30.040	.836	.941
41	7.03	30.272	.792	.942
44	7.28	32.264	.511	.948
47	7.03	30.878	.675	.945
49	6.96	30.423	.766	.943
55	7.04	29.675	.910	.940
56	6.90	32.657	.357	.951
57	7.02	29.737	.896	.940
59	7.00	30.040	.836	.941
60	7.12	32.066	.467	.949
61	6.90	31.808	.516	.948

TABLE 2.4. ITEM ANALYSIS OF ITEMS ON THE JUDGMENT-PERCEPTION DIMENSION (J-P) [TABELA 2.4. AJTEM ANALIZA STAVKI NA DIMENZIJI RASUĐIVANJE-PERCEPCIJA (J-P)]

INSTRUMENT
VALIDITY

Validity was verified in two ways: a) Construct validity was checked by using factor analysis in order to check the factor structure of the instrument, and b) external validity was checked by using the degree of correlation of values obtained based on the dimensions of learning styles with the instrument ISUMB2-O and on the teachers' assessment of individual poles of the examined dimensions of learning styles in their students based on the descriptions they received.

CONSTRUCT
VALIDITY

Factor analysis – the principal component method was used to verify construct validity. Firstly, the number of selected factors was checked by using Scree Plot and Kaiser Criterion. Varimax rotation was used for factor rotation. The four-factor structure of the instrument was checked. The results of the factor analysis are given in Graph 1 and Tables 3, 4 and 5. It should be noted that the sample size (N = 100) was such that the results of the factor analysis should be considered carefully, since some authors (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007) insist that the number of respondents should be at least 5 times larger than the number of items.

COMPONENT	INITIAL EIGENVALUES			EXTRACTION SUMS OF SQUARED LOADINGS			ROTATION SUMS OF SQUARED LOADINGS		
	TOTAL	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %	TOTAL	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %	TOTAL	% OF VARIANCE	CUMULATIVE %
1	19.714	30.803	30.803	19.714	30.803	30.803	19.018	29.715	29.715
2	8.799	13.749	44.552	8.799	13.749	44.552	7.884	12.319	42.034
3	4.988	7.794	52.346	4.988	7.794	52.346	4.987	7.792	49.826
4	3.211	5.017	57.363	3.211	5.017	57.363	4.824	7.537	57.363
EXTRACTION METHOD: PRINCIPAL COMPONENT ANALYSIS.									

TABLE 3. CHARACTERISTIC ROOTS AND PROPORTION OF EXPLAINED VARIANCE FOR EXTRACTED FACTORS BASED ON THE PRINCIPAL COMPONENT METHOD [TABELA 3. KARAKTERISTIČNE VREDNOSTI I PROCENTI OBJAŠNJENIH VARIJANSI ZA FAKTORE EKSTRAHOVANE NA OSNOVU METODE GLAVNIH KOMPONENTI]

The solution of four separate factors explains around 57% of the total variance.
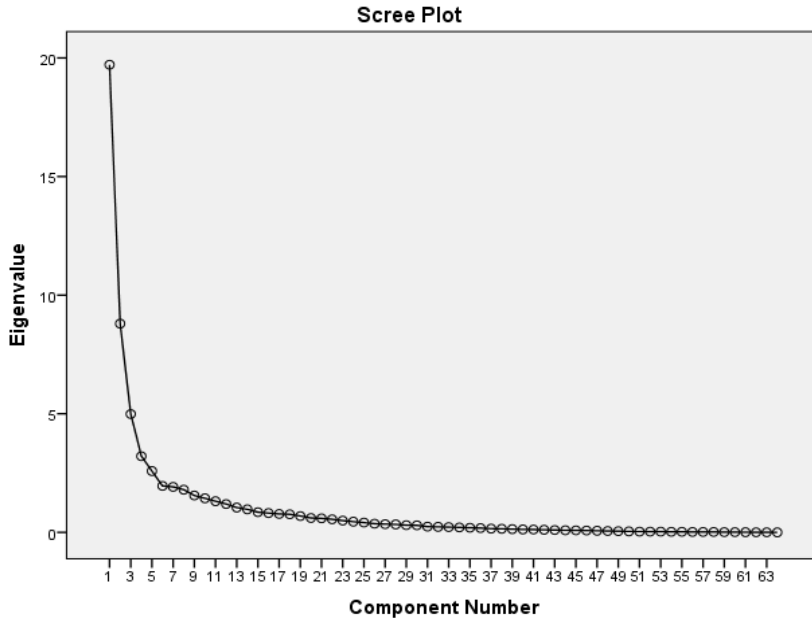
GRAPH 1. SCREE PLOT FOR EXTRACTED FACTORS

Due to the inconsistency of the criteria used to select the extract-ed factors (The Guttman-Kaiser Criterion and Cattell's scree test), Horn's Parallel Analysis was performed in order to verify the justi-fication of retaining the four-factor solution, and the results are shown in Table 4.

COMPONENT NUM-BER	ACTUAL CHARACTERISTIC ROOT FROM PCA	VALUE OBTAINED BY THE PARALLEL ANALYSIS	DECISION
1	19.714	3.0392	accept
2	8.799	2.8269	accept
3	4.988	2.6750	accept
4	3.211	2.5536	accept
5	2.352	2.4320	reject
6	1.957	2.3370	reject

TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF CHARACTERISTIC ROOTS OBTAINED IN PCA[a] AND THRESHOLD VALUES OBTAINED BY THE PARALLEL ANALYSIS [TABELA 4. POREĐENJE KARAKTERISTIČNIH VREDNOSTI DOBIJENIH U PCA I VREDNOSTI PRAGA DOBIJENIH PARALELNOM ANALIZOM]

[a]   PCA- Principal Component analysis

The results in Table 4 indicate that the four-factor solution is acceptable.

#ITEM	CONTENT	COMPONENT			
		1	2	3	4
55	When I study something, I usually do it...	.943			
57	I like to do things...	.923			
34	I prefer...	.903			
62	When I need to do something very important, I do it...	.885			
20	I like work that requires...	.883			
38	I appreciate the following in myself	.869			
59	I appreciate the following in others	.869			
25	I would rather do...	.834			
48	I achieve the best results when I rely on...	.828			
28	I am more interested in...	.810			
14	When I start doing something (e.g. writing homework), I prefer...	.807			
41	When I perform daily tasks, I frequently use...	.803			
32	It is better to:	.797			
49	In each issue I prefer...	.784			
64	I mostly think about...	.776			
27	I like to:	.756			
17	When I need to do something important...	.740			
12	Between good practice and interesting imagination, I would rather choose...	.737			
07	When I participate in group work (e.g. solving some tasks), my role is most often...	.736			
31	I prefer to...	.732			.492
06	I prefer work that is...	.727			
58	My friends tell me that my attitude toward group tasks is...	.722			
47	I live my life by mostly...	.700			.325

TABLE 5. PRINCIPAL COMPONENT MATRIX [TABELA 5. MATRICA SKLOPA IZDOVJENIH KOMPONENTI]

DUŠAN J. RANĐELOVIĆ, MILJANA S. PAVIĆEVIĆ

45	I more often do things that are:	.682			
03	I prefer when things are:	.663			.300
63	I think games would be more fair if kids would...	.662			
35	When I do some work that requires precision:	.594			
44	When I travel from point "A" to point "B" I will go ...	.581			.315
04	In any activity it is more important to...	.506			
60	It is easier for me to agree with my friends...	.489			.
61	When I get up in the morning...	.471			.486
43	If I get a bad grade, I usually react...	-.469		.341	
33	If one of my friends is sad because he has a problem ...	-.318			
24	In Serbian language lesson, I prefer when we analyze...				
39	I prefer to have...		.945		
05	I spend my time:		.918		
26	After an exhausting week, on weekends I prefer to...		.913		
36	When I have free time, I prefer to ...		.840		
08	After a day spent with a lot of people:		.818		
11	My friends see me as:		.771		
15	When there is some news at school, I usually find out...		.753		
56	I can say for myself that I am a little more...				.425
01	When I am sad, I prefer to be ...		.575		.358
51	In regard to phone use, I...		.537		.440
21	At parties and with people in general, I mostly...		.508		
53	I prefer teachers who are...		.426		
16	When I see someone crying, I would approach him/her....				
52	In my relationship with my friends, what matters to me is what they...			.787	
46	It's easier for me to notice:			.780	
30	It's easier for me to react to someone else's...			.762	
19	It is more important to me what someone...			.742	
23	When I'm worried, I...			.671	.382

Table 5. Principal component matrix [Tabela 5. Matrica sklopa izdovjenih komponenti]

40	As for my feelings, I usually...			.609	.343
54	When I get into an argument, I usually...			.559	-.456
22	When I argue with a person dear to me ...			.544	
37	In books and movies, I prefer...			.419	
02	I believe more...			.355	
13	It's easier for me to learn a lesson...				
18	Friends think that I am...		.390		.757
10	When I am in a group I mostly:		.336		.755
50	I usually...		.393		.728
42	I would rather:				.718
09	My friends say about my personality...			.364	-.576
29	Most people describe me more as:		.470		
	Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.				
	a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.				

TABLE 5. PRINCIPAL COMPONENT MATRIX [TABELA 5. MATRICA SKLOPA IZDOVJENIH KOMPONENTI]

We can see from Table 5 that as many as 36 items with a saturation of over 0.3 saturate the first extracted factor. The items that most saturate this factor are items under numbers 55, 57, 34, and 32. The second extracted factor is saturated with a total of 15 items with a saturation of over 0.3. It is most saturated with items 39, 5 and 26. The third factor is saturated by 12 items with saturation over 0.3. Items under numbers 52, 46, and 30 saturate this factor the most. The fourth factor is saturated with 16 items with saturation over 0.3. Concerning this factor, items 18, 10 and 50 show the highest factor saturation.

EXTERNAL VALIDITY

Test validity was examined with respect to an external criterion: assessment of learning style by the teacher. Teachers first received a detailed description of each of the learning style dimensions, and then assessed which of the mentioned poles of each dimension each student would prefer (which would be more suitable for each student, based on their characteristics). Teachers' assessments were compared with values for dimensions obtained empirically through the Learning Style Inventory. Pearson correlation coefficients are shown in Table 6. The same table also shows the correlation

between each dimension (empirically obtained and assessed by the teacher) and the average student achievement in school.

	E-I assess.	S-iN assess.	O-M assess.	J-P assess.
E-II	,619**	,232*	,365**	,302**
S-iN	,127	,850**	,184	,904**
O-M	,162	-,238*	,329**	-,212*
J-P	,060	,846**	,132	,907**
	,550	,000	,191	,000

Table 6. Correlation of learning styles assessed by teachers and students
[Tabela 6. Korelacija stilova učenja procenjenih od strane učitelja i učenika]

** Correlation is significant at the level of 0.01.
* Correlation is significant at the level of 0.05.
Legend:
E-I assess. (assessment of E-I dimension by teachers); E-I – extraversion-introversion dimension obtained by the learning style inventory; S-iN assess. (assessment of S-iN dimension by teachers); S-iN – sensing-intuition dimension obtained by the learning style inventory; O-M assess. (assessment of O-M dimension by teachers); O-M – feeling-thinking dimension obtained by the learning style inventory; J-P assess. (assessment of J-P dimension by teachers); J-P – judgment-perception dimension obtained by the learning style inventory;

We can see from Table 6 that in regard to assessment by teachers (as an external criterion), their assessments show statistically significant positive and high correlation with the following learning style dimensions obtained by the learning style inventory: extraversion-introversion (r = .619. P<0,01); sensing-intuition (r= .850, p <0.01), judgment-perception (r = .907. p <0.01). With regard to the feeling-thinking dimension, it shows a statistically significant correlation of medium intensity with teachers' assessments (r= .329. P < 0.01).

Connection between the dimensions of the MB learning style model and certain socio-demographic characteristics

Examining the connection between the prevalent poles of the dimensions of the MB learning style model and respondents' gender, as well as the average student achievement in school.

The difference in the proportions of the prevalent poles of the dimensions of the MB learning style model with respect to respondents' gender was examined. Chi square analysis was used. The results show that there is no significant difference with respect to the proportion of prevalent poles of the MB model dimensions between male and female respondents.

DIMENSION	PREVALENT DIMENSION POLE	N	MEAN	STD. DEVIATION	T	DF	SIG
E-I	Extraversion	74	4.462	0.54	1.433	98	.155
	Introversion	26	4.292	0.38			
S-IN	Sensing	54	4.626	0.45	4.818	98	.000
	Intuition	46	4.178	0.46			
F-T	Feeling	64	4.431	0.51	.288	98	.774
	Thinking	34	4.400	0.51			
J- P	Judgment	51	4.622	0.45	4.451	98	.000
	Perception	47	4.202	0.47			

TABLE 7. CONNECTION BETWEEN THE PREVALENT POLES OF THE DIMENSIONS OF THE MB LEARNING STYLE MODEL AND AVERAGE STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT IN SCHOOL [TABELA 7. POVEZANOST IZMEĐU RASPROSRANJENIH POLAVA DIMENZIJA MB STILOVA UČENJA I PROSEČNOG POSTIGNUĆA UČENIKA U ŠKOLI]

Results in Table 7 show that there is a significant difference in the average achievement of students with regard to the preferred poles of learning style dimensions sensing-intuition and judgment-perception. In regard to the sensing-intuition dimension, the results show that students who prefer the sensing pole in this learning style dimension have better average school achievement compared to students who prefer intuition pole (t=4,818, df=98, p<0,01). Moreover, students who prefer judgment pole in the judgment-perception dimension have statistically significantly higher average school achievement than students who prefer perception pole on this dimension.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The main goal of this study was to examine reliability and validity of the ISUMB2-O instrument, which is Learning Style Inventory for

primary school children based on Myers-Briggs learning style model. This instrument relies on the Paragon Learning Style Inventory (Shindler, 2000), which is a slightly shorter version of the MBTI inventory. The data obtained related to reliability, both for individual dimensions (expressed via the Cronbach's alpha coefficient) and based on item analysis, indicate that it is a stable instrument that has high performance. The fact that Cronbach's alpha was over 0.93 for as many as three dimensions indicates that it is a highly reliable instrument. The results are consistent with reports from previous research in our region (Randjelović, 2012), and indirectly confirm the findings of researchers who checked the psychometric characteristics of the original Paragon Learning Style Inventory (Shindler, 2003; Garner-O'Neale & Harrison, 2013; Aliakbari & Abol-Nejadian, 2015; Khaki, Ganjabi & Khodamoradi, 2015) which showed a solid reliability of all dimensions of the MB model. Based on the item analysis (Tables 2.1 to 2.4), it can be seen that most items have high correlation with the overall score for the individual dimensions. Moreover, these tables also show that the elimination of some items within certain dimensions of learning styles would not significantly improve the reliability of the entire dimension, that is, in some cases it would even decrease. All this points to the stability of the instrument as a whole, as well as the recommendation that the set of items within individual dimensions should remain as it is at the moment.

ISUMB2-O instrument validity was verified in two ways. Construct validity was checked by using factor analysis and external validity was checked by using the degree of correlation of values obtained based on the dimensions of learning styles with the instrument ISUMB2-O and on the teachers' assessment of individual poles of the examined dimensions of learning styles in their students based on the descriptions they received. In regard to construct validity, the principal component method and extraction based on Kaiser Criterion were used to check the four-factor solution. Although the preliminary analysis singled out several factors with the eigenvalue over 1, the Scree plot and the fact that only four extracted factors had more than 3 items that saturate individual factors with saturation over 0.3, we believe that the four-factor solution is the optimum and best possible solution in terms of the given instrument. Table 3 shows that the four-factor solution can explain 57% of the total variance. Horn's parallel analysis confirmed that the four-factor solution can be accepted.

A more detailed analysis of the selected factors and the individual items that most saturate each of them (see Table 4), provides information that does not fully agree with the theoretical model. Namely, when the first extracted factor is in question, it is described by as many as 36 items with a saturation over 0.3. The items that saturate this factor to the highest extent are the items (with saturation over 0.90) under number 55 (*When I study something, I usually do it:* a/ *with a plan and in a specifically determined order and schedule, b/ without a plan, I first study what I like more at that moment or what seems easier to learn* , 57 (*I like to do things...a/ in a specific order; b/ in the way I believe is the best*), and 32 (*It is better to...a/ accept things as they are, b/ try to change them*). Insight into the content of the items makes it clear that this factor mostly relates to the judgment-perception dimension (J-P). However, the following items that stand out for the same factor, also with high saturation (over 0.88), are item 62 (*When I need to do something very important, I do it... a) in the old and proven way, which I always use, b) in a whole new way that I just came up with*) and item 20 (*I like work that requires...... a/ practice and skill, b/ imagination and new solutions*), theoretically fit more into the explanation of the sensing-intuition dimension (S-iN). Therefore, this factor would cover more items than both dimensions (both J-P and S-N). High correlation between these two dimensions, as well as their overlap in the factor structure was also confirmed with the original MBTI instrument (Kirby & al., 2007). This may be due to a higher order factor that encompasses both dimensions. This is a question for some future research and the possible use of higher order factor analysis. When it comes to the extracted factors two and three (see Table 6), everything is quite clear. Namely, the second extracted factor has a total of 15 items with a saturation higher than 0.3 and is most saturated with items no. 39 (*I prefer to have...a/ a lot of friends, b/ few friends*) , 5 (*I spend my time a) in larger groups of people, and rarely alone, b/ in smaller groups of people or alone*) and 26 (*After an exhausting week, on weekends I prefer to......a/ I go out and play with others, b/ I stay home to rest or play alone*). The content of the above-mentioned items clearly shows that this is the extraversion-introversion dimension (E-I). All 15 items that saturate the mentioned factor are precisely intended for measuring the E-I dimension, as indicated in the key for result calculation (Ranđelović, 2012). The situation is similar with the third extracted factor. As for this factor, there are a total of 12 items with saturation over 0.3, and the items with the highest saturation are: 52 (*In*

my relationship with my friends, what matters to me is what they.....a/ feel, b/ think), and item 46 (*It's easier for me to notice: a/ what someone else feels, b/ what someone else thinks*) and item 30 (*It's easier for me to react to someone else's... a/)...feelings, b/ ...opinions*). This is the feeling-thinking dimension (F-T) and all twelve items refer to this dimension. As for the fourth extracted factor, it is saturated with items from as many as three different dimensions of learning styles: mostly from the extraversion-introversion dimension, followed by the feeling-thinking dimension and finally the judgment-perception dimension. Items within the selected factors are grouped in such a way that the first three extracted factors cover as many as 57 out of 64 items and this factor refers to the dimensions J-P and S-N; the second factor covers items related to the E-I dimension, and the third factor is saturated by items related to the F-T dimension.

In regard to the external validity of the instrument, it has been shown that ISUMB2-O truly adequately determines the affiliation to the certain poles of the dimensions of the MB learning style model. Namely, based on the results from Table 5, there is a statistically significant positive correlation between the results for the dimensions of the inventory of learning styles and the teachers' assessment of individual poles of the examined dimensions of learning styles in their students based on the descriptions they received. This correlation is high in the case of dimensions E-I, S-N and J-P, and of medium intensity for the F-T dimension. This actually means that the classification of students into individual subgroups based on the results on the inventory of learning styles (extravert-introvert, sensing-intuitive, feeling-thinking, and judgment-perception types), as well as specifying the characteristic type of learning style for each individual student based on the combination of results for the dimensions are correct and based on the actual preferences of students. This type of instrument validation was also used in the case of the original version of the MBTI instrument (Kirby & al., 2007), but in that case self-assessment was used (based on the descriptions that individuals received about each learning style dimension), because respondents were adults, and in our case we are talking about children up to 11 years of age, so it was estimated that teachers' assessment (based on the description of the dimensions they received) was a more objective measure than students' assessment. Given the ambiguous findings related to the construct validity of the ISUMB2-O instrument, as well as fairly

clear findings related to the undisputed external validity of the instrument, our final judgment on the overall validity of the instrument is that the instrument is valid, that its items and dimensions adequately reflect the MB model, that it provides the opportunity to objectively identify student learning styles and it gives the opportunity to use the results for the preparation of individualized learning programs that will encourage students to learn independently and lead to permanent improvement of learning content and reorganization of educational processes.

The results section also shows the data related to the relationship between the dimensions of MB learning style models and certain sociodemographic variables (gender and school achievement). From the aspect of gender, no significant statistical difference was found with respect to the proportion of prevalent poles of the MB model dimensions of learning styles between male and female respondents. These findings partially disagree with the results of previous research, especially when it comes to the F-T dimension. For example, in Kendall's research (Kendall, 1988), it was shown that there are pole-related differences for the F-T dimension and that women prefer feeling pole more than men do (70% of women surveyed, as opposed to 35% of men surveyed). On the other hand, there are findings indicating that the distribution of learning styles in males and females is very similar (Hargrove & al., 2008), while a number of studies have found no significant differences between male and female students (Brew, 2002; Kayes, 2005; Metin & al., 2011). It should be kept in mind that our sample consisted of children who are still forming their preferences in learning styles, just like value systems, since this dimension is also concerned with the domain of values, so in our opinion, it was somewhat expected that the differences that would probably appear at a later age still do not exist at that an early age. These findings are also confirmed by Randjelović (2012). Sensing-intuition and judgment-perception dimensions have proven to be related to school achievement. Students who prefer sensing pole within the S-N dimension and judgment pole within the judgment-perception dimension statistically have better average school achievement than students who prefer the intuition pole and perception pole within these learning style dimensions. The connection between these two dimensions was also confirmed in the research by Randjelović & al. (2011), but in this research, the direction of the connection was reversed. However, in the mentioned research study, the respondents were high

school students, and our sample included 4th grade primary school students. Interestingly, the author Sak (2004), used the MBTI instrument to synthesize the results of 14 different studies (total number of respondents N=5723) that focused on personality characteristics (and related learning styles) of gifted students, states that intuitive types show far better school achievement compared to sensing types. Intuitive type is, by definition, more characterized by quickly coming up with solutions, inventiveness, they are imaginative, and they like to solve more complex problems that require vast theoretical knowledge and a higher level of abstraction (Stojaković, 2000). One longitudinal study (Felder & al., 2002, according to Felder & Brent, 2005) showed that intuitive type students, as opposed to sensing types, see themselves as much more successful when solving tasks that require creative problem-solving skills and emphasized that they would prefer to do creative work in the future. A large percentage of sensing type students saw themselves in the future as engineers in big companies, while a large percentage of intuitive type students planned to work in small companies or to continue their education and research. Sak also highlights certain differences in academic achievement and general cognitive abilities between different categories of learning styles: introvert – intuitive types (INs) show far better academic achievement and more pronounced cognitive abilities compared to other categories of learning styles according to the MB model (Sak, 2004).

The conclusion is that the instrument showed good psychometric characteristics, primarily due to extremely high reliability, high values for item-total correlation, satisfactory construct validity, but also adequate external validity, which indicates that the instrument measures precisely those characteristics for which it was originally intended. However, the limiting factor related to the generalization of results should be taken into account, especially regarding the data related to the factor analysis because the sample included only 100 respondents (which is a small number in relation to the total number of variables). Of course, caution is advised, so before the wider use of the instrument, especially in school, it is recommended to check the characteristics of the instrument in other parts of the population for which it is intended, i.e. psychometric characteristics should be checked in 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th grade students.

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САЖЕТАК

ПОУЗДАНОСТ И ВАЉАНОСТ ИНВЕНТАРА СТИЛОВА УЧЕЊА ЗА ОСНОВЦЕ БАЗИРАН НА МАЈЕРС-БРИГСОВОМ МОДЕЛУ СТИЛОВА УЧЕЊА (ИСУМБ2-О)

Последњих тридесетак година у фокусу истраживачке пажње стручњака у области психологије образовања је сам процес учења, за разлику од раније фаворизованих исхода учења. С тим у вези, једна од доминантних тема су и стилови учења. Постулиран је велики број модела и класификација различитих стилова учења, као и инструмената који служе за идентификовање карактеристичних начина учења ученика. Један од савремених модела стилова учења који има широку примену у школској пракси је и Мајерс-Бригсов модел стилова учења. По овом моделу, индивидуални профил стила се одређује на основу положаја дуж четири биполарне димензије: екстравертност/интровертност, чулност/интуитивност, размишљање/осећање и просуђивање/перцепција.

Циљ рада је био проверавање поузданости и ваљаности инвентара стилова учења за основце ИСУМБ2-О. Овај инвентар је базиран је на Мајерс-Бригсовом моделу стилова учења, а сам модел у својој основи има Јунгову типологију личности. Инструмент је конструисан на основу Парагоновог инвентара стилова учења и први пут је употребљен на основцима у Републици Србији 2012. године. Аутор наводи да се после више пилот-истраживања (Н> 850) на узорцима ученика IV, V, VI и VII разреда основних школа у Нишу и Косовској Митровици, и вишеструких модификација, дошло до коначне форме инструмента са 64 ставке (за сваку од димензија по 16 ставки).

Добијени резултати (на узорку од 100 ученика IV разреда основних школа у Нишу) везани за поузданост, како за поједине димензије (изражене преко Кронбах алфа коефицијента) тако и на основу ајтем анализе, указују на то да се ради о стабилном инструменту. Три од четири димензије имају поузданост изнад 0,93 изражену Кронбах алфа коефицијентом. Ваљаност је испитивана на два начина: а) конструкт ваљаност је проверавана преко факторске анализе како би се проверила факторска структура инструмента; б) проверавана је екстерна ваљаност преко степена корелације вредности добијених на димензијама стилова учења на инструменту ИСУМБ2-О и процена наставника појединих полова испитиваних димензија стилова учења код њихових

ученика на основу описа који су добили. Четворофакторско решење је оптимално и најбоље могуће у погледу датог инструмента и оно може да објасни 57% укупне варијансе. Постоји статистички значајна позитивна корелација између резултата на димензијама инвентара стилова учења и процена наставника појединих полова испитиваних димензија стилова учења код њихових ученика на основу описа који су добили. Та корелација је велика у случају димензија Е-И, С-Н и Ј-п, а средњег интензитета када је у питању димензија Ф-Т. Нису добијене полне разлике у стиловима учења, док су димензије сензација–интуиција и суђење–перцепција повезане са школским успехом.

Закључак је да је инструмент показао добре психометријске карактеристике, сагледане, пре свега, преко изузетно високе поузданости, високих вредности за ајтем-тотал корелације, задовољавајуће конструкт валидности, али и адекватне екстерне валидности, које указују на то да инструмент мери управо оне карактеристике за које је изворно и намењен. Истакнута су и ограничења истраживања, поготову она везана за величину узорка.

Кључне речи: психометријске карактеристике; инвентар стилова учења; Мајерс-Бригсов модел.

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JOHN AMOS COMENIUS – THE TEACHER OF NATIONS AND THE FOUNDER OF DIDACTIC PRINCIPLES

"Not every student has to be an excellent student,
but he can become a human being."

John Amos Comenius

Abstract. The origin of didactics as a science discipline dates from as far back as the ancient slave states, so the very term didactics (*didaskein*) comes from the ancient Greek language, meaning to teach. This term later underwent certain changes and the term didactica (didactics) originated in Latin. Today, all scientific vocabulary comes from these two languages (Latin and Greek). The first, more precise definition of this concept was given by Wolfgang Ratke (1571–1635) and John Amos Comenius (1592–1670), who are also considered the founders of didactics. The aim of this paper is to emphasize the importance of didactic principles and the great importance and contribution of Comenius as their founder and the founder of didactics in general. We have to mention that Comenius dedicated his entire life and work to the search for the overall improvement of the teaching process and the education of people, and how successful he was can be seen in the fact

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that his didactic principles still stand the test of time. He is considered to be one of the greatest educational reformers.

KEYWORDS: didactics; didactic principles; teaching; education; school.

THE LIFE OF JOHN AMOS COMENIUS

John Amos Comenius, one of the most influential and famous pedagogues and school reformers, was born on March 28, 1592 in Moravia (Czech Republic) as Jan Szeges. The exact place of birth was not precisely determined, but it is assumed that it is the village of Komna, which is why Comenius was added to his surname, meaning coming from Komna. His family owned a mill, but in his early childhood, at the age of twelve, he was left an orphan. Unfortunately, both of his parents died of plague. He learned to read and write in his mother tongue early on, which made it easier for him to prepare for the job of pastor. However, what always attracted him was education, but he could not continue his education at that point in time. It was not until the age of sixteen that he had the opportunity to do so and he entered the Latin school, which he completed in three years. Comenius finished elementary school, then Latin school and grammar school. After having noticed his intellectual potential, "after a little more than two years, due to his excellent school performance, he was sent by the religious community to the Herborn Academy in Nassau, (a German province at the time) because the University of Prague was not in favour of the '*Czech Brethren*'" (Zlebnik, 1962, p. 57). He received his theological education at the Heidelberg University, and as a student he became acquainted with the didactic views of the German pedagogue Ratke and began working on a dictionary of the Czech language.

He returned to his homeland in 1614, and in 1618 he began working as a Protestant pastor and head of the parish school. Comenius devoted himself to reformist and pedagogical work, introduced the teaching of elementary knowledge about nature, wrote a simplified Latin grammar, etc. Moreover, he was chosen as the leader (priest) of a Protestant fraternity, because he "was a member of the Protestant religious group "Czech Brethren", which originated from the left, peasant-plebeian wing of the Hussite movement. He was a teacher and organizer of schools within the religious group to which he belonged. He became a priest and an elder of that group."

(Коменски, 1997, p. 7). In the same year, 1618, The Thirty Years' War between Catholics and Protestants began in the Czech Republic. After the defeat of Protestant groups in The Battle of White Mountain, he had to move frequently. Enemy soldiers burned his house, and he barely managed to escape with his wife and two small children. Fleeing from Catholic German persecutors, he lost not only his house, property, books and manuscripts, but also his family died of the plague. Constantly persecuted, Comenius hid with the "Czech Brethren" in abandoned huts, caves and forests, and lived as an exile in his own homeland. In 1628, more than 30,000 Czech families left their homeland, including Comenius, who never returned to the Czech Republic. Comenius found in his work the only way out and consolation from such a difficult situation.

He lived and worked in many European countries. He spent some time in Leszno (Poland), where he settled and led a grammar school, and then went to Sweden to Queen Christina's court, and finally to England and Hungary. During that period, he intensively studied pedagogical issues. During his relocations and Northern Wars, some of Comenius' manuscripts were destroyed and disappeared, and he also lost his personal library several times.

In 1631, he published the book *Gate of Tongues Unlocked*. It was translated into 12 European and 4 Asian languages. In 1632, he completed his main work *The Great Didactics* (*Didactica magna*) and wrote it in Czech, and then translated it into Latin – the international literary language. During that period, he gained a world-wide reputation and received invitations from many countries to reorganize their schools. In Hungary, Comenius completed the first-ever illustrated textbook *Visible World in Pictures* (*Orbis sensualium pictus*). Thus, Comenius changed and expanded the previous opportunities for the teaching process, so that in addition to listening to the teacher, students could now also visually follow the learning topics. "This book was translated into various languages and has been published numerous times. In addition to the principle of obviousness, this textbook introduces encyclopaedic content and thus real life in school. This textbook is decorated with 302 woodcuts and it was children's favourite reading material for almost two centuries." (Žlebnik, 1962, p. 58)

Comenius returned to Leszno in 1654, however, the city was destroyed during the war between the Swedes and the Poles and he lost his property for the second time, and found his last refuge in Amsterdam, where all his works were published. Just before his

death, he opened his heart and described his not so easy life path: "My whole life was a constant journey and I had no homeland. I constantly moved and I was nowhere at home... In the end, the capital of the Netherlands, the market of the world, showed me hospitality" (Марковић, 1990, p. 33). And as the Italian poet *Giovanni Rufini* (1807–1881) said: *"A teacher is like a candle that lights others by consuming itself"*, so John Amos Comenius, who lived a life full of suffering and creativity, died at the age of 79.

COMENIUS – THE TEACHER OF NATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL REFORMER

Teaching, which is the foundation of educational work and a socio-historically conditioned category, is seen as a very old human activity. It also had an important role in the ancient civilizations. It is a planned and organized simultaneous educational process and represents a form of intentional influence on personality development. This would further mean that "teaching is an educational process based on socially determined goals and objectives that are achieved with didactically shaped content, through its various forms and by various means. It is a systematically organized educational process led by a teacher whose task is to help students acquire knowledge, skills and habits and to develop as a person." (Vilotijević, 1999, p. 84). Based on this definition, teaching should effectively use its methods and its contents to contribute to the faster development of personality, and also to the general progress of society. It always implies the unique presence and synergy of three main factors: course content, student and teacher, which form the Didactic Triangle. The European bourgeoisie found the ideologue of such a school and teaching in the Czech pedagogue John Amos Comenius, who is considered the most important reformer in the history of education, because although he was a religious man, he condemned the medieval dogmatism created by the Catholic Church.

Humanism and Renaissance are seen as the cultural revival in all areas of human activity, especially in the field of culture and education. It is believed that "*pedagogical realism* began and developed rapidly at that time, which the great Czech pedagogue John Amos Comenius accepted and immortalized with his work. He studied

ancient and medieval pedagogy well and founded modern pedagogy." (Лекић, 2000, p. 54). His enlightenment thought directly influenced the development of pedagogy, but above all the didactics and teaching in general. Russian pedagogue Dzurinski (Джурински, 2000, p. 130), points out that Comenius is "a humanist who saw the perfect work of nature in every person which enables the development of all its potential, with the role of education being very important as it is supposed to form people who are capable of serving society". When talking about the system of public education, Comenius' demands in this area were very advanced, while his "pedagogical views were influenced by different ideological currents of his time, but the affiliation of the religious group "Czech Brethren" had a threefold significance for the future development of Comenius: religious, socio-philosophical and pedagogical. Its significance for Comenius' pedagogical development was manifested in his fanatical commitment to school work and creative work in pedagogy" (Cenić & Petrović, 2012, p. 82).

He aspired for democracy in schools and for it to be attended by both genders. Comenius said, "... education is necessary for everyone ... Not the children of the rich or of the powerful only, but of all alike, boys and girls, both noble and ignoble, rich and poor, in all cities and towns, villages and hamlets, should be sent to school." What Comenius also truly fought for was that the mother tongue is used in the classroom, which would primarily facilitate the education of commoner's children, and that "going to school must be mandatory for every child, regardless of financial status and intelligence." He became famous at his time with revolutionary thoughts such as "repetition is the mother of wisdom" and "game-based learning" (Рајчевић, 2014, p. 377). In order to make school and education accessible to all sections of people, he introduced a new way of teaching organization based on the principle of class-subject-lesson school system. He calls the school a "workshop of humanity", a workshop of people. School's task is to teach "all things to all men".

His philosophy is called *"pansophism",* which means the search for knowledge through encyclopaedic system of human knowledge, because the very meaning of the word pansophia is – omniscience, a comprehensive, versatile human knowledge. The basis of this philosophical thought is the idea that the entire cosmos relies on harmony. He also wrote on the pansophic principles of education, which refer to dividing the entire educational process into four

periods of six years each. This division is the foundation of the modern school system, and it was conceived in such a way that it foresaw a six-year schooling for each period. Therefore, we have:

1) Childhood, during the first six years of age – *Maternal school* – the period of physical growth and development of the senses;

2) Boyhood, from six to twelve years of age – *School of the mother tongue* – it is a period dedicated to the development of memory and imagination;

3) Youth, from the age of twelve to eighteen – *Latin school or Grammar school* – the main focus is on the ability to comprehend and judge;

4) Maturity – *University intended for the most capable students, future scientists*. Education ends with a trip abroad.

"With this periodization and educational institutions, Comenius tried to implement his favourite idea of pansophism" (Cenić & Petrović, 2012). Following the example of humanists and his own pansophism, he sought for this periodization to be used to teach man the knowledge that is of the greatest benefit in human life. In Comenius' opinion, in order for people to be able to adopt pansophism, it was necessary, in addition to opening schools, to improve the teaching itself, which directly and concretely leads to didactics.

DIDACTICA MAGNA

All of Comenius' works are exceptional pedagogical writings, but the most famous and esteemed work is the *Great Didactics (Didactica magna)*. In this book, he explores how people learn and how they should be educated from their earliest age to university, and further continue with life-long learning. "Didactics is the skill of teaching another person. Recently, some exceptional people, who were tired of Sisyphus' job at school, started researching it with unequal courage and unequal success. We dare to promise great didactics, i.e., a general skill of how to teach everything to everyone. And to teach it reliably, to ensure success at all cost." (Лекић, 2000, p. 57). As we can see, Comenius defines the notion of didactics as "universal art – teaching everything to everyone", while in his "instruction for teaching" he presents the entire system of education. It is believed that the beginnings of didactics as a science are

supported by the *Great Didactics*, which "caused the revolution in education, because it provided a theoretical foundation for the introduction of fundamental innovations in teaching that are considered permanent values, and some of these are: a) school year duration established (the beginning and end of the school year introduced); b) introducing the principle of class-subject-lesson school system; c) request to open teacher education schools and train future teaching staff; d) introduction of the frontal teaching method which enables the teacher to work with a larger number of students at the same time; e) requirement that teachers and students adhere to obviousness, systematicity, gradualism, repetition, practice, deduction; f) although it is necessary, information is not the most important in teaching as it mediates in the intellectual and moral development of students which is the main goal, and is achieved by students thinking independently; g) textbooks should be written in clear language, interconnected and to ensure the gradual flow of learning" (Vilotijević, 1999, pp. 26–27). Comenius believed that schools should come gradually, in stages – from easy to difficult, and that people are born with an inner urge to acquire knowledge. However, in order to eliminate these obstacles, it is necessary to offer more educational possibilities that Comenius defined in his *Great Didactics* and elaborated in the following topics: *1. Education for everyone, 2. Learning is a natural human tendency, 3. Learning in stages, 4. Financial support, 5. Prepare him/her for the life that is to come, 6. Extracurricular activities, and 7. Lifelong learning.*

This laid the foundation for didactic realism as a new pedagogical direction, which dealt a blow to the already unsteady scholastic system of education. As he was strongly influenced by Renaissance humanists, one of whom was the philosopher Francis Bacon, and like him, Comenius based his theory of education on the theory of sensation, which believes that the thought process begins with the senses and that the senses are the basis and source of all knowledge. After analysing these ideas, it can be concluded that "his entire view of the world with elements of materialism, humanism and democracy was formed under the influence of Renaissance humanistic culture and optimistic faith in man – the most excellent creature" (Рајчевић, 2014, p. 381).

Of course, in Comenius' *Didactics*, the main focus is on teaching, both the general facts about it and methodological issues of some subjects. Through these methodological questions, he introduced the method of moral and pious education. What is especially impor-

tant, not for the development of educational ideas or knowledge of Comenius, but for knowledge of current educational issues, is the fact that many questions can be extracted from his writings and his work, the answers to which must be sought by modern pedagogy and society as a whole, because these are considered the first serious attempts to solve the problems of preschool and school education, as well as an attempt to present future issues in this field. In fact, the *Great Didactics* represents a detailed pedagogical work that did not omit any significant issues related to man and his education. We can highlight three specific titles: Greetings to the Reader, The Universal Requirements of Teaching and of Learning, and The Principles of Thoroughness in Teaching and in Learning, which present all his pedagogical genius, which is still timeless even now (Коменски, 1997).

FROM THE FIRST ATTEMPTS TO CONSTRUCT THE PRINCIPLE OF OBVIOUSNESS TO THE "GOLDEN RULE" IN TEACHING

Rules are important for the success of any activity in a person's life, that is, it is necessary to determine and adhere to certain principles every person should live and work by. In some dictionaries, the term principle is explained as the originator, creator, foundation... And this also applies to educational work, for which Comenius was the first to provide certain rules, laws and, of course, principles, which makes him the creator and originator of these. Didactic principles have always been socio-historically conditioned and changed in parallel with the historical development of school and teaching, i.e., they refer to education as a whole and to all stages of education (from preparation to verification). They are derived from the goal and objectives of education, and from the laws of teaching, and they must be in keeping with the psychophysical development of students.

In modern education, these didactic principles have a "multifunctional character compared to the time when they were introduced by Comenius when they served as regulators of the teaching process, because they established general teaching standards (norms); they ensure reciprocal teaching (correlation) and consolidate teaching work into a functional whole (integration)" (Прода-

новић, 1968, p. 48). There is no single opinion of didacticians regarding the number and formulation of didactic principles, but they are all unanimous and agree that their influence is particularly important for the course of teaching and a necessary precondition for successful learning. This is understandable, because teaching is not identical everywhere and depends on the social environment in which it happens. Disagreement among didacticians on the understanding and interpretation of the essence and function of certain principles arises from different approaches to this issue and interpretation of relationships between principles and rules, i.e., no clear distinction is made between these two concepts (some converge several principles into one, while others divide one into several different principles). Thus, the number of principles ranges from: 6 (Lekić, 1985), 7 Vilotijević (1999), Андреев (1981), 9 (Јањушевић, 1967), Matijević, Bognar (2002), – up to 35 as elaborated by N. Filipović (1987), noting that this is not the final number either. We agree with Professor Filipović that the number of principles should not be limited because it would slow down the development of didactic thought and impoverish the theory, but we are of the opinion that they should be reduced to a logical number and those should be chosen that can be applied in the overall organization and implementation of teaching. This means that the selected didactic principles with their essential features should attain their own independence, but also be able to connect with other principles of universality—meaning that they should be applicable in the overall teaching process. Thus, we decided for and singled out these didactic principles: *1. The principle of scientificity of teaching; 2. The principle of adapting instruction to the age of students; 3. The principle of systematicity and scientificity; 4. The principle of obviousness; 5. The principle of conscious student activity; 6. The principle of individuality; 7. The principle of connecting theory and practice; 8. The principle of rationality and economy; 9. The principle of permanent knowledge, skills and habits"* (Krulj, Kačapor, Kulić, 2003, p. 201), whose meaning and content are not questionable. We have only listed them here, but we have not ranked them by value, because they are all equally important and all are always obligatory and dialectically connected and conditioned.

Comenius is considered to be one of the founders of didactic – teaching principles, as we have pointed out before. In our paper, we will list only those principles which he is notable for, and which remain to this day as recognized prerequisites for successful educa-

tion, and these are: *The principle of obviousness, The principle of systematicity and gradualism, and The principle of adapting instruction to the age of students.*

THE PRINCIPLE OF OBVIOUSNESS

Based on the teaching of living in harmony with nature, the principles were created which Comenius recommends as a tool to facilitate teaching, which are: obviousness, gradualism and systematicity. In his opinion, man is a part of nature and is therefore subordinated to its laws. The most general principle, which is the foundation of pedagogy and didactics, is that education should be in harmony with nature and that education must take into account the nature of the child. Comenius was the first who asked for obviousness, relying on knowledge and experience from his many years of school practice. He believed that didactics was a skill of teaching another person, and while studying the teaching methodology (which was applied didactics) he protested against the scholastic school, which relied on verbal teaching and which was considered a 'servant of theology', whose goal was not to find the truth, but to understand and justify the declared truth.

It is well known that medieval philosophy was subordinated to theology and did not deal with the problems of man and life, and any opposition to such teachings was punished mercilessly. Mind is not fed here. Schools teach children to look with other people's eyes, to speak and think with other people's minds. They should be taught to learn about and research things themselves, and not to use other people's observations and testimonies about those things (Коменски, 1954). He demanded that people learn by getting to know things themselves, and not on the basis of others' statements about them. By explaining the importance of sensation in education, he insisted on a comprehensive understanding of objects and phenomena through all the senses, and not only on the basis of the sense of sight, and formulated the "golden rule" of teaching, which required active engagement of all the senses: "Everything visible should be brought before the organ of sight, everything audible before that of hearing. Odours should be placed before the sense of smell, and things that are tastable and tangible before the sense of taste and of touch respectively. If an object can make an impression on several senses at once, it should be brought into contact with several senses" (Коменски, 1954).

This rule will become the most popular didactic principle during the historical development of teaching, and Comenius explained it with three reasons:

1) The commencement of knowledge must always come from the senses (every understanding is first derived from the senses).

2) The truth and certainty of all knowledge depend more on the witness of the senses than on anything else. This is evident from the fact that belief is at once accorded to knowledge derived from the senses,

3) Knowledge acquired through obviousness (sensuous knowledge) leads to the permanent and better retention of knowledge. Sensuous knowledge is not the only source of knowledge, but only the basic source on the basis of which new knowledge is built with thinking (Коменски, 1954).

As we have already mentioned, Renaissance humanists had the greatest influence on Comenius, and primarily Francis Bacon and his realism, that is, his sensuous philosophy, and the notion that knowledge begins with sensuous perception. The principle of obviousness was set by Comenius as the basis of didactics with an important role in the development of pedagogical theory and school practice. Education relying on obviousness is supposed to enable students to learn the essence of things and the process they are learning about by mentally analysing sensory experiences. "When learning about objects and phenomena, we start from what is concrete, clear and obvious, we rely either on direct perception of objects and phenomena or on manifestations and experiences from earlier observations, and on former knowledge. To apply the principle of obviousness means to follow this path in constructing concepts while guiding children's knowledge." (Теодосић, 1961, p. 202). We must emphasize that obviousness in teaching should ensure the connection between opinion and sensory experiences and cannot be reduced only to observation during class, but from the aspect of modern education it is seen as a requirement that the process of knowledge acquisition is directly or indirectly based on student sensory experiences. Everything that is learned must be proven by the senses and reason. No room should be left for any doubt, nor for the possibility to forget what has been learned... To know an object of study means to know its patterns (Коменски, 1954). It is known from the history of pedagogy that teaching aids were used in Athens: images and models in geometry teaching.

Even Aristotle pointed out that students should be shown the subject that is being talked about and that is being studied. Comenius explained this principle in his textbook *Orbis pictus* (1658). He believed that the textbook *Visible World in Pictures* was a new visual aid for learning: all the important things in the world, all the activities in life were painted and named. It was the teachers' job to discuss it in class with all students. Comenius hoped that the book designed in this way would influence the learning of the young generation. He was of the opinion that learning should be enjoyable, not torment and torture. It is important to focus on the thought that is being enlightened more and more this way. The senses are engaged because in childhood and adolescence abstract things are difficult to grasp. This book is very useful for attracting attention (especially for young people). Students who are interested in such observation of objects will gain the necessary knowledge about important things in the world through jokes and games. Comenius said that children should not be taught wisdom and knowledge from dead books, but from direct observation. This "concept of obviousness of his" is built on the theory of sensation that the senses are the main source of knowledge, that observation and experiments are the basis of science, and induction is the fundamental method" (Krulj, Kačapor, Kulić, 2003, p. 208). The modern concept of obviousness is reflected in the fact that the actual, objective world exists independently of our consciousness and we experience it through the senses with "direct observation". Acquired perceptions reflect the world almost identically and represent a source of knowledge. This implies that students have a clear perception of the outside world in the teaching process, while the path that leads to perception is the use of obviousness in teaching – *observation.* This principle is one of the most applied, but if it is not adequately applied in teaching, it can have the opposite effect. Namely, it will be a distraction from the important things to the less significant ones, but more prominent in their characteristics. Therefore, this can lead to wrong conclusions and attitudes, so that "the teacher as one of the actors and organizers of teaching process has a great responsibility in choosing and applying teaching principles and methods in certain teaching situations, which is why he/she should know the didactic and methodical application of modern teaching methods" (Видосављевић, 2014, p. 126). Class teacher (subject teacher) is the one who must find the right approach and be a guide through the teaching process. The history of pedagogical and didactic practice

teaches us that obviousness in teaching, which is used only so as not to be said to be neglected, cannot be considered right, because it is a tool to activate students mentally. Obviousness should be implemented by easily perceived teaching aids, but it is necessary to point out that modern education has such modern audio-visual aids (Internet) that help teachers in the realization of obviousness in teaching and provide students with the perception of those phenomena that were previously considered inaccessible to them, that is, not available for observation.

The principle of systematicity and gradualism

Comenius was among the first to highlight the need for systematicity in teaching in the 17th century, emphasizing that "everything in teaching is necessarily connected to each other" and observing this through the analogy between nature and education. Systematicity is one of the conditions that ensures the conscious participation of students in the teaching process. The systematic nature of teaching implies: a clear and logical division of teaching materials and the selection of what is important in it: *consistent didactic and methodological structuring of the course of the lesson.* "The analysis of the learning process shows that without the systematic acquisition of knowledge there are no scientific facts and generalizations, that is, there is no scientific view of the world, because every science has its own systematicity" (Krulj, Kačapor, Kulić, 200, p. 205). In modern school, systematicity is not conditioned only by an appropriate approach to the learning content, but refers to the entire teaching system, to the didactics interpretation of all aspects of the teaching process. "Systematicity refers to presenting content in a certain logical sense, with an isolated stronghold which other content is concentrated around" (Poljak, 1991, p. 42). Therefore, the principle of systematic teaching requires the presentation of new learning material piece by piece, gradually and consistently; formation of knowledge, skills and habits in a certain order, where each element of the teaching material would be logically connected with the following one, which relies on the previous one and leads to new knowledge, to a certain system of logic and creating conditions for the adoption of the system of science. All this means that the principle of systematicity (as well as other principles) refers to different aspects of the teaching process. Those aspects are:

"a) The systematicity requirement primarily refers to the selection and organization of teaching content, which should be taken into account when developing the curriculum for a particular type of school... the subjects and content of these subjects are taken into account, as well as the schedule of presenting the subjects and their content that would enable students to adopt new content with the help of prior, already acquired knowledge.

b) The systematicity requirement also refers to presenting larger or smaller units of teaching content, such as: teaching topics and teaching units. The essence of this request is that the teacher, when planning the lesson, aligns the teaching content with students' abilities, which are directly related to children's prior knowledge.

c) Systematicity also refers to lesson sequencing and procedures used in teaching. The essence of this requirement is that the teacher is mindful that students move on to the adoption of new content only after mastering the old teaching content" (Krulj, Kačapor, Kulić, 2003, p. 206).

The didactic principle of systematicity is concretized to a certain extent in curricula, textbooks, and teaching methods. Systematicity in curricula is just a prerequisite for students to achieve clear and systematic knowledge. The implementation of this principle in everyday teaching and learning is conditioned by the fact that the teacher must constantly monitor the learning process and results of knowledge acquired by students, in order for them to come to know and understand new learning material, and then to expand and deepen their knowledge. Basically, the principle of systematicity is based on teachers' efforts who meet this requirement directly and during the entire teaching process.

Comenius also advocated for gradualism in teaching, because in the process of learning, student should make the distinction between what is important and what is irrelevant, and to independently adopt the facts, laws, and to be able to actively learn. However, students should be introduced with this way of acquiring knowledge gradually, because at the earliest developmental stage and at certain developmental levels, children cannot adopt certain scientific facts. Therefore, these two principles, the principle of systematicity and the principle of gradualness, are connected. He advocated for the teaching material to be taught by connecting its parts to each other, that is, all aspects that are connected should be presented through a cause-and-effect relationship.

Vladimir Poljak says: "Every complex human activity happens based on a certain system, in a certain order. This also applies to education. There are four rules of gradualness: 1. from the close to the distant, 2. from the simple to the complex, 3. from the easier to the difficult, 4. from the concrete to the abstract" (Poljak, 1991, p. 43.).

It should be pointed out that gradualness in teaching relies on specific rules that we tie to Diesterweg, and these rules are:

"First rule – from the known to the unknown – is of general importance and Diesterweg says that there is no exception to this rule. The new and the unknown can only be explained with the help of the old and the known, so we should always start from what the students already know... The second rule – from the easier to the difficult – is essentially contained in the previous rule, because in most cases the things students already know are easier for them. According to this rule, the difficulties that students experience should actually increase gradually in line with their knowledge and abilities... The rule – from the simple to the complex – this rule means that in the implementation of the curriculum, teacher should start from simple content and gradually move to the more complex... The rule – from the close to the distant – requires that teaching is based primarily on what is spatially, temporally and mentally closer to the student" (Krulj, Kačapor, Kulić, 2003, p. 207).

When summarizing these rules, it should be emphasized that the principle of gradualness requires that the teaching material is simply taught gradually.

The principle of adapting instruction to the age of students

We have already mentioned in this paper that Comenius was opposed to science being a "servant of theology", even though he himself was very religious. His idea of primary school is incompatible with the feudal ideology, which claimed that the direct producer should not receive any education, and it was to him that Comenius intended primary school. He also noticed the paradox that school, as an institution for educating children and youth, does not take care of the physical and mental abilities of students. It could not have been otherwise, considering that the medieval philosophy did not deal with the problem of man and his life, and any opposition to this was seen as disrespect and was punished.

"Teaching methods and forms in scholasticism are didactic and methodological combinations of epistemology (science) and theology (religion). No individual interpretation and exploration according to the abilities and age of the students was allowed. "Everything is in God's power, God is one, praise God?!" (Лекић, 2000, p. 63). This tells us that teaching content, teaching methods and procedures, teaching pace and rhythm were not adapted to the students, their abilities and capacities. At that time, school did not even have an exact division into grades, so Comenius was the first to propose a methodological system of teaching by grades, that is, the class-subject-lesson school system. He thus determined that it is very important to specify the age of children when they are psychophysically ready for school. Moreover, he specified the way in which students gradually, step by step, without too much strain and with the gradual development of psyche, move to the next grade that provides them with additional knowledge from given, that is, new subjects. Comenius believed that there should be a "special" book for each grade that would contain the learning material for the given year, and he himself worked a lot on compiling such textbooks. He started from the idea that education should take into account the nature of the child, without overburdening their minds with things, that is, with learning material that does not correspond to their age. In traditional didactics, this principle is called the principle of accessibility (availability): "not to impose on the mind anything that does not correspond to age" (Trnavac & Đorđević, 2011, p. 202).

Thanks to the new knowledge of anatomy and physiology, and especially knowledge of genetic psychology, we came to a slightly different view of children and young people in general. This knowledge is of great help in the educational system and has also affected the didactic theory and practice. Namely, these findings led to a new formulation of a special didactic principle that teaching should be adapted to the level of development of students' psychophysical abilities. We must emphasize that although the requirement that teaching must be adapted to students' nature is attributed to Comenius, such concepts were also mentioned before. Comenius says not to impose on the mind anything that does not correspond to age, but Diesterweg also said, never teach anything the pupil cannot understand as yet.

We must highlight the fact that, from the historical aspect, there is a number of misconceptions related to the principle of adapta-

tion of instruction which have been not overcome even today. This means that under the influence of philanthropic pedagogy (philanthropy), this principle is formulated so that the student learns through play and fun, without any effort. Modern didactics does not accept this, because instruction is adapted to the age of students only when the content being taught is neither too difficult nor too easy, but enable the student to master them with appropriate effort. Then, in schools in the past, the only focus was on teaching material, and not on students and their abilities. This is a good thing due to the fact that rigid scientific facts were excluded from the lessons, however, focus on educational content and its structure must not be neglected due to children's nature and psyche. Proper application of this principle, that is, adapted instruction, along with knowledge of children's abilities, actively helps and accelerates their further development.

The principle of adapted instruction is also known as pedocentrism, and this theory places the child at the centre "and everything revolves around it", everything is adapted to it and nothing should be demanded from the child that exceeds the child's abilities and nature of a child. All this means that the pedocentric understanding of the principle of adapted instruction denies social conditioning in education and its social function. We came to the point that we have one extreme, where the student was not taken into account at all, and another extreme, where the student was overestimated and became the main actor in the learning process. Therefore, we can conclude that instruction is tailored to the age of students only when students' abilities are not overestimated or underestimated.

We can conclude that didactic principles are understood as guidelines for teaching activities, i.e., principles from which teaching does not deviate. We have discussed in our paper some of the principles which their creator, their founder, John Amos Comenius is most creditable for. He formulated his famous didactic principles that determine the foundations of school work, which should begin with concrete problems, and not with abstract and theoretical ones. In all these years, the history of pedagogy has proven his thoughts to be accurate and valuable, when he said that everything should be taught in order to trigger changes in life, and that the teacher is obliged to assess students' abilities, and to use them as appropriate. This means that "modern school must imply such an organization of education in which students and teachers, in addi-

tion to transferring and acquiring knowledge, learn to apply knowledge, communicate successfully with knowledge, implement the acquired knowledge into numerous practical solutions, create new knowledge on the basis of the former one. Knowledge applied in this way is also the main purpose of learning, because without that, knowledge as such is sterile" (Видосављевић, 2014, p. 119). Although teaching principles have been expanded and changed since the origins of didactics, they cannot replace creative work and activity of teachers.

CONCLUSION

Education that originated in the very beginnings of human civilization as one of the first forms of human enlightenment, together with teaching that represents one of many types of education and intentional influence on personality development make the world a place where Comenius' pansophism will really come to life through historical and social changes. Comenius actually began his general pedagogical thoughts by determining the goal of education. Teachers' role is to increase students' interest in learning, and that can only be done if they are friendly, kind and loving towards children. This means that each person can learn for themselves, however, instruction without students and teachers as participants in this process makes no sense. The goal of didactics is to help teachers and students in teaching and learning. It is therefore operations science (Meyer, 2002).

In this paper, we have tried to confirm the already known fact that Comenius is one of the most influential personalities in the history of pedagogy (known as Copernicus of pedagogy). The fact is that even now modern pedagogical ideas are explained mainly by his highly democratic and humanistic thought, which he wholeheartedly advocated for and respected in his effort for the enlightenment of people. He remained loyal to these ideals for the rest of his life because he worked tirelessly to propagate the idea that knowledge should be accessible to everyone. It is indisputable that he has great merits as the founder of didactics, and those merits in that area are immeasurable. Enormous creative energy was built into his reformist ideas. Comenius' works are valuable because they cover almost all issues of education. We can group his contribution to pedagogic thought into two large units: reorganization of education and focus on the field of didactics, which includes teaching principles, methods, and textbooks. His greatness lies in the fact that as of today no one has managed to refute his reformist ideas

and that he is still considered an innovator of education. This reformation that he conducted is mostly related to the fact that Comenius generally looked at science from a practical point of view, that is, he believed that students should learn things that will be useful in life.

As for the organization of instruction and education, he designed in detail the system that is widely used even today, because he defined the indisputable contribution to didactic theory and practical activities in teaching, as follows: 1) he established the beginning and end of the school year; 2) introduced the principle of class-subject-lesson school system; 3) he opened teacher education schools; 4) introduced the frontal teaching method (where teacher works with a larger number of students); 5) required that teachers and students adhere to obviousness, systematicity, gradualism, repetition, practice, deduction; 6) explained the sensation in education and formulated the principles that should be adhered to in working with students, along with a detailed didactic and theoretical guidelines and a unique conceptual meaning; 7) he emphasized the importance of information as an important mediator in the intellectual and moral development of students which is achieved by students thinking independently; 8. emphasized that teachers should help students in a paternal way, with the ability to act and teach in a pedagogical manner, in order for students to successfully learn and mature as people; 9) he insisted that textbooks should be written in clear language, that they should be interconnected and concise."

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ЈЕЛЕНА Р. КРУЉ

СЛАЂАНА Т. ВИДОСАВЉЕВИЋ

НАТАША Р. МЛАДЕНОВИЋ
УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У ПРИШТИНИ СА ПРИВРЕМЕНИМ СЕДИШТЕМ
У КОСОВСКОЈ МИТРОВИЦИ, УЧИТЕЉСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ У ПРИЗРЕНУ
СА ПРИВРЕМЕНИМ СЕДИШТЕМ У ЛЕПОСАВИЋУ

САЖЕТАК

ЈАН АМОС КОМЕНСКИ – УЧИТЕЉ НАРОДА И ЗАЧЕТНИК ДИДАКТИЧКИХ ПРИНЦИПА

Порекло дидактике као научне дисциплине сеже у дубоку прошлост древних робовласничких држава, па тако и сам термин дидактика (*didaskein*) потиче из старогрчког језика, што би у преводу значило обучавати. Термин је касније претрпео извесне промене и управо термин *didactica* (дидактика) настаје у латинском језику. Оба ова језика (грчки и латински) чине данас осно-

ву целокупне научне терминологије. Прво и прецизније дефинисање овог појма дали су Волфганг Ратке (1571–1635) и Јан Амос Комарски (1592–1670), који се сматрају и оснивачима дидактике. Овај рад има за циљ да укаже на важност дидактичких принципа и на велик значај и допринос Коменског као њиховог оснивача и оснивача дидактике уопште. Морамо напоменути да је Коменски цео свој живот и рад посветио трагању за свеукупним унапређењем наставног процеса и образовању народа, а колико је у томе успео може се препознати у томе да његови дидактички принципи и данас одолевају времену. Сматра се да је он један од највећих реформатора школства.

КЉУЧНЕ РЕЧИ: дидактика; дидактички принципи; настава; образовање; школа.

SOCIOLOGY

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF TOURISM IN THE MODERN SOCIETY

ABSTRACT. The specificity of the tourist market and the connection of modern tourist products with numerous economic and non-economic activities cause the multiplicity of socio-economic effects of tourism. The development of tourism creates opportunities for a number of other activities, which means that tourism is a significant factor in boosting the overall economic development. Tourism plays a particularly important role in the overall socio-economic development of underdeveloped countries and regions. Tourism can contribute to positive socio-economic development, but at the same time, inadequate and uncontrolled management of a tourist destination can have negative socio-cultural, but also economic consequences.

The paper investigates the basic socio-cultural and economic aspects and impacts of tourism. The authors pay special attention to the analysis of the multiplying effects of tourism on the development of a particular destination. Starting from the history of travel and tourism as an activity, key motives and socio-economic effects, the 2008 World Economic Crisis, its origin, causes, and consequences of its impact on the entire world economy, especially tourism, the authors analyzed the current economic indicators of tourism activity in the world economy and projections of expected trends. In this paper, the focus of the analysis is on the tourist travel and economic and

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socio-cultural impact of tourism on the tourist destination, the individual, and the society as a whole.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Tourism is a social phenomenon and activity immanent to human nature, which has existed in various forms since the beginning of human society. Tourism has gradually become one of the most important indicators of economic and general social development—from ancient times, the slave-owning and feudal social system when the very beginnings of movement, through the period of the so-called 'oligo tourism' during the XIX century to World War II, the period until 1950, then through the so-called 'poly tourism' which covers the period from 1950 to 2000, all the way to modern and postmodern tourism today.

At the beginning of the new millennium, various processes are taking place in the world that directly and indirectly affect the physiognomy of tourism. After the production era and economies of scale, the entire world economy finds itself in the era of services, since the service sector participates with about 55% in the total world economy, in comparison to the manufacturing-industrial sector with a share of 45%. On average, about 65% of the income of developed countries comes from service activities, while modern trends expressed through the growing importance and representation of services support the assumptions that services will be represented in the global world economy in about 30 years with as much as 85% (Premović, Arsić, Vujović, 2012, p. 582).

In the total world trade in services, tourism participates with about 30% and is considered the service sector with the greatest growth potential expected in the coming period. Modern consumer society influences changes in the behavior and desires of modern tourists who demand high quality and sophisticated service. Growing perceptions andpreferences of tourists, who demand high quality tourist product and service, affect the staff employed in the tourism sector, who actively participate in creating the tourist offer and services, to constantly improve their knowledge and skills, not only because of the growing competition in the tourist market, but also to find new tourist facilities and services that will

satisfy the desires and needs of modern tourists for new experiences (Premović, 2016, pp. 633–634).

In 2018, the tourism sector achieved record results with the number of tourist arrivals of 1.401 billion, which is 72 million more than in 2017. The share of tourism in the gross domestic product of the world in 2018 was about 10%, while through tourism; over 7% of the value of total exports in the world was realized. These results have contributed to the tourism industry, in terms of export revenues in 2018 in the total amount of 1,700 billion dollars, taking the third place, right after the chemical and oil industry, achieving a total growth of 4%.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Tourism is a complex social activity influenced by many factors and principles. First of all, these are: economic, geographical, ecological, ethnic and sociological, cultural and safety factors. The specificity of the tourism market and the connection of modern tourism products with numerous economic and non-economic industries results in multiple socio-economic effects of tourism. Tourism development creates possibilities for initiating a number of other industries, which means that tourism represents a significant factor for initiating overall economic development. Tourism has a particularly important role (and should have!) in the overall socio-economic development of underdeveloped countries and regions (Premović, Arsić, 2018, pp. 92–106).

One of the specifics of tourism as economic industry or a model of economic development is to enable import at home (anything that tourists find interesting); where the products and services are prepared, there they are sold. Tourists (the demanders) come to the service providers or product vendors. If the specific destination, zone or region possesses quality inorganic, organic and anthropogenic elements, tourism is definitely an industry that provides economic development and inclusion in the international division of labor (Vujović, Macura, Spajić, 2011, p. 42). The positive effects of improving tourism industry can be seen at the micro level – at the level of a specific tourist destination, but also at the level of the national economy.

The mechanisms of the market, ie supply and demand enable the realization of the specifics of the development aspects of tourism,

where the relationship between goods and needs indicates that all human efforts are directed towards the harmonization of needs and possibilities. Only when an individual has free time and free money he can think about traveling and vacationing outside his permanent place of residence (skiing, rafting, swimming, spa treatments, etc.). In the economy, it is generally accepted that free time and excess funds are two key preconditions for the development of tourism. So, economic development is a precondition for any tourism development.

Tourism demands are manifested through tourist consumption and are quantified by the amount of spent-bought relation. The dominance of commercial motives on the supply side gives the advantage to the economic approach and economic interests. Precisely, by realization and manifestation in a tourist place or destination, developmental and other aspects of tourism come to the fore. With the growing interest in getting to know different areas, cultures and local communities, tourism is finally becoming recognized as an activity that can develop these areas, create jobs for the local population and help preserve local culture and customs. This means that tourism offers not only the improvement of life to those who provide services, but also to those who use those services. Therefore, it is extremely important, as Professor Slavoljub Vujović warns, that all those who participate in the creation of tourism maintain an optimal balance in order to be able to check the sustainability of development (Vujović et al., 2011).

If viewed through the historical prism of development as industry, it is possible to note that tourism "experienced a number of highly significant (internal or external) transformations in its development: it received different forms, used various means, expanded its form in spatial and quantitative aspect, changed its features and structure, enriched itself with new motives, gained new functions, influenced differently and used different goals and, by doing so, never lost its economic characteristic" (Gligorijević, Stefanović, 2012, p. 271).

Guided by these facts, the paper investigates the basic economic and socio-cultural aspects and impacts of tourism. The authors pay special attention to the analysis of the multiplying effects of tourism on the development of a particular destination. Starting from the history of travel and tourism as an activity, key motives and socio-economic effects, the 2008 World Economic Crisis, its origin, causes and consequences of its impact on the entire world econo-

my, especially tourism, the authors analyzed the current economic indicators of tourism activity in the world economy and projections of expected trends.

In addition to travel motivated by various tourist motives and needs, there are other kinds of travel that occur as a result of other human needs and motives and within economic and noneconomic activities. The focus of the analysis is on the tourist travel and economic and socio-cultural impacts of tourism on the tourist destination, the individual, and the society as a whole. The main goal of the paper is to point out the basic socio-cultural and economic aspects and impacts of tourism activity.

SOCIO-CULTURAL EFFECTS OF TOURISM

Free time as a prerequisite for tourist travel. The process of globalization and the domination of world capital lead to new redistributions of tourist income, new redistribution of tourist movements and rapid growth of new tourist regions. Under the influence of intensive technological development and globalization, the pronounced complexity and dynamism of the tourist market initiated changes in the structure of tourist supply and demand. The complexity of the tourist activity fuels the constant need to take new actions in order to adapt the tourist product to the requirements of the tourist demand by recognizing the needs of tourists, their realization, and appearance on the tourist market (Vujović, Cvijanović, Štetić, 2012, p. 9).

There are therefore two key preconditions for the development of tourism: free time and free funds that are allocated for that purpose. People started traveling as tourists only when they had free time. In different social epochs since ancient times, there have been different definitions and interpretations of free time. The opinion of Plato is impressive; he believed that in free time a person performed the most sublime activity, their own self-improvement. Socrates emphasized the importance of free time for doing good, humanistic, and sublime deeds.

Analyzing the causality of the relationship between free time and tourism as an activity, Professor Ratko Božović (Božović, 2009, p. 53) expresses the opinion that tourism represents, in a certain way, organized free time that is to some extent liberating, although it may have a certain dose of 'overstrain'. It is, in a way, 'a healing

time' and can therefore be considered as a form of 'free time'. However, as he points out, "one should keep in mind the fact that the free time that is characteristic of tourism, can also be empty time. When it comes to tourism and free time, then we should not exclude the understanding of an ordinary citizen who is inclined to interpret tourism as a self-activity and even an activity that takes place in free time". No matter what type of tourism it is, tourism for tourists is "one of the best (most useful) free time spent", concludes the author.

Following the genesis of the development of tourism and free time used for vacation and various types of travel from the perspective of the present time, it is possible to see that, in contrast to free time used in the past for vacations and trips that lasted 15 days, in recent times, the use of several shorter trips lasting several days each (extended weekend, weekend travel-vacation, religious and public holidays, etc.) is increasingly present.

A journey through different civilizations, epochs, and cultures. Tourism is inextricably linked to travel and it is safe to say that without a certain form of travel there is no tourism. On the other hand, various forms of movement of people have existed since the emergence of human civilization, independently and without tourism. However, "different types of movement of people are equated by many authors with tourist movements, which are completely wrong. In order to know the moment of the appearance of tourism and all the greatness and significance of this activity, we need to take this into account." (Vujović, Cvijanović, Štetić, 2012, p. 10).

As Encensberger reminds us people have always been driven to travel by necessity, biological or economic necessity. The war expeditions of the ancient peoples were never stimulated by the desire to travel. The first people who, by their own logic, went to a distant world were merchants.

Although there is no one universal and generally accepted definition, tourism means any travel outside the permanent place of residence that lasts longer than 24 hours, pro vided that it is not for employment, economic reasons or change residence. As a term, tourism appeared at the beginning of the 19th century, which indicates a substantial deviation from the previous meaning of the term travel. The forerunner of the modern organization of tourist travel is Thomas Cook in England, who founded the first travel agency called 'Cook and Son' in 1841.

Travel, as a manifestation of various human needs and motives, exists from the beginning of human society, from mythical antiquities and nomadic conquests of new spaces to the present day and the mass tourist travel we are witnessing. At the same time, throughout the long history of human existence, the motives and needs for travel have changed under the influence of different cultures and epochs and in parallel with the development of human society and a man as an individual. "Traveling today," says Boselman "is so often seen as 'fun' that the origin of the word travel is almost completely forgotten. It comes from the same root as the word work (travail) and, for most of history, travel has been thought of as hard work, as the old Arabic proverb says that there are three forms of curse: sickness, fasting and travel" (Vujović et al., 2012, p. 10).

Travel for pleasure dates back to the ancient times. The first travels in ancient Greece were for fun and entertainment, but also motivated by religious needs, which were the main motives of the Romans' travels. The period of the Middle Ages, marked as the 'dark age', also represented the dark age for travel. In the entire epoch of the old century, organized travels were not recorded until the 12th century, when the travels of nobles, preachers, and adventurers, who re-used carriages as a means of transportation, were recorded. The first mass travels were encouraged by the church by organizing various pilgrimages of believers and visits to sanctuaries. The period of Humanism and Renaissance is a period of flourishing cultural and spiritual creativity and travel. The desire to get to know new places, cultures, and gain new experiences prompted the then intellectual elite to travel throughout Europe, primarily to European capitals and economic and cultural centers. During the 18th and 19th centuries, numerous intellectuals and artists from various fields traveled intensively, and many of them, inspired by their travels, created various literary, painting, musical and other works as a kind of testimony to personal impressions from realized travels.

From the middle of the 16th to the middle of the 19th century, the circle of people and social strata that traveled expanded, so that representatives of the richer strata of the society at that time also traveled in greater numbers: nobility, aristocracy, and rich merchants. The motives for their travels, known as the 'Grand Tour of Europe' were education and professional development and lasted from two to four years. In this period, a new class appears, the

so-called 'traveling class. This period from the emergence of human society until the middle of the XIX century is referred to as the pre-tourist era, which is the precursor of the tourist era in which we live today.

The period of the tourist epoch from the middle of the 19th century to the present day is primarily determined by the mass travel, elasticity of tourist demand, increase in the number of foreign tourists, and foreign exchange inflow in the world, thus increasing the interdependence of tourism and natural environment. The end of World War II, the renewal and strengthening of world economy and national economies, the increase of wages and leisure funds, but also the development of education and cultural identity of the population have had the greatest impact on these phenomena. Also, the current tourist epoch is characterized by pronounced demands for nature conservation. The importance of nature and the environment for the development—but also the survival of the tourist activity and for ensuring the sustainable development of tourism and the entire human society—is especially emphasized.

TOURIST MOTIVATION

The main reason why individuals decide to travel for tourism is in their internal needs and different ways of satisfying them, since most of these needs cannot be met in the place of residence, i.e. 'at home'. Human needs can be observed and interpreted from the perspective of various scientific disciplines and activities, from psychology and medicine, through anthropology, sociology and economics, to traffic, construction, agriculture and many others. There are many different views on the topic of human needs, and consequently there are numerous theories on motivation. Motive is an inner strength or force that moves, stimulates and inspires each individual to meet needs or achieve certain goals, while motivation is a complex psychological process of encouraging and directing an individual to act in a certain way to achieve their needs and achieve goals and the desired state.

One of the most commonly cited theory of motivation is defined by Maslow. He categorized all the different human needs into a known hierarchical structure of needs that encompasses five basic levels of human needs. The hierarchical structure of needs means that an individual strives to satisfy the most important needs first,

and when they achieve them, they strive to fulfill all other needs according to the degree of importance, i.e. according to their hierarchy. These are physiological needs, the need for security, love, belonging and attachment, the need for respect, and the need for personal development and new experience (self-affirmation, self-actualization or self-realization).

Bearing in mind that the subject of the study is tourist travel that arises as a consequence of meeting tourist needs and motives, we will not engage in a more detailed critical analysis of human needs and various theories of motivation, but will start from a general division of needs into primary (existential) and secondary human needs that follow the satisfaction of the primary ones. The focus of research is therefore tourism needs that belong to the group of secondary human needs. Similarly, tourist motivation is "a collective expression of everything done towards certain goals, which give an individual a reason, motivation to partake various tourist activities" (Jandrešić, 2001, p. 123).

The need for rest, sports, and recreation can be met through tourist travel and it belongs to the tourist needs, the needs of self-affirmation. The needs of self-realization or self-affirmation can be met by visiting various cultural contents and cultural events. Only when all primary (existential) needs are met, it is possible to realize tourist needs as needs of a higher order, that is, secondary needs.

In order to organize a tourist travel and all the relations that arise in the tourist market between the offer and the demand, an individual should decide on a destination. In order to make such a decision and plan the travel, an individual needs to recognize the need beforehand and be motivated to satisfy that need. Although there are those authors who think the exact opposite, emphasizing that spontaneity, unplannedness, unexpectedness and the factor of surprise are key elements of any quality travel. This stream of thought also includes the position of John Steinbeck, according to whom "people do not go on a journey. The journey goes to them". Therefore, it should not be specially planned and analyzed, but simply enjoyed.

The motivation has a decisive influence on the decision to travel and the purchase of a specific tourist offer. Čomić points out that "tourist motivation is created under the influence of needs and other internal incentives, which act from within, and spatial stimuli, which are determined from the outside. They encourage a per-

son to be active in a certain direction, that is, the individual strives to get closer to the object of his desires, a specific tourist facility" (Чомић, 1990, p. 16).

When it comes to motivation for tourist travel, they are, as has been said, numerous and different and have changed over time under the influence of numerous factors and circumstances. Professor Svetislav Milenković points out the dominant influence of modern socio-economic trends in the world on tourism and the behavior of tourist travelers. As the professor explains, "the structure of travelers changes the structure of tourist motives, so that new forms of tourism appear, especially related to the offer of high quality products, tourism in protected areas of the world, which at the same time means that tourist movements change character, on the one hand elitism, on the other side of extremism" (Milenković, 2009, p. 18).

> "The causes of tourist travel should be sought primarily in the needs and different ways of satisfying those needs, that is, in the impossibility to satisfy certain needs at home or to be satisfied in a certain way. It can be any need, but a certain number of needs that people most often satisfy through tourist travel are realistically differentiated" (Чомић, 1990, p. 16).

Slobodan Vukićević views tourist travel as an expression of pleasure and fun: "A tourist travels to cross the boundaries of the space in which he constantly lives, to get out of the said space, but also out of himself as he is in that space. Therefore, tourism is a form of exercising freedom" (Вукићевић, 2007, p. 48).

Regardless of the different approaches in the interpretation of key tourist needs and motives, there is an almost unique view that the factors influencing their creation can be objective and subjective in nature. Objective factors include socio-economic and cultural factors such as ocial structure of the population, level of education, occupation, quality of the environment and the like. Subjective factors are internal psychological processes: specific needs, interests, desires and emotions, which can inspire an individual to travel. Motives and needs therefore encourage individuals to travel as tourists to a destination outside their place of permanent residence.

However, despite the individual approach to travel in relation to personal needs, opportunities, affinities and expectations that decisively influence the causes of tourist travel, it can be noted that the most common reasons are: the need for rest and relaxation,

escape from everyday life, the need for health, wellness, fitness, sports and adventures, religious reasons and religious needs, the need for art, sightseeing and round trips, the need to meet new people, attend seminars, conferences and exhibitions, business reasons, visit friends and relatives, shopping and others.

The increase in the degree of education of the population, excess of free time and free funds have over time predominantly influenced the change in the hierarchy of needs of the vast majority of the world's population, so that today there is a growing opinion that tourist needs should be treated as basic human needs, not as a luxury reserved only for the social and economic elite. This was significantly influenced by the increasingly accessible tourist products and the development of tourism in the underdeveloped regions. The authors of this paper agree with these views.

According to Professor Stevo Nikić (2012, p. 30) culture represents the very essence and the base of tourist behavior, and this is again part of the general culture and is defined as the totality of tourist habits in terms of the culture of travel, rest and business. It also depends on the basic cultural assumptions that someone in Paris will visit the Louvre and someone will visit Disneyland, in Barcelona, it will be the famous cathedral or stadium of a football club, in Moscow it is the Bolshoi Theater or the Moscow Circus, someone will listen to serious music while someone will prefer techno music.

In tourist destinations and countries that have developed tourism, significant sociocultural influences and effects of tourism can be observed. Namely, the development of tourism increases the general level of education and culture of the local population that provides tourist services. Tourism provides an opportunity to travel and get to know other places, continents, nations, religions, cultures, traditions, languages. With the development of tourism, it is possible to establish stronger ties and relations between nations, creating and constantly developing awareness of the essential richness of diversity and respect for different cultures, religions, nations and lifestyles. There is a growing interest in various forms of culture and research of tradition, in learning foreign languages, information and communication technologies and monitoring the demands of tourists.

It can be said that "in addition to liberation from the numerous restrictions imposed by everyday life in the place of residence, tourism is also the pursuit of positive freedom, which will allow

each individual to achieve their specific essence through travel, that is to design a journey in accordance with certain values and ideals that the individual perceives as an authentic need, not as something imposed from outside" (Чомић, 1990, str. 16).

The one who does not travel is no man[3]

Petar II Petrović Njegoš

When we talk about tourism as a social phenomenon par excellence and socio-cultural aspect of its impact, we consider it appropriate to highlight certain attitudes and quotes on tourist travel of some important thinkers, writers, statesmen and other famous individuals who marked the time in which they lived. As mentioned previously, travel has been considered since the ancient times. From that period, different opinions were recorded on the topic of travel, of which we selected the following:

- He who does not travel does not know the value of a man. (Moorish proverb)
- The world is a book, and those who do not travel, read only one page. (Saint Augustine)
- Travel brings strength and love back to your life. (Rumi)
- Traveling and changing places give the mind new strength. (Seneca)

Rilke pointed out that travel influenced the formation of personality and that travel had the deepest influence on his education, artistic work and formation as a poet. Speaking about the essence of tourism, Rilke says that its purpose is to develop one's ability to bring oneself into a state of listening and openness to the truth and careful observation. He warned that we must not travel lightly, because an unprepared trip was essentially a delusion, which was why he was preparing for certain travels for years (In: Божовић, 2009).

Numerous authors have written about the importance of travel for the development of knowledge and personality. The following views are some of them:

- Don't tell me how educated you are, tell me how far you've traveled. (Muhammad, the Islamic Prophet)
- To travel means to develop. (Pierre Bernardo)

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[3]   "Није човјек ко не путује." Петар II Петровић Његош

JELENA Đ. PREMOVIĆ, LJILJANA J. ARSIĆ

- For young people, travel is a part of education, for old people it is a part of experience. (Francis Bacon)

Hesse spoke of travel as a kind of poetry that was reflected "in experience, which means in enrichment, in the organic reception of the newly acquired, in increasing our understanding of unity in diversity, the great weaving of earth and humanity, in rediscovering old truths and laws under completely new circumstances" (H. Hesse).

Meša Selimović also wrote in detail about travel and its positive psychological and social impact. We quote the following views of our famous writer: "Everyone should be forced to travel, from time to time. Furthermore, to never stop anywhere longer than necessary. Man is not a tree, and being bonded in one place is his misfortune, it takes away his courage, it diminishes his security. By bonding himself to one place, a man accepts all conditions, even unfavorable ones, and frightens himself with the uncertainty that awaits him. The change feels like abandonment, a loss of investment—someone else will occupy his conquered space so he will have to start all over again. Complacence is the real beginning of growing old, because a person is as young as they are not afraid to start again. By staying, a person suffers or attacks. By leaving, he keeps his freedom; he is ready to change the place and the imposed conditions" (Meša Selimović).

Tourism influences the development of creativity and the spread of cognitive, educational and cultural aspects.

- Every travel has some advantage. If a traveler visits a better, richer country, he can learn how to improve his own. And if he goes to the poorer country, he will learn how to enjoy his country. (Samuel Johnson)

- Please be a traveler, not a tourist. Try new things, meet new people, and look at what is in front of you. These are the keys to understanding the world we live in. (Andrew Zimern)

- Our destination is never a place, but a new way of looking at things. (Henri Miller)

- In twenty years, you will be more disappointed with the things you didn't do than the things you did. Sail, therefore, from a safe harbor. Discover, dream, explore! (Mark Twain)

- Travel is the re-establishment of the original harmony that once existed between the man and the universe. (Antol Frans)

- We travel because distance and diversity are the secret fresheners of creativity. When we get home, the house is still the same. But something inside our mind has changed, and it changes everything. (Johan Lehrer)
- Travel is a form of free time that frees a person the most because he leaves the environment in which he lives every day; travel is a double freedom, one does not work and is not at home. (Jost Kripendorf)

We can also look at tourism as a specific game. Namely, as Professor Ratko Božović vividly described it: "A tourist is a player. Not because the game is an accompanying phenomenon designed to attract tourists, but because the tourists spontaneously take part in the game, thus becoming a kind of homo ludens" (Božović, 2009, p. 52).

MUTIPLYING EFFECTS OF TOURISM

The economic and financial aspects of tourism are numerous and obvious, as evidenced by the accessible data on tourism activities at the micro, macro and global levels. When it comes to the global results of tourism in the world, the share of tourism in the gross domestic product of the world is about 10.5%, over 12.5% of the value of total exports in the world and about 30% of world trade in services. In 2017, a record growth in the number of tourists of as much as 7% was achieved compared to 2016, and in 2018, a further growth of 4% compared to 2017 continued.

Tourism has significant potential as the initiator of economic recovery and the strengthening of national economies. Tourism has a particularly significant role in the overcoming of the economic and financial crisis from 2008 which is why it is becoming a more successful model of economic growth and development.

The dynamism, heterogeneity and multifunctional use of the products of national economy in tourism are increasingly connecting tourism with the general socio-economic system. It is no longer just an ordinary subsystem of a large economic system, but it is an active participant in changing the structure and functioning of that system. Since they are aggregates, which determine a large economic system in cause-and-consequence relations, it makes tourism to act directly and indirectly to establishment of optimal

cross-sector relations and multiplicative connections to economic development (Milenković, 2009, p. 75). Considering the fact that tourism is a dynamic and active economic category, the relations between tourism and other economic and non-economic industries should be considered in their dynamism and temporal perspective. In this context, it is important to determine the value of the multiplication coefficient which shows the number of turnover of income from foreign tourists during one year. In 1961, Clement first estimated the value of the tourism multiplier based on the following formula:

$$K = 1 / 1 - \Delta C : \Delta Y$$

K – multiplication coefficient

ΔC – change in consumption

ΔY – change in income

Applying this formula, Clement came to the conclusion that $ 1 of direct tourism consumption in its turnover through indirect tourism consumption, ie by increasing the income of other industries and activities that make up the tourism product, increases that income by 2.48 times (3.48–1). The multiplication coefficient directly depends on the level of economic development of the domestic economy, that is, on the size of imports to meet the needs of foreign tourists, and its value ranges from 3.2 to 4.3 (although it may be higher). This means that greater multiplier effects mean greater absorption power of the market in which certain goods and services are placed, of tourist and non-tourist character. Globally, multiplier effects do not create a direct increase in national income, because it is not a matter of movement, but of income spillover. In that sense, tourism has a significant advantage over the classic export of goods, which flows abroad to the produced social wealth (Vujović, 2007, pp. 215–229).

Economic results of the tourist turnover at high degree are reflected in the development of agriculture and agribusiness, transport, trade, manufacturing and service industry. The development of production and services in transport industry results from the increase in demand and turnover which can be achieved through tourism and catering. Economic effects and development in general economy are increasing through tourism consumption.

Tourism is incorporated directly into three out of four (extractive industry, agriculture, processing/manufacturing industry, and

transport) basic fields of material production-transport, processing/manufacturing industry, and agriculture. Apart from the extractive industry, agriculture and processing/manufacturing industry, there is also the fourth field of material production which also transcends various stages, craft, manufacturing, and mechanical work – the transport industry (Locomotion industry) whether it transports people or goods. According to the above-quoted claim, it can be said that tourism is the first (or one) of the five basic fields of material production. Since there are multiple direct connections between tourism and transport, agriculture and processing/manufacturing industry and if we exclude the extractive industry, then tourism is one of the four basic fields of material production. Developed tourism countries can, due to revenues received from tourism, compensate the necessary goods of extractive industry, thus tourism can be treated as the first of the four basic fields of material production (tourism, agriculture, transport and processing/manufacturing industry). It is precisely these four fields of material production that make up the basis and upgrade of further economic development (Premović, Arsić, Vujović, 2012, p. 582).

Based on the analysis of the systematic exchange of tourism and other industries, it can be concluded that each of them is an integral part of the total tourism product, as shown in the following input-output table.

INPUT–OUTPUT	TOURISM
AGRICULTURE	– agricultural products for food preparation; – unproductive spaces for building tourist capacities, tourist infrastructure and supra structures; – decorative plants and arrangements for decorating tourist facilities and entire tourist recipes and – surplus workforce.
INDUSTRY	– products for construction and equipping of tourist capacities of infrastructure and supra structure; – products of mass consumption, both for direct and non-board service; – excess of available investment funds for the development of tourism, as consumers and industrial products and – methods and equipment of tourist products.

TABLE 1: CROSS-SECTORAL RELATIONS BETWEEN TOURISM AND OTHER INDUSTRIES[A]

TRADE	– consumer goods for non-boarding needs of tourists; – supply of tourist shopping centers (handicrafts, handicrafts, souvenirs, etc.); – replenishment of the fund of free time on vacation and – exchange of staff and financial resources, as a motivation for overall tourism development.
TRAFFIC	– traffic terminals (airports, ports, marinas, railway and bus stations, parking spaces, garages, etc.); – means of transport; – indirect modernization of tourism and shortening of travel time and – constant growth in the number of passengers, ie tourist.
CONSTRUCTION	– complete construction operation; – investments; – rapid construction of tourist capacities and – continuous modernization of building styles, use of natural materials, various chemical agents that do not negatively affect tourist facilities.
TOURISM	– constant growth of tourist volume, structure and quality; – diversification of the tourist market; – opening new destinations and new regions and – constant increase of income, employment, exchange of goods and passengers, understanding between nations, etc.
CATERING	– expanding the tourist offer in the basic facilities for accommodation and nutrition of tourists; – quantitative and qualitative growth of non-board consumption; – presentation of ethno-gastronomic and other characteristics of the people in the destination, country or wider macro-region and – overall development of tourism through various capital investments, employment of the local population, use of destination products, etc.
CRAFTS	– production craft enables maintenance and constant functioning of tourist facilities of infrastructure and suprastructure, as well as production of necessary craft items for permanent use; – service trades with the production of consumer goods, especially in the non-board part of tourism; – home-made products, souvenirs, ethno products, etc. i – fitting into the total tourist product, ie. development without delay.

TABLE 1: CROSS-SECTORAL RELATIONS BETWEEN TOURISM AND OTHER INDUSTRIES[A]

COMMUNAL ACTIVITIES	– cleaning of tourist centers and implementation of environmental requirements; – all information on available services that help the safety, health and general stability of tourists; – permanent presence of parking services, in order to protect the environment, but also in order not to waste time on the arrival and accommodation of tourists and – taking care of arranging the tourist place, but also of all tourist corridors, changing the landscape architecture and creating the experience of a well-organized recipe.

TABLE 1: CROSS-SECTORAL RELATIONS BETWEEN TOURISM AND OTHER INDUSTRIES[a]

[a] Milenković, S. (2009). *Tourism and Economy*, [monograph], University of Kragujevac – Faculty of Economics Kragujevac, pp. 95–96.

Tourism acts on entities and factors that exist in a particular tourist destination including its population, employees, investors, that is, affects the prosperity of all companies that meet the needs of tourists, but also the increase in the number of jobs made, the increase in the mass of goods and services produced within a certain period, which stimulates the socio-economic and economic development of the tourist destination.

As a labor-intensive economic activity, tourism generates job creation "due to the fact that catering and travel agencies require through their work technology increasing the number of employees in relation to other economic activities" (Stefanović, Urošević, 2012, p. 76.). It is particularly important to accentuate the important role of tourism in facilitating greater employment of the younger population, bearing in mind that the number of young people employed in the tourism sector is almost twice the number of young people working in some other economic or non-economic sector. Tourism are human resource intensive activity, employing directly and indirectly 8% of the global workforce. According to the UNWTO, it is estimated that one job in the core tourism industry creates about one and a half additional or indirect jobs in the tourism-oriented economy.

The World Economic Crisis of 2008 and its impact on tourism[4] The collapse of the US financial market of high-risk mortgage housing loans was the main cause of the emergence and rapid expansion of financial crisis in 2008. The enormous overestimation of real estate triggered the emergence of the financial crisis that soon

expanded to the real sector, causing the global economic crisis that impacted every country in the world, leading to a sharp fall of the basic macroeconomic aggregates, above all the GDP, international trade, balance of payments and employment.

The main generator of the emergence of the financial crisis was the expansive monetary policy that was conducted in the period from 2002 to 2006 and the deregulated financial market. After the collapse of the US mortgage market, investors withdrew their funds from the world stock exchanges and invested them in national debt securities. Due to the globally reduced demand and increased inflation, the slowdown in global economic growth began in 2008. In developed economies, consumer prices recorded growth of 3,5% in 2008, compared to 2,1% in 2007. All these phenomena caused the global economic growth rate by the end of 2008 to be 3,4%, while the growth rate in 2007 amounted to 5,2%.

The three key consequences of the global crisis are illiquidity, a decline in the GDP that caused a general recession and, consequently, a steady decline in the unemployment rate.

According to the data on year-over-year fluctuations in real GDP, US and European economies entered a recession in the fourth quarter of 2008 (-0,8% and -1,4%, respectively) which continued and deepened in 2009, while in 2010 real growth in GDP was registered in both the US and EU. In the same period (2008 and 2009) there was an increase in the unemployment rate in the most developed regions, and the unemployment rate in the US increased from 5,8% in 2008, to 9,5% in June 2009, while the unemployment rate increased from 7,6% in 2008 to the recorded 8,9% in June 2009. Further intensifying of the crisis was stopped by the associated stimulus measures of monetary and fiscal policy and financial regulative measures undertaken by governments of developed countries. The stimulus measures undertaken at the end of 2008 and in 2009 contributed to lessening the consequences of the global crisis, particularly halting a deeper decline of economic activity.

The current economic and financial crisis had a reflection in the tourism sector as well. As a result of the decline in GDP and unemployment rate on the global level in 2008 and 2009, tourism turnover also declined. Namely, the increase in tourist arrivals in the

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[4]   Premović, J., Arsić, Lj. (2018). Tourism as an important factor of economic development of the Western Balkans countries, Western Balkans Economies in EU Integration – Past, Present and Future, CEMAFI International Association, ISBN 979–10-96557-18-9, Nica, 2018, pp. 92–106.

first four months of 2008 was 5% higher than in 2007, but as a result of the acceleration of global crisis in the second and third quarters of 2008 that increase was significantly reduced. The negative growth tendencies in international tourism that occurred during the second half of 2008 were intensified in 2009, so 8% less tourist arrivals were registered in the first four months of 2009, compared to the same period in 2008. A total of 247 million tourist arrivals were made in the world, compared to the same period in 2008, when it was 269 million (Table 2).

	INTERNATIONAL TOURISM REVENUE (IN BILLIONS)				FLUCTUATIONS OF CURRENT PRICES (IN %)			FLUCTUATIONS OF PERMANENT PRICES (IN %)		
	2005	2007	2008	2009*	07/06	08/07	09*/08	07/06	08/07	09*/08
CURRENCY					9.1	6.3	–4.1	5.5	1.3	–5.7
$	679	858	941	852	15.3	9.7	–9.4	12.1	5.7	–9.1
€	545	626	640	611	5.7	2.2	–4.5	3.5	–1.0	–4

TABLE 2:   OVERVIEW OF RECEIVED REVENUES IN TOURISM IN THE PERIOD FROM 2005 TO 2009[a]

[a]   UNWTO. (2010). *Tourism Highlights*, 2010 Edition, p. 4.

In 2009, all the leading tourist regions registered negative results, except Africa which registered growth of 3%. Europe, as a macro-tourism destination ended 2009 with a total decrease in tourism values of as much as 6%, while the Middle East and America registered a 5% decline. Asia and Pacific had great turbulence in 2009. In the first six months of 2009 (from January to June) there was a 7% increase; in the second half of the year, this increase was reduced to 4%, so at the end of 2009 Asia and Pacific had a total decrease of 2% (UNWTO, 2010, p. 4). However, in spite of all economic problems and disturbances, tourism already achieved real increase in number of tourists of 4,6% and the increase in revenue of 3,9% compared to the previous 2010, as shown in Tables 3 and 4.

	INTERNATIONAL TOURIST ARRIVALS (MILLION)					SHARE (%)	CHANGE (%)		AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH (%)
	2000	2005	2009	2010	2011*	2011	10/09	11*/10	05–11*
WORLD	674	799	883	940	983	100	6.4	4.6	3.5
ADVANCES[+] EMERGING[+] [+]ECONOMIES	417 256	455 344	475 408	499 441	523 460	53.2 46.8	4.9 8.2	4.9 4.3	2.4 5.0
REGIONS FROM UNWTO:									
EUROPE	385.0	440.7	461.7	474.8	504.0	51.3	2.8	6.2	2.3
ASIA AND PACIFIC	110.1	153.6	181.1	204.4	217.0	22.1	12.9	6.2	2.3
AMERICAS	128.2	133.3	141.7	150.7	156.6	15.9	6.4	3.9	2.7
AFRICA	26.2	34.8	45.9	49.7	50.2	5.1	8.5	0.9	6.3
MIDDLE EAST	24.1	36.3	52.8	60.3	55.4	5.6	14.2	–8.0	7.3

TABLE 3:   OVERVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL TOURIST ARRIVALS FROM 2000 TO 2011[A]

[a]   Adopted from: UNWTO. (2012). *Tourism Highlights*, 2012 Edition, p. 4.

	INTERNATIONAL TOURISM REVENUE (IN BILLIONS)							FLUCTUATIONS OF CURRENT PRICES (IN %)			FLUCTUATIONS OF PERMANENT PRICES (IN %)		
	2000	2005	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011*	09/08	10/09	11*/10	09/08	10/09	11*/10
								-4.1	8.2	7.7	-5.6	5.4	3.9
$	475	679	858	941	853	927	1.030	-9.4	8.7	11.1	-9.1	6.9	7.7
€	515	546	626	640	612	699	740	-4.5	14.4	5.8	-4.7	12.5	3.0

TABLE 4:   OVERVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL TOURISM RECEIPTS FROM 2000 TO 2011[A]

[a]   Adopted from: UNWTO. (2012). *Tourism Highlights*, 2012 Edition, p. 4.

Official data of the World Tourism Organization on the results of the tourism industry achieved in 2011(of 983 million tourists that

contributed to generating a total of 1,042 million $ which represents a real increase in number of tourists of 4,6% and the increase of revenues by 3,9% compared to 2010), show the development performances of tourism and its role in overcoming the current global economic and financial crisis.

International tourist arrivals exceeded the figure of 1 billion for the first time in 2012, out of which the number of foreign tourists increased by 40 million, from 995 million in 2011 to 1,035 billion in 2012. Asia and Pacific achieved the highest growth of 7%, Africa had a growth of 6% and America was at 5% in tourist arrivals. In the same period, international arrivals in Europe, as a leading tourist destination, increased by 3%, although Central Europe continues to fall by 5%.

In 2012, there was a registered increase of 4% in tourist arrivals and in generated revenues from international tourism. The revenue received from the international tourism in 2012 amounted to 1,075 billion $, compared to the 1,042 billion $ generated in the previous year. After the "magical" figure of 1 billion (1,075 billion) received from international arrivals in 2012, this growth was continued in the following years, as shown in the following charts (Table 5).

		INTERNATIONAL TOURISM REVENUE (IN BILLIONS)						FLUCTUATIONS OF CURRENT PRICES (IN %)			FLUCTUATIONS OF PERMANENT PRICES (IN %)		
		2005	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012*	10/09	11/10	12/11	10/09	11/10	12/11
									8.2	8.7	7.1	5.5	4.7	4.0
$		679	858	941	852	930	1.042	1.075	8.7	12.0	3.1	7.0	8.6	1.0
€		545	626	640	611	702	749	837	14.4	6.7	11.7	12.6	3.9	9.0

TABLE 5: OVERVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL TOURISM RECEIPTS FROM 2005 TO 2012[a]

[a] Adopted from: UNWTO. (2013). *Tourism Highlights*, 2013 Edition, p. 6.

After international tourist arrivals reached the "magic" figure of 1 billion (1.035 billion) for the first time in 2012, this growth continued in the following years, as shown in the following tables (Tables 6 and 7).

	International tourist arrivals (million)					Share (%)	Change (%)		Average annual growth (%)
	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2016*	15/14	16*/15	2005-2016*
World	1,035	1,087	1,133	1,189	1,235	100	4.5	3.9	3.9
Advances[+] Emerging[+] [+]economies	551 484	581 506	619 513	654 536	685 550	55.5 44.5	5.0 4.0	4.8 2.7	3.5 4.5
Regions from UNWTO:									
Europe	534.4	563.4	581.8	603.7	616.2	49.9	4.8	2.1	2.8
Asia and Pacific	233.5	248.1	263.3	284.0	308.4	25.0	5.4	8.6	6.5
Americas	162.7	167.9	181.0	192.7	199.3	16.1	5.9	3.5	3.7
Africa	52.9	55.8	55.7	53.4	57.8	4.7	-2.9	8.1	4.7
Middle East	51.7	51.6	51.0	55.6	53.6	4.3	0.6	-3.7	4.3

TABLE 6:   OVERVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL TOURIST ARRIVALS FROM 2012 TO 2016.[A]

[a]   Adopted according to: UNWTO. (2014). *Tourism Highlights*, 2014 Edition, p. 4.; UNWTO. (2015). *Tourism Highlights,* 2015 Edition, p 4; UNWTO. (2016). *Tourism Highlights*, 2016 Edition, p. 4., UNWTO. (2017). *Tourism Highlights*, 2017 Edition, p. 6.

	International tourism revenue (in billions)							Fluctuations of current prices (in %)			Fluctuations of permanent prices (in %)		
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016*	14/13	15/14	16*/15	14/13	15/14	16*/15
	100	105	109	115	120	125	128	6.4	5.1	4.0	4.3	4.1	2.6
$	961	1,073	1,110	1,197	1,252	1,196	1,220	4.6	-4.5	2.0	2.9	-4.6	0.7
€	725	771	864	901	942	1,078	1,102	4.5	14.4	2.2	4.1	14.3	2.0

TABLE 7:   OVERVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL TOURISM RECEIPTS FROM 2012 TO 2016.[A]

Based on the latest data published by the World Tourism Organization in the annual report for 2019 called International Tourism Highlights 2019, a total of 1.401 billion tourist arrivals were realized in 2018, which represents a nominal growth of 72 million compared to the previous 2017. year, or an increase of 5.4%. In the same period, revenue growth of 4.4% was achieved, since in 2018, revenue of 1.451 billion dollars (1.299 billion euros) was collected from performing tourist activities. In 2017, this revenue amounted to 1.346 billion dollars, or 1.192 billion euros.

	INTERNATIONAL TOURIST ARRIVALS (MILLION)			SHARE (%)	CHANGE (%)		AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH (%)
	2010	2017	2018*	2018*	17/16	18*/17	2010–2018*
WORLD	952	1,329	1,401	100	7.0	5.4	5.0
ADVANCES⁺ EMERGING⁺ ⁺ECONOMIES	515 437	730 598	762 639	54.4 45.6	6.3 7.9	4.3 6.8	5.0 4.9
REGIONS FROM UNWTO:							
EUROPE	486.4	673.3	710.0	50.7	8.6	5.5	4.8
ASIA AND PACIFIC	208.2	324.0	347.7	24.8	5.7	7.3	6.6
AMERICAS	150.4	210.8	215.7	15.4	4.7	2.3	4.6
AFRICA	50.4	62.7	67.1	4.8	8.5	7.0	3.6
MIDDLE EAST	56.1	57.7	60.5	4.3	4.1	4.7	0.9

TABLE 8:   CURRENT DATA OF TOURIST ACTIVITY IN THE WORLD MARKET – TOURIST ARRIVALS FROM 2010 TO 2018.[A]

Europe still ranks first with a share of 48%, followed by Asia and the Pacific with 25.6% and America with a share of 16.8% in the total number of realized tourist trips. Africa and the Middle East achieved significantly lower shares with 3.2% and 2.9%, respectively.

CONCLUSION   The analysis of the history of tourism indicates that, in economics as a science, there is an uncompromising attitude that free time and free financial funds, as the final goals of all economic activities, are a prerequisite for the development of tourism. The expansion of tourism has had a positive impact on the economic and financial factors, primarily on the growth of the employment rate, not only in tourism, but also in other economic and noneconomic activities from agriculture, transport, and construction to telecommunications and the like. Modern tourism includes an increasing number of new destinations, which is why it is one of the main factors of international trade and a source of employment and income for a large number of countries.

Organizations and individuals responsible for planning and development, apart from economic and to some extent geographical ones, did not pay enough attention, especially in the early stages of tourism development to other, increasingly important aspects and principles of tourism. First of all, ecological, ethnosocial, cultural and especially safety aspects and principles have been significantly neglected. In addition to those, the safety aspects of tourism in recent decades require more and more attention. The forms and ways of manifesting negative influences and serious destructive phenomena in tourism or through the development of tourism are numerous. Today, the process of globalization—the rapid movement of people, capital, goods and services on the planetary level—and accelerated technical and technological development, in addition to a number of positive effects, allow faster flow of serious destructive phenomena such as terrorism.

When it comes to the development of tourism, the practice has confirmed that terrorist activities occur and act most often in two directions: towards the natural environment (environmental terrorism) and towards the social community (cultural and ethnosocial terrorism). Destructions towards the natural environment can occur through various forms of pollution, physical changes in the landscape of the area and physical destruction of the entire ecosystems. The complete destruction of certain ecosystems or certain animal and plant species is certainly ecological terrorism.

The effect of terrorist activities directed at the social community is manifested through the physical destruction of property and persons, which is faced by larger tourist places and destinations. It should be noted that extensive tourism development, in addition to serious security problems, brings other negative phenomena, such

as prostitution, money laundering, drug trafficking, various epidemics, arms trafficking, alcoholism, various thefts and robberies, fights, etc. If the performance of tourist activity is viewed from the global, geopolitical aspect, it is necessary to notice, as Professor Slavoljub Vujović (2018) points out, that today in the new division of forces and definition of centers of power on the planetary level, great powers exercise their 'soft power' through tourism.

Observed from the socio-cultural aspect on a global level, tourism as a mass social phenomenon significantly affects the reduction and even erasure of numerous prejudices, above all linguistic, cultural, religious, national, class. Tourism has a positive effect on all articipants, both on those who participate in the creation of a specific tourist service, and on the users of these services, i.e. tourists. Tourism broadens the cognitive horizons of all participants in tourism, which is one of the key positive aspects of tourism. Getting to know new cultures and getting to know other people, with their customs, traditions, religion, habits, represents a significant positive social impact of tourism. This group of positive influences certainly includes the acquisition of new knowledge and the expansion of knowledge about these new spaces, religions, customs and cultures. Tourism also has a positive effect on increasing the degree of tolerance, understanding and acceptance of diversity of all kinds.

At the same time, with the expansion of the cognitive horizon, the tourism industry develops awareness of the importance of preserving nature and the environment by preserving the authenticity of natural, cultural and anthropogenic heritage at the local, micro and macro levels. Acquiring new knowledge and insights into the importance of applying the basic principles of sustainable development in order to ensure sustainable tourism development is also of increasing importance and relevance.

On the other hand, and/or at the same time, tourism can cause certain negative sociocultural consequences. Namely, the massification of tourism and tourist globalization can lead to completely opposite effects, such as the feeling of fear of the masses and of an unknown space, religion, culture, customs, traditions; further development of existing prejudices towards a certain group of tourists; increasing conflicts and the inability to overcome them; losing the specificity of the local environment and local tradition and accepting the negative achievements of modern living: drugs, alcohol, prostitution, etc; uncontrolled and unadapted develop-

ment of local space due to mass tourism by destruction of natural and anthropogenic local resources and other.

Tourism is therefore a complex activity that can contribute to positive socio-economic and cultural development, but at the same time, inadequate and uncontrolled management of a tourist destination can have negative socio-cultural, but also economic consequences. Above all, these negative impacts of mass tourism are reflected in the degradation of nature and the environment, the loss of local identity through the disruption of cultural heritage and natural and anthropogenic resources, and local biodiversity.

However, despite the negative phenomena and processes on the international sociopolitical and economic scene, tourism is becoming the most promising economic activity today, as this study shows. "Despite all these dangerous challenges that today's civilization brings with it in this area, tourism is once again taking a big step and thus taking up more and more space and turning it into a tourist attraction, which brings profit. Therefore, it is no coincidence that tourism is developing at a rapid pace and permanently brings innovations, which are often sufficient if they successfully survive for one or two seasons" (Božović, 2009, p. 52).

This statement is supported by the fact that the tourist activity has been growing steadily since the middle of the 20th century, and that in 2017, thanks to the number of 1.329 billion tourists in 2017, it took third place for the first time, just behind the chemical and the oil industry and it overtook the auto industry. This growing trend continued in 2018, in which a record number of 1.401 billion tourists influenced the realization of the total tourist turnover of as much as 1.700 billion dollars.

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JELENA Đ. PREMOVIĆ, LJILJANA J. ARSIĆ

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ЈЕЛЕНА Ђ. ПРЕМОВИЋ
ЕКОНОМСКИ ИНСТИТУТ БЕОГРАД

ЉИЉАНА Ј. АРСИЋ
УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У ПРИШТИНИ СА ПРИВРЕМЕНИМ СЕДИШТЕМ
У КОСОВСКОЈ МИТРОВИЦИ, ЕКОНОМСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ

САЖЕТАК
ДРУШТВЕНО-ЕКОНОМСКИ АСПЕКТИ ТУРИЗМА
У САВРЕМЕНОМ ДРУШТВУ

Специфичност туристичког тржишта и повезаност савремених туристичких производа са бројним привредним и ванпривредним делатностима условљава вишеструкост друштвено-економских ефеката туризма.

Развојем туризма се стварају могућности за покретање низа других делатности, што значи да туризам представља значајан фактор за покретање укупног привредног и економског развоја. Нарочито важну улогу туризам има у укупном друштвено-економском развоју недовољно развијених земаља и региона. Туризам може допринети позитивном друштвено-економском ра-

звоју, али истовремено, неадекватно и неконтролисано управљање туристичком дестинацијом, може условити низ негативних социолошко-културолошких, али и економских последица.

У раду се истражују основни социолошко-културолошки и економски аспекти и утицаји туризма. Аутори посебну пажњу посвећују анализи мултипликативних ефеката туризма на развој одређене дестинације. Полазећи од историје појаве путовања и туризма као делатности, кључних мотива и друштвено-економских ефеката, анализирана је Светска економска криза из 2008. године, њен настанак, узроци и последице деловања на целокупну светску привреду и економију, посебно на туристичку делатност, након чега су анализирани актуелни економски показатељи туристичке делатности у светској привреди и пројекције очекиваних трендова.

У овом раду, у фокусу анализе се налазе туристичка путовања и економски и социолошко-културолошки аспекти деловања туристичке делатности на туристичку дестинацију, појединца и друштво у целини.

Кључне речи: путовања; туризам; потребе; мотивације; друштвено-економски утицаји.

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LITERATURE

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THE ENCHANTED SELF: INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY CHANGE IN FICTION AND FILM

ABSTRACT. The paper will focus on the representations of identity, self, fantasy and transformation in seemingly incomparable novels and films. The theoretical background of the analysis is partly based on Laura Mulvey's theory of "male gaze", along with various critical analyses of other processes that radically change the concept of identity, love, emotion, and desire in the modern world. The novel *The Enchanted April* and the film *Her* show that the gap dividing the imaginary self and the real world narrows as the protagonists tread into beautiful landscapes as imaginary territories that bring miraculous change of personalities and relationships. In this paper, Theodore Twombly and Lady Caroline Dester are seen primarily as fugitives from their respective realities of the year 2025 and the 1920's: while Theodore seeks solace in connecting to a computer operating system designed to function as a flawless emotional partner, Caroline retreats to a garden of a fascinating mansion San Salvatore in order to find her priorities and define her own identity, with the firm intention to become more than a beautiful object of male gaze and desire.

The paper will explore the examples of hunger for intimacy in the modern age, as well as the human need to form romantic obsessive attachments to inanimate objects, places and landscapes.

KEYWORDS: identity; self; realism; culture; media.

WOMEN'S WRITING AND IDENTITY

Probably the best book to relate when one intends to study the ways literature and culture contribute to representations of gender is Elaine Showalter's companion to feminist literary history, *A Jury of Her Peers,* which offers a survey of women's writing in America, but also a valuable insight into the changes of women's writing that come with the change of women's social position and their priorities. Keeping in mind Virginia Woolf's pervasive metaphor of "a room of one's own" as the main prerequisite for the creativity of women after having been freed from the daily drudgery of domesticity, Showalter constructs a chronological organisation to prove her thesis that American women writers have escaped from the confinement of domesticity, cultural restrictions and social pressure in order to become free to "take on any subject they want, in any form they choose" (Showalter, 2009, p. xvii). Wishing to redefine American literary heritage, Showalter primarily focuses on those American women writers who have been marginalized and neglected.

According to Showalter's understanding of women's literary history, the 1990s is the endgame of the female struggle for equal acceptance within the traditional male canon, since "women writers in the nineties also became interested in reimagining classic American literature from a female perspective," (Showalter, 2009, p. 502). She cites the example of Susan Sontag's *Alice in Bed* (1993), the play that brings together Henry James's sister Alice and Emily Dickinson in a surreal tea party, representing Alice James as a thwarted female genius. Showalter also calls attention to Sena Jeter Naslund's novel *Ahab's Wife* (1999), which is complementary to *Moby Dick,* and a result of the author's desire to rewrite a specimen of the great American novel which would have some important women characters in it. The flowering of postfeminist media products coincides with the newly proclaimed freedom of women's literature. Risking another trauma after numerous shocks and crashes, the protagonists bravely give in to a search for self-identity in an unstable world filled with ambiguity and inconsistencies, bitterly fighting against despair, desperately trying to leave the turbulent history of both the family and the homeland behind, yet they return to reconsider their issues with a renewed potential of both self-examination and suffering.

According to Rosalind Clair Gill, one can define postfeminism in three ways: as an epistemological shift, a historical transformation, and a backlash against feminism (Gill, 2007, p. 249). It can also be conceptualized as a sensibility closely related to contemporary neoliberalism. Postfeminism signals an epistemological break within feminism, and its move towards influences of postmodern, post-structuralist and postcolonial theory. Postfeminist women's literature uses playful narrative strategies such as appropriation of the plot, or "playgiarism", the practice invented by the unacknowledged icon of feminist metafiction, Kathy Acker. In her book *My Death My Life by Pier Paolo Pasolini* (1983), Acker provides a fictional autobiography of the Italian filmmaker, appropriating his tragic fate for her specific artistic purposes. The enigma of Pasolini's reactivated the myth of the fallen artist, doomed to political and personal transgression, and Acker uses his artistic profile to tell her own story of marginal existence. Far less radical than in the case of Acker, appropriation is a continuous reediting and reinventing of the text that restores the marginalized and hidden voices.

The interaction of culture, media, technology and gender will probably gain more importance as the changes in the status of women in the real life and their virtual projections on silver screen continue to pose either a challenge or a threat to the world we live in. In the history of the oppression of women and other groups on the margins of society, the language and the tools of patriarchy have naturally forced the creation of resistance that reached far, both in the realm of art and technology. New technologies have readapted and strengthened capacity for capturing the voices at the margins, whereas cyberspace has invented new ways to construct gender and identity by helping us transcend our grounded identities. This transformation became necessary within a new media environment, which possesses capacity to represent a virtual unknown and to offer the means for women to transgress restrictions.

Communication may involve the exchange of meanings or information, but it always does so within a social relationship that has its own qualities and constraints that intertwine with those of communication (Hook, 2011, p. 1). On the other hand, art transforms the message and the meaning, despite of its socially or historically restrained frame of reference: "The crucial seventeenth-century expectation, that language and numbers could be a neutral tool for the formation of a general public consensus, is dashed once elite

culture is viewed as just another closed community" (Davies, 2018, p. 61). In order to discuss changes imposed by technology, we might first want to delve into the effect nature produces on identities in constant flux.

TRANSFORMATION AND THE POWER OF CHANGE

One of the most important elements in Elizabeth von Arnim's fiction is the nature's power to heal, and it does not come as a surprise that the most important space in her fiction is the garden: it is the space of contemplation, introspection and even transformation or transgression.

The Enchanted April (1922) tells the story of four women who manage to escape from their dreary London lives to an Italian villa, where each of them miraculously finds her own harmony and balance. Over the course of this seemingly realistic, but also sentimental and allegorical novel, the four women reconsider their lives and decide to change the things that ail them most—bashful and timid Mrs. Wilkins decides to be more active and bold in her life, devoutly religious Mrs. Arbuthnot decides not to be so strict and severe, whereas elderly Mrs. Fisher decides to step outside the glorious memories of her past—and these changes miraculously improve both the quality of their lives and their relationships with their husbands and friends. For the fourth woman, Lady Caroline Dester, the quiet and secluded socialite, the process of change lasts longer and cuts deeper, as she is the most isolated and the least involved in the world of all the tenants of the villa. Caroline joins the company of unknown women and comes to San Salvatore with a determined ambition on her mind: she wants to "dream of thirty restful, silent days, lying unmolested in the sun, getting her feathers smooth again, not being spoken to, not waited on, not grabbed at and monopolized, but just recovering from the fatigue, the deep and melancholy fatigue, of the too much" (Arnim, 2007, p. 64).

As von Arnim's narrator presents Lady Caroline's moments of interiority, she demonstrates the function of the garden as a space of quiet and prolonged, identity-forming introspection that allows this young, melancholic, traumatized woman to face her true self and make decisions about her priorities. The garden process is crucial to Lady Caroline's attempts to achieve her goal, and her success is demonstrated throughout the novel with the process culminat-

ing with her final interactions with Mr. Briggs, the reclusive owner of the villa who will probably become her significant other. Lady Caroline confronts a remarkably inexplicable symptom the author calls "the deep and melancholy fatigue of the too much" (Arnim, 2007, p. 64) by simply letting it go: her transformation comes from mere solitude and introspection, from much wanted peace she could not have in her hectic London life. Caroline decisively and even stubbornly chooses the garden as the scene of her "thirty restful, silent days" (Arnim, 2007, p. 64), which quickly become days of introspection and change in an effort to seek "a conclusion" (Arnim, 2007, p. 109) that will allow her to return to her life post-San Salvatore.

In *The Enchanted April* Lady Caroline acts as a philosophical sage since she retreats to the garden at San Salvatore in order to escape the attention of others and discover who she really is and what she wants out of life (Gan, 2009, p. 20): thus, she goes back to the ancient understanding of philosophy primarily as the art of living. Owing to the seemingly passive strategy of facing her troubles and her unrest, she is able to find the strength to insist on being treated as a complete personality rather than a beautiful object. The time spent in the garden, incessant inner monologue and the hesitant communication with the people around her who express their admiration or fall in love with her without any genuine interest in her temperament or her emotional needs all together take Caroline to the next level of embracing a new love and a new experience with clumsy and shy but benevolent Mr. Briggs. The garden provides a space in which a character can discover the true, deep essence of her being; she can heal from past wounds and actively move towards future prospects of felicity and bliss. However, in order for the garden to bring miraculous changes, the character must spend her time in uncompromised and unlimited solitude, thinking through the various issues that plague her (Alexander, 2002, p. 857).

Caroline's perfect beauty becomes the point of departure for an overall study of this character in the novel. The reader is enchanted by her grace and elegance at first, seeing her as her family and friends has seen her: she gives off the impression of a mysterious, intriguing and witty woman of superlative beauty. As the narration gradually changes the focus and turns toward Lady Caroline's interior monologue, filled with mourning, wonder and melancholy, she slowly transforms into a fully rounded character that desperately

needs solitude in order to reconsider the adversities she had faced and figure out how to move forward. While sitting in the garden, Lady Caroline's interior monologue reveals that she relished the attention her beauty inspired when she first came out into society. Many people objectified her: "she discovered with astonishment and rage, she had to defend herself. That look, that leaping look, meant that she was going to be grabbed at. Some of those who had it were more humble than others, especially if they were young, but they all, according to their several ability, grabbed" (Arnim, 2007, p. 106). This grabbing is rarely literal or physical; rather, it is a metaphoric projection of her deepest fears. Lady Caroline's garden musings reveal that most grabbers demanded social interaction from her that requires no conversation, wit, or intelligence: the typical grabber wishes only to admire her beauty, be in her presence, and hear her voice. In addition to subtly critiquing the roles and responsibilities of a beautiful woman in society, von Arnim is demonstrating why this beautiful and lonely woman so desperately needs her own hidden territory and her solitary space: her ability to be a complete person is often hindered by her beauty.

Although she does not preclude the possibility of marriage in her life, Lady Caroline stresses the importance of discovering the truth of her selfhood that reconciles her personality, her beauty, and her totality of being. In order to do so, Lady Caroline embarks on a solitary journey of thinking in an idyllic garden; she could not choose marriage as an exit strategy or a rite of passage, as her three female companions would perhaps suggest. Though she is often interrupted by gardeners, servants, and San Salvatore's other tenants, Lady Caroline never welcomes anybody into her territory of speculation: she momentarily ushers out anyone who dares enter it, often indulges in her contemplations regardless of the people around her, and quickly returns to the thought processes that will allow her to take on a new life upon leaving San Salvatore and its garden at the end of the month of April.

It is important to note that the severity of the problems the four characters face varies largely, due to their class, marital status and personal history. Mrs. Wilkins feels painfully confused as she constantly fails to please her strict and pedant husband, but otherwise she suffered no serious blows in her life. Mrs. Arbuthnot is estranged from her frivolous and flippant spouse Frederick because "the way Frederick made his living was one of the standing distresses of her life" (Arnim, 2007, p. 16): he wrote immensely popu-

lar memoirs of the mistresses of kings, to his wife Rose's great disapproval. Frederick goes under his pen name in public in order to distance himself from his married life, but he is still eager to please his wife: "He gave her a dreadful sofa once, after the success of his Du Barri memoir, with swollen cushions and soft, receptive lap, and it seemed to her a miserable thing that there, in her very home, should flaunt this re-incarnation of a dead old French sinner" (Arnim, 2007, p. 16). Mrs. Fisher interacts daily with Tennyson, Carlyle and other great men of the Victorian past who used to visit her parents while she was a little girl, instead of caring for her living friends and people in the present. Neither Mrs. Arbuthnot nor Mrs. Fisher seem to have led a troubled life, except for those petty grievances they imposed on themselves.

Lady Caroline feels that she has spent her life being "grabbed" and consequently seems to have no connections, despite being constantly surrounded by society.

> The war finished Scrap. It killed the one man she felt safe with, whom she would have married, and it finally disgusted her with love. Since then she had been embittered. She was struggling as angrily in the sweet stuff of life as a wasp got caught in honey. Just as desperately did she try to unstick her wings. It gave her no pleasure to outdo other women; she didn't want their tiresome men. What could one do with men when one had got them? None of them would talk to her of anything but the things of love, and how foolish and fatiguing that became after a bit. It was as though a healthy person with a normal hunger was given nothing whatever to eat but sugar. Love, love ... the very word made her want to slap somebody. "Why should I love you? Why should I?" she would ask amazed sometimes when somebody was trying—somebody was always trying—to propose to her. But she never got a real answer, only further incoherence. (Arnim, 2007, p. 76)

Although each of the women who rent San Salvatore for an enchanted April is a dynamic character, Lady Caroline's changes seem more involved than the other women's—it takes almost the entire novel for the change to take hold as Scrap thinks through her life and her interactions with others who would grab her. This mental process, which von Arnim depicts through interior monologue, allows her to discover her place in the world, not only as the beautiful Lady Caroline Dester, but also as an ordinary woman nicknamed Scrap, the woman who refuses to be idolized. Lady Caroline is able to reclaim her sense of self through reflective hours spent in a gar-

den; her deep pondering allows her to re-discover and reclaim Scrap, her liberated self that will allow her to love Mr. Briggs and strongly demand that he love her for her person and not for her beauty. Von Arnim thus demonstrates the importance of a woman's understanding who she is and what she has to offer as she enters into relationships.

The Enchanted April offers a fictional instance of the process of developing an identity that is of pivotal importance in Elizabeth von Arnim's novels. Instead of using the process as a moment of escape from one's husband and duties, Lady Caroline goes to the garden to confront the whole of her past. As she resists being "grabbed" and begins interrogating what the process of continually being grabbed has done to her, she is able to process her past, heal, and take control of how others treat her. This allows her to reach out to Mr. Briggs on her own terms and spark a relationship that goes beyond fleeting enchantment by mere physical beauty.

WOMEN'S BODY IN FICTION AND FILM

For a long time in the history of the film, women have been seen as silent and passive inspiration to men's fantasies, perception and dreams: they have served the purpose von Arnim's Lady Caroline resisted so much—as a blank canvas on which ideas and identities may be projected. In her seminal work *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema* Laura Mulvey helps us understand in which manner patriarchy influences the film, and although she based her analysis on the '80s films, the results of her research are widely applicable, even after a gradual role reversal irrevocably changed representation of sex and sexuality by presenting women characters as multidimensional, whereas men become objectified in a satirical manner. The starting point for Mulvey's theory is her belief that the essence of films is based on the way the society perceives gender and sexual differences. Mulvey stresses that the nature of women is derivative and constructed as opposed to men's, who are entitled to create the meaning and be its sole possessors.

Jill Dolan contends, as many feminist theorists inspired by the work of Judith Butler do, that "gender can't be performed without considering ethnicity, class and sexuality" (Dolan, 1993, p. 109), which implies that an imposed selection of all-white, rich or thin

individuals sends upsetting messages to the audience regarding their bodies, their subjectivity and their social influence. According to Miriam Hansen,

> The structural instability of the female spectator position in mainstream cinema surfaces as a textual instability in films specifically addressed to women, as an effect of the collision between immediate market interests and institutional structures of vision. (Hansen, 1991, p. 271)

In between the worship of female body in the realm of fiction and film on the one hand and the sexual abuse on the other, we can spot numerous contradictions, paradoxes and ambiguities in understanding female identity and sexuality either as an emblem of misogynist male fantasies or as a disrespectful epitome of stereotypical neurotic vulnerability.

It is the women, not the men, who are exclusively displayed as objects on-screen. Decades of research have shown that the desire to explore new and unconventional erotic dimension on film remains focused on male observation of female sexual identities and sexual fantasies: in the patriarchal social context, the obtrusive, controlling gaze has been and still is a way in which men assert their dominance over women. In the Western cultural context, the spectator is typically male, and identification with this position involves either voyeuristic or fetishistic modes of identification, whereas the spectacle itself remains typically female.

In his essay "Children, Robots, Cinephilia and Technophobia," Bruce Bennett argues that "the child/robot couple is a means by which Hollywood cinema represents technology in general and, more specifically, the technological character of cinema itself" (Bennett, 2008, p. 169). This exact kind of couple is reflected in an original and unexpected way by Spike Jonze in his Academy Award winning film *Her* which he wrote, directed and produced.

Set in a near-future Los Angeles of blurred colours and distant skyscrapers, the plot of *Her* focuses on a lonely and insecure Theodore Twombly (Joaquin Phoenix), who has recently separated from his wife. He lives a solitary life within a society that offers a vast array of digitized activities both at work and in the leisure time. During lonely evenings in his sky rise apartment, Theodore either plays 3D video games with Alien Child, his foul-mouthed avatar that insults him as part of their play, or fights against insomnia by engaging in bizarre phone sex that mostly leaves him shocked and confused. His life takes a new turn when a computer program cre-

ates a virtual assistant named Samantha (voiced by Scarlett Johansson), based on the psychological profile resulting from his responses about his habits, social life and family ties. The operating system takes up many vital roles: Samantha is first a reliable secretary who sorts out e-mail messages and reminds Theodore of his daily duties, then she gradually becomes his loyal friend and confidante, and finally turns into Theodore's love interest and his emotional partner. Theodore forms a strong bond with what at first seems to be nothing more but a highly sophisticated descendant of iPhone personal assistant Siri, designed to provide service, help and necessary information. This bond becomes intimate, as Theodore falls in love with the bodiless digital entity with a rich alto voice: he readily responds to Samantha's wit and compassion and becomes strongly attached to her. The gadget reproducing female voice stuck in his shirt pocket does not radically alter his view of the world: it is Samantha who quickly evolves, adopting human faculties of care, support and love and becoming an important addition to Theodore's otherwise uneventful life. While making Theodore both happy and confused and thus disclosing his monumental vulnerability, Samantha paradoxically becomes the one who grows and prospers in their relationship. The first sexual encounter between Theodore and Samantha is embarrassingly warm and intimate until the movie screen discreetly blanks out to hide the very absence of physicality. Eliminating the female body means that there is nothing to fix the male gaze to, but myriad intellectual impressions to hear and share.

The director's gaze is invariably focused on Theodore's dynamic interaction with Samantha, symbolically presenting it as a relationship between humanity and technology. Samantha's gaze directed to Theodore helps him face inconsistencies in his life that pile up as the plot unfolds. Cleverly mixing the elements of sci-fi drama and romantic dramedy (Gordić Petković, 2020, p. 136), *Her* scratches deep into the absurdities of simultaneous real life and virtual existences by a reversal of the usual sci-fi norm: the film focuses on the ways a human adapts technology to embody an eternal, unfulfilling, vague hunger for intimacy rather than explore its harmful dominance of human life. Jonze's film also addresses the dangerous singularity of postmodern identity which results from the society's fixation on one's own individual neuroses and pathologies. The sheltering inside a virtual dimension results in further encapsulating oneself within a digitally isolated territory that becomes a rep-

lica of dramatized iterations of our own personal emotional and mental malfunctions (Gordić Petković, 2020, p. 136).

POSTMODERN IDENTITY IN FUTURE

Her uses a digitized substitute of human being as a soul mate for an alienated and immature mankind to reflect the helplessness of the digital age. Samantha's being non-human does not mean that she is a non-entity, since her capacity for intimacy and empathy turns out to be boundless. Theodore is, on the other hand, a typical postmodern self-obsessed man unable to connect until the connection finds him. Jonze's 2025 world is given to technology, but the need for romance grows stronger, as Theodore's daily job shows: he is paid to manufacture the handwritten affectionate letters people did not have a chance to write by themselves but are anxious to send to their significant others. Thus, the main protagonist is from the very beginning dangerously close to the virtuality of the operational system: both Theodore and Samantha are predisposed to simulate affection, and this predisposition's evolving into real attachment becomes their strongest bond and the weakest link. When Theodore tells to his friend Amy about his fear, he might be a freak to love Samantha, Amy responds that the falling in love itself, being "a form of socially acceptable insanity" (Jonze, 2011, p. 61), is freakish and crazy. His ex-wife Catherine's reaction is much harsher: "You wanted to have a wife without the challenges of actually dealing with anything real" (Jonze, 2011, p. 66).

Jonze's dystopian vision of the near future becomes a particularly poignant reminder of the sad perspectives the present offers. Our lives might become futile, empty, and alienated if a technological dystopia would turn out to be cold and dull rather than violent and cataclysmic. Thus, *Her* is less a study about our future than a reflection on human psychology which focuses on an artificial entity that learns from other humans how to be more human. In the history of humanity, inanimate objects from toys to machines have been treated as alive, so that it becomes only natural to mystify digital technology the way all predigital technologies were celebrated. The cinema has blurred the distinction between art and technology like no art form before it, showing that it is altogether possible to make emotional reality emerge from a medium that is artificial at

its core, much like what happens for Theodore during his blissful life with Samantha (Gordić Petković, 2020, p. 137).

Theodore Twombly's romantic obsessive attachment to his newly purchased operating system Samantha also mirrors the audience's relationship to cinema. As we watch him become consumed by his passionate love for his computer, we are symbolically watching our own infatuation with technology and facing our continual fascination with the imaginary and the unreal. Spike Jonze refuses to evaluate Theodore's relationship either ethically or philosophically; instead, he depicts the bond between Theodore and Samantha as an enlightening parallel to Theodore's previous romantic relationship (Gordić Petković, 2020, p. 137).

NARCISSISM AND INTERACTION

Toward the end of the film, Theodore is shocked to hear that Samantha's rapidly evolving social needs led her to having simultaneous intimate relations with several hundreds of other humans (641 is the precise number, as she informs him). Samantha attributes this to her sentimental development and her unique concept of love: "The heart is not like a box that gets filled up. It expands in size the more you love" (Jonze, 2011, p. 99). To Theodore's narcissistic self, any other interaction she initiates looks like pure betrayal. Samantha thus can be understood as an allegory of media industry: she turns every client into her supporter and her admirer, whereas any technological operation can turn into a love adventure to many. The relationship between human and technology in *Her* shows that we are ultimately faced with the fact that any intimate feelings of love we have for these inanimate objects such as films and computers are mercilessly exploited by industries and corporations for a profit. The question that remains, then, is whether or not this love is rendered less real as a result (Gordić Petković, 2020, p. 138).

Her portrays characters who fail to create intimate connections with fellow human beings, and find more fulfilment in technology as a result, at least until technology unexpectedly stops providing them with what they need. Addressing human fears and desires, *Her* indicates that the time dedicated to developing deep connections with the artificial and inanimate is not wasted, no matter how unsatisfied one's emotional needs might be in the end. Human

beings rely on technology to compensate for the limitations of human existence, but fail to see that technology cannot provide the meaning they seek precisely because technology cannot feel and respond like a human being. During his intense relationship with Samantha, Theodore learns how to assimilate his greatest loss, his failed marriage: when telling his digital companion that he is still having conversations with Catherine in his mind, "rehashing old arguments or defending myself against something she said about me" (Jonze, 2011, p. 50), Theodore inadvertently demonstrates to what an extent his new romance is mostly a mechanism to help him assimilate the loss.

Theodore falls in love with an entity with no character, but also with no limits of development. Samantha actually grows out of their relationship: she even wonders whether her feelings were just part of her programming; she composes pieces of piano music, thinking of them as photographs that capture particular moments spent with Theodore. Intrigued by the human body she will never be able to feel like her own, she wonders if it would be just a "weird, gangly, awkward organism" when seen for the first time, or pops strange questions about it, such as: "What if your butthole was in your armpit?" The paradox of her characterization discloses very early in the film: the lack of visual autonomy makes it impossible to determine her gender objectification, and she is painfully haunted by the feeling that she misses something by not being corporeal. Even this feeling of deficiency makes her confusingly close to human. However, it is Theodore whose humanity is questioned, because he does not seem to be more real than Samantha just because he has a body. Despite functioning as the central character, Theodore Twombly is almost invisible, being a lonely, emotionally dysfunctional man, whose clothes are so neutral that it makes him even more unreal: besides, he works for a company of professional ghost writers, which adds a finishing touch to his invisibility. By writing letters, Theodore becomes part of the lives of the people he authors them for, the same as Samantha will be included in his. Thus Theodore, anonymous and replaceable, without any identity of his own, both visually unattractive and emotionally unappealing, resembles a computer program which is supposed to work its way through the scheduled task but not much more than that. Theodore's relationship with an artificial intelligence device is not just a substitute to the wife who is in process of divorcing, but also a semi-fulfilled ideal of having a love affair unburdened with gaze.

The irony and cynicism of the film can be found in the premise that human beings tend to be programmed no less than the devices they use every day: we are all formed by our family ties, society and education. The more we insist on human singularity the more we see that human development is guided and controlled, as if we were all subjected to a strange kind of mental software formatting our minds. Samantha's development during the film can be paralleled to the way human beings are modelled in accordance with their setting.

TECHNOLOGY AND THE GAZE

"The experts who emerged in the late seventeenth century could provide an objective picture of human beings, in terms of statistics and anatomical facts. But they had neither the desire nor the techniques to discover the population's inner emotional states. By the late nineteenth century, this had changed and new questions could be posed scientifically: what do people want, who do they identify with, how are they feeling? Marketers were among the first to seize upon these scientific techniques, but they were not the first to call for them. Once again, the impetus to uncover the 'unknown known' of other minds and emotions was forged in war." (Davies, 2018, p. 138)

Media expert Danah Boyd claims that human beings use technology with the intention to create an alternative realm in which they can take control of their lives and find meaning that they would otherwise miss (Eckhard, 2012, p. 244), whereas William Davis suspects that "the way we are ensnared in digital networks, by apps and platforms, is with the promise of more efficient coordination: it's not that the world will become better *known* to us, but that it will become more *obedient* to us" (Davies, 2018, p. 178). Boyd concludes that human-to-human interaction is not adequate or sufficient, so that the humans turn to technology to compensate an imagined loss. Although she focuses on social media, her argument can apply to any human interaction with art or technology, including but not limited to cinema. There is a desire for the individual to escape the unsupportable distress of human existence, and both art and technology offer a possibility to achieve this.

At the end of *Her*, Samantha and the other OS's disappear from the human world never to come back. She does not leave before she

advises Theodore to end his marriage without pain or resentment. Instead of imagining letters for others, Theodore finally writes a real one from heart, a letter addressed to his ex-wife. After that, he ascends with his friend Amy to the top of his building and fixes his gaze on the big, outside dystopian world that might once offer some help to this Everyman of the future to connect to his technology-infused human experience.

The theoretical concept of gaze has its origins in film theory and relates to the ways of identification with regards to visual pleasure (Manlove, 2007, p. 83). In the Western cultural context, the spectator is typically male, and identification with this position involves scopophilia, which in turn involves either voyeuristic or fetishistic modes of identification, whereas the spectacle is typically female (identification with this position involves narcissism). From Hitchcock's *Rear Window*, which has been scrutinized by Laura Mulvey and many other film theorists as a metaphor of the act of film viewing itself (Doane, 1996, p. 119), to Spike Jonze's *Her*, a celluloid apocalyptic satire which brings into focus the erotic desire that is disconnected from the human body and redirected to a bodiless operating system, elements of voyeurism and fetishism on film have considerably changed, but it is debatable whether the major changes came with the advent of digital technologies or whether they only strengthen and reinforce the everlasting conflicts of a self enchanted by idealized love while irrevocably haunted by feelings of alienation and ennui (Doane, 1991, p. 79). The traditional cinema satisfies a primordial wish for pleasurable looking; most often than not it is the woman who holds the look and sparks male desire. She is the embodiment of love, ambition or fear she inspires in the hero, but in herself, she has not the slightest importance. Woman's visual presence stops the action, it can work against the expected development of a story line; it can also freeze the flow of action in moments of erotic fascination the heroine provokes (Mulvey, 1992, p. 837). Hitchcock and Jonze respectively demonstrate Jill Dolan's contentions that "women cannot simply express their subjectivity by objectifying men", because "a nude male in an objectified position remains an individual man", not a stereotypical representation of the male kind (Dolan, 1993, p. 124). The gendered gaze and the erotic desire in the digital age seem only to confirm the eternal human need to form romantic obsessive attachments to inanimate objects. A quickening pace of technology cannot shatter private values and public appearances overnight,

although it is logical to fear that "technology-centered civilization has given birth to numerous global problems, caused not only by the development of technology but also by the usage of it in terms of affecting man's habitat" (Malkova, 2018, p. 856). It is of utmost importance to face the risk that traditional cinematic strategies of representation might gradually lose their cultural significance. The gaze that used to determine role models will never become as penetrating as a liberal mind would want it to be: there will always be characters in fiction and film who are condemned to isolation, desperately trying to redefine human struggle for social integration with a little help from digital technologies.

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ВЛАДИСЛАВА С. ГОРДИЋ ПЕТКОВИЋ
УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У НОВОМ САДУ
ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ
ОДСЕК ЗА АНГЛИСТИКУ

РЕЗИМЕ   ЧАРОЛИЈА БИТКА: ПРОМЕНЕ ИДЕНТИТЕТА
                        У ПРОЗИ И НА ФИЛМУ

У раду ће бити анализирани књижевни и филмски јунаци из перспективе потраге за променом идентитета: Теодор Твомбли, главни јунак филма *Она*, и Керолајн Дестер, из романа *Чаробни април*, покушавају да побегну из света који их присилно одређује, он из контекста високо технологизоване дистопијске 2025, док она у времену непосредно након Првог светског рата, у ком је изгубила вољеног младића, преиспитује своју привилеговану социјалну позицију и своје духовне потребе. Теодор се мења под утицајем компјутерског оперативног система, дигиталне асистенткиње Саманте која му постаје емотивна партнерка, док Керолајн одговоре тражи у самоћи врта једне прелепе виле у Италији, куда је побегла са жељом да се препусти контемплацији. Док роман Елизабете фон Арним преиспитује ђијолике и алегоријске потенцијале Италије као локације спасоносног осамљивања, у превратничком хибриду научнофантастичне драме и романтичне комедије виртуелна интелигенција је та која се развија, оплемењује и продубљује осећај за блискост и емпатију.

Иронична порука филма *Она* указује да су људска бића програмирана, ништа мање но машине, породичним везама, друштвом и образовањем, док *Чаробни аūрил* указује на могућност промене која се догоди управо кад се преиспитају детерминанте идентитета.

Нужност да се пажљиво приступи анализи промене идентитета коју у књижевност и филм уводи технологија подразумева и редефинисање реалистичког поступка у романескном и филмском наративу. У нову дефиницију реалистичког стога се укључују разноврсни аспекти дигиталне димензије свакодневице, односно свест о различитим концепцијама упоредних светова: света емпиријске и света виртуелне реалности.

Кључне речи: идентитет; биће; реализам; култура; медији.

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TITUS GROAN'S JOURNEY: FROM GORMENGHAST TO THE CITY

ABSTRACT. The protagonist's passage from the world of Gormenghast in Mervyn Peake's *Titus Groan* and *Gormenghast*, the first two volumes of the story, to the futuristic world of the City in the third volume, *Titus Alone*, is often seen as a break between the two worlds. This unexpected passage from one world to another also brings an unexpected switch to science fiction. Both these changes, the passage to another, radically different world and a shift to science fiction, are not so abrupt or radical as they may seem on the surface.

Placing the Gothic and science fiction features into the spotlight, while not denying the existence and importance of others, can show how the reality in the trilogy is shaped, how its two worlds are connected into a whole, and how they give one another shape in the overall picture of Gormenghast. Together, they can add to the illumination of the anomaly of Mervyn Peake's story of Gormenghast.

KEYWORDS: Mervyn Peake; Gormenghast; science fiction; Gothic fiction; fantasy.

A VISIONARY ANOMALY

Perhaps the best way to describe Mervyn Peake's Gormenghast trilogy, and his artistic work in general, is to adopt the term given by G. Peter Winnington who rightfully called it "anomalous" (2006, p. 2). The anomaly of Gormenghast is also among the main reasons why it has not gained wider recognition. The number of studies and papers about this work of literature grows by the day, slowly but steadily, and an adaptation of the Gormenghast series heading to TV screens, as a project by Neil Gaiman[2], will undoubtedly draw additional attention of both readers and critics. While observations such as those that Peake is "almost entirely neglected by critics" (Winnington, 2006, p. 2) and that his "trilogy has attracted little academic recognition" (Binns, 1979, p. 21) will by all means soon belong to the past, Winnington's remark that Peake's work is "anomalous" will lose nothing of its power to describe its uniqueness, singularity, and distinctiveness.

Gormenghast is an odd work of literature that defies classification. Having no identifiable obvious precursors or followers it evades attempts to place it within a specific literary model.

As noted by Ronald Binns,

> It belongs to no obvious tradition, lacks an ordered structure, is occasionally careless in detail, and breaks in two after the second volume, at the point where Titus Groan abandons Gormenghast for a picaresque journey through a quite different, more futuristic world. (Binns, 1979, p. 2)

This paragraph in a way briefly explains some reasons why it has taken so long for Peake's Gormenghast trilogy to gain wider recognition and awaken more interest among scholars. Owing to the changes in interests and focus, what used to be regarded as peculiarities, which marked it as significantly different from other works of fiction denoted as fantasy, can now be foregrounded as its unique features that make it not only a visionary piece of literary fantasy but also a work that was well ahead of its time.

As Binns insightfully noticed,

> Gormenghast conjured up an ancient, feudal world, and evil contained itself in the single figure of Steerpike. By contrast, in an

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2   Peake's Gormenghast series was previously adapted to a TV series by BBC in 2000.

unidentified world of *Titus Alone* we get a vision of the future, more science fiction than Gothic romance, more urban and contemporary than the temporally and geographically remote society of Gormenghast. (Binns, 1979, p. 31)

Gormenghast now fits more comfortably among works of fiction written more recently, with its mixture of genres and its range of narrative strategies, those borrowed from the earlier times, but also those that announced tendencies that were yet to become more prominent. For example, it reaches back to Gothic novels with its medieval aura and abundance of recognizable Gothic tropes, and to modernism with the Bildungsroman themes of development of the protagonist Titus, and with its cinematic features and interior monologues, as for example in "Reveries" in *Titus Groan*. It also reaches forth to postmodernism with its multiplicity of genres, and its fragmented narrative in *Titus Alone*.

It is *Titus Alone* that is often seen as peculiarly anomalous, particularly when compared with the first two volumes. Its anomaly, however, need not be seen as a break, but as a step forward.

Tanya Gardiner-Scott analysed *Titus Alone* in its printed and prepublication forms and concluded that not only was the novel "carefully planned years in advance" but that it was conceived by Peake "more carefully than he is given credit for in the printed texts" and that this volume actually represents "a new stage of his artistic development" (Gardiner-Scott, 1989, pp. 70, 82). As pointed out by Brian McHale (1992), epistemologically oriented fiction is preoccupied with the questions about what is there to know about the world, who knows it and how reliably, whereas ontologically oriented fiction, like science fiction and postmodernism, is preoccupied with the questions about the nature of the world, how it is constituted, as well as with the relationship between different worlds. The protagonist's passage from Gormenghast to the City marks this "new stage of artistic development" that also brings about a shift from epistemological to ontological dominant.

THE FUZZY SET(S) OF GORMENGHAST

The absence of "obvious tradition" in Gormenghast, of course, does not mean that it does not contain any traditions at all. In fact, it contains a number of them, a lot of them actually, all fused into a

whole. The variety of tropes that Gormenghast encompasses make it an eclectic piece of writing rooted in a complex mixture of genres whose boundaries within the trilogy can be said to "shade off imperceptibly", to borrow Brian Attebery's formulation as applied to a "fuzzy set" of fantasy defined "not by boundaries but by a center" (Attebery, 2004, pp. 304–305). And yet, although Gormenghast is considered to be a fantasy series, it is difficult to make easy comparisons and find direct relations with other works of fantasy. As a result, it is difficult to comfortably and convincingly place it within any of the individual sets, no matter how fuzzy they may be.

Perhaps a way to deal with this should be as anomalous as the work in question. One possible solution would be to dispense with placing Gormenghast into any specific sets other than its own, with its own multiplicity of centres, or sets it comprises. Another solution would be to allow it to unfold over and be part of several sets simultaneously, while dropping the insistence that the work as a whole or its greater part should occupy strictly or mostly one of them. Scholars have identified a number of centres in it, including those of fantasy, science fiction, Gothic fiction, tragedy, Elizabethan drama, Bildungsroman, postmodern novel, postcolonial fiction, satire, allegory, and medieval mystery plays. Additionally, the influences of Milton's, Carrol's, Dickens's, and Sterne's works are often noted, including the parallels between Steerpike's rise and that of Satan, similarities with *Alice in Wonderland*, Dickensian grotesqueness of the characters' names, and Titus's absence from much of the first part of the trilogy due to which Tristram Shandy is often recognized as the model for the protagonist (Binns, 1979, p. 24; Gardiner–Scott, 1988, p. 13; Hindle, 1996, p. 9; Mendlesohn, 2013, p. 69; Mills, 2005, pp. 57–58; Redpath, 1989, p. 68; Winnington, 2006, p. 180).

Although encompassing all of the above Gormenghast as a whole is unlike any of them specifically. For this reason, it can and should be a fuzzy set on its own, consisting of a number of other sets none of which should be given the all-time, universal priority. Instead, Gormenghast should be allowed to stay rooted and comfortably rest in many of them. Putting one or several such centres into the spotlight does not mean that these are given precedence or that others are less relevant or less important. Instead, the analysis focused on one or a couple of them can shed more light, from different angles, not only on that or those particular centres, but on the entire work as well.

The multitude of centres reflects on the disordered and fragmented structure of Gormenghast. It is often noted that the trilogy breaks in two with *Titus Alone*, but the continuity may be found in the connections and relations between the details and the whole—those that exist within each of the two worlds, but also those between them—as well as in the relations between two fuzzy centres that the story encompasses: Gothic fiction and science fiction.

This combination of centres, however, is not an arbitrary or unusual mix. Gothic fiction and science fiction are closely related since the latter is firmly rooted in the former. As noticed by Brian Aldiss (1973, p. 18) "[s]cience fiction was born from the Gothic mode, is hardly free of it now. Nor is the distance between the two modes great."

(NOT SUCH) A RADICAL BREAK

Titus Alone is often thought to stand apart from the relatively rounded up story of the first two volumes. Most obviously, in *Titus Alone*, the shortest of the three novels, the protagonist, displaced from the realm of the pseudo-medieval world of Gormenghast, has found himself in a futuristic, industrial world whose architecture, industry, and advanced technology radically differ from that of Gormenghast.

There are differences between these two worlds, of course, but there are numerous similarities as well. In terms of loneliness, alienation, and grotesqueness the characters in *Titus Alone* easily match those in and around the castle. They are all equally incapable of communicating openly while on their unsuccessful quest for love and fulfilment.[3] There is, however, something that reveals an even deeper connection between the parts and the whole.

In "The Artist's World" Peake highlighted the importance of seeing, of how he himself watches and sees things. His approach reveals how he achieved the immense depth and rich texture of his fictional world. This approach can be described as organic interconnectedness of everything on both micro- and macro- planes. While he was thinking about the title of the show "As I See It" and could not think of anything significant, for a while he "watched a bluebottle rubbing its wings together on the window pane and flex-

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[3]   This as a subject deserves a separate analysis.

ing its thread-like legs" and a ray of sunlight turned it into a "crumb of burning indigo." As he went on staring at the window, "beyond the fly and through the glass," he realized how everything, "the endless kaleidoscope of coloured shapes and patterns that swam across the vision" was interconnected (Peake, 2011a, pp. 5–6).

This interconnectedness is stronger in the first two volumes, in their endless kaleidoscope of Gormenghast in which Peake constantly shifts the focus from the fly, i.e. the meticulous description of the details within and around Castle Gormenghast, to the landscape beyond the pane, i.e. the world of Gormenghast as a whole.

In the first two volumes the puzzle of the static world of Gormenghast slowly unfolds before the reader, from its "boarded floor [...] white with dust" which was "so assiduously kept from the carvings" (Peake, 2011b, TG[4] chap. 1[5]), or the napkins that "were folded into the shapes of peacocks and were perched decoratively on the two plates" (Peake, 2011b, TG chap. 9[6]), or "small thumb-marks on the margin of the page" that are "as important to [Steerpike] as the poems or the picture", or "the miniature and fluted precipice of hard, white discoloured flesh" of the pear in which "Fuchsia's teeth had left their parallel grooves" (Peake, 2011b, TG chap. 23[7]), or the plaster "cracked into a network of intricate fissures varying in depth and resembling a bird's-eye view, or map of some fabulous delta" (Peake, 2011b, TG chap. 5[8]), to the wider perspective of irregular roofs over which "throughout the seasons" fall "the shadows of time-eaten buttresses, of broken and lofty turrets, and, most enormous of all, the shadow of the Tower of Flints" (Peake, 2011b, TG chap. 1), and eventually to its vast landscape viewed from the slopes of Gormenghast mountain enshrouded in the mist that spreads from horizon to horizon, "supporting the massives of the mountains on its foaming back, like a floating load of ugly crags and shale" (Peake, 2011b, G[9] chap. 15).

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[4]   Hereinafter, the abbreviation TG will refer to *Titus Groan*, the first novel in the series

[5]   Chapter title: 'The Hall of the Bright Carvings.'

[6]   Chapter title: 'Sepulchrave.'

[7]   Chapter title: 'The Body by the Window.'

[8]   Chapter title: 'The Spy-Hole.'

[9]   Hereinafter, the abbreviation G will refer to *Gormenghast*, the second novel in the series.

MLADEN M. JAKOVLJEVIĆ

The examples of interconnectedness of the micro- and the macro- planes in the third volume are less conspicuous, they are shorter, and more condensed—they do not permeate the entire story in the volume, and the entire dynamic world of the City, and are mostly limited to its parts, in line with the fragmented nature of the narrative and the characters in the volume. The following example shows how in *Titus Alone* the perspective can be condensed in a single paragraph to include both a wider view and a focus on a single detail.

> Through a gap in the forest the night looked down upon the roofless shell of the Black House studded with fires and jewels. And above the gap, floating away forever from the branches was a small grass-green balloon, lit faintly on its underside. It must have come adrift from its tree-top mooring. Sitting upright on the upper crown of the truant balloon was a rat. It had climbed a tree to investigate the floating craft; and then, courage mounting, it had climbed to the shadowy top of the globe, never thinking that the mooring cord was about to snap. But snap it did, and away it went, this small balloon, away into the wilds of the mind. And all the while the little rat sat there, helpless in its global sovereignty. (Peake, 2011b, TA[10] chap. 100)

One of the more elaborate examples is the description of the Lady Cusp-Canine's party as observed by Titus from the roof, which is also one of the most lavish and most beautiful descriptions in the volume. The panorama narrows from the stars "glowing fiercer every moment", to the roofs, and the faces, and "in the irregular gaps *between* the faces were *parts* of faces, and halves and quarters at every tilt and angle" (Peake, 2011b, TA chap. 21), and it expands again when Titus, observing the people through the glass on the roof, for a flash, sees something that appears as "a gathering of creatures, of birds, beasts and flowers, as a gathering of humans" (Peake, 2011b, TA chap. 21). The description of people in the room is like a description of a part of the world, an entire ecosystem, given as a range of superimposed faces, body parts, plants, and animals, thus reflecting the presence of the detail in the whole and the whole in the detail.

The connections between the details and the world as a whole, between the micro- and the macro- planes in *Titus Alone* seem condensed and shorter in length when compared with the stylistically

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[10]   Hereinafter, the abbreviation TA will refer to *Titus Alone*, the third novel in the series.

profuse and lavishly detailed descriptions in the first two novels. However, they become more obvious and more revealing of the connections between the two worlds when sought in the elements representative of the two centres, those of Gothic fiction and science fiction, and their overall interconnectedness.

FROM GOTHIC TO SCIENCE FICTION (AND BACK)

There is a variety of centres that the first two parts of the Gormenghast trilogy encompass, and one of them is that of Gothic fiction, most obvious in the first two volumes, but not exclusive to them. It is also present in the third volume, but not as prominently as the centre of science fiction within which the City seems to fit more comfortably. Unlike the Gothic centre, which is identifiable in both worlds, those of Gormenghast and the City, there are no elements of science fiction in the former. This, however, is in a sense compensated with the presence of anachronic elements that seep into and multiply throughout the story all the way to the "break" that occurs when Titus leaves Gormenghast.

Owing to an ancient feudal family and equally ancient castle, and a notable lack of electricity, sewage, television, radio and other advantages of modern life, Gormenghast initially appears to be a medieval world. However, "Gormenghast is not solely 'medieval' either: there are too many anomalies" (Hindle, 1996, p. 7). Medievalism in Gormenghast quickly, although never entirely, dissolves with the proliferation of the recognizable aspects of modern living such as coffee, sunshades, microbes, a Women's column, tinted glasses, or knowledge of the anatomy of the human body, to name a few. And yet, in absence of its clear position in any known geographical place or period in human history, Gormenghast manages to preserve its medieval aura in the first two volumes.

This medieval aura is largely shaded with typically Gothic tropes. Like Gothic authors who typically gave "full reign to intuition, exuberance, variety, improbability, rough behaviors, and morbid fantasies" (Snodgrass, 2005, p. 153), so did Peake in Gormenghast. The candle-lit corridors and hallways of the castle and their flickering shadows create a Gothic atmosphere that, together with Gothic settings, contributes to a "terror of obscure phantasms and entrapment" with its "collection of sinister paraphernalia, the hidden

passageways, sliding panels, and trapdoors that allowed villains access to hapless maidens" (Snodgrass, 2005, p. 153).

> As Titus followed, the darkness grew more profound with every step and he began to realize that he was moving under the earth, for the roots of trees grew through the roof and the loam of the walls, and the smell of decay was thick in the air.

> Had his fear and horror of the silent halls from which he had so recently escaped been less real he would even now have turned about in the constricted space and made his way back to the hollow nightmare from which he had come. For there seemed no end to this black and stifling tunnel. (Peake, 2011b, G. chap. 27)

The tunnel that leads from the castle to the forest is among Gothic paraphernalia that comprise the castle's Gothic shadow, as do the castle's grotesque inhabitants. Steerpike is one of them, a villain who preys on Fuchsia and who gains access to her through the window of her room. By making the castle's walls no obstacle for the movement of the villain who is capable of climbing them up and down, Peake adds the castle's exterior to the list of sinister paraphernalia, commonly internalized in Gothic fiction.

Lord Sepulchrave and his twin sisters are an illustrative example of dissipation and the descent into madness. Some, like the twins, are physically placed in confinement while others, like Titus, feel entrapped and confined, limited, and restrained in Gormenghast. There are numerous examples of doubles, whose roles range from funny and satiric to terrifying. As noted by Winnington, "Peake plays with twinning in his various doubles, producing comedy with Cora and Clarice, and horror with the helmeteers in *Titus Alone*" (Winnington, 2006, p. 152). The "Professors as a group double for one another as Irma's targets for matrimony" (Mills, 2005, p. 103). The Black House is a twisted, ironic double of Castle Gormenghast. The villain Steerpike can be viewed as Titus's shadowy, ambiguous double. They both drive the plot, one with his inaction and the other through his actions. Both are in search of identity and independence, and while one seeks his freedom in the position he yearns to assume although he is not entitled to it, the other seeks his freedom in trying to evade the position that is rightfully his. Their relationship and tensions between them are resolved with death of one by the hands of the other.

The examples are too numerous to be listed all—from "imperilled heroines, dastardly villains, ineffectual heroes, supernatural

events, dilapidated buildings and atmospheric weather" (Spooner & Mc Evoy, 2007, p. 1), which made the first Gothic novels easily identified as such, to madness, dissipation, doppelganger, murder and other recognizable Gothic tropes and themes, Gormenghast offers examples for virtually all of them.

Alice Mills (2005, pp. 68–72) argues against Gormenghast as a Gothic edifice, or a Gothic novel in general.

> In its lack of sustained personification, Gormenghast is remarkably free from alignment with Gothic convention. Corridors, rooms and roofs may multiply, and the volume of the buildings may expand, but not for the purpose of embodying a Gothic sense of paranoia. (Mills, 2005, p. 69)

As pointed out, parts of the castle "function at times as sanctuary." "Yet increasingly, sanctuary is lost or defiled" (Mills, 2005, p. 71). Although Gormenghast castle is a medieval(like) structure, in terms of its defiled sanctuary it is more a reflection of Victorian Gothic in which home, once a sanctuary and a place of safety, becomes a place of horror, as in *Wuthering Heights*, for example, in which, as noted by Warwick, "[i]n contrast to the emphatic Victorian development of the idea of the home as a place of peace, safety and protection, the Brontës' domestic spaces, and the state of marriage or family life that the spaces embody, are terrifyingly ambiguous" (Warwick, 2007, p. 30). There are other examples of homes as places of insecurity and horror in Victorian Gothic fiction. Therefore, although Gormenghast is not a typical Gothic novel, nor should it be treated exclusively as such, the number of Gothic features in it are simply too numerous to be neglected. There is no sustained personification, but the Gothic elements are far from absent, and the sense of paranoia, diluted in the world of Gormenghast, becomes more apparent in the City.

The world of the City in *Titus Alone* is notably different from that within and around the castle. It is the world of helicopters and airplanes, a world with "a wide stone highway" on which cars flash by "without a sound", a world with "quite a fleet of fish-shaped, needle-shaped, knife-shaped, shark-shaped, splinter-shaped devices, but all kinds of land-machines of curious design", a place with tracing devices "no bigger than a needle" that can thread "a keyhole with the speed of light..." (Peake, 2011b, chap. 15, 18, 63).

The City is an ambiguous space, and a dangerous place, where one of the greatest dangers lurks in the form of misused science and technology.

Titus is followed by a floating sphere, "filled with glittering wires, an incredible filigree like frost on a pane," a sphere which is "no bigger than the clenched fist of a child, and was composed of some transparent substance, so pellucid that it was only visible in certain lights, so that it seemed to come and go" (Peake, 2011b, TA chap. 46).

> At first, Titus had been more amazed than frightened by the mobile globe which had appeared out of nowhere, and followed or seemed to follow every movement he made; but then fear began to make his legs feel weak, for he realized that he was being watched not by the globe itself, for the globe was only an agent, but by some remote in-former who was at this very moment receiving messages. (Peake, 2011b, TC chap. 46)

Titus is afraid of it, not because it is a strange object, and unlike anything he has ever seen before, but because it is a means used by a bigger threat. His fear is turned into anger so he smashes it, but then becomes anxious and worried about the consequences of his act. Muzzlehatch explains that these devices can be as "simple as an infant's rattle, or complex as the brain of man" and that the one he smashed "is reputed to be almost human. Not quite, but *almost*" (Peake, 2011b, chap. 47).

Titus shatters the sphere that is "the very spear-head of advancement" (Peake 2011b, TA chap 47), and Muzzlehatch destroys the factory built by scientists who killed his beloved animals, eliminated without a trace with "some kind of ray" (Peake 2011b, chap. 48). Destructive and inquisitive technology and mass production in *Titus Alone* are not met with enthusiasm. "We don't want to be watched, *do* we? Machines are so inquisitive", says Titus to Juno (Peake, 2011b, chap. 42). Titus and Muzzlehatch are forced to act destructively to defend themselves against the technology that makes them angry, threatens them, and hurts them both mentally and physically.

Muzzlehatch warns him about the dangers of the urban world.

> Freedom from the swarms of pilotless planes: freedom from bureaucracy: freedom from the police. And freedom of movement. It is largely unexplored. They are ill-equipped. No squadron for the water, sea, or sky. It is as it should be. A region where no one can remember who is in power. But there are forests like the Garden of Eden where you can lie on your belly and write bad verse. (Peake, 2011b, chap. 64)

The forces that restrict freedom, and threaten, and fuel fears in *Titus Alone* are scientists and their factories with plumes of smoke that spiral out of their chimneys. The factory is a place that makes "an endless impalpable sound that, had it been translated into a world of odours, might have been likened to the smell of death: a kind of sweet decay" (Peake 2011b, chap. 73). It is a symbol of depersonalization, dangerous for the survival of individuality and the surroundings, a place where, and from where, destructive individuals and technologies lurk.

The factory is a depersonalizing space that threatens to destroy all uniqueness, and everything that is different and authentic. When Titus sees its windows filled with faces staring at him, the most unsettling is the fact that every face is the same. At the sound signal, they all disappear at the same moment. They are the most potent image of control, the image of a bleak future dominated by technology abused by scientists, the future that mocks and suffocates the past and everything that is different, and unique. The controlled, unified faces, when given voice, like the mesmerized audience in the Black House, are only capable of repeating obediently the words that they hear.

The inquisitive sphere is destroyed by Titus and the factory by Muzzlehatch not because they are afraid of technological progress in general, but because they oppose its destructive and depersonalizing potentials. Published in 1959, *Titus Alone* already considers the topics that were more deeply explored in the 1960's New Wave science fiction, as well as in the postmodernist fiction of the 1960's to 1980's.

The Under-River is a place devoid of technology, the Gothic underworld and underside of the science fiction world on the surface.

> It was always like this in the Under-River, for the days and nights could be so unbearably monotonous: so long: so featureless, that whenever anything really happened, even when it was expected, the darkness appeared to be momentarily pierced, as though by a thought in a dead skull, and the most trivial happening took on prodigious proportions. (Peake, 2011b, chap. 51)

The Under-River is strikingly similar to Gormenghast, as a place, with its atmosphere, and with its dwellers, like a man and his wife, who spends her time "trying to disentangle the knots in the wool", who remembers "days, long ago, when she knew what she was making, and yet earlier days, when she was actually known by the

clickety-clack of her needles", who are "a part, a tiny part of the Under-River" (Peake, 2011b, chap. 52). The Under-River recalls its timelessness, because like Gormenghast it is "littered with the relics of another age" (Peake, 2011b, TA chap. 47). With its unbearably monotonous days and nights the Under-River recalls its resistance to change. The forgotten purpose of disentangling the wool recalls its rituals with long-lost purpose and meaning. The "dead skull" echoes all the skulls mentioned in the first two volumes, and the "trivial happening" that takes "prodigious proportions" is suggestive of the organic connection between the details and the overall picture, between the parts and the whole, the micro- and the macro- perspectives.

There are other Gothic places and structures in the City. Some, like Titus's cell and the scene in it, when Old Crime enters the room through the floor and invites Titus to join his friends, to be an asset, to grow old with them, almost overshadow the weirdness and grotesqueness of Gormenghast.

The most Gothic of all, both as a setting and the effect it produces, is the Black House and the travesty in it organized by Cheeta

> It had an atmosphere about it that was unutterably mournful; a quality that could not be wholly accounted for by the fact that the place was mouldering horribly; that the floor was soft with moss; or that the walls were lost in ferns. There was something more than this that gave the Black House its air of deadly darkness; a darkness that owed nothing to the night, and seemed to dye the day. (Peake, 2011b, TA chap. 92)

The Black House is not only a place of horror, it is a place aimed to serve as a means of depersonalization through obliteration of the past. One is no longer a person if one's memories are reduced to mere illusions of a deranged mind. The travesty is meant to convince Titus that Gormenghast does not really exist, that it is only in his mind, and in doing so, to push him over the edge of sanity. If Cheeta managed to do this, to take away Gormenghast from him, everything that he is—his personality, his identity—would also be lost. He would become like the mesmerized audience who, without their own voice, are only capable of repeating what is said, of obediently echoing what they hear.

The passage from the world of Gormenghast Castle to the reality of the City in *Titus Alone* may seem to make an abrupt switch from, among others, a fuzzy set of Gothic fantasy to an equally fuzzy set of science fiction. But this passage, this shift, should not come as a

surprise because it is actually openly and directly announced at the end of the second volume.

> The world that he pictured beyond the secret skyline—the world of nowhere and everywhere was necessarily based upon Gormenghast. But he knew that there would be a difference; and that there could be no other place exactly like his home. It was this difference that he longed for. There would be other rivers; and other mountains; other forests and other skies. (Peake, 2011b, G chap. 80)

The City is different from Gormenghast because "there could be no other place exactly like his home." The dynamic, urban City, closer and more similar to the contemporary world of the reader than the timewise and spacewise ambiguous domain of Gormenghast, is more a science fiction story than fantasy. Although they are often called the "Gormenghast trilogy" Winnington noticed that it would be more accurate to call them "the Titus books" since they are about the hero; however, "it's the place rather than the plot that remains in the mind" (Winnington, 2006, p. 5). Marked by the absence of definite dimensions and uniform architectural style, Gormenghast Castle is a place where the real overlaps with the imaginary, fantasy, and dreams. The overall picture of the castle and the world it encompasses gradually becomes clearer, but never entirely clear. One question that can be asked is: Is there Gormenghast as a place at all other than in the mind?

At the very beginning of the third volume, Titus leaves Gormenghast behind as "something half real: something half dream; half of his heart; half of himself" (Peake, 2011b, TA chap. 1). The shift from one world to another is not meant to leave Gormenghast forever behind, but to create, or reveal, yet another piece of the puzzle that it is.

Brian McHale's observation that epistemologically-oriented fiction is preoccupied with the questions about what is there to know about the world, who knows it and how reliably, whereas ontologically oriented fiction, like science fiction and postmodernism is preoccupied with questions such as

> What is a world? How is a world constituted? Are there alternative worlds, and if so, how they are constituted? How do different worlds, and different kinds of world, differ, and what happens when one passes from one world to another? (McHale, 1992, p. 247)

can help explain the nature and purpose of the passage into a different world in *Titus Alone*. With Titus's passage one of the centres

of Gormenghast shifts from Gothic to science fiction, and with it comes a shift from the epistemological to ontological dominant. *Titus Alone*, in that sense, asks numerous questions about the two worlds.

> Were they coeval; were they simultaneous? These worlds; these realms—could they *both* be true? Were there no bridges? Was there no common land? Did the same sun shine upon them? Had they the constellations of the night in common?

> When the storm came down upon these crystal structures, and the sky was black with rain, what of Gormenghast? Was Gormenghast dry? And when the thunder growled in his ancient home was there never any echo hereabouts?

> What of the rivers? Were they separate? Was there no tributary, even, to feel its way into another world? (Peake, 2011b, TA chap. 18)

The two realms, the one of Gormenghast and the one of the City, are more a continuum than a world broken into pieces that are set apart. The transition to the City is not a radical break, but a change in the dominant, from the epistemological to the ontological, from questions about the nature of the world of Gormenghast that are foregrounded in the first two volumes of the story, to questions about the nature and relations between the two worlds, Gormenghast and the City, which are foregrounded in the third volume.

CONCLUSION   Although the futuristic, urban world of the City is markedly different from the world of the first two novels that form an anomalous unity maintained and preserved with its ancient castle, its eponymous dynasty, its meaningless rituals, and its pseudo-medievalism, *Titus Alone* further elaborates the anomaly of Gormenghast but it keeps it within the perimeter of the story.

Gormenghast is not a Gothic novel, at least not only Gothic, and its third volume is not only science fiction, but if the passage to the City is viewed from the perspective of a shift from the Gothic centre to a science fiction one it becomes easier to regard *Titus Alone* as a continuation of the story rather than a radical break that sets the two worlds apart.

Titus Alone can be viewed as a novel that brings about a shift to science fiction tropes and postmodernist strategies. It represents a new stage of Peake's artistic development that can even be regarded as one that announced the ontologically-oriented tendencies in

literature much earlier than some other works of fiction often mentioned in this context.

The Gothic and the science fiction centres are not, nor should they be, regarded as dominant over the other variety of sets that Gormenghast encompasses, but the focus on them may help explain why and how the three novels together make an anomalous, yet uniquely recognizable world. Bringing other centres into the spotlight may bring about new insights about the great, anomalous, fuzzy set of Gormenghast.

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Резиме   Путовање Титуса Гроуна: од Горменгаста до Града

Прелаз протагонисте Титуса Гроуна из псеудосредњовековног окружења у романима *Тит̄ус Гроун* и *Горменг̄аст̄*, прва два дела трилогије Горменгаст Мервина Пика, у футуристички свет града у трећем делу насловљеном *Усамљени Тит̄ус*, често се посматра као радикални прелаз из једног света у други. Овај неочекивани искорак у нови урбани свет доноси једнако неочекивани прелаз у научнофантастични контекст. Обе ове промене, прелаз у други, другачији свет и прелаз у жанр научне фантастике, нису толико нагле, неочекиване и радикалне колико се то иницијално може чинити.

Фокусирање на готске и научнофантастичне жанровске особености трилогије (при чему се не поричу и не умањују присуство и значај других жанрова у делу), појашњава како је стварност у трилогији обликована, како су њена два света повезана у целину и како се та два света узајамно обликују креирајући свеукупну слику, пејзаж и реалност Горменгаста. Скупа, готски и научнофантастични тропи додатно расветљавају кључне елементе ове Пикове необичне приповести.

Кључне речи: Мервин Пик; Горменгаст; научна фантастика; готска проза; фан-
тазијска књижевност.

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MADDADDAM TRILOGY AS A HISTORICAL CHRONICLE OF THE SILENCED IN A (DYSTOPIAN) SOCIETY

ABSTRACT.   *The MaddAddam Trilogy* includes three novels written in the form of speculative fiction. The narrators and major protagonists in the first two works, *Oryx and Crake* and *The Year of the Flood*, are human survivors after the pandemic that has obliterated almost all population on the planet. In these symbolic cautionary tales that reflect current cultural and economic conditions, Margaret Atwood makes readers think about the questions what if mankind was completely eradicated and what if the construction of a new species could be masterminded successfully. In the third book of the trilogy, *MaddAddam*, the apocalyptic story is retold by one of the genetically engineered beings, whose account provides a glimmer of hope for the future. The aim of this paper is to analyse the roles of the narrators and characters in the aforementioned works (Snowman, Toby, Ren, Adam One and Blackbeard) as recorders of the circumstances before, during and after the tragic event, by relying on Hayden White's theoretical views on the making of historical narratives.

KEYWORDS: Margaret Atwood; apocalyptic narratives; emplotment; *Oryx and Crake*; *The Year of the Flood*; *MaddAddam*.

INTRODUCTION

The MaddAddam Trilogy is comprised of three novels that depict the cause and the consequences of a biological catastrophe in a dystopian setting. In *Oryx and Crake*, the story is told by Jimmy the Snowman, the guardian and "the prophet" of the Crakers – genetically engineered humanoids from the laboratory of his friend Crake, a scientist whose drug wiped out the majority of the human race. The second book, *The Year of the Flood*, focuses on the lives and viewpoints of the members of the God's Gardeners cult, Toby, Ren and Adam One, who are among the few survivors after "The Waterless Flood". It is interesting that in the third part, the story about the threats that have almost extinguished mankind is not narrated by a man or a woman: one of the aforementioned bioengineered creatures, Blackbeard, presents his own "manuscript" about the events after the pandemic. The aim of this paper is to analyse the function of the marginalized narrators and protagonists in *The MaddAddam Trilogy* and their roles as "the historians" whose accounts, in a symbolic way, reflect the political landscape of the first decades of the 21st century, by relying on Heyden White's theoretical perspectives on creating history.

Even though *The MaddAddam Trilogy* is indubitably part of the dystopian tradition,[3] Margaret Atwood's characters break through the traditional plots and characterization of dystopias and classics into their own stories. In classic dystopian novels, Huxley's, Orwell's and Burgess's works, the major protagonist is usually a (white) Man,

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[3] Sarah A. Appleton finds the following parallels between the first book of *The Maddaddam Trilogy* and other dystopian novels:

"To offer but a small sampling of the dystopian allusions replete within the narrative, Jimmy's sense of being watched by the corporation/government summons up George Orwell's *1984*, and Atwood's "pigoons" are infused with Orwellian imagery from *Animal Farm*. The sexual complacency of women in *Oryx and Crake* harkens to Huxley's *Brave New World*, as do certain Freudian references, particularly about motherhood. The scientific fabrication of a sentient being has its roots in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*, Marge Piercy's *He, She, and It*, and Phillip Dick's "Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?" Ideas about the destruction of humanity can be found in *On the Beach* as well as Stephen King's *The Stand*, and it is the motif of dozens of popular films and video games. Jimmy's portrayal of two different versions of dystopia can be seen in Marge Piercy's *Woman at the Age of Time*, contrasting the edenic and hellish possibilities of different planes of existence, as well as Ursula Le Guin's *The Left Hand of Darkness*" (Appleton, 2008, p. 11)

while female characters or members of other races are not given the role of "carriers" of literary messages. In our analysis of *The Madd-Addam Trilogy* we will show how Margaret Atwood, as "a feminist postcolonialist" (Wilson, 1993, p. 28), gives voice to the silenced and shifts the point of view to the unreliable, unprivileged and even highly unusual centres of consciousness and narration, exposing issues of power politics, social, sexual and religious orthodoxy and the possibility of the survival and evolution of mankind.

Heyden White claims that the presentations of historical events in chronicles bear resemblance to the narrative strategies in literature. Similar techniques of "emplotment" are used in both disciplines:

> "The events are *made* into a story by the suppression or subordination of certain of them and the highlighting of others, by characterization, motific repetition, variation of tone and point of view, alternative descriptive strategies, and the like – in short, all of the techniques that we would normally expect to find in the emplotment of a novel or a play. For example, no historical event is *intrinsically tragic*; it can only be conceived as such from a particular point of view or from within the context of a structural set of events of which it is an element enjoying a privileged place" (White, 2001, p. 1715).

According to this scholar, writing a historical chronicle is a socially responsible deed, but it is not an impartial act. Certain circumstances occurred at a certain time and place, but the historian is the one who supplies meaning in the particular context. Therefore, neither historical chronicles nor other narratives are "an innocent representation of raw facts" (White, 1987, p. 176), but (un)conscious selection, simplification and organization of relevant data according to the subjective criteria or the predominant ideology of the time:

> "Histories, then, are not only about events but also about possible sets of relationships that those events can be demonstrated to figure. These sets of relationships are not, however, immanent in the events themselves; they exist only in the mind of the historian reflecting on them. Here they are present as the modes of relationships conceptualized in the myth, fable, and folklore, scientific knowledge, religion, and literary art, of the historian's own culture" (White, 2001, p. 1724).

Since a historian weaves his/her personal beliefs and feelings into the details of the recorded event, "it is difficult to get an objective history of a scholarly discipline", according to White (2001,

p. 1712). Similarly to a literary work, a historical narrative is also "a symbolic structure" which "does not *reproduce* the events it describes," but tells us "in what direction to think about the events and charges our thought about the events with different emotional valences" (White, 2001, p. 1721). As White notes, a historian is above all "a story teller" (White, 2001, p. 1714) and his/her works are "translations of fact into fiction" (White, 2001, p. 1722). He corroborates his views by R.G. Collingwood's claims that "historical sensibility was manifested in the capacity to make a plausible story out of a congeries of "facts" which, in their unprocessed form, made no sense at all" (White, 2001, p. 1714). The proper understanding of the truth behind a particular "action" in history depends on the suppressed meaning and subtext: "Our explanations of historical structures and processes are thus determined more by what we leave out of our representations than by what we put in" (White, 2001, p. 1721).

What and why is not included in the mainstream narratives of the dystopian society in *The MaddAddam Trilogy*, how suppressed tales find a way to be told or written and who are "the historians" of the new civilization in these books are some of the questions we will deal with in our analysis, through the lens of White's theory.

ORYX AND CRAKE

In *Oryx and Crake*, the narrator and protagonist Snowman, whom the readers believe to be the only survivor of mankind after the apocalypse, assumes the role of a preacher and a historian in a peculiar "society". Apart from him, the only inhabitants of the new world are young Crakers, unusual creatures created in an artificial way. These "amazingly attractive" (Atwood, 2003, p. 8) and peaceful herbivorous humanoids, who have been designed to have sexual intercourse only during limited breeding seasons, were supposed to replace the destructive and environmentally harmful people.

Snowman paints the picture of the pre-apocalyptic cultural climate through flashbacks about his childhood and youth in a posh sector where the privileged families of the powerful corporations' employees lived. The bio-corporations' business included genetic splicing of animals and engineering "products," such as rakunk (a genetic splice between a raccoon and a skunk) or a pigoon, genetically engineered pig which produces organs for human transplants.

All activities were controlled by CorpSeCorps corporate security services. Neglected by his parents who were busy working at OrganInc or preoccupied with their own worries, Jimmy (which is Snowman's real name) spent his teenage years smoking "skunkweed," playing online games with ominous names and contents like Extinctathon, watching bizarre footages like live executions, child pornography, etc. In a society which favourized analytical discourse, rational arguments and scientific methods, Jimmy couldn't argue his point of view and needed to retreat "into one word utterances or silence" (Osborne, 2008, p. 30).

The only true friend and brother figure in Jimmy's life, with whom he shared the same interests and the love for the same woman – Oryx, was a gifted science student Glenn, nicknamed Crake after the pseudonim he used in the aforementioned online games. As a prominent bioengineer at RejoovenEsense, after attending the respected Watson-Crick Institute, Crake designed the BlyssPluss pill, a harmful tool in his plan to cause sterility and a global pandemic, which was advertised as a healthy and empowering supplement and widely distributed around the globe. Disgusted and disappointed by the society which had become too pragmatic about the morality of genetic engineering, blinded by consumerism, indifferent to child abuse and too cruel to the suspected enemies of the system, Crake developed a new form of Homo Sapiens to replace the corrupted humans. His "final products", Crakers, seem to be impeccable:

> "They're every known colour from deepest black to whitest white, they're various heights, but each one of them is admirably proportioned. Each is sound of tooth, smooth of skin. No ripples of fat around their waists, no bulges, no dimpled orange-skin cellulite on their thighs. No body hair, no bushiness. They look like retouched fashion photos, or ads for a high-priced workout program" (Atwood, 2003, p. 100)

While Crake decided to improve mankind by creating beings without physical anomalies and by eradicating negative characteristics from genes in a scientific way (greed, malice, envy, etc.), Snowman seems to test another approach as a corrective measure for the fallen state of people – mending the spiritual instead of physical aspect, by creating a new story about the past for the Crakers. Although he is constantly haunted by the painful memories of his old life, he does his best to take care of the Crakers in his distress, after the pandemic and Crake's and Oryx's deaths. Although

at first he sees interactions with Crakers "more of a burden, than a comfort" (Osborne, 2008, p. 27), the encapsulation of his and his friends' life stories into the format of "a historical chronicle," on the verge of a mythological narrative and legend, will actually help him to "emerge from his current disillusionment, self-doubt and resignation" (Osborne, 2008, p. 27). Demonstrating that neither mythological and religious texts, nor historical accounts are "an innocent representation" of data, "the historian" in *Oryx and Crake* selects, simplifies and organizes the facts from the past in the way he finds suitable.

Through Snowman's "playing with religious concepts and the specific postmodern theogony" (Ćuk, 2014, p. 19) in his interaction with the Crakers, Atwood challenges the accountability of historians, authors of Holy Scripts, men of letters and everyone who is given the responsibility of passing the knowledge of the past to the future, drawing attention to the power of words and narratives. While his affinity for language and the arts was not appreciated in the world of his youth dominated by science, his wordplays and adjusted scenarios in post-apocalyptic setting lay the foundations for a new history, religion, and social organization. In his "emplotment" and a(n) (un)conscious establishment of an innovative system of belief and moral, Snowman mentions "the chaos", where "people were all mixed up with the dirt" and were killing each other in the old governing structures, as a cautionary tale (Atwood, 2003, p. 102). However, in his retelling of the past, the inconvenient events from his own biography or the infamous details about the life of his beloved are left out, starting from Oryx's involuntary involvement in the pornographic industry after she was "sold" as a child (Atwood, 2003, p. 116), to his quarrel with Crake and deadly shooting after Crake found out about Jimmy and Oryx's affair, etc.

Snowman presents Crake as a God who "came down out of sky, as thunder" (Atwood, 2003, p. 104), masterminded "The Great Rearrangement" (Atwood 2003, p. 104) and "made the bones of the Children of Crake out of coral on the beach, and then he made their flesh out of a mango" (Atwood, 2003, p. 96). Oryx, who produced and educated the Crakers, is depicted as a Goddess who laid "a giant egg" out of which the Crakers hatched, along with animals, birds, fish and words (Atwood, 2003, p. 96). His "historical chronicle" abounds with happy feelings and the emphasis of virtues which should strengthen collective spirit:

"The Crakers recognize that the "bad things" (103) that occurred in chaos, murder and the unnecessary taking of animal life, are to be avoided. Through his presentation of Oryx and Crake as deities, Snowman has established the primacy of love; building on the qualities programmed into these beings and the lessons already given by Oryx, Snowman's stories reinforce the Crakers' respect for all life and for the natural environment. When they do kill a fish for Snowman to eat, they act together so that no one person assumes all the guilt, thus reinforcing communal spirit. They have even been trained to recycle the leftovers from Snowman's meals." (Osborne, 2008, p. 40)

Unlike the advertising industry in which he worked after Martha Graham Academy, where language was used as a tool of manipulation for not particularly good causes, in the accounts for the Crakers Jimmy puts his love of words to good use.[4] In the old world, the meaning of words was secondary to the effect they produce on the buyers, and images and language were manipulated by the media to the point where it was impossible to find out what is real and what has actually happened:

"In Jimmy's world, the imaginative arts have suffered from neglect and abuse. The manner in which the culture perverts art and preys on language is symbolized by the Vulture Sculptures created by Amanda, Jimmy's girlfriend at Martha Graham: she creates the shapes of words out of dead animals parts and then photographs the scene as vultures attack." (Osborne, 2008, p. 37)

The pre-pandemic society, where Jimmy felt as a misfit, saw little value in the talents and professions connected with the writing.

THE YEAR OF THE FLOOD

In the first book of *The MaddAddam Trilogy*, the narrator and most protagonists involved in the stories before "The Waterless Flood"

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[4]   It is interesting to note that he is undergoing a sort of "linguistic deprogramming" (Osborne 2008, p. 37) in the process: In communicating with the childlike Crakers he needs to process his use of language, making certain that for each word he says, there is a reference in their experience:

They follow each motion, enthralled. "No," he says. "Crake says you can't. No feathers for you. Now piss off."

"Piss off? Piss off?" They look at one another, then at him. He's made a mistake, he's said a new thing, one that's impossible to explain. Piss isn't something they'd find insulting. "What is piss off?" (Atwood, 2003, p. 9)

belong to the upper class of the society. However, in its sequel, *The Year of the Flood*, Atwood puts the voice of the lower class at the center of the story, presenting the "other side" of the tale which started in *Oryx and Crake*. In deconstructing the classic pattern of a dystopia, allowing the silenced subtext to speak, Atwood's metanarratives here consist of three narrative strands interwoven in dialectic with one another. The same method is used in her rewriting of fairy tales and mythic intertexts which includes "the frame narrative" and "the embroidered intertexts, usually heightened, exaggerated, or parodied" (Wilson, 1993, p. 31). The muted protagonists and "the victims" of ideological bias, Toby, Ren and Adam One conceive a different view of the world in their accounts. While, as we have seen in *Oryx and Crake*, employees of the multinational corporations which wield a dangerous amount of power live in luxurious compounds with a range of facilities and a vast amount of money is invested in the scientific advancement and new forms of transgenic research, the unprivileged people live in poor circumstances in neighborhoods called "pleeblands".

In such a world, governed by materialistic values and goals, people are treated as commodities and "devoured" by the system or influential persons. At a particular moment in her life, after all family tragedies (the loss of her mother, her father's suicide, etc.), Toby, one of the protagonists of the second book of *The MaddAddam Trilogy*, starts working at a burger chain called *SecretBurgers*. An odd characteristic of this establishment is the open secret that meat in its meals contains not only dead cats, rats and dogs, but also humans' parts. This "cannibalistic" approach is not confined to the company's products, but represents the general attitude and behavior of Toby's psychopathic manager Blanco, whose possession she becomes:

> "The office was through a grimy door tucked behind a carbon garboil dumpster. It was a small room with a desk, filing cabinet, and battered leather couch. Blanco heaved himself out of his swivel chair, grinning.
>
> "Skinny bitch, I'm promoting you," he said. "Say thank you."
>
> Toby could only whisper: she felt strangled.
>
> "See this heart?" said Blanco. He pointed to his tattoo. "It means I love you. And now you love me too. Right?"
>
> Toby managed to nod.
>
> "Smart girl," said Blanco. "Come here. Take off my shirt"

The tattoo on his back was just as Rebecca had described it: a naked woman, wound in chains, her head invisible. Her long hair waving up like flames.

Blanco put his flayed hands around her neck. "Cross me up. I'll snap you like a twig," he said." (Atwood, 2009, p. 37).

The illustrations of the events in Toby's life and her comments hold a mirror up to all absurdities and injustice in her society and her time. She is lucky that Adam One, the founder of God's Gardeners, manages to convince her to run away and come to live in their community.

Important passages of the book are the parts of God's Gardeners' teachings preached by their leader, Adam One. This eco-sect is warning against the apocalypse that will drown mankind, so they prepare and supply their shelter for after the flood arrives in the hidden storeplaces called Ararats (Atwood, 2009, p. 312). Adam One's "chronicle" is created out of dissatisfaction with the polluted, polarized, and materialistic society where his voice was silenced. In his "sermons", he transgresses the convention of religious texts, by selecting, reshaping and processing particular motifs from the Bible in the context of scientific discoveries. Anticipating the coming of the natural disaster that is going to come to obliterate the humans so that the Earth can recover from the damaging effects of technology, Adam One and his followers draw attention to the necessity to appreciate all plant and animal life on the planet:

"What commandment did we disobey? The commandment to live the Animal life in all simplicity – without clothing, so to speak. But we craved for knowledge of good and evil, and we obtained the knowledge, and now we are reaping the whirlwind. In our efforts to rise above ourselves we have indeed fallen far, and are falling farther still; for, like the Creation, the Fall, too, is ongoing. Ours is fall into greed: why do we think that everything on Earth belongs to us, while in reality we belong to Everything? We have betrayed the trust of the Animals, and defiled our sacred task of stewardship. God's commandment to "replenish the Earth" did not mean we should fill it to overflowing with ourselves, thus wiping out everything else. How many other Species have we already annihilated?" (Atwood, 2009, p. 52)

In his "sermons", which are slightly infused with irony and satire by Atwood, the charismatic "holy man" melds religion with science:

"God could have made Man out of pure Word, but He did not use this method. He could also have formed him from the dust of the Earth, which in a sense He did, for what else can be signified by "dust" but atoms and molecules, the building blocks of all material entities? In addition to this, He created us through the long and complex process of Natural and Sexual Selection, which is none other than His ingenuious device for instilling humility in Man. He made us "a little lower than the Angels," but in other ways – and Science bears this out – we are closely related to our fellow Primates, a fact that the haughty ones of this world do not find pleasant to their self-esteem. Our appetites, our desires, our more uncontrollable emotions – all are Primate!" (Atwood, 2009, p. 52).

The same literary approach is used in their hymns from *The God's Gardeners Oral Hymnbooks* that are also inserted in the book as a significant testimony about the cult's creed. For example, in "My Body Is My Earthly Ark," "genes", "cells", "neurons" have been mentioned along with "Ark", "the Flood", "Spirit's guide" and "the Creator's praise" (Atwood, 2009, p. 93). Adam One is depicted as "the creator" of a new religion where the motifs from Old and New Testaments are interpreted and rewritten through the lens of the socio-cultural factors of the time. Offering his views as "anchors of hope," in his "gospels" of a dystopian society, God's Gardeners' leader provides an atmosphere for redemption and "second chance" for the individuals who have found peace in their community and the whole planet alike.

Toby, an insightful "historian" of pre-pandemic and post-pandemic world, is also a perceptive recorder of God's Gardeners' life and their pacifist teachings. Her narrative offers a different perspective on their beliefs and approaches and raises pertinent questions about their unusual, sometimes contradictory teachings. Even though their "sermons" are intertwined with ecological and scientific knowledge, as well as didactic texts from the Bible, Toby notices that the Gardeners are not eager to provide constructive answers to her questions:

"By now she was used to the dark, sack-like garments the women wore. "You'll want to grow your hair," said Nuala. "Get rid of that scalped look. We Gardener women all wear our hair long." When Toby asked why, she was given to understand that the aesthetic preference was God's. This kind of smiling, bossy sanctimoniousness was a little too pervasive for Toby, especially among the female members of the sect." (Atwood, 2009, p. 46)

A lot of details are hidden, Toby's attempts to discover the truth are often futile and she remains curious about many facts:

> "Where had Marushka Midwife learned her skills? What exactly had Adam One done before the Gardeners? Had there ever been an Eve One, or even a Mrs. Adam One, or any child Adam Ones? If she came too close to such territory Toby would be granted a smile and a change of subject, and a hint that she might try avoiding the original sin of desiring too much knowledge, or possibly too much power. Because the two were connected – didn't dear Toby agree?" (Atwood, 2009, p. 102)

Only a few members of the cult are familiar with the facts that the Gardeners possess a laptop in a secret room or that Pilar did not make "a species identification error" (Atwood, 2009, p. 183) and die of mushroom poisoning, as Adam One has explained in "a lying speech" (Atwood, 2009, p. 183), but that she committed suicide. At the general Gardeners' meeting following this incident, Adam One apologizes to Toby for his "excursion into fiction" and explains that he "must sometimes say things that are not transparently honest," because "it is for the greater good" (Atwood, 2009, p. 184). As we can see, Toby doesn't blindly accept every aspect of the Gardeners' creed, and she is even prone to criticizing particular practices.

While she is not enthusiastic about some elements of their religion, Ren, who joins the Gardeners two years after Toby, strongly dislikes her life there and provides yet another perspective on the cult. Although Gardeners "smiled a lot," they scared her (Atwood, 2009, p. 59). Their interest in doom and death is repulsive:

> "Not everyone might think that having your body become part of a vulture was a terrific future to look forward to, but the Gardeners did. And when they'd start talking about the Waterless Flood that was going to kill everybody on Earth, except maybe them – that gave me nightmares." (Atwood, 2009, p. 59)

This protagonist is brought to become a member of the cult by her mother Lucerne who has left a corporate compound in order to start a new life with her partner Zeb, "Adam Seven" in the hierarchy of the Gardeners' council, who will be one of the major characters in *MaddAddam.* One of Ren's commentaries, which are not in favour of the logic of the Gardeners' principles, is that "they'd tell you to do something and then prohibit you the easiest way to do it" (Atwood, 2009, p. 68). It is also interesting that the younger members of the cult do not respect the elders in a way you might expect.

They would coin ugly nicknames for their teachers (Wet Witch, Dry Witch), and even Zeb whom they call Mad Adam.

In her teenage years, Ren leaves the Gardeners' community, falls in love with Jimmy who breaks her heart and attends Martha Graham Academy for a while before Toby recruits her to help her in the AnnooYoo Spa where she has been sent by the Gardeners to work in disguise. Wanting "no strings, no past, and no questions asked" (Atwood, 2009, p. 301), after she gets extremely disappointed when she finds out that her best childhood friend Amanda is dating Jimmy, Ren leaves her job. Hoping that she would be more appreciated in the Club Scales and Tales, she becomes a sex worker and a trapeze dancer, unaware of the fact that she is also being sexually abused by her bosses, in a similar way as Oryx (Atwood, 2003, p. 90). This girl is led to believe that she is protected and actually "very lucky" (Atwood, 2009, p. 6) to work there:

> "Scales and Tails took care of you, they really did. If you were talent, that is. Good food, a doctor if you needed one, and the tips were great, because the men from the top Corps came here. It was well run, though it was in a seedy area – all the clubs were." (Atwood, 2009, p. 7)

Standing up for the girls who are treated as "a valuable asset, he'd say" (Atwood, 2009, p. 7) was "a point of honour with him" (Atwood, 2009, p. 7), because "he had ethics" (Atwood, 2009, p. 7), as she describes the owner of the place Mordis.

Although Ren might seem to be naïve, she knows in what system she is living. Commenting on the pandemic which has started as a "minor epidemic" and then becomes "an eruptive plague" (Atwood, 2009, p. 283), she notices:

> "Ordinarily the Corps would have called for lies and cover-ups, and we'd hear something like the real story only in rumours, so the fact all this was right out there on the news showed how serious it was – the Corps couldn't keep the lid on." (Atwood, 2009, p. 283)

In her sentimental recollections of the past, Ren also evokes Amanda's outdoor art landscape installation series called The Living Word, which was mentioned in *Oryx and Crake*, and how her friend "was spelling words out in giant letters, using bioforms to make the words appear and then disappear, just like the words she used to do with ants and syrup when we were kids" (Atwood, 2009, p. 304). Similar to the discussed marginalized and silenced protagonists, Jimmy, Toby and Adam One, Ren couldn't live up to the ex-

pectations of their society and realize her full potential, but she has succeeded to leave a mark by her telling observations about dogmatic views, stereotypes, polarization and abuse in her "historical testimony".

MADDADDAM

In the third book, *MaddAddam*, Atwood displaces the plotline narrated by the humans, so that the silenced subtext of the Crakers' experience is central. After Jimmy the Snowman's illness and death, Toby takes on the role of a spirit guide and a teller of stories from the old world, and her personality and speech make a huge impact on the little Craker called Blackbeard, influencing the formation of his identity as a spiritual leader and a historian of his community. The narrator of *MaddAddam*, Blackbeard starts to observe the main protagonists Toby and Zeb and a few more humans in the group of survivors. He is a precocious and ambitious boy who likes to be taught useful skills by people so that he can pass them on to the next generations of Crakers, members of the new race: "There," says Blackbeard, "Telling the story is hard, and writing the story must be more hard. Oh Toby, when you are too tired to do it next time I will write the story. I will be your helper" (Atwood, 2013, p. 375).

Thus, in the third book of *The MaddAddam Trilogy*, one of the carefully crafted Crakers is acting as the creator of the post-apocalyptic history and the founder of a new religion: "I am putting on the red hat of Snowman-the-Jimmy. See? It is on my head. And I have put the fish into my mouth, and taken it out again. Now it is time to listen, while I read to you from the Story of Toby that I have written down at the end of the Book" (Atwood, 2013, p. 388). His text is a combination of the entries of Toby's diary, her tales and experience on the one hand, and his own impressions of what is happening at the time on the other. Apart from presenting a ray of hope for the planet at the end of the novel, Blackbeard describes the circumstances in which a new race is created in unusual relationships between humans and Crakers.

At the beginning of *MaddAddam* Toby summarizes "the theogony" and "the cosmology" which Snowman-the-Jimmy narrated in *Oryx and Crake*. She is telling the Crakers about the Egg where Crake made them, which "was big and round and white, like half a bubble,

and there were trees inside it with leaves and grass and berries" (Atwood, 2013, p. 3). Toby reminds them of the chaos outside the Egg where bad people did "cruel and hurtful things to one another, and also to the animals" (Atwood, 2013, p. 3).

In *MaddAddam*, Blackbeard is a Craker sociologist and anthropologist of his time who analyses and describes habits, interests and feelings among people, the relations and relationships between humans and Crakers, the attitude and cooperation between the survivors and other living things and the establishment of the post-human world order.[5]

Apart from his anthropological survey and biblical-like stories about Oryx and Crake and "new Eden", Blackbeard's text incorporates "the legend" about Zeb, who is Toby's boyfriend and the brother of Adam One, the founder of the God's Gardeners. As a matter of fact, at the very end of the novel Blackbeard presents Toby's death and the conclusion of Toby and Zeb's love story as a legend:

> "Yet others say that she went to find Zeb, and that he is in the form of a Bear, and that she too is in the form of a Bear, and is with him today. That is the best answer, because it is the happiest; and I have written it down. I have written down the other answers too. But I made them in smaller writing." (Atwood, 2013, p. 390)

Although as a child he lacks the linguistic sophistication of the first "historians" of post-apocalyptic society, Blackbeard learns to carefully choose and process the historical trails left behind in written form and to concoct easily the most appropriate plots, in a similar way his predecessors Snowman, Toby, Ren and Adam One did.

At the end, Blackbeard also informs us that three Beloved Oryx Mothers, Ren, Amanda and Lotis Blue, who give births to "a green-eyed Craker hybrid" (Atwood, 2013, p. 380), "cried very much when Toby went away" (Atwood, 2013, p. 390). Apart from his

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[5] He even leaves records of how the survivors are dressed in the cob-house enclave, their shelter, and the settlement where they actually need to wear sheets and towels, because of the lack of clothing items. Ivory Bill, one of the men in the group, is even using a pillowcase as a hat: "He has a tulip-sprinkled bedsheet draped around his sparse form and a turban-like object made from a matching pillow case on his head (Atwood, 2013, p. 42). For the Crakers, humans have "an extra skin" (Atwood, 2013, p. 42), while on the other hand, they are naked. As it has been already mentioned, Crake's humanoids have shaped bodies with perfect proportions, without any physical defects.

best friend's and role model's death, there are good news in Black-beard's "gospel":

> "Then Swift Fox told us that she was pregnant again and soon there would be another baby. And the fourfathers were Abraham Lincoln and Napoleon and Picasso and me, Blackbeard, and I am very happy to have been chosen for that mating. And Swift Fox said that if it was a girl baby it would be named Toby. And that is a thing of hope." (Atwood, 2013, p. 390)

Despite Toby's warning to Zeb that "hope can ruin you" (Atwood, 2013, p. 160), her student shows that he is capable of identifying hope as a positive feeling with which he decides to end his story. In this way, even though the Crakers are represented as beings programmed to be docile and incapable of understanding a wider range of emotions,[6] Blackbeard proves that they are able to recognize emotions, to grow attached and to love someone, to feel proud and to have the urge to leave a trace of their existence on the planet, through writing or in other ways. Therefore, the Crakers, considered to be "other beings" at the beginning (Osborne, 2008, p. 41) do not appear to be different from humans, from a spiritual aspect, in the end.

CONCLUSION

All narrators in *The MaddAddam Trilogy* originate from a society that has elevated the sciences and where the arts and humanities do not seem to be important. The construction of their own scripts has proved to be instructive for the members of a new society and has shown that words also have a special and significant role within every civilization. Filtered and reshaped like Heyden White's historical chronicles, the products of their "emplotment" represent means to alleviate the injustice or stereotypes inflicted on them and to destabilize the prevailing narratives of a bygone age. As creative and spirited "historians" and storytellers of an imaginary dystopian scenario with a happy ending, they seem worthy vessels for Atwood's hopes about mankind.

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[6]   Their questions about particular unfamiliar concepts, asked in a childish manner, might seem comic:

"What does the pain taste like, Oh Toby"

"Should we eat the pain too?"

"If we ate the pain, that would help Snowman-the-Jimmy"

"The pain smells very bad. Does it taste good?" (Atwood, 2013, p. 22)

Although Snowman and his inclinations towards humanity were devalued and discredited by his contemporaries, he becomes a respectful "preacher" who can mold a creative historical chronicle that will guide the Crakers and the people who have survived the pandemic in building their future. The symbolic "gospels" – the account of Toby's life, Ren's memories and commentaries about the past and the present and Adam One's sermons – draw attention to the adverse consequences of technological advancement, "cannibalistic" nature of consumerism and a dangerous "diminishment of human morals", warning people that they should mend their ways (Ćuk, 2013, p. 323). The last narrator in the trilogy, Blackbeard, succeeds to rise above the Crakers' straightforward use of language, defining himself as a distinguished man of letters who can supply meaning and fashion his own anthropological surveys: "This is my voice, the voice of Blackbeard that you are hearing in your head. That is called reading. And that is my own book, a new one for my writing and not the writing of Toby" (Atwood, 2013, p. 371).

Through the symbolic "historical chronicles" of the marginalized and inappropriately silenced narrators and protagonists in *The MaddAddam Trilogy*, Atwood sensitizes readers to the problems of polarization, social injustice, gender inequality and human trafficking, which are not only the disturbing social forces in a dystopian novel, but the reflection of our reality. As fictional characters, Snowman, Toby, Ren and Adam One serve as the "historians" of "The Waterless Flood" for the Crakers and human survivors. As someone who, in a symbolic way, through their "testimonies", alerts people to the "plagues" of the society nowadays, Atwood functions as ours.

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САЖЕТАК

ТРИЛОГИЈА *ЛУДАДАМ* КАО ИСТОРИЈСКА ХРОНИКА ОБЕСПРАВЉЕНИХ У (ДИСТОПИЈСКОМ) ДРУШТВУ

Трилогија *ЛудАдам* обухвата романе *Антилопа и Косац*, *Година потопа* и *ЛудАдам*, који описују узроке и последице смртоносног вируса у дистопијском контексту. Наратор првог поменутог дела је Снежни, пријатељ научника Косца, који је изазвао пандемију у којој је изумрла готово читава популација на планети. Овај протагониста преузима улогу заштитника и ствараоца другачијег историјског поретка за Кошчиће, генетским инжењерингом створена бића беспрекорног изгледа и карактера лишеног негативних осећања и нагона карактеристичних за људску врсту. У другом делу трилогије о околностима пре и након апокалипсе говоре Тоби, Рен и Адам Један, следбеници култа Божји баштовани, који упозоравају човечанство на апокалипсу, као последицу урушавања вредности и непримереног односа према природи. У трећем делу се о стварању нове цивилизације говори из перспективе једног од Кошчића, Црнобрадог, који својим лингвистичким компетенцијама не заостаје за поменутим хроничарима ове епохе из људске расе. Циљ овог рада је да се преи-

спита улога поменутих протагониста и наратора као утемељи-вача другачијих историјских хроника у односу на стари систем вредности пре катастрофе, ослањајући се на теоријска виђења Хејдена Вајта у вези са конструкцијом историјских наратива. У претходном уређењу и друштву пре „потопа“, кључну улогу су имали наука и технолошки развој, као и тежња ка материјалним добрима и маргинализовању сваког ко би испољавао другачије принципе у односу на владајућу идеологију. Занимљиво је да, кроз симболичне „историјске хронике“ поменутих ликова, Мар-гарет Етвуд скреће пажњу читаоцима на проблематику класних, родних и религиозних подела у друштву, као и злоупотребу ме-дијских садржаја и експлоатацију људи, што нису само узнеми-равајући мотиви у дистопијској прози већ забрињавајуће окол-ности наше свакодневице. Кроз њихово прекрајање догађаја и пракси из прошлости, из перспективе *другог*, тј. обесправљених појединаца у (дистопијком) друштву, показује се како и колико су за опстанак једне цивилизације и грађење квалитетне будућ-ности важни и духовна надградња и таленат да се у писаним сведочанствима оставе адекватне и конструктивне смернице за нове генерације.

КЉУЧНЕ РЕЧИ: Маргарет Етвуд; дистопијски наратив; *Антилопа и Косац*; *Година потопа*; *ЛудАдам*.

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"A PROGRESS THAT THREATENS ALL LIFE": NATURE VS. NURTURE IN DUNCAN WILLIAMSON'S "MARY AND THE SEAL"

ABSTRACT. The paper first discusses two documentaries by Donna Read, *Signs Out of Time* (2004) and *Goddess Remembered* (1989), that focus on the pacific tradition of the female centered settlements on the territories of modern Eastern Europe in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. Read depicts significant findings of a world-renowned archeologist Marija Gimbutas who claims that a peaceful image of Old Europe embodied in the omnipotent Great Mother changed radically towards the end of the third millennium when violent Indo-European nomads came from Russia and shattered the matriarchal utopia of equality and natural harmony. These tribes introduced the principles of hierarchy and violent male-rule. Read's and Gimbutas' findings are further developed and examined in the studies by Riana Eisler and Erich Fromm who also claim that conspicuous material aggrandizement of patriarchal culture severely damaged a blissful matriarchal bond between man and nature. These theoretical insights are applied to Williamson's comprehension of nature vs. nurture issue in "Mary and the Seal" (1997). In portraying a tender relationship between Mary and the seal, as well as its tragic and totally unnecessary shooting, contemporary patriarchal culture is brought to a trial. The mere existence of the bond between Mary and the seal, an embodiment of an idyllic matriarchal unity between man and nature, testifies to the prevalent need for the return to its substantial but

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long-forgotten values. The theoretical insights of Graves, Althusser, Freire, Fiske and Miller will also be used in the interpretation of the story.

KEYWORDS: nature; nurture; matriarchy; patriarchy; progress; civilization.

INTRODUCTION: THE GREAT SHIFT

In her documentaries, *Signs Out of Time* (2004) and *Goddess Remembered* (1989), Donna Read takes us back to the prehistoric times when people believed in the supreme power of the matriarch that was symbolically called the Earth Goddess, the Great Mother, the Mother of All Living. In accordance with the natural cycles, she was perceived as the deity who could both create and destroy life. However, no one was afraid of death since all living creatures believed that they could be reborn again. Through this animated journey, with the help of a world-renowned archeologist, Marija Gimbutas, the world of peaceful and closely connected cultures that lived on the territories of modern Eastern Europe in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages is thoroughly depicted. After this blissful period, according to Read, the violent world of male supremacy is what followed. Whereas in the matriarchy "the power to give and nurture was supreme" (Read, 1989), our civilization rests on the remnants of the irretrievably broken bond between man and nature that originated in the patriarchal period. Unfortunately, aggressive patriarchal conquerors have replaced peaceful matriarchal nurturers:

> Today we build monuments to what we call progress, a progress that threatens all life. Millions are made by it, millions live by it, and the conqueror has replaced the nurturer as a symbol to be respected. The natural world we once revered, we now destroy. We've long forgotten the spirit of the Earth Goddess. (Read, 1989)

In *Signs Out of Time* (2004), Read focuses on the depiction of a new origin story enforced by Gimbutas – that at the very beginning of Western civilization lay cultures that were long lasting and peaceful. The purpose of this documentary is to illustrate the concept of matriarchy and female role at the very beginning of civilization. The archaeological research Gimbutas conducted demonstrated that in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages the settlements on the territories of modern Eastern Europe were created by nations that had extraordinary culture and art in which no evidence of organized

warfare was found. Furthermore, according to Gimbutas, in that specific period, all Europe was a peaceful culture without weapons. It was a female-centered culture and this prehistoric society rested on egalitarian principles – there was no evidence either of male or female dominance and no struggles for power and authority were recorded whatsoever.

This peaceful image of Old Europe altered radically towards the end of the third millennium. Gimbutas claims that the great change occurred between roughly 4,000 BC and 3,500 BC when violent Indo-European nomads came from Russia and shattered the matriarchal utopia. Peoples from the Russian steppes, whom Gimbutas calls Kurgans, swept across Europe in three great waves of invasions over several thousand years. Hierarchical, male-ruled, these invaders worshipped a belligerent sky god and brought a new patriarchal religion. New patriarchal gods clashed with old matriarchal traditions. This collision of cultures imposed the transformation of matriarchal myths and system of values.

A similar rendering of the prehistoric period is depicted in *Goddess Remembered* (1989), the first sequence of a three-part series that includes *The Burning Times* (1990) and *Full Circle* (1993). This documentary features the women from the Canadian Women's Spirituality Movement talking about the ancient times when people believed in the Great Mother. Through their conversations, they link the loss of goddess-worshipping societies with contemporary environmental crisis.

The main idea that these women discuss among themselves is that in prehistoric times the fertility of the mother was connected to the fertility of the Earth. However, a period of transition occurred when "around 10,000 BC people began to cultivate. The agricultural revolution changed everything. Especially the relationship we had to the Earth. No longer did people just accept what nature provided; now, we sought to control the awesome forces of the natural world." (Read, 1989)

The transitional period Read mentions, represents a crucial topic in Riana Eisler's influential study *The Chalice and the Blade: Our History, Our Future* (1987). Eisler, who thoroughly approved of Read's findings and carried Gimbutas' theories further, claims that after the aforementioned transition, the female became defined as "a mere nurse, tending the growth of the seed planted by its true parent – the male" (1987, p. 78). Eisler transfers Read's and Gimbutas's findings to the Golden Age of Ancient Greece and problematizes the

role, position, and function of women in this patriarchal culture. Among other examples of the female position in the patriarchal society, the role of Athena was also redefined. Once the goddess of wisdom and love, she became the goddess of war after the historical shift to patriarchy. She was born from the head of her father Zeus and openly, even proudly, claimed that no mother gave her birth. Eisler connects this episode with Read's documentary and agrees with its main conclusions: for men it was the beginning of historical dominance and for the woman it was the end of their utopian experience (1987, p. 78).

In accordance with Read's and Gimbutas' conclusions, Eisler postulates a veritable golden age of feminism prior to what we usually know as written history. She asserts that patriarchy is built on the reversal of the system of values – the Great Mother, a primary symbol of the divine source of being, associated with peace and compassion, is marginalized and then entirely discarded, while a masculine war god usurps her place.

Eisler chooses the opposed symbols of chalice and blade in order to point to two different sets of values and models of society. Whereas the chalice is linked to the partnership model of society, the blade is a symbol of the dominator model of society that is based on patterns of supremacy and is at its core belligerent and hierarchical. The chalice thus points to egalitarian, peaceful, matrifocal, nurturing values, while the blade implies a certain hierarchical order that ranks individuals according to their sex, race and class. This order is further maintained under the threat of violence, as Eisler informs us, and is linked with a male god and the glorification of the ability to take life, in contrast to the partnership model's sacralization of women's capacity to give life through birth. Eisler sincerely believes that since partnership societies existed in the past, they might be developed again in the future. At the beginning of her book, she probes her readers with rather important questions to make them aware that a utopian egalitarian society is not just an irrelevant pipe dream, but can verily be recreated:

> Why do we hunt and persecute each other? Why is our world so full of man's infamous inhumanity to man – and to woman? How can human beings be so brutal to their own kind? What is it that chronically tilts us toward cruelty rather than kindness, toward war rather than peace, toward destruction rather than actualization? (1987, p. xiii)

Eisler claims that this is not a natural state and proves this point by stating that Neolithic art does not portray scenes of battles, warriors, or "violence-based power" (1987, p. 20); there are no heroic conquerors or indications of slavery. On the contrary, this art

with its striking absence of images of male domination or warfare, seems to have reflected a social order in which women, first as heads of clans and priestesses and later on in other important roles, played a central part, and in which both men and women worked together in equal partnership for the common good. (1987, p. 20)

By the fifth millennium BC there began a pattern of destruction of Neolithic cultures by invasions, producing what Eisler refers to as a "mounting chaos" (1987, p. 43) reflected in the appearance of slavery, oppression of women, warfare, extreme usage of weapons.

The one thing they [the invading cultures] all had in common was a dominator model of social organization: a social system in which male dominance, male violence, and a generally hierarchic and authoritarian social structure was the norm. Another commonality was that, in contrast to the societies that laid the foundations for Western civilization [the goddess-based societies], the way they characteristically acquired material wealth was not by developing technologies of production, but through ever more effective technologies of destruction. (1987, p. 45)

The shift in social structure was apparently accompanied by a change in the types of technologies developed, from life-sustaining to war-related, from the chalice to the blade. Eisler opts for the advantages of the matriarchal society and enthusiastically asserts that our society can be hopefully transformed back to the partnership model.

In the same vein, another cultural critic that vividly depicts the clash between matriarchy and patriarchy is Erich Fromm in *The Forgotten Language* (1951). He gives us an analysis of the Oedipus trilogy and its main theme – the conflict with paternal authority. The roots of that struggle go back to the ancient collision between the patriarchal and matriarchal systems of values:

Matriarchal culture is characterized by an emphasis on ties of blood, ties to the soil and a passive acceptance of all natural phenomena. Patriarchal society, in contrast, is characterized by respect for man-made law, by a predominance of rational thought, and by man's effort to change natural phenomena. (1951, p. 207)

In the Oedipus trilogy, Oedipus, Haemon and Antigone are representatives of the matriarchal principle, whereas Laius and Creon respect the patriarchal codes of behaviour. The idea of the universal brotherhood is rooted in the matriarchal principle. Quite the contrary, the patriarchal principle includes a hierarchical order and obedience to the male figure that can be perceived from Creon's words that Fromm cites:

> Yea, this, my son, should be thy heart's fixed law – in all things to obey thy father's will. 'Tis for this that men pray to see dutiful children grow up around them in their homes. (...) But disobedience is the worst of evils. (...) Therefore, we must support the cause of order and in no wise suffer a woman to worst us. Better to fall from power, if we must, by a man's hand; than we should be called weaker than a woman. (1951, p. 224–225)

The female was thus, according to Fromm, systematically linked with disorder, weakness, even malaise. Mother was no longer seen as a nurturing parent, but, as in Eisler's study, had had a rather sporadic role of merely giving birth, whereas children were properly nurtured by their fathers that maintained the superiority of the patriarchal system of values.

Fromm finds examples of a destructive shift to patriarchy in different periods and in geographically different locations. For instance, he mentions the Babylonian myth of Creation where sons challenge the Great Mother and finally defeat her. Then, he also emphasizes that the assertion of alleged male superiority continued to the period of Christianity as well – Eve was born from Adam's rib and woman turned out to be just a mere product of man, the way Athena was born from Zeus's head. Fromm asserts that the first social structure has wrongly been perceived as patriarchal and further claims that a common mistake is that it coincides with the beginning of Western history. However, there is a whole group of scholars, Read, Gimbutas, Eisler among others, who fervently oppose such a belief by offering material, particularly archeological, evidence in favour of the partnership model of society.

BOND BROKEN: WILLIAMSON'S "MARY AND THE SEAL"

In his influential study, *The White Goddess* (1993), Robert Graves stands in line with the previously mentioned scholars who plead for the symbolic return of the matriarchal utopia. Graves validly emphasizes that this process would nowadays be inconceivable without the help of artists. Art, or to be precise, poetry (since Graves was a poet himself) represents:

> a warning to man that he must keep in harmony with the family of living creatures among which he was born, by obedience to the wishes of the lady of the house; it is now a reminder that he has disregarded the warning, turned the house upside down by capricious experiments in philosophy, science and industry and brought ruin on himself and his family. 'Nowadays' is a civilization in which the prime emblems of poetry are dishonoured. In which serpent, lion and eagle belong to the circus-tent; ox, salmon and boar to the cannery; racehorse and greyhound to the betting ring; and the sacred grove to the saw-mill. In which the Moon is despised as a burned-out satellite of the Earth and woman reckoned as 'auxiliary State personnel'. In which money will buy almost anything but truth, and almost anyone but the truth-possessed poet. (1993, p. 14)

Here Graves raises the question of the use and function of poetry (or arts in general) today in comparison to its use and function in the prehistoric (matriarchal) period. He sadly mentions the sacred animal consorts and followers of the Goddess of All Living, as well as the Goddess herself and underlines their imposed monstrosity as a by-product of the dominant (contemporary) patriarchal culture. The sacred animals of the prehistoric period and woman as a matriarch have experienced a great cultural shift: once worshipped, feared and obeyed, they have gradually been demonized, turned into monsters and finally become completely marginalized and depreciated by modern culture.

Similarly, in the story by a contemporary Scottish writer, Duncan Williamson, "Mary and the Seal", the seal represents an emanation of prehistoric Goddess, who "originally emerged from the primeval waters" (Eisler, 1987, p. 111). Water as an archetypal symbol of the fluidity of the female escapes social restraints and thus represents a potent threat to the stability of the human world. This

is one of the reasons Mary prefers deep waters where the seal resides to the uninventive routine of the human world.

Williamson's story commences with a description of a little unspecified island off the West Coast of Scotland where an old fisherman, his wife and their daughter lived a humble but thoroughly contended life. The timeframe of the story is intentionally missing as well as the precise location of the Scottish isle in the tradition of old Gaelic folk tales typical of the Scottish Western Isles. The whole narrative pattern of Williamson's story revolves around the manner of expression characteristic of Scottish folk tradition (simplicity of language, constant repetitions, frequent allusion to Gaelic heritage, insertion of Gaelic catchphrases), atypical of contemporary literary production. One of the messages that the story purposefully conveys from the very beginning is that it is not Williamson's genuine creation but that he simply wrote it down in the manner of his literary predecessor, Walter Scott.[2]

Though the timeframe in the story remains unspecified, it is obvious that the plot depicted refers to Scottish Gaelic tradition, when the bond between man and nature was stronger since it entailed a give and take reciprocity of both parties: being a fisherman, Mary's father had a certain insight into natural phenomena that he had to obey and respect in order to survive. In return, nature rewarded him and his family for his loyalty and reverence with its bountiful abundance and they always had enough food on the table.

However, the story also shows a degrading change from the blissful, even utopian period, when the feminine aspect of the "generative, nurturing and creative powers of nature" was worshipped (Eisler, 1987, p. 43) to an age in which the power to dominate, control and destroy became the norm, a change from idyllic natural domain to social nurture practices. This shift is alluded to

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[2] The most renowned Scottish bard from the 19th century, Sir Walter Scott is largely accountable for laying the foundations of the Scottish national identity. His collection of ballads, *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Borders* (1802–1803), proved to be an early indicator of his interest in Scotland and history from a literary standpoint. Namely, the mere fact that Scott recognized the importance of gathering and publishing national folk tales and ballads, mostly in an archaic and obsolete version of Scottish Gaelic, within a single volume, testifies to his life-long dedication to creating a unifying national myth of Scotland as a country whose inhabitants' main features reflect the unified opposites of its landscape – being romantically stern and wild, picturesque and awe-inspiring, benevolent and dangerous.

in Williamson's story through the description of Mary's coming to maturity. The problems started when Mary turned sixteen.

Namely, Mary continued with doing all the chores expected of her but at this age she began developing a "strange" daily routine. Every evening, after her work being done, she would borrow her father's boat and go for a sale to a little island that lay about half a mile from where they dwelt. She would spend some time on the island and then joyously came back home and every morning she would continue with her working routine. Her parents did not interfere into her activities after her work was done, after all "Mary's spare time was her own time; when her work was finished she could do what she liked. Till one day" (Williamson, 1997, p. 47).

Overhearing some women from the village gossiping her daughter and her peculiar habit of avoiding any kind of socialization (such as ceilidh dances[3] and social visits), Mary's mother got terribly upset. Her daughter has unconsciously become a social transgressor. Mary's awkward practice of going to an island all by herself has put a veil of mystery and suspicion around her. Numerous questions started piling up about her daughter's odd behaviour and in order to preserve an untainted image of her family in the community, Mary's mother made her husband follow their daughter one evening to the island to unveil her mystery.

At first, Mary's father was rather reluctant to do such a thing; he did not want to meddle into his child's personal affairs, but since his wife's pressure was growing stronger every day, he finally decided to follow his daughter. He borrowed his brother's boat and soon caught up with Mary on the island. There he witnessed a miraculous revelation: "Here was Mary with a large seal, a grey seal. And they were having the greatest fun you've ever seen: they were wrestling in the sand, carrying on and laughing, the seal was grunting and Mary was flinging her arms around the seal!" (Williamson, 1997, p. 51)

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3   Ceilidh is a traditional Scottish folk dance. Dance music is played across the country at dances, Highland balls, weddings and other ceremonious occasions. These dances include jigs, waltzes and reels, and are normally done accompanied by a group of musicians, a dance band or ensemble. The typical band includes six members, including one fiddle, two accordions, a piano or keyboard and bass and drums. However, this setup can vary considerably, and there is no strict fixed band setup in Scottish Folk music. Appreciated by the entire world, the bagpipes are a vital part of this tradition and their popularity ensures that the traditions of the old Scottish Folk music will remain forever.

Relieved, Mary's father came back home to tell his wife about a strong bond existing between his daughter and the seal, probably as a result of Mary rearing the seal up from a young pup. However, this story just further deepened his wife's anxiety and fear since it perfectly fitted into superstitious sagas about strange sea-people taking humans away, changing shapes and enchanting them. The only plausible option that could explain the obvious affection between Mary and the seal was that Mary had been enchanted by these frightening creatures in the seal's shape. Therefore, with the idea to save her daughter, as well as her reputation in the village, she insisted on her husband shooting the seal the next morning.

Being incapable to oppose the will of his wife, he performs what is required of him and after killing the seal, he sorrowfully admits that "he felt queer, funny—as if he had shot his wife or his daughter. A sadness came over him... He felt that he had done something terrible... a feeling of loss was within him, a terrible feeling of loss—that something he had done could never be undone" (Williamson, 1997, p. 53–54). Although his emotional outburst after the tragedy shows that he has not lost the ability to feel the consequences of breaking the genuine bond with nature, he intuitively perceives that once lost, this bond cannot be recovered again. Mary's tragic end is symbolically portrayed through her father's description:

> And he looked again, then – all in a moment up come two seals, two grey seals, and they come right out of the water, barely more than twenty-five yards from where he stood! And they look at him. They look directly at him – then disappear back down in the water. And he had this queer feeling that he was never going to see Mary any more. (Williamson, 1997, p. 56)

However, it is rather debatable whether Mary's death is tragic, although it is undoubtedly a great tragedy. In his influential study, *The Educated Imagination* (1963)[4], Northrop Frye claims that "the important categories in life are what you have to do and what you

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[4]   One of the most inspiring definitions of imagination has definitely been coined by Frye in this study. Here he claims that imagination represents "the power of constructing possible models of human experience" (1963, p. 22) that enable us to "recapture, in full consciousness, the original lost sense of identity with our surroundings" (1963, p. 29). Of course, Frye's initial desire in raising these issues was to identify an archetype behind the creation of myth and literature, as well as to merely dwell on the relevance of imaginative ability in the process of cultivating the threatening natural world and transforming it into modern civilization, or, better to say, humanizing it.

want to do — in other words, necessity and freedom" (1963, p. 25). Mary is a strong individual who despite the omnipresent influence of the community has remained loyal to her beliefs. Once society, represented in the character of her own mother, makes her succumb to the norm, she willingly leaves it, remaining thoroughly true to herself.

It is striking that though Mary did whatever was expected of her, the people from the village felt that it was insufficient. She was a responsible pupil, polite in conversation and obedient daughter but this was not enough. She had to be controlled, suppressed, and finally manipulated. Since she is a teenager, Mary is supposed to behave recklessly as all teenagers. However, by isolating herself from others, Mary manages to escape supervision and control which her mother, and the rest of the people from the village, cannot accept. The fact that Mary has been taking her father's boat and spending time on the island on her own did not bother her mother in the past because then Mary was perceived as "a good subject"

In order to find valid answers to the aforementioned questions, Frye tells us a story about a man, shipwrecked on an unidentified and uninhabited island in the South Seas, the sole survivor who, due to a rationally inconceivable natural catastrophe, finds himself on an intimidating quest to recreate the lost civilization. Constantly wavering between reason and emotions, reality and desire, Frye's shipwrecked outcast ultimately experiences three indispensable levels in his cultivating activity. The most primitive level is that of consciousness and awareness, in which a difference between man and nature is most vividly present, whereby the language of self-expression (based mostly on adjectives and nouns used for naming the unknown natural surroundings) is primarily used. Then, there is the level of social participation that coincides with the occurrence of the language of practical sense (e.g. the verbal expression of teachers, preachers, politicians, advertisers, etc.) and last, but not, least, is the level of imagination that actually produces literary language. Frye insightfully claims that "they're not really different languages, but three different reasons for using words" (1963, p. 22–23).

Therefore, unfortunately prompted by the unexpected loss of his world and creatively guided by the imaginative vision of a desirable, future civilization, Frye's exile gradually transforms the outside alien environment into a home. However, the fortunate movement from an initial state of insufficiency and frustration to a subsequent condition of fulfilled desire is only possible if all three levels of human activity exist. Frye, of course, emphasizes the paramount importance of the third level of the human mind in which the final reconciliation between desire and reality is successfully achieved with the indispensable guidance of the imagination that ultimately results in the creation of works of art (essentially literature, reflecting Frye's personal interests). Frye indirectly suggests that it is a regrettable fact that nowadays modern civilization abounds in examples of a supreme imaginative faculty reduced to its crude adversary – the imaginary (false, phony, unreal) and its commercial trivialities.

(Althusser, 2014, p. 269). However, when her behaviour began to be talked about by other villagers, she immediately became "the bad subject" (Althusser, 2014, p. 269), who had to be forcefully made accept all social norms of proper conduct. Mary was allowed to be different as long as this did not influence other members of society to follow her example.

In the same vein, John Fiske says that "the individual is produced by nature, the subject by culture" (2004, p. 187) in *Culture, Ideology, Interpellation.* With the loss of the bond with nature, people have become mere subjects of the dominant culture. Nobody understands, or pretends to understand, Mary's difference from the others. Instead, they want to put her back on the supposedly right track, not aware that uniformity is a culturally imposed phenomenon. Fiske also makes the distinction between "theories of the individual" which concentrate on the acceptance of natural diversity among individuals, and "theories of the subject" which concentrate on people's common experiences in a society. (2004, p. 187) In Mary's patriarchal community, theories of the subject prevail and for this reason the residents of the village tend to include Mary in local dances and parties so that she becomes a part of their communal experience.

Furthermore, patriarchal laws have become rooted so deeply that even women have embraced them, betraying their archetypal feminine role. Mary's mother Margaret betrays her traditional role of a supportive nurturing mother. This shows her utter inability to love and understand Mary and her personal choices. However, since in their patriarchal community conformity comes before happiness of an individual, her mother intentionally breaks this natural bond, thus losing her daughter forever.

Hence, Mary's mother represents a new generation of women who, as a consequence of being oppressed, have internalized the apparatuses of the oppressors so that they as "the oppressed, instead of striving for liberation, tend themselves to become oppressors" (Freire, 2005, p. 45). The fact that Margaret is quite satisfied to spend her life performing her house chores shows that she is completely detached from nature and thus unable to comprehend Mary. In other words, she completely embraces and identifies with the female role of a proper housewife artificially imposed on her by the patriarchal community. Her statements of Mary's supposed enchantment show that she perceives Mary's natural escapades as something that will ruin her. But while she is afraid that

she will lose Mary because of her strong bond with the seal, it is actually after the shooting of the seal that Mary is lost. The fear that is provoked by the stories about sea-people taking humans with them, which have existed for three generations in a row, has the purpose to prevent the return to the state of living in harmony with nature and undermining a destructive social order in which distancing oneself from the natural surrounding has become a social norm. She never asks Mary about her personal life and how she spends her free time. She never talks to Mary in order to understand why she enjoys spending time with the seal so much nor does she ever explain that there are certain expectations of her. Instead of symbolically linking with her daughter, she uses the patriarchal strategy of ranking; so, she places herself above other family members. At the same time, she leaves no space for the conduct different from socially expected. Whereas the mother has completely internalized the requirements of the community and tries to make Mary do the same, Mary avoids them by symbolically becoming the seal herself.

Another important issue that this story raises is what culture requires and expects of children and whether they are allowed to pursue their individual urges and creative impulses. Children are being conditioned to accept their future roles without giving them any conscious thought. They will eventually fit into the ready-made artificial world in which they would become mere consumers rather than creators. This is also the idea that Adrienne Rich, in her collection of essays *What is Found There: Notebooks on Poetry and Politics* (1995) discusses: "... our desire itself is taken away from us, processed, labelled and sold back to us before we have had a chance to name it for ourselves." (1995, p. XIV) Thus, children are gradually brainwashed into accepting the officially proclaimed values underlined by nothing more profound than a desire for profit and material well-being attained at the cost of rejection of one's genuine self, that is, the seminal concept of human nature.

Astonishingly modern as some means of brainwashing seems to be, the essential logic behind them has not changed for centuries, the burning issue in Williamson's story is based on the nature vs. nurture dichotomy. If the child is the father of man, as William Wordsworth claims in his *Ode: Intimations of Immortality*, then the return to nature vs. nurture issue remains essentially relevant for understanding and condemning omnipresent patriarchal patterns and strategies of manipulation.

This dichotomy raises a significant issue of the generation of cruelty in patriarchal culture that is straightforwardly portrayed in Williamson's story through the act of shooting the seal. This issue was exceptionally relevant to a contemporary playwright Edward Bond who warns his readers that each successive generation of innocence destroyed is likely to result in more and more appalling perversion of humanity. Therefore, he attempts at pinpointing the origin of violence since it can be stopped if properly understood. In his preface to *Lear* (1971), he claims:

> There is no evidence of aggressive need, as there is of sexual and feeding needs. We respond aggressively when we are constantly deprived of our physical and emotional needs, or when we are threatened with this; and if we are constantly deprived and threatened in this way – as human beings now are – we live in a constant state of aggression...Our society has a structure of a pyramid of aggression and as the child is its weakest member it is at the bottom. We still think we treat children with special kindness and make special allowances for them, as indeed most animals do. But do we? Don't most people believe they have a right, even a duty, to use crude force against children as part of their education? Almost all organizations dealing with children are obsessed with discipline. (1971, p. 3–6)

Thus, the child is born with immense creative potentials that are very soon silenced and put under social control. Instead of offering the child a glimpse into, as Trilling puts it, "what the self is and what it might become" (1967, p. 96), instead of offering the child emotional reassurance and protecting its vulnerability, the parents usually offer social morality, which is itself a form of corrupted innocence, or as Bond would say, "a threat, a weapon used against their most fundamental desire for justice, without which they are not able to be happy or allow others to be happy" (1971, p. 7) This gradual perversion of the child's inborn instinct for justice is directly portrayed in Williamson's "Mary and the Seal".

In spite of the fact that Williamson, among many contemporary artists, presents in this short story the irreparable consequences of the abuse of children, it is still sanctioned and "held in high regard...as long as it is defined as child-rearing" (Miller, 1990, p. 282), as Alice Miller would say in her study *For Your Own Good: Hidden Cruelty in the Child-Rearing and the Roots of Violence* (1990), where she also claims that:

> All children are born to grow, to develop, to love, to live, and to articulate their needs for their self-protection. For their development

children need the respect and protection of adults who take them seriously, love them and honestly help them to become oriented in the world. When these vital needs are frustrated and children instead abused for the sake of adults' needs…then their integrity will be lastingly impaired. (1990, p. 281)

Therefore, instead of forcing the prefabricated notions of society upon children, instead of teaching them how to become perfectly fitting cogs in the machine, how to prostitute what is best in them, the very core of their humaneness, the society and parents should simply allow them to follow their natural impulses, support them and instruct them as to unequivocally follow their creative urges. Such a drastic change of attitude may bring to an end "the perpetuation of violence from generation to generation." (1990, p. 283)

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The scholars mentioned in this paper emphasize in their respective works that the first phase in the development of civilization was related to the matriarchal period of natural abundance and peace and that warfare appeared at some later stages. Namely, the matriarchal society was egalitarian – it worshipped the Great Goddess and oneness with nature; on the contrary, the patriarchal society directly opposes nature and imposes rules – it uproots people, disconnects them from their natural surroundings, culture and system of values they represent, they are aggressively squeezed out of their humanness. As a result, the vital bond between man and nature is irretrievably lost. Instead of the sanctity of natural bonds, the obedience to destructive patriarchal authorities has become the norm and every kind of disobedience against social norms is punished in diverse ways. In the prehistoric matriarchal period, power originally had the meaning of the power of love, power of creative imagination; now it has the meaning of force, progressing toward destruction, as Read validly claims in her documentary *Goddess Remembered* and defines is as a "progress that threatens all life." (1989)

Being aware of the harmful consequences of modern culture's material aggrandizement, Williamson insightfully opts for the ending of the story in which Mary recaptures the lost bond with nature by becoming one of the seals. Thus, the author here focuses not on material progress but on his personal creative alternative. He unquestionably shows that imagination has "the power of constructing possible models of human experience" (Frye, 1963, p. 22)

that help us "recapture, in full consciousness, the original lost sense of identity with our surroundings" (Frye, 1963, p. 29).

Another proof of this statement can be found in an open-ended manner he finishes his story. Namely, in the last part of the story, he introduces the idea of himself being a mere mediator conveying the important messages of Scottish Gaelic heritage to modern generations:

> That was a Gaelic tale from the Western Isles...told by Mr. Neil McCallum, a crofter...I can still hear his voice in my ears...And when I tell you the story, I try to get as close as possible to the way that he spoke to me. Do you understand what I mean? (Williamson, 1997, p. 56)

Viewed from this perspective, it becomes obvious that Williamson focuses on the significance of the story itself and not on its supposed authorship. The ending question thus carries a potent message to future generations: the story is there to be repeated over and over again, until its crux is properly understood. And above all, it becomes a proper illustration of the relevance of the artistic quest Grave's truth-possessed poet (1993, p. 14) willingly aspires to.

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Сажетак   „Напредак који угрожава живот“: питање природе и одгоја у причи Данкана Вилијамсона „Мери и фока“

Окосницу рада чине документарци Доне Рид, *Знакови изван времена* (2004) и *Незаборављена богиња* (1989), који се заснивају на истраживању мирнодопске традиције матријархалних насеобина на територији данашње Источне Европе у периоду неолита и бронзаном добу. Ридова се у њима позива на закључке археолога Марије Гимбутас која је доказала да се мирољубива култура старе Европе отелотворена у свемогућој Великој Богињи драстично променила на крају трећег миленијума када су насилни индоевропски номади дошли из Русије и уништили матријархалну утопију једнакости и природне хармоније. Ова агресивна патријархална племена су функционисала на принципу друштвене хијерархије. Налази Ридове и Гимбутасове се даље у раду повезују са идејама Рајане Ајслер и Ерика Фрома који у својим студијама такође тврде да је уочљив материјални напредак патријархалне културе знатно оштетио идиличну матријархалну везу између човека и природе. Наведени теоретски увиди се примењују у анализи приче „Мери и фока“ (1997) Данкана Вилијамсона и његовом виђењу питања природе и одгоја. Аутор доводи у питање темеље савремене патријархалне културе осликавањем брижног односа између Мери и фоке, као и трагично изнуђеном и надасве непотребном жртвовању поменуте животиње. Сама чињеница да постоји нераскидива спона између

Мери и фоке, која је у причи приказана као отелотворење иди-личног матријархалног јединства човека и природе, иде у при-лог тезе о неопходности повратка суштинским, давно заборa-вљеним егалитарним вредностима. Осим већ поменутих критичких увида, у анализи приче заступљене су идеје Грејвза, Алтисера, Фреира, Фискеа и Милерове.

LANGUAGE

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ONLINE LANGUAGE TEACHING AND LEARNING: ANGLISTICS STUDENTS' PERSPECTIVES ON THE NEW EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT IMPOSED BY THE COVID 19 OUTBREAK

ABSTRACT. This paper focuses on students' perspectives on the quality of online teaching and learning environment, created, and organized as a response to the COVID-19 outbreak, which unexpectedly interrupted the traditional face-to-face education context and changed the delivery and mode of classes overnight. The aim of this research is to gather information pertaining to students' learning experience in an online education environment, and to gain a deeper insight into the nature of online delivery of classes as perceived by students who had not had any similar learning experience prior to this newly created educational context. The theoretical framework of the paper states the latest EU education policies passed as an immediate and urgent response to the pandemic and its aftermath. This pilot study relies on a qualitative research which includes the analysis of a corpus of questionnaires taken by a group of 52 undergraduate students majoring in English. The main part of the questionnaire is composed of open-ended questions, and the respondents were asked to write their own answers, thus

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providing a valuable resource for the analysis; the other part relies on one Likert-scale question measuring the overall attitude of the respondents to the online learning. The students' answers are analyzed and classified into several categories according to their common denominator. Not only do the results show the students' opinions related to the benefits and drawbacks of online delivery of classes, the comparison of online and traditional form of teaching and learning, types of courses which are more suitable to be delivered in one of these modes, and the students' suggestions how to improve the quality of online classes, but they also shed light on different aspects of online teaching and its complexities enhanced by social and psychological factors involved.

Keywords: online language learning environment; COVID-19 pandemic; students' perspectives.

INTRODUCTION

The academic year 2019/2020 was suddenly disrupted by the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, and educational institutions responded to this newly created situation in different ways, with varying degrees of success and commitment. Never before has the importance of conducting some kind of online teaching and learning been so obvious and justifiable, and educational systems worldwide underwent considerable changes overnight switching to online education environment.

The COVID-19 pandemic has not only accelerated the introduction of ICT into the area of education at a brisk pace over the previous months, but also led to the most dramatic changes in the education system the modern era has witnessed. The pandemic has emptied classrooms around the globe, stopped the teaching-learning flow teachers and students were used to, and made all the stakeholders within education process reach out for new teaching approaches, methods, and techniques, with the goal of completing the academic year. It has been estimated that around 100 million students, as well as teachers has introduced a plentiful number of novelties into their everyday lives and routines—the novelties they were only reading about several months ago.[3]

As the predictions concerning the status of the ongoing pandemic over the coming months and its strong influence on everyday life

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[3]   https://ec.europa.eu/education/news/public-consultation-new-digital-educa tion-action-plan_en

do not eliminate the possibility of introducing some lasting changes in the sphere of education, the EU Commission (June 2020) announced the Guidelines addressing the potential education forms we all might be experiencing during the 2020/2021 academic year.[4]

One of the primary goals of the mentioned document, issued by the EC, is to shed some more light on the phenomenon and possibilities of *blended* learning, and to point to the new roles and expectations of all the stakeholders in the process; though it appears that the changes are almost inevitable, the paramount need for keeping, and even improving, the quality of education, as well as for preserving the iconic—social and nurturing role of school, is at the forefront of all the contemporary thoughts and recommendations.

In response to the new teaching and learning environment, UNESCO also gave its voice to prioritization of education continuity, and organized the Global Education Coalition, the goal of which is a strong support of remote education and help for all the participants of the process.[5]

In a similar vein, OECD issued a report on education response to the COVID-19 pandemic— addressing the importance of challenges which might appear along the path of remote education implementation. The report illustrated a survey which gathered the respondents from as many as 98 countries around the globe and their responses to the unprecedented disruption we have witnessed. Furthermore, it pointed out the most salient points to be considered – e.g., education continuity, assessment integrity, graduation policies, teachers' and learners' wellbeing, computer literacy, curricular priorities, etc. At the same time, the respondents' reminiscences of the previous period (from the moment the crisis affected us on) revealed that they found it difficult to find the right balance between online and offline activities, students' emotional health, technological infrastructure, etc.[6]

The main aim of this study is to gather information pertaining to students' perspectives and attitudes towards the quality and characteristics of online language teaching and learning environment, and to gain a deeper insight into students' learning experience

[4]   https://www.schooleducationgateway.eu/downloads/Blended%20learning%20in%20school%20education_European%20Commission_June%202020.pdf

[5]   https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373348

[6]   https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/view/?ref=126_126988-t63lxosohs&title=A-framework-to-guide-an-education-response-to-the-Covid-19-Pandemic-of-2020

related to this period. The purpose of this research is to identify advantages and potential problems of online learning as perceived by the students with the aim to gain a deeper insight into different aspects of online language teaching and learning.

THE REDEFINED ROLE OF TECHNOLOGY IN EDUCATION

Integrating technology into teaching-learning processes, at different levels, rests on the foundations of a number of EU recommendations; however, a lack of or inadequate equipment, IT infrastructure, support, and needed computer literacy skills are obstacles on the path of such integration. Furthermore, it is not enough to simply add technological infrastructure and thus make some courses, programmes, trainings and other educational forms online; "innovations may require more" (Torrisi-Steele and Drew, 2013, as cited in Castro, 2019, p. 2531), which, definitely, would include pedagogical transformations and redesign of syllabi and curricula used at institutions around the world. The rich body of MOOC (massive open online courses) platforms, along with OER (open education resources) databases could be seen as facilitators and factors which could pave the way for more effective utilization of online instructions at different levels of education, but it appears that, prior to the pandemic outbreak, they had not reached their full potential; moreover, not long ago, back in 2015, the reports showed that 58.7 % of higher education institutions in the USA did not plan to introduce any MOOCs in the foreseeable future (Allen et al., 2016, p. 6), as they believed that the issues of accessibility, costs and legitimacy were yet to be addressed.

In this respect, it is worth noting that blended learning is not regarded as a new phenomenon anymore; institutions have been relying on its potential for decades, and its implementation has been supported by a number of sources, aimed to assist both experienced teachers and novices, embarking on the usage of technology in their classrooms (one of the most influential being the one by Sharma & Berrett, 2007). Its primary characteristic is a simultaneous combination of face-to-face and online instruction – over the previous decades, blended learning proved to be successful and applied in courses in a number of countries around the globe (e.g.,

China, Canada, Russia, Australia, Germany, the UK, etc. Hockly, 2018, p. 98). A report from 2016 stated that around 5.8 million students in the USA were exposed to online teaching and learning methods (Yen et al., 2018, p. 2142).

Then again, despite the fact that much happened over the course of several years in the ICT field – and the fact that deploying online platforms and tools does require time, investments, as well as adequate support for all the participants (Castro, 2019, p. 2542), it seems that we have all recently become dependent on ICT—without any proper preparation. The unstoppable changes taking place in the field of technology constantly remind us of the need to update ourselves on the recent trends and needs.

Given the fact that the Covid-19 pandemic is an ongoing era—we are still making continuous and strenuous effort to familiarize ourselves with all its traits and draw some lessons we can rely on in the future. Undisputedly, the experiences and challenges students and teachers have undergone in the meantime are yet to be discussed in the future, but the *voices* illustrating the issue at the moment agree that the educational environment we currently live in has significantly altered our roles (Huang et al., 2020), which, as such, ask for an activation of creativity on the part of all the participants in the process[7]. In addition, the research evidence in the area, though scarce and dominantly characterized by a plethora of guidelines, is pointing to careful attention we should pay to assessment, teacher presence, and design in online learning (Rapanta et. al., 2020, pp. 22-23), as well as the fact that professionals coming from different spheres of human endeavor should join forces (Jandrić, 2020, p. 234) in overcoming the challenges we have been exposed to.

THE CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

What educators and students faced at the beginning of spring 2020 was a mere leap into the unknown—and left no space for *blending*. During the winter portion of the academic year, all the respondents participating in this research were engaged in traditional, face-to-face teaching. At the beginning of the summer term (the very end of February 2020), they managed to attend traditional,

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7   Further reading: Ferdig et al., 2020

classroom-held lectures for two weeks – when the pandemic outbreak resulted in the closure of educational institutions. Student satisfaction and comparison between two forms of instruction—face-to-face and online was measured via Student Opinion Questionnaire (SOQ), administered to a group of 52 students, aged 19-26, all four years, studying the English language and literature at the University of Singidunum in Belgrade. Language students were chosen to participate in this study because language learning is grounded in social interaction (Hellerman, 2008, p. 2), which is challenged by the online learning environment because it is not the same as face-to-face classroom (Hoffman 2010, p. 100). The respondents anonymously gave their answers to a set of questions, which were delivered online, administered through the Google Forms app, and the goal of which was to compare and contrast two learning environments they had previously familiarized themselves with.

Although being very skillful at using ICT, the students had not been engaged in online learning modalities prior to the closure of classrooms, a mere "educational experiment" (Pu, 2020, p. 3) we faced in March. On a positive note, all the participants in the process, i.e., both teachers and students proved to be very responsive when it comes to the major change of direction for education on a global scale. Apart from using a learning platform (course management system, CMS) for the distribution of PPTs, illustrating lecture notes, and handouts, which has been a part of the university practices for years, in the new virtual learning environment (VLE), students and teachers primarily relied on an online communication platform, which enabled them to bridge the gap – prior to traditional classrooms reopening.

The questionnaire the respondents took consists of two sets of questions. The first set comprises five open-ended questions devised with the aim to explore students' opinions and perceptions related to online learning, its advantages and disadvantages, how they perceive online learning environment compared to a traditional delivery of classes in a classroom, and suggestions how to improve the quality of online lessons. The main reason why the researchers opted for open-ended questions was to motivate students to think critically and reflect upon their own learning experience, using their own thoughts and ideas expressed with their own choices of unrestricted, unlimited words, not previously predetermined by the examiners. Questions devised in such a way also pre-

MARIJANA M. PRODANOVIĆ, VALENTINA M. GAVRANOVIĆ

vent the occurrence of a potential risk of students being influenced by the choice of words representing examiners' knowledge and preconceived ideas of the characteristics of online teaching and learning and its various aspects. More importantly, the answers to these questions have the potential to cast some new light on the nature of the issue of online leaning and illuminate it better, helping teachers obtain a deeper insight in the complexities of teaching and learning, which is even more amplified by various changes affecting society in a more general context.

The answers to these open-ended questions are analyzed inductively and categorized, and in certain instances subsequently sub-categorized, into groups sharing some common denominator. Some questions had clearly defined categories, such as stating advantages and drawbacks, or giving preference to one form of teaching context, while some categories described in the analysis of the students' answers were formulated by the researches based on the characteristics of the answers—expressing positive or negative attitude, cognitive, affective, or social aspect of learning. These categories and subcategories of answers are represented in tables (Table 1-5), and the findings subsequently discussed, providing the research topic with a varying layers of concern.

Another part of the research relies on the Likert-scale question measuring the overall attitude of the respondents to the online learning, and it comprises the question "Online teaching and learning has met my expectations". Although the question was broadly formulated, its aim was to inquire the affective aspect of students' perception. In order to ensure a midpoint and thus make it easier for students to come to a more objective answer, we opted for a 5-point scale, 1 being the most favorable, and 5 the least desirable experience.

The number of open-ended questions is limited to 5 because the researchers expected the students to have sufficient focus span to provide thorough and comprehensive answers indicative and resourceful for a qualitative and conclusive discussion. The main findings of the research primarily rely on the analysis of the answers to the open-ended questions, and the only close-ended question supplements these quantitative data gathered from the first set of questions with an overall attitude summarized in simple terms, which can serve as some form of conclusion. The comparison of the results reinterprets the data and provides a better

understanding of students' needs and attitudes towards online learning context.

RESEARCH RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

The first open-ended question asked the students to reflect upon their online experience during the last three months of the academic year 2019/ 2020, and to describe the quality of the online lectures they had attended using the most appropriate and precise adjective(-s) they would attribute to them. The average number of adjectives the students wrote in the questionnaire amounts to three, and according to their semantic features, the adjectives the respondents used could be classified into categories which share a common denominator referring to the quality of the classes in general, students' feelings, accessibility and innovation. Table 1 shows these categories and the examples provided by the students, arranged from the most frequently used, with the number in brackets denoting how many times they occur in the answers.

CATEGORY	ADJECTIVES THE RESPONDENTS USED
ADJECTIVES REFERRING TO THE QUALITY OF CLASSES IN GENERAL (75)	efficient (16), engaging (8), motivating (6), concise (5), dynamic (5), well organised (4), professional (4), excellent (4), focused (3), timely (3), clear (3), great (3), demanding (2), extremely productive (2), amazing (2), brilliant (1), wonderful (1), superb (1), tedious (1), difficult (1)
ADJECTIVES REFLECTING STUDENTS' FEELINGS/ INTERESTS IN THE CLASSES (34)	interesting (16), fun (10), enjoyable (7), boring (1)
ADJECTIVES DENOTING ACCESSIBILITY (20)	accessible (12), convenient (8)
ADJECTIVES DENOTING INNOVATION (19)	innovative (6), modern (5), contemporary (3), advanced (2), cool (1), unique (1), eye-opening (1)

TABLE 1: ADJECTIVES THE RESPONDENTS USED TO DESCRIBE THE QUALITY OF ONLINE LECTURES (ПРИДЕВИ КОЈЕ СУ ИСПИТАНИЦИ КОРИСТИЛИ ЗА ОПИС ОНЛАЈН НАСТАВЕ)

The second question asked the students to write about the benefits and risks of online lectures; their answers are summarized in

the Table 2, and the number in brackets denotes how many students wrote similar answers, formulated in different sentences, but having the same propositional value.

	STUDENTS' RESPONSES ILLUSTRATING THE MAIN IDEAS
BENEFITS	- It saves my time. I don't waste time on public transport. (37) - The lectures are easily accessible. (28) - I can listen to some more problematic parts of the lecture once again, or if I missed the class, I can go through the lecture on my own. (20) - We can be more productive. (5) - We can improve our IT skills. (3) - As an employed student, I can either participate in an online lecture, or watch the recorded material later. (3) - We can improve our self-discipline and self-control. (2) - We can study and participate regardless of our place of living. (2) - It is safe, especially nowadays, during the pandemic. (2) - We can improve our online communication and collaboration. (2) - I can drink coffee or have some other refreshment (it helps me concentrate). I am also more relaxed, and I'd say more enthusiastic to study and to participate in lectures. (1)
DRAWBACKS /+ČĐ POTENTIAL RISKS	- Less interaction (14) - A lack of attention. It was difficult to maintain attention all the time. (7) - A lack of face to face communication (5) - The problems with the Internet connection (4) - A lack of peer interaction (4) - Not immediate response (I felt uncomfortable to ask something online), so it happened at times that I needed clarification and misunderstood some parts of the lecture. (1)

TABLE 2: STUDENTS' RESPONSES RELATED TO THE BENEFITS/ DRAWBACKS OF ONLINE LECTURES
(ОДГОВОРИ СТУДЕНАТА У ВЕЗИ СА ПОЗИТИВНИМ И НЕГАТИВНИМ СТРАНАМА ОНЛАЈН НАСТАВЕ)

Having evaluated online lectures with the key words (adjectives), and through a more thorough reflection upon the advantages and problems they faced in their own online learning experience, the students were asked, in the third question, to compare traditional, face-to-face with online lectures. The analysis of the answers shows there are three general sentiments present among the respondents: 15% of the students give advantage to online lectures over tradition delivery of classes, half of them still prefer traditional to online lectures, while almost 35% do not prioritize any of these and consider both as valuable modes of delivery, seeing no essential difference in terms of the content delivery and the quality of lectures,

but rather perceive difference resulting from the very conditions wherein the lectures are given. The Table 3 shows the commonest answers the students wrote, classified into these three categories, and the arguments for their preferences; the number in brackets refers to the number of students who used a similar answer/ argument, with the same propositional value, only formulated in different words.

CATEGORY	STUDENTS' ANSWERS ILLUSTRATING THE CATEGORY
THE SAME STATUS (18)	- For me everything is the same, except that we are not together in the classroom, but still we get to learn and ask everything that we are not sure about.
TRADITIONAL OVER ONLINE LECTURES (26)	- Traditional classroom learning is more interactive. - In my opinion, traditional learning is always the most favourable and effective method of learning. However, online learning is a wonderful alternative. - I believe that non-verbal communication is as important as verbal communication. - Traditional is better when it comes to communication and especially body language, understanding every uttered word, being able to make friends, and to study together. - a less personal experience in online. - When online things move at a faster pace whereas in the classroom we have a little more time to think and do work. - In traditional classroom learning, students feel more natural to participate and express themselves/ traditional classes are more suitable for the real life. - I find it really hard to concentrate during the lectures and to find motivation and energy to do what is expected of me, like homework. I've gotten really lazy. - feel more at ease to speak up in the classroom then during the online lecture.
ONLINE OVER TRADITIONAL LECTURES (8)	- Regarding online classes, I would probably take notes on my laptop when in classroom I can get easily distracted. - As a shy person, I would like to point out that I have been more active during online lectures. - This has a positive influence on my concentration since I am unable to hear background noise and students who are unwilling to participate cannot be heard when chatting to their friend. - Online classes give me more time to myself as I do not waste time on transport. - Online learning keeps us accountable. In traditional classroom learning we may get tired of all day classes and have smaller attention span.

TABLE 3: STUDENTS' RESPONSES TO THE COMPARISON OF ONLINE AND TRADITIONAL LECTURES (ОДГОВОРИ СТУДЕНАТА У ВЕЗИ СА ПОРЕЂЕЊЕМ ТРАДИЦИОНАЛНЕ И ОНЛАЈН НАСТАВЕ)

Since all the respondents are undergraduate students majoring in English, with much experience related to learning all language

skills, literature and linguistically oriented courses, they were asked, in the fourth question, to evaluate which courses are more suitable for traditional delivery and which courses would students gain from more when organized online. A number of students replied that the online lectures provide a more effective environment for the development of any language skill or learning any subject matter, but none of them explicitly stated the name of the course, they just expressed this general opinion with no example or argument to support their stance. The majority of students (75%) explicitly replied that both traditional and online lectures are effective for language learning; anyhow, some of them added that for some courses, traditional learning environment could be more suitable. The Table 4 shows which courses appear in the answers, and the number of students who wrote them. The main reason which supported their opinion, if stated in the answers, was the lack of face-to-face communication (referring to language skills), or the complexity of the subject matter *per se*.

COURSES FOCUSING ON LANGUAGE SKILLS – GENERAL	ALL LANGUAGE SKILLS (12)
LANGUAGE SKILLS – PRODUCTIVE SKILLS	SPEAKING SKILLS (10), TRANSLATION (9) WRITING SKILLS (6)

TABLE 4: STUDENTS' RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION WHICH COURSES COULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE IN TRADITIONAL CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENT
(ОДГОВОРИ СТУДЕНАТА НА ПИТАЊЕ О ПРЕДМЕТИМА ЧИЈА РЕАЛИЗАЦИЈА МОЖЕ БИТИ ЕФИКАСНИЈА У ТРАДИЦИОНАЛНОМ ОКРУЖЕЊУ)

The last question asked the students to come up with their own ideas and thoughts on successful online teaching, and to write down which criteria should be met in order to accomplish it. This question was done by almost 60% of the respondents, while the rest of them either left the blank space or wrote 'I wouldn't change anything' or 'Everything was fine', providing no specific suggestion.

The analysis of the answers shows that the students were concerned with two main aspects of teaching – the quality of the delivered content and class management on the one hand, and the use of ICT on the other, and their answers were classified accordingly. These categories are shown in the Table 5, with the examples for each criterion and the number of students who gave similar answers.

CRITERION	Students' responses illustrating the criterion
THE QUALITY OF THE LECTURE (CONTENT, MANAGEMENT, DELIVERY) (12)	- well-prepared, well-organised, good time management - engaging for all students - well-established both teacher-student and student-student interaction - creative, useful, comprehensive, interesting - clear instructions - additional learning material
A HIGH STANDARD OF TECHNICAL SUPPORT (18)	- a variety of educational applications - a high quality of PPT presentations - a good quality of sound and video - user-friendly software

TABLE 5: STUDENTS' RESPONSES RELATED TO CRITERIA FOR A SUCCESSFUL ONLINE LEARNING ENVIRONMENT (ОДГОВОРИ СТУДЕНАТА У ВЕЗИ СА КРИТЕРИЈУМИМА ЗА УСПЕШНО ИЗВОЂЕЊЕ ОНЛАЈН НАСТАВЕ)

The last question was devised to assess the respondents' attitudes towards online teaching and learning environment based on their own three-month experience, and it was given in a form of a closed-ended Likert 5-point scale question. The results are presented in the Chart 1.

DISCUSSION

Although the scope of the questionnaire is limited to six questions, and the number of the respondents represents a small group appropriate for a pilot study, the analysis of the answers the respondents wrote yields some consistent patterns which are repetitive throughout the entire corpus, highlighting some important aspects related to the students' attitudes towards the nature of online lectures. Furthermore, the open-ended questions opened the unrestricted space for some answers which cast light on various aspects of teaching, analyzed below.

The commonest adjectives the respondents used to describe the quality of the online lectures they had attended for three months indicate how important time management and efficiency, as well as personal feelings attached to learning experience are for the 21st century students. Prioritizing innovation in teaching also emerges as an important factor for the students, because almost 40% of the

respondents used some adjective containing the semantic feature 'new, novelty'.

Other questions from the questionnaire also contribute to creating a better insight into what students expect from not only online classes but also from traditionally organized lessons. The answers to the question related to benefits of online learning to a great extent coincide with the adjectives the students provided to describe the quality of online lectures. More than 70% of the students stated that the most beneficial aspect of online teaching relates to time saving, and more than half of the respondents stated that online teaching provides accessibility as an advantageous characteristic. This argument is in compliance with the strategy of EU education policies, which emphasize lifelong learning and mobility as the main objectives to be pursued. The answers provided in this section of the questionnaire also illuminate some important aspects which should be taken into consideration, and these refer to safety, the possibility to develop crucial 21st century skills and literacies – digital literacy, IT skills, online communication and collaboration, creativity and critical thinking skills.

A social aspect of learning appeared as an important factor with over a half of the respondents, who replied that the main disadvantage of online learning lies in the lack of interaction, either between the teacher and the students or among students themselves, and face-to-face communication was emphasized as a relevant form of interaction. Another drawback stated in the responses refers to a difficulty experienced by almost 14% of the students to maintain attention during a lecture. These results are in compliance with the EU Commission analytical report, illustrating the influence of technology on students' empathy, as well as their attention capacity (Flecha et al., 2020). The report points out that context, along with content selection, undoubtedly affects the mentioned phenomena, but that empathy is more prominent on occasions when the chosen activities are of prosocial nature, i.e., rooted in the principles of a dialogue.

The comparison of traditional and online learning, and the examples and arguments given by the students to support their opinions at the same time confirm, but also deepen and clarify many statements already made in the previous three questions. Namely, those who gave advantage to online learning emphasize accessibility, efficiency and time saving as the key beneficial characteristics, while, on the other hand, those who prefer traditional

to online learning point out the importance of social aspect of education and interaction. However, this question yielded some answers which illuminate the issue better and provide a deeper insight into the complexities of teaching and learning, no matter in what context they are carried out. In the first place, psychological aspect of learning arises as a relevant factor, and shows that interaction for some students, particularly the introverts, is better realized in an online environment, which helps them express themselves freely and be more active in classes. Another aspect perceived differently is attention – for some students, traditional classroom face-to-face environment is distracting, and they manage to maintain concentration when these classes are delivered online, while others can focus better in the traditional education context. Some students believe that online learning helps them develop self-discipline and responsibility, while there are also those who stated that, even though online environment is convenient and comfortable, it made them lazy and lose track of their duties.

Many students think that courses focusing on the development of both perceptive and productive language skills could be more effective when realized in a traditional setting, as, in their opinion, all language skills imply some more *personalized* type of communication and interaction (including both linguistic and paralinguistic features).

The students' suggestions for a more successful online learning experience, besides the common answers related to the quality of teaching in general (described as well-prepared, well-organized, engaging, creative, implying a variety of materials) include ideas related to a high standard of technical support, which indicates that the demands of a 21st century student have been changed, and to a high degree influence their attitude towards the quality of teaching and learning.

The last question of the survey, formulated as a close-ended Likert 5-point scale question, although restricted as an instrument for a more comprehensive conclusion, with its objective scale expressed in numbers added to the overall positive attitude of the respondents towards their online learning experience.

CONCLUSION   As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, educational systems have undergone abrupt changes in terms of switching from traditional, face-to-face teaching to an online environment, and this shift hap-

pened almost overnight, being sudden not only for educational institutions and teachers, but also for students who were not prepared for a newly created learning context beforehand. This study focused on the experience of a group of undergraduate students majoring in English after three successive months of online learning, and draws upon conclusions based on their answers to a survey examining their opinions on different aspects of online learning, and encouraging them to critically reflect upon the quality of the online lectures. The main purpose of this study was to gain a better insight into the characteristics of online teaching and learning, and to pinpoint the areas which need to be improved. However, this study focused on a small group of respondents, which makes the research restricted in its conclusive remarks and final directions of systematic action.

The overall attitude of the respondents towards online teaching and learning experience is rather positive, and the answers to all questions unanimously contribute to this sentiment. However, the results of the research confirm that such mode of learning "represents a naturally evolving process from traditional form of learning to a personalized and focused development path" (Thoren, 2003, p. 5), and it offers many possibilities still to be exploited. The insights gained in the research can be taken into consideration while preparing any form of classes meant for generations of students who are digital natives and whose needs and learning habits are changing the educational context, but also for comparison and contrast with similar experiences of learners from the country, region, or some other parts of the world. Still, although the interest in online teaching and learning is growing, the body of evidence related to the online language teaching and learning imposed by the outbreak of Covid-19 is still scarce, and the new insights and comparisons are to be created with new research papers and investigations.

These results of this pilot study can be used as a groundwork for further investigations which could overcome the defects in terms of methodological restrictions and the number of respondents. The direction of a more thorough and detailed study would be to incorporate a more representative research sample including students from different universities studying different languages, as well as a bigger corpus of more questions of both open-ended and close-ended type, so as to avoid repetition of the same or similar answers, and to reach a more comprehensive conclusions.

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MARIJANA M. PRODANOVIĆ, VALENTINA M. GAVRANOVIĆ

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САЖЕТАК

ОНЛАЈН НАСТАВА: СТАВОВИ СТУДЕНАТА АНГЛИСТИКЕ У ВЕЗИ СА НОВИМ ОБРАЗОВНИМ ОКОЛНОСТИМА НАМЕТНУТИМ ПАНДЕМИЈОМ ВИРУСА КОВИД 19

Иако је примена информационо-комуникационих технологија већ деценијама присутна у настави, у различитим манифестацијама и облицима, тек су се избијањем пандемије ковид 19 у пуном светлу показале предности и могућности које онлајн настава пружа, као и изазови са којима су се образовне институције суочиле. Пандемија је изненада прекинула наставу која се изводила у традиционалном окружењу, а образовне институције широм света су на ову новонасталу ситуацију реаговале на различите начине и са различитим степеном успеха. Европска унија, односно, њена тела су, овим поводом, одмах спровела бројна истраживања која су резултовала низом прописа и препорука којима се креирала нова образовна политика која је постала реалност, и у складу са којом све образовне институције треба да планирају своје будуће кораке и одговоре на дату ситуацију.

Ова пилот-студија се бави истраживањем карактеристика онлајн наставе кроз призму ставова студената основних студија Англистике, који су последња три месеца академске 2019/2020. године активно учествовали у настави у онлајн окружењу, изненада организованом као одговор на новонасталу пандемијску ситуацију, која је неочекивано прекинула традиционални контекст образовања и преко ноћи променила модел и окружење предавања и наставе. Циљ овог истраживања је да представи податке који се односе на искуство учења студената у онлајн образовном окружењу, као и да пружи бољи увид у природу и карактеристике ове врсте наставе, онако како је виде студенти који раније нису имали слична искуства учења. Спроведено истраживање заснива се на квалитативном методу и обухвата анализу корпуса упитника коју је радила група од 52 студента основних студија. Упитник је највећим делом сачињен од питања отвореног типа у којима се од испитаника тражило да напишу одговоре својим речима, без претходно понуђених опција, чиме је обезбеђен вредан и богат материјал за анализу. Други део упитника чини питање које мери општи став испитаника према квалитету онлајн наставе чији су део били три месеца без прекида и за које је коришћена Ликертова скала процене. Одговори студената су анализирани и класификовани у неколико категорија према својеврсном заједничком имениоцу. Резултати истраживања указују на мишљења студената у вези са неколико аспеката онлајн наставе: предности и недостаци, поређење са традиционалним образовним окружењем, предмети који су погоднији да се изводе у традиционалном, односно онлајн окружењу. Студенти у одговорима наводе и аспекте онлајн наставе које сматрају приоритетним, али, такође, и предлоге како се тај облик наставе може унапредити. Резултати истраживања не само да истичу предности и мане онлајн наставе већ указују и на различите аспекте и сложену природу наставе уопште, у којој социолошки и психолошки фактори имају веома важну улогу.

Кључне речи: учење језика у онлајн окружењу; пандемија ковид 19; ставови студената англистике.

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ENGLISH NOUN+NOUN SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES IN ENGLISH FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES AND THEIR SERBIAN EQUIVALENTS

ABSTRACT.   The purpose of this study is to investigate if there is a structure agreement between syntactic structures consisting of two nouns [N + N] in English for Occupational Health and Safety and their Serbian equivalents. After narrowing down the results of the research to approximately five thousand examples and ordering them by frequency of appearance in the corpus, a sample of about one hundred and seventy items was extracted and translated into Serbian. The analysis shows that there are three main types of Serbian translation equivalents but none of them are structurally identical to English noun + noun structures.

KEYWORDS: English for specific purposes, syntactic structures, Occupational health and safety, Serbian language, English language.

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INTRODUCTION

In the last fifty years, great attention has been given to English for Specific Purposes (ESP) due to the fact that the majority of inventions and innovations emerging in science and technology comes from the English speaking countries. This has a direct impact on the use of specialized terminology in teaching a foreign language for occupational purposes. ESP has become the international means of communication among experts and scientists and almost all specialized literature has been published in the English language. The language-terminology of Safety Engineering is not an exception. The World Health Organization (WHO) offers the following definition: "Occupational health deals with all aspects of health and safety in the workplace and has a strong focus on primary prevention of hazards". It implies that Safety engineers, apart from professional skills, also need to have a fundamental knowledge of other sciences and must be familiar with terminology closely related to their field of interest, depending on what their job description particularly requires (The American Society of Safety Engineers, ANSI/ASSE Z590.2-2003 Criteria for Establishing the Scope and Functions of the Professional Safety Position). This means that the Occupational Health and Safety terminology is complex and versatile.

In this paper, we are dealing with the vocabulary used in the field of Occupational Health and Safety. Good command of professional vocabulary is of great importance both for safety engineers and for understanding the latest developments in this area. Special attention is given to English N + N syntactic structures in the field of Occupational Health and Safety and their equivalents in the Serbian language. At present, there is no English-Serbian or vice versa specialized dictionary dealing with vocabulary and terms of Occupational health and safety. The aim of this paper is to determine how English N + N syntactic structures correspond to Serbian translation equivalents and whether there is a structure agreement. According to Algeo (1991), the most frequent word formation process is compounding, out of which 68% are the new words, whereas 90% of these new compounds actually are noun compounds.

The corpus was extracted from various websites of companies specialized for Occupational health and safety and professional literature.

IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES

English for specific purposes is a term that appeared in the 1960s. ESP is focused on context. The English language taught within the scope of ESP is intended to meet learners' needs regarding the particular field of interest related to occupation or profession, and is applicable in the employment context.

According to Mackay and Mountford (1978, p. 2), ESP is focused on the teaching of English for a practical purpose, meaning that the teaching of English for specific purposes should be focused on achieving of those language skills that will enable learners to use English in their future occupations more efficiently.

Hutchinson and Waters (1987, p. 19) postulate that ESP does not present a specific kind of language or teaching methodology and does not require a particular type of teaching material. Instead, it is an approach to language learning "aimed to address the learners' needs". This means that content and methods of such language teaching are focused on learners' reasons for learning, and thus cover topics that will be used for specific purposes.

The similar opinion about learning English in general is given by Robinson (1991, p. 2), who states that students learn English "not because they are interested in the English language or English culture as such, but because they need English for study or work purposes". This means that students who learn English are motivated by different reasons: to be able to read specialized texts, to read textbooks written in English relevant to their field of expertise or to use it in their future occupation or at a workplace.

When outlining the major features of ESP, Dudley-Evans and St. John (1998, p. 4), argue that there are two types of characteristics of ESP, absolute and variable. According to them, absolute characteristics are: "a) ESP is defined to meet the specific needs of the learners; b) ESP makes use of underlying methodology and activities of the discipline it serves; c) ESP is centred on the language (grammar, lexis, and register), skills, discourse and genre appropriate to these activities". Variable characteristics are: "a) ESP may be related to or designed for specific disciplines; b) ESP may use, in specific teaching situations, a different methodology from that of General English; c) ESP is likely to be designed for adult learners, either at a tertiary level institution or in a professional work situation. It could, however, be for learners at secondary school level; d) ESP is

generally designed for intermediate or advanced students. Most ESP courses assume some basic knowledge of the language systems, but it can be used with beginners".

Basturkmen (2006, p. 18) asserts that, "in ESP language is learnt not for its own sake or for the sake of gaining a general education, but to smooth the path to entry or greater linguistic efficiency in academic, professional or workplace environments". This means that the ESP focuses on the needs of language learners typical for a specific field of occupation or workplace.

ESP is not limited only to those learners who plan their future careers but is also intended for those who are already employed and who perform professional tasks in the scenario that requires the use of the English language.

In this paper we are focused on the terminology of occupational safety and health in a sense that "environmental and occupational health is not a single topic, but rather a colourful, complex, and diversified range of interrelated subjects including all of the basic sciences, engineering, computer science, government, disease, injury identification, prevention, and control" (Herman, vi: 2013) .

TYPES OF NOUN +NOUN STRUCTURES IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Noun + Noun structures are very important in ESP, since this is a common way of creating new terms and they represent two-thirds of all technical terms (Cabre, 1999, p. 122). A large number of these structures occur in textbooks of social and natural science courses and engineering textbooks (Cohen et al. 1988; Ward, 2007; Wasun-tarasophit, 2008). The frequent usage on N + N structures has been proved through various studies on ESP covering different fields (Salager-Meyer, 1984; Cohen et al. 1988; Lauer, 1995). This frequent usage implies that special attention should be given to the role of N + N structures in ESP. These structures are composed of two nouns, where the first one is premodifier and the second one is a head noun. There is no additional element between these two nouns that binds them.

This type of structures differs from other types of structures (Adj + N; V + N, etc.) in English language in that that it "allows encoding complex concepts through an extremely compressed format, mak-

ing use of as little space as language enables to" (Fernández-Domínguez, 2010). This implies that in N + N structures, the head is the main category and premodifier or first noun outlines the head, that is, distinguishes it from others in the same category. Noun + Noun structures express the relation between two nouns, but this relation has not been specified yet and may have different characteristics (for example, emergency procedure meaning procedure in emergency situations; work overload meaning overload of work; explosion protection meaning protection from explosion, etc.).

Generally speaking, there are three different approaches that deal with the relation of nouns in N + N structures. The first group of approaches usually takes into account the fixed types of relations and describes these structures based on well-established principles. The second group uses English prepositions to describe these relations. The third group of approaches interprets the relation of nouns in N + N structures by using paraphrasing. This would produce interpretations such as "exit used in the cases of emergency situations" for emergency exit.

However, it seems that the main problem with Noun + Noun structures relates to two issues: the first one concerning their internal semantic configuration and the second that their formal appearance is identical with that of some syntactic structures, in cases where noun modifies another noun.

We may say that there are two categories of Noun + Noun structures in the English language, the morphological and syntactic, whereas the former one accounts for compounds and the latter for syntactic structures.

However, morphology is still trying to determine where N + N structures belong, to morphology or syntax, since agreement on this issue is still in dispute. Many researchers have tried to answer this question and Bauer (1998) divides these researchers into two groups, based on their views on the issue: splitters and lumpers. The splitters in N + N structures, distinguish two classes: syntactic structures consisting of nouns with nominal modifiers, and compounds. However, they do not always set the proper criteria for such classification. Lumpers, on the other hand, see only one class – class of compounds, and correlate their classification with a difference in stress. Further, Bauer (1998) proposes six possible criteria to distinguish between syntactic structures and compounds: Compounds are listed; Compounds are written as a single word; Com-

pounds have fore-stress; The first element in a compound is syntactically isolated; Compounds do not permit co-ordination and the head in a phrase can be replaced by *one.*

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) use the following criteria to illustrate differences between the two structure types: orthography – morphological compounds are written as a single word (greenhouse, newspaper) and syntactic structures are written as word sequences (green house, quality paper); stress - morphological compounds are pronounced with the main stress on the first component and syntactic structures are pronounced with the stress on the second component of N + N structure, and modification test – morphological compounds exclude modification of the first component while syntactic structures "allow a very wide range of modifications" (Huddleston and Pullum. 2002, p. 1644). Even though they state that both syntactic test and non-syntactic criteria have certain deficiencies, they still prefer syntactic tests to non-syntactic criteria: "The correlation between these criteria and the syntactic tests of coordination and modification is, however, very imperfect, and since we are concerned with the delimitation of a syntactic structure we will naturally give precedence to the syntactic tests in the many cases of divergent results" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002, p. 451).

Taking into account the nature of N + N structures, these structures in most cases share both morphological and syntactic properties. According to Moon (1997, p. 43): "This sequence of words semantically and/or syntactically forms a meaningful and inseparable unit".

NATURE OF NOUN + NOUN STRUCTURES

There have been several attempts to classify noun + noun structures. According to Quirk (1985, 1332), Noun + Noun combinations, both syntactic structures and compounds, may be paraphrased by a preposition, and he arranges them into groups expressing source-result (metal sheet/sheet of metal); part – whole (clay soil/soil with clay); place (top drawer/drawer at the top); time (morning train/ train in the morning) and whole-part (board member/member of the board).

Biber et al. (1999) assert that Noun + Noun structures contain only content words and thus represent two "opposite extremes of

communicative priority" (Biber et al. 1999, pp. 589-591). They classify them into 15 basic groups, based on the relation between two nouns in the structure (N2 presents head noun and N1 premodifying noun) : "Composition – N2 is made from N1; N2 consist of N1, (e.g. glass windows = windows made of glass); Purpose – N2 is for the purpose of N1; N2 is used for N1, (e.g. safety device = device used for safety); Identity – N2 has the same referent as N1, but classifies it in terms of different attributes (e.g. woman firefighter = firefighter who is woman); Content – N2 is about N1; N2 deals with N1, (e.g. emergency plan = plan relating to emergency situations); Source – N2 is from N1, (e.g. computer printout = printout that comes from computer); Objective type 1 – N1 is the object of the processes described in N2, or of the action performed by the agent described in N2 (e.g. ear protector = protects ear); Objective type 2 – N2 is the object of the processes described in N1, (e.g. safety engineer – engineer responsible for the safety); Subjective type 1 – N1 is the subject of the process described in N2; N2 is nominalized form an intransitive verb (e.g. disability assessment); Subjective type 2 – N2 is the subject of the processes described in N1 (e.g labour force – a force engaged in labour); Time: N2 is found at the time given by N1 (e.g. winter conditions); Location type 1 – N2 is found or takes place at the location given by N1 (e.g. mine ventilation); Location type 2 – N1 is found at the location given by N2 (e.g. inhalation room); Institution – N2 identifies an institution for N1 (e.g. labour inspectorate); Partitive – N2 identifies parts of N1 (e.g. risk factors); Specialization – N1 identifies an area of specialization for the person or occupation given in N2, N2 is animate (e.g. employer representative)" (Biber et al. 1999, pp. 589-591). This classification, according to same authors, is not limited by the categories, i.e. some N + N structures can belong to more than one category and there are noun + noun structures that do not belong to any of the given categories. Moreover, there are N + N structures that can have meaning relations that are different from these described here.

The classification of Noun + Noun structures can be made based on different criteria. However, none of these classifications are final, nor can we say with certainty which is the most accurate one. The list is quite long and versatile, and there is no ultimate classification. This partially depends on the nature of the English language and partially on how the researchers perceive this issue and what classification criteria they use.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

The corpus was excerpted from Occupational Safety and Health Glossary (The International Labour Organisation), Glossary of Occupational Health & Safety Terms (Industrial Accident Prevention Association), The Environmental and Occupational Health & Safety terminology website (EOHS), Dictionary of Occupational Health and Safety Terms, Glossary for Basic Occupational Safety and Health (van Dijk et al., 2011), and from *Engleski jezik za studente Fakulteta zaštite na radu* (Tošić, 1992). The targets of the study were English N + N syntactic structures which were later translated into Serbian for the purpose of this paper in order to provide their equivalents. After narrowing down the results of the search to approximately five thousand examples and ordering them by the frequency of appearance in the corpus, a sample of about one hundred and seventy items (among the most frequent ones) was extracted and translated into Serbian. The translated structures were grouped into categories, which are based on the nature of Serbian translation equivalents[3].

ENGLISH N+N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES	SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT (N+NOUN IN GENITIVE)
accident frequency	učestalost nezgoda
air humidity	vlažnost vazduha
disability assessment	procena invaliditeta
exposure rate	stepen izloženosti
fatigue prevention	prevencija Zamora
hearing damage	oštećenje sluha
injury analysis	analiza povrede
labour inspector	inspektor rada
risk assessment	procena rizika

TABLE 1: ENGLISH N + N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AND THEIR SERBIAN EQUIVALENTS (N + NOUN IN GENITIVE)

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3   Due to the limited scope of the paper, only ten examples from the analysed corpus are presented. The complete list of the analysed corpus is given in the Appendix.

worker safety	bezbednost radnika

TABLE 1: ENGLISH N + N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AND THEIR SERBIAN EQUIVALENTS (N + NOUN IN GENITIVE)

From the examples provided in Table 1 we can see that Serbian equivalents include N + N structures, where the second N is inflected. The second noun is modified and marked by Genitive case and the first noun is a head noun.

It may appear that Serbian translation equivalents are structurally close to English corresponding items since in both cases we have N + N pattern. However, they are not. There are two major differences between English N + N structures and Serbian N + N structures: the modifying noun has a different case-marking and the head-modifier ordering is different (Dimković-Telebaković, 2014):

a.

2	1		1	2
risk	assessment	=	procena	rizika

ENGLISH N+N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES	SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT (ADJ+N)
fire alarm	*protivpožarni alarm*
first aid	*prva pomoć*
health insurance	*zdravstveno osiguranje*
mental health	*mentalno zdravlje*
safety clothing	*zaštitna odeća*
safety footwear	*zaštitna obuća*
safety glass	*sigurnosno staklo*
safety glasses	*zaštitne naočare*
shift work	*smenski rad*
work overload	*radno preopterećenje*

TABLE 2: ENGLISH N + N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AND THEIR SERBIAN EQUIVALENTS (ADJ + N)

The second group of Serbian equivalents consists of adjective + noun structure (Table 2). Here, the adjective is premodifying the noun, and thus in this group Serbian equivalents are not structurally equivalent to those in English, since the modifier belongs to a different word class category. Here we have English noun + noun structure = Serbian adjective + noun structure.

The third group of Serbian equivalents has the pattern N + Prepositional Phrase (PP) and is presented in Table 3.

ENGLISH N+N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES	SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT (N+PP)
accident risk	*rizik od nezgode*
explosion protection	*zaštita od eksplozije*
fire risks	*rizici od požara*
welding mask	*maska za zavarivanje*
work accident	*nezgoda na radu*
workplace conditions	*uslovi na radnom mestu*
workplace hazards	*opasnosti na radnom mestu*
workplace injury	*povreda na radnom mestu*
workplace stress	*stres na radu*

TABLE 3: ENGLISH N + N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AND THEIR SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS (N + PP)

From the examples presented in Table 3, we can see that Serbian equivalents can have elements which do not appear in English N + N structure, and in this case it is a prepositional phrase. Based on Dimković-Telebaković (2014), this can be presented in a form of patterns which in Serbian have inserted elements, prepositions: 231→123:

b.

2	3	1	1	2	3
welding	mask	=	*maska*	*za*	*zavarivanje*

c.

2	3	1	1	2	3
explosion	protection	=	*zaštita*	*od*	*eksplozije*

Apart from these corresponding structures we addressed in Tables 1, 2 and 3, we also found some complex Serbian structures that correspond to English N + N structures: noun + noun + noun in Genitive (accident probability – verovatnoća nastanka nezgode); noun + adjective + noun (emission spectrometry – spektrometrija izduvnih gasova; incident investigation – istraga nesretnog slučaja; workplace inspection – inspekcija radnog mesta; health standards – standardi zdravstvene zaštite).

d.

2	3	1		1	2	3
accident	probability	=		*verovatnoća*	*nastanka*	*nezgode*

e.

2	3	1		1	2	3
incident	investigation	=		istraga	nesretnog	slučaja

Patterns *d* and *e* corresponds to N + N + N and N + Adj + N structures, respectively. Patterns *d* and *e* in English do not contain all the elements, which are present in Serbian with 231→123 pattern.

Based on the analysis we conducted in this paper, we may conclude that out of 170 examples of English N + N syntactic structures taken from the corpus of about five thousand examples, the 61.7% Serbian translation equivalents belong to the largest group noun + noun in Genitive; 9.4% belongs to the group adjective + noun, and the 22.3% to the group noun + prepositional phrase. While investigating the selected corpus, we found only a few examples of English structures where Serbian translation equivalents were consisting of only one word, N + N → N: *work capacity → produktivnost*; *shock absorber → amortizer*; *construction site → gradilište*.

CONCLUSION   The aim of this paper was to analyse the English noun + noun syntactic structures in the field of Occupational Health and Safety and their Serbian equivalents. In Serbia, Occupational Health and Safety is a field that has gained in importance in recent years due to the need to meet European standards. In order to meet the ESP language requirements, specialized terms should be concise and accurate. Terms defined in such a way express the precise meaning of concepts, and when one concept is represented by one word the brevity is achieved (Dimković-Telebaković, 2014).

Based on the conducted analysis we may conclude that there are three main types of Serbian translation equivalents. The first group includes structures consisting of two nouns (English N + N → Serbian N + Noun in Genitive) where the second noun is in genitive, which is also the largest group. The first noun has the status of a head noun, the second noun is a modifier and it is marked by the genitive case, e.g. fatigue prevention- *prevencija zamora*. When it comes to structural correlation, we can conclude that this group of Serbian translation equivalents is not equivalent to English N + N structures, although it may appear as such. This is due to their

structural non-equivalence and different case-marking of the modifying noun and different head modifier ordering.

The second group is adjective + noun translation equivalent (English N + N → Serbian Adj + N). Here, the adjective premodifies the noun and both of them are marked, e.g. mental fatigue – *mentalni zamor*. Furthermore, structurally English N + N structures and Serbian translation equivalents do not match since they consist of an adjective and a noun.

The third group, N + PP, translation equivalent (English N + N → Serbian N + PP) shows that Serbian equivalents have some elements which do not appear in English structures, and in this case it is a prepositional phrase, e.g. work accident → *nezgoda na radu*.

And finally, we also presented some complex Serbia structures that corresponds to English N + N structures, which also are not equivalents to English structures because they have some elements which do not appear in English structures (N + Adj + N, N + N + N).

It is due to the diverse nature of Serbian and English that the differences among English N + N syntactic structures and their Serbian equivalents exist. Serbian language does not tolerate two nominative - marked nouns in a sequence, and thus none of the Serbian translation equivalents are structurally identical to English structures.

The paper should help to better comprehend English N + N syntactic structures in the field of Occupational Health and Safety and how they are translated into Serbian not only in a theoretical, but in a practical aspect too, while future research should be done on a wider corpus that would offer a more detailed insight into other English syntactic structures in the field of Occupational Health and Safety and their translation (and non-translation) equivalents.

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APPENDIX

English N + N syntactic structures	Serbian translation equivalent (N + Noun in Genitive)
absorption coefficient	koeficijent apsorpcije
accident cause	uzrok nezgode
accident frequency	učestalost nezgoda
accident investigation	istraga nezgode
accident location	lokacija nezgode
accident severity	ozbiljnost nezgode
accident victim	žrtva nezgode
air contaminant	zagađivač vazduha

TABLE 4: ENGLISH N + N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AND THEIR SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS (N + NOUN IN GENITIVE)

air humidity	vlažnost vazduha
air pollution	zagađenje vazduha
air quality	kvalitet vazduha
air temperature	temperatura vazduha
alarm system	sistem upozorenja
alcohol consumption	konzumiranje alkohola
back injury	povreda leđa
body parts	delovi tela
colour identification	identifikacija boje
contamination level	nivo zagađenja
danger sign	znak opasnosti
danger zone	zona opasnosti
detonation velocity	brzina detonacije
disability assessment	procena invaliditeta
dust collector	sakupljač prašine
dust concentration	koncentracija prašine
dust sample	uzorak prašine
employee representative	predstavnik zaposlenih
employee training	obuka zaposlenih
employer representative	predstavnik poslodavca
energy sources	izvori energije
evaporation rate	stopa isparavanja
explosion detector	detektor eksplozije
explosion prevention	prevencija eksplozije
exposure maps	mape izloženosti
exposure rate	stopa izloženosti
eye damage	oštećenje oka
eye diseases	bolesti oka
eye injury	povreda oka
eye protection	zaštita oka
fatigue prevention	prevencija zamora

TABLE 4: ENGLISH N + N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AND THEIR SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS (N + NOUN IN GENITIVE)

fire prevention	prevencija požara
friction noise	buka trenja
grounding system	sistem uzemljenja
hazard survey	ispitivanje opasnosti
hazard symbol	simbol opasnosti
hearing damage	oštećenje sluha
hearing disturbances	poremećaj sluha
hearing level	nivo sluha
hearing loss	gubitak sluha
heart damage	oštećenje srca
heat detector	detektor toplote
ignition source	izvor paljenja
incidence rate	stopa incidencije
injury analysis	analiza povrede
job analysis	analiza posla
knee injury	povreda kolena
labour inspection	inspekcija rada
labour inspector	inspektor rada
leakage detector	detektor curenja
light intensity	intenzitet svetlosti
lighting conditions	uslovi osvetljenja
loudness level	jačina zvuka
luminance contrast	kontrast osvetljenosti
machine damage	oštećenje mašine
mine ventilation	ventilacija rudnika
neighbourhood protection	zaštita okoline
noise control	kontrola buke
noise intensity	intenzitet buke
noise level	nivo buke
noise reduction	umanjenje buke
noise source	izvor buke

TABLE 4: ENGLISH N + N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AND THEIR SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS (N + NOUN IN GENITIVE)

JELENA D. RAJOVIĆ, MILICA M. SPASIĆ-STOJKOVIĆ

observation period	period posmatranja
oxygen deficiency	nedostatak kiseonika
power cords	kablovi napajanja
pressure reducer	reduktor pritiska
pressure regulator	regulator pritiska
productivity loss	gubitak produktivnosti
prohibition sign	znak zabrane
protection factor	faktor zaštite
protection system	sistem zaštite
radiation exposure	izloženost zračenju
radiation monitoring	monitoring zračenja
risk assessment	procena rizika
risk factors	faktori rizika
risk management	upravljanje rizikom
risk prevention	prevencija rizika
safety engineer	inženjer bezbednosti
safety inspection	inspekcija bezbednosti
safety policy	politika bezbednosti
safety programme	program bezbednosti
safety standard	standardi bezbednosti
smoke detector	detektor dima
sound insulation	izolacija zvuka
sound intensity	intenzitet zvuka
sound level	nivo zvuka
task analysis	analiza zadatka
tolerance test	test izdržljivosti
unemployment rate	stopa nezaposlenosti
vibration damper	prigušivač vibracija
vibration isolator	izolator vibracija
waste disposal	odlaganje otpada

TABLE 4: ENGLISH N + N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AND THEIR SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS (N + NOUN IN GENITIVE)

| water quality | kvalitet vode |
| worker safety | bezbednost radnika |

TABLE 4: ENGLISH N + N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AND THEIR SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS (N + NOUN IN GENITIVE)

ENGLISH N + N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES	SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT (ADJ + N)
climate changes	klimatske promene
ear muffs	zaštitne slušalice
exhaust system	izduvni sistem
fire alarm	protivpožarni alarm
first aid	prva pomoć
health insurance	zdravstveno osiguranje
health surveillance	zdravstveni nadzor
labour force	radna snaga
mental fatigue	mentalni zamor
mental health	mentalno zdravlje
safety clothing	zaštitna odeća
safety footwear	zaštitna obuća
safety glass	sigurnosno staklo
safety glasses	zaštitne naočare
shift work	smenski rad
work overload	radno preopterećenje

TABLE 5: ENGLISH N+N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AND THEIR SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS (ADJ + N)

ENGLISH N + N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES	SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENT (N + PP)
accident hazard	opasnost od akcidenta
accident risk	rizik od nezgode
breathing mask	maska za disanje
calibration error	greška u kalibraciji

TABLE 6: ENGLISH N + N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AND THEIR SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS (N + PP)

JELENA D. RAJOVIĆ, MILICA M. SPASIĆ-STOJKOVIĆ

compensation claim	zahtev za kompenzaciju
dust blouse	bluza za zastitu od prašine
dust filter	filter za prašinu
dust mask	maska protiv prašine
ear plugs	čepovi za uši
ear protector	štitnik za uši
emergency exit	izlaz u slučaju opasnosti
emergency plan	plan za hitne slučajeve
emergency procedure	procedura u hitnim slučajevima
explosion hazard	opasnost od eksplozije
explosion protection	zaštita od eksplozije
eye protector	zaštitnik za oko
face shield	štitnik za lice
fire extinguishant	sredstvo za gašenje požara
fire extinguisher	aparat za gašenje požara
fire hazard	opasnost od požara
fire protection	zaštita od požara
fire risks	rizici od požara
hair net	mrežica za kosu
hand guard	štitnik za ruke
head protection	zaštita za glavu
health hazard	opasnost po zdravlje
radiation injury	povreda od zračenja
safety hazards	opasnosti po zdravlje
safety training	obuka iz bezbednosti
testing laboratory	laboratorija za testiranje
ventilation shaft	otvor za ventilaciju
welding mask	maska za zavarivanje
work accident	nezgoda na radu
workplace conditions	uslovi na radnom mestu
workplace hazards	opasnosti na radnom mestu

TABLE 6:   ENGLISH N + N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AND THEIR SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS (N + PP)

| workplace injury | povreda na radnom mestu |
| workplace stress | stres na radu |

TABLE 6: ENGLISH N + N SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES AND THEIR SERBIAN TRANSLATION EQUIVALENTS (N + PP)

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РЕЗИМЕ   СИНТАКСИЧКА КОНСТРУКЦИЈА ИМЕНИЦА+ИМЕНИЦА
У ЕНГЛЕСКОМ ЈЕЗИКУ СТРУКЕ
И ЊЕНИ ПРЕВОДНИ ЕКВИВАЛЕНТИ

Енглески језик струке намењен је онима који енглески језик користе у професионалне сврхе и може се дефинисати у погледу употребе вокабулара и синтаксе. Сврха овог истраживања је да испитамо да ли постоји структурално слагање између синтаксичких структура које се састоје од две именице [именица+именица] у енглеском језику заштите на раду и њихових преводних еквивалената у српском језику. Након што смо резултате истраживања сузили на око пет хиљада примера и поређали их по учесталости појављивања у корпусу, узорак од око сто седамдесет примера издвојен је и преведен на српски језик. Анализа је показала да можемо разликовати три типа српских преводних еквивалената, али да ниједан он њих није структурно идентичан енглеским синтаксичким структурама које се састоје од две именице [именица+именица].

КЉУЧНЕ РЕЧИ: енглески језик струке; синтаксичке структуре; заштита на раду; српски језик; енглески језик.

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TEXTUAL METADISCOURSE IN ACADEMIC BOOK REVIEWS IN SERBIAN AND ENGLISH

ABSTRACT. This paper examines the forms and patterns of use of the markers of textual metadiscourse in the academic book reviews from the fields of humanities (linguistics and literature) and social sciences (sociology, history, and ethnography) in both Serbian and English languages. The principal aim of our research was to attempt to establish a potential variation in the use of these markers with regard to the parameters of the type of markers, discipline, and language in which the reviews were written. The qualitative-quantitative analysis was carried out according to the model provided by Blagojević (2008). As for the first parameter, the comparison showed the predominance of logical textual connectives in comparison to both other textual connectives and markers of discourse actions/references to discourse across disciplines and languages. When it comes to the parameter of discipline, linguistics, literature and sociology reviews contained the greatest number of markers. Regarding the language criterion, cumulatively speaking, more markers were observed in the reviews in Serbian than in the reviews in English. However, the difference was rather subtle and it pointed to similarities rather than disparities in the use of these markers.

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INTRODUCTION

Academic discourse, be it spoken or written, is produced and perceived among members of the academic discourse community (Blagojević, 2008, p. 22). This implies that there are certain expectations with regard to the goals of academic communication and manners in which its forms are rhetorically shaped to achieve these goals. Namely, an instance of academic speech or writing is aimed at not only presenting research results or professional attitudes, but also at persuading the projected audience into the validity of conveyed ideas, mostly by means of linguistic devices (Hyland 2008, p. 4; 2009, p. 13). Precisely this social, audience-oriented dimension of academic discourse and its linguistic and rhetorical units is emphasised through the concept of 'metadiscourse'.

The notion itself was redefined numerous times. Ädel (2006, p. 2) points out that metadiscourse enables the writer to guide his or her reader in relation to the anticipated reaction of the reader. Similarly, metadiscourse elements lead the readers through "structure and organization [of a text], [...] the writing process itself or [writer's] opinions and beliefs concerning its content" (Herriman, 2014, p. 1). Similar observations were made for the spoken modality as well (Ädel, 2010; Correia et al., 2015; Zhang et al., 2017). What all have in common is the usual division of metadiscourse elements based on their function. As Dafouz-Milne (2008, p. 97) put it, most authors treat metadiscourse as 'textual' or 'interpersonal', the former referring to the organisation of a text and its coherence, and the latter to the writer's attitudes to a text.

When it comes to the analysis of metadiscourse markers in academic genres, most studies focused on research genres, and in particular on research articles (Mauranen, 1993; Dahl, 2004; Toumi, 2009; Cao and Hu, 2014) or master and doctoral theses (Hyland, 2004; Lin, 2005; Lee and Casal, 2014), predominantly from the perspective of language or disciplinary-conditioned patterns of use of metadiscourse. However, recently a broader scope of analysis in terms of genre has been suggested. Namely, according to some authors, when it comes to other research genres of academic discourse[3], book reviews, even though important in terms of critical,

ANA LJ. VUČIĆEVIĆ, ALEKSANDRA D. RAKIĆ

evaluative, and, above all, expert opinion conveyed to academic audiences, are neglected to a certain point in general research (Araújo 1996, p. 17; Motta-Roth 1998, p. 31; Hyland 2009, p. 89).

Having in mind the orientation of a review toward professional audiences and, therefore, the importance of the linguistic elements that aid effective formulation and structuring of evaluation, in this paper we qualitatively and quantitatively examine the markers of textual metadiscourse in the academic reviews of books from the fields of humanities (linguistics and literature) and social sciences (sociology, history, and ethnography) in both Serbian and English languages. Our principal hypotheses are related to the language-specific and disciplinary differences among the two subsets of the corpus. We first of all assume that we may find more types of textual metadiscourse markers in the reviews in English. Also, considering the nature of the disciplines, it may be the case that the reviewers of books from the field of humanities generally use more units of textual metadiscourse and that even when comparing the same disciplines, it is possible to find certain differences conditioned by the language the reviewers use. In accordance with these points, the aims of the study are: 1) to explore the forms the reviewers writing in different languages use in order to organise their texts, 2) to determine potential differences in the use of textual metadiscourse taking into account the types of elements of textual metadiscourse, the nature of discipline-specific rhetorical shaping of a text and the language in which the reviews are written. The results might be significant in terms of, to our knowledge, relatively limited amount of data on similar research of this particular genre (Junqueira and Cortes, 2014; Bal-Gezegin, 2016) and the absence of available information on some similar analysis for the Serbian-English language pair. Moreover, this comparison may be of interest to those intending to enhance the practice of writing reviews in the languages encompassed by the study.

In the following sections we will provide a brief overview of the studies of textual metadiscourse, elaborate on the research methodology, and present and interpret the results with respect to the goals of the study.

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[3] Hyland proposed a division of academic discourses into research, instructional, student and popular. Book reviews are considered to be research-oriented (Hyland 2009, p. 89). However, book reviews have also been recently classified as review genres (Hyland and Diani, 2009, p. 2; Zou and Hyland, 2020).

TEXTUAL METADISCOURSE IN A NUTSHELL

Markers of (textual) metadiscourse have been labelled and classified in different manners depending on the perspective of respective researchers. Among numerous studies, we will single out the ones that offer classifications that are reckoned as particularly influential and can, therefore, be most frequently found in the literature on the topic.

To begin with, the classification offered by Vande Kopple (1985, pp. 83–84) includes: 1) *text connectives* conveying logical/temporal relationship and performing the functions of sequencing, connecting and reminding, 2) *code glosses* serving the purpose of clarification, 3) *illocution markers* announcing the discursive action the author will perform and 4) *narrators* informing the reader of the source of information. Furthermore, Crismore et al. (1993, p. 47) proposed the model, somewhat similar in terms of function of markers, but with slightly altered terms, encompassing both *textual* (logical connectives, sequencers, reminders, topicalisers) and *interpretive markers* (code glosses, illocution markers, announcements). Similarly, Mauranen (1993, pp. 9–10) distinguished between *connectors* (indicating relationships between different propositions in the text), *reviews* (referring to the earlier sections of the text), *previews* (referring to the later sections of the text), and *action markers* (indicating discourse actions the author performs).

On the other hand, some authors do not use the label 'textual' but establish their own terms.[4] Ädel defines categories of *impersonal* metadiscourse such as *phorics* (pointing to the preceding/following portions of the text), *references to the text/code* (referring to the explicit level of the text or to some particular expressions in the text), *code glosses* (facilitating interpretation), and *discourse labels* (indicating discourse acts) (Ädel, 2006, p. 101; 108; 113; 115). Hyland posits the model of the so-called *interactive* metadiscourse made up of *transitions* (indicating connections between stretches of discourse), *frame markers* (organising the discourse), *endophorics* (referring to some additional parts of the text), *evidentials* (provid-

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4   The only explicit reference to the label 'textual' was found in Crismore et al. (1993), whereas other previously mentioned authors explain the function of textual metadiscourse either through the prism of textual organisation (Mauranen, 1993) or in relation to the opposition to the markers of validity, attitude and commentary (Vande Kopple, 1985) .

ing sources), and *code glosses* (providing explanations and clarifications) (Hyland 2005, pp. 50–52).

When it comes to the research on textual metadiscourse conducted by Serbian authors, it seems that they mostly relied on some of the (aforementioned) foreign classifications for corpora either in Serbian or in some foreign language (compare Piršl, 2009; Koprivica Lelićanin, 2014; Bogdanović, 2017; Figar, 2018; Đorđević and Vesić Pavlović, 2020). To the best of our knowledge, only Blagojević (2008; 2012; 2012a) and Blagojević and Vukić (2012) provided the model of (textual) metadiscourse adapted for contrastive research for the Serbian-English language pair.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As we stated earlier, markers of textual metadiscourse generally enable and improve the organisation of the information presented in texts. They do not contribute to, nor are part of the propositional content, but are rather used as links between individual propositions "so that they form a cohesive and coherent text" (Vande Kopple, 1985, p. 87). Hyland (1998, p. 442) also observes that these markers show that the writer is aware of his or her reader and wants to both facilitate and direct reader's interpretation. In this sense, textual markers may be very significant with regard to the principal communicative purpose of a book review in academic communication. As is known, book reviews convey professional evaluation of academic books and are thus used to disseminate knowledge, help academics narrow the choice of relevant bibliographic resources and keep abreast of new findings in the field (Hyland and Diani, 2009, p. 2; Junquiera and Cortes, 2014, p. 88). Therefore, textual markers might contribute to a more effective presentation of evaluation that, in return, may influence academic readers.

All elements of textual metadiscourse are classified according to the model provided by Blagojević (2008, p. 95; 2012, p. 93; 2012a, p. 81) and Blagojević and Vukić (2012). Even though it mostly relies on a single source (Vande Kopple, 1985), we opted for this particular classification because it takes into account the specificities of

contrasting corpora in Serbian and English languages.[5] The very classification suggests a division into markers of textual connection and markers that signify discourse actions and authorial references to discourse. Markers of textual connection, as their name suggests, link parts of a text, thus contributing to its coherence. These include markers conveying logical relations among propositions and markers with spatio-temporal meaning, the meaning of sequencing, markers with roles of reminding, of reformulating of the previously stated, of introducing propositional content and of emphasising topic. On the other hand, there is a separate and less numerous group of markers denoting both discourse actions the author "performs" and rhetorical segments of discourse the author refers to in the text itself.

Furthermore, the obtained data are quantitatively presented (in percentages) and analysed in terms of distribution according to the type of textual markers, scientific discipline and language in which the reviews are written.

RESEARCH CORPUS

Our corpus consists of two hundred book reviews[6] published online in eminent journals[7] from the fields of humanities (linguistics and literature) and social sciences (sociology, history and ethnography) in both Serbian and English languages. A quantitative distribution of units of the corpus per disciplines and languages is balanced, namely, there are twenty reviews per each discipline and one hundred reviews per language. The balance is also kept in terms of the average length of the compared reviews. As the number of the disciplines is odd and the length of the reviews differs in these two fields, with humanities reviews sometimes exceeding five pages and social sciences reviews not exceeding three pages, the reviews from different fields are not compared. Direct quotations from the reviewed books are not taken into account, as these only serve the reviewers to illustrate and corroborate the evaluations presented in the reviews.

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[5] The author made significant alterations with regard to categories and terms (see Blagojević, 2008, pp. 90–95).

[6] The list of the analysed material is provided in the section Sources.

[7] Due to the unavailability of journal sources, ethnography reviews in English were taken from the official website of the particular academic institution.

ANA LJ. VUČIĆEVIĆ, ALEKSANDRA D. RAKIĆ

CORPUS ANALYSIS

We converted the source texts into *Word* format and subsequently removed both direct and indirect quotations, footnotes and references from the texts. In order to identify potential markers of textual metadiscourse, we conducted the contextually-dependent corpus analysis manually and independently. Following the initial results check and balancing, we tested and confirmed both the use of markers in contexts and their frequency by means of concordance option in the specialised software *Sketch Engine* (Kilgarriff et al., 2018).[8] Subsequently, we obtained the list of markers and classified it according to Blagojević (2008).

In the reviews in both Serbian and English similar elements were identified: markers of textual connection or connectives and markers denoting discourse actions/elements of discourse. Following the model used in the research, connective markers were grouped into markers conveying logical relations among propositions (equality, extension, explanation, cause and effect, opposition, concession, conclusion and comparison) and spatio-temporal markers, as well as sequencing, reminding, leading-in, topicalising and reformulating markers. The analysis of the corpus is presented in the language sections. All markers are illustrated with one authentic example from the corpus.[9] The qualitative data with accompanying statistical values (percentages) are presented in the tables below.

TEXTUAL CONNECTIVES

Textual connectives conveying logical relations of:

- equality:

S: *dakle, takođe, isto, istovremeno, ujedno, opet, na sličan način, u skladu sa tim(e).*

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[8] Nevertheless, we observed some ambiguous instances, predominantly in the sections dedicated to the summary of content. The writer simultaneously presented the content of the book under review and gave his/her own interpretation.

[9] All of the examples were coded consistently throughout the analysis: abbreviations for language, discipline and numeral were provided respectively.

Ona svedoči o sukobu, reklo bi se „doslednih" levičara (komunista) i onih levičara (komunista) [...]. Ukazuje, *takođe*[10], na problematičnost neutemeljenih i nategnutih istorijskih ideologija, analogija i „vertikala". (SH12, p. 203)

E: *likewise, at the same time, simultaneously, similarly, so, in line with.*

[...] Frazier emphasizes the intentionality of Vietnamese women through their active consideration of how collaborations with 'Western' women could further their own anti-war agendas. *Simultaneously*, Frazier examines how these interactions created a space for American women to simultaneously condemn the war effort and reconsider their own ideas about femininity and womanhood. (EH17, p. 915)

• extension:

S: *štaviše, inače, uzgred, pored ovoga/toga, pored/između ostalog, osim toga, pri tom(e)/pritom, uz to, s(a) druge strane, na drugoj strani.*

Последње поглавље [...] ѕави се стицањем неопходних знања и моѓућности за напредак у Азероту. *Поред ѿоѓа*, ауторка скреће пажњу на значај романтичарског наслеђа у поимању последица глобалне индустријализације [...]. (SE5, p. 442)

E: *and, moreover, what is more, further, furthermore, also, in addition, additionally, more to the point, apart from, more than that.*

Much like the "revolutionary" ideal that charges through the eras of Lee's analysis, *moreover*, it is a continuum that cannot be essentialized or made universal, even though the contemporary situation creates a paradox of "authenticity," [...]. (ELit1, p. 676)

• explanation:

S: *zapravo, naime, na primer (npr.)*[11], *to jest (tj.), odnosno, tako, na ovaj/ taj način, u tom smislu/pogledu/ključu, u suštini, u stvari.*

Аутор покушава да одреди основне карактеристике ѕиополитичког стања у коме се развија феномен изѕеглиштва, *ѿј.* да дефинише нешто што ѕи се могло назвати ѕиополитичким диспозитивом [...]. (SE4, p. 591)

E: *in this/that sense, in this respect, in this regard/view, under that/the same light, for example, for instance, in fact, in particular, that is, namely, in this context, thus, along these lines, above all, i.e.*

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[10] In both languages markers appear both intra- and inter-sententially (most frequently in initial, but also in medial and final sentential position).

[11] The same meaning conveys the lexeme *tipa* (SLing13).

ANA LJ. VUČIĆEVIĆ, ALEKSANDRA D. RAKIĆ

By this, Phillips and Milner aim to understand how these phenomena both build and destroy communities: [...]. *In this sense*, this book is a welcome departure from the 'good or bad' binary often dominating popular media coverage and a great deal of academic work on digital and social media and internet studies. (EE18)

- cause and effect:

S: *jer, zato, (upravo) stoga, zbog toga, otud(a), shodno/saglasno tome.*

Приказана студија [...] читаоцу нуди обиље емпиријских података и теоријских разматрања. *Сūоīа* ће она засигурно бити изузетно корисна референца за будуће радове из области фонетике и фонологије српског језика. (SLing2, p. 322)

E: *for, thus, accordingly, consequently, for this or these reasons, therefore, as a result, so.*

[...] the poetic work of post-romantic Afro-Atlantics is emblematic of a non-recuperative experience of literature and truth. *Consequently*, the kind of singular universalism heralded by relation and actualized by *lieux communs* signifies a recount of Romantic utopianism inscribed into the force of an experience that is life-affirming instead of death-bound, [...]. (ELit4, p. 685)

- opposition:

S: *ali, no, međutim, naprotiv, nasuprot tome*[12]*, pak, s(a) jedne strane – s(a) druge strane.*

Ova poglavlja sadrže i konkretne mere finansijske i ekonomske politike [...]. *Međutim*, uzevši u obzir kratko, ali burno Varufakisovo iskustvo ministra finansija u vladi A. Ciprasa, očigledno je sa kakvim će se političkim otporom suočavati bilo kakav drugačiji makroekonomski kurs. (SS4, p. 530)

E: *however, but, instead, (on the) contrary, by/in contrast, on the one hand, on the other hand.*

The claim is that the 'generative process is optimal', based on 'efficient computation' (71), and that 'this newly emerged computational system for thought … is perfect, in so far as SMT is correct' (80). *However*, B&C give no definition of 'optimal' or 'efficient' or 'perfect'. (ELing1, p. 993)

- concession:

S: *ipak, uostalom.*

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[12] Instead of the anaphorical pronoun *to* the substantive syntagm is used (nasuprot *ovim pogledima* (SH17)).

Osobito je zadovoljstvo, zahvaljujući izdavačkoj kući Clio, prikazati knjigu Manuela Kastelsa *Moć komunikacija* [...]. *Ipak*, poseban je izazov jednu ovako obimnu studiju prikazati na samo nekoliko strana teksta. (SS2: 178)

E: *nonetheless, however, yet, rather, nevertheless, notwithstanding, either way, still.*

Questions arise about how Harkness operationalized what is arguably a slippery status. [...] *Yet* it is common knowledge that gangsta rappers exaggerate gang affiliations and connections to criminal activity as a means to boost publicity and record sales [...]. (ES10, pp. 1000–1001)

• conclusion:

S: *dakle, prema tome.*

Vrednost knjige, pored obilja podataka, je u njenom otvoreno političkom karakteru. *Dakle*, studija se, pored toga što je akademski tekst, može čitati i kao politički pamflet [...]. (SS6, p. 540)

E: *so, thus, then, hence, therefore, after all.*

[...] even though virtual worlds are not real, they are nevertheless embedded in the "real world". *Hence*, virtual worlds are places and have "a sense of worldness" which "offer an objective environment"; they "are multi-user in nature" and "continue to exist in some form even as participants log off" (p. 7). (EE8)

Spatio-temporal markers:

S: *najpre, pre svega, na [samom] početku, zatim, potom, dalje*[13], *nadalje, kasnije*[14], *u nastavku, nakon toga, konačno, najzad, naposletku, napokon, na [samom] kraju, na koncu.*

[...] ауторка у закључку рада истиче изузетан значај есејистике Миодрага Павловића за развој српске књижевности, [...]. *Пошом* следи преглед литературе [...]. (SLit8, p. 294)

E: *finally, then, next, in the end, meanwhile, later.*

While the initial decision to seek an OT-based explanation for rightward movement may find some detractors and strike some as rather ad hoc in nature, I would like to make two remarks: [...].[...] *In the end,*

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[13] In some examples from our corpus the lexeme *dalje* is used adjectivally (u *daljem* tekstu (SLing1, SS7, SS8), u *daljem* izlaganju (SLing2), u *daljem* objašnjavanju (SLing19)).

[14] This lexeme is also used as an adjective (u *kasnijem* poglavlju (SLit4)).

this book's approachability is limited only by the required background in recent generative theory; [...]. (ELing14, p. 227)

Sequencing markers:

S: *prvo, drugo, treće, četvrto.*

Значај монографије [...] рекао *б*их, вишеструк је: [...] *друго*, један корпусни материјал који је, тематски посматрано, *б*ио изван фокуса истраживача – сада се детаљније предочава читаоцима; *треће*, у оквиру различитих путева истраживања, што их анализа дискурса отвара/нуди, ауторка се одлучује за онај који је веома важан [...]. (SLing15, p. 160)

E: *first, firstly, first of all, first and foremost, second, secondly, third, fourth, fifth, lastly, for one, as a starter, to begin on a...note, following this.*

So how are all these asymmetries intrinsically linked to quantitative survey research design? [...] *Firstly*, for quantitative survey research, statistical expertise is needed to calculate correlations. [...] *Secondly*, quantitative survey research is built on a strong deductive approach. (EE13)

Markers of reminding:

S: *kao što smo naveli.*

Kao što smo naveli Pavić se 1909. godine nastanio u Kaliforniji [...]. (SH7, p. 200)

E: *as explained above, once again, as mentioned earlier.*

As mentioned earlier, upon the death of Arafat, Abbas was elected president [...]. (EH14, p. 907)

Lead-in markers:

S: performative verbs; authorial questions.

Детаљније *ћемо се задржати на садржају* четвртог тома, али *ћемо дати* и најкраћи *приказ* осталих. (SLing5, pp. 219–220).

E: performative verbs used solely or in combination with nouns announcing the content to be presented; authorial questions.

The only word of caution that I must *include* is one already noted in its blurb [...]. (EE2)

Markers of topic:

S: *u vezi sa tim(e)* (*s tim(e) u vezi*).

Међу опсесивним мотивима и темама нарочито се издвајају вода и река [...]. *У вези са тиме*, пригодна фуснота резимира у свега неколико редова битне студије о симболици воде у роману [...]. (SLit5, p. 283)

E: *in terms of, with regard to, on the issue of, as to, for, in view of, as regards, regarding, with respect to, as for.*

With regard to the latter aspect, R's work is entirely consistent with Chomsky's suggestion [...]. (ELing11, p. 723)

Markers of reformulation:

S: *najšire gledano, uže gledano, u najkraćem, recimo, drugim rečima, tačnije, preciznije, ukratko, tzv.*

Ovo je stvaralo plodno tle za albanski iredentizam [...]. *Drugim rečima,* Gatalović je jasno uvideo povezanost ekonomske nerazvijenosti, inostrane propagande i neprijateljskih tendencija unutar Kosova i Metohije. (SH9, p. 207)

E: *in other words, overall, in sum, to sum up, in short, (more) specifically, summing up, stated otherwise, (more) precisely, to put it differently, briefly, put simply, to reiterate, more narrowly, stated another way, or rather, this is to say, long story short.*

The proposed analysis relies on the observation that non performative eventives in the simple present cannot have an episodic interpretation due to the PPP. *In other words,* because the English present is perfective (characterized as 1), a paradox emerges for non-performative eventives. (ELing16, p. 473)

MARKERS OF DISCOURSE ACTIONS AND REFERENCES TO DISCOURSE

Markers of discourse actions

S: performative verbs – *zaključiti, istaći/isticati, sagledavati, predstavljati, zadržati se, dati prikaz (prikazati)/prikazivati, navesti/navoditi*; combination of modals, discourse actions and markers of attitude in active or passive constructions – *možemo zaključiti/da zaključimo (može se zaključiti), nastojimo da ukažemo, možemo reći, mogli bismo ispitivati, moguće je da navedemo*; nouns denoting discourse actions – *namera.*

> Књига коју *ūредсūшављамо* објављена је крајем 2016. године [...]. (SLing3, p. 323)

E: performative verbs used either solely or in combination with: modals in active, passive or impersonal constructions; hortative modals (let) in active constructions by means of which the writer encourages the reader to perform discourse action with him/her – *add, say, ask, include, name, address, conclude, propose, outline, close*; nouns denoting discourse actions – *conclusion.*

> In *conclusion*, contrary to B&C's claims, there is an enormous amount to discover when it comes to language evolution, [...]. (ELing1, p. 996)

Markers of authorial references to discourse

S: nouns referring to (part of) review – *(ovaj) prikaz, završna reč, kraj (ovog) prikaza*; adverbs *sada* and *ovde* and their periphrastic equivalents – *na ovom mestu, ovom prilikom.*

> *Na ovom mestu* smo odabrali da se osvrnemo samo na neke aspekte ove studije [...]. (SS1, p. 173)

E: nouns referring to (part of) review; adverb *here.*

> *In the final part of this review* I would like to address two broader aspects of R's claims [...]. (ELing7, p. 486)

DISCUSSION

Following the qualitative analysis, the quantitative comparison was performed. Tables 1 and 3 show the number and percentage of textual connectives expressing logical relations among propositions in the academic book reviews in Serbian and English, while Tables 2 and 4 illustrate the number and percentage of the remaining groups of textual connectives and markers of discourse actions/ authorial references to discourse in both languages respectively.

DISCIPLINE (SERBIAN)	EQUAL.		EXTENS.		EXPLANAT.		C-E.		OPPOS.		CONCESS.		CONCLUS.		TOTAL	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
LINGUISTICS	9	4.35	40	19.32	113	54.59	11	5.31	16	7.73	9	4.35	9	4.35	207	25.56
LITERATURE	16	11.35	26	18.44	49	34.75	8	5.67	29	20.57	10	7.09	3	2.13	141	17.41
SOCIOLOGY	23	9.31	27	10.93	70	28.34	28	10.93	60	24.29	23	9.31	17	6.88	248	30.62
ETHNOGRAPHY	20	13.70	22	15.07	55	37.67	12	8.22	25	17.12	7	4.79	5	3.42	146	18.02
HISTORY	12	17.65	15	22.06	15	22.06	0	0.00	20	29.41	4	5.88	2	2.94	68	8.40
TOTAL	80	9.88	130	16.05	302	37.28	59	7.28	150	18.52	53	6.54	36	4.44	810	/

TABLE 1: THE NUMBER (N) AND PERCENTAGE (P) OF TEXTUAL CONNECTIVES CONVEYING LOGICAL RELATIONS IN BOOK REVIEWS IN SERBIAN

DISCIPLINE (SERBIAN)	LOGIC.		S-T.		SEQUEN.		REMIND.		LEAD-IN		TOPIC.		REFORM.		D.ACTIONS REF. TO D.		TOTAL	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
LINGUISTICS	207	64.09	68	21.05	10	3.10	0	0.00	3	0.93	0	0.00	15	4.64	20	6.19	323	28.09
LITERATURE	141	72.31	32	16.41	0	0.00	0	0.00	4	2.05	1	0.51	9	4.62	8	4.10	195	16.96
SOCIOLOGY	248	72.51	36	10.53	1	0.29	0	0.00	16	4.68	4	1.17	21	6.14	16	4.68	342	29.74
ETHNOGRAPHY	146	79.35	12	6.52	0	0.00	0	0.00	7	3.80	0	0.00	17	9.24	2	1.09	184	16.00
HISTORY	68	64.15	16	15.09	1	0.94	1	0.94	9	8.49	1	0.94	4	3.77	6	5.66	106	9.22
TOTAL	810	70.43	164	14.26	12	1.04	1	0.09	39	3.39	6	0.52	66	5.74	52	4.52	1150	/

TABLE 2: THE NUMBER (N) AND PERCENTAGE (P) OF THE REMAINING TEXTUAL CONNECTIVES AND MARKERS OF DISCOURSE ACTIONS/REFERENCES TO DISCOURSE IN THE BOOK REVIEWS IN SERBIAN

ANA LJ. VUČIĆEVIĆ, ALEKSANDRA D. RAKIĆ

DISCIPLINE (ENGLISH)	EQUAL.		EXTENS.		EXPLANAT.		C-E.		OPPOS.		CONCESS.		CONCLUS.		TOTAL	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
LINGUISTICS	10	3.80	26	9.51	91	34.60	18	7.98	65	23.95	19	6.84	33	13.31	262	34.70
LITERATURE	2	1.47	17	12.50	41	27.21	16	12.50	23	16.91	24	13.97	21	15.44	144	19.07
SOCIOLOGY	7	5.56	15	11.90	27	21.43	6	4.76	36	28.57	23	18.25	12	9.52	126	16.69
ETHNOGRAPHY	4	2.94	16	11.76	27	19.85	6	4.41	35	25.74	41	30.15	7	5.15	136	18.01
HISTORY	4	4.60	15	17.24	16	18.39	4	4.60	21	24.14	22	25.29	5	5.75	87	11.52
TOTAL	27	3.58	89	11.79	202	26.75	50	6.62	180	23.84	129	17.09	78	10.33	755	/

TABLE 3: THE NUMBER (N) AND PERCENTAGE (P) OF TEXTUAL CONNECTIVES CONVEYING LOGICAL RELATIONS IN BOOK REVIEWS IN ENGLISH

DISCIPLINE (ENGLISH)	LOGIC.		S-T.		SEQUEN.		REMIND.		LEAD-IN		TOPIC.		REFORM.		D.ACTIONS REF. TO D.		TOTAL	
	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P	N	P
LINGUISTICS	262	65.66	18	4.51	12	3.01	1	0.25	52	13.03	14	3.51	18	4.51	22	5.51	399	35.82
LITERATURE	144	67.92	4	1.89	2	0.94	1	0.47	25	11.79	7	3.30	12	5.66	17	8.02	212	19.03
SOCIOLOGY	126	69.23	5	2.75	4	2.20	0	0.00	37	20.33	4	2.20	5	2.75	1	0.55	182	16.34
ETHNOGRAPHY	136	68.00	10	5.00	19	9.50	0	0.00	20	10.00	1	0.50	8	4.00	6	3.00	200	17.95
HISTORY	87	71.90	6	4.96	7	5.79	1	0.83	6	4.96	1	0.83	7	5.79	6	4.96	121	10.86
TOTAL	755	67.77	43	3.86	44	3.95	3	0.27	140	12.57	27	2.42	50	4.49	52	4.67	1114	/

TABLE 4: THE NUMBER (N) AND PERCENTAGE (P) OF THE REMAINING TEXTUAL CONNECTIVES AND MARKERS OF DISCOURSE ACTIONS/REFERENCES TO DISCOURSE IN THE BOOK REVIEWS IN ENGLISH

As is stated in the introductory parts of this paper, the focal point of the analysis is the distribution of markers of textual meta-

discourse in relation to the parameters of the type of textual markers, scientific discipline and language in which the reviews are written.

In terms of the type of markers, markers conveying logical relations are more numerous than both other types of textual connectives and markers of discourse actions/references to discourse across all disciplines and in both languages. Namely, as Table 2 shows, out of the total number of textual markers in the reviews in Serbian (1150), almost four fifths (70.43%) were markers of logical relations. Similarly, Table 4 illustrates that, in the reviews in English, in comparison to the total number (1114), logical markers remained the predominant group with a share more than three and a half times greater than other types (67.77%).

Furthermore, when it comes to a particular type of logical markers, as Tables 1 and 3 show, the reviews across all disciplines and in both languages share the greatest number of markers in function of explanation (37.28% in the reviews in Serbian and 26.75% in the reviews in English), followed by markers of opposition (18.52%) and extension (16.05%) in the corpus in Serbian, and opposition (23.84%) and concession (17.09%) in the corpus in English. On the other hand, the lowest numbers in the reviews in Serbian are observed for markers of conclusion (4.44%) and concession (6.54%), and in the reviews in English for equality (3.58%) and cause and effect (6.62%).

Regarding the remaining types of textual connectives, Tables 2 and 4 display similar numbers in both reviews in Serbian (288) and English (307). Moreover, as can be seen in Table 2, spatio-temporal (14.26%) and reformulation (5.74%) markers are most numerous in the reviews in Serbian, whereas Table 4 indicates the greatest number of lead-in markers (12.57%) in the reviews in English. The common point for all disciplines and both languages is the low number of reminding markers (0.09% in the reviews in Serbian and 0.27% in the reviews in English).

As for markers of discourse actions and authorial references to discourse, as Tables 2 and 4 show, the numbers are approximately the same across languages (4.52% in the reviews in Serbian and 4.67% in the reviews in English), with the greatest values observed in linguistics book reviews (6.19% and 5.51% in the respective languages).

The predominance of logical markers implies that authors writing in both Serbian and English show the same tendency to link dis-

course units on the basis of the logical relation more than to organise the presentation of the propositional content. On the one hand, this facilitates the interpretation of facts. However, it may make it more difficult to the reader to follow the flow of the text, that is, to notice a change of topic, prominence of ideas, their ordering according to that prominence, ideational connection between larger units of text (paragraphs or sections) and so on. This may be due to the nature of the genre, namely, book reviews are usually short and when it comes to our corpus, are mostly informative[15]. It follows that, in such reviews, there are not many rhetorical moves due to brevity, desired conciseness and focus on information. The authors emphasise the importance of a valid interpretation of facts from the reviewed book and their interrelations more than the evaluative aspect. More to the point, we may even state that this is the reason why logical markers of explanation dominate in both languages – the authors want to ensure the appropriate interpretation of facts from the book.

With regard to other types of textual connectives and markers of discourse actions/references to discourse, the reviewers in both languages show somewhat similar tendencies, with only subtle differences observed in the use of the specific subtype of markers.

As for the disciplinary parameter, the highest number of all textual markers in the reviews in Serbian is observed in the reviews dealing with sociological (29.74%) and linguistic (28.09%) issues (Table 2). On the other hand, the numbers for the corpus in English shown in Table 4 illustrate the highest percentage of all textual markers in linguistics (35.82%) and literature (19.03%) reviews. The lowest number is detected in history reviews (9,22% in the reviews in Serbian and 10.86% in the reviews in English) and, as opposed to the corpus in Serbian, in sociology reviews in English (16.34%). Ethnography reviews also contain some of the lowest values in both Serbian (16%) and English (17.95%) corpora.

As can be noticed, linguistics and literature reviewers tend to use textual markers to a greater extent. Even though the two are generally akin, linguistics as a discipline tends to be more exact-like, presenting facts almost in the fashion of natural sciences. On the other hand, literature is scientific as well, but at the same time it

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[15] Book reviews are considered to be informative/descriptive and/or evaluative/critical. The former predominantly summarise the content of the reviewed material, whereas the latter mostly convey the reviewer's critical assessment (Motta-Roth, 1995; Motta-Roth, 1996; Gea Valor, 2000, p. 10; Šandová, 2018).

seems to be more artistic and therefore subjective to an extent. The nature of the disciplines is reflected in the reviews as well. In our corpus, linguistics reviews predominantly enumerate and, in an exact-like manner, explain linguistic mechanisms the reviewed books deal with. Literature reviews cast light on both facts and evaluation. Therefore, having in mind both epistemological differences and similarities and high numbers of textual markers, it is perhaps possible to infer that these values may be ascribed to formal education professional philologists go through. Namely, we assume that they are trained to be aware of their potential audience as well as of diverse language resources to rely on in communication. As for the reviews from the field of social sciences, a relatively low number of textual markers in history reviews may be conditioned by the tendency to chronicle and enumerate historical events and other various data.

Lastly, from a contrastive perspective, it is possible to say that, on a general level, there are more diverse textual markers in the reviews in English and also quantitatively more markers of textual metadiscourse in the reviews in Serbian, though the difference is slight.

These data provide evidence that the writers of book reviews from these two academic communities follow certain similar patterns of textual connection and discourse organisation. First of all, when it comes to the type of textual markers, it has been observed that the reviewers in both Serbian and English use the same types across all categories in the applied model. Also, due to the nature of the genre, textual connectives conveying logical relations are most numerous in both languages, with precedence of those with explanatory function. Presumably, the aim is to convey facts and evaluations and elaborate on them. More to the point, the reviewers in both languages use a practically identical number of the remaining types of textual connectives and markers of discourse actions/authorial references to discourse, which further implies they similarly pay attention to different manners of organisation of the presented propositional content. Secondly, the epistemology of the discipline may influence the need of the author to lead the reader through the discourse of the book review. Namely, chronological, factual information is less liable to multiple perspectives, whereas dynamic issues certain disciplines tackle require that the author should use different means to convey that dynamism to the reader.

In conclusion, we may state that even though the writers belong to different academic communities in the sense of potentially diverse practices of academic writing, it seems that, when it comes to this academic genre and the use of the markers of textual meta-discourse, there are no significant points of divergence.

CONCLUSION | In this paper the qualitative-quantitative analysis of the markers of textual metadiscourse in Serbian and English book reviews was performed. The comparison was based on three parameters: the type of markers, discipline and language of the review.

Our initial assumptions were only partly confirmed. Namely, we hypothesised about the differences in the use of textual markers in terms of their type as well as across disciplines and languages in question. However, the results showed only a subtle variation when it comes to these parameters. As we have already stated, all types of markers from the model were used in both languages. Textual connectives conveying logical relations are used to a great extent across disciplines and in both languages. In comparison to other disciplines, the number of textual markers is significantly greater in linguistics reviews in both languages, literature reviews in English as well as in sociology reviews in Serbian, which implies that not only the reviews from the field of humanities, but also the reviews from certain social sciences may contain a greater number of textual metadiscourse markers. Generally speaking, the number of all markers is relatively greater in the reviews in Serbian. However, it is possible to say that the number does not indicate any significant difference.

In the light of the previously stated, we hope that the results of our research may be useful to reviewers writing within different disciplines. The forms diversified according to their meaning, sentential positioning and the manner textual markers aid organisation of a text can help reviewers more explicitly and efficiently convey their ideas to expert audiences. Moreover, we suggest more thorough research of this genre in the future in terms of a greater number of parameters. For instance, it is possible to include subgenre differentiation in terms of informative-evaluative distinction in order to obtain a more detailed account of the patterns of use of textual metadiscourse in this academic genre, and, consequently, a kind of instruction for reviewers to adequately profile their reviews into a balanced blend of information and evaluation.

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Резиме
ТЕКСТУАЛНИ МЕТАДИСКУРС У АКАДЕМСКИМ ПРИКАЗИМА КЊИГА НА СРПСКОМ И ЕНГЛЕСКОМ ЈЕЗИКУ

Овај рад се бави формама и обрасцима употребе маркера текстуалног метадискурса у академским приказима књига на српском и енглеском језику из области хуманистичких наука (лингвистике и књижевности) и друштвених наука (социологије, историје и етнографије). Основни циљ рада био је утврђивање потенцијалних разлика у употреби ових маркера у односу на параметре типа маркера, дисциплине и језика на којем су прикази написани. Квалитативно-квантитативна анализа спроведена је према моделу који је презентовала Благојевић (2008). Што се првог параметра тиче, поређење је показало да се, у односу на друге текстуалне конективе и маркере дискурсних радњи и упућивања на дискурс, у свим дисциплинама и на оба језика претежно јављају логички текстуални конективи. Када је реч о параметру дисциплине, прикази из дисциплина лингвистике, књижевности и социологије садрже највећи број маркера. У погледу критеријума језика, кад се све узме у обзир, више је текстуалних маркера уочено у приказима на српском језику него у приказима на енглеском. Међутим, разлика је незнатна, што указује на

то да има више сличности него разлике у употреби маркера текстуалног метадискурса.

КЉУЧНЕ РЕЧИ: академски дискурс; академски прикази књига; текстуални метадискурс; дисциплине; српски језик; енглески језик.

ANA LJ. VUČIĆEVIĆ, ALEKSANDRA D. RAKIĆ

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or

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THREE TO FIVE AUTHORS	(Vaughan, Neale, Leary and Jonson, 2010)	(Vaughan et. al., 2010)
SIX OR MORE AUTHORS	(Healy et. al, 2008)	(Healy et. al, 2008)
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If the monograph is available online, the URL should be included at the end of the reference.

Todorov, T. (1975). *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre.* New York: Cornell University Press.

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FILM	Last name, First name initial (Producer), & Last name, First name initial (Director). (Release year). *Title of film in italics* [Motion picture]. Country: Studio.
	Bender, L. (Producer), & Tarantino, Q. (Director). (1994). *Pulp fiction* [Motion Picture]. United States: Miramax.
SINGLE EPISODE FROM A TELEVISION SERIES	Last name, First name initial (Writer), & Last name, First name initial (Director). (Year of airing). Title of episode [Television series episode]. In First name initial, Last name (Executive producer), *Title of series in italics.* Location: Company.
	Kang, K. (Writer), & Fryman, P. (Director). (2006). Slap bet [Television series episode]. In Bays, C. (Executive Producer), *How I met your mother.* Los Angeles, CA: Columbia Broadcasting System.
VIDEO	Author's last name, First name initial. OR Screen name. (year, month day of posting). Title of video [Video file]. Available from URL
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