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СОЦИОЛОГИЈА И ЕКОНОМИЈА
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КЊИЖЕВНОСТ
LITERATURE

ПОЛИТИКА И ПРАВО
POLITICS AND LAW

СОЦИОЛОГИЈА И ЕКОНОМИЈА
SOCIOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

PERCEIVED SOCIAL SUPPORT OF RESIDENTS WITH DEMENTIA IN LONG-TERM CARE IN SERBIA: A PILOT STUDY

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Abstract

This study aimed to investigate the level of perceived social support in people with mild to moderate form of dementia in residential care settings. Also, the aim of this study was to investigate the level of perceived social support from different sources in the social surrounding of people with dementia. The sample consisted of 29 participants diagnosed with mild to moderate form of dementia. The Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS) was used for the purpose of evaluating the level of perceived social support. Participants rated the perceived social support fairly high. There were no significant differences in social support pertaining to gender and education. Furthermore, participants stated that they have significantly more social support from family, compared to friends and other significant persons. These findings are an important start of research addressing the quality of life in people with dementia with the aim of improving the existing social support mechanisms in Serbia.

Key words: perceived social support, dementia, residential care, Serbia.

НИВО ПЕРЦИПИРАНЕ СОЦИЈАЛНЕ ПОДРШКЕ ОСОБА СА ДЕМЕНЦИЈОМ У РЕЗИДЕНЦИЈАЛНОМ СМЕШТАЈУ У СРБИЈИ: ПИЛОТ ИСТРАЖИВАЊЕ

Апстракт

Циљ овог истраживања је да се испита ниво добијене социјалне подршке на основу самопроцене код особа са деменцијом у установама резиденцијалног типа. Поред тога, циљ ове студије је и да се утврде нивои перципиране социјалне подршке

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из различитих извора у социјалном окружењу особа са деменцијом. Узорак се састојао од 29 испитаника са дијагнозом благог до умереног облика деменције. Као инструмент за процену социјалне подршке коришћена је Мултидимензионална скала перципиране социјалне подршке (МСПСС). Резултати су прелиминарно показали да особе са благом и умереном деменцијом у резиденцијалном смештају оцењују добијен ниво социјалне подршке прилично високо, а сама подршка није у вези са полом или нивоом образовања испитаника. Поред тога, испитаници добијају значајно више подршке од стране породице у поређењу са пријатељима и другим значајним особама, што је потенцијално условљено социо-економским и демографским факторима, као променама у друштвеном миљеу које се дешавају старењем. Ови налази су важан почетак истраживања који се бави квалитетом живота особа са деменцијом, а све у циљу побољшања постојећих механизама социјалне подршке у Србији.

Кључне речи: перципирана социјална подршка, деменција, резиденцијални смештај, Србија.

INTRODUCTION

Demographic data predicts that the percentage of the elderly in the world population will increase up to 16.4% by 2050, while in Serbia in 2011, 17.4% of population was over the age of 65 (Vukovic, 2019). European demographic data states that almost 5% of population over the age of 65 have some form of dementia, following an increase to 40% among people over the age of 90 (Fratiglioni et al., 2000; Launer & Hofman, 2000).

According to the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders - Fifth Edition* (APA, 2013), dementia is defined as an acquired neurocognitive disorder that involves cognitive decline due to physical changes in the brain. The cognitive abilities that may be involved in the neurodegenerative process include: attention, executive abilities, learning and memory abilities, language, praxis and gnosis, as well as social cognition (APA, 2013). From an earlier point of view, cognitive deterioration was considered to be the direct cause of difficulties in the social functioning in people with dementia. Cognitive impairments, such as a decrease or loss of communication ability, can significantly affect participation in social activities amongst people with dementia (Mason, Clare, & Pistrang, 2005). However, results from some recent studies suggest that the decline in social functioning may be partially due to the formed societal perception of individuals with dementia, as well as due to the social treatment of family and formal caregivers, such as employees of day care centres and residential care units (Harris, 2002; Sabat, Napolitano, & Fath, 2004).

On the other hand, social support has been shown to be an important factor influencing the quality of life in the elderly. The results of previous studies have suggested that reduced social support positively correlated with lower quality of life (Helgeson, 2003), that can influence the onset of depression (Vanderhorst & McLaren, 2005) and even higher suicide rate (Rowe, Conwell, Schulberg, & Bruce, 2006), as well as higher mortality rate among the elderly (Lyyra & Heikkinen, 2006). Addition-

ally, prejudices, stereotypes and negative images that accompany the old age phenomenon contribute to a fundamental misunderstanding of this population, which is reflected in increased age-based discrimination (Milanović Dobrota, 2017). Moreover, the elderly in residential care settings are more likely under the risk of depression and suicidal ideation compared to those who are not in residential care (Gleeson, Hafford-Letchfield, Quaife, Collins, & Flynn, 2019). Accordingly, it is expected that people with dementia in residential care settings may have significantly more socio-emotional difficulties compared to neurologically healthy subjects of the same age, which adds further importance to the study of social support in this population.

In terms of measurement, there is a significant difference between objective and subjective needs of people with dementia. Objective needs are those that can be measured by instruments or the needs of people with dementia perceived and expressed by others. These "others" are informal caregivers or professionals, while the subjective needs are those expressed by dementia people themselves (Van Der Roest et al., 2007). Throughout the history of research in dementia, genuinely obvious clinical symptoms have focused the research on the biomedical outcome of these condition (Moile, Mcallister, Venturato, & Adams, 2007; Nigard, 2006). However, in the last few decades, there has been an increasing number of studies indicating the need for evaluating subjective feeling and needs of people with dementia, especially in terms of the impact of dementia on the quality of life (Banerjee et al., 2009; Kane et al., 2003; Sloane et al., 2005; Thorgrimsen et al., 2003). Thus, results from some of the previous studies have shown that people with dementia often feel isolated or stigmatized (Cantley & Smith, 2007; Logsdon, McCurry, & Teri, 2006). However, the psycho-social self-assessment in people with dementia can be flawed. Specifically, difficulties in speech and language skills, memory impairment and presence of behavioural changes can make communication with person with dementia pretty difficult, as well as gathering meaningful information during assessment. Therefore, much of literature in this area is based on proxy reports, observations and evaluations of informal and professional caregivers who still cannot provide a real picture of subjective needs. However, there is a growing body of research showing that people with dementia can provide reliable information about their quality of life, and also, that they can meaningfully point to their own socio-emotional needs. This is supported by the results from the quality of life survey in people with mild to moderate dementia (Arlt et al., 2008; Trigg, Jones, & Skevington, 2007), but also from certain studies that included people with a severe form of dementia (Hurt et al. 2008; Thorgrimsen et al. 2003).

Accordingly, it can be concluded that there is a small body of research in the literature that has addressed the quality of life of people with

dementia using self-reports. Also, some authors stated that this dimension of assessment particularly lacks in the research corpus of people with dementia in residential care (Kane et al. 2003, Sloane et al. 2005). Additionally, studies addressing self-report based social support for people with dementia are quite scarcely researched, while, on the other hand, there is a serious research corpus devoted to social support for family members of people with dementia or their caregivers. Also, what is missing in Serbia is the research of social support in clinical populations. Moreover, there is no research addressing this topic in people with dementia.

Present Study

There is no official data on the number, but it is estimated that the number of people with dementia in Serbia is between 92,000 and 142,000 (Raca, 2019). Also, there is no official data on the number of people with dementia in residential care. The Gerontology Center in Belgrade, as the largest center for the residential care of the elderly in Serbia, has a total of 893 residents, of which 260 are people with dementia. In residential care units for dementia most of the residents have a mild to moderate type of dementia and are able to make more active social contacts.

The cognitive decline itself and difficulties in the domain of language abilities can lead to the social stigma of people with dementia, which can in return cause social withdrawal (Hamilton, 2008). In addition, separation from family into residential care usually has a negative impact on the socialization of these individuals (Saunders et al., 2012). From the cause-and-effect aspect, social isolation can lead to faster progression of cognitive and language deterioration (Holwerda et al., 2014). Therefore, research in this area can significantly contribute to the development of the social support network for people with dementia in Serbia, as well as support for families. Consequently, a more developed social network can increase social engagement and communication, which can surely have positive impact on cognitive and language abilities of those with dementia.

Considering the small body of research in the field of quality of life of people with dementia, as well as the lack of studies of this type in the Serbian population, the aim of this study is to examine the level of perceived social support in people with mild and moderate forms of dementia in residential care.

People with dementia in residential care are at higher risk for lack of social support. In addition to the negative social impact of clinical difficulties caused by the disease itself, separation from family and shifting to a new and unfamiliar environment can lead to a significant reduction of social contacts. Family and friends are usually the main sources of support for the elderly, however, placement in residential care can lead to a significant reduction in contact with loved ones. Accordingly, we wanted to investigate the level of social support from different sources in social surrounding of people with dementia.

METHODS

Participants

The sample consisted of 29 participants diagnosed with mild or moderate form of dementia, between ages of 65 to 93 years (Mean=80.59; SD=7.48). 19 participants were women (65.5%) and 10 were men (34.5%), while the educational level ratio was equalled (15 with high school degree and 14 with college and up degree).

Inclusive criteria were: diagnosed dementia of mild to moderate type, mild to moderate cognitive impairment, adequate communication skills (fluent speech with relatively preserved comprehension) and stay in a residential care institution for at least six months. The exclusion criteria were: severe forms of dementia with a severe degree of cognitive and language impairment, comorbidity with psychiatric illnesses and a stay in an institution shorter than six months.

According to the criteria of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV-TR; American Psychiatric Association, 2000), 22 participants were diagnosed with vascular dementia, while 7 were diagnosed with Alzheimer's dementia. Participants had cognitive impairment level of 12-24 on the Mini-Mental State Examination (MMSE) (Folstein et al., 1975). Comprehension was assessed with an Auditory Comprehension Test from Boston Diagnostic Aphasia Examination (BDAE; Goodglass, Kaplan & Weintraub, 2001). All participants had adequate communication skills (fluent speech and Auditory Comprehension Test scoring 100 and above) and the ability to complete the questionnaire with the aid of an assistant. All participants were recruited from the Gerontology Center in Belgrade, residential care units for dementia and voluntarily agreed to participate in the study.

Instruments and Procedure

The Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS) (Zimet, G. D., Dahlem, Zimet, S. G., & Farley, 1988) was used as an instrument. This scale assesses the subjective perception of social support level a person receives from family (F), friends (Fr), or significant other (OSP). Social support is measured on a Likert-type scale with 12 questions, four for each source of social support. MSPSS is a 7-point rating scale ranging from *very strongly disagree* (1) to *very strongly agree* (7). The perceived social support can be summarized as a total score and scores for sources of support individually (family, friends or significant other). The inclusion of the additional source of support such as "significant other" is a unique aspect of the MSPSS that makes it particularly relevant to people with dementia in residential care because it enables the identification of persons who provide a certain level of social support outside the circle of family and friends. Also, the "significant other" allows a

person to define an additional source of social support, such as residential caregivers or staff members. This term was designed specifically to allow respondents to interpret items in ways most relevant to themselves (Zimet et al., 1988). In addition, the MSPSS contains only 12 items formulated in the form of short and clear questions, so it is easy for use, can be administered quickly and is understandable even to respondents who have difficulties in the area of cognitive and language functioning.

Internal consistency of the scales was tested using Cronbach's alpha, showing very good internal reliability (0.85). Due to the specificities of clinical population, a more detailed testing of the scale reliability was made. The values of the Cronbach's α coefficient if individual items were removed are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Scale Reliability Coefficient

Questions	Cronbach's α coefficient
SO1	0.83
SO2	0.84
F1	0.84
F2	0.84
SO3	0.86
Fr1	0.84
Fr2	0.84
F3	0.85
Fr3	0.83
SO4	0.85
F4	0.84
Fr4	0.84

SO – significant other; F – family; Fr – friends

If any item was deleted, internal consistency would not increase or decrease significantly (Table 1).

Total score was calculated, as well as scores from individual sources of support (family, friends and significant other). When asked who the other significant person would be, most of participants referred to a member of the working staff in the residential unit.

The assessment was conducted individually. Questions were explained in detail to participants, as well as the ranking manner. The individual assessment lasted from 30 to 40 minutes, and was conducted by the first author of the paper.

The study conformed to the ethical guidelines of the Declaration of Helsinki.

Statistical Analysis

Statistical analysis was performed using SPSS Statistics 19. Descriptive statistics was used for examining the answers distribution in

MSPSS, as well as for the determination of total and individual source scores. The analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used for identifying potential gender and education related differences in the level of social support. Paired Sample t Test was used for the comparison of different sources of social support.

RESULTS

Relationship between Demographic variables and Levels of Perceived Social Support

Some data from literature indicates possible influence of gender differences on the level of perceived social support (Matud, Ibañez, Bethencourt, Marrero, & Carballeira, 2003; Simon, Chen & Dong, 2014). Accordingly, we wanted to examine whether there are differences in the level of perceived social support between women and men with dementia.

Using ANOVA, no significant gender related differences were found, regarding total and scores of three individual sources of support (Table 2).

Table 2. Gender differences in perceived social support

	Gender	Min	Max	Mean	SD	F	p
Total score	men	40.00	84.00	63.90	14.87	0.012	0.913
	women	17.00	84.00	64.58	16.30		
F score	men	4.00	28.00	24.00	7.32	0.002	0.965
	women	7.00	28.00	23.89	5.46		
Fr score	men	4.00	28.00	20.20	8.02	0.002	0.962
	women	4.00	28.00	20.05	7.77		
SO score	men	8.00	28.00	19.70	7.29	0.129	0.722
	women	6.00	28.00	20.63	6.29		

F – family; Fr – friends; SO – significant other
Statistical significance level of $p < 0.05$

As in the case of gender differences, some literature data suggests a positive correlation between the level of education and the perceived level of social support (Von dem Knesebeck & Geyer, 2007), so we also examined whether there were education-related differences regarding the perceived level of social support.

ANOVA was also used for examining potential differences between participants regarding the level of education (Table 3).

Table 3. Education related differences in perceived social support

	Education	Min	Max	Mean	SD	F	p
Total score	High school	40.00	84.00	63.93	12.67	0.021	0.886
	College/faculty	17.00	84.00	64.79	18.66		
F score	High school	4.00	28.00	24.00	6.29	0.004	0.951
	College/faculty	7.00	28.00	23.86	5.97		
Fr score	High school	4,00	28.00	19.13	8.21	0.482	0.494
	College/faculty	4.00	28.00	21.14	7.32		
SO score	High school	10.00	28.00	20.80	5.17	0.169	0.684
	College/faculty	6.00	28.00	19.79	7.91		

F – family; Fr – friends; SO – significant other
Statistical significance level of $p < 0.05$

Based on these results, it can be concluded that regarding both, total and individual source scores, there is no significant relationship between gender and the level of perceived social support, as well as between education and the level of perceived social support of the participants with dementia in our sample.

Perceived Level of Social Support in Participants with Dementia

The distribution of MSPSS answers is given in the Table 4, along with total scores and individual summary scores related to the three sources of support.

Table 4. MSPSS answers and scores

	N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
F1	29	1.00	7.00	6.21	1.50
F2	29	1.00	7.00	6.10	1.68
F3	29	1.00	7.00	5.76	2.01
F4	29	1.00	7.00	5.86	1.98
Fr1	29	1.00	7.00	5.07	2.40
Fr2	29	1.00	7.00	4.90	2.11
Fr3	29	1.00	7.00	4.97	2.04
Fr4	29	1.00	7.00	5.07	2.31
SO1	29	1.00	7.00	4.86	2.29
SO2	29	1.00	7.00	5.86	1.87
SO3	29	1.00	7.00	4.31	2.51
SO4	29	1.00	7.00	5.28	2.43
Total scores	29	17.00	84.00	64.34	15.56
F scores	29	4.00	28.00	23.93	6.03
Fr scores	29	4.00	28.00	20.10	7.72
SO scores	29	6.00	28.00	20.31	6.54

F – family; Fr – friends; SO – significant other

Based on the descriptive indicators, the perceived level of social support in people with dementia from our sample is quite high. The mean values of the answers are in the positive range of the scale (mainly above 5). Also, according to the total scores, as well as to the scores from individual sources of support, it can be said that the obtained level of social support is quite good. Mean values of total and individual source scores represent the sum of answers from the positive range of scale (5 and above).

Paired Sample t Test was used for comparing scores from individual sources of support. Data regarding differences are given in a Table 5.

Table 5. Differences in social support between three individual sources

	Min	Max	Mean	SD	t	df	p	η^2
F score	4.00	28.00	23.93	6.03	2.430	28	**0.022**	0.174
Fr score	4.00	28.00	20.10	7.72				
F score	4.00	28.00	23.93	6.03	3.180	28	**0.004**	0.265
SO score	6.00	28.00	20.31	6.54				
Fr score	4.00	28.00	20.10	7.72	0.139	28	0.891	0.001
SO score	6.00	28.00	20.31	6.54				

F – family; Fr – friends; SO – significant other.
Statistical significance level of p <0.05. Statistically significant values are bolded.

Comparing obtained scores, significant differences were found regarding the level of perceived social support from family, friends and other significant persons. Specifically, participants in our sample stated that they have significantly more social support from family, comparing to friends and other significant persons. Based on the measure of effect size (η2), whose values range above 0.14, it can be said that the obtained statistical significance has a great influence.

On the other hand, no statistically significant difference was found between the level of perceived social support from friends and other significant persons.

DISCUSSION

In this paper, we have presented an analysis of a 12-item scale that assesses the level of the perceived social support of people with mild to moderate dementia in residential care. Also, based on self-assessment, the levels of social support were obtained from three sources: family, friends and significant other.

We first examined the relationship between demographic variables (gender and education) and the level of perceived social support. More specifically, the differences between men and women regarding interpersonal relationships are present throughout the life cycle. Commonly, male social relationships are characterized by non-emphasizing the expression of feelings

and with higher levels of independence and self-reliance, comparing to women. On the other hand, women are more emotionally expressive, and more focused on warmth and intimacy in social relationships (Matud et al., 2003). Therefore, gender can be a significant factor influencing the expected level of social support. However, the results of our study did not confirm significant differences in the level of perceived social support between men and women, regarding both the total score and the scores from individual sources of support. Due to the lack of research on this subject in people with dementia, we searched for studies that investigated the relationship between gender and the levels of social support in a typical population. Reviewing the literature, we came across quite different data. In Simon, Chen and Dong's study (2014), the results showed that older women have significantly higher levels of social support from spouses, family and friends comparing to men. On the other hand, the results of other studies did not indicate significant differences between adult men and women in terms of perceived social support in general and at the level of individual support of family and friends (Fusilier, Ganster, & Maies, 1986; Stokes & Vilson, 1984). However, one of the limitations of our study is a disproportional gender ratio (19 women vs. 10 men), so we cannot make fully reliable conclusions.

Also, we examined the possible relationship between education and the level of perceived social support. As in a case of gender related differences, results did not show any differences in the perceived social support between participants with a high school degree and participants with a higher level of education. Differences were not observed neither at the total score level, nor at level of individual sources of social support. Literature research showed the lack of data regarding the influence of education at the level of social support in people with dementia. On the other hand, data from the literature indicates a positive correlation of job position and levels of income with the perceived social support in typical population (Turner & Marino, 1994), while the relationship between education and perceived social support has been significantly less studied in typical population (Von dem Knesebeck & Geyer, 2007). In one of the few studies of this type, done by Von dem Knesebeck and Geyer (2007), results showed significant positive correlation between education and perceived social support. However, in this comprehensive study, based on data from several European countries, the sample included employed participants over the age of 25. With retirement, the structure and quality of social relationships change significantly, so it is difficult to compare the results of this study with ours.

The main objective of this research was to examine the level of perceived social support in people with dementia in residential care. According to the obtained descriptive data from MPSSS, people with dementia in our sample have a high level of social support. Participants' answers generally ranged from "mildly agree" to "strongly agree", both at the total score level and at the level of support from family, friends and other significant persons.

Self-assessment-based studies of social support in people with dementia are rare, but there are a few studies that have investigated the quality of life of these people. In Cahill et al. (2004) study with 88 participants, results showed that people with mild to moderate dementia consider their quality of life considerably high. However, in this study, participants lived with caregivers in their own homes. Consequently, it is possible that the natural environment, to which a person with dementia is accustomed, has a positive effect on the increase in the quality of life. However, our results are consistent with ones from research done by Moyle et al. (2011), one of the rare studies which investigated the quality of life of people with dementia in residential care. In this study, participants with dementia in residential care rated their quality of life even better than it was rated by their family members and caregivers. In addition to the overall quality of life, dementia residents rated the quality of their social relationship with family, friends and caregivers quite well, which is the case in our study as well.

Finally, we were interested in finding whether there are any differences in the perceived level of social support of family, friends, and other significant persons in residents with dementia. The results showed that, apart from the high level of perceived social support from all three sources, there are significant differences between them. Specifically, participants in our study stated that they have significantly more social support from family, comparing to friends and other significant persons. However, no significant differences were observed between social support from friends and other persons. These findings suggest that, although in residential care, people with dementia rely mostly on family within social interactions. As mentioned above, it is difficult to compare our results with previous findings because of methodological differences (different assessment instruments and research objectives). However, in the aforementioned study by Moyle et al. (2011), the results indicate a slightly different picture. In this study, descriptive scores showed that residents with dementia rated the quality of social relationships with caregivers the highest, followed by relationships with family and friends. In our study, social support of the family was rated the highest, followed by the support of other persons, while the lowest rating was given to social support from friends. Given that in the study of Moyle et al. (2011), individual segments of quality of life were not compared statistically, previous comparison has only a descriptive character. The significant difference in perceived social support from three different sources in our study can be explained by socio-economic and demographic factors, as well as by the aging-related changes in the social milieu. It would be expected that caregivers provide the highest level of social support for people with dementia in residential care because they spend the most time with them. In our study, participants confirmed that the 'other significant person' mostly refers to caregivers. However, in the last 10 years, Serbia has experienced a large-scale work migration of nurses and medical caregivers abroad. This migration is driven

mostly by the socio-economic situation in Serbia and small income of medical workers. This caused a large outflow of nurses and caregivers from medical and institutions of social care. Difficult working conditions and low salaries are one of the main causes for the decreasing number of nurses and caregivers in residential care units for people with dementia. Given that one nurse or caregiver takes care of many patients in institutions, it is difficult for caregivers to provide a greater level of social support to patients individually. However, we must say that, despite the difficult working conditions and poor economic situation of people directly involved in the care of patients with dementia, the social support from caregivers was rated highly through score of perceived social support of another significant person. On the other hand, the significantly lower level of perceived social support from friends compared to family can be explained by aging-related changes in the social milieu, as well as by the cognitive changes experienced by people with dementia. Specifically, aging is associated with the reduction in the social network of a person, both in terms of receiving and providing social support (Walen & Lachman, 2000). Additionally, the structure of the social milieu is changing with aging. Younger adults receive more social support from friends and less from family members, whereas in older adults there is an opposite situation (Levitt, Weber, & Guacci, 1993). Moreover, greater cognitive decline in the elderly makes more difficult for the person to maintain social contacts (Zunzunegui, Alvarado, Del Ser, & Otero, 2003), and thus to have more social support from friends, compared to family.

Limitations

The limitations of our study can be also described as implications for future studies. Namely, a higher number of participants from more residential institutions across the country would give a more realistic insight into the quality of social support for people with dementia in Serbia. Furthermore, more independent variables should be included, such as the number of caregivers per number of patients and marital status of participants. Also, for more reliable insight into gender differences in the perceived social support, a more balanced distribution of men and women is needed.

CONCLUSION

The percentage of the population over the age of 65 is constantly increasing in Serbia, and according to demographic data, an increase in the number of people with some type of dementia is expected. The alignment of social policy with European standards implies a detailed quality-of-life research in people with dementia in our region with the aim of improving the existing social support mechanisms.

The results of our study have shown that people with mild to moderate dementia in residential care perceived social support fairly high according to

their ratings, and the level of social support is not related to the participants' gender or education. Residents with dementia are generally satisfied with the level of social support in total, as well as with the level of social support from family, friends and other significant persons. Furthermore, the perceived level of social support of people with dementia is higher for family compared to friends and other significant persons, which is possibly driven by socio-economic factors and changes in the social milieu that occur with aging.

The main characteristics of the social network are evaluated with a number of network members, the diversity of social contacts, as well as with the continuity of contacts. These measurements are in the direct function of social support. Therefore, the significance of our research is in providing initial insight into the social network of people with dementia in residential care in Serbia. However, for a more complete picture of social support, it is necessary to assess the level of social support provided by caregivers, families and other people from the social milieu of people with dementia.

In addition to a more diverse design of applied instruments measuring social support, as well as larger sampling, future research should address the relationship between the level of perceived social support and the two main areas of deterioration in people with dementia, cognitive and language abilities. Namely, cognitive and language abilities are closely related to the social engagement of people with dementia, but also, they can influence how these people perceive the social support of the environment.

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НИВО ПЕРЦИПИРАНЕ СОЦИЈАЛНЕ ПОДРШКЕ ОСОБА СА ДЕМЕНЦИЈОМ У РЕЗИДЕНЦИЈАЛНОМ СМЕШТАЈУ У СРБИЈИ: ПИЛОТ ИСТРАЖИВАЊЕ

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Резиме

Проценат популације особа старијих од 65 година је у константном порасту у Србији, а према демографским подацима очекује се и све већи број особа оболелих од неког типа деменције. Усклађивање социјалне политике са европским стандардима имплицира детаљније проучавање квалитета живота ових особа на нашим просторима у циљу унапређења постојећих механизама социјалне подршке особама са деменцијом.

У литератури постоји мали број истраживања која су се бавила самопроценом квалитета живота особа са деменцијом, поготово код особа са деменцијом у институционалним смештајима. Поред тога, студије које су се специфично бавиле самопроценом добијене социјалне подршке код ових особа прилично су дефицитарне у литератури, док са друге стране постоји озбиљан истраживачки корпус посвећен социјалној подршци члановима породице особа са деменцијом или њиховим старатељима. Такође, социјална подршка у клиничким популацијама је област која је прилично запостављена у Србији.

Сходно наведеном, циљ овог истраживања је да се испита ниво добијене социјалне подршке на основу самопроцене особа са благим и умереним степеном деменције у резиденцијалном смештају. Поред тога, циљ ове студије је и да се утврде нивои перципиране социјалне подршке из различитих извора у социјалном окружењу особа са деменцијом.

Узорак је чинило 29 испитаника, старости од 65 до 93 године са дијагностикованим благим и умереним степеном деменције. Сви испитаници су се налазили у резиденцијалном смештају Геронтолошког центра у Београду.

Као инструмент за процену социјалне подршке коришћена је Мултидимензионална скала перципиране социјалне подршке. Ова скала процењује субјективну перцепцију социјалне подршке коју особа добија од породице, пријатеља или неке друге значајне особе.

Резултати наше пилот студије су прелиминарно показали да особе са благом и умереном деменцијом у резиденцијалном смештају оцењују добијен ниво социјалне подршке прилично високо, док ниво добијене социјалне подршке није у вези са полом или нивоом образовања испитаника. Испитаници су генерално задовољни како укупним нивоом добијене социјалне подршке, тако и нивоом добијене социјалне подршке од стране породице, пријатеља и других значајних особа. Поред тога, испитаници добијају значајно више подршке од стране породице у поређењу са пријатељима и другим значајним особама, а могуће је да је то условљено социо-економским и демографским факторима, као и променама у друштвеном окружењу које се дешавају старењем.

THE ATTITUDES OF TEACHERS AND PARENTS TOWARDS SOCIAL FACTORS INFLUENCING STUDENTS' LITERACY

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to examine the attitudes of teachers and the parents of students (grades 2□4) and the influence of the students' social interactions on literacy. The sample included 56 teachers and the parents of 271 students. Respondents answered the questions posed in a questionnaire based on a five-point scale, with one category representing a negative attitude and the other categories corresponding to a neutral or positive attitude about the importance of social interactions that influence literacy. The results show that teachers' and parents' attitudes are positive on average and that teachers and parents find schools and communication with family members to be the most influential form of social interaction. The interpretation of the results shows a difference in the teachers' and parents' attitudes regarding two kinds of social interaction. Teachers, unlike parents, believe that communication with peers and Internet communication significantly influence literacy.

Key words: informal literacy, formal literacy, social interaction, teachers' attitudes, parents' attitudes.

СТАВОВИ УЧИТЕЉА И РОДИТЕЉА О УТИЦАЈУ ДРУШТВЕНИХ ФАКТОРА НА ПИСМЕНОСТ УЧЕНИКА

Апстракт

Циљ ове студије је испитивање ставова наставника и родитеља ученика (2. и 4. разреда) и утицаја друштвених интеракција ученика на писменост. Узорак је обухватио 56 наставника и родитеље 271 ученика. Испитаници су одговарали на питања постављена у упитнику заснованом на скали од пет тачака, при чему једна категорија представља негативан став, а остале категорије одговарају неутралном или позитивном ставу о важности друштвених интеракција које утичу на писменост. Резултати показују да су ставови наставника и родитеља у просеку позитивни и да учитељи и родитељи сматрају да је школа и комуникација са члановима породице најутицајнији облик друштвене интеракције. Интерпретација резултата показује раз-

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лику у ставовима наставника и родитеља у погледу две врсте социјалне интеракције. Наставници, за разлику од родитеља, верују да комуникација са вршњацима и интернет комуникација значајно утичу на писменост.

Кључне речи: неформална писменост, формална писменост, социјална интеракција, ставови учитеља, ставови родитеља.

INTRODUCTION

The progression of literacy (i.e., the skills of reading, writing, and speaking) is influenced by numerous social factors, including schools. Numerous studies have examined social factors influencing literacy progression and the attitudes of teachers and students' parents toward these factors. The child's literacy develops from birth in the family and social environment, being systematically developed throughout formal education in kindergarten and school. Literacy progression, which starts with the first words, continues by learning how to read and write and includes the continuous development of these skills, is referred to as emergent literacy (Whitehurst & Lonigan, 1998; Lonigan, Burgess & Anthony, 2000). Many linguistic studies view literacy as including the abilities of reading, writing and understanding information in general (Serrano & Howard, 2007; Bialystok, 2007; Cvetanović & Šulović Petković, 2013). However, today, literacy is observed in a broader sense as an essential communication skill. Literacy is an essential means of communication (Serrano & Howard, 2007). Furthermore, the contemporary social context is an era of multiliteracies (Cope & Kalantzis, 2009), which requires various abilities of an individual. These abilities are also developed at school; thus, literacy is viewed through school-related content areas and includes linguistic, mathematical, scientific and IT literacy components (Bleicher, 2014; Shanahan & Shanahan, 2014). To develop all these abilities, it is necessary to teach children to read, write, and speak correctly, which is a prerequisite for learning and communication. Hence the understanding of literacy refers to the understanding of the concept of multiability, that is, literacy as the process of using reading, writing, and oral language to "extract, construct, integrate, and critique meaning through interaction and involvement with multimodal texts in the context of socially situated practices" (Frankel, Becker, Rowe & Pearson, 2006: 9).

Intensive literacy progression starts with a child's formal education, which is initially particularly focused on reading, writing and speaking skills. What is particularly important in language learning is the development of the skills of reading and reading comprehension, as well as oral and written speech. These elements are regarded as mutually connected in the process of student literacy progression (Hartas, 2012; Hull & Hernandez, 2008; Verhoeven & Vermeer, 2006). However, "it is worth noting that school is only one factor that has an influence on student liter-

acy" (Perry, 2012:66). Children grow up in a society in which they constantly communicate; therefore, the impact of social interaction on student literacy is constant. Like all human activity, literacy is essentially social, and it develops within interactions between people (Barton & Hamilton, 1998). Children show how literate they are at school, at home and in their community (Larson & Marsh, 2005; Pillay, 2017). Classmates also have an influence on a child's literacy, and the motivation for participating in literacy activities is strong when peers are encouraged to work together (Matthews & Kesner, 2003; Ming Chiu & Wing-Yin Chow, 2015). From an early age, especially in today's digital environment, children use technology for learning, information retrieval and communication (Thibaut, 2015; Wilson, 2012). As Ajayi (2011) observes, literacy is understood today as a concept with broader meanings and wider educational, cultural, and social implications for students. Today, special attention has to be paid to the use of new technologies in literacy education because "the role of digital media provides a number of didactically valuable opportunities" (Šafranj, Zivlak, & Bojanić, 2019: 358).

The focus of this research is the attitudes of teachers and parents toward social interactions that influence the development of three literacy elements − reading, writing and speaking. The influence of social interaction through school, family, peer communication, other communicative situations, and online communication was examined.

METHOD

School enables the systematic development of reading, writing and communication skills. This is a factor that formally underlies student literacy progression. The strongest informal impact on student literacy progression comes from the family, namely, from parents, siblings, and extended family members (grandparents, uncles, aunts, etc.). One cannot ignore the impact of communication among peers in groups, most commonly seen in school classrooms or among children from the same street, building or neighbourhood. Additionally, the children of family friends influence each other in their mutual social contexts. From an early age, especially in today's digital environment, children use technology for learning, information retrieval and communication. The leaders in this area today are the Internet, both as a source of information and as a means of communication (social networks, mobile applications). All of these kinds of social interaction that we have selected affect all aspects of student literacy on a daily basis to different extents.

The aim of this study was to examine and compare the attitudes of teachers and students' parents on social interactions which influence literacy progression in students. Teachers and parents expressed their opinions on the most important social interaction that influenced the progres-

sion of the three elements of literacy in students − reading, writing, and speaking. We researched the influence of traditional social interaction such as school, communication with family members, communication with peers (peer communication) and children's communication in the environment (other communication situations). The study also examined teachers' and parents' attitudes toward interaction that have emerged due to technological and social changes – Internet communication (social networks, mobile applications) or online communication.

For this to be achieved, the non-experimental research design was used (cross-sectional study type).

Participants

The description of the survey respondents is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of the participants

Characteristics	Parents	Teachers
N	271	56
Age (years), mean ± sd	39.9 ± 5.7	42.9 ±8.8
Class, n (%)		
2	89 (32.8)	
3	92 (34.0)	
4	90 (33.2)	
Gender, n (%)		
Male	62 (22.3)	5 (9)
Female	185 (68.3)	51 (91)
Missing	24 (8.9)	
Teaching experience (years), mean ± sd		18.3 ± 10.0

The sample consisted of teachers and the parents of students from the second to the fourth grade of primary schools in the Republic of Serbia. The sample was formed as a multistage sample. In the first stage, schools are seen as clusters of 123 in the city of Belgrade and of 12 from the vicinity of the town of Pančevo. Three schools were randomly selected from Belgrade, and one school from the Pančevo area.

A pilot survey was conducted in January 2017 during the course of regular classes. It was based on interviewing the parents of fourth grade students and primary school teachers employed at the school in the vicinity of Pančevo. The response rate in the questionnaire was 93% (252/271). The data obtained in the pilot study is included in the main part of the study as there were no significant corrections in the questionnaire. (It was found that there was no need for any corrections in the questionnaire.)

In January 2017, the second phase of the research began. The sample was formed from three schools, based on the random selection of one class from the second, third and fourth grades respectively. All parents of

the students in these classes were included in the sample, as well as 88% of the teachers in these primary schools.

The questionnaires were given to the parents by the students, along with envelopes so that they could seal them after completing the questionnaire to keep the results anonymous.

Data Collection

Data about the teachers' and parents' attitudes were collected by using a questionnaire. The questionnaire was the same for both the teachers and parents in order to determine whether teachers' and parents' attitudes on these topics were similar or different. A five-point Likert scale was used to examine the importance of social interaction on reading, writing, and speaking progression separately. The following answers were offered in the scale: strong influence, medium influence, little influence, no influence, negative influence. For each of the elements of literacy (reading, writing, and speaking) the respondents were asked to express their attitude concerning a particular interaction. The social interactions emphasised in the questionnaire were: school, communication with family members, communication with peers, other communication situations (in shops, etc.) and Internet communication (social networks, mobile applications). The same social interactions were used to determine the significance of the progression in all the three respective skills: reading, writing, and speaking. The questionnaire contained three tables with a clear indication of the literacy segments in question.

Data Analysis

Offered answers on five-point Likert scale were scored in the following manner: strong influence – 5, medium influence – 4, little influence – 3, no influence – 2, negative influence – 1. Collected data was analyzed using descriptive statistic parameters (*Mean*, *Standard deviation*) and using the *T-test for independent samples* to determine if there is a significant difference between the means of two groups (teachers and parents).

For each of the elements of literacy (reading, writing, and speaking) and for each form of social interaction (school, communication with family members, peer communication, other communication situations and Internet communication) the Mean and the Standard deviation for each of the subsamples were calculated. Based on that, the T-test for independent samples was used to check whether there was a statistically significant difference in the attitudes between teachers and parents.

RESULTS

The views of teachers and parents regarding the impact of social interaction on reading are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Teachers' and parents' attitudes on the significance of the influence of social interaction on reading progression

Social interaction through	Teachers' assessment	Parents' assessment	p
School			
Mean ± sd	4.96 ± 0.19	4.79 ± 0.51	0.008[*]
Communication with family members			
Mean ± sd	4.80 ± 0.44	4.82 ± 0.50	0.562
Peer communication			
Mean ± sd	4.46 ± 0.66	4.09 ± 0.93	0.007[*]
Other communication situations (in the shop, etc.)			
Mean ± sd	3.82 ± 0.83	3.63 ± 0.97	0.197
Internet communication (social networks, mobile applications)			
Mean ± sd	4.04 ± 1.14	3.43 ± 1.44	0.004[*]

The mean values of the rates of variability of the teachers' and parents' attitudes for all social interaction range from nearly neutral to very positive, that is, from 3.43 to 4.96. Teachers believe that, among all the social interaction offered, reading is mostly influenced by the school, while parents put communication with family members in the first place. According to the teachers' attitudes, reading is the least influenced by the children's communication with the indirect environment (in shops), while the parents are of the view that Internet communication is of the least importance for reading.

The assumption is that teachers and parents have the same views on the significance of the influence of social interaction on reading (Table 2). The results show that teachers believe that school has a stronger influence on reading, as opposed to parents ($p = 0.008$). A statistically significant difference in the attitude between teachers and parents also occurs with the influence of peer communication on reading ($p = 0.007$). Teachers and parents show statistically significant differences in their attitude about the influence of Internet communication (social networks, mobile applications) ($p = 0.004$).

There is no statistically significant difference between teachers and parents in their attitudes related to how much communication with family members influences reading as a segment of literacy ($p = 0.562$). Additionally, there was no statistically significant difference for the statements related to other communication situations ($p = 0.197$).

The views of teachers and parents on the importance of individual interaction on writing are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Teachers' and parents' attitudes on the significance of social interaction that influence writing progression

Social interaction through	Teachers' assessment	Parents' assessment	p
School			
Mean ± sd	4.96 ± 0.19	4.92 ± 0.30	0.304
Communication with family members			
Mean ± sd	4.68 ± 0.58	4.75 ± 0.58	0.190
Peer communication			
Mean ± sd	4.25 ± 0.81	3.95 ± 0.94	0.027*
Other communication situations (in the shop, etc.)			
Mean ± sd	3.52 ± 0.79	3.25 ± 1.04	0.053
Internet communication (social networks, mobile applications)			
Mean ± sd	3.91 ± 1.23	3.30 ± 1.37	0.002*

The mean values of the rates of variability of the attitude for teachers and parents for all social interaction that influences writing progression range from nearly neutral to very positive, that is, from 3.25 to 4.96. Teachers believe that among all the social interaction offered, school is the most influential with regard to writing, which coincides with the same attitude from the parents. Teachers and parents share the view that schools and communication with family members are highly important for writing. Social interaction that the parents found of little importance to literacy progression were singled out according to the median measures of variability. These factors are other communication situations (3.25) and Internet communication (3.30). The comparative analysis on the difference in teachers' and parents' attitudes shows that the highest significant difference is in their attitudes regarding the influence of Internet communication (social networks, mobile applications) on students' writing progression (p = 0.002). A statistically significant difference occurs in the attitudes of both the teachers and parents on the impact of peer communication (p = 0. 027).

The research results show that both teachers and parents believe that school has the strongest influence on the writing progression of students, as there is no statistically significant difference between their attitudes (p = 0.304). Additionally, there is no difference in attitudes of the teachers and parents about the influence of communication with family members (p = 0.190), or on the influence of other communication situations (p = 0.053). Therefore, among all the social interaction offered that influences writing progression, teachers and parents show a statistically significant difference in the attitudes of three factors related to the signifi-

cance of the influence i.e., peer communication and Internet communication.

The views of teachers and parents on the importance of individual social interaction on speaking are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Teachers' and parents' attitudes about the significance of social interaction on speaking progression

Social interaction through	Teachers' assessment	Parents' assessment	P
School			
Mean ± sd	4.96 ± 0.19	4.89 ± 0.34	0.117
Communication with family members			
Mean ± sd	4.98 ± 0.13	4.96 ± 0.30	0.653
Peer communication			
Mean ± sd	4.93 ± 0.26	4.53 ± 0.91	<0.001[*]
Other communication situations (in the shop, etc.)			
Mean ± sd	4.50 ± 0.54	4.16 ± 0.89	0.021[*]
Internet communication (social networks, mobile applications)			
Mean ± sd	3.75 ± 1.38	3.26 ± 1.42	0.016[*]

The mean values of the rates of variability of the attitudes of the teachers and parents for all social interaction that influences speaking progression range from nearly neutral to very positive, that is from 3.26 to 4.96.

An interesting fact is that teachers and parents agree on the social interaction that has the most or least influence on speaking progression; they emphasise that communication with family members is the most influential factor. On the other hand, both groups believe that Internet communication (social networks, mobile applications) has the least significant impact on speaking progression.

The results show that the initial assumption of this research was confirmed, that is, teachers and parents have the same views regarding the significance of the influence of social interaction on students' speaking progression (Table 4). Both teachers and parents consider communication with family members to be the most influential social interaction in regards to speaking as a segment of literacy (p = 0.653). There is no statistically significant difference between teachers and parents in their attitudes on how much school affects speaking (p = 0.117).

Therefore, there is no statistically significant difference between attitudes of teachers and parents regarding the significance of the influence of communication with family members on reading, writing, and speaking. This is the only form of social interaction for all the three elements of literacy for which there is no difference in teachers' and parents' attitudes. For two forms of social interaction i.e., peer communication and Internet communication,

the attitudes of teachers and parents are significantly different in relation to their influence on the three elements of literacy.

A statistically significant difference in the attitudes between teachers and parents appears to be related to the influence of peer communication on speaking progression (p = 0.001). The teachers rated peer communication as 4 or 5, while the parents rated it in the range from 1 to 5 (Table 5). The results show that teachers find other communication situations more influential in regard to speaking, than the parents (p = 0.021). The influence of Internet communication (social networks, mobile applications) (p = 0.016), leads to the conclusion that teachers and parents show statistically significant differences in this attitude.

For each question in the questionnaire and for each form of social interaction, teachers and parents expressed their views on how they influence literacy. Among the five answers offered in the scale, one referred to a negative influence. These answers were analysed separately with an observation of the frequency of the negative responses from both teachers and parents. The frequency of negative responses related to the influence of social interaction on reading, writing, and speaking given by the teachers is shown in Fig 1.
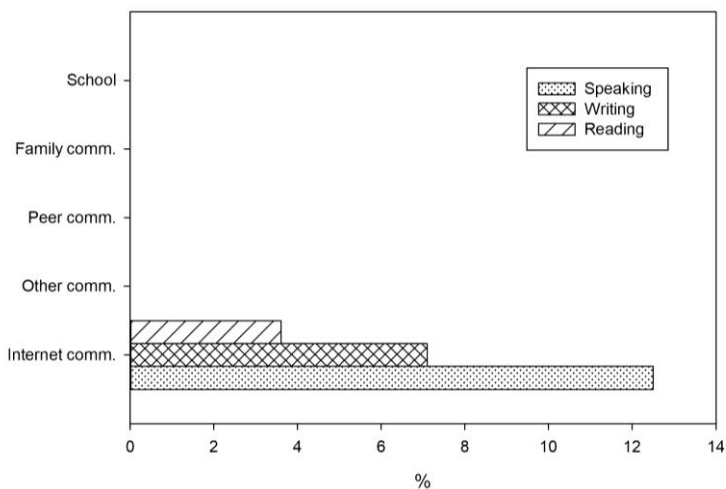
Figure 1. Rate of negative attitudes toward the influence of social interaction on literacy among teachers

Internet communication had the highest rate of negative answers among the teachers. Only Internet communication had negative responses related to the influence of this factor on the progression of reading (3.6%), writing (7.1%), and even more so, speaking (12.5%). It is noted that the teachers gave no negative answers related to school, communica-

tion with family members, peer communication or other communication situations (Fig 1).

We analysed separately the frequency of the parents' negative responses toward social interactions that influence literacy; the result is shown in Fig 2.
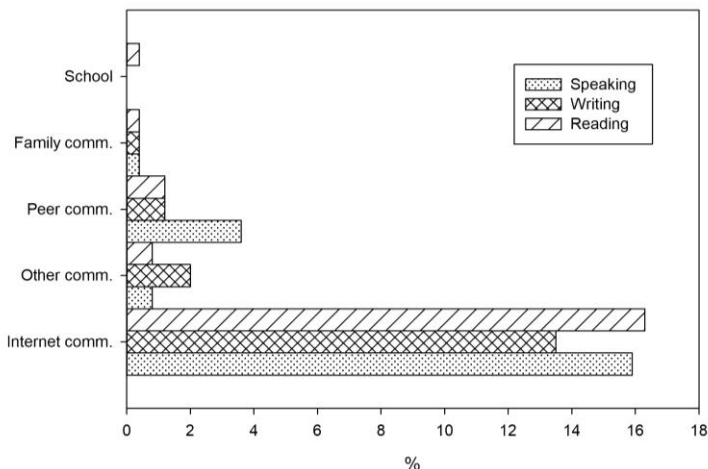
Figure 2. Rate of negative attitudes toward the influence of social interaction on literacy among parents

The highest rate of negative responses from parents relates to Internet communication. Of all the negative responses given for social interaction, Internet communication had the highest rate in terms of the negative influence of this form of social interaction on the progression of writing (13.5%), reading (16.3%), and even more so, on speaking (15.9%). Regarding the attitude of parents, there are no negative responses related to the influence of school on writing and speaking. For the influence of other form of social interaction, some parents stated that they have a negative influence on all the three elements of literacy.

By analysing the frequency of the negative attitudes of teachers and parents toward social interaction, it can be concluded that teachers did not give negative responses for four factors and they did so for one factor. On the other hand, the parents had negative responses for each factor. Thus, the frequency of negative responses is higher among parents than among teachers. The highest negative responses were related to Internet communication according to both teachers and parents (Figs 1 and 2), with the teachers having a milder attitude toward the negative influence of this form of social interaction.

DISCUSSION

The results of this research reveal the attitudes of teachers and parents toward the most important social interactions that influence literacy progression in students. We analysed the classical social interactions that have been present for centuries, such as schools, communication with family members, communication with peers, children's communication in the environment and contemporary social interaction that has emerged with the cultural and technological changes of contemporary society – Internet communication. We analysed teachers' and parents' attitudes toward the influence of these social interactions on the three basic elements of literacy i.e., reading, writing, and speaking, focusing especially on how many teachers and parents feel that certain social interactions have a negative influence on literacy.

None of the earlier studies examining the attitudes of teachers and parents toward student literacy approach social interactions in general, but rather view them individually. Furthermore, to our knowledge, there has not been any such research to date. This is the first study examining in general teachers' and parents' attitudes toward students' social interactions that influence literacy. Consequently, for the purpose of this study of teachers' and parents' attitudes, we drew up a questionnaire that included separate social interactions that affect the three elements of literacy: reading, writing and speaking.

In this environment, students are prompted toward literacy progression and are mostly influenced by certain types of social interaction. This study recognises school, family, peers, and the Internet as the main forms of social interaction influencing student literacy.

Generally, the attitudes of teachers and parents are that school and communication within the family are of the utmost importance for reading and writing progression (Bradford & Wyse, 2013; Dreher, 1990; Kikas, Silinskas & Soodla, 2015; Simmerman, et al., 2012). The moderate advantage that the teachers give to school is in line with the expectation that they would emphasise the development of formal education. Certain preferences expressed by the parents regarding communication within the family is also expected, because the first elements of literacy progression occur with one's growing up within a family, especially the skill of speaking. In earlier studies, it was also found that parents influence the improvement of a child's achievements in early reading through greater involvement in parent-child activities and parental involvement in reading (Beech, 1990; Bergbauer & Staden, 2018; Burns & Collins, 1987; Jung, 2016). The research of Bradford and Wyse (2013) highlighted the importance of the family environment on literacy progression in preschool age children. Our findings are in contrast with the results of Morrow (1986) in which parents did not consider voluntary reading, which occurs mainly at home, as a priority in literacy progression. Regarding the skill

of speaking, teachers and parents share the attitude that, in addition to school and communication with the family, great importance should be given to communication with peers and other communication situations.

Teachers give greater importance to the influence of peer communication on reading, writing and speaking than parents, which probably results from teachers being able to observe instances of this type of communication and also stimulate it at school and during extracurricular activities. In earlier studies it was also confirmed that peers have an influence on a child's literacy (Matthews & Kesner 2003; Ming Chiu & Wing-Yin Chow 2015). Teachers also attach a higher degree of importance than parents to other communication situations, since one of the goals of formal literacy is successful communication within the community as a whole. This indicates teachers' awareness that peer communication and other communication situations allow children to slowly become independent within the community. This statement is also confirmed by teachers' attitudes that schools, communication with family members, peers and within the environment do not have a negative impact on student literacy, while fewer parents believe that there is a negative influence created by these interactions.

However, the situation differs with regard to Internet communication i.e., the use of social networks and mobile applications. This form of social interaction was assessed by both teachers and parents as a factor that affects literacy. The strongest significance was given to this form of interaction by teachers, who are probably aware of the various possible influences of these contemporary means of communication on the literacy of children. But, in the countries with emerging economies, there are limited resources in education, especially when it comes to digital equipment in schools. The development of technology certainly leads to different possibilities of communication, but parents attach less importance to this factor due to the fear of communication on social networks. This is also confirmed in other studies, which examined parents' attitudes toward the use of social networks and mobile applications (Kanthawongs & Kanthawongs, 2013; Tahir & Arif, 2015). The results of an earlier survey reveal that there are signs which suggests that parents recognise the opportunities offered by the Internet, but still deem that it has a bad influence on the motivation to learn (Álvarez, Torres, Rodríguez, Padilla & Rodrigo, 2013). However, one cannot ignore that Internet communication influences literacy progression (Thibaut, 2015).

Internet communication has the highest negative response of teachers and parents regarding the impact of social interaction on student literacy. More parents than teachers were of the view that this medium has a lower or negative significance on literacy progression in children. Internet communication usually includes informal speech, that may or may not use all of the rules of verbal communication. Therefore, it is nec-

essary to help teachers and parents in terms of the possible means of making use of Internet communication in a way that encourages a positive influence on student literacy.

This study shows that teachers and parents continue to prefer traditional forms of social interaction such as school, communication with family members and communication with peers, while they see less importance in new technologies. The results of our research can help teachers in schools, or contribute to the development of the teaching process, because our results accurately show what their colleagues (examined teachers) and parents find important for the development of speech, reading and writing. Also, the results of the research draw attention to the fact that the state and the school system have a special responsibility to create the conditions for the skills that students acquire in formal education to be applied in new ways in new forms of communication using new technologies.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the results of this study demonstrate the views of teachers and parents on the impact of social interaction on student literacy. First of all, our results show that teachers and parents believe that all the interactions examined influence student literacy and that the most influential ones are school and family communication. Second of all, the results show that teachers' and parents' attitudes differ regarding the influence of two kinds of social interaction on children's literacy, i.e., peer communication and the use of the Internet to communicate. More teachers than parents consider that these two factors affect all elements of literacy. Thirdly, the attitudes of both teachers and parents in terms of the importance of social interaction reveal that both groups believe that Internet communication (social networks, mobile applications) has the strongest negative impact on children's literacy.

This study shows that both teachers and parents share the attitude that there is a significant environmental impact on child literacy. Teachers and parents are of the view that traditional social interactions have an impact on student literacy but do not neglect the impact of the Internet. This finding shows that they understand literacy as the ability to function in a social context with all the educational, cultural, and social implications that it entails.

Future research based on the findings of this study could investigate the opinions of students on the impact of social interaction on reading, writing, and speaking. Additionally, we could compare students' attitudes with the attitudes of their parents and teachers toward the impact of social interaction on literacy. Future research could also go in the direction of investigating the reason for the teachers' and parents' attitudes about the negative influence of Internet communication on student literacy.

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СТАВОВИ УЧИТЕЉА И РОДИТЕЉА О УТИЦАЈУ ДРУШТВЕНИХ ФАКТОРА НА ПИСМЕНОСТ УЧЕНИКА

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Резиме

Писменост детета се развија од самог рођења, у породици и друштвеном окружењу, а систематски се развија кроз формално образовање у вртићу и у школи. Дакле, на развој писмености, односно на читање, писање и говорење, утичу бројни друштвени фактори. Циљ овог истраживања је испитивање ставова наставника и родитеља ученика (другог и четвртог разреда основне школе) о утицају друштвених интеракција ученика на писменост. Узорак је обухватио 56 наставника и родитеље 271 ученика. Истраживање је дизајнирано по типу студије пресека. Анкетни упитник је био исти и за учитеље и за родитеље, са три петостепене скале Ликертовог типа, које утврђују ставове учитеља и родитеља о утицају друштвених фактора на три елемента писмености: читање, писање и говорење. Испитан је утицај следећих друштвених фактора: школа, комуникација са члановима породице, комуникација са вршњацима, остале комуникације (у продавници, итд.) и коришћење интернета у комуникацији (друштвене мреже, мобилне апликације).

Први налаз истраживања показује да учитељи и родитељи сматрају да сви друштвени фактори утичу на писменост ученика, а да су најутицајнији школа и комуникација у породици. Други је показао да се ставови учитеља и родитеља разликују у погледу утицајности два социјална фактора на писменост деце и то комуникације са вршњацима и коришћење интернета у комуникацији. Учитељи су става да ова два фактора значајније утичу на све елементе писмености него што то сматрају родитељи. Трећи налаз се односи на став учитеља и родитеља о негативном значају друштвених фактора и показује да су и једни и други става да интернет у комуникацији (друштвене мреже, мобилне апликације) има највећи негативни утицај на писменост деце. На основу добијених резултата, родитељи су веће бојазни да ће нове технологије негативно утицати на писменост њихове деце, вероватно сматрајући да ту имају мањи утицај него на друге, односно, класичне социјалне факторе.

Посматрајући елементе писмености појединчно, учитељи сматрају да на читање највише утиче школа, док родитељи на прво место стављају комуникацију са члановима породице. На развој писања велики утицај имају школа и комуникација са члановима породице, став је и учитеља и родитеља. Најутицајнији фактор на развој вештине говорења је комуникација са члановима породице, и ту су сагласни у ставу учитељи и родитељи. Сви испитани друштвени фактори, према ставу и учитеља и родитеља, значајније утичу на читање и говорење, него на писање.

На основу налаза ове студије можемо закључити да су учитељи и родитељи става да традиционални друштвени фактори имају највећи утицај на писменост ученика, али не занемарују ни утицај нових медија. То показује да писменост и разумеју као способност у друштвеном контексту са свим едукативним, културним и социјалним импликацијама које она има.

ETHICALLY RELEVANT VALUES AND BEHAVIOR OF EMPLOYEES IN SERBIA DURING THE COVID-19

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Abstract

The subject of research in this paper is the analysis of ethically relevant values and behavior in Serbia after the end of the state of emergency in March 2020 caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. The research is aimed at examining the attitudes of employees in Serbia to determine whether the attitudes of respondents can be grouped into three mutually independent ethical dimensions: a) attitude towards themselves and others, b) economy and existence and c) science and knowledge. We were also interested in whether these ethical values were perceived differently by male and female respodents. These three elements were analyzed since Serbia is a country that has gone, and to some extent is still going, through socio-economic changes, which are especially reflected in non-standard social circumstances when ethical values, principles and beliefs are expressed. In a sample of 640 respondents, surveyed via social networks, the results show that the pronounced correlation groups the attitudes of employees into three mutually independent ethical dimensions, and that gender does not affect ethically relevant values and behaviors in the domain of the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Key words: COVID-19, ethics, values, behavior, Serbia.

ЕТИЧКИ РЕЛЕВАНТНЕ ВРЕДНОСТИ И ПОНАШАЊЕ ЗАПОСЛЕНИХ У СРБИЈИ ТОКОМ *COVID*-19 ПАНДЕМИЈЕ

Апстракт

Предмет истраживања у овом раду јесте анализа етички релевантних вредности и понашања у Србији након завршетка ванредног стања изазваног пандемијом *COVID*-19 у марту 2020. године. Истраживање је усмерено на испитивање ставова запослених у Србији како би се утврдило да ли се ставови испитаника могу групи-сати у три међусобно независне етичке димензије: а) однос према себи и другима, б) економија и егзистенција и в) наука и знање. Исто тако, занимало нас је да ли су

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ове етичке вредности перципиране другачије од стране мушкараца и жена. Ова три елемента су анализирана из разлога што је Србија као земља прошла, и у одређеној мери још увек пролази, кроз друштвено-економске промене које се посебно огледају у нестандардним друштвеним околностима где до изражаја долазе етичке вредности, принципи и уверења. На узорку од 640 испитаника, а на основу истраживања спроведеног путем друштвених мрежа, резултати показују да изражена корелацију групише ставове запослених у три међусобно независне етичке димензије, као и да пол не утиче на етички релевантне вредности и понашања у домену кризе изазване пандемијом *COVID*-19.

Кључне речи: *COVID* 19, етика, вредности, понашање, Србија.

1. INTRODUCTION

The crisis frequency is rapidly increasing in a progressively volatile world (Robert and Lajtha, 2002). The global financial crisis in 2008 was a painful lesson about a multifarious character that crises can have (Claessens and Ayhan Kose, 2013). Another such reminder came in the form of the global pandemic caused by COVID-19 that has caused global changes in different aspects of contemporary existence. It imposed lockdowns in many countries in the world, which put economy out of action immediately, caused socioeconomic instability and imposed social distance as a condition for the survival of an individual as a social being. All these factors will constitute, as noticed by He and Harris (2020), a cultural legacy which will long be remembered by our contemporaries and the future generations.

Generaly speaking, every crisis imposes certain social concerns which include security, transparency, value distortion, justice/equity and authority (Robert and Lajtha, 2002). In the case of COVID-19, it invloves all these concerns because it is not just a health crisis, but can create devastating social, economic and political crises that will leave deep scars (https://www.undp.org) . With that in mind, we wanted to explore human behavior during the crisis because in cases of infectious diseases people demand predictability in terms of creating epidemic models, forgetting the key social parameter: human behavior (Ferguson, 2007).

It is common and rational for people to intuitively search for solutions that are most favorable and most useful for them when making decisions (Sućeska, 2019). Viewed in this way, the main question is whether the crisis affects the re-examination and change of attitudes and values of each individual and society, in terms of valuing life and health, solidarity and science as an unavoidable framework of ethical thinking and behavior of each individual? In considering this issue, it must also be considered that challenges concerning ethical and normative values vary greatly between and within countries where the political context of a country has an intensive effect (Narasimhan et al., 2004).

In that context, the focus of this research is on Serbia because the population of this country inherits cultural patterns that follow the tradition of social responsibility and solidarity, in the extended family and the local community (Videnović, 2014). Also, Serbia is a former communist country strongly influenced by collectivism, but also a country which experienced economic, humanitarian, institutional and cultural crises caused by the disintegration of former Yugoslavia during the 1990s. All these processes have brought the society to the state that Golubović et al. (1995) call the "psychology of survival". Accordingly, it is important to analyze whether in the new circumstances ethical norms rely on the usual context or whether elements of cultural tradition are rejected under the influence of changes in the practical behavior of individuals in crisis.

Namely, the pandemic showed that a man's position can no longer be viewed as a gap between economic demands for profit and humane demands for preserving his integrity, but the respect for a man as a purpose, not a means must be highlighted (Hanić, 2017a). In other words, ethics can be observed as an inherent dimension of human action (Mele et al., 2011). In that aspect, Kohlberg (1981) suggested that ethical behavior is determined by the sophistication of a person's moral reasoning which means that ehtics is important so we can "improve how we live" (LaFollette, 2007).

In reasoning with the role of the individual, the way in which he, as a human being, faces the crises that, to the greatest extent, arise precisely through his actions, must be emphasized. In that context, crises change the established patterns of behavior and people's attitudes about solving certain problems are formed from a completely different point of view than in normal circumstances. Crisis behavior can be observed at the individual level, collectively, but also as a link between these levels (Provitolo et al., 2011). Based on this, individuals experience both productive and unproductive responses to crises. The time spent in homes because of COVID-19 gave most people the opportunity to think well about their lives. Due to the changed circumstances in which they found themselves, they became aware of the crisis impact, as well as the need to protect themselves, their health and everything around them. Although we can autonomously make decisions about what is most appropriate, our choices are dependent on our social environment (Rego and Palacios, 2016). The COVID-19 pandemic has shown us that the absence of ethical norms causes not only great harm to individuals and companies, which has been the case so far, but to society.

Taking into account the fact that pandemics change the pattern of individual behavior and cause disruption of societies (Taylor, 2019; El Zowalaty et al., 2020), leave economic consequences that cannot be quickly remedied resulting in an "atypical" recession (Gans, 2020) and making science "popular" again in terms of focusing on the relationship

between science and society (Metcalfe, 2020), the research in this paper is divided into examining attitudes towards: a) one's own life and other people, b) economy and existence and c) science, knowledge and society in the case of Serbia. These three groups were taken for analysis because, as noticed by Sjoberg (2000), "risk perception is all about thoughts, beliefs and constructs." In other words, a crisis can trigger strong risk-awareness and have great influence on behavior (Plapp and Werner, 2006). Thus, circumstances can favor the development of virtues and make people avoid unethical behavior, while the same opportunities can negatively affect individuals and groups in terms of moral stumbling because ethical principles are tested in times of great crises.

2. THEORETICAL BASIS

Pandemics are global epidemics that are often associated with a high morbidity and mortality burden (Del Valle et al., 2012) that shape economic, political, and social aspects of human civilization (Huremović, 2019). As currently experienced with the pandemic of COVID-19, infections spread around the world in just a few months with the growing number of death cases. Although population's average age, country's testing capacity and government responses can influence the death rate, vaccinations, if avaliable, and significant changes in the behavior of the community are the most important methods for reducing morbidity and mortality (Del Valle, 2012; Taylor, 2019). Beside these factors, another that is very important is the emotional disturbance that is associated with any pandemics (Tayor, 2019), because "pandemics are marked by uncertainty, confusion and sense of urgency" (WHO, 2005). Accordingly, in this section human *behavior is discussed regarding one's own life and relationship to other people, the economy and existence and nature and health*.

2.1. Attitude towards one's own life and other people

According to Taylor (2019), pandemics are associated with several psychosocial stressors. For instance, Wang et al., (2020) condutcted a researach based on 1210 respondents from 194 cities in China with the aim of analyzing the psychological impact of the pandemics. The result shows that, in total, 53.8% of respondents rated the psychological impact of the outbreak as moderate or severe. In that aspect, pandemics have a huge impact on human behavior especially because they involve intolerance of uncertainty, perceived vulnerability to disease, and anxiety (worry) proneness (Taylor, 2019).

Guided by this, in this research we started from the basic assumption that the COVID-19 pandemic will affect the review and change of attitudes and values of each individual in Serbia and society as a whole, i.e.

the values of human life and health, solidarity and human environment as the basis for ethical thoughts and behaviors. This starting point is defined by the fact that values are the basis for the development of attitudes that lead to specific decision-making behavior (Bonczek et al., 1980). However, it is evident that we notice values when we experience what is known as *value clash* (Dolan et al., 2006).

When the COVID-19 pandemic was officially declared in March 2020, the world's reaction was mostly in the form of panicky purchases of food and hygiene items, which according to Sim et al., (2020) can be:

a) "manifestation of underlying conflict between desire to maintain regular routines versus uncertainty of duration of the pandemic limiting access to daily necessities,

b) a way of coping with a stressful unmet situation and a reaction in response to one's loss of control about the future and social pressures to conform to similar behaviors."

Yet, in addition to caring for one's own life, the issue of community also became evident. Namely, Van Bavel et al., (2020) notes that coordinated efforts across communities can send strong signals of cooperation and shared values. For instance, during the debt crisis in Europe in 2011, in countries like Portugal and Greece, there was an increase of informal social networks and self-organized cultural centers which became active in exchange and distribution of goods and services, healthcare, education, etc. (Sotiropoulos and Bourikos, 2014; Baumgarten, 2017).

In the case of Serbia during the pandemic of COVID-19, people posted notices in public places and through social networks, offering help in buying the necessities in shops and walking pets for elderly neighbors who were affected by the ban on movement (https://www.rs.undp.org), as well as accepting the global campaign of the "Applause at 8pm" for medical staff. This view is confirmed in a study conducted by The Balkans in Europe Policy Advisory Group (BiEPAG) entitled *The Western Balkans in Times of the Global Pandemic*, as well as in a research made by Centre for International Public Policy (2020) about the opinions of the citizens of Serbia on the COVID-19 epidemic. On a sample of 5,989 respondents, results indicate a high level of solidarity where 60% of the respondents are of the opinion that solidarity is somewhat higher than usual and 85% of the respondents believe that global issues, such as the pandemic, are most efficiently resolved through international cooperation.

Another similar study conducted in Serbia during the pandemic is *Psychological profile of the pandemic* (https://www.fondacijahemofarm.org.rs) which showed that the citizens of Serbia very quickly achieved a high level of self-protective behavior in terms of wearing gloves, masks and hand disinfectants. This attitude is confirmed in the previously mentioned research by Centre for International Public Policy (2020) stating that 70% of Serbian citizens will call the doctor if they feel virus symptoms. Based on that, we

can conclude that people show a high degree of responsibility towards their own lives, but also the lives of others in the context of responsibility. These results support the fact that in a crisis, people think about the long-term consequences of attitudes that motivate their actions, because coordinated action and collective responsibility are extremely important for successfully overcoming non-standard social circumstances.

2.2. Attitudes towards economy and existence

A modern economy is a "complex web of interconnected parties where everyone is someone else's employee, customer, lender," etc. (Gourinchas, 2020), which means that change on one side of the economic balance has immediate affect on the other. According to the report "Shared responsibility, global solidarity: Responding to the socio-economic impacts of COVID-19," published by the UN (2020), COVID-19 has plunged the world economy into a recession with projections of job losses between 5 and 25 million which represent the deepest recession since the Second World War (https://www.worldbank.org). According to Gans (2020), the COVID-19 pandemic is a real crisis with elements of a natural disaster (it is purely focused on people) and a national holiday (lack of an economic activity due to social distancing). In other words, this crisis affects our ability to produce because an immense number of workers will get sick. Barro et al., (2020) analyzed mortality and economic contraction during the 1918-1920 Great Influenza Epidemic and concluded that in thde sample of 43 countries this pandemic caused the death of 2% of the world's population, implying 150 million deaths when applied to current population.

In the combination of the global economic downturn and the expressed concern for one's own health, the feeling of fear in an individual is especially expressed, which influences his behavior, but also his economic decisions. This is discussed in more detail in a meta-analysis by Witte and Allen (2000) who concluded that strong fear appeals produce high levels of perceived severity and susceptibility, and are more persuasive than low or weak fear appeals.

Regarding Serbia's experience with the economic consequences of the crises the country went through in the past, it can be said that the very turbulent period contributed to and accelerated the emergence of economic emigrants and the so-called "brain drain" (Petrovic-Ranđelović and Miletić, 2016). In addition, the transition period did not bring about positive changes that could have been hoped for, which was especially evident in the sphere of human capital (Zubović and Domazet, 2010). The restructuring of the Serbian economy has not yielded the expected effects in terms of increasing productivity and efficiency levels. The main feature which marked privatization and the transformation of state-owned and socially-owned enterprises into private ones is the high decline in em-

ployment. This whole process has led to a loss of trust in Serbian institutions. For example, Mićić (2011) points out that in the midst of the global economic crisis in 2008, the citizens of Serbia, scared for their money, withdrew about a billion euros in foreign currency savings in a very short time as a result of the lack of trust in the financial system.

Observed from the psychological aspect, the influence of COVID-19 on the behavior of the population of Serbia, on a sample of 6,000 citizens, a trend was identified that the population is first provided with food for everyday life, for the fear of being left without it. After that, the Goverment applied and implemented other measures. Generally speaking, it was not easy for people to "switch" to the *pandemic behavior* (Psychological profile of the pandemic in Serbia, 2020).

In order to overcome the economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Serbian government has allocated 5.2 billion EUR in aid to the economy (11% of GDP) including the use of the helicopter-money method and 100 EUR to every adult Serbian citizen. However, reserach done by Centre for International Public Policy (2020) shows that 60% of the respondents belive that COVID-19 means the arrival of a new economic crisis while 48% of the respondents agree that Serbia has enough money to implement the economic stimulus package, but belive that there will be negative consequences.

2.3. Attitude towards science and knowledge

It is often the opinion of both individuals and policy makers that the solution to human problems should be sought in the application of science and technology. In that aspect, science became a very powerful "social institution", because many belive that "science, innovation and expertise are the moving forces of economic and social development" (Thorlindsson and Vilhjalmsson, 2003). In the case of COVID-19, it put the spotlight on science (Metcalfe et al., 2020) and redifined the relationship between science and the society because issues like the pandemic raise the fundamental questions about what we as human beings value? This particularly concerns the social paradigm and its changes, because when the World Health Organization declared the COVID-19 pandemic in March 2020, a problem that was initially seen as "Chinese" and then "Italian," soon became "everyone's" (Baldwin and di Mauro, 2020).

Scientists' warnings about the outbreak of a pandemic like SARS have existed years before, but they have not been taken seriously. The report "A World at risk" (2019), states that during 2011-2018, the World Health Organization registered as many as 1,483 epidemics in 172 countries (Hanić, 2020). However, the specificity of this pandemic is that it presents an immediate threat where the goal is a unity to preserve life. In this regard, society is turning to science, seeking not only answers to the

cause of the pandemic, but also a solution in the form of vaccines that will bring us back to *life before the pandemic*.

In the case of Serbia, the Science Fund of the Republic of Serbia has opened a public call for scientific and research projects within the Special Research Program on COVID-19 with the aim "to finance projects that will contribute to the efficient scientific response to COVID-19 pandemic caused by SARS-CoV-2 virus and enable better preparedness and the timely reaction of the whole society to this pandemic." A total of 14 projects were approved in the field of Biomedical science; Biomedical engineering and IT; Economics, sociological, psychological research, and the management of complex systems.

3. RESEARCH

3.1. Defining variables

Because this study aims to analyze the ethically relevant values and behavior of employees in Serbia, under the influence of the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, three variables were formed:

I. One's own life and other people (5 items)

The crisis puts to the strongest and most reliable test both the value and ethical principles of everyone in relation to their own concept of life, and the principles that include the relationship with others, and above all the ethical principle of solidarity and social justice. In this context, a necessary condition for overcoming the crisis is moral renewal (Marinković et al., 2013). It implies that each individual re-examines his moral attitudes and the strength to fight for them in the environment, the attitude towards fundamental life values, as well as the attitude towards others and their needs and rights:

1. "People will become more conscientious, responsible and willing to help because it's good to be good" (Post, 2005; Aknin et al., 2012), which is closely related to the fact that a higher degree of social interaction between people leads to people feeling more desire and willingness to help others (Cialdini et al. 1997);

2. Faced with a crisis that has paralyzed the whole world, *I have re-considered my views on life* because the difficulties we face in a pandemic result in the acceptance of the principle that life is a "gift" (Emmons and McCullough, 2003);

3. *Egoists will have to recognize that there are other people* who have their needs and rights because although people are sometimes unwilling to make sacrifices for others (Dana et al., 2007), still in this process including the economic aspect they should focus on the social economy of human solidarity (Rugina, 1984);

4. *After this crisis, I feel stronger to fight for my dignity* and
5. *People will appreciate the value of "ordinary" life* that requires *"back to basics"* or respect for a man as a purpose (Hanić, 2017a) and not a means of exploitation and commodification (Martin, 2020) imposed by the current consumer culture that Paul Samuelson, quoted in Iley and Lewis (2013) defined as "me, me, now, now, consume, consume." This also includes the issue of human dignity because we participate in it in the virtue of our common humanity (Martin 2018).

II. Economy and science (5 items)

The modern economy is a complex web of interconnected parties where everyone is someone else's employee, customer, lender, etc. (Gourinchas, 2020), which means that change on one side of the economic balance has immediate affect on the other. COVID-19 caused the deepest recession since the Second World War where 8.8 % of global working hours were lost (ILO, 2021). In the case of Serbia, the problem of work in the domain of the informal economy was especially expressed during the COVID-19 (Bradaš et al., 2020).

1. *We are facing an unprecedented recession in the economy* (World Bank, 2020) which has a great impact on human and social wellbeing because it leads to increasing inequalities of income, security, health, nutrition, and educational outcomes (Mohseni-Cheraghlou, 2016);
2. *It will be difficult for me to find / change job* as the biggest fear during crises which, in general, leads to poor health and functioning (Price et al., 2020) and which according to Professor David Blustein in the case of COVID-19 will represent a "global pandemic of unemployment."
3. *I have reduced unnecessary purchases and costs* has the character of a psychological factor due to fear of contagion which leads to disruption in consumption which influences the economy considerably (Jung et al., 2016).
4. *Many people will lose their jobs* which has happened to a greater or lesser extent during and after great economic crises including the Great Depression.
5. *In the future, financial institutions will be forced to reduce interest rates*.

III. Applied science (4 items)

The COVID-19 pandemic caused permanent changes, but it gave the world an important lesson, so the issues related to the attitude towards the world after the crisis, nature and the environment, health and the individual's attitude towards scientific knowledge are something that should be considered:

1. *The world will never look the same again* because *life after the pandemic* has constantly been mentioned, with the aim of returning to *our way of life* implying that it will be different from the one we lived before because, generally speaking, emotional reactions to crises are triggered by environmental or social cues and shape behavior (Bangate et al., 2017).

2. *Now I care more about my health than before* which can be viewed primarily from the aspect of gratitude in the context of what we "take for granted" because according to Emmons and McCullough (2003) gratitude stems from the perception of a positive personal outcome,

3. *People will pay more attention to nature and the environment in the future* because as the IPBES study (The Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services) points out, one species responsible for the COVID-19 pandemic is humans and for that reason it is necessary to change an individual's approach to the environment and recognize the complex relationships on the relation man-natural and animal world and

4. *I believe in scientific knowledge and I respect the word of experts* because, as Siegrist and Zingg (2014) point out, trust in health agencies has positively influenced people's willingness to adopt the recommended behavior.

3.2. Research process and sample structure

In order to examine the mentioned attidues, a questionnaire was designed and was distributed via social networks (Facebook and Instagram) to anonymous users immediately after the lifting of the state of emergency, which in Serbia lasted from March 15 to May 6, 2020. The survey contained statements that express indicators of the researched phenomena and are assessed on a Likert-type scale. Out of the total of 1.579 respondents, 640 are employees, which is the final sample of our research. Regarding the sample structure, 246 were male and 395 were female.
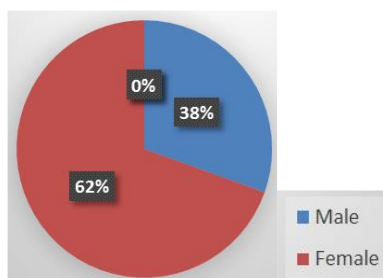
Figure 1. Gender structure

Based on the gender structure, it can be concluded that our sample is not, in a statistical sense, fully representative. However, the difference between males and females can be explained by considering different values in a gendered online environment (Smith, 2008). Also, given the gender structure of social network users, primarily in terms of the fact that women in Serbia use social networks more, especially Instagram (in May 2020 there were 2,283,000 Instagram users in Serbia and 52.7% were women), then the domain of an acceptable degree of representativeness of our sample can be accepted.

3.3. Hypothesis

In order to examine appropriately the ethically relevant values and behavior of the employed in Serbia during the COVID-19, the basic research hypothesis has been defined as follows:

Due to accentuated correlation, the respondents' attitudes can be grouped into three independent ethical dimensions.

In addition to this basic hypothesis, one more has been defined:

There are no significant differences in male or female attitudes towards one's own life and other people's lives, economy and existence, and scientific knowledge, i.e. the respondents' statistically significant answers, which show their points of view, are independent of their gender.

3.4. Methods

In addition to the methods of descriptive statistical analysis, correlation and factor analysis techniques were used in the data analysis, while the Bartlett test of sphericity and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) was used to test the fulfillment of assumptions for the application of factor analysis, and the t-test was used to test the hypothesis of no differences in attitudes of men and women. Statistical analysis was performed on the IBM SPSS 21 program.

4. RESULTS

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistical parameters of the arithmetic mean and standard deviation.

In order to present the obtained results in a simpler way, we analyzed Table 1 by ranges. More specifically, if the range of 2.9-3.1 is designated to indicate the average neutral attitude of the respondents, it can be concluded that the respondents expressed a neutral attitude towards the following statements: *The world will never look the same again, It will be difficult for me to find / change jobs* and *People will appreciate the value of ordinary life more.*

Table 1. Descriptive statistical parameters

Statements	Mean (M)	Standard deviation (SD)
1. The world will never look the same again.	3.08	1.270
2. We are facing an unprecedented recession in the economy	3.62	1.080
3. It will be difficult for me to find / change jobs	2.92	1.423
4. People will become more conscientious, responsible and ready to help.	2.18	1.146
5. Now I care more about my health than before.	3.02	1.310
6. In the future, people will pay more attention to nature and the environment.	2.15	1.147
7. I reduced unnecessary purchases and expenses.	3.31	1.309
8. Many people will lose their jobs.	3.87	1.034
9. Financial institutions will be forced to reduce interest rates in the future.	2.72	1.201
10. Faced with a crisis that has paralyzed the whole world, I have reconsidered my views on life.	3.18	1.370
11. Egoists will have to respect that there are other people who have their needs and rights.	2.67	1.441
12. After this crisis, I feel stronger to fight for my dignity	3.29	1.330
13. People will appreciate the value of ordinary life more.	3.09	1.331
14. I believe in scientific knowledge and I respect the word of experts.	3.24	1.289

Source: Authors

The respondents agreed with six statements, since the average value of agreement was expressed in the range of 3.1 - 3.6, which comprise the following: *I reduced unnecessary purchases and expenses*; *Faced with a crisis that has paralyzed the whole world, I have reconsidered my views on life; I believe in scientific knowledge and I respect the word of experts; After this crisis, I feel stronger to fight for my dignity; After this crisis, I feel stronger to fight for my dignity*.

A higher level of agreement was attached to the following two statements: *Many people will lose their jobs* and *We are facing an unprecedented recession in the economy*, with the average value over 3.6 marked on the Likert scale.

As for the statements to which the respondents expressed disagreement, their value amounted to less than 2.2. These comprise the following: *People will become more conscientious, responsible and ready to help* and *In the future, people will pay more attention to nature and the environment.* The respondents expressed a moderate, that is, partial disagreement in the range of 2.2 – 2.9 which refer to the following statements: *Financial institutions will be forced to reduce interest rates in the future* and *Egoists will have to respect that there are other people who have their needs and rights.*

The second column of Table 1 shows data on the standard deviation that reflects the degree of concentration of the respondents' answers around a typical and/or average answer and, in a way, represent an indicator of non-volatility of individual attitudes, expressing the degree of variation of the respondents' answers on a 5-Point Likert Scale. By analyzing the data in the Column 2, we have noticed the dispersion of the respondents' answers in relation to the average or typical answer that is approximately equal for all 14 examined statements.

A high degree of consent of the respondents to reconsider their attitudes about life after the crisis can also be noticed. The fear of losing a job, and thus of existential security, as well as professional identity, is not surprising because all major crises so far have caused such consequences, with greater or lesser intensity, so that these results can be understood as a collective memory or a well-learned lesson.

In order to test the hypothesis of statistical identity between the attitudes of male and female respondents, we applied the t-test. The calculated mean values and stated standard errors, together with the corresponding empirical (statistically realized) levels of significance (p - value) are shown in Table 2.

Based on the data shown in the last column of Table 2 (p - value), we can conclude that no significant differences appeared between the attitudes of the employed men and women in Serbia pertaining to the impact of COVID-19 on the ethically relevant values and behavior, except with the statement that the *Egoists will have to respect that there are other people who have their needs and rights* (p <0.002). This confirmed the statistical hypothesis that the answers of respondents reflecting their attitudes as to the impact of COVID-19 on the ethically relevant values and behavior, do not, to a statistically significant extent, depend on whether the respondent is male or female.

The factor structure of the questionnaire was determined by the analysis of the main components for 14 items. First, two tests of justification for the applications of factor analysis were evaluated: the Bartlett test of sphericity and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) indicator of sample adequacy. In the first iteration of the carried out factor analysis, the value of the KMO amounted to 0.826 which exceeds the recommended value of 0.6 (Kaiser, 1970, 1974). Bartlett's Test of Sphericity reached statistical significance (<0.05), which confirmed the factoribility of the correlation matrix.

Having analyzed the Communalities table, we determined that the items titled *Financial institutions will be forced to reduce interest rates in the future* (0.313) and *I reduced unnecessary purchases and expenses* (0.279) accounted for a value less than the recommended 0.4, which is considered to be useless and should be removed from the model (Verma, 2012). Based on that, we repeated the procedure of factor analysis to

check the adequacy of its use again. The value of the KMO indicator amounted to 0.808, whereas the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity reached statistical significance (<0.05). The analysis of major components revealed the presence of three components with characteristic values over 1, which explain the 29.432%, 16.556% and 8.740% variances. Accordingly, we confirmed the factorability of the correlation matrix as presented below.

Table 2. Independent Samples Test; Levene's Test for Equality of Variances (t-test for Equality of Means)

			N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	p value
1.	The world will never look the same again.	male	246	3.10	1.324	0.084	0.911
		female	395	3.09	1.229	0.062	
2.	We are facing an unprecedented recession in the economy	male	246	3.57	1.150	0.073	0.384
		female	394	3.65	1.036	0.052	
3.	It will be difficult for me to find / change jobs.	male	246	2.81	1.442	0.092	0.132
		female	394	2.99	1.410	0.071	
4.	People will become more conscientious, responsible and ready to help.	male	246	2.16	1.215	0.077	0.786
		female	394	2.19	1.096	0.055	
5.	Now I care more about my health than before.	male	246	2.93	1.373	0.088	0.18
		female	395	3.07	1.267	0.064	
6.	In the future, people will pay more attention to nature and the environment.	male	245	2.18	1.173	0.075	0.825
		female	394	2.15	1.136	0.057	
7.	I reduced unnecessary purchases and expenses.	male	246	3.33	1.294	0.083	0.792
		female	395	3.30	1.313	0.066	
8.	Many people will lose their jobs.	male	246	3.84	1.086	0.069	0.514
		female	395	3.90	.998	0.050	
9.	Financial institutions will be forced to reduce interest rates in the future.	male	246	2.70	1.287	0.082	0.608
		female	395	2.75	1.151	0.058	
10.	Faced with a crisis that has paralyzed the whole world, I have reconsidered my views on life.	male	246	3.06	1.417	0.090	0.084
		female	394	3.25	1.339	0.067	
11.	Egoists will have to respect that there are other people who have their needs and rights.	male	246	2.45	1.415	0.090	0.002
		female	395	2.81	1.444	0.073	
12.	After this crisis, I feel stronger to fight for my dignity	male	246	3.19	1.322	0.084	0.14
		female	394	3.35	1.327	0.067	
13.	People will appreciate the value of ordinary life more.	male	245	3.02	1.361	0.087	0.3
		female	395	3.14	1.310	0.066	
14.	I believe in scientific knowledge and I respect the word of experts.	male	246	3.14	1.328	0.085	0.142
		female	395	3.30	1.263	0.064	

Source: Authors

Table 3. Correlation matrix

X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9	X10	X11	X12
1	0.432	0.257	0.196	0.261	0.189	0.203	0.296	0.205	0.235	0.267	0.082
	1	0.393	0.038	0.168	0.021	0.486	0.202	0.111	0.129	0.085	0.032
		1	0.009	0.148	0.073	0.378	0.151	0.044	0.033	0.025	0.039
			1	0.287	0.545	-0.116	0.232	0.349	0.313	0.466	0.195
				1	0.324	0.023	0.412	0.285	0.343	0.297	0.272
					1	-0.07	0.246	0.362	0.305	0.462	0.218
						1	0.135	0.008	0.068	0.06	0.016
							1	0.335	0.419	0.331	0.07
								1	0.353	0.465	0.127
									1	0.43	0.06
										1	0.186
											1

Source: Authors

The analysis of the main components in which 12 items were reduced to three latent factors indicates the results shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Eigenvalues of factors obtained by analysis of the main components of 12 items of the questionnaire on the sample.

	Total Variance Explained								
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	3.532	29.432	29.432	3.532	29.432	29.432	3.045	25.378	25.378
2	1.987	16.556	45.988	1.987	16.556	45.988	2.148	17.897	43.274
3	1.049	8.740	54.728	1.049	8.740	54.728	1.374	11.454	54.728
4	0.899	7.496	62.224						
5	0.765	6.377	68.600						
6	0.729	6.074	74.675						
7	0.639	5.325	80.000						
8	0.540	4.500	84.500						
9	0.535	4.459	88.959						
10	0.488	4.063	93.022						
11	0.447	3.728	96.750						
12	0.390	3.250	100.000						

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Source: Authors

Table 5. KMO

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy		0.808
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1785.814
	df	66
	Sig.	0.000

Source: Authors

According to the Kaiser-Gutmann criterion, only those factors that best explain variability are considered. It can be seen from Table 4 that this criterion in this case satisfies the first three components that cumulatively explain 54.728% of the variance. In Table 6, the correlations of variables and values obtained by factor analysis were presented.

Table 6. Correlations of 14 items and factors extracted from them

Items	Oridinal number of factors		
	1	2	3
1. The world will never look the same again.	0.376	**0.54**	0.067
2. We are facing an unprecedented recession in the economy	0.112	**0.803**	-0.013
3. It will be difficult for me to find / change jobs	-0.022	**0.705**	0.144
4. People will become more conscientious, responsible and ready to help.	**0.598**	-0.12	0.421
5. Now I care more about my health than before.	**0.495**	0.205	0.364
6. In the future, people will pay more attention to nature and the environment.	**0.581**	-0.073	0.473
7. Many people will lose their jobs.	-0.044	**0.753**	-0.09
8. Faced with a crisis that has paralyzed the whole world, I have reconsidered my views on life.	**0.652**	0.268	-0.103
9. Egoists will have to respect that there are other people who have their needs and rights.	**0.677**	0.02	0.087
10. After this crisis, I feel stronger to fight for my dignity	**0.74**	0.081	-0.124
11. People will appreciate the value of ordinary life more.	**0.72**	0.018	0.213
12. I believe in scientific knowledge and I respect the word of experts.	0.005	0.073	**0.854**

Source: Authors

The factor structure was obtained depending on the nature of the respondents' responses and reflects their perception regarding the perspectives of changes in values and behavior after the crisis:

One's own life and other people:

- people will become more conscientious, responsible and ready to help,
- now I care more about my health than before,
- in the future, people will pay more attention to nature and the environment,
- faced with a crisis that has paralyzed the whole world, I have reconsidered my views on life,
- egoists will have to respect that there are other people who have their needs and rights,
- after this crisis, I feel stronger to fight for my dignity,
- people will appreciate the value of ordinary life more.

Economic perspective:

- the world will never look the same again,
- we are facing an unprecedented recession in the economy,
- It will be difficult for me to find / change jobs,
- many people will lose their jobs.

Faith in science:

- I believe in scientific knowledge and I respect the word of experts.

Factor analysis shows that the greatest load lies on the first factor, which has the highest value in the explanation of manifest variables, while each subsequent one explains a smaller share in the total variance. The intrinsic value of the first factor is 29.432%, the second 16.556 and finally of the third one 8.740%.

The first factor is much broader in the number of items than the variable defined as the relationship to one's own life and other people. Essentially, this factor with all its internal characteristics speaks of the need for changes to occur primarily on a personal level, because although it has grouped certain statements from the other two variables, each of them depends solely on changes in values and ethical attitudes of individuals. It is about the areas that we have classified as caring for the preservation of nature and health or the attitude towards the economy and existence.

The second factor speaks of the economic effects of the COVID-19 pandemics. Judging by the attitudes of the respondents, the items comprising the second factor will affect every individual, both directly and indirectly.

Although based on one attitude of the respondents, the third factor is of vital significance having in mind that we eagerly wait for a scientific solution to the COVID-19 pandemic.

CONCLUSION

Although ethical values have faltered over the years before the onslaught of material values, the COVID - 19 pandemic has led to the reexamination of the priorities not only of individuals, but of society, because major health crises teach us that our destinies are connected. What has proven to be a *conditio sine qua non* during all major crises is that there is no change or successful response to a crisis without moral responsibility.

The subject of research in this paper comprises the analysis of ethically relevant values and behaviour in Serbia following the end of the state of emergency caused by the COVID-19 pandemics, in March 2020. The starting point of this paper was that, following the expressed correlation, the attitudes of the respondents can be grouped into three mutually

independent ethical dimensions. Having analysed the answers provided by the respondents, we concluded that there were no significant differences in the attitudes of the employed men and women in Serbia concerning the impact of COVID-19 on the ethically relevant values and behaviour, except with the statement that the *Egoists will have to respect that there are other people who have their needs and rights,* which, moreover, confirms the hypothesis that the answers of the respondents reflecting their attitudes on the impact of COVID 19 on ethically relevant values and behaviour, do not, to a statistically significant extent, depend on whether the respondent is male or female. Such a conclusion also leads us away from the traditional or stereotypical beliefs about different ways of male and female social performance.

Likewise, the results show that the respondents agree the crisis is a destructive element that will affect economic prosperity; however, although they believe that the crisis will have impact on the daily lives of us all, the respondents still think that this will neither awake empathy in human relations, nor the sense of responsibility for the environment. This indirectly leads to the conclusion that the attitudes and behaviour are emerging in Serbia that deviate from the inherent ethical cultural patterns steaming from the care for other people and solidarity. Therefore, we can conclude that it is only possible that people got tired of the "psychology of survival" that prevailed in Serbia during the 1990s.

The factor analysis of the main components reduced significant factors, thus completing the descriptive analysis applied to construe the elements of the research as a result of examining particular aspects. This leads to the conclusion that, following the expressed correlation, respondents' attitudes can be grouped into three mutually independent ethical dimensions. By a more detailed data analysis via the analysis of factors, we found that three components explain the 54.728% of variance, which confirmed the factorability of the sample. Based on the common characteristics, we singled out three factors that we called *One's Own Life and Other People*, *Economic Perspective* and *Faith in Science*. However, since this is the first comprehensive research of the kind in Serbia, it has a special role since it examines the causality of individuals' attitudes towards particular matters that appear important for the understanding of the overall issue of behaviour in a crisis.

This research has certain limitations, primarily due to the size and characteristics of the sample. However, it should be noted that these results are an expression of the attitudes of the respondents immediately after the state of emergency and the escalation of the COVID-19 pandemic. It is certain that it would be challenging to test our assumptions in different circumstances and populations.

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РЕЛЕВАНТНЕ ВРЕДНОСТИ И ПОНАШАЊЕ ЗАПОСЛЕНИХ У СРБИЈИ ТОКОМ *COVID*-19 ПАНДЕМИЈЕ

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Резиме

Предмет истраживања у овом раду укључује анализу етички релевантних вредности и понашања у Србији након завршетка ванредног стања изазваног пандемијом КОВИД-19, марта 2020. Полазиште овог рада, базирано на узорку од 640 испитаника, било је да се ставови истих могу груписати у три међусобно независне етичке димензије. Анализирајући одговоре испитаника, закључили смо да није било значајних разлика у ставовима запослених мушкараца и жена у Србији у вези са утицајем КОВИД-19 на етички релевантне вредности и понашање, осим за изјаву да ће егоисти морати поштовати да постоје и други људи који имају своје потребе и права. Исто тако, резултати показују да се испитаници слажу да је криза деструктивни елемент који ће утицати на економски просперитет; међутим, иако верују да ће криза утицати на свакодневни живот свих нас, испитаници и даље мисле да то неће пробудити емпатију у људским односима, нити осећај одговорности за животну средину. То индиректно доводи до закључка да се у Србији појављују ставови и понашање који одступају од урођених етичких културних образаца у домену бриге за друге људе и солидарности. Одатле можемо закључити да је једино могуће да су се људи уморили од "психологије преживљавања" која је владала у Србији током деведесетих година прошлог века.

Факторска анализа главних компонената смањила је значајне факторе, чиме је употпуњена дескриптивна анализа примењена за тумачење елемената истраживања као резултат испитивања одређених аспеката. То доводи до закључка да се, након изражене корелације, ставови испитаника могу груписати у три међусобно независне етичке димензије. Детаљнијом анализом података, анализом фактора, открили смо да три компоненте објашњавају 54,728% варијансе, што је потврдило чињеничност узорка. На основу заједничких карактеристика издвојили смо три фактора која смо назвали *властити живот и други људи*, *економска перспектива* и *вера у науку*. Међутим, с обзиром на то да је ово прво свеобухватно истраживање такве врсте у Србији, оно има посебну улогу јер испитује узрочност ставова појединца према одређеним питањима која су важна за разумевање целокупног питања понашања у кризи.

Ово истраживање има одређена ограничења, првенствено због величине и карактеристика узорка. Међутим, треба напоменути да су ови резултати израз ставова испитаника непосредно након ванредног стања и избијања пандемије КОВИД-19. Сигурно је да би било изазовно тестирати наше претпоставке у различитим околностима и популацијама.

THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC: ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES AND GOVERNMENT REACTIONS

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Abstract

The key research objective is to analyze the global economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic based on the analysis of valid academic, statistical and Internet sources and to prove the assumption that these consequences are significantly greater than those caused by the 2008 Global Financial Crisis. The paper also presents possible recovery curves of the global economy, and assesses the measures taken by institutions in the EU, the USA and the Republic of Serbia in the fight against COVID-19.

Key words: pandemic, global crisis, recovery curve, "safety net", helicopter money.

ПАНДЕМИЈА ВИРУСА КОРОНА: ЕКОНОМСКЕ ПОСЛЕДИЦЕ И РЕАКЦИЈЕ ВЛАДА

Апстракт

Кључни циљ овог истраживања јесте да се на бази анализе, за предмет истраживања валидних академских, статистичких и Интернет извора, сагледају глобалне економске последице пандемије болести *COVID*-19, и докаже претпоставка да су те последице знатно веће од оних које је изазвала Глобална финансијска криза 2008. године. У раду се, такође, презентују могуће криве опоравка глобалне економије, и оцењују мере које су предузеле институције у ЕУ, САД и Републици Србији у борби против болести *COVID* -19.

Кључне речи: пандемија, глобална криза, крива опоравка, "сигурносна мрежа", "новац из хеликоптера".

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INTRODUCTION

The contemporary world, thanks to the developed health care system and technological capacities, can cope with various diseases easier than before. However, technological progress itself has not only increased the interdependence of the modern world, but also its vulnerability due to the creation of conditions (population density growth, obesity epidemics, etc.) for the faster spread of the virus. The question remains whether the answer to pandemics in the 21st century should be to close borders or improve international cooperation in order to facilitate the monitoring of the disease and control its spreading. Economists provide a clear answer to this question: closing countries to prevent the spread of disease is causing companies to go bankrupt, increasing unemployment, declining budget revenues, enormous country borrowing and the global economic crisis.

The COVID-19 pandemic caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus has paralyzed the global economy. The COVID-19 pandemic does not only affect the poor, large, but also rich countries. The number of deaths in Italy, Spain, France, Great Britain and the USA proves that best. However, countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America are at a greater risk because they have relatively underdeveloped health systems.

Almost all regions of the world will suffer a double-digit decline in trade in 2020, with exports from North America and Asia being hit hardest. The biggest drop in trade will be in the electronics and automotive industries, which are characterized by complex links in the value chain.

Forecasts by experts in the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and numerous institutes clearly indicate that the recovery of the global economy can be expected only in 2021 and 2022. It is logical that the curve of that recovery will be in the shape of the letter "U" rather than in the shape of the letter "V". This means that, after a rapid decline, the global economy will only be able to recover over a long period of time. In addition, these experts warn that, due to the unpredictability of the COVID-19 pandemic, their forecasts will not be easy to achieve.

In 2020, the decline in gross domestic product (GDP) of the eurozone countries will be greater than the decline in EU GDP. A drop in health risk and the recovery of the eurozone can be expected if these countries gradually lift restrictive measures. In that case, the speed of their recovery can hardly be accurately predicted. The COVID-19 pandemic is not only a danger, but also a chance. The Netflix, Disney + and Amazon performance in the first quarter of 2020 clearly confirms this.

With a comprehensive and economically acceptable package of measures, worth 5.1 billion euros, the Government of the Republic of Serbia will significantly reduce the negative effects caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. It is certainly superfluous to ask whether the state should or should not provide support to workers in the form of salaries and companies through taxes and contributions. However, four questions

arise: Are delays in the payment of payroll taxes a sufficient measure? In addition to delaying the payment of payroll taxes and contributions and income taxes, should the tax burden on the economy be reduced? Instead of giving all adult citizens 100 euros ("helicopter money"), should that money be given to those who lost their jobs, the unemployed and the most socially endangered? Finally, with the linear character of certain measures, will the funds of the economic rescue fund, which were mainly collected through borrowing, give the best effects? (Milovanović, Radisavljević, Đukić; 2020: 56-65).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The first written traces of pandemics are 25 centuries old. The oldest recorded pandemic occurred during the Peloponnesian War in the 5th century BC. The Greek physician Hippocrates was the first to define epidemics.

The movement of people due to the gathering of fruits, the creation of cities, the establishment of trade channels, but also wars, opened the space for various epidemics.

Infectious diseases appeared during the time of the original civilization and have taken several hundred million lives to this day. However, infectious diseases not only sowed death, but also affected military failures, as well as the fate of empires. For example, the plague of Thucydides destroyed the Athenians and greatly contributed to their defeat by Sparta, while the plague in the 6th century prevented the Byzantine emperor Justinian from annexing the remnants of the former Western Roman Empire, which disintegrated in 476. In addition, contagious diseases facilitated the spread of religions (e.g. Christianity) and stopped wars (e.g. the "Hundred Years" War between France and England from 1337 to 1453).

Despite the great achievements of medicine, infectious diseases still cause a more intense fear of the apocalyptic end of the world than "Armageddon" due to nuclear war or man's fear of death. This fear has come to the fore in the last two decades, with the spread of SARS (2002-2003), "bird flu" also known as H5N1 (2003-2007), swine flu, a new type of H1N1 virus (during 2009), MERS (present since 2012), Ebola (the epidemic lasted from 2013 to 2016) and especially COVID-19.

The literature on the economic impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic is spreading rapidly. The number of studies on its economic consequences is also increasing (Barro et al., 2020). Governments can reduce the total number of deaths with various anti-epidemic measures, but at the same time push the economy into a greater recession caused by the pandemic. For example, severe anti-pandemic measures in the U.S., such as spending cuts and temporary closures of companies, have led to a rise in

recession, but have also saved approximately half a million lives in the U.S. (Eichenbaum et al., 2020).

Although the COVID-19 pandemic has been going on since 11 March 2020 and is attracting the attention of a growing number of scientists, research on its economic consequences is still in its infancy. A large number of papers appear, especially those on the macroeconomic consequences of this pandemic. Research centers and media are extremely interested in publishing comments, editorials and analyses. Baldwin and Beatrice have published a book illustrating the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on politics, trade, supply chains, finance, banking, travel, and the vulnerability of individual regions (Baldwin, and Beatrice, 2020). There are also papers on simulation modeling based on previous experience, real-time data, as well as the IMF, the Bank for International Settlements, the World Bank, the OECD and UNCTAD sources.

The COVID-19 pandemic significantly increases financial and banking risks. It causes deep disturbances both on the supply side (due to disruption of processes and activities in international supply chains) and on the demand side (due to the slowdown of world trade flows). Using a very simplified "circular flow diagram", Baldwin proves that measures to limit the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic directly and greatly reduce the flow of workers from their place of residence to the company, leading to a rapid and large reduction in production (supply) of goods and services (Baldwin, 2020). Also, the uncertainty caused by this disease, regulatory restrictions imposed by governments, and the global decline in the level of economic activity negatively affect most components of aggregate demand.

Based on experience in modeling the economic effects of an influenza pandemic, Wren-Lewis suggests that the COVID-19 pandemic is slowing economic growth as a result of declining work hours, rising production costs, rising inflation rates and declining social spending (Wren-Lewis, 2020). Also, the pandemic affects the value of shares. Gormsen, Joachim and Koijen study the impact of the pandemic on stock price fluctuations and dividend levels to encourage positive expectations among investors and reduce the risk of recession (Gormsen, and Koijen, 2020).

Studies on the macroeconomic consequences of infectious diseases such as AIDS (Cuddington, and Hancock, 1994: 363-368; Cuddington, and Hancock, 1995: 1-28; Haacker, 2020; Freire, 2004) and SARS (Lee, and McKibbin, 2004: 113-131; Shannon, and Willoughby, 2004: 359-381) have revealed their effects on households, companies and governments. Also, these studies provide valuable information for assessing the degree of susceptibility of individual countries to COVID-19 and taking measures to successfully eliminate the economic consequences of this disease.

COVID-19 is a persistent and unpredictable disease. It is accompanied by great human sacrifices and devastating economic consequences. International financial institutions, monetary authorities and central banks are trying to mitigate the negative effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the real economy by implementing special fiscal, monetary and macro-financial measures. Nevertheless, the duration of this disease, as well as the extent of its consequences, cannot be precisely determined.

METHODOLOGICAL RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

The main research objective is a comparative analysis of the Global Financial Crisis of 2008 and the COVID-19 crisis, based on the generated uncertainties and turbulence in the world's leading countries, in order to see the spectrum and depth of impact of these crises on the global economy. The second research objective is to present the possible recovery curves of the world economy and evaluate the measures taken by the bodies of the European Union, the USA and the Republic of Serbia in the fight against this disease, based on the identified economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The research is mostly based on information collected via the Internet in the first quarter of 2020. The research relies on information on the economic consequences of COVID-19, taken from relevant textbooks and scientific papers. The research methods (analysis, synthesis, generalization, analogy, abstraction and concretization) allow the use of data and information collected for the purpose of consistent, logical and true conclusion. Systematized knowledge about the research subject (economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic) and experience are the basis for predicting the shape of the recovery curve of the world economy, but also the reason for further research in this area.

The authors are aware that the availability of empirical data would result in mathematical and statistical formulations that provide a more realistic picture of the studied phenomena and more valid conclusions. However, based on lessons learned from the Global Financial Crisis and those resulting from comparing this crisis to the COVID-19 crisis, economists can provide governments and managers with a wide range of information relevant to making rational decisions.

The authors try to test the following hypothesis:

H: The global economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic go beyond, in terms of spectrum and depth, the economic consequences of the 2008 Global Financial Crisis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Comparison of the 2008 Global Financial Crisis and the COVID-19 Crisis by their key economic characteristics

The COVID-19 pandemic halted the long-term growth of global trade and production volume and real GDP (Milovanović, Milanović, Radisavljević; 2020: 153). The COVID-19 pandemic has forced governments and the largest world economies to demand from their citizens to stay at home, to close shops, factories and other facilities to suppress the spread of coronavirus. The entire world could be said to testify to a unique health and economic crisis, which generations of people have not seen. The breakdown of global production and logistics networks followed. There has been a global shortage of very important medical equipment (clinical and transport respirators, protective masks and gloves), anti-disinfectants and drugs (plaquenil, azithromycin, etc.), almost a complete cessation of international air transport and the destruction of tourism (Milovanović, 2020: 376). That is why Kristalina Georgijeva, the IMF director, states that the global economy is already in recession, which is "much worse than the global financial crisis."

The spread of the SARS-CoV-2 virus in the first quarter of 2020 has fueled suspicions that it will do more damage to the global economy than that caused to the global economy by the 2008 Global Financial Crisis. Regardless of the different causes of these crises, they are similar in certain economic characteristics and, therefore, suitable for comparison.

In this part of the paper, we want to compare the mentioned crises according to their common economic characteristics, such as: 1) the uncertainty they generate, and 2) the turbulence they cause on the stock exchange. With this analysis, we want to show that the COVID-19 crisis, in the first quarter of 2020, hit the global economy harder than the 2008 global financial crisis. Due to the nature and scope of the paper, the ecological, psychological and political aspects of these crises, although very significant, have not been analyzed.

Uncertainty caused by the "subprime" virus and SARS-CoV-2 virus. Both crises are characterized by uncertainty after their appearance in one of the two leading economies (bankruptcy of the American financial corporation Lehman Brothers and the appearance of the "subprime" virus in 2008 and the appearance of COVID-19 in China in December 2019), as well as rapid global expansion. This uncertainty can be defined as a risk whose probability of occurrence and impacts are difficult to predict.

Until 2007, Americans were granted subprime loans. This risk was hidden through the seemingly sound securitization of receivables and receivables owners. In such conditions, no one knew where and how much risk there was. This was followed by a freeze on international financial flows and an increase in uncertainty. And the crisis caused by the

COVID-19 pandemic freezes a large part of global trade. The World Pandemic Uncertainty Index (WUP index), developed by the International Monetary Fund, and the Global Economic Policy Uncertainty Index (GEPU index, calculated according to PPP rates), had significantly higher values in the first quarter of 2020 than during the 2002 epidemics and during the 2008 Global Financial Crisis. For example, the value of the WUP index during the five epidemics (SARS, bird flu H5N1, swine flu H1N1, bird flu A/H7N9, Ebola, and MERS), which broke out since 2002, was lower than in the first quarter of 2020, when there was a sudden spread of COVID-19 disease (see Figure 1).
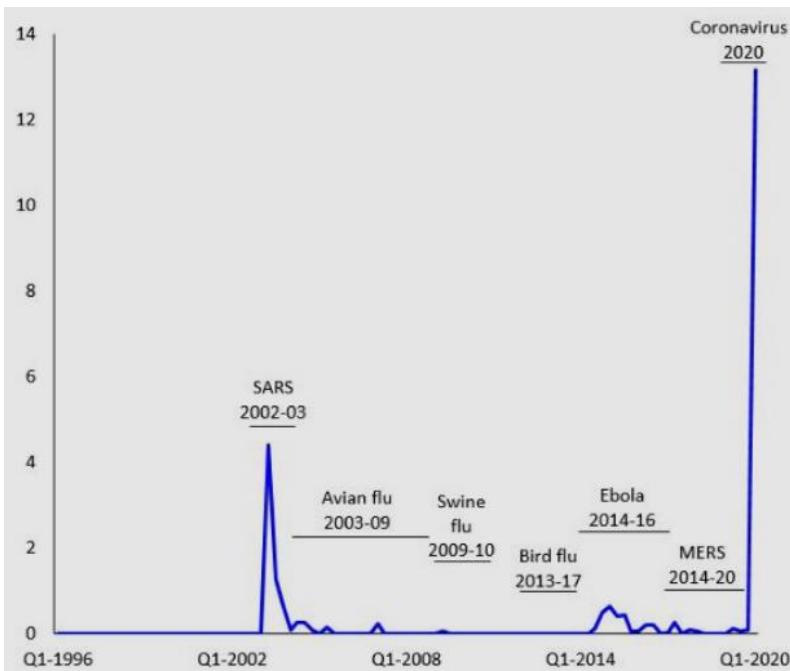
Figure 1. Pandemic and Uncertainty 1996Q1 to 2020Q1
Source: Ahir, H., Bloom N., and Furceri D. (2020, April 04). World Uncertainty Index. Available at: https://worlduncertaintyindex.com/data/)

The value of the GEPU index was 341 in March 2020 and as much as 423.84 in May, which is significantly above the jump in its value during the Global Financial Crisis (202 in October 2008) (Figure 2).

(a)

(b)
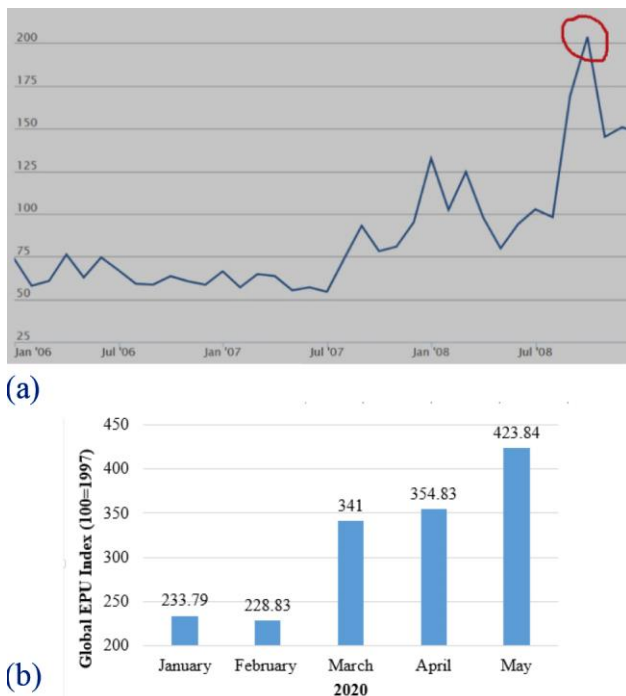
*Figure 2. The World Pandemic Uncertainty Index (a) and Global
Economic Policy Uncertainty Index (b)*
*Source: Marc-Olivier Strauss-Kahn (May 2020), Can we compare the
COVID-19 and 2008 crises? SUERF Policy Note, Issue No 164. Available
at: https://www.suerf.org/policynotes/13389/can-we-compare-the-covid-19-and-
2008-crises.*

The expectation that a sharp and deep recession will be offset by a
sharp and abrupt recovery (that the global economic recovery curve will
be V-shaped) is unrealistic, as long as global uncertainty remains high.

Turbulence on major world stock markets. At the beginning,
both the World Financial Crisis (2008) and the COVID-19 Crisis (first
quarter of 2020) saw declines on the major world stock exchanges. The
recessions caused by these crises are qualified as the biggest since the
Great Depression.

Immediately after the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers, the value of
the *Dow Jones* stock index fell by an incredible 504.48 points (-4.42%),
the most since the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, while the value
of the *S&P 500* stock index fell by 2.5 %. The largest one-day decline in
the value of the *Dow Jones* stock index (777.68 points or 3.3%) was
recorded on 29 September 2008 (Figure 3).
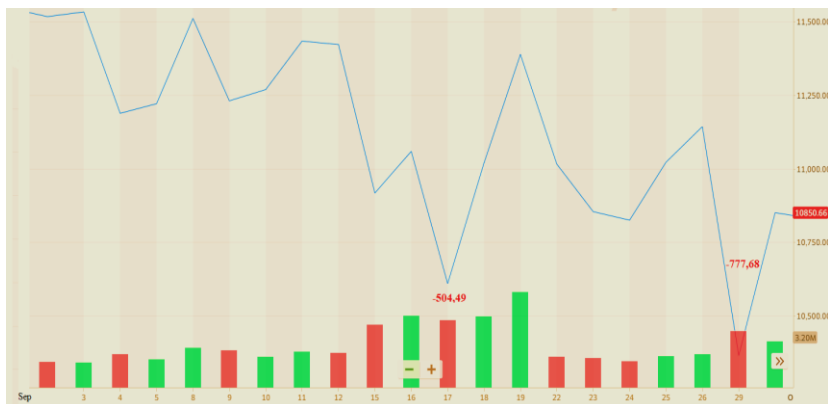
*Figure 3. Two characteristic declines in the value of the Dow Jones
stock index in September 2008*
*Source: Top 10 Dow Jones Drops. Available at: http://content.time.com/time/specials/
packages/article/0,28804,1845523_1845619,00.html.*

The total decline in the value of the *S&P 500* stock exchange index
in 2008 was 38.49%, which is its largest annual decline. In the era of the
Global Financial Crisis, there was a drop: the price of oil dropped from
138 to 95 dollars per barrel, the value of the main Brazilian stock index
Ibovespa dropped by 10% and the London stock index *FTSE* dropped by
5.3% (https://www.adigitalblogger.com). On 9 March 2009, the *S&P 500*
stock index had the lowest value (676.53 points) since the outbreak of the
Global Financial Crisis and the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers
(https://www.reuters.com) (Figure 4).
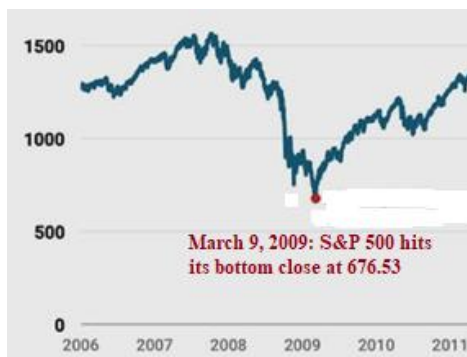
*Figure 4. Lowest recorded value of the S&P 500 stock index
since the outbreak of the Global Financial Crisis and the bankruptcy
of Lehman Brothers*
Source: Yahoo Finance, 2020.

Far greater turbulence on world stock markets was caused by the spread of COVID-19 in the first quarter of 2020.

At the beginning of February 2020, COVID-19 was mostly limited to China. The US *S&P 500* reached its all-time high on 19 February 2020. However, just a few days later, when news of the spread of this disease outside China appeared, stock market indices began to fall.

On 12 March 2020, the value of shares on the American stock exchange dropped by about ten percent. Then, the biggest losses in one day from October 1987, that is, from the so-called "Black Monday", occurred. This ended the longest phase of growth in history (bull market), which began after the World Financial Crisis in 2008. The "bear market" phase followed, when investors suddenly sold off shares.

The dramatic decline in the value of shares on stock exchange around the world on 12 March 2020 caused not only the rapid spread of COVID-19 outside China, but also the fear of investors that the spread of this disease will slow down global economic growth. On 12 March 2020, the value of the *S&P 500* index fell by 9.51%. As early as 20 March, its value decreased by 31.9% compared to the value (peak) of 12 February (Figure 5).

Figure 5. S&P 500 Bear Market
Source: FactSet, 2020.

Due to the spread of COVID-19, after 12 March 2020, there was a large decline in the value of the *Dow Jones* (-9.99%) and *Nasdaq Composite* (-9.43%) stock indices (https://www.cnbc.com). U.S. stock markets sank further after the decision of the President Donald Trump administration to suspend flights from European countries due to the spread of COVID-19. Trump's decision led to a drop in the value of the airlines' shares by 19.6%, as well as to an additional drop in the price of Brent crude oil by 8.6%. On 12 March 2020, stock markets in other parts

of the world were shaken. Thus, the pan-European *STOXX 600* index dropped by 11.48%.

The COVID-19 crisis in the first quarter of 2020 caused a high average decline in key US stock indexes, compared to their value on 31 December 2019. The *Dow Jones* and *S&P 500* stock indices had the worst performance ever recorded in the first quarter of 2020. The *Dow Jones* dropped by 23.1% and the *S&P 500* by 20% (Figure 6).
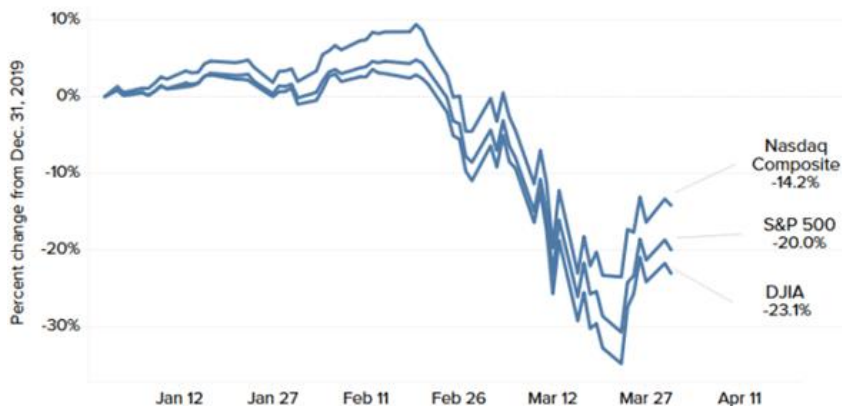
Figure 6. U.S. Stock Plunge in the First Quarter 2020
Source: FactSet, 2020.

In the first quarter of 2020, the *Dow Jones* stock index had the lowest quarterly value since 1987. In the same quarter, the *S&P 500* stock exchange index had the largest quarterly drop since 2008.

Economists of one of the oldest financial institutions in the USA, JPMorgan Chase & Co., estimate that by the end of 2021, the COVID-19 pandemic will cost the world around 5.5 billion USD, which will lead to a reduction in global GDP by almost 8% (https://www.archyworldys.com).

Hopes for Recovery According to the "U" and/or "V" Form

The V-shaped economic recovery curve is mainly due to the sharp decline of a particular economy, which quickly follows the continuous recovery of that economy. Such a curve in the last five decades has more mimicked changes in company growth and profits than changes on financial markets. The U-shaped economic recovery curve shows that the economy is failing for a long period of time and then recovering quickly. Such a recovery implies a gradual revival of economic activity, with the entry into the crisis being faster than the exit from the crisis.

Jürgen Stackmann, the VW head, assesses that the demand recovery curve for its passenger cars in China will have the shape of the letter "V", but not in Europe, which is realistic. The sales of their passenger cars in China in the last week of April 2020 was higher than in the same period in 2019. The accelerated recovery of demand in China is largely the result of the desire of customers to use their own vehicles instead of public transport. In contrast, in April, VW sales in Europe decreased by 85% compared to sales in the same period in 2019, because some large markets (e.g. Italy and Spain) completely closed. In addition, the company's car sales decreased by 50% in North America and by as much as 81% in South America (https://www.thisismoney.co.uk). Without the recovery of the EU, North and South American markets, the EU car industry, which employs about 9% (2.6 million) of EU factory workers (https://www.nytimes.com), will primarily be able to rely on the growth of demand on the Chinese market.

Most CEOs predict a "U" recovery, which means they expect a long period between recession and recovery. No one can precisely determine the duration of the health crisis, whether there would be a second wave, nor what the second wave would look like, which indicates a recovery in the form of the letter "W". It is only clear that the recovery of the economy will begin when the health crisis ends to a certain extent.

The Ernst & Young survey shows that 54% of top company executives expect a recovery in the form of the letter "U" – a period of reduced economic activity that will take place in 2021 (https://www.ey.com). As a reason for such an expectation, they cite the necessity of a relatively long-time interval for the full opening of national economies and the return of consumers to their old way of life.

The "U" recovery significantly reflects the presence of fear among customers even after the removal of measures and the opening of economies. For example, even after the lifting of measures by governments in some Asian countries, there has been no rapid recovery in tourism and an increase in restaurant guests.

Alexandre de Juniak, director general of the International Air Transport Association (IATA), an organization that includes 290 airlines from 120 countries (https://www.iata.org), estimates that the crisis in the global aviation industry will take the form of the letter "U". Also, the recovery of domestic air traffic will be faster than international.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the airlines, as well as those operating in the hotel and tourism sector, were left virtually without any income overnight, as the governments of many countries took strict measures of social distancing. Most airlines landed their planes. The losses of airlines for commercial passenger transport in 2020 could reach 314 billion USD (https://www.theguardian.com), which makes about 37% of their total revenues in 2019. Despite the fact that several governments have introduced

new or expanded the range of existing financial assistance measures, some airlines will find it difficult to survive until the start of economic recovery.

Hotels closed their doors as restaurants turned to customers who come for food on their own and take it home. Global revenues generated from travel and tourism in 2020, instead of the planned 711.944 billion USD, will amount to 568.583 billion USD, which is a decrease of about 17% compared to the previous year (Figure 7) (https://www.statista.com). However, many countries hope that, after putting the epidemic under control or using vaccines, their recovery will be as fast as the decline itself.
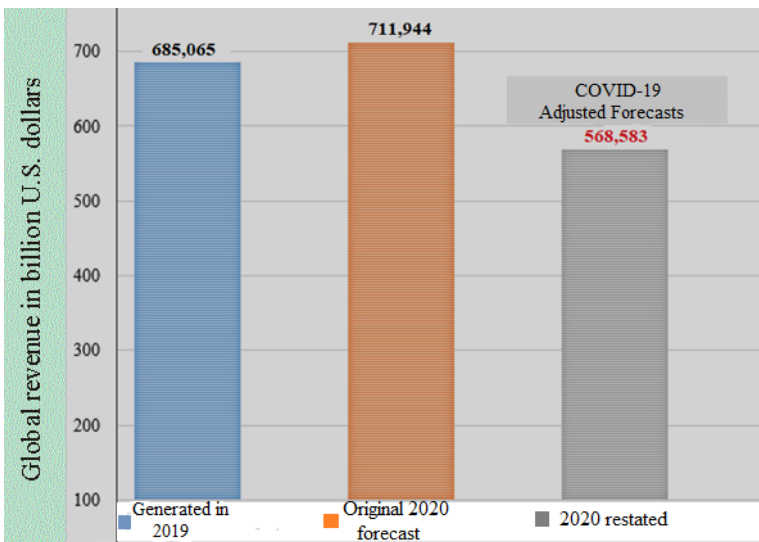
Figure 7. Change in travel and tourism revenues in the period from 2019 to 2020 in billions of USD

Such hopes were supported by the IMF in its first (April) edition of the World Economic Review for 2020, which will be re-published six months later. Assuming that the COVID-19 pandemic would end in the second half of 2020, that measures to curb the spread of the pandemic would be phased out, and that effective measures would be taken to limit the economic damage caused by isolation measures, the IMF predicted a global economic recovery in the form of the letter "V". This means that the decline of the global economy in 2020 will be large, but that its rapid recovery will follow in 2021 (Figure 8).
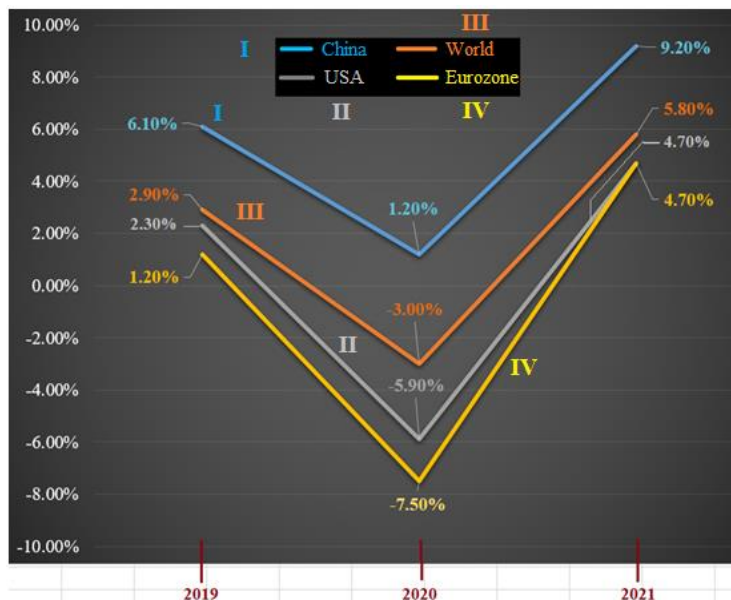
Figure 8. Projected GDP growth for selected economies and the world
(by April 2020)
Source: World Economic Oulook, April 2020: The Great Lockdown. Available
at: https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/Issues/2020/04/14/weo-april-2020

Experts of this financial institution estimate that, in 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic will lead to a negative growth of the global economy of three percent (https://www.bloomberg.com). Such a decline has not been recorded since the Great Depression in the 1930s. The COVID-19 pandemic will hit the eurozone countries, the United States and China the hardest. Due to the unpredictability of the course and duration of the pandemic, it is realistic to expect that the IMF will significantly revise its forecasts by the end of 2020.

European Union and US Reactions to the COVID-19 Pandemic

The COVID-19 pandemic has strongly affected the economies of all EU member states. To a certain extent, the member states have started to close their national borders, so that the principle of solidarity, on which the EU is built, was violated.

A clear indicator of the economic crisis in the EU, caused by COVID-19, is the decline in its GDP. In the first quarter of 2020, the decline in GDP of this economic integration, compared to the previous quarter, was 3.5% (Figure 9) (https://ec.europa.eu). The decline in GDP of France in the first quarter of 2020, compared to the last quarter of the

previous year, was 5.8% and Italy 4.7%. The crisis will be especially devastating for the economies of the Eurozone. According to the estimates of the experts of the European Central Bank (ECB), by the end of 2020, the fall in the GDP of the Eurozone will be between 5 and 12% (https://www.theguardian.com).
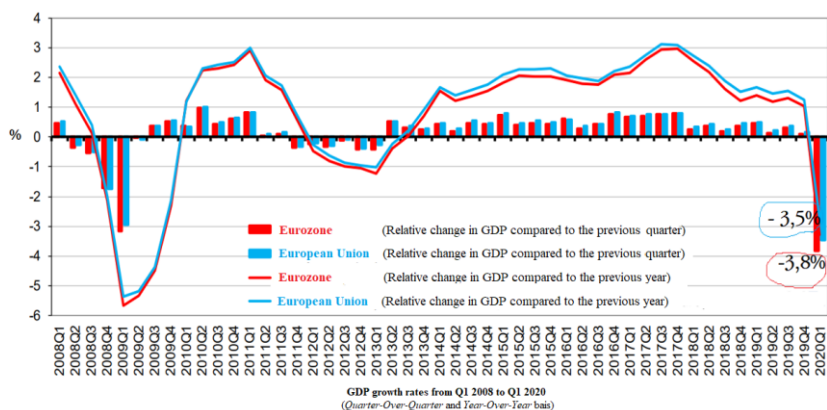
Figure 9. Relative change in GDP compared to the previous quarter (columns) and the previous year (lines)

The COVID-19 pandemic will have a very negative impact on the largest economy in Europe – the economy of Germany. The pandemic will negatively affect the labor market and public finances. Unemployment in Germany will increase to 5.9% in 2020. The recession in that country in 2020 will reach 4.2%. However, thanks to fiscal aid, economists expect a strong recovery of production in Germany in 2021 of 5.8%.

On 18 March 2020, the ECB activated a 750 billion euros Pandemic Emergency Purchase Program (PEPP) to support the euro during the pandemic (https://www.ecb.europa.eu). The program, if accompanied by fiscal actions by governments, will boost the eurozone economy and the credit market. The Program is also an addition to the 120 billion euros set by the ECB on 12 March 2020 (https://www.euractiv.com), in order to support economic activity, protect jobs and maintain price stability in the euro area. Since 2015, the ECB has bought bonds worth around 2.7 trillion euros. By the end of 2020, this bank will buy bonds (debts) of countries and companies within the Eurozone, in order to show its commitment to the euro. It will also ease some restrictions on bond purchases, as well as some of its collateral standards to make it easier for banks to raise funds. Greece expects its inclusion in the ECB's bond-buying program for the first time will help reduce borrowing costs. The ECB's monetary stimulus will help both Italy and Spain reduce borrowing costs, especially after the outbreak of the coronavirus epidemic.

On 9 April 2020, EU finance ministers reached an agreement on a comprehensive economic response to the COVID-19 pandemic. The EU has mobilized about 540 billion euros to protect and rebuild member states' economies after the pandemic, but has also set conditions for the use of joint credit lines (https://www.euractiv.com). The implementation of the adopted aid package, as a sign of solidarity, began in the last week of April.

To deal with the effects of the economic crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, EU members have reached an agreement on three "safety nets". The first "safety net" called "SURE" is intended for workers of all EU member states. "Sure" is a temporary EU instrument that will support national 'safety nets' for workers. "Sure" will channel up to 100 billion euros to national services that support part-time work or pay unemployment benefits and other programs for workers. EU member states will provide guarantees to raise money for their workers.

The second "safety net" is intended for companies in all EU member states. EU member states at national levels provide assistance within their borders to companies to maintain liquidity. Unfortunately, this assistance is uneven due to the different strengths of the economies of the member states. EU companies, primarily small and medium-sized ones, have 200 billion euros at their disposal, which they can get in the form of a loan through the European Investment Bank.

The third "safety net" is intended only for eurozone member states in times of crisis, under standardized conditions and with the assessment of EU institutions. It is about creating a fund for rescuing the Eurozone (European Stability Mechanism) of 240 billion euros by allocating 2% of GDP. The Netherlands is the last EU country to prevent an agreement on the formation of this fund, that is, opposed the easy conditions for obtaining cheap loans provided by that fund. Every member of the Eurozone that requests funds from this fund will be subjected to EU economic and fiscal coordination and monitoring, that is, will have to accept reforms. The only condition to access this loan is that the use of that money will be exclusively intended to finance direct or indirect health care, treatment and prevention of COVID-19.

Due to the unwillingness of the Netherlands and Germany to guarantee the borrowing of others, at the level of the Eurozone, for which the European Commission envisages a reduction of economic activity by 7.7% in 2020, no consensus has been reached on joint borrowing, i.e. issuing the so-called "corona bonds" without maturity, which Italy, Spain and France insisted on. According to the Commission's forecast, after the historic recession in 2020, the eurozone will grow by 6.25% in 2021 (https://www.bignewsnetwork.com).

With the agreed package of 540 billion euros, the EU will need at least another 500 billion euros for the next phase of the fight against

COVID-19. In addition, the EU must carefully consider new instruments, but also use existing institutions, including the European Commission and the EU budget.

In addition to the ECB, similar measures due to the COVID-19 pandemic have been taken by the central banks of England, Canada, China, Australia and Japan. Globally, such measures surpassed those taken by central banks during the 2008 financial crisis. For example, the US Federal Reserve System, or in common parlance the Fed, which plays the role of the US central bank, has decided to cut the interest rate to almost zero and inject about 4.7 trillion USD onto the financial markets in order to save the country from a possible recession. So, as direct support to the economy, the Fed received about 4.7 trillion USD of liquidity. In addition, the U.S. passed four laws in just two months in response to COVID-19, providing total federal aid to companies, individuals, and hospitals of about 3 trillion USD. This means that from the outbreak of COVID-19 in the United States until the end of April 2020, direct and credit assistance together amounted to about 7.7 billion dollars, which is the largest amount in the history of the United States. Despite this significant financial help, in just seven weeks in March and April 2020, about 26 million people lost their jobs in the United States.

Rationality of Decisions of the Serbian Government
in the Era of the COVID-19 Pandemic

Due to the very uncertain economic impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic by the end of 2020, the World Bank is very pessimistic. It predicts a fall in GDP in the Western Balkans region between 3.1 (baseline scenario) and 6% (pessimistic scenario). According to its basic scenario, the economies of the Western Balkan countries will face a fall in GDP between -1.4% and -5.6% by the end of 2020 (Figure 10) (https://www.worldbank.org).
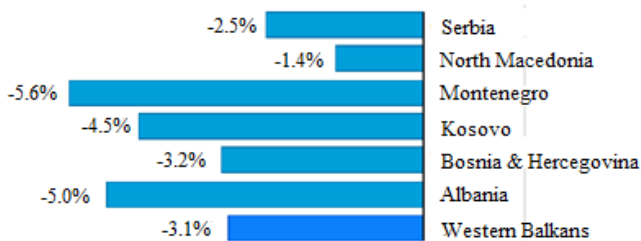
Figure 10. Real GDP growth of the Western Balkans and the region in 2020 according to the basic scenario of the World Bank

The fall in the GDP of the Republic of Serbia will be around -2.5%. In the region of the Western Balkans, only Northern Macedonia (-1.4%) will have a smaller decline than the Republic of Serbia.

In late March 2020, the Government of the Republic of Serbia presented a package of measures worth about 5.1 billion euros (about 11% of GDP) to help the economy affected by the coronavirus. In order to survive, entrepreneurs, micro, small and medium enterprises received the amount of three net minimum wages per employee, provided they did not fire more than 10% of employees since the introduction of the state of emergency. Large companies also received assistance – 50% of the minimum wage for employees with an official decision on employment termination. Tax relief for the private sector during the state of emergency, at least for three months, is also significant. In order to increase liquidity, the government allowed private sector entities to pay payroll taxes and contributions in 24 installments starting at the earliest from 2021. From April to June 2020, the Government allowed the postponement of the payment of income tax, as well as property tax for legal entities and entrepreneurs. Finally, every adult citizen received direct assistance of 100 euros from the state, in the dinar equivalent.

The Government of the Republic of Serbia did not want to use the three-billion-euro aid package from the EU Rapid Financing Instrument, which the EU provided to ten partners in the enlargement and neighborhood process to help them fight the economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic. The government estimated that the Republic of Serbia had no problem with the balance of payments and that is why it did not turn to the IMF for the use of the EU aid package for a period of one year.

The decision of the Government of the Republic of Serbia not to use the offered funds to solve the problem of macroeconomic stability is directly aimed at preventing the increase of the external debt. However, in the long run, such a decision is questionable, given that it is not possible to predict the duration and scale of the coronavirus crisis. Also, this decision of the Government can be a challenge for other economies of the Western Balkans. By using EU assistance in the form of favorable loans, the Republic of Serbia would to some extent strengthen the economic stability of other economies in the Western Balkans. The COVID-19 pandemic has hit the EU economies and even called into question the principle of solidarity. However, if it wants to develop faster, the EU will have to encourage wider integration processes between the countries that strive for it.

Is the sale of two-billion-euro government bonds on 11 May 2020 on the international financial market, instead of using an IMF loan, the most favorable borrowing of the Republic of Serbia? Is such a decision just entering a new phase of "debt slavery"? On the international financial

market, the Republic of Serbia borrowed twice in 2019 under favorable conditions – in June and November. In June, the state sold one billion euros in bonds with a yield of 1.6%, and in November another 550 million euros with a yield of 1.25% and a ten-year maturity, which significantly reduced interest costs in the budget, improved the currency structure and public debt. At that time, the great interest of investors clearly represented their high trust in the Republic of Serbia. However, borrowing two billion euros on the international capital market for a period of seven years, with a yield of 3.375%, was certainly a unique move of the Government of the Republic of Serbia in the region.

Compared to the cost of borrowing in 2019, the cost of borrowing during the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic based on the sale of government bonds has increased. Instead of using the funds provided by the EU through the IMF in April (through the instrument of rapid financing), at very favorable interest rates (from 1.13 to 2.5%), the Government of the Republic of Serbia opted for those that are significantly more expensive. It is clear that in borrowing, the Government was aware of the fact that the use of IMF funds is subject to stricter control than the use of significantly more expensive funds raised through the issuance of bonds on the international financial market. The freedom to use the funds has been given priority over the total price of those funds. It is difficult to conclude that the Government of the Republic of Serbia reacted well and that it will overcome the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic more successfully than the remaining ten EU partners in the enlargement and neighborhood process. It is realistic to expect that the funds of the crisis program of EU macro-financial assistance of three billion euros will enable EU partners in the enlargement and neighborhood process to, under more favorable conditions than the Republic of Serbia, ensure their macroeconomic stability and preserve their companies during the crisis.

CONCLUSION

In order to curb the spread of COVID-19, many countries have opted for greater or lesser isolation of the population (lockdowns), which has resulted in a sharp decline in their economic activity.

The COVID-19 pandemic will cause an annual drop in world GDP of about three percent. The depth and duration of this decline will largely depend on the duration of the pandemic, but also on the quality of the measures implemented by the governments of individual countries. Economic recovery is more likely when companies and consumers see the pandemic as a temporary, one-off shock.

The deep recession was also announced by a drastic drop in oil prices on the global market. Such a drop in oil prices indicates that even the largest producers of this raw material did not take seriously the impact

of the COVID-19 pandemic on stopping the global economy. Unfortunately, end consumers, especially in European countries, did not benefit much from the enormous drop in crude oil prices, because it was not accompanied by an equivalent drop in retail prices. In any case, the stabilization of crude oil prices should be expected, but the pace of that stabilization will largely depend on the level of recovery of the pandemic-stopped economies.

Due to the unpredictability of the health crisis caused by the coronavirus, as well as the nature of the spiral of expectations, it is hard to believe that the recovery of the global economy according to the "V" pattern, which would otherwise be the best, is possible. It is more realistic to expect that the recovery of the global economy from this crisis will be mostly in the shape of the letter "U".

The analysis of the global economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, using the classical methodology of theoretical research of relevant academic sources, statistics of financial institutions and governments, and Internet sources, yielded results that confirm the initial assumption that the consequences of this pandemic on the global economy are much greater than those caused by the 2008 Global Financial Crisis. However, the analysis itself showed vulnerability, because it covered a relatively short time interval and it is difficult to accurately see the spectrum of impact, depth of impact and duration of the pandemic. Given that there is very little research in the academic literature on the economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, the originality and significance of the research is reflected in an attempt to anticipate these consequences and thus help governments and companies circumvent or at least minimize them.

In order to reduce the negative effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on the economy and citizens, in April 2020 the Government of the Republic of Serbia began implementing a program of economic measures (tax policy measures, providing direct assistance to the private sector, measures to preserve liquidity and direct assistance to all adult citizens), worth 5.1 billion euros. From the beginning of the implementation until the middle of May, the measures of the Government in terms of preserving the acquired level of employment and providing assistance to companies, although linear in nature, gave good results. Unfortunately, it is not possible to accurately predict the duration and overall consequences of the pandemic.

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ПАНДЕМИЈА ВИРУСА КОРОНА: ЕКОНОМСКЕ ПОСЛЕДИЦЕ И РЕАКЦИЈЕ ВЛАДА

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Резиме

Иако су, са једне стране, развој здравственог система и повећање техно-лошког капацитета допринели томе да се савремено друштво лакше носи са различитим врстама болести, са друге стране је дошло и до повећања рањивости савременог друштва, јер су створени услови за лакше преношење вируса, као што је случај са вирусом SARS-CoV-2. Питање је да ли је у постојећим условима пандемије вируса корона прави одговор затварање граница, или је ипак пожељнији и примеренији рад на јачању међудржавне сарадње. Са аспекта економиста, затварање земаља ради спречавања ширења вируса води ка банкротирању компанија, расту незапослености и, коначно, глобалној економској кризи што, свакако, није нити добар, нити пожељан исход. Хоће ли последице пандемије вирусом корона бити далекосежније од оних изазваних Глобалном финансијском кризом из 2008. године? Из овог питања и проистиче главни циљ овог истраживања који се односи на реализацију компаративне анализе Глобалне економске кризе из 2008. године и кризе узроковане пандемијом вируса корона. Такође, циљ истраживања је и дефинисање могућих крива опоравка светске економије, те евалуација мера предузетих од стране Европске уније (ЕУ), Сједињених Америчких Држава (САД) и Републике Србије као одговора на насталу ситуацију узроковану пандемијом. Спроведено истраживање се заснива на коришћењу релевантних Интернет, академских и статистичких извора који су омогућили извлачење одговарајућих научних закључака. Резултати истраживања показали су да ће пандемија вирусом корона евидентно узроковати пад светског

БДП-а на годишњем нивоу за око три процента. Сама дубина и дужина трајања овог пада условљена је дужином трајања пандемије, али и квалитетом мера које су предузеле и које ће предузети владе земаља. Поред тога, резултати су указали и на то да је нереално очекивати да ће се опоравак економије одвијати према "В" (V) обрасцу, те да је опоравак у форми латиничног слова "У" (U) вероватнији. Коначно, потврђена је почетна претпоставка да су последице узроковане пандемијом вируса корона са аспекта глобалне економије веће од оних насталих услед Глобалне финансијске кризе из 2008. године. Међутим, мора бити констатовано да сама анализа поседује одређене недостатке због тога што обухвата релативно кратак период, те је било тешко прецизно сагледати спектар и дубину утицаја, као и проценити трајање саме пандемије.

MOTIVATION AND SEGMENTATION OF TOURISTS IN RURAL AREAS: CASE STUDY OF SERBIA

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Abstract

Rural tourism is one of the alternative forms of tourism attracting an increasing number of tourists. Serbia has great potential for the development of rural tourism, which has not been properly activated. To better understand the attitude of tourists towards rural tourism, an online questionnaire has been made. Based on the answers, we made clusters and market segmentation. The questionnaire contains 18 psychographic variables (travel philosophy, travel motive and personal values) towards rural tourism. The survey covered 300 examinees. Using the Categorical analysis of the main components (CatPCA), the segmentation of the tourists has been made. Three segments of tourists have been formed according to their similar attitudes towards rural tourism. With the Mann Whitney U test, the attitudes of male and female examinees have been compared. The Kruskal-Wallis test has been used to show the connection between the motives of spending holidays in the rural areas, and the distance of the rural destination, as well as the attractiveness of the rural tourism to certain age categories. A typology of tourists in rural tourism is proposed, to assist managers involved in rural tourism to understand the needs of different target groups and apply appropriate strategies and management.

Key words: rural tourism, typology of tourists, agri-tourism, motivation, Serbia, market segmentation.

МОТИВАЦИЈА И СЕГМЕНТАЦИЈА ТУРИСТА У РУРАЛНОМ ПОДРУЧЈУ: СТУДИЈА СЛУЧАЈА СРБИЈЕ

Апстракт

 ̒Рурални туризам је један од алтернативних облика туризма, који генерише све већи број туриста. Србија поседује изузетан потенцијал за развој руралног туризма, који није на адекватан начин искоришћен. Како бисмо што боље разумели ставове потенцијалних туриста према руралном туризму, и створили слику о тражњи, извршено је анкетирање потенцијалних туриста онлине упитником. На основу одговора направили смо кластере и извршили сегментацију тржишта. Упитник садржи 18 психографских варијабли (филозофија путовања, мотив путовања и личне вредности) према руралном туризму. Истраживање је обухватило 300 испитаника. Коришћењем категоричке анализе главних компоненти (ЦатПЦА) направљена је сегментација туриста. Три сегмента туриста формирана су у складу са њиховим сличним ставовима према руралном туризму. Манн Wхитнеи У тестом упоређени су ставови мушкараца и жена. Крускал-Валлисов тест коришћен је да покаже везу између мотива за одмор у руралним областима и удаљености руралне дестинације, као и атрактивности руралног туризма одређеним старосним категоријама. У раду је предложена типологија туриста у руралном туризму како би се менаџерима који су укључени у рурални туризам помогло да разумеју потребе различитих циљних група и примене одговарајуће стратегије управљања.

Кључне речи: рурални туризам, типологија туриста, агротуризам, мотивација, Србија, сегментација тржишта.

INTRODUCTION

The tourism industry is one of the largest industries in the world (Zolfani et al., 2015). The contemporary tourist has different characteristics than the traditional one, making it more and more difficult for the tourist economy to answer the changeable demand (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004; Erdelji, et al., 2013). Rural tourism is one of the leading forms of alternative tourism. According to the National Development Strategy of the Republic of Serbia, rural tourism has primacy in further development and economic incentives. Further development of this motive form of tourism movement can also be seen as a significant factor in the demographic revitalization and economic recovery of the rural area of Serbia (National Tourism Development Strategy). According to data from the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia, in 2019, 1100 households were engaged in rural tourism. Three hundred households were permanently involved in the rural tourism process, and 800 were engaged in this service activity from time to time. The most numerous households are in the following municipalities: Kosjeric, Ljig, Čačak, Požega, Brus, Užice and Sokobanja. The total tourist receptions in the rural area of Serbia have 2,586 beds in which up to 100,000 nights can be realized (Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia). However, the annual revenue from this

motive of movement may be several million euros, Serbia does not have the material conditions to accommodate larger numbers of tourists.

The main consideration of this paper is to examine the tourist market in rural Serbia and motivate tourists to visit rural areas. The primary objective of the paper is to explain the segmentation of tourists in rural areas with special reference to the profiling of tourists' motives, to enable a better understanding of rural space and tourism development in Serbia. We used the questionnaire as a method of tourist segmentation. Out of 354 questionnaires received, 300 were correct for further consideration. Based on the main goal of the research, sub-goals were derived, which were implemented through three segments of motivations for tourist visits to rural areas of Serbia:

- The first sub-objective was called the green segment of rural development in Serbia (tourists visiting the rural area due to natural tourist values);
- The second sub-objective is the red segment of rural development in Serbia (tourists visiting rural areas because of anthropogenic and cultural tourist values);
- The third sub-objective of the research relates to the yellow segment of rural development in Serbia (tourists who rarely or never visit rural areas).

The contribution of this paper is to consider the set goals through the examined motives for the movement of tourists in the tourist market of Serbia. These three segments of the research showed certain differences in the motives of tourists, which will be shown in the results of the research. Based on this research, locals and administrations in rural areas of Serbia could decide and affirm for a certain group of tourists based on the given segments and motives movement. In this way, the marketing of rural space would be divided and affirmed for certain groups of tourists.

This study aims to make segmentation of rural tourists to ensure a better understanding of rural tourism and to tailor the offer based on market segmentation in Serbia. Segmentation is mostly based on "pull" factors. In methodology, there will be an explanation of the used methods. We present the results of the motives and segments of tourists' movements in the use of rural space for tourism development in Serbia below.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Researching and understanding tourists' motivations and attitudes are crucial to the sustainability and development of any form of tourist traffic. There are a number of studies that have addressed tourists' motivation and factors that influence their motivation. The common assessment of all the studies is that there is interest in rural areas and that this interest will increase over time among tourists. Rural tourism has ap-

peared in recent years as a method of promotion and development of economically and socially endangered rural areas (Yague, 2002; Paniagua, 2002; Valde´s & Del Valle, 2003, Bel et al., 2015; Halkier et al., 2019). Within the European Union (EU) it has appeared as an important factor of rural development and Europe is the leader in rural tourism offer (Gašić et al., 2014; Todorović & Bjeljac, 2009). Most of the authors have already dealt with this topic in the 1990s (Smith, 1997; Mamdy, 1995; Muheim, 1995; Keane, 1993). Sustainable tourism in the community will provide a long-term economic linkage between local communities and industries (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; Yazdi, 2019; Gupta & Dutta, 2017). The development of rural tourism should be viewed through an integrated perspective, through the preservation of the rural area and in cooperation with local entrepreneurs (Pena et al., 2015). Many countries in the EU have started the development of rural tourism in the last fifty years of the twentieth century (France, Austria, Switzerland) intending to revitalize abandoned settlements in the Alps (Čomić et al., 2008).

Rural tourism in Serbia began its development in the 70s of the XX century in the village of Devići, in the municipality of Ivanjica (Marković & Ostojić, 2012). Besides that, rural tourism in Serbia is still in its initial phase. Some authors in their research indicated that financial resources are a necessary condition for the development of rural tourism in the Republic of Serbia (Radović, 2015), and noted that financial resources are the biggest limiting factor of current development (Radović et al., 2018). Gajić et al. (2018) in their research noted interregional inequality regarding the quality of existing services in tourism of rural clusters of Serbia. Ljubisavljević and Gnjatović (2020) pointed out direct investments in spa tourism as a tool of rural development on example of the Municipality of Kuršumlija. Ilić et al. (2020) state that rural tourism in the Timok region in East Serbia will drive to the growth of local economy and overall regional development. Some other authors pointed out that rural tourism may be one of the answers to the question of how to revitalize rural areas (Dašić et al., 2020; Đoković et al., 2017).

It is necessary to strategically conceptualize and manage the development of this form of tourism. For tourism to become a factor of rural development, it is necessary to apply modern marketing strategies. For marketing strategy, it is important to have a competitive advantage, and it is necessary to apply promotional and communicative techniques (Gannon, 1994). The first step is to consider the needs of the potential tourists, to achieve positive socio-economic effects of this form of tourism. The central point in choosing the tourist destination is reserved for the motivation of tourists. Numerous authors have dealt with tourist motivation (Crompton, 1979; Cohen, 1979; Gnoth 1997; Kim et al., 2003). The concept of rural tourism is basically made of tourist products (Pina & Delfa, 2005). If the tourism industry wants to be able to respond to contempo-

rary tourist demand, it is necessary to analyze their motivation and attitudes (Tomić et al. 2019). Thus, the attitudes of the tourists, considering rural tourism, have been analyzed in this paper with the aim of segmentation of the market and cluster making. Market segmentation techniques are a very useful tool in identifying a group of tourists with the same needs and interests (Chingombe & Taru, 2018; Bel et al., 2015). Marketing segmentation is a technique that separates one heterogeneous group into a larger number of homogenous groups. This is based on the idea that the market consists of subgroups of people, and each group differs according to motivation, quality perception, age, and so on (Park & Yoon, 2009). Collaboration and networking in promotion and marketing is a necessary thing because rural touristic products will have benefits from that (Hall, 2004; Roberts & Hall, 2001; Edmunds, 1999).

Motivation and satisfaction of psychological needs are very important for exploring the problem of why people travel. There is an eternal question of whether tourists are driven by internal or external factors, or both. Many authors researched this phenomenon (Chen & Chen, 2015; Getz & Brown, 2006; Prayag & Ryan, 2011; Prayag & Hosany, 2014; Araujo Pereira & Gosling, 2019). However, not many studies are related to the segmentation of tourists in rural tourism. A popular aspect of researching tourist motivation is based on the concept of "pull" and "push" factors, which is significant in destination choice (Prayag & Ryan, 2011; Caber & Albayrak, 2016). This concept is based on motivational strengths of tourist "push factors", and destination's attractions "pull factors" (Chen & Chen, 2015). Kim and Lee (2002) said that push factors are individual characteristics that affect the choice of destination. Pull factors are considered as attributes that form a destination image (Li et al., 2013). Market segmentation is a useful tool for planning an appropriate marketing strategy. This technique subdivides potential heterogeneous market into homogeneous subgroups. The idea of segmentation is to find groups with similar needs and motivations to make an appropriate offer (Park & Yoon, 2009).

METHODOLOGY

The investigation was designed to understand the rural tourism market in the Serbian countryside. For the needs of this research, a survey has been conducted. An online survey was sent to the total of 946 Serbian citizens, using Survey monkey research tool. The survey was distributed via social networks (Facebook and Instagram) and email addresses from the database of Serbian tour operator Euroturs. The research has been done by applying a structural questionnaire. The questionnaire is based on psychographic variables, and measures travel philosophy, travel motive and personal values. It consists of two parts. The first part measures the socio-demographic characteristics of the interviewees, such as gender and

age, and the second one, their psychographic variables. The questionnaire contains 18 psychographic variables (travel philosophy, travel motive and personal values) towards rural tourism. The total sample for the current study is 300 respondents. For data analysis, descriptive statistics have been used. Categorical analyses of dominant components have been done (CatPCA), to determine the motives that have the greatest impact on the grouping of the interviewees. We used a group of answers related to travel philosophy, travel motive and personal values, as a method for the segmentation of tourists in rural tourism and making clusters. This analysis will perform the segmentation of tourists and form a group of tourists with similar views (clusters). The Mann Whitney U test was used to compare attitudes about the rural tourism of male and female examinees. The Kruskal-Wallis test was used to show the connection between the motives of spending holidays in the rural areas, and the special distance of the rural destination, as well as the attractiveness of the rural tourism to certain age categories.

Using the CatPCA, a smaller number of new latent variables has been formed from a larger number of measurable variables, which would integrate the information from the measurable ones. New latent variables are functions of measurable variables, and every of the survey participants, according to their answers, gets certain values. Those scores represent coordinates where the interviewee is positioned in the two-dimensional space. Based on the position of the interviewee in that two-dimensional space, groups of interviewees with similar attitudes are formed. Similar attitudes are the attitudes of the most dominant variables. This means that the variables in the mentioned functions (x and y coordinates) have the greatest impact on getting scores. By categorical analyses of the main components, a two-dimensional coordinate's space is attained. It consists of two axes, X and Y, and groups are formed based on the most used answers and attitudes. Each interviewee will take their place in the coordinate system according to their responses from axes X and Y based on coordinate jumps.

RESULTS

In the first part of the survey, we analyzed the socio-demographic variables of tourists, and in the second we analyzed the psychographic variables. Table 1 shows the results of socio-demographic measurements. This table shows that there is a higher concentration of female tourists, as much as 67%, while male tourists to a lesser extent visit the rural area of Serbia with 33%. The highest concentration of tourists at average is in the range between 21-30 (43.7%), as well as 31-40 years old (34.3), while the lowest concentration of movement of the age structure is 41-50 years (6.7%). Based on the table, we can conclude that the younger population is increasingly turning to healthy living, untouched nature, escape from everyday life, clean air, healthy food and other natural beauties provided by the rural space of our country.

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of the interviewees

Variables	number	%
Gender		
male	99	33
female	201	67
Age		
0 – 20	22	7.3
21 – 30	131	43.7
31-40	103	34.3
41-50	20	6.7
51 +	24	8

Based on the measurement of psychographic variables, we obtained the most dominant responses that will determine the X and Y axes. The X-axis will present the most dominant motives for visiting rural areas. The two most common motives for visiting a rural area are spending free time in nature (nature-based motive – XP1) and meeting a new culture and new people (culture-based motive – XP2). Based on the results obtained (Table 2) we can conclude that the first motive determines the coordinate on X-axis in a positive direction, and the other in the negative direction.

Table 2. Correlation of variables $XP_{(1,2)}$ with X-axes

Variable	Saturation
XP1	.781
XP2	-.710

Based on the results (Table 3), it can be concluded that all Y-axes variables determine the coordinate axes in a positive direction. The variable positively determines coordinate Y-axe, if it is in positive coordination with it (saturation is positive). That indicates that the more positive response to that question is, the score is lower on that coordinate. Next 3 most dominant answers that determine the Y-axis are related to the level of attractiveness of rural tourism (YP 1), the level of satisfaction with the offer of rural tourism in Serbia (YP 2), and the third variable explains the answers to the question how often during the year do you spend vacation in rural space (YP 3).

Table 3. Correlation of variables YP(1,2,3) to Y-axes

Variable	Saturation
YP1	.620
YP2	.670
YP3	.553

By observing the coordinate system (picture 1), three clusters can be noticed. The first (green) – they are *"nature lovers"*. Those are tourists who already have a positive attitude towards rural tourism, and tourists who generally spent their holiday in the countryside more than once in a year. They are of the attitude that rural tourism is very attractive. Rural tourism has a "sedative" effect on their organism. They spent their holidays many times in the countryside. They dislike traveling long distances without points of interest. They are not demanding good accommodation. These tourists do not seek an active holiday, they like soft adventure. The main activities are daily walking and spending time in nature. They want fresh air, natural surroundings, and facilities for a picnic and relaxing areas. The second group of interviewees (red), *"culture lovers",* are the travelers who have developed a culture of traveling to rural areas and their motives are most often in connection with learning new things, meeting new cultures, people and having active holidays. They like to spend their holiday in local accommodation, tasting traditional local food. They get close to locals, and they like to pay extra to get involved in daily works in the field. They seek good communication with locals, desire to learn about the culture and require good information. This group of interviewees considers that the development of rural tourism in Serbia to be very good. The third group (yellow), *"passive tourists",* represents the opposite of the first and second groups. Those are the interviewees who mainly have not spent their vacation in a village. Rural tourism is not attractive to them or it is repulsive. They spent their holidays in the countryside maximally once a year. The most frequent reason for visiting rural areas is visiting family or friends who live in rural areas. Their motives for visiting a rural area are rarely in connection with rural tourism. These tourists do not have an established relationship with rural areas, because their holiday boils down to sea or mountain tourism. Their motives are not recreation, and active holiday, but free time and leisure. A less developed rural tourism offer and marketing is the main reason why rural tourism is the last option for them. Those interviewees have marked the rural tourism offer in Serbia as very bad or unsatisfactory.

For marketing promotion, the most interesting group of tourists would be "green" and "red" and marketing strategy should turn to satisfy the needs of this segment of the market. Based on their answers and attitudes, promotional activities should ease the inclusion of this segment in tourist expanses. As far as the "yellow" group of interviewees is concerned, they should not be excluded from the marketing strategies, but the sphere of their interest should be found and they should be made interested in this kind of tourism. This group of tourists should transform from the "yellow" zone to the "green" or "red" group of tourists.
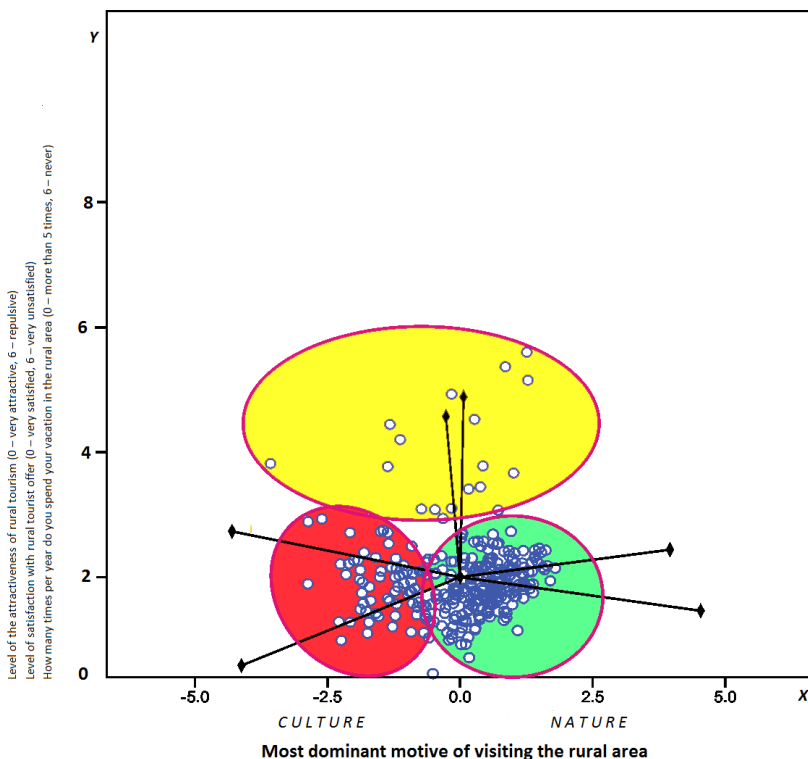
*Figure 1. Position of the interviewees in 2-dimensional space
based on variables XP and YP using CatPCA*

According to the processed data from the survey questionnaire, rural tourism in Serbia is in third place as an option for holiday planning of tourists with 23.5%, in the first place is a visit to mountain centers with 51.2%, while in second place is a visit to spa tourist centers with 25,3%.

The longer tradition of organizing tourism at mountain is the main reason why the interviewees opted for these forms of tourism. While making choices for the destination of rural tourism, over 70% of the interviewees would choose a destination up to 3 hours of driving from home. The survey confirmed that shorter stays can be connected with these forms of tourism. More than 65% of interviewees would spend 2-3 days in rural areas. The most attractive period of the year in rural areas is spring, for 60% of interviewees. This can be explained by the fact that the process of vegetation is the most intensive at that time, and also agricultural activities are in process, which can be interesting to tourists. The motive for spending holidays in rural areas, for most of the interviewees, is resting in a natural environment, ethno houses, while consuming local products.

For testing differences between genders in relation to the level of attraction of rural tourism, the Mann Whitney U test has been used. We tested if there is a difference in the level of attraction between male (M) and female (F) population. Based on the Mann Whitney test (p=0.986) it can be concluded that there are no statistically important differences in motivation between men and women. Similar results were found in researches of Kastenholz et al. (2018) and Almeida et al. (2014) on tourist segmentation in rural areas of central Portugal and Madeira.

The Kruskal-Wallis test (table 4) and CHi-square test have been used for testing the connection between the distance of destination and motive of spending holidays in rural areas. Based on the importance attained according to the Kruskal-Wallis test (p=0,033), it can be concluded that between the interviewees with different motives of spending holidays in rural area, there is an important statistical difference according to the distance of the destination from the place of residence. The closest destinations are the choice of respondents, who choose rural areas for socialization, and the most distant destinations are the choice of respondents who wish to acquire something new.

Table 4. Relation between motives of spending holidays in rural areas and the distance of the destination, Kruskal-Wallis test

	Motives of spending holidays in rural areas				
	Holiday	Socialization	Acquiring of something new	Fun	Active holiday
Distance	1,93	1,67	2,27	2,20	2,12

The Chi square test has been used to test the connection of motivation of tourists and distance of emissive centers where tourists come from. Based on the importance of the Chi square test (p=0,167), it can be said that there is no important connection between the two marks. In each category, medium and long distances dominate, causing meaningful differences in the Kruskal-Wallis test, while that schedule is only violated in the category of socialization, but the number of the interviewees in that category is so small that it cannot cause importance in the Chi square test.

For the purposes of testing the differences between attitudes about the attraction to rural tourism between interviewees of different age groups, the Kruskal-Wallis test has been used. Based on the importance of the Kruskal-Wallis test (p=0,407), it can be concluded that between interviewees of different age groups, there are no meaningful statistical differences in terms of the attitudes about attraction to rural tourism. These statistics can help managers of the destination to adjust their offer to different age groups. Since statistics have shown that there is no difference between the age groups, it is easier for managers to prepare a unique offer

in rural tourism, or, there need not be a lot of adjustments of the offer to different age groups.

DISCUSSION

Rural tourism is often identified as one of the development strategies that can drive local economic development in rural communities. For the development of rural tourism, it is necessary to understand why tourists are motivated to engage in different segments of the tourism market. In this paper, 3 categories of consumers with similar motives and preferences for rural tourism were obtained based on the survey. The consumer group we have labeled as "nature lovers" can be compared to the typology of tourists developed by Rid et al. (2014). They labeled the group "nature & heritage tourist", which refers to a specialized group of tourists who is primarily motivated by an interest in nature, animals, forest areas, rural landscapes, protected natural resources. The second group of tourists we have labeled as "culture lovers" can be compared to Cohen's group the "explorers" and the "drifters", which state that they are tourists who are independent when organizing the trip. They are tourists who want to get as close as possible to the hosts they visit, to participate in their daily activities, to strive to understand their culture and language and to enjoy their food (Cohen, 1972). A similar conclusion was reached by Bel et al. (2015), who designated one segment of tourism as "natural and cultural heritage experience", lovers of nature and culture in rural areas. Park and Yoon (2009) also performed a typology of tourists in rural areas, and one of the segments was the "learning and excitement cluster". Tourists belonging to this segment love socialization, getting to know the new and unknown, nature activity and gastronomy. In most studies of customer segmentation, they do not separate cultural motives from natural attraction. This study separated the two most dominant motives for visiting rural areas. Another segment also emerges, consumers who have no interest in the rural area and do not see it as a tourist destination. Perhaps the lack of interest is linked to a lack of supply and marketing. That is why this group of tourists should not be neglected, but interested with a well-organized offer and marketing strategy.

Park and Yoon (2009) state that tourists in Europe are turned to rural tourism in search of a peaceful atmosphere and nostalgia for the old way of life. The situation in Serbia is a little different. In our country, tourists opt for rural tourism in search of active holidays, as shown by nature lovers (53%) and cultural lovers (41.3%). They participate together with 94.3% of the respondents. Their desire to visit the rural area is to get acquainted with nature and untouched environment for relaxation, escape from the everyday tensions in urban areas, want to meet their recreational needs in terms of sports, picking herbs, participating in tasting gastro-

nomic specialties, picking mushrooms and other. Also, cultural lovers include tourist researchers. These tourists visit the rural area to gain new knowledge about cultural sites, learn about old crafts, visit certain events and more. Rural spaces are mostly visited independently by an unaccompanied family, or go in groups of researchers.

The third group, the yellow segment of rural development, is very small, almost neglecting at 5.7%, and they are tourists who do not like active holidays, but prefer to enjoy their free time. However, these tourists should not be neglected either, but an offer can be made in rural areas that will refer to a passive vacation. Considering that rural tourism in Serbia is in the initial phase and its development is still to be expected, this work can contribute in some of the segments that administrations, tourist organizations and local population could influence when marketing for certain rural settlements. Particular attention should be paid to which part of the country the village is located. Are we referring to the rural settlements located at the foot of the mountain centers, where we can take an active vacation and connect the two types of tourist movements, or are the rural settlements located around the spa centers. The entire offer of mountain, spa and rural tourism in certain areas of Serbia can also be made.

CONCLUSION

Rural tourism is a kind of tourism increasingly attractive to tourists. Hectic lifestyle, city noise, traffic and everyday stress create the need to escape the surroundings for a while, in search of calmer areas. Rural tourism can respond to the needs of contemporary people. In many countries the development of this kind of tourism is dealt with very seriously, thus helping the positive effects show sooner.

Although, rural tourism in Serbia began to develop in the 70s of the XX century, Serbia could not manage to recognize the potential it has, so the rural tourism remains in the initial phase. Based on the research of the attitudes about the demand for rural tourism, some conclusions can be made about the needs of tourists and the segmentation of the market. The research showed that there are 3 tourist profiles with different characteristics, *nature lovers*, *culture lovers* and *passive tourists*. Market segmentation is necessary while creating a tourist product. It is the most difficult to respond to the needs of heterogeneous demand. This research can help the tourist supply to be prepared for the modern trends of tourist demand and to tailor tourist offer for appropriate segment of tourists. Great investments are needed for the infra and supra structure, and afterward in marketing and promotion. One of the ways how this kind of tourism can appear on the market is by creating a tourist cluster. Merging of more tourist regions to form a simple product is necessary because of weakly developed infrastructure. Every cluster would recognize its competitive ad-

vantage, and based on that, endorse some of the different forms of rural tourism (agro-tourism, gastro-tourism, eco-tourism). In the future, Serbia could base its tourist offer on rural areas. This segment of tourism is not included in the tourist flow and is not valorized. Tourism will emerge as a factor of revitalization and promotion of the abandoned and neglected rural areas. The mutual effect of tourism and rural areas can enhance the finances of rural areas and create stable communities. During the planning of rural tourism development, it is necessary to emphasize the sustainable development of tourism in order not to endanger the ecological, economic, and socio-cultural elements.

This paper has its limitations. One of the limitations is that the questionnaire was distributed online, so only people who had Internet access participated in it. A printed version of the questionnaire needs to be created to cover the segment of consumers who do not have access to the Internet or do not use computers. Another limitation is the sample size. We cannot give a general picture of rural tourism in Serbia on the basis of 300 respondents, but we can still come up with some information. Future research could be based on market segmentation for nature lovers and culture lovers in particular. Based on the results obtained, market niches would be formed. These would help rural tourism villages to decide on a specific marketing strategy.

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МОТИВАЦИЈА И СЕГМЕНТАЦИЈА ТУРИСТА У РУРАЛНОМ ПОДРУЧЈУ: СТУДИЈА СЛУЧАЈА СРБИЈЕ

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Резиме

Овај рад представља резултат истраживања мотивације српских туриста у руралном туризму. Србија је земља која поседује изванредне потенцијале за развој руралног туризма, али ти потенцијали нису у довољној мери валоризовани и укључени у туристичке токове. Како бисмо што боље истражиили ставове српских туриста о њиховим мотивима посете руралног простора, креиран је анкетни упитник. Упитник садржи 18 психографских варијабли (филозофија путовања, мотив путовања и личне вредности) према руралном туризму. Истраживање је обухватило 300 испитаника. Коришћењем категоричке анализе главних компоненти (CatPCA) направљена је сегментација туриста. Три сегмента туриста формирана су у складу са њиховим сличним ставовима према руралном туризму. Први сегмент чине тзв. „љубитељи природе" који су представљени зеле-

ном бојом. Ови туристи доста често свој одмор проводе у руралном простору и имају фомиране позитивне ставове према овој врсти туризма, а главни мотив посете руралном простору је одмор. Други сегмент представљају тзв. „љуби-
теље културе" који су представљени црвеном бојом. Ове туристе карактерише развијен позитиван став према руралном туризму, али је главни мотив њихове посете руралном простору упознавање различитих култура, учење нових ствари и вештина, као и активни одмор. Трећи сегмент туриста представља тзв. „пасив-
не туристе" који су обележени жутом бојом. Овај сегмент се разликује од прва два сегмента у томе што им рурални простор не пружа довољно мотивације да свој одмор проведу у њему. Чак иако део свог одмора проведу у руралном про-
стору, он нема везе са руралним туризмом. Рурални туризам им је последња опција за коришћење одмора и пре свега су њихови мотиви везани за масовније облике туризма као што су приморско-купалишни или планински туризам. Како бисмо добили прецизније податке о мотивацији српских туриста у руралном туризму, користили смо додатне анализе. Mann Whitnei U-тестом упоређени су ставови мушког и женског пола. Добијени резултати су показали да не постоје значајне статистичке разлике у ставовима мушкараца и жена. Применом Kruskal Vallisovog теста и Hi квадрат теста, добијени су резултати који показују везу из-
међу мотива који се везују за одмор у руралном простору и физичке удаљености руралне дестинације, као и ниво атрактивности руралног туризма одређеним старосним категоријама. Резултати су показали да су мотиви посете руралном простору који се налазе на мањој удаљености од емитивног простора, најчешће везани за социјализацију. Са друге стране, мотиви посете руралном простору који се налазе на већој удаљености од емитивног простора везани за упознавање са нечим новим (културом, вештинама). Што се тиче нивоа атрактивности ру-
ралног туризма одређеним старосним категоријама, анализом није пронађена значајнија статистичка разлика, те не постоји одговор на то да ли су старије или млађе особе више заинтересоване за рурални туризам. Ова сегментација рурал-
ног тржишта у Србији може да пружи помоћ свим учесницима у руралном тури-
зму, на страни понуде, да приликом креирања туристичког производа прилагоде свој туристичке производе или услуге мотивима српских туриста и на тај начин унапреде рурални туризам. Разумевање и уважавање ставова туриста у рурал-
ном туризму, обогатиће понуду овог тржишног сегмента и позиционираће ру-
рални туризам на туристичкој мапи Србије.

THE PROBLEM OF RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCES: THE PLACE OF METHODOLOGY IN CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH

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Abstract

We have tried to explore the place of methodology in contemporary research in social and humanistic sciences; to consider the status the methodology facing SCI lists, scoring, proliferation of papers that threaten to jeopardize the quality and the status of the social sciences. The basic question we want to find the answer to is whether there has been a so-called crisis of methodology. Our goal is to draw attention to the quantification of quasi-research that does not provide concrete answers to the social problems they (should) investigate.

Key words: methodology, research, social sciences, quantity, quality.

ПРОБЛЕМ ИСТРАЖИВАЊА У ДРУШТВЕНИМ НАУКАМА: МЕСТО МЕТОДОЛОГИЈЕ У САВРЕМЕНИМ ИСТРАЖИВАЊИМА

Апстракт

Покушали смо да истражимо место методологије у савременим истраживањима у друштвеним и хуманистичким наукама; да размотримо статус методологије која се суочава са СЦИ листама, бодовањем, пролиферацијом радова који прете да угрозе квалитет и статус друштвених наука. Основно питање на које желимо да пронађемо одговор јесте да ли је дошло до такозване кризе методологије. Циљ нам је да скренемо пажњу на квантификацију квази истраживања која не дају конкретне одговоре на друштвене проблеме које (би требало) да истражују.

Кључне речи: методологија, истраживање, друштвене науке, квантитет, квалитет.

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INTRODUCTION

The first and the most important step on which the further course of research and the relevance of the obtained results depend is to design a scientific research plan. The selection of relevant subject of research, the properly proposed hypothesis, the basic research questions, the selection of the representative sample and setting the research goals and tasks are only some of the steps in this mental activity (Andrić, 2017: 78-85). However, running the race for points and being published in the SCI/SSCI listed journals has resulted in the decline of quality of scientific papers in social sciences and the quantification of quasi research which do not deal with key social problems. More and more often the researchers skip the basic steps in conducting research or omit the research outlining. In the course of our academic and scientific work, we have noticed that there is a proliferation of papers which do not investigate important and current social problems. Here we will accept and emphasize the attitude of Milić and Znanjecki that the primary experience of sociologists represents a special source of information for (sociological) research (in Ilić & Veljković, 2016: 9).

In other words, in contemporary social sciences there are insufficient practical researches that deal with the needs and problems of a society. Instead of scientific discoveries, the attention of the academic public should be directed at pragmatic and applicative research. On the other hand, there is a proliferation of Internet surveys, to be more precise, the research based on online questionnaires (Petrović, 2014; Maliković, Švegar & Borković, 2017; Maliković, Švegar & Šomođi, 2017). Despite many shortcomings, online researches are increasingly used both nationally and internationally, although their approach has not yet been sufficiently investigated. In the imposed race for points and being published in the SCI/SSCI listed journals, the scientists resort to "instant" researches which are reduced to cabinet work, classification and scientific explanations, while "live" field work and gathering of new data have been neglected.

CHARACTERISTICS AND PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY
RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

Traditionally, the research methods in social sciences are classified as qualitative and quantitative, and in the contemporary science, it is insisted upon the classification of methodology into qualitative and quantitative (Šuvaković, 2011: 396). Qualitative research describes phenomena with words, the phenomenon is not reduced, and the sample subjects are selected according to certain characteristics. In the last several decades, the more frequent use of qualitative methodology has been noticed and with the increase of qualitative researches there comes a need for more

precise standards of their quality control (Đurić, 2010; Milašinović & Kešetović, 2012). On the other hand, there is also an increase in online research within contemporary research. The Internet is not only a source of information, or the source of secondary sources, scientific papers and researches, but it has become one of the main tools of scientific research (Petrović, 2014: 63; Maliković, Švegar & Borković, 2017). Using online questionnaires and forms in social researches (psychology, pedagogy, sociology, economics, and political sciences) is on the rise, although their advantages and disadvantages, as well as their influence on social theory and the growth of scientific knowledge have not yet been fully investigated. Using online questionnaires, the data are gathered from respondents via the Internet (Internet questionnaires), and their main advantage is the speed of collection and processing of data, as well as low costs of conducting research. Then, the advantages of online research are in that it is easier and faster to obtain data, as well as to arrange them since they are already digitalized; it is easier to approach the respondents regardless of the geographic distance; the respondents are not limited in time for giving their responses; human errors are reduced; there is a possibility to select controlled samples. On the other hand, the most frequent objections include the rate of response and the sample representation, since only the individuals with the access to the Internet can participate in the research. Moreover, it is impossible to establish who answered to the questions and if the same individual has filled in the same questionnaire more than once. However, the problem of sampling is one of the greatest limitations (Petrović, 2014: 64-70). When outlining an online questionnaire, care should be taken strictly about the formulation of questions because of the absence of the examiner – the questions must be formulated clearly, precisely and unambiguously because the examiner is not there to explain and elaborate them. We would add that one serious shortcoming of such a manner of collecting data is also the inability to observe facial expressions and body language of the respondents, which are also a rich source of information when collecting data using traditional questionnaires - when there is a relationship established between an examiner and a respondent. The escalation in Internet (online) research has also influenced the methodology of social researches (Branković, 2013). The first change is the very shift to the research on the Internet. There is also a change in research framework in terms of time and space.

Some authors indicate that the problem of contemporary science is the commercialization of applied research at universities at the expense of basic research whose task is to expand human knowledge (Rončević & Pavkov-Hrvojević, 2018). The justification for this is decreased financing of basic research as an expensive investment. We are of the opinion that such an attitude is wrong and that it is necessary to invest into the development of science and scientific knowledge, the methodological problems

being among them. Without the development of methodology there is no development of individual sciences, since science and method are inseparable (Milić, 1978; Šušnjić, 2007; Milosavljević & Radosavljević, 2013). Some of the causes of reduced investment into basic research are of political nature, but we shall not deal with this issue in this paper.

More important here is the race for impact factor (IF).

The attempt to evaluate the quality of scientific researches in quantitative manner through IF measuring of scientific journals and citation of papers has resulted in the reduction of basic research being carried out. The considerable number of scientists is trying to get "liked" by editors of the leading journals and they select their experiments accordingly… (Rončević & Pavkov-Hrvojević, 2018)

The quantity of scientific papers has become more important than the quality of scientific results. Faced with the requirements set for career progress, IF, SCI, SSCI and other factors, academic scientists are largely forced to "flirt" with the quality of their papers in order to achieve a certain score. However, there is no applied research without basic research, since the applied research uses the knowledge acquired through basic research. Also, without basic research there is no development of methods and methodology. In recent decades, all over the European Union, it has been insisted upon the cooperation and connection of universities and industry, orin other words, on the harmonization of the basic and related research, since giving freedom to scientists gives better (practical) results (Rončević & Pavkov-Hrvojević, 2018).

Another important characteristic of contemporary science is the quality evaluation of universities and its influence on science and research work (Hodolčić, et al, 2011; Popović & Vujisić-Živković, 2012). Science and research work are one of the obligations at faculties/universities - the application of applied research and creation of new knowledge (Hodolčić, et al, 2011). In Europe, the quality of higher education is provided through evaluation and accreditation: evaluation is given by grades ranging from unsatisfactory, through conditional and good to excellent, while the accreditation evaluates if the previously defined standards have been fulfilled. In Serbia, the competence of a scientific-research organization (faculty, university or institute) is evaluated by numerous criteria which refer, among other things, to the number and quality of scientific and research projects in the previous 4 years which are (co)financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development, to the current scientific and research projects (co)financed by the Ministry, to the scientific and research projects within international cooperation, then to the quality of the ongoing projects, to the structure of researchers per categories, etc. (Hodolčić, et al, 2011). In brief, the scientists and researchers are set criteria which can have two consequences: the increase

of quality of scientific research or the quantification of quasi research for the purpose of achieving scores.

The quality of research in education is one of the key methodological questions and it assuresquantitative measuring of the research quality (Popović & Vujisić-Živković, 2012). Scientometrics is a scientific field which deals with the development of methods and techniques for the purpose of the structuring and application of quantitative indicators of evaluation and monitoring scientific development; the development of information system in the field of science; the study of the relationship between science and contemporary information-communication technology and revealing the relationship between intellectual and socio-organizational processes and the development of individual scientific areas. Evaluation of scientific and research work is carried out based on three criteria: originality, significance of research and scientific-methodological foundation of research (Popović & Vujisić-Živković, 2012: 25-26). Another criterion based on which the quality of certain research is evaluated is the *Research Excellence Framework* model in which citation index is the key criterion of quality evaluation (Popović & Vujisić-Živković, 2012: 26). However, in addition to many advantages implicit to scientific work evaluation, it results in quantitative methodology prevailing over qualitative. It also raises the question of whether it is possible to measure quality of research with quantitative indicators; if it is possible to use the same indicators to measure the quality of natural and social sciences and theoretical and applied research.

We can single out the three most often used indicators to measure the quality of scientific research today: 1) the place of publishing, 2) the citation index, and 3) the number of accesses to research in electronic data bases (Popović & Vujisić-Živković, 2012: 29). The place of publishing, or the journal status refers to the already mentioned SSCI and ERIH lists and it is of great significance, since it refers to the number of points important for the researcher, as well and for certain scientific-research organization. The journal status and citation index are significant in the selection and career progress of professors and researchers, since it provides objective evaluation criteria. However, these criteria have deficiencies/shortcomings as well.

> Empirical-quantitative research discourse in a journal's publishing practice results in paradoxical situations, for instance when articles are categorized. Considering that the "Act on editing of scientific journals" from 2005 defines the original scientific paper as "the article which presents previously unpublished results of someone's own research using a scientific method", in journals dealing with education almost all papers using historical or comparative methodology, as well as those which have philosophical, anthropological, culturological or similar approach are categorized as review ar-

ticles ("the article which contains original, detailed and critical review of a research problem or area in which the author has given certain contribution, visible based on autocitations"). Originality does not "provide" the position within the category of "original scientific papers", but the approach itself, taking by this as an a priori important evaluation criterion one methodological approach, while others are excluded or ranked as lower, regardless of other quality criteria which are possibly satisfactory, so there is a question of logic and consequence of this, allegedly objective evaluation. (Popović & Vujisić-Živković, 2012: 30-31).

This rather long quotation corroborates our question if it is possible, based on the same criteria, to evaluate theoretical and empirical research, the research in natural and social sciences, or qualitative and quantitative researches. If we look at the citation index, one paper or research can be cited as an example of methodologically good or bad; the scientists can cite each other in order to reach IF, and subsequently there is a proliferation of autocitations. As for the total number of accesses to research in electronic data bases, not all data bases are publicly accessible and free of charge (Popović & Vujisić-Živković, 2012: 31-32).

Finally, the global ranking of universities has led to the comparison of research and research results at a global level (Gačanović, 2010). The authors point out that a lot of problems result from this, in other words, that simple lists (we have already mentioned SSCI and ERIH) can become a source of information regarding the quality of faculties and scientific and research work (Gačanović, 2010: 185). On the other hand, ranking leads to a new form of competition (Gačanović, 2010: 186-187). The majority of authors dealing with this issue agree that it is problematic to compare and evaluate, based on the same criteria, the results and the quality of research in natural and social sciences, or theoretical and practical research (see: Šuvaković, 2011). Also, there is (again) a problem of the possibility to evaluate the quality by quantitative indicators (Gačanović, 2010: 186-187). Some of the reasons (national and global) to rank universities, journals and the results of scientific research are to inform the future students on the quality of education offered and to inform on the academic quality of programs at all level of studies (Gačanović, 2010: 189). However, ranking and ranking lists are met with many criticisms and disapprovals, primarily because of the quantification of quality and the imposed competition of quality. In this rat's race, the quantification of papers and research at the expense of quality inevitably happens.

Some authors have noticed that the sociologists in Serbia pay very little attention to methodological problems, although they are the indicator of development in a certain science (Stojšin & Vidicki, 2018). We have already underlined the significance of methods and that the development of a science depends on the development of its methods. The

methodological problems imply logical-epistemological issues regarding a scientific method, the principles of scientific knowledge, considering problems on application, advantages and disadvantages of certain research methods and techniques for gathering and processing of data and similar (Stojšin & Vidicki, 2018: 76). The analysis of one of the leading sociological journals *Sociological Review* (*Социолошки преглед*) has shown that methodological articles make 3.2% of the total number of articles from the first issue to the last issue before the beginning of the analysis (Stojšin & Vidicki, 2018: 78). In the first issue from 1938, out of 17 articles,the significant15 are dealing with methodological problems, among which we have the relationship of sociology and other sciences and subject delimitation, the development of sociology in other countries and the development of methodology (Stojšin & Vidicki, 2018: 78). However, the analysis of the issues starting from volume two in 1961 until today has shown that the majority of scientists (sociologists) have not paid great attention to methodological problems. Over the entire observed period from 1961 to 2017, an average of 1.2 methodology-related articles were published, in other words 0.8 scientific works with the subject of methodology and 0.4 reviews annually. The largest number of methodological articles were published in 1970s (27.9%) or 2.1 article a year, which represents the most fruitfull period for scientific papers. As for reviews, the most fruitfull were 1960s, with even 11.8% of the total number of articles on methodology. The fewest methodology-related articles were published in the periods from 2000 to 2009 (10.2%) and from 2010 to 2017 (only 7.2%) (Stojšin & Vidicki, 2018: 79-80).

The solution to the crisis of contemporary methodology can be found in action research at lower levels of education. In this kind of research, the problems are identified by the practicing teachers (and not by professional researchers) in order to advance and improve educational practice, which gives them the role of researchers. In order to stop this crisis of methodology, i.e in order for it to continue to develop and improve through contemporary research, it is necessary that the teachers are given education in methodology. Many weaknesses of the educational process result from insufficient methodological knowledge among teachers for engaging in scientific and research work, and the disregard for strict methodological procedure.

> The appropriate methodological education includes the skills to analyse pedagogical reality, the capability of theoretical foundation of the subject and the goal of research as well as the selection of adequate research methods, procedures and instruments, then creative application of certain theoretical postulates in constituting research models, the explanation and presentation of research results, as well as the determination of possible models and postulates for

application of research results in order to improve the educational practice. (Maksimović & Banđur, 2013: 600)

Methodological education and teacher training should start during the studies (especially in social sciences), which would form their methodological orientation, and the basic skills that the teachers should learn include the basic scientific methods, the use of the results of scientific research, understanding the language of science which belongs to the discipline they are working in, mastering the techniques of intellectual work (browsing and studying literature, the rules of citation and the listing of references), the knowledge of basic methodological and logical rules, the knowledge of scientific methods for gathering data, the knowledge of scientific methods, the knowledge and respect of ethical rules and the standards of scientific and research work, scientific criticism, etc. (Maksimović & Banđur, 2013: 600-601).

CONCLUSION

Contemporary science and scientific-research institutions are facing numerous challenges and changes. Globalization and the development of the Internet have made it easier to collect data and accelerated the research process, which has led to changes in methodological research. There is easier access to information, and the manner of gathering and arranging data is accelerated, but this has led to the commercialization of research. The race for achieving scores, on the one hand, has created "healthy" competition and the increase of researches, while on the other hand, multiplication of quasi research and neglect of methodological issues in scientific research work is increasing, which has slowed down the development of methodology.

In contemporary science there is a so-called crisis of methodology. In their work, scientists either completely omit the research outline or omit certain parts of the outline. This practice is particularly present in social science and the humanities on the whole. In addition to this, methodological problems are not given sufficient attention in scientific articles published in journals. Also, some authors single out the increase of applied researches in comparison with the basic researches as the problem of contemporary science.

National and global ranking of researches and universities, including the researchers, is another characteristic of contemporary science. Scientists-researchers, science and research institutions and scientific journals have been drawn into a new form of competition and quality evaluation based on quantitative indicators. The quality of research in education is one of the key methodological issues; however, we cannot evaluate the quality of theoretical and practical researches, or the researches in social and natural sciences, based on the same criteria and in-

dicators. It is necessary, first of all, at the national level, to find a way to overcome the global indicators of evaluation of quality of research and science and research institutions.

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ПРОБЛЕМ ИСТРАЖИВАЊА У ДРУШТВЕНИМ НАУКАМА: МЕСТО МЕТОДОЛОГИЈЕ У САВРЕМЕНИМ ИСТРАЖИВАЊИМА

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Резиме

Савремена друштвена истраживања суочавају се са кризом методологије. Пред научнике-истраживаче постављају се захтеви цитираности, индексирања, рангирања, СЦИ листе, импакт фактора, и сл., што доводи до пролиферације истраживања на уштрб квалитета. Вредновање научно-истраживачког рада је свакако кључно за развој науке и методологије, али и за сам квалитет рада. Међутим, изнова се поставља питање да ли је исправно према истим критеријумима оцењивати и рангирати истраживаче и истраживања у друштвеним и природним наука, квалитативна и квантитативна истраживања, теоријска и примењена, с обзиром на њихов карактер и методологију. У раду смо говорили о импакт факторима, квалитету и рангирају научних радова, часописа и универзитета којима је заједнички циљ подизање квалитета научно-истраживачког рада, али и о неопходности методолошког образовања и обучавања наставника.

LACAN AND THE PROBLEMATICS OF NARCISSISM

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Abstract

Narcissism, says Lacan, is an inherent characteristic of human subjectivity that rests upon the primary narcissistic identifications characteristic of the mirror stage. Unlike Kohut, who in his later works argued for the recognition of a particular nosological category, that of the so-called narcissistic disorders, Lacan asserts the opposite - *that all mental disorders are essentially narcissistic*. What distinguishes them is not the presence or absence of narcissism, but the different relations that the subject can develop to narcissism itself. Psychoticism and neuroticism are both narcissistic in their own ways. Put simply, all these disorders are essentially narcissistic, because what lies at their essence is the relationship between the imaginary and the symbolic order. Psychoticism leads to the loss of subjectivity in the realm of early non-integrated (narcissistic) identifications, while neuroticism is characterized by insufficient distancing. But in both cases, what is crucial is the fundamental transformation that marks the destiny of the subject, a transformation that the subject undergoes by taking the image of the other by means of the mirror stage.

Key words: Lacan, mirror stage, narcissism, neuroses, psychoses.

ЛАКАН И ПРОБЛЕМАТИКА НАРЦИЗМА

Апстракт

Нарцизам је, вели Лакан, неминовна карактеристика човекове субјективности која почива на примарним нарцистичким идентификацијама карактеристичним за стадијум огледала. За разлику од Кохута који се у својим познијим радовима залагао за признавање некакве специфичне нозолошке категорије, тзв. нарцистичких поремећаја, Лакан тврди супротно – *сви су психички поремећаји битно нарцистички*. Оно што их међусобно разграничава није присуство или одсуство нарцизма, већ различити односи које субјекат може заузети у односу на исти тај нарцизам. И неуротично и психотично су на себи својствен начин нарцистички. Сви наведени поремећаји су у својој суштини нарцистички, јер се у њиховој суштини налази однос између поретка имагинарног и симболичког. Психотицизам води губљењу субјективитета у свету раних неинтегрисаних (нарцистичких) поистовећивања, док се код неуритичног јавља недовољно дистанцирање. Али, у оба случаја, кључни је суштин-

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ски преображај који је судбина субјекта кроз усвајање слике другог, посредством стадијума огледала.

Кључне речи: Лакан, стадијум огледала, нарцизам, неурозе, психозе.

INTRODUCTION

When discussing Lacan's understanding of narcissism, taking into account only a short text found somewhere at the beginning of *Ecrits* (Lacan, 2004) would not suffice. That text was communicated by Lacan in July 1947 at a congress in Zurich, and in itself it is no more than a "communique" in the true sense of the word. Indeed, it is a mere sketch, an outline, a series of notes intended for the audience of the day - an audience which was presumably sufficiently familiar with Lacan's work to date. So at the very beginning we are giving directions, as Lacan is known to have been a very prolific author. There are other texts that we consider relevant for the subject, the one entitled "Aggressivity in psychoanalysis" from 1948, as well as notes on Lacan's seminars held in the 1950s (Lacan 1988, 2004).

Only by having all of the preceding in mind can we give necessary consideration to the *mirror stage* and the impact of this theory on psychoanalysis. In a nutshell, what Lacan brings into the fore is *identification*; identification as a process; as a series of successive identifications, rather than some more or less static state.

Lacan, in the mentioned Zurich communique, says:

"It suffices to understand the mirror stage in this context as *an identification* in the full sense analysis gives to the term: namely the transformation that takes place in (*chez*) the subject when he assumes an image – an image that is seemingly predestined to have an effect at this phase, as witnessed by the use in analytic theory of antiquity's term *imago*." (Lacan, 2004: 76)

This means that what Lacan wants to bring to our attention is the connection which in his view clearly exists between the concepts, but also the processes of identification and transformation. All that has been said so far brings up the question: *what is it that is being transformed through the process of identification and what kind of transformation is it?* Lacan answers the latter part of the question in the above quotation. As we have already said, what happens is a transformation that takes place "in the subject when he assumes an image." But in order to answer the first part of the question, we have to stop for a while and briefly address some more or less familiar, but certainly necessary assumptions and facts that Lacan refers to.

Let us start from the very beginning of the formation of the subject *in statu nascendi.* The child is born immature. Lacan stresses the

neurological status of the newborn baby. Because the process of myellinzation is not yet finished, the nervous system of the child is not *centralized* in the most proper sense of the word. The dynamics of neural discharge are distributed across the body, which further makes movement or sensation coordination impossible. Hence Lacan's conclusion that the baby's self is not whole, but fragmented (Lacan, 2004).

Then the mirror stage comes to the scene. A transformation takes place in the very essence of the human being, in his very foundation. By assuming the imago of a whole and caring other, most often the mother, the subject *in statu nascendi* abandons his primary chaos and seeks himself. He seeks wholeness and coordination in the compact gestalt of the Other. According to Lacan, his compensatory response is as follows: the child tends to compensate for his own impotence by looking for itself in the other. By doing so, it achieves imaginary wholeness of the self and the resulting body coordination. The imaginary coordination precedes body coordination. The imaginary coordination precedes the real one, that which is not based on identification, but on the maturation of nerve structures. This makes it easier for the subject *in statu nascendi* to be completely overwhelmed by his own chaos (Lacan, 2004).

The child invests his libido in the *imago of the other,* which then becomes a matrix within which the ego will develop in which the subject loses itself. The subject *in statu nascendi* loses himself because what lies at the heart of the matrix are a series of genuine *successive identifications with an other.* Therefore, according to Lacan, the ego becomes an introject - the object of narcissistic love (Lacan, 2004).

Alienation is thus at the very heart of the transformation. A newborn baby, who is yet to become a subject (hence the term *subject in statu nascendi*), becomes a subject, paradoxically, by alienating from himself. As something alien is taken as the basis for self-consciousness, there lies a loss in the innermost core of the subject (Lacan, 2004).

At the very root of the genesis of the ego the imago of an *other*. It represents the basic matrix on the basis of which, by a series of successive identifications, the ego is formed over time. The ego is essentially an other, or as Lacan often paraphrased Rimbaud: *I is an other*. The ego is an object rather than a subject (more precisely - the object of the narcissistic libidinal relationship); it is not a real force the psychoanalyst should put his trust in. Or rather, that's what Lacan thought. Being an imaginary creation, the ego is the place of oversight and alienation. In the ego, the truth of the subject is alienated from the subject, for he has lost himself in the other.

The subject who has passed through the mirror stage and assumed his mirror image as his own must, through a symbolic intervention of the Father, takes his place in the symbolic order. That entails another alienation, but this time from the narcissistic, phantasmatic fusion

with the image of the other. The subject's psychoanalytic status - *normality, neuroticism, or psychoticism* - depends on the position that the subject will assume in the symbolic order, with all of these in relation to the primary narcissistic identifications.

The intervention of the Father, which, as noted above, results in the subject's entering in the symbolic order, is illustrated by the so-called Borromean knot representing the intertwining of three orders: real, imaginary and symbolic. The entire subsequent destiny of the subject can be represented and understood using that model (Jevremović, 2000)[1].

Unlike Kohut (Kohut, 1978), who in his later works argued for the recognition of a particular nosological category – the so-called narcissistic disorders – Lacan asserts the opposite: that *all mental disorders are essentially narcissistic*. What distinguishes them from one another is not the presence or absence of narcissism, but rather the different relationships that the subject can develop in relation to narcissism. Psychoticism and neuroticism are both narcissistic in their own way. Put simply, all these disorders are essentially narcissistic, because what lies at their essence is the relationship between the imaginary and the symbolic.

The question then is to what extent the symbolic subject is independent from the narcissistic order of the imaginary. Absolute independence in that sense is clearly impossible. The point of intersection of the imaginary and the symbolic can represent the place where the neurotic symptom originates and puts down roots, in which case neurosis can certainly be said to have developed.

Neurosis is further characterized by the loss of the symbolic referentiality of a signifier, a functional unit of the symbolic order. The direct link between the signifier and the signified is broken, and the repressed signifier is shifted to the level of the signified. The signifier is replaced by the whole chain of new metaphorical-metonymic transformations of the original meaning. In this way the imaginary, narcissistic to a greater or lesser extent, disturbs the fluidity of the general flow of the symbolic.

LACAN AND THE NEUROTIC SYMPTOM

The ego says Lacan, is an element of the neurotic symptom. The neurotic, whether he/she is hysterical or obsessional, through the mediation of his/her ego raises a question (that is, more precisely, avoids raising it). The questions, in the case of a male hysteric, is: *Who am I? Am I a man or a woman? Am I capable of procreating?* Questions raised by women suffering from hysterical symptoms (like Freud's patient Dora) are: *How is it to be a woman? What is the female sexual organ like?*

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[1] More on this cf. Jevremović P. (2000). *Lakan i psihoanaliza.* Beograd: Plato.

Dora's two dreams, Lacan goes on to say, are rather transparent in that respect. The man and the woman wondering *what it is to be a woman* (which may seem weird, to say the least), is a result of the dialectic of the imaginary and the symbolic in the Oedipus complex situation (Lacan, 1993).

Freud attributed the dissymmetry in the Oedipus complex in girls and boys to anatomical differences in the structure of the genital organs. This dissymmetry, says Lacan, is not caused by anatomical differences, but, as Freud's theory on the Oedipus complex reveals, the true root cause of this dissymmetry is located in the symbolic register, that is, it is the effect of the phallic signifier (Lacan, 1993). Lacan says:

> There is no symbolization of woman's sex as such…In any case, the symbolization is not the same, it doesn't have the same source or the same mode of access as the symbolization of man's sex. And this is because the imaginary only furnishes an absence where elsewhere there is a highly prevalent symbol (Lacan 1993: 176).

For a woman, the resolution of the Oedipus complex is not accomplished by the identification with the mother (in a way symmetrical to boy's identification with the father), but by imaginary identification with the paternal object, which assigns her an extra *detour*. The prevalence of the phallic Gestalt during the mirror stage (which produces the Oedipus complex) forces the woman to make a detour via identification with the father and to follow the same path as the boy for a while (Lacan, 1993).

If for the girl, as much as for the boy, the castration complex has a pivotal role in the Oedipus complex, that is so precisely because the phallus is a symbol to which there is no equivalent, no correspondent. It is a matter of a *dissymmetry in the signifier* which determine the paths for the resolution of the Oedipus complex and results in the symbolic castration in the case of both sexes (Lacan, 1993).

In order for the (sexual) function of man and woman to be symbolized, it must be shifted (removed) from the domain of the imaginary and situated in the domain of the symbolic. It is a precondition for a man to be masculinized and for a woman to fully accept her feminine function.

The interweaving of the imaginary and the symbolic explains the role of the ego in the structure of the neurotic symptom. According to Lacan, in the case of Dora, Freud wondered *what Dora desired*, instead of asking *who desires in Dora*. Finally, Freud realized that in the quartet consisting of Dora, her father, Herr. K. and Frau K. – it was actually Frau K. that Dora was interested in. The fact that Frau K. becomes the object of Dora's desire is a consequence of Dora's identification with Herr K. Herr K is Dora's ego, her imaginary counterpart. Lacan says:

> When Dora finds herself wondering *What is a woman?,* she is attempting to symbolize the female organ as such. Her

identification with the man, bearer of the penis, is for her on this occasion a means of approaching this definition that escapes her. She literally uses the penis as an imaginary instrument for apprehending what she hasn't succeeded in symbolizing." (Lacan, 1993: 178).

The question raised by the male hysteric relates to a phantasy of pregnancy: *Am I or am I not capable of procreating?* That question, says Lacan, has to do with an *imaginary anatomy,* that is, specular identifications belonging to the imaginary register. The subject's ability to convey the question via language indicates that he is situated in the symbolic order. Questions *What am I?* and *Am I*? are located at the level of the Other.

LACAN AND THE OTHER

Unlike the neurotic subject, who reaches the level of symbolic mediation, the psychotic fails to do so. He fails to find support in the symbolic order which would enable him to distance himself from the narcissistic, the imaginary. While the neurotic succeeds, more or less laboriously, to distance itself from the imaginary, psychoticism does not. Due to the foreclosure of the Name of the Father, the psychotic subject drowns in the imaginary and gets lost in it.

A structural defect in the case of psychosis (which distinguishes it from neurosis) should be sought in the absence of the Name-of-the-Father in the place of the Other, that is, in the failure of the paternal metaphor. What is missing in psychosis is the primordial act of affirmation, *Bejahung*. According to Freud, *Bejahung* precedes negation, *Verneinung*, because it enables the registration of the repressed signifier in the text of the symbolic unconscious. As Freud's texts suggest, especially his Letter 52 to Flies, the primordial *Bejahung* bears on the signifier. In psychosis, the Name-of-the-Father is foreclosed. *Verwerfung* takes place, which further gives rise to a hole in the Other, the unconscious. "At the point at which the Name-of-the-Father is summoned… a pure and simple hole may answer in the Other" (Lacan, 2004: 207). The foreclosure of the signifier results in the subject being stuck in the narcissistic, mirror relation with the mother. This then "sets off a cascade of reworkings of the signifier... until the level is reached at which signifier and signified are stabilized in the delusional metaphor" (Lacan, 2004: 207).

In other words, in psychosis there occurs a fall into the imaginary and the loss of differentiation. In Schreber's case, topographical regression to the mirror stage results in phantasies of emasculation and being transformed into a woman.

For in the field of the imaginary, a gap had already recently opened up for him in response to the absence of the symbolic metaphor, a gap that could only find a way to be

eliminated in the carrying out of *Entmannung* (emascula-
tion). (Lacan, 2004: 196).

Unable to be the phallus the mother desires, the subject becomes
the woman that men desire.

Schreber's acceptance of his transformation into a woman by
which mankind will be redeemed, that is, his megalomania, was not a
strategy for coping with his homosexuality (as Freud thought).[2] Rather,
his acceptance suggests that Schreber as the subject had died. In his
Memoirs we find a number of indications of *the symbolic death* of the
subject owing to the foreclosure of the phallic signifier. One such indi-
cation are the voices telling Schreber that he is "a leprous corpse lead-
ing another leprous corpse." This statement, which suggests the exist-
ence of the subject's counterpart, is an indication of his regression to the
mirror stage. "A brilliant description, it must be admitted, of the identity
reduced to being faced with its mental counterpart" (Lacan, 2004: 199).

In Schreber's case, says Lacan, the imaginary structure has two
aspects. The first is Schreber's transsexual practice, that is, the pleasure
he takes in looking at his image in the mirror, when "nothing on his
body suggested that he was a man." The second is Schreber's feminisa-
tion leading to divine copulation. Lacan maintained that by means of
these phantasies the subject sought to remove the disturbance in the tri-
adic structure belonging to the imaginary order.

Lacan attempts to formalise this process in diagrams. First, he in-
troduces the *R* Schema, which represents the outcome of normal devel-
opment, and subsequently the *L* Schema, representing psychotic organi-
sation.
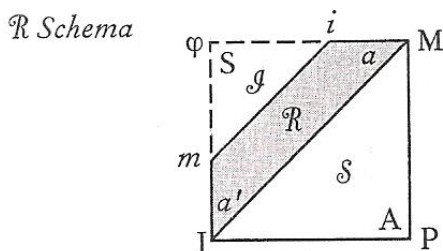
R Schema

1. R Shema: A – the Other ; *I* – the imaginary; I – the ego ideal; M – the
   signifier of the primordial object (mother); P – position in the Other of
   the Name-of-the-Father; S – the subject; *S* – the symbolic; *R* – the real;
   F – the phallus (imaginary object); *i* – the specular image; *m* - ego; a –
   the object of the lower case *a*; *a'*– identification of child's ego with the
   ego ideal.

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[2] More on Freud's understanding of the psychodynamics of paranoia cf. Freud, S.
(2003). *Paranoja i homoseksualnost.* Beograd: Čigoja.

According to Lacan, the *R* Schema:

Allows us to show the relations that refer not to preoedipal stages—which are not, of course, non-existent, but are analytically unthinkable (as is sufficiently obvious in Melanie Klein's faltering but not altogether misguided work)—but to the pregenital stages insofar as they are organised by the retroactive effect of the Oedipus complex. (Lacan, 2004: 187)

When the Name-of-the-Father is foreclosed, it brings about a disturbance of triadic relations at the symbolic register level and a corresponding disturbance of triadic relations at the imaginary register level. Lacan presents this process in the *L* Schema:
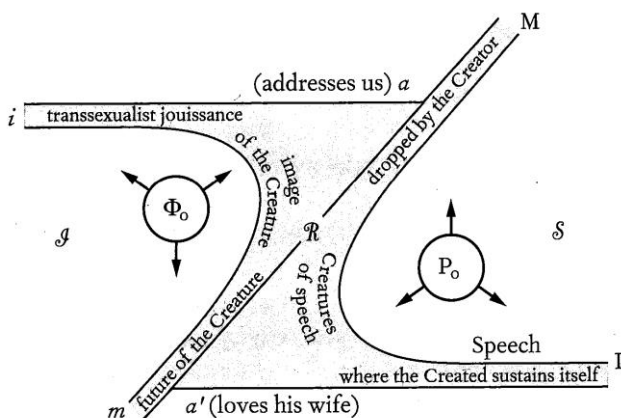
The hole caused by the foreclosure of the Name-of-the Father is represented in the schema by a hyperbole. On one side of the hole, at the level of symbolic relations, the ego ideal takes the place of the Other. On the other side of the hole, the mother's place is substituted by the creative power of god, "the divine Other." In the field of imaginary relations, it corresponds to a disturbance caused by the substitution of the subject for its specular image.

In this way, the phallus that has been foreclosed is reintroduced, in a disguised form, at the edge of this hole. This is manifested as the subject's transvestite *jouissance* in front of the mirror and as Schreber's phantasy of being transformed into a woman through which he will become a phallus for god (Lacan, 2004; Muller and Richardson, 1985).

Discussing the relationship between language and speech in various forms of pathology, Lacan argues that in psychosis *the subject is objectified in a speech which is devoid of the dialectic*, so it is *spoken instead of speaking*. For example, one night Ahriman, a lower god, addressed Schreber calling him: "Wretch!" In verbal hallucinations the

subject's speech is located in the object lowercase *a,* its imaginary counterpart, its image in the mirror (Lacan, 2004).

The collapse of the symbolic order leads to the collapse of borders and the fragmentation of the inner world. Its direct consequence is Schreber's constituting of a fragmented outside world and notions of the divine. In Schreberian theology, god is not a unique, but a divided being with an agglomeration of disparate, contradictory qualities. God is omnipotent and vulnerable at the same time. He is both the creator of all existing things and an egotistic being. The curious Schreberian god chooses Schreber both as the object of his destruction and as a being he will fertilise so that he and other human beings can attain eternal life. Schreber also described the splitting up of the soul of his doctor, Flechsig. Parts of his soul kept multiplying until they became such a nuisance that god struck them with a ray which only one or two of Flechsig's souls survived. Schreber's notion of god and Flechsig's soul, as M. Klein (1977) points out, is caused by the disintegration and projection of parts of the self. In this way, a narcissistic universe is created, made up of a myriad of objects merged with parts of the subject's self.

CONCLUSION

Thus, neurosis and psychosis draw their roots from the same reality, that of narcissism. They differ from each other in the structure of interrelations between the narcissistic and the symbolic. Narcissism, to stress once again, is an inherent feature of human subjectivity that has its roots in the primary narcissistic identifications characteristic of the mirror stage. Psychoticism leads to the loss of subjectivity in the realm of early non-integrated (narcissistic) identifications, while in neuroticism there is insufficient distancing. But, as we can see, in both cases the key element is the fundamental transformation that marks the destiny of the subject, which takes place in the subject when he takes an image of the Other by means of the *mirror stage*.

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ЛАКАН И ПРОБЛЕМАТИКА НАРЦИЗМА

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Резиме

За Лаканово разумевање нарцизма, потребно имати у виду текстове објављене у Списима и семинаре одржане педесетих година. Лакан скреће пажњу на везу између појмова поистовећивања и преображавања. До преображаја долази у самој суштини људског бића. Компензаторна реакција лежи у дететовој тежњи да компензује сопствену немоћ тражећи себе у другом. Субјекат у настајању свој либидо инвестира у имаго другог који потом постаје матрица у оквиру које ће се развијати Ја у којем субјекат губи себе (отуђујући се од себе). Ја по Лакану добија статус страног тела-објекта нарцистичке љубави. Субјекат посредством стадијума огледала, усвајајући сопствену слику у огледалу, посредсвом симболичке интервенције Оца, заузима своје место у симболичком поретку. Ово је још једно отуђење, овог пута од нарцистичке стопљености са имагом другог. Од положаја који субјекат заузима у симболичком поретку зависи његов статус: нормалност, неуротичност и психотичност. Кохут се залагао за признавање специфичне нозолошке категорије (нарцистички поремећај) док Лакан тврди супротно – сви су психички поремећаји битно нарцистички. Тачка пресека имагинарног и симболичког представља исходиште неуротичног симптома. Неурозу карактерише губитак симболичке референце означитеља, веза између означитеља и означеног је прекинута, а потиснути означитељ се спушта на ниво означеног. На тај начин имагинарно ремети флуидност општег тока симболичког. Психотицизам, с друге стране, не успева да у симболичком поретку нађе ослонац који би му омогућио дистанцирање од нарцистичког. Психотични субјекат се, услед изопштавања имена оца, утапа у имагинарном и губи се у њему. Структурни дефект овде треба тражити у одсуству Имена Оца на месту Другог, у неуспеху очинске метафоре. Код психозе долази до пада у имагинарно и губитка диференцијације. Разматрајући однос између говора и језика у различитим облицима патологије, Лакан тврди да је у случају психозе субјекат опредмећен у говору без оног у самом говору дијалектичког, те да је он ту говорен наместо уместо да говори. Дакле, и неуроза и психоза у свом корену имају исту стварност нарцизма. У оба случаја, кључни је преображај који суштински одређује субјекта и то посредством усвајање слике другог, тј. посредством стадијума огледала.

THE PARADOXES OF DEMOCRACY

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Abstract

The paper on the paradoxes of democracy adresses the inversions and contradictions of democratic norms and democratic reality. The main issues examined in the paper are the autonomy of political will, aporia of democratic majority, imunisation of democracy, polarisation of freedom and equality, crisis of representation, inversion of content and procedure, and the political determinants of democracy. The empirical and political reality of democracy is in opposition to the original meaning of democracy as a norm and value.

Key words: democracy, paradox, participation, voting will, majority vote, imunisation of democracy, politics.

ПАРАДОКСИ ДЕМОКРАТИЈЕ

Апстракт

У овом раду о парадоксима демократије истражују се инверзије и противречности демократске норме и демократске стварности. Посебно се проблематизује аутономија политичке воље, апорије демократске већине, имунизација демократије, поларизације слободе и једнакости, криза репрезентације, инверзија садржине и процедуре, и политичке одреднице демократије. Емпиријска политичка реалност демократије супротна је самом значењу демократије као норме и вредности.

Кључне речи: демократија, парадокс, партиципација, изборна воља, изборна већина, имунизација демократије, политика.

INTRODUCTION

The paradox of democracy indicates the opinions, beliefs, behaviours, actions, and practices that are contrary to the real meaning of democracy. Moreover, it points to the sharpened polarization between democratic theory, doctrine, norm, and the empirical behaviour of political actors. The fundamental idea underlying the paper is the contradiction be-

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tween the normative and prescriptive side of democracy: what it should be and what it actually is. The divergence and alienation of normative and factual democracy translates democracy into its opposite. The implied and necessary discrepancy between the norm and the reality of democracy has long since exceeded the permissible boundaries and limits. From the empirical point of view, democracy is operationally and empirically practiced as the rule of an elected minority that should rule in the interest of the majority, guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of minorities (not only ethnic, but also minorities in political, ideological and majority terms as opposition, minority groups). It is already clear that direct democracy is not possible in modern conditions, but it is clear that indirect democracy is increasingly losing its meaning because the elected minority often rules more and more in the interest of the minority and not the majority. Democracy is not a perfect political and social creation. It has its historical forms and metamorphoses, challenges and opposites. No political system has yet implemented democratic ideals and norms, but has only more or less operationalised them as a result of historical processes. Ideals are never achieved to the point of the identity of the norm and reality, but an awareness of the minimum democratic standards of sustainable democracy must always exist.

The realistic thesis of democracy comes down to the rule of an elected minority that rules in the interest of the minority, that is increasingly alienated from the will of the people, whereby it manipulatively shapes the electoral will, imposes choice and cares more about the interests of powerful political, economic and financial groups internally, rather than the interests and needs of citizens. Democracy today is reduced to popular acclamation and confirmation by the elite of an already imposed decision that is offered in a political campaign as an autonomous will, i.e. an autonomous interest and need of citizens. Thus, an electoral democratic decision is a quasi-decision, i.e. it is an uncritical reception and confirmation of an already determined and authorised policy and election.

Modern methods of manipulation, propaganda and spinning have advanced so much that the average citizen-voter is no longer rationally aware of whom he or she is giving the vote to in the elections. Today, one can speak of controlled and managed democracy as opposite to autonomous and freely expressed political will.

> Although almost everyone swears by democracy and swears on it, the prevailing opinion is that multi-party parliamentary elections do not necessarily lead to the democratization of political life, but often represent only a democratic screen for a polyarchy in which a small group governs the state through strict control of the electoral process. (Vuletić, 2012: 9)

Anthony Giddens' view on the paradox of democracy is inspiring. It evidences that, on the one hand, we have the spread of democracy

throughout the world, and on the other hand, in societies with a significant democratic tradition, there is a great disappointment in democratic processes, i.e. the indifference or disappointment with the political system (Giddens, 2005: 95). Namely, belief in democracy, its values, ideas, its comparative advantage over autocratic methods of governing, on the one hand, and the decline in trust in the work of political institutions and the actions of institutional role holders and political authorities are widespread. Thus, the gap between normative democratism and political realism can be seen in the gap between faith in democracy as an order, and dissatisfaction with its functioning and its effectiveness. At an experiential level, the crisis of democracy is increasingly viewed, according to Giddens, in distrust of democratically elected elites who play institutional roles. Inefficient state, "lazy" and unprofessional administration and bureaucratic arbitrariness do not contribute to the implementation of the rights of individuals and groups. If the conditions in which there is no functional, independent and autonomous judicial system are taken into account as well, then the space for exercising rights is even narrower. Thus, dysfunctional democracy implies problems in the functionality of law because effective law is an indicator of the democratic character of the state and society.

However, the paradoxes and contradictions of democracy should be further problematised from several points of view, which at the same time represents an attempt to consider the democratic paradox more comprehensively: from the view of processes, actors, and abuse of political and election law.

THE STANCE ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The primary figure of civil society is the citizen, who, by acting together with other people, achieves his or her primary function by effectively influencing political power and the centers of political decision-making. Civil society, politically organised, represents the active potential of society as a whole. "If there is a political revolution going on all over the world, that revolution could be called an explosion of participation" (Almond and Verba, 2000, p. 14.). With a participatory revolution, politics becomes a mass phenomenon with a multitude of subjects, actors, organizations. By means of the participatory revolution, politics became a mass phenomenon with a multitude of subjects, actors, organizations. Universal suffrage, the entry of the masses into politics, freedom of political and social action have all contributed to the affirmation and importance of political participation. Political inclusion is an important determinant of a modern democratic society. Unlike earlier epochs in which political rights and freedoms were presereved for a minority (the example

of the Antiquity and the Middle Ages), today not only are people involved in politics in so many ways, but the whole society is politicised.

However, the importance of citizen participation today is increasingly declining in quality. This brings us to another paradox of democracy: civic participation is increasingly becoming an empty form without content. This suggests an inverse proportionality, therefore, the greater the participatory inclusion of citizens in the political and electoral process, the less the actual effective influence of citizens. The condition without which democracy could not exist is extremely marginalised. Civil society, which should be influential, controllable and open, is increasingly becoming managed, shaped, manipulated, marginalised; society has become an object of political rule, a society in which "a large number of citizens are reduced to the role of manipulated, passive, inert participants" (Krauč, 2014,: 36). Instead of civil society acting on political power, political power effectively shapes the attitudes and opinions of society. Instead of the citizens and the public controlling the elected political government, something opposite happens. Namely, the elected government controls the political society by instilling attitudes, opinions and behaviours that are in the direct function of the uncritical support for that same government. In this way, the articulation and aggregation of interests and needs is controlled, channeled, limited or prevented. Also, regarding the protest and critical potential of the society and the populist outpouring, it can be said that they are strictly controlled, dosed, limited, amortised. Since politics is mainly promoted, represented through the media and since they are under the strict control of the government, their function is to control thoughts and behaviours of recipients who watch, listen, agree but generally do not understand the real meaning of the media message. Thus, the basic strategy of governance and control of society is the manipulation of information, concepts, actors, programmes, processes, exploitation and mobilization of emotions and needs of people.

THE STANCE ON THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY

Instead of fulfilling the will of the majority, democratic rule is used for the purpose of promoting the interests of the minority. This inversion of the political topos of democracy (the will of the people and the government) leads to the fact that the will of the people, manipulatively shaped, is not a freewill per se. This way, representative institutions no longer represent the interests of the people, but the partial interests of special groups, lobby groups and "power brokers."

It follows that democracy often generates both the powerlessness of the majority and the powerlessness of the minority. If the democratic majority is diffuse, structural, passive, uncritical, without a real possibility of influencing the government, shaped and manipulated, it really rep-

resents a powerless majority that does not have the strength and potential to influence the politics and law of the state. As much as the majority can be powerless in relation to the ruling minority, which certainly sounds paradoxical, so much, on the other hand, minorities can be weak, disenfranchised and powerless, including the individual. Only the ruling minority is powerful.

The powerlessness of a minority can be seen as the "tyranny of the majority" or the autocracy of an elected minority that does not provide protective mechanisms for the rights of minorities, not only political and ideological minorities, but also minorities in ethnic, economic and other terms. Thus, behind the presented majority will is an authoritarian and totalitarian government that abuses its legitimacy by generalizing the obtained support to the entire society and imposing partial interests as the interests of society.

THE STANCE ON DEMOCRACY IMMUNISATION

The paradox of democracy is expressed in the (im)possibility or necessity of the immunization of democracy in relation to other and opposite political forms and contents, i.e. its vulnerability in relation to autocratic influences. We can call this the autocratic elitism of democracy. Its permeability to autocratic, elitist and economically profitable influences undermines its elementary foundations. Regardless of the fact that today there are no pure political forms and regardless of the fact that today's political systems are of a mixed character in the ideological and formative and political sense, the tendencies of frequent and prevalent autocratization, corruption and plutocracy of democracy undermine its fundamental essence. Antidemocratic processes are increasingly becoming an accompanying, almost constant content of the formal democratic procedure. Democracy is increasingly losing its identity in the invasion and flourishing of different political identities and interests. Its persistence depends on how capable it is of reproducing itself and remaining an independent entity in relation to the different political forms and contents that support and regress it.

A special paradox of democracy can be interpreted as the possibility of self-abolition, because world's history has repeatedly seen states "from the harshest internal dictatorships, to aggression in international relations" (Markovic, 1993: 141). Even today, the problem of immunising democracy from content that weakens its potential is visible. Distinct oligarchization of social and political life, authoritarian tendencies, lack of representation of interests - these are just some of the key factors that deepen a certain crisis and dissolution of democracy.

> Democracy is like a discreet creator who makes its discreet premises available to anyone interested, without asking where he or she comes from, or where he or she is going, or what his or her intentions are. (Marković, 1993: 117)

Every political form contains a certain contradiction or negation, even a democratic one. Democracy also has the inherent property of self-abolition, negation, the germ of pathology, the evident processes of corruption and perversion of politics and democracy. Democratic frameworks or forms or procedures can be filled with a wide variety of cultural, social, historical, traditionally inherited, psychological, political and ideological contents, which deny the basic meanings and roots of democracy.

CONTRADICTIONS OF FREEDOM AND EQUALITY

One of the important paradoxes of democracy stems from the potential contradictions of freedom and equality. Hence, the basic paradox is that the more pronounced the component of freedom, the more it violates the component of equality and vice versa. The tension or paradox of democracy is a disproportion between the two basic elements of democracy: liberal and social, therefore, between freedom and equality (Matić, 2002: 182-3). Liberalism and social democracy are the two dominant ideologies that are increasingly in the process of convergence. The principle of (social) equality as the equalization of people in terms of the degree of freedom appears as a necessary correction and improvement of the liberal concept of freedom. This way, a complete principle is constituted: freedom of equal civil status, i.e. equal or approximately equal opportunities and conditions for the practice of rights and freedoms. By approaching and meeting freedom and social equality, a basic model of political justice is created. By phasing out the liberal model of democracy, the social component is disrupted and social and economic inequalities are created.

The public order of rights and freedoms implies an appropriate balance relationship between freedom and equality. If equality is predominant and stronger, especially if it is extremely favoured, then freedom is restricted and simplified, collectivist or totalitarian pretensions are encouraged, creativity, criticism and choice are hampered. On the other hand, freedom without equality creates atomization, anarchy, irresponsibility, inequality and legal uncertainty. It is unproductive to proclaim or guarantee freedom in the conditions of imposed social differences. Moreover, equality does not make sense if freedom of choice and autonomy of will are constrained by the instruments of political power.

Demands for equality enhance various kinds of restrictions in the form of a paternalistic state, set a limit to freedom, produce uniformity, and call into question the very legitimacy of the community. Excessive affirmation of freedom incites inequalities and creates a society of the

privileged. The combination of the principles of liberal democracy and active participation are often imperative to overcome this imbalance. The rights to equal freedom must be protected in order that the democratic process could be effective and the government a legitimate one. The affirmation of the democratic principle means freedom in moderate equality and responsibility. Kant mentions the kind of political order which "allows the greatest possible freedom reinforced through the law according to which the freedom of each individual can be reconciled with the freedom of all others" (Sartori, 2001: 164).

Social rights and freedoms provide the material existence and protection from the risks and injustices of freedom. The turmoil of socioeconomic processes of the transition that created uncertainty and insecurity influenced people to sacrifice freedom for the sake of socioeconomic security. This commitment conducted by people also forms a system of expectations from the state. Thus, social and economic policy became the basic strategic function of the modern state, and the political trust of the citizens was conditioned by the implementation of this function.The political and legal activity of the state's political power is aimed at the creation and application of the so-called social programmes as a set of norms of social legislation or through concrete measures and activities that intervene in the sphere of fundamental social relations in order to create the personal, economic and cultural wellfare and the necessary standard of citizens.

The disproportion between these two elements in favour of the liberal substratum of democracy mitigates social substratum of democracy, that is, produces socioeconomic inequalities. The market challenge to democracy can produce negative implications, especially plutocracy of society, unemployment, low wages, which creates inequalities and thus creates a group polarization of society: powerful groups, middle class groups, the poor, weak and vulnerable groups. Inequality and poverty represent the fundamental determining generator of human weakness and helplessness in a transitional society of unconsolidated democracies.

INCONGRUENCE OF THE QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE

This section begins with one instructive finding by Erich Fromm:

> It is naively assumed that if most people share common ideas and feelings that would automatically lead to a confirmation of those values and feelings. That is far from the truth. Unanimous assessment as such has no effect on reason and mental health. Just as there is madness for two, there is madness for millions. The fact that millions of people share the same vices does not make these vices virtues, the fact that they share so many errors does not make the errors to be truths, and the fact that millions of people share the same form of mental pathology does not make these people sane. (Fromm, 1980: 40)

Subsequently, it can be expounded that the collective majority that represents an opinion does not have to be the majority as a value, but as a quality. A number is required but not a sufficient condition. This stance is supported by Sartori who distinguishes the quantitative from the qualitative aspects of democracy. Translated into the field of democracy, a clear concluding position follows: the fact that the majority makes a decision does not mean that the decision is correct; the fact that someone wins a majority in the election does not mean that they will represent the interests of the majority; the fact that someone governs in the interest of the majority does not mean that the majority knows what its interest is; the fact that the majority elects does not mean that the elected will know and want to rule and govern in the interest of the majority; the fact that the elected should represent the people, does not exclude the fact that the majority may be unaware or unknowing of whether the representative will really govern in its interest.

It can be emphasized that the key paradox of democracy is evident in the fact that it is not possible to build democracy without a democratic culture of citizens, without a politically educated citizen, without a rational mentality, because otherwise the people appear to be the tutor of political rights without educational and cognitive competencies in the choice of political preferences and political affiliation. In that case, we have a democracy without democrats, or as Maurice Duverger calls it, "democracy without the people," an absurd phenomenon that the people are not aware and taught how to choose a responsible government, a phenomenon that democratic government can be alienated from the people's will. The analysis of the categories "majority" and "minority" (Vasović, 1993), leads us to some other paradoxes and illogicalities of democracy. The paradox stems from the variability of the meaning of the "majority" and the consequences of that variability for democracy. An analysis of all types of majority suggests that only the absolute majority has respectable legitimacy, as opposed to a simple or relative majority. Also, the legitimacy of the elected government depends on the ratio of the total size of the electorate and the size of the voters who went to the polls. Electoral and democratic practice show that political actors who win a relative majority show a desire for absolute power, even though a significant number does not go to the polls or the votes go to the other opposing candidates.

If the electorate consists of all adult citizens registered in the voter list, then the question is not why all citizens do not go to the polls (because that is impossible in practice), but what and how many of the total number of voters do not go to the polls (abstain): the higher the number of those who do not go to the polls, the overall majority of active voter decreases. Meaning, the number of those who go to the polls decreases. Sometimes that majority barely exceeds half of the total electorate. So, the lower the turnout, the less legitimate the government is.

For an example, 60 percentage of registered voters go to the polls and distribute (give) their votes to different parties. Thus, the party that receives the majority of votes according to the proportional electoral system can form a government with ¼ votes from the total number of the electorate. This clearly tells us that the party that forms the government and the parliamentary majority does not represent the factuality of the actual majority of registered voters. It means that it is governed in the name of the relative majority as a stable absolute majority and the government has no legitimacy even in quantitative terms.

In the majority electoral system (both in the case of an absolute and in the case of a relative majority), the list that receives fewer votes remains unrepresented in parliament or institutions, and the votes of the defeated opponent are completely lost as if they did not exist.

The electoral system is ideal if it produces the most accurate model of translating votes into mandates. The existing majority or proportional system has its pros and cons, shortcomings and weaknesses. However, it is forgotten that the electoral system is only a mechanical, technical, mathematical model that expresses the quantitative side of democracy, and that the essence or content of the voting will is also an important criterion of democracy, but increasingly neglected.

Because the voting will must be a value in itself, it must have an interest preference, it must satisfy the criteria of substantiality, freedom, autonomous will, rational-interesting articulation. Thus, the more the act of election and procedure itself is favoured, i.e. the so-called "electoral or electoral democracy," the more the substantive and essential part of the electoral process is neglected. The consequences for the electoral process are twofold: on the one hand, the voting will of the people becomes the subject of political shaping from above, and on the other hand, the electoral procedure becomes a free corridor for political parties that are themselves antidemocratic. So, the more democracy is formalised, dogmatised, quantified, the 'emptier' it becomes.

THE STANCE ON THE CRISIS OF REPRESENTATION AND GOVERNANCE

Daniel Bell argues that national governments are, on the one hand, "too small to deal with big problems and, on the other hand, too "big to deal with small problems of individual cities or areas" (Giddens, 2005: 435). Problems that are global by nature cannot be the subject of an effective decision-making by national democratic governments. Global problems go beyond national government competencies. On the other hand, there is alienation or distance of the state in relation to everyday life. The basic democratic paradox viewed from this angle is that elected

democratic governments face reduced management capacity and the inability to represent the basic interests of civil society.

The more damocracy globally unifies, the less effective it becomes in the context of the different traditions and experiences of individual countries and regions. The more it spreads in the world, the lower its quality. A universalization of one model of democracy regardless of the context is created: on the one hand, there is an attempt to promote, export and adopt one model of Western democracy, and on the other hand, societies of imported democracy do not have enough conditions, preconditions nor traditions for such democracy.

Textual and oral democracies neglect the context of introducing democracy into societies that have different development and factors that do not support democracy.

The crisis of political representation can be seen as (1) the problem of (non)representation of the interests of citizens and as (2) the crisis of managerial ability, i.e. the inability to govern, which Bobbio called the "immanent inability of governance" (Bobbio, 1995: 126). Non-representation of interests is seen as follows: instead of the elected government ruling in the interest of the majority, it rules in the interest of the minority, interest groups, powergroups, "power brokers" (officials, lobbyists, bureaucrats, the rich, etc.).

The crisis of the state's governing capacity is evident in the state's inability to respond to complex, various, numerous, often conflicting, frequent demands, interests and needs of society and to make appropriate decisions supported by the people. Hence, it could be said that we are dealing with a crisis of legitimacy. The crisis of governance and representativeness increasingly threatens the legitimacy of democracy and determines the dissolution towards autocracy, authoritarianism, populism and the enhancement of intolerance.

Immanent democratic incapacity to govern stems from the complexity of society. This requires professionalism and understanding of the subject matter. Thus, we find another paradox of democracy, that the government elected by the people is not capable of governing a complex society.

POLITICAL DEFICIT OF DEMOCRACY

Does the nature of politics and political power determine the quality of democracies? The nature of politics predominantly influences the nature of democracy. The immoral, repressive, manipulative pattern of politics transcends certain political forms of government, state organization and the organization of government. The skill of governance, the skill of power, is the skill of controlling the opinion, attitudes and behaviour of people – the manipulation of needs, interests, and significance of

events, phenomena and processes. Political power or the struggle for power has its own logic, regardless of the preceding atribute (democratic, liberal, social, etc.), regardless of the attributed symbols and their meanings.

Politics is the skill of gaining, maintaining, stabilizing and increasing power and/or ruling. Politics is the practice of power. The will to power, motivation-urge to rule, the inner need for domination, hegemony and the imposition of will (opinions, attitudes, interests) are an implied, shown and proven feature of politics. Therefore, the nature of politics, described in this manner, is contrary to the principles and norms of democracy: equality, freedom, justice, cooperation, autonomy of will, governance in the good interest of the people and politics within the framework of law (rule of law). The more immoral, authoritarian, manipulative politics is, the more democracy is at a loss.

From a rhetorical perspective, if presented as the rule of law, politics essentially and realistically represents the rule of selective law in a way that some have more rights and freedoms than others.

The narrower aspect of the political determination of democracy can be determined through the characterology of political parties. The internal oligarchic, centralised and leadership structure of parties often determines the external undemocratic nature of the political system. This contradiction between the autocratic and democratic characteristics of the internal party organization poses a great challenge to a sustainable democracy. Oligarchization, privatization and personalization of the party organization weaken its representative function because the general will, the general interest are subordinated to the individual and group interests of powerful groups.

On the other hand, corruption scandals, public scandals, clientelism and nepotism are expressions of moral pathology and kratological aberrations of political elites. Thus, the pronounced immorality of party politics does not arise only from the epochal separation of morality and politics, but must be explained by the pronounced pathology of political power either in the party or in state power.

Immoral politics and distrust in political parties and political elites in Serbia are especially evident in the personification of political functions, clientelistic-patron model of relations, the authoritarian and leadership nature of party politics, the poor selection and recruitment of party actors, pronounced intraparty centralism and dogmatism, the reduction of intraparty pluralism and the right to party factions and the connection with the marginal zones of criminal reality.

CONCLUSION

The possibilities of sustainable democracy are threatened by the contradictions between the democratic norm and the real democratic reality. Although democracy is still understood as the only legitimate political system, doubts about the functioning and quality of this system are evident. The belief in democracy exists despite the growing dissatisfaction with the effects of democracy.

Instead of society controlling the government, the government controls and shapes the society. Instead of expressing a freely formed democratic choice, citizens are increasingly voting by imposing elections. Instead of the democratic will being autonomous, it is heteronomous. Instead of a democratic government ruling in the interest of the majority and in the general interest of society, it increasingly rules in the interest of the minority and partial interests. Instead of developing democracy taught by good political practice, it is increasingly difficult to cope with aristocratic, oligarchic and authoritarian challenges. The disproportion between freedom and equality as the prevalence of one in relation to the other, creates non-freedoms and therefore inequalities or different forms of abstract equality without freedom.

Instead of democratizing politics, democracy is being partitioned. Immoral politics, as its epochal determinant, demoralizes democracy as well. Instead of democracy developing and advancing, it is increasingly dogmatized as an imperative of power and authority.

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ПАРАДОКСИ ДЕМОКРАТИЈЕ

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Резиме

Разматрање парадокса демократије је једна од метода утврђивања удаљености норме и стварности савремених демократских друштава. Са становишта партиципације и учешћа народа у процесу избора народних представника, преовладава чињеница да политичко друштво све више постаје контролисано и обликовано по мери интереса моћи и власти, уместо да политичко друштво преко избора и јавности контролише демократски изабрану политичку власт.

Инверзија демократских топоса постоји и у погледу „демократије као броја” и „демократије као вредности”. Демократска већина се све више математизује, а све мање представља општу вољу и супстантивну вредност. Математизована изборна воља је хетерономна, иначе формирана пропагандним техникама убеђивања и манипулацијама изборног процеса.

Са становишта демократске репрезентације и управљивости налазимо такође још један парадокс: да власт која је изабрана од стране народа да репрезентује и управља инересима друштва, није способна да управља сложеним и комплексним друштвом. Криза управљивости и репрезентативности угрожава легитимитет демократије и оријентише је према аутократији, ауторитаризму, популизму и јачању нетолеранције. Стање сложености и комплексности друштва захтева професионализам и разумевање процеса одлучивања и управљања.

Слобода и једнакост су основне вредности демократије. Оне нису искључиве или супротстављене, већ комплементарне вредности које се приближавају, сажимају и коегзистирају. Преваленција слободе ствара социјално-економске једнакости, а преваленција једнакости ограничава и гуши слободу. Тако долазимо до парадокса да демократска друштва постају или друштва неједнаких слобода на штету једнакости или егалитарна друштва патерналистичке државе на штету слободе.

Политички парадокс демократије изражава се у томе што је природа политике у моћи, доминацији и потчињавању, а природа демократије у слободном изражавању политичке воље, несметаном изражавању интереса и потреба друштва, и праведној дистрибуцији добара и вредности.

Проблем имунизације демократије од ауторитарних, аристократских, тоталитарних и манипулативних техника владања може довести до самоукидања демократије и њене дисолуције према супротним политичким облицима и уређењима. Аутократска елитизација демократије и манипулативно обликовање изборне воље данас постају највећа претња успостављању, консолидовању и развоју демократије.

FACEBOOK ACTIVITIES OF NATIONAL TOURISM ORGANIZATIONS: SERBIA AND THE DEFINED COMPETITIVE SET

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Abstract

Social media are widely used in tourism due to modern trends and changes pertaining to tourism demands. They offer many benefits to national tourism organizations, such as developing a direct relationship with tourists, access to tourists' feedback and the possibility of adapting the voice of communication according to the needs of individual tourists. Considering the necessity for their use, this paper presents a research on the degree of use and quality of promotional activities on Facebook by the National Tourism Organization of Serbia. In order to provide a more detailed analysis, Facebook based promotional activities of NTOs of Serbia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Austria were compared. The analysis covered all posts on Facebook by these tourism organizations during the period of one year. The results on the success of promotional activities presented through the engagement rate can be used to further enhance promotional activities of the National Tourism Organization of Serbia on Facebook, as well as other social media. The analysis showed that the promotional activities of the selected NTOs on Facebook are similar to one another with no major differences, even though certain improvements can be advised.

Key words: destination marketing organizations, national tourism organizations, digital marketing, social media marketing, digital promotion of tourism destinations and tourism attractions.

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АКТИВНОСТИ НАЦИОНАЛНИХ ТУРИСТИЧКИХ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЈА НА ФЕЈСБУКУ: СРБИЈА И ДЕФИНИСАНИ КОНКУРЕНТСКИ СЕТ

Апстракт

Друштвене мреже се у великој мери користе у савременом туризму, што је условљено савременим кретањима у туризму и променама у туристичким потребама. Њихова употреба, посебно од стране националних туристичких организација, пружа бројне предности попут развијања директне везе са туристима, приступа повратним информацијама, као и прилагођавања начина комуникације потребама појединачних корисника. С обзиром на неопходност њиховог коришћења, овај рад представља истраживање о степену употребе и квалитету промотивних активности Туристичке организације Србије на Фејсбуку. У циљу детаљније анализе, упоређене су промотивне активности националних туристичких организација Србије, Словеније, Бугарске, Мађарске, Чешке, Словачке и Аустрије на Фејсбуку. Истраживање је спроведено на основу анализе садржаја и обухваћене су све објаве одабраних националних туристичких организација на Фејсбуку у периоду од једне године. Резултати истраживања о успешности промотивних активности представљених кроз стопу интеракције се могу искористити за даље унапређење промотивних активности Туристичке организације Србије на Фејсбуку, као и на другим друштвеним медијима. Анализа је показала да су промотивне активности одабраних НТО на Фејсбуку сличне једна другој, иако се могу саветовати одређена побољшања.

Кључне речи: дестинацијске маркетинг организације, националне туристичке организације, дигитални маркетинг, маркетинг друштвених медија, дигитална промоција туристичких дестинација.

INTRODUCTION

One of the most important parts of the tourism destination management process is tourism destination marketing, recognized as the key element of the future development and sustainability of tourism destinations (Pike & Page, 2014), and as such, it has become the central element of research in tourism (Fyall, Garrod & Wang, 2012; Wang & Pizam, 2011). Nowadays tourists are consuming regions as experiences without realizing that every tourism destination consists of many individual products and services, hence destination marketing is becoming all the more complex (Buhalis, 2000). Consequently, constant improvement of destination marketing organizations (DMaO) is required to achieve their business goals and maintain their competitive advantage (Kiráľová & Pavlíček, 2015). In order to keep up with the newest developments in modern marketing activities, numerous DMaOs have been integrating social media applications into their websites in order to enhance customers' travel information searching experience (Fuchs, Scholochov & Höpken, 2009; Leung, Law, Van Hoof & Buhalis, 2013; Sánchez-Franco & Rondan-Cataluña, 2010), as well as to affect the travellers' choice of tourism destination (Di Pietro, Di Virgilio & Pantano, 2012; Fotis, Buhalis &

Rossides, 2012; Narangajavana, Fiol, Tena, Artola & García, 2017; Yoo & Gretzel, 2016). As a result, social media have become the most important communication medium for DMaOs (Wang & Fesenmaier, 2006). Having in mind the importance of social media marketing for DMaOs, the aim of this paper is to present the results of the research with the focus on the degree of the use of promotional activities on Facebook by the *National Tourism Organization of Serbia*, with special attention given to the quality of the promotional activities compared to the same activities of the NTOs selected for comparison in this analysis.

Given the dynamic development of tourism in Serbia over the last twenty years, the focus of this study is on Serbia, which is selected for the analysis as an emerging tourism destination. This study aims to point out the importance of social media as the promotional tool for attracting new and retaining existing tourists in the overall competitive struggle among destinations in the global market. As an emerging tourism destination, during the time of intensive use of social networks in promotional activities in tourism, Serbia can use these tools for positioning itself more successfully in the tourism market, focusing on the existing and potential tourists which are frequently using the Internet and social networks for searching and gathering information on their travel. To compare promotional activities of NTO Serbia on Facebook, a competitive set for Serbia was selected. The criteria for defining the competitive set for the analysis in this paper is based on the following: the selection of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe with similar geographical features and natural and cultural resources, and with the similar tourism destination products that are competing for the same tourism market (Armenski, Gomezelj, Djurdjev, Deri & Aleksandra, 2011; Popesku & Pavlović, 2013; Popesku, 2016). Therefore, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia were selected. In addition, Austria was chosen for comparison purposes because of its proximity to Serbia and other destinations of the competitive set (Teodorović & Popesku, 2017), as well as its constant high number or international tourist arrivals (UNWTO, 2019), which defines it as a good basis for comparison, especially given its position on the market in comparison to other countries of the competitive set. For the purpose of further analysis, Facebook activities of the NTOs of these countries were compared. It is important to emphasize that Bulgaria and Slovakia do not have official NTOs. The *Official Tourism Portal of Bulgaria*, established by the Ministry of Tourism of the Republic of Bulgaria, is responsible for the promotion of tourism in Bulgaria and manages the Facebook page analyzed, while the *Official Information Portal Slovakia Travel* established by the Ministry of Transport and Construction of the Slovak Republic is responsible for the promotion of tourism in Slovakia and manages the Facebook page analyzed. Notwithstanding this fact, all selected NTOs use Facebook for promotional activities, and the analysis

in this paper, in line with the research objective, addresses this domain of the activities of the selected NTOs. The approach and the results presented are part of a wider research related to the digital marketing activities of the tourism organizations in Serbia.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Marketing activities carried out in a tourism destination have the task of supporting the most important elements of the destination such as attractions, services, facilities and human resources, by creating an attractive image of the destination, designing instruments to support that image and promoting the destination image to the target segments of visitors (Mazilu, 2012). Contemporary marketing has changed significantly compared to its beginnings, hence digital marketing communication has probably become the most advanced communication technique (Tiago & Veríssimo, 2014; Weinberg & Pehlivan, 2011) and an inevitable part of every NTO's marketing strategy (Law, Buhalis & Cobanoglu, 2014; Molinillo, Liébana-Cabanillas, Anaya-Sánchez & Buhalis, 2018). In addition, numerous studies have shown that tourists, especially younger ones, are more likely to trust and rely on the social media channels to make decisions (Ip, Lee, & Law, 2012; Tham, Croy, & Mair, 2013; Yang & Wang, 2015), as well as to share their own opinions, which leads to creating the destination image and destination brand awareness. This is especially important given that Millennials and Generation Z will make up most of the total tourism demand in the near future, which is essential for NTOs' proactive thinking since this demand in tourism base their travel on using information and communication technologies on the Internet, such as social media (Alčaković, Pavlović & Popesku, 2017). In response to that, social media are becoming increasingly relevant as a destination marketing tool and must be effectively managed by NTOs trying to create a sustainable competitive advantage (Mariani, Di Felice & Mura, 2016; Pike & Page, 2014).

Social media was adopted by travellers as the main platform for searching, organizing, sharing and annotating travel stories and experiences (Bilgihan, Barreda, Okumus & Nusair, 2016; Leung et al., 2013), and using them to market tourism products has proven to be an excellent strategy (Zeng & Gerritsen, 2014), therefore NTOs must be able to adapt (Hays, Page & Buhalis, 2013; Molinillo et al., 2018) and meet the challenges placed by new interaction and communication paradigms in the tourism sector (Roque & Raposo, 2016). Considering the fact that with the help of the Internet tourists can come from any part of the planet (Andreopoulou, Tsekouropoulos, Koliouska & Koutroumanidis, 2014; Díaz, Martín & Rubio, 2016), appropriate employment of social media activities allows for further business development of NTOs, either locally, na-

tionally or internationally. However, despite the important role of social media in NTOs' marketing activities, extant research on the use of social media in tourism has focused mainly on the use of social media by tourists, or the adoption of social media practices by tourism enterprises (Uşaklı, Koç, & Sönmez, 2019), leaving the research on the use of social media as a destination marketing tool relatively scarce (Hays et al., 2013; Mariani et al., 2016; Munar, 2012; Pike & Page, 2014; Stankov, Lazić, & Dragićević, 2010; Uşaklı, Koç & Sönmez, 2017). Considering the importance of using social media in promotional activities in tourism, especially by the NTOs, the main aim of this paper is to gather insight into the use of Facebook by the NTOs. The intention of this study is to contribute to the existing knowledge about the use of social networks for promotional purposes in tourism by following the analysis of several European NTOs' activities.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Quantitative research was selected as the primary method of research with the aim of classification, measurement and analysis of NTOs of Serbia and selected countries' communication with their target markets on Facebook. This type of research allows for numerous statistical analyses, as well as drawing conclusions based on the sample, and was previously applied by multiple authors researching social media communication between various DMaOs and tourists (Hays et al., 2013; Mariani, et al., 2016; Mariani, Mura & Di Felice, 2018; Roque & Raposo, 2016; Stankov, Jovanović, Pavluković, Kalinić, Drakulić-Kovačević & Cimbaljević, 2018; Uşaklı et al., 2017; 2019; Villamediana, Küster & Vila, 2019; Yang & Wang, 2015). For the purpose of research, the contents of Facebook pages of the abovementioned countries' NTOs were analysed during the period from January 1st, 2018 to December 31st, 2018. The official Facebook pages were selected using the official websites of the NTOs and the links to social media provided by them. Studies regarding the evaluation of communication between NTOs and tourists can be based on numerical analysis or focus on content analysis. Numerical analysis of the communication between NTOs and tourists measures aspects such as the number of followers the page of an NTOs has, as well as the number of comments, shares and reactions generated by users. Content analysis, on the other hand, refers to the set of procedures intended for the systematic analysis of text and includes qualitative and quantitative techniques. Qualitative techniques include in-depth interviews, open questions and focus groups which provide high quality data, but are necessarily limited to a small sample. Quantitative content analysis provides numerical measures, either by just counting the categories or words that appear in the text or by applying semantic methods that use the actual

meaning of the words to do the analysis at the conceptual level (Jabreel, Moreno & Huertas, 2017). This research applies the numerical analysis and quantitative content analysis. In order to determine the criteria for content analysis, understand the nature of the posts and identify categories worthy of further research, posts by NTOs of Serbia were observed for a certain period of time prior to the research. Accordingly, the categories for the content analysis of the posts, as well as research questions driven from them, were determined and are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Categories for content analysis and research questions

Category	Research question
Posts enhancing customer relationship.	Do posts by the NTO of Serbia enhance customer relationships by addressing individual users? What is the degree of enhancing customer relationships compared to the other analysed NTOs?
Call-to-action.	What is the level of interactivity of the posts by the NTO of Serbia compared to the other analysed NTOs? How often do they invite users to share their own content?
Promotional posts.	How often are the posts published by the NTO of Serbia used for promotion? Do they promote a certain website? If they do, is the website promoted an official website of the NTO or a review website? Does the NTO of Serbia use posts on Facebook to promote other social media accounts? To what extent does the NTO of Serbia promote national food or drinks, events, tourism attractions and tourism destinations? What type of tourism destination is mostly promoted: a country as a whole, the capital city or the rest of the country? What is the degree of promoting these various elements of tourism destinations compared to the other analysed NTOs?
Type of tourism promoted in the posts.	What type of tourism does the NTO of Serbia mostly promote on Facebook? What type of tourism is mostly promoted by the other analysed NTOs?
Engagement rate of the posts.	What is the engagement rate of the posts published on Facebook by the NTO of Serbia? Which analysed NTO has the highest engagement rate?

Source: Authors

The first category for the content analysis of the posts was the degree of enhancing customer relationship. The criterion for evaluating a post as the one that supported customer relationship was that the NTO communicated with one user directly and thus developed a deeper relationship with the user. That direct communication was mostly established by thanking the author of the picture for sharing it with the NTO. According to many authors, one of the greatest advantages of social media marketing is the interaction with users (Enders, Hungenberg, Denke & Mauch, 2008; Hajli, 2014; Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010; Michaelidou, Siamagka & Christodoulides, 2011). Therefore, the degree of interactivity of all posts was also analysed. Posts that contained a question for the users or a call-to-action, mostly asking the users to share their own photos, were categorized as interactive.

The aim of every NTO is to attract new tourists and incite them to visit the tourism destination, as well as retain the existing ones, which is achieved by promotion, therefore, the percentage of promotional posts was analysed. Promotional posts were divided into those that promote digital content, such as the official NTO website or accounts on other social media, and those that promote various elements of tourism destinations, such as national food, events, tourism attractions and destinations themselves. Furthermore, it was analysed how often the NTOs promoted the country as a tourism destination, the capital cities and some other parts of the country. In order to identify the main generators of tourism traffic from the NTOs' point of view, the types of tourism promoted in the posts were also analysed.

Considering the fact that the NTOs do not sell tourism and travel products, nor services individually, it can be hard to determine the success rate of their digital marketing activities. One of the ways of measuring interest in the tourism offer of the country as a tourism destination is to look at the number of followers of the NTO on Facebook. However, the number of followers is not the most important indicator. The content published triggers the interaction of Facebook users, and those different actions taken by the users can be measured and represent the engagement rate. There are different ways of measuring the engagement rate, however most of them include information such as the reach of the post or the number of impressions, both only available to page administrators. Because of that, the following formula, developed by Buhalis & Mamalakis (2015, p. 259), was used:

$$Engagement\ rate\ (ER) = \frac{Total\ engagement\ (likes + comments + shares)(TE)}{total\ fans\ (TF)}$$

According to this formula, it is possible to calculate engagement rates for all individual posts, and therefore the average engagement rates of all the posts published by the NTOs during the period of one year.

The categories for content analysis were not mutually exclusive, hence one post could fit more categories at once. Every post published by the NTOs was analysed separately according to all the above-mentioned categories established by the authors, based on the criteria used by Hays et al. (2013) and further developed by numerous authors (Huertas, Setó-Pàmies & Míguez-González, 2015; Mariani, et al., 2016; 2018; Uşaklı et al., 2017; 2019). In order to get the relevant data and assemble useful information, the observations made on the posts were converted into data containing values 1 or 0, depending on whether the post meets a certain criterion or not. The data was then introduced in and analysed by the statistical analysis software SPSS, version 23.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The observation of NTOs' Facebook pages indicates that most NTOs have more than 90% of posts published in the English language from which the conclusion is drawn that those pages are intended for international tourists. The only exception is the NTO of Bulgaria, which published almost 90% of their posts in Bulgarian. The data on the frequency of posting is presented in Table 2. If we take into consideration the overall data on the median frequency of posting on Facebook in 2018, which was 1.1 posts per day (Rival IQ, 2018), it can be concluded that only the NTO of Slovenia published frequently enough.

Table 2. Frequency of posting

	NTO Serbia	NTO Slovenia	NTO Bulgaria	NTO Hungary	NTO Czech Republic	NTO Slovakia	NTO Austria
Number of published posts	303	356	254	245	203	314	321
Median frequency of posting	0.83	0.98	0.7	0.67	0.56	0.86	0.88

Source: Authors

The highest percentages of posts enhancing customer relationship were recorded for the NTOs of Slovenia, Slovakia and Bulgaria with 7.6%, 7.3% and 6.7%, respectively. The NTO of Serbia enhanced customer relationship in 5.6% of their posts, while other NTOs enhanced customer relationships in less than 2% of their posts. It can be concluded that the posts of the NTOs were usually not used for communicating with individual users, thus also concluding that not many user-generated pictures were used for promoting the destinations. In addition, it can be assumed that the NTOs use the comments section of the posts for communication with users, thus concluding that further research is needed that would include comments as well.

Regarding the call-to-action posts, the highest levels of interactivity were noticed in the cases of NTOs of Austria, Slovakia and Slovenia, as it can be seen in Figure 1. However, only three out of the seven analysed NTOs used at least some of their posts in order to ask users to share their own photos. In order to further investigate the degree of call-to-action posts, the Chi-square test was performed. The results are presented in Table 3 and considering the low level of Asymptotic Significance, it can be concluded that there are statistically significant differences between the analyzed NTOs regarding the degree of call-to-action posts.
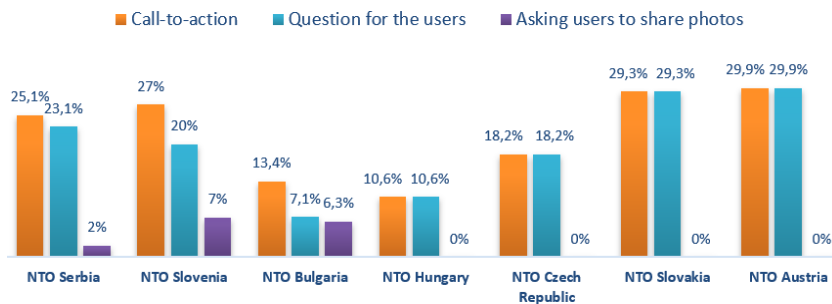
Figure 1. Call-to-action posts
Source: Authors

Table 3. Call-to-action-posts Chi-square test

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	56.852[a]	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	61.369	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	.105	1	.746
N of Valid Cases	1996		

Source: Authors

The analysis showed that more than 90% of all the posts by all the analysed NTOs were promotional. With regard to the promotion of digital content, the biggest differences can be seen in case of promoting certain websites, ranging from little over 20% in case of the NTO of Serbia, to more than two-thirds of posts promoting a website in the cases of the NTOs of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Even though different websites were often promoted, it was determined that the NTOs rarely promoted their own official websites or accounts on other social media. Starting with NTO of Bulgaria that promoted their official website in only one post, with the NTO of Serbia and Hungary doing so in less than 3% of their posts, to the NTO of Austria that promoted their official website in staggering 48.9% of the posts. As far as the promotion of another social media account is concerned, only the NTO of Slovenia can be singled out for promoting their Instagram account in 11.3% of the posts, while other NTOs did not take advantage of this possibility.

As far as the promotion of various elements of tourism destinations is concerned, the page with the highest percentage of posts promoting national food was the NTO of Serbia that used every fourth post to promote it, while the NTO of Bulgaria did so in less than 2% of their posts. In addition, it was noticed that only a small percentage of all posts by all the analysed NTOs promoted events, indicating the minor role given to event

tourism compared to promoting other tangible and intangible tourism at-tractions. In order to test whether there are statistically significant differences between the analyzed NTOs considering the frequency of using the posts in order to promote various elements of tourism destinations, the Chi-square test was performed. The high level of Asymptotic Significance shown in Table 4 clearly indicates that statistical differences can be disregarded between the frequency of promotional activities and the NTO itself so it does not determine that this link should be explored by further analysis.

Table 4. Promotional-posts Chi-square test

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.494[a]	6	.074
Likelihood Ratio	11.397	6	.077
Linear-by-Linear Association	.960	1	.327
N of Valid Cases	1996		

Source: Authors

       The highest percentage of all posts by all the NTOs was used for pro-moting tourism destinations, therefore the types of tourism destinations most-ly promoted were also analysed and the data is presented in Figure 2. As it can be seen, most of the NTOs regularly promote the country as a tourism destination and the capital city, but they mostly promote other parts of the country. This insight into the orientation of most of the researched countries towards predominantly promoting parts of the country other than the capital city can be highlighted as one of the most important qualities of the subject analysed. The only exception to this rule was the NTO of Hungary that pro-moted Budapest in more than half of their posts, meaning that posts pub-lished for one year were pretty much monotonous.
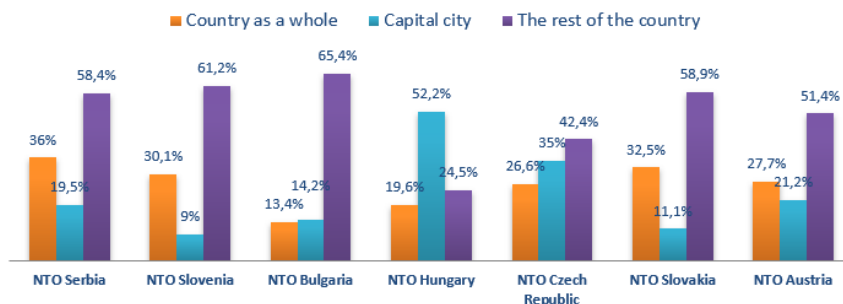
Figure 2. Types of tourism destinations promoted
Source: Authors

The data on the types of tourism promoted in the posts by the analysed NTOs is presented in Table 5. As it can be noticed, most of the analysed NTOs rely largely on cultural tourism, including the NTO of Serbia. In addition, most of the NTOs promote nature-based tourism, which was the most promoted type of tourism in the case of the NTO of Slovenia and promoted to a great extent by the NTOs of Serbia, Slovakia and Bulgaria. Lastly, cities and towns are also promoted regularly, with urban tourism being the most promoted type of tourism in posts by NTOs of Hungary and Austria. All the NTOs published around 10% of posts that did not promote any type of tourism in particular, except for the NTO of Bulgaria that did so in 19.3% of the cases.

Table 5. Types of tourism promoted in the posts

	NTO Serbia	NTO Slovenia	NTO Bulgaria	NTO Hungary	NTO Czech Republic	NTO Slovakia	NTO Austria
Active tourism	10.9%	19.4%	6.7%	4.5%	7.9%	12.1%	9.3%
Wellness tourism	4.6%	9.6%	1.2%	3.3%	1.5%	4.5%	1.2%
Culinary tourism	26.4%	14.6%	2%	13.5%	17.7%	5.7%	16.8%
Cultural tourism	**38.9%**	16%	**29.5%**	46.9%	**48.3%**	**41.1%**	27.4%
Mountain tourism	12.2%	4.5%	10.6%	-	3%	6.7%	18.4%
Nature-based tourism	29.4%	**25.8%**	22.8%	9%	13.8%	26.8%	19.6%
Rural tourism	3.6%	2.5%	1.2%	-	-	1.3%	2.8%
Seaside tourism	-	5.3%	8.7%	-	-	-	-
Urban tourism	20.5%	20.8%	15%	**52.6%**	36.9%	17.2%	**29.3%**
Other	0.3%	2.5%	0.8%	1.2%	0.5%	1%	3.7%
None	11.6%	8.1%	19.3%	11.4%	11.3%	10.8%	9.7%

Source: Authors

Out of all the analysed NTOs, the NTO of Austria has the largest number of followers and was the first to join Facebook. On the other hand, the NTO of the Czech Republic joined Facebook significantly later than the other NTOs, but still has a considerable number of followers[1]. The NTO of Serbia does not have many followers, more precisely, only the NTOs of Bulgaria and Slovakia have less followers. Since the NTO of Bulgaria published mainly in Bulgarian, it can be assumed that is the reason why not so many international tourists showed interest in their Facebook page. The data on the other indicator of the success rate of the NTOs digital marketing activities, the engagement rate, is presented in Figure 3. As it can be noticed, posts by the NTO of Serbia have the highest engagement rates, even though their number of followers is not that

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[1] Number of followers was registered on February 8th 2019.

high. Thus, it can be concluded that the fan base of the NTO of Serbia is high quality, as opposed to the fan bases of the other NTOs, especially the NTOs of the Czech Republic and Austria that have the highest numbers of followers, but the lowest engagement rates.
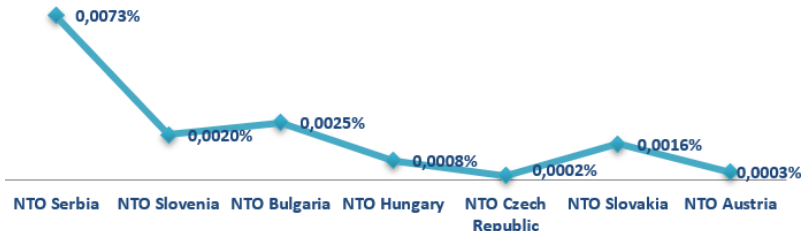
Figure 3. Engagement rates of the NTOs
Source: Authors

The total data obtained in the analysis and previously explained are summarized in table Table 6.

Table 6. Overall data of the analysis

		NTO Serbia	NTO Slovenia	NTO Bulgaria	NTO Hungary	NTO Czech Republic	NTO Slovakia	NTO Austria
Posts enhancing customer relationship		5.6%	7.6%	6.7%	0.4%	1.5%	7.3%	2%
Call-to-action	Question	25.1% / 23.1%	27% / 20%	13.4% / 7.1%	10.6% / 10.6%	18.2% / 18.2%	29.3% / 29.3%	29.9% / 29.9%
	Ask for photos	2%	7%	6.3%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Promotional posts	Website	97.7% / 21.5%	95.5% / 48%	92.5% / 53.9%	95.1% / 58.4%	95.1% / 77.3%	97.1% / 75.8%	97.5% / 71%
	Official NTO website	2%	24.4%	0.4%	2.9%	25.6%	27.4%	48.9%
	Review website	16.5%	10.4%	4.3%	26.5%	29.6%	15.6%	5%
	Another social media account	5.6%	11.3%	0%	2%	0.5%	3.7%	0.6%
	National food	24.8%	12.9%	1.6%	14.3%	16.7%	5.7%	16.8%
	Event	11.2%	10.7%	9.1%	16.3%	13.3%	6.7%	5.6%
	Attraction	49.8%	37.1%	30.3%	52.2%	42.9%	46.8%	34.3%
	Destination	97.7%	95.5%	92.5%	93.9%	95.1%	97.1%	97.2%
Type of tourism destination mostly promoted		The rest of the country	The rest of the country	The rest of the country	Capital city	The rest of the country	The rest of the country	The rest of the country
Type of tourism mostly promoted		Cultural tourism	Nature-based tourism	Cultural tourism	Urban tourism	Cultural tourism	Cultural tourism	Urban tourism
Engagement rate of the posts		0.0073	0.0020	0.0025	0.0008	0.0002	0.0016	0.0003

Source: Authors

Several constraints of the research presented can be pointed out. As it was already emphasized, even though a fair part of conversation between the NTOs and the users takes place in the comments, they were not

part of this research. Secondly, it was analysed how often different types of tourism destinations were promoted, however, only the capital cities were singled out, while the other parts of the countries were put in one category. The results of the analysis showed that clearer criteria should be defined by which other parts of the country would be categorized separately. Additional research by the countries' regions can also be advised. The approach of the research presented was defined by the criteria for the selection of the competitive set for the analysis, however, future analysis could establish broader approaches to Facebook promotion, not limited to mutual competitors only but to those destinations that are among the most developed in the world. Lastly, the implementation of qualitative content analysis evaluating the frequency of the used terms within the posts using NVivo statistical software can be advised to provide insight into the most significant attributes promoted by individual tourism organization.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper presents the results on the degree of the use of promotional activities on Facebook by the National tourism organization of Serbia compared to the same activities by the selected NTOs. Out of the analysed NTOs, the only one with an official digital marketing strategy is the NTO of Slovenia. According to the Slovenian NTO, in accordance with their work programs for 2020/2021, it is indicated that digital marketing activities of the NTO have been upgraded with the Digital Marketing Strategy 2022 (Slovenska turistična organizacija, 2019, p. 23). However, even without the official strategy, the NTO of Serbia, as well as all the other researched NTOs, are actively using digital marketing activities.

Previous research on the use of social media in NTOs' marketing activities is limited in terms of the countries investigated, as well as the duration of the research period. There have been researches including only one country (Villamediana, et al., 2019), a few researches on the use of Facebook by the NTOs of the top 10 international tourism destinations according to the UNWTO data for the appropriate year (Hays et al., 2013; Mariani et al., 2018; Uşaklı, et al., 2017), as well as those researching representatives of NTOs from five different continents (Roque & Raposo, 2016), or leading Asian NTOs (Yang & Wang, 2015). A study by Stankov et al. (2018) needs to be highlighted as the one including multiple European countries, that is, 27 of them, and offering numerical data on the Facebook pages researched. In addition, most of the mentioned papers and studies offered data based on the research period of only a month or two. Accordingly, this paper contributes to the existing knowledge on the use of social media in NTOs' marketing activities by focusing on emerging tourism destinations instead of the leading ones, as well as by providing detailed analysis based on multiple categories for content re-

search, and extending the research period in order to make the conclusions more valid.

There are several conclusions about the promotional activities of the NTO of Serbia on Facebook that can be drawn from the data presented. First, the content could be published more often. Even though the frequency of posting is not that low, it is lower than the average frequency of posting on Facebook in 2018. Secondly, the posts rarely enhance customer relationship. The fact that all the other researched NTOs also rarely enhance customer relationship needs to be highlighted, however, the increase of the number of this type of posts can be recommended. Compared to the other NTOs, the level of interactivity of the posts by the NTO of Serbia is in accordance with the others, however they could ask for users' photos more often. If they choose to share those same photos, then that would automatically increase the number of their customer relationship enhancing posts as well. It is well known that user-generated content is a very useful marketing tool, therefore asking for and sharing users' photos is highly recommended. With regard to the promotion-related posts, more frequent promotion of the official NTO website, as well as the promotion of the other social media accounts can be recommended. It can also be noticed that national food is frequently promoted, which leads to the conclusion that it is believed that national food can increase the interest of foreign tourists. However, events are rarely promoted. Every year, many different events take place in Serbia, with a few of them being well established in the perception of foreign tourists. Nevertheless, the unusually low number of posts was dedicated to events, even to the successful ones. Research on the promotion of tourism destinations showed evenly distributed frequency of promoting three different types of destinations. Therefore, the posts published for one year were versatile enough, with all parts of the country evenly promoted. In addition, cultural tourism, nature-based tourism and urban tourism were most frequently promoted. Finally, even though the NTO of Serbia should try to attract more followers in order to present the tourism offer of Serbia to a larger number of potential visitors, it can be concluded that the NTO of Serbia has a high-quality fan base given that they frequently engage with the content provided. Overall, it can be concluded that the promotional activities of the NTO of Serbia on Facebook are in accordance with the activities of the other analysed NTOs, except for the significantly higher engagement rate which needs to be highly praised. According to the data presented, certain improvements can be advised which can be used to further enhance marketing activities of the NTO of Serbia on Facebook, as well as of other national tourism organizations.

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АКТИВНОСТИ НАЦИОНАЛНИХ ТУРИСТИЧКИХ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЈА НА ФЕЈСБУКУ: СРБИЈА И ДЕФИНИСАНИ КОНКУРЕНТСКИ СЕТ

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Резиме

Друштвене мреже се у великој мери користе у савременом туризму и постају све важнији алат дестинацијског маркетинга, па их националне туристичке организације морају ефикасно користити како би створиле одрживу конку-

рентску предност. С обзиром на бројне предности које њихова употреба пружа националним туристичким организацијама, овај рад представља истраживање о степену употребе и квалитету промотивних активности Туристичке организације Србије на Фејсбуку. У циљу детаљније анализе, упоређене су активности Туристичке организације Србије у овој области са применом промотивних активности националних туристичких организација Словеније, Бугарске, Мађарске, Чешке, Словачке и Аустрије на Фејсбуку. Садржај налога наведених НТО на Фејсбуку је анализиран у периоду од годину дана. Пре свега, утврђено је у којој мери објаве подржавају однос са корисницима и колико често позивају кориснике на интеракцију. Поред тога, истражен је степен промоције дигиталног садржаја, националне хране, догађаја, атракција и дестинација. У складу са тим, утврђено је колико често се промовишу земље као туристичке дестинације, а колико често главни градови и остали делови истраживаних земаља. Како би се утврдили главни генератори туристичког промета из перспективе истраживаних НТО, истражено је и питање врста туризма које су најчешће промовисане. На крају, представљени су резултати истраживања о квалитету дигиталних маркетинг активности истраживаних НТО на основу стопе интеракције њихових пратилаца.

ARE SOCIAL WORKERS THE MISSING LINK IN PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN NOVI SAD?

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Abstract

Increasing levels of poverty, social inequalities, broken marriages, domestic violence, health problems and other (social) problems present challenges that often have negative implications for school attendance and success at school. Given this fact, the school system should provide more consistent support by introducing social workers to schools. In the theoretical part of the paper, a brief overview of the history of the social work in schools, that is, the basic postulates of school social work before the beginning of the 21st century will be presented. Following this, the normative bases of the social work profession in education in the Republic of Serbia will be presented, i.e. it will be pointed out whether and in what way it is possible to implement this profession in the education system. In the empirical part, the paper will attempt to answer two research questions: whether secondary schools in Novi Sad perceive the need for social workers, and whether social workers recognize the need of their profession in educational system. Data were collected through interviews (structured questionnaire) that examined the perceptions of professional associates (pedagogues, psychologists, and social workers from Center for Social Work, Novi Sad) about the need for social workers in secondary schools in Novi Sad. The aim of the research is to analyse the perceptions of professional associates on the values and need for social work services in schools.

Key words: social work, social workers, educational system, school social work, needs.

ДА ЛИ СУ СОЦИЈАЛНИ РАДНИЦИ КАРИКА КОЈА НЕДОСТАЈЕ У НОВОСАДСКИМ РЕДОВНИМ СРЕДЊИМ ШКОЛАМА?

Апстракт

Све већи степен сиромаштва, социјалних неједнакости, развода бракова, насиља у породицама, проблема са здрављем, ту су и други (друштвени) проблеми који представљају изазове који често имају негативне импликације на похађање школе и

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школски успех. С обзиром на то, школски систем би требало да обезбеди конзистентнију подршку ученицима увођењем социјалних радника у школе. У теоријском делу рада, приказаће се кратак осврт на историју социјалног рада у школама, односно приказаће се основни постулати истог пре почетка 21. века. Након тога, приказаће се нормативне основе професије социјалног рада у образовању у Републици Србији, односно видеће се да ли је и на који начин могућа имплементација ове професије у систем образовања. У емпиријском делу, рад ће покушати да одговори на два истраживачка питања: да ли новосадске средње школе виде потребу за социјалним радницима, и да ли социјални радници препознају потребу за својом професијом у школама. Подаци су прикупљени путем интервјуа (структурирани упитник) који је испитао перцепције стручних радника (педагог и психолог из школа и социјални радници из новосадског Центра за социјални рад) о потреби социјалних радника у средњим школама. Циљ истраживања јесте анализа перцепција стручних сарадника (педагога, психолога и социјалних радника) о вредностима и потреби за услугама социјалног рада у школама.

Кључне речи: социјални рад, социјални радници, систем образовања, социјални рад у школи, потребе.

INTRODUCTION - ROOTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL WORK PROFESSION IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

> *The role of schools is not only to educate, but also to provide an environment where the potential of the child will be maximized. In order to reach this potential, it is important to involve the child, parents, school and community in the education system. Obviously, the social worker plays an important role in facilitating the connection between school, community, students and parents. Such links are crucial in breaking down barriers to educational attainment.*
> (McKinnon, Kearns and Crockett 2004, in McDavitt, 2017, p. 40)

The profession of school social work has emerged in the context of the expansion of social work in many countries. The prerequisite for the development of the profession of the social worker in the educational system was the introduction of compulsory education for all children at a time when education was no longer reserved only for the elite, but became part of the preparation of all children for modern life (Pushkina, 2017). The history of the profession of school social work dates back to the 19th century in the UK. What has led to this is the confrontation with poverty, social injustice, the inexperience of parents who have not been educated, etc., and for these reasons no connection was made between the school community and its students. In accordance with the above mentioned problems, there is a need for social workers, who were originally called "supervising officers" in charge of the cooperation between the *school* and the *local community* in order to promote understanding and communication. That is, these workers were hired as advocates for equal rights and as field workers who went on home visits (Čekerevac, 2020).

Initially, their work was not funded by the state but through various civil society organizations. Later, an initiative was formed to change the existing (social) policies, and the National Association of Social Workers in Education (NASWE) was founded in 1884 in the UK. Its original role was to provide a link between the school and the family of students who were marginalized (Allen-Meares, Washington & Welsh, 1996).

On the other hand, the introduction of the profession of the social worker in educational systems across the United States began somewhat later, in the 20th century. Regardless of the geographical area, it was obvious that bridges had to be built between the community, school, immediate family's needs and long-term educational opportunities for students (McDavitt, 2017). Initially, in the United States, this activity took place through the so-called "visiting teachers" who worked in schools in Boston, New York, Chicago, etc., in the period between 1906 and 1907 (Kelly, 2008). The idea was for them to use "social work methods" to improve children's individual success at school, as well as the link between family, school and community resources. Oppenheimer (1925) also pointed out to the need for this connection, believing that non-cooperation between school and family can extremely violate the rights of the child, as did Mary Richmond (1922) who saw this project as a strategic basis for building school-family-community relations. Richmond describes the qualifications and roles of visiting teachers where she states that "the visiting teacher is a social worker, preferably with classroom teaching experience" (Richmond, 1922: 198). Namely, the visiting teacher gets to know *the social network of students and families*, and that is exactly what enables them to follow cases every day, react to situations, provide consultations to school staff and use their knowledge gained about the individual in their environment (Oppenheimer, 1925). Precisely for these reasons, visiting teachers played a unique role in the community due to their knowledge of the dynamics of the student environment on the one hand, and the school system on the other. These school experiments, when it comes to the social work profession in schools, have resulted in better opportunities and progress in the education system and overall community development. In light of this, other schools, districts and states also undertook the initiative of visiting teachers, which later encouraged school-based services.

If we look at the European context, it could be said that the emergence and development of social work in educational institutions is different in terms of the time of introduction, structure and goals. In addition to the above-mentioned Great Britain, in the 1940s, the Nordic countries launched an initiative to introduce social workers in schools, primarily to prevent various psychosocial problems of students (prevention was reflected in the form of group work with students, development of new programs, consultations with relatives, etc.). In the 1960s, the social worker became an integral part of the school system in Germany and Poland, and

then in the 1980s, in other European and non-European countries, such as Switzerland, Russia, Latvia, Hungary, etc. (Čekeravac, 2020). It is important to mention that in the former Yugoslavia, i.e. in today's Republic of Croatia, in the 1970s, there were attempts to introduce social work into the educational system. However, despite some examples of good and successful practice, the wider employment of social workers in schools remained inconsistent and sporadic. Some of the reasons for discontinuous and inconsistent employment of social workers in schools were the frequent changes in legislation, political context, etc. (Gavrilović, 2013). Similar situation can be found in Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e. Republika Srpska, where in the period from 1974 to 1985, only 19 social workers were employed in the educational system, and the reason for this is considered, similarly to the territory of the Republic of Croatia, insufficiently clear legal regulations and the lack of a strategy for the development of this profession in the education system (Bašić, 2010). On the other hand, the social work profession was introduced in educational institutions in 2008 on the territory of Republika Srpska, but the whole process was very slow and often incompatible with the real needs of students. This introduction of the social work profession is regulated by the *Law on Primary Education* which recognizes social workers as professional associates, i.e. as an important part of the school team (Official Gazette of the Republic of Srpska, 2017).

Similar attempts to introduce professional social work were recorded in the Republic of Serbia when the Faculty of Political Sciences implemented a project in several schools in Belgrade in the 1980s. Despite the satisfaction with the project and good results (i), this attempt to introduce a social worker in schools remains inconsistent, which is supported by the fact that there are currently almost no social workers in high schools in Serbia (except in some extreme situations) (Čekerevac, 2020). A new attempt was recorded in 2019, when the project "Social worker at school" was piloted with the aim of effectively connecting the social protection system and the educational system. However, the project lasted for only three months and covered one municipality, i.e. four primary schools. The project was set up with the support of the local self-government and the initiative of the Center for Social Work of the Municipality of Stara Pazova. The project is designed with the idea of monitoring and analyzing the social conditions and needs of students in order to take appropriate measures to overcome any difficulties (Center for Social Work Stara Pazova). Despite the positive results of the project and the satisfaction of the actors involved, there is no relevant information on the future and continuation of this project.

Contrary to this, examples of good practice are recorded in Slovenia, where the social work profession existed in schools even when Slovenia was part of former Yugoslavia. Namely, the Counselling Department in primary schools consisted of a pedagogue, psychologist, defec-

tologist and a social worker (Popov & Spasenovic, 2018). The main activities of social workers were to monitor and support the psychosocial development of students, work with school staff and parents, as well as to cooperate with the community. Similarly, in Macedonia, *the Law of Primary Education* and *the Law of Secondary Education* (Official Gazette of the Republic of Macedonia, 2017) stipulate that professional associates in the school include a pedagogue, psychologist, sociologist, social worker, defectologist and librarian. The basic role of social workers is reflected in supporting students to fulfill their full potential on the academic, emotional, social and behavioral levels. In accordance with that, the role of social workers in the field of designing and implementing developmental and preventive activities in school is emphasized (Popov & Spasenovic, 2018).

Given that the above mentioned social work services in schools have evolved and changed over time. If we summarize the abovementioned, some of the crucial responsibilities of school social workers have been: helping teachers understand that the negative social environment (poverty, child labor, domestic abuse, child labor, etc.) greatly influences school attendance, mediation between schools and families and community, prevention programs, etc. From all of the above, it can be concluded that social work in schools a few decades ago was not the same as today's social work - the path was often unclear, perspectives were changing, roles were often modified, etc. Today, its function is primarily a holistic model of social work that has multiple roles, which will be discussed later.

Normative bases of the social work profession in the educational system in the Republic of Serbia

The Law on the Fundamentals of the Education System (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, 2020a) in Article 8 emphasizes the goals of education, i.e. states *the full intellectual, emotional, social, moral and physical development of each child, student and adult, in accordance with his age, developmental needs and interests* as an indispensable goal of the education system. Given that social work is an activity that (among other things) seeks to improve the overall functioning of individuals, groups and communities, we can say that this goal is intrinsically linked to the role of social workers in society. On the other hand, the Law recognizes *that professional work in the school is performed by professional associates, namely a psychologist, pedagogue and librarian* (Article 135). *Depending on the needs of the school and the program that is being realized, additional support and professional work can be performed by a social worker, defectologist, speech therapist and an andragogue.* According to *the Law*, psychologists and pedagogues have the status of professional associates, while social workers are proposed just as associates.

Legal frameworks recognize this profession in the domain of the education system, but in practice it is completely absent, even though

there is an expansion of social problems. From the above, the fact arises that the educational system in the Republic of Serbia *does not deal continuously and consistently with the social problems* of students, but only sporadically, i.e. in extremely drastic and individual cases. In contrast, Gavrilović (Gavrilović, 2020) points out that social work in school should become a link between all actors in the community who synergistically affect the continuous well-being of the individual, the development of school as an environment within which the individual should enjoy their rights and fulfill their capacities. That is, the social work(er) together with the school and the community should promote a holistic approach when it comes to the well-being of students, as well as their families.

If we look at *the Law on Secondary Education and Upbringing* (Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, 2020b), we notice that the goals are explicitly amended with regard to the *respect for racial, national, cultural, linguistic, religious, gender, sex and age equality, tolerance and respect for diversity* (Article 2.), which also represents the basic values of social work. That is, social work promotes social justice and social changes that are moving towards equality, supports people in overcoming various social problems and empowers their users so that they can overcome certain problems with their own strengths and potentials. Namely, when it comes to the above-mentioned expansion of social problems, frequent divorces, poverty, premature consumption of alcohol and/or various psychoactive substances, frequent physical confrontations in and out of the school yard, these are just some of the problems that require response and the holistic approach we have mentioned before.

Analyzing the existing principles of our educational system, the current problems of our community, as well as the goals of education and upbringing (Official Gazette of Republic of Serbia, 2020a; 2020b), it is clear that there is room for the implementation of the social work profession in schools. However, the question that arises is why the social work profession has been neglected in our schools, while a large number of countries on all continents have affirmed, recognized the importance and legally regulated the social work profession in schools long ago. That is, it is important to point out that our *Law* acknowledges the *possibility,* but not the obligation, of employing social workers, as is the case with pedagogues or psychologists.

CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE AND ROLE
OF SCHOOL SOCIAL WORKERS

The dynamics of social development of a society are linked to the widening of social problems, especially in the context of education. The role of social work in educational institutions is essential, primarily because of its large role in the field of inclusion of marginalized children in

the education system. Given that social work focuses on the well-being of the individual in terms of increasing and developing their capacities, it could be said that social work services cannot be separated from inclusive education (Balli, 2016).

Although social workers have a great deal of responsibility and different roles in the school system of education, there are several basic tasks common to all school social workers. As a member of the team and the school community, the social worker is expected to be in constant contact and communication with other members, to apply his assessment to various roles in direct service, consultation and development programs, to be capable to do direct intervention with children and parents in various forms of cooperation (individual, group and family modalities), and to participate in the creation of development programs (Constable, Kuzmickaite, Harrison, & Volkmann, 1999). Research by Frey and George states that the primary goal of social work in schools is to allow students to function and learn without disturbances in the school environment. In other words, effective practice of social work in schools consists of cooperation, counseling, developing behavioral plans and education, and the training of other participants in the school system towards more demanding students, in the context of daily student experience at school. They work, mainly, with individual students, but can set up and run different groups of students as well as parents (Frey & George-Nichols, 2003).

NASW Standards of Practice for School Social Workers (NASW, 2008) provide a list of factors that affect students' ability to actively pursue learning. These are mainly family changes, drug and/or alcohol abuse within the home environment, poverty, violence, abuse and neglect, transition or housing instability, etc. School social workers can implement early intervention, prevention and intervention strategies in areas such as networking, counseling, case management and participation in the design and monitoring of different education policies. According to the aforementioned list of threatening factors, school social workers are there to support these students, in which case they advocate for the right to an education that respects the dignity, value and culture of the individual. Similarly, O'Donell believes that social work in schools plays a key role in developing and connecting students with the necessary resources and support, to maximize their potential in the educational process (O'Donnell, 2000).

NASW also emphasizes the unique contribution of the school social worker to the interdisciplinary team, allowing the family, the school and the community an interdisciplinary approach (NASW, 2002). Accordingly, membership of interdisciplinary teams requires (1) interdependence; (2) ability to perform new professional activities and take on new tasks as needed; (3) flexibility; (4) collective ownership of goals and (5) process thinking (Bronstein, 2003). What is often a problem in this context is that teachers and other school staff do not understand the role

of school social workers, and as a result, do not value them. Avant (2014) conducted a study on the role of school social workers in implementing response to intervention. During the research, school social workers stated that they were often considered pseudo-administrative staff. First of all, teachers did not regard them as important members of the school staff and did not include them in various interactions. The lack of understanding certainly has negative implications for the students themselves.

Research (Balli, 2016) considers that "one of the most important aspects of school social workers is to monitor students in a family context and further strengthen the relationship between school and parents" (Balli, 2016, p. 175). Accordingly, it could be said that social workers have an active and integral role in the lives of students and their families, and on the other hand they remain an underutilized resource within school facilities. Hayne argues that, although the primary mission of the education system is academic development, the school should take more responsibility for social and "silent" issues (Haynes, 2002). As teachers develop students 'potentials through the transfer of knowledge, skills and values, social workers can support students' well-being so that they are ready to learn. This means that social workers in this context play a key role as partners with schools to provide students with support in reaching their full intellectual, emotional and social potential (Huxtable, 2013). Specifically, it follows from the hypothesis that the daily lack of attention in schools for the psychological, social and emotional well-being of students has led to maladaptive behavior within classrooms. Closely related to this are lower academic achievement, chronic failure in school progression, impairment of mental health, etc. (Haynes, 2002). According to NASW:

> School social workers represent an integral link between school, home, and the community in helping students achieve academic success. They work directly with school administrations as well as with students and families, providing leadership in school disciplinary policy-making, mental health interventions, crisis management and support services. As part of an interdisciplinary team that helps students succeed, social workers also facilitate community involvement in schools by advocating for student success. (NASW, 2017: 1)

Boyle and co-workers were concerned with implementing the skills needed to be an effective social worker in the school system. The following are relevant: ability to evaluate and treat students properly; direct practice and experience - having practical skills to work with individuals, groups or the local community; the ability to counsel individuals on mental health issues, working with students with emotional or behavioral problems; the need for home visits with certain students; ability to work in groups; having the knowledge to establish and maintain professional/supportive relationships; ability to collect and possess information about a particular problem or information; ability to identify client's ca-

pabilities and strengths; ability to develop a plan to improve a situation or chance of solving a problem; ability to use legitimate and recognized research interventions; work within the value system and ethics of the profession of social worker, etc. (Boyle et al., 2006).

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES OF THE RESEARCH

1. Providing a more complete picture of the role of social workers in schools,
2. Analysis of the perception of professional associates (psychologists, pedagogues, and social workers) on the need for social workers in secondary schools,
3. Pointing out the need for social workers in high schools in Novi Sad

H1: *Pedagogues and psychologists believe that the existence of social workers in schools would contribute to a more effective solution to students' various social problems.*
H2: *The presence of social workers in schools would contribute to a better communication between the school and the centers for social work.*
H3: *Social workers believe that the social work profession is necessary in educational institutions – secondary schools.*

METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURE

Sample

The study was conducted in 2018/2019 school year, and involved 12 public high schools in Novi Sad. Psychologists and pedagogues were interviewed from each school with a total of 23 pedagogues and psychologists (i.e., 10 psychologists and 11 pedagogues, while two did not comment). In addition, 15 social workers working at the Center for Social Work in Novi Sad participated in the research.

Data Collection Techniques

Data were collected through an interview (structured questionnaire) that examined the perceptions of professional associates (pedagogues, psychologists, and social workers) about the need for social workers in secondary schools.

For the purpose of the research, the principals of all secondary schools on the territory of Novi Sad were contacted, and were visited by researchers personally. After interviewing the principals, psychologists and pedagogues were contacted, and the researchers interviewed the participants on the premises of the school. Also, the Director of the Center for Social Work on the territory of Novi Sad was contacted, and the re-

searchers personally interviewed all social workers who were present on the day of the interview.

RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

This research looks at the responses of professional associates in high schools in Novi Sad when it comes to the support of social workers in them. That is, as mentioned above, a total of 23 pedagogues and psychologists (i.e., 10 psychologists and 11 pedagogues, while two did not participate) from 12 high schools on the territory of Novi Sad, participated in the research. Moreover, the survey also included 15 social workers working at the Center for Social Work in Novi Sad. The results that will be presented were obtained through the statistical analysis of the answers given by pedagogues, psychologists and social workers during interview. The results of the descriptive statistics will be presented first, followed by the correlation and the results of the chi-square test.

The sample included all high schools on the territory of Novi Sad. The obtained results are grouped into two thematic sections:

1. Attitudes of pedagogues and psychologists about social work profession in schools,

2. Attitudes of social workers about the social work profession in schools.

School social work and attitudes of pedagogues and psychologists

In the section that follows, we will deal with the presentation and data analysis concerning the attitudes of pedagogues and psychologists when it comes to the inclusion of social workers in high schools. If we look at the age: 11 of them are between 50 and 59, slightly less, 9 of them are between 40 and 49, while there are only 3 respondents over 60. Also, the results indicate that the most significant number of respondents, or 14 of them, have over 20 years of school experience, 8 respondents have 15-20 years of school experience, while only 1 respondent between 1 and 5 years. The attitude that most respondents agreed with (16 respondents) was that the school would be a more favorable environment for the psychosocial development of students if it had a social worker position. On the other hand, only 5 respondents do not know or are not sure about this claim, while no respondents believe it to be false.

The following table shows the attitudes of pedagogues and psychologists and their views on differences in activities within the school when it comes to the social work profession and the profession of pedagogy and psychology. Specifically, the results obtained indicate that expert associates believe that social workers would be the most supportive of socially disadvantaged families, and this function cannot be compensated by a school psychologist and/or pedagogues.

Table 1. The difference in school activity between the social worker,
psychologist, and pedagogues

Attitudes	N	%
Access to education	3	21.4
Support for disadvantaged families	8	57.1
Cooperation with social welfare institutions	2	14.3
There is no difference	1	7.1

In the following table, we will look at the responses of psychologists and pedagogues in the context of seeing the main role of social workers in schools. Namely, the results of the research show that as many as half of the respondents, or 50%, believe that the role of the school social worker is preventive work (cooperation with the Center for Social Work, MIA, etc.). Fewer respondents, or 33.3%, believe that the role of school social work is to connect school, students, family and the community. Accordingly, the respondents (N=14) strongly believe that teachers themselves would be more effective in teaching if they had the support of a social worker.

Table 2. What is the role of the school social worker?

Attitudes	N	%
Preventive work	9	50.0
(cooperation with the Center for Social Work, MIA, etc.)		
Connecting school, students, family and community	6	33.3
Support for disadvantaged families	3	16.7

After presenting the role of the social worker in the school, in *Table 3*, we will see how the introduction of the social worker in the schools would result. Specifically, 86.4% of respondents believe that introducing a social worker into schools would result in a higher degree of support for students and their families. On the other hand, only 1 respondent felt that there was no need to introduce social workers in schools. In contrast, the most significant number of respondents, 15 of them, thought that they had so far needed the support of social workers in many cases, but did not get adequate support. Accordingly, in the following graph, we will show what these situations were. As many as 71.4% of respondents believe that the biggest problem that requires the intervention of social workers at school is domestic violence. Given the above, it is not surprising that the respondents are dissatisfied with the cooperation with social workers from the Center for Social Work, because, as the respondents say, the cooperation is only sporadic, unsystematic and inconsistent.

Table 3. What would the introduction of a social worker in schools result in?

Attitudes	N	%
Introducing social workers into schools would result in a higher degree of support for students and their families	19	86.4
The introduction of social workers in schools would result in more effective cooperation between school, family, and the community	18	76.3
There is no need for social workers in schools, as an pedagogues and psychologist are enough	1	4.3
I do not know what would result in introducing social workers to schools	2	8.7
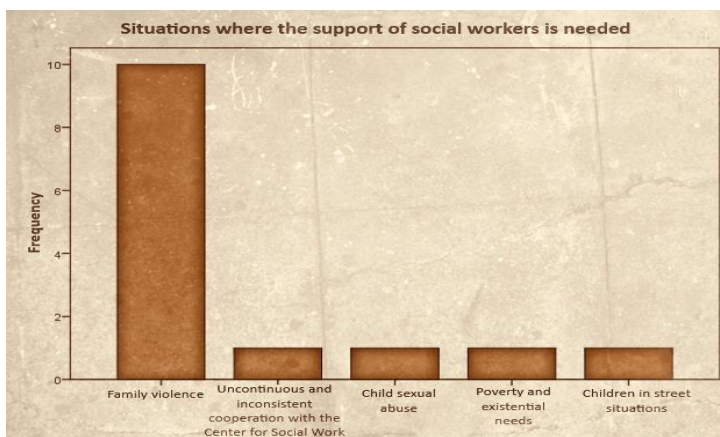
Graph 1. Situations where the support of social workers is needed

Attitudes of social workers when it comes to the social work profession in schools

A total of 15 social workers from the Center for Social Work from the City of Novi Sad participated in the survey. Out of the total, 12 were female, 2 were male, and one was undecided. When it comes to the age category, we have had diverse results: 1 respondent between 18 and 29, while there are 4 respondents in the 30 to 39 group. The age group 40-49 includes 4 respondents, while the same number of respondents belongs to the age group 50-59. There are only 2 respondents over 60. In addition, the results show years of work at the Center for Social Work. Only 1 respondent has been working at the Center for less than a year, while 4 respondents have been working there between 1 and 5 years, 5 respondents 15 to 20 years, and 1 respondent for more than 20 years.

Specifically, the results show that most of the surveyed social workers, or 80% of respondents, believe that social workers are needed in secondary schools. Accordingly, in the following chart, we will outline the

attitudes of social workers on the positive effects that would potentially be the result of the introduction of a social worker.
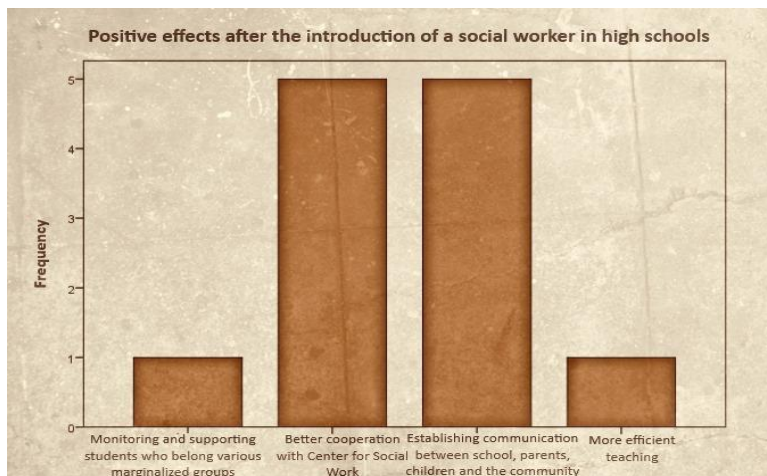
Graph 2. Positive effects after the introduction of a social worker in high schools

If we look at the results from the chart above, we can conclude that the majority of respondents believe that positive results would be reflected in better cooperation with the Center for Social Work, as well as in establishing communication between the school, parents, and children and the community. In addition, social workers feel that they have a broader field of activity (than pedagogues and/or psychologists) and that they can contribute to a better school climate, more efficient teaching, and better psychosocial development for the students themselves. Accordingly, they conclude that the system does not sufficiently recognize the role of social workers in schools. Further findings show the responses of social workers when it comes to the reason for not recognizing the role of the social worker in schools. The majority of social workers (87%) consider that the main reason for not recognizing the mentioned role is the lack of finances. Futher, as many as 80% social workers agree that introducing social workers into school would contribute to effective cooperation between school, family and the community. On the other hand, no social worker believes that there is no need to introduce social workers into schools, that is, that having psychologists and pedagogues in schools is enough. Namely, 100% of respondents agree that the social worker at school would be a link connecting social work centres and schools, and would make their cooperation more constructive and useful. In addition, respondents overwhelmingly agreed that the existence of social work in schools would also provide an integrative link between the school, fami-

lies and the whole community. Based on the interpretation of the statistical data, we can conclude that there are no significant differences regarding the surveyed attitudes with regard to the comparison of the age groups of the respondents and the length of their years of service. Also, there are no statistically significant differences among schools with regard to any of the attitudes in the questinnaire, which can be explained by the generally accepted attitude towards the need for the category of social workers in secondary schools in Novi Sad, which may of course be indicative for some future research on a similar topic with extended territorial sample. However, a statistically significant difference (*p=0.045*) was observed between the respondents' answers themselves, in this case the pedagogues and psychologists, whereby it was found that psychologists were the ones who believed that the introduction of school social workers would result in a greater degree of support for the students and their families which is demonstrated by *Graph 3*. This also raises the question of whether this claim can be linked to the extent to which the work of social workers coincides with the domain of work of these two categories of workers in schools, to whom and to what extent, the extension of this sphere of working with children, supporting families and working with competent institutions, such as the Center for Social Work goes in favour.
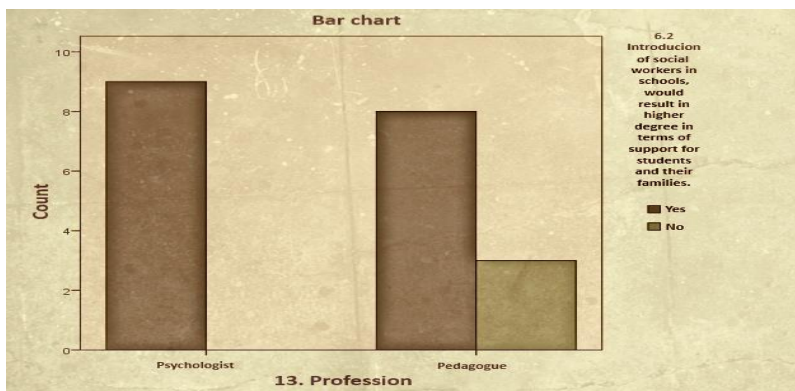
*Graph 3. Introducing social workers into schools would result
in a greater degree of support for students and their families*

Several other relevant conclusions could be drawn from the comparison of results. Those pedagogues and psychologists who believe that the school would be a more favorable environment for the psychosocial development of students if it had a position of social worker, at the same time believe that the introduction of social workers would result in a greater degree of support for students and their families.

Such an attitude points to a clear correlation between understanding the importance and role of social workers in schools and their poten-

tial benefit for the general educational and learning environment in schools and the psychosocial development of students themselves. The same understanding is present in respondents who said that introducing social workers would result in more effective cooperation between school, family and the community. It is exactly this intermediary and co-operative role that the importance of this category of school workers is reflected in. Equally significant is the fact that those who believe that the school would be a more favorable environment for the psycho-social development of students also believe that there are not enough developmental programs designed to support students. In their opinion, this is a serious problem and a sphere that requires a lot of work and investment in order to improve and change things for the better. This means that social workers can help build a more efficient, fruitful and better collaboration and communication between the various actors involved in the life and work of an educational institution, such as secondary schools.

When it comes to the group of responses from the questionnaire concerning social workers, it should be noted that the age groups of the respondents do not differ significantly in terms of statistics when it comes to any attitudes in the research, nor on the basis of years of service. Those who believe that there is a need for social workers in schools also believe that introducing a social worker position would result in more effective cooperation between the school, family and community. The above points to the conclusion that respondents in this category among social workers believe that they can play a significant role when it comes to implementing and improving the quality of work in schools. This means that, based on their responses, introducing the position of social workers in schools would result in a greater degree of support for students and their families. However, it is noted that, as with the responses of psychologists and pedagogues, social workers do not recognize the system's sufficient interest in implementing such measures. In their opinion, our system does not sufficiently recognize the role and importance of social workers in schools. Which is in direct relation to the understanding that the introduction of social workers in schools would provide both a more integrative and stronger connection between school, family and the whole community.

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH RESULTS

Finally, we can summarize the following observations based on the research conducted according to the set hypotheses:

H1. *Pedagogues and psychologists believe that the existence of social workers in schools would contribute to a more effective solution to students' various social problems*. This hypothesis has been confirmed because both pedagogues and psychologists perceive that the introduction of social workers would result in a more efficient cooperation between

school, family and the community, but also in a greater degree of well-being of students and their families.

H2. *The existence of social workers in schools would contribute to a better communication between the school and the centers for social work*. This hypothesis has been confirmed because the results of the research indicate the need to introduce the position of social worker in schools and their importance and role when it comes to improving the quality of work and coordination of educational programs, and establishing a more integrative connection between school, family and the whole community.

H3. *Social workers believe that the social worker job positions are necessary in school institutions*. This hypothesis has been confirmed because the results of the research show that almost all social workers think that this job position is needed by the schools for better psychosocial development of students, better quality of teaching, but also for a greater degree of support for families.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The research results have highlighted several important benefits that, from the perspective of the school and social workers, would condition the improvement of the quality of work in schools, regarding the introduction of the position of social work(er) in these institutions. Primarily, it is all about the attitude that introducing the profession of social workers would provide a higher level of quality and a range of possibilities in solving different social problems of students attending different profiles of schools, from grammar schools to those applied and vocational. Thus, social workers can be seen as important actors in dealing with many conflicts and crises, with a social background, playing an important role in mediating between the school and the social work centers, but also parents/caregiver/family and the students themselves. On the other hand, a social worker is able to advocate for social change that is geared towards social justice and equality. In addition, a greater degree of support, the possibility of more direct, professional and immediate contact, working in a different environment, continuous work on raising the well-being of students (but also their families and communities), on their fullest and most comprehensive psychosocial development, the ability to rely on institutions - are only some of the benefits that the introduction of the social worker job position into schools would bring. The role of the social worker in the school is, therefore, definitely of both systemic and individual importance, because in some ways it represents a bridge and a pillar of trust between different, interconnected links.

Phillippo and Blosser (2013) explain that social workers in schools provide different services to children that contribute to their psychosocial

development, as well as their motivation when it comes to school success. In other words, social workers are able to maximize school and social resources towards better academic achievement. Similarly, our findings indicate that positive results would be reflected in more consistent student support and (more) sustained collaboration with the Center for Social Work, as well as in establishing communication between the school, parents and children. Similarly, research (Bulanda & Jalloh, 2017) systematizes teachers' responses stating that the most common problems at schools that require the involvement of social workers are in fact related to poverty (lack of school supplies, school leaving due to child labor, etc.). On the other hand, our research findings have indicated that *domestic violence and collaboration with the Center for Social Work* are the main problem that requires the involment of social workers. Namely, it is not disputed that the range of problems is wide and complex, and the role of social workers in schools is to promote (above all) equal educational opportunities, social justice and remove various barriers that hinder learning. Similarly, Allen-Meares (2008) states that school social workers provide key services in the areas of prevention, intervention, and positive change for children and their families. In addition, *timely interventions* aimed at supporting children through capacity building of family members are crucial.

The research results show that there is no consistent and systemic collaboration between the schools and the Center for Social Work, and the research (e.g. Gilbert et al., 2009) highlights the vital and necessary collaboration of the aforementioned for the benefit of the students and the entire community. Specifically, the findings indicate that schools and teachers are overburdened with various administrative tasks and do not have the time or expertise to cope with the challenges that students face on a daily basis. On the other hand, social workers can cope with these challenges and coordinate resources appropriately. The paper itself did not address the identification of all factors leading to questionable collaboration between the school and the Center for Social Work, and this paper opens another new topic that could be addressed in the future.

This research project has also helped us to better, more systematically and reliably look at the real state of affairs when it comes to the position and role of social workers in schools. The results we have obtained are a reflection of the attitudes of school psychologists, pedagogues, but also social workers themselves, which makes these results even more valuable. Moreover, this project is an important initial step in shedding light on the importance and potential role of social workers and overcoming institutional constraints which have been noted in their work so far. Although based on the territory of the city of Novi Sad, this research can serve as a starting point for studying this topic in any other territorial or social context, and especially in environments that share a similar posi-

tion, that is, the lack of the profession of social workers in schools. Therein lies the possible limitations of this research, with a clear and adequate room for expanding, concretizing and systematizing a scientifically based examination of this topic.

From the elaboration so far, we can conclude that various normative regulations on the territory of the Republic of Serbia in the field of education recognize the social work profession. However, not as a mandatory and valuable resource of the educational system that has the power to help and support students and their families, but only in terms of opportunities. On the other hand, we can conclude that the quality of a student's education *should not be limited* to where the student lives, his/her family's income or any other external factors. For this reason, school social workers can be a starting point in the paradigm shift that will initiate positive changes in the educational system toward addressing the social, emotional, behavioral, mental and many other problems of students (their families and the entire community).

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ДА ЛИ СУ СОЦИЈАЛНИ РАДНИЦИ КАРИКА
КОЈА НЕДОСТАЈЕ У НОВОСАДСКИМ РЕДОВНИМ
СРЕДЊИМ ШКОЛАМА?

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Резиме

У овом раду аутори желе да скрену пажњу на потребу за социјалним радницима у редовним средњим школама на територији града Новог Сада. Односно, циљеви овог истраживања су: пружање потпуније слике о улогама социјалних радника у школама; анализа перцепције стручних сарадника (психолога, педагога и социјалних радника) о потреби за социјалним радницима у средњим школама и указивање на потребу за социјалним радницима у редовним новосадским средњим школама. Истраживање је обављено школске 2018/2019. године и у њему су учествовале све редовне државне школе (односно њих 12) на територији града Новог Сада. Рад ће покушати да одговори на два истраживачка питања: прво, да ли новосадске средње школе виде потребу за социјалним радницима, и друго, да ли социјални радници препознају потребу за својом професијом у школама.

Добијени резултати истраживања недвосмислено су указали на велику потребу за идентификовањем социјалних радника (у новосадским редовним средњим школама) као важног чиниоца у континуираном и здравом психосоцијалном развоју ученика, посредовању између родитеља, школе, Центра за социјални рад и заједнице, али и као целокупна подршка родитељима, односно породицама и читавој заједници.

КЊИЖЕВНОСТ
LITERATURE

SPACE WHICH THE *OTHER* INHABITS:
THE POLITICS OF IMPERIALISM IN
THE HEART OF DARKNESS AND *A PASSAGE TO INDIA*

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Abstract

Unlike Edward Said, who insisted that, while demystifying the hypocrisy of imperial mastery, Joseph Conrad still remained a faithful employee of the imperial system and a colonial writer basically, the approach taken here goes in a different direction. It is argued that the narrative strategies, applied masterfully in both novels, serve, in fact, to reveal a lethal politics of space which generates otherness in such a way that the superior attitude towards the ideologically constructed other has become a pattern one is expected to take for granted. In both novels, it is this imperial mechanism that commands the central space of both action and meaning. The characters are defined in terms of their position towards the oppressive politics which, after having internalized it successfully, they either defend and promote, or, like Conrad's controversial narrator, start to question, showing themselves and others, as well as the reader, that it is neither inevitable nor desirable. Some of them, like Adela Quested and doctor Aziz in *A Passage to India*, are faced with a most harrowing ordeal of (self-)examination, which results in a spatial displacement for both characters, but appears to be the first necessary step towards acknowledging a full subjectivity to the Other. Here, the process of othering has gone both ways – the imperial othering is coupled with the othering of the white British woman – the idea being to show the inner workings of the mechanism in which the borderline between the victimized and the victimizer is not at all so clearly defined or transparent. The underlying idea of the necessity of self-recognition and the consistent focus on the inner space where otherness is either denied or acknowledgded is what contributes to the relevance of the two tales, going beyond the time and the historical context in which both of them originated.

Key words: E.M. Forster, Joseph Conrad, narrative ambiguities, politics of space, imperial othering, gender dynamics.

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ПРОСТОР КОЈИ НАСЕЉАВА *ДРУГИ*:
ПОЛИТИКА ИМПЕРИЈАЛИЗМА У РОМАНИМА
СРЦЕ ТАМЕ И *ЈЕДНО ПУТОВАЊЕ У ИНДИЈУ*

Апстракт

У раду се разматрају механизми другости као делотворна средства просторног измештања и поробљавања које намеће политика империјализма у романима *Срце таме* Џозефа Конрада и *Путовање у Индију* Е. М. Форстера. Рад заступа тезу да су аутори ова два романа одлично разумели суптилну стратегију ових механизама, што се показује и на примеру крајње ефектно спроведене наративне концепције. Кроз специфичан уметнички чин деконструкцијског огољавања ових механизама и њихове родне динамике, указује се на погубност одузимања субјективности које подједнако погађа жртву, али и оног ко настоји да другачију субјективност прикаже као инфериорну *Другост*.

Кључне речи: Е.М. Форстер, Џозеф Конрад, наративне стратегије, политика
                   простора, империјална другост, родна динамика.

INTRODUCTION

In 2014, a review (on the 100 best novels) in the British *Guardian* claimed that E.M. Forster's most successful work was eerily prescient on the subject of empire in spite of a subsequent disclaimer from the author himself.[1] What Conrad and Forster share in this regard is that both novels have been recognised as masterpieces of modernist literature, and yet both have received an exceptional amount of negative reviews at the same time. One of the most infamous accusations in contemporary criticism has been directed to none other than Conrad himself and his *Heart of Darkness*, which has been called "bloody racist" in its dehumanizing portrayal of both Africa and African people.[2] This particular defamation and Achebe's essay itself have become exemplary in some critical circles and a token of "a type that is becoming increasingly popular in poststructuralist criticism" (Curtler, 1997: 30). In much the same way, Forster's name has become "a token for error or lamentable naiveté, whether he is presented as an illustration of the fallacies of liberal humanism, or as a last remnant of British imperialism, or as a practitioner of traditional narrative methods

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[1] In 1957, E.M. Forster was looking back in old age and he actually wrote that the late-empire world of *A Passage to India* no longer exists, either politically or socially. The basic claim of the review, however, is that approaching 100 years after its composition the novel seems to be as "dated" now as ever.

[2] The accusation came from the reputed Nigerian critic, Chinua Achebe, a novelist himself. "The Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*" was published in *Massachussetts Review* (1977) and has been reprinted many times since and widely anthologized.

who lacks self-consciousness about the ambiguities of language" (Armstrong, 1992: 365).

One of the central ideas discussed here is the opposite claim: due to the self-conscious dimension of language and the subtle play in narrative authority and points of view, the politics of othering, which both novels succeed in demystifying, is ultimately revealed as a lethal strategy of language claiming the authority it does not possess. When the language adopts a deceiving posture of transparency, the mechanism of othering is free to do its harmful work and the truths appear deceptively to be just within reach. If analysed closely, the narrative strategies of both novels are seen as aiming at exactly the opposite, making it only fair to say that negative critical reception has failed to appreciate the important conflicts and ambiguities contained both in the compositional and linguistic structure. Both works have been already discussed in much detail, *Heart of Darkness* having been analysed perhaps more than any other work of literature, and over the years it has become possible to understand that what makes them such intriguing and fascinating literature is the result of their unique propensity for ambiguity, so much so that trying to get hold of the novel's meaning has become equal to "trying to catch smoke with your hands. The very act of describing it makes it harder to grasp," which in turn makes the challenge "all the more enticing" (Jordison, 2015).

From the historical background, just as *Heart of Darkness* is based on a real journey the author took up the Congo river in 1890 and during the horrific rule of King Leopold II of Belgium, we learn that in 1919, when Forster had already written some seventy pages of his novel, there was a gruesome incident at a Sikh festival in the northwestern part of India – the Amritsar Massacre – when, at the order of Colonel Dyer to the British Indian army, more than a thousand nonviolent protesters lost their lives in a ten-minute ceaseless fire. Forster had been clear about his anti-imperial stance even before this heinous massacre, but now he was faced with a problem of chronological issue, and his solution was to write the novel *out of time*. His decision was to make no reference to dates but to offer a novel that still hopes for connection. Just as the India of the novel is depicted, the call for connection, however, is "not a promise, only an appeal" (Symondson, 2016).

THE SPACE WHICH THE OTHER INHABITS
IN A PASSAGE TO INDIA

This sense of truth, which was guiding Forster throughout the turmoil of political and historical chaos that he stood a witness to, led him to the conclusion that when faced with a political storm, or violence and cruelty on a massive scale, the last sanctuary of our sense of humanity that we must never betray should always be the capacity for tolerance,

sympathy and love. Although very much aware that sometimes love and loyalty to an individual can run counter to the claims of the State, what Forster was actually saying – while proclaiming his creed of the personal relations – was that in practice we cannot really hope to defend democracy unless we recognize the importance of what could be termed as the *aristocracy of spirit*. It is a specific form of aristocracy – that of the sensitive, the considerate and the plucky – as he did not hesitate to proclaim, emphasizing that these aristocrats do not belong to a particular nation or class. On the contrary, he believed, they are to be found in all nations and classes, regardless of time or particular circumstances, and there is always a sort of instantaneous understanding and companionship when they meet. What they represent is the true human tradition, "the one permanent victory of our queer race over cruelty and chaos," because they are capable of transcending the boundaries of class or race, or any such artificially constructed ghettoes of the mind, which are also always spaces of political subordination and oppression. It is this focus on the importance and travails of the personal relationship that puts a special mark on his fictional account of the British rule in India, and it is the intent of this paper to show that far from losing the critical acuity of its anti-imperial perspective because of it, the novel has actually gained much in its enduring political impact and authenticity.

The friendship between the Indian doctor and the former school-master in Chandrapore is portrayed as truly sincere at the beginning and yet the two friends seem to be hopelessly at odds with each other when they meet again in a different space of the Indian state, and after all the tribulations of the past have ended. The reader is made to see that the problem these two people are faced with is ultimately related to the fact that they have never really been on equal terms, one still being the representative of the imperial power in spite of all the affection and loyalty he demonstrated publicly for his friend. His sympathy and compassion – which are certainly to the credit of Fielding – somehow miss the mark here, not going as far as doctor Aziz apparently expects. The notion of India being independent, free from the British rule, which the Indian doctor is not just passionate about but adamant in his conviction that it is the only just outcome, as well as the cause they should both share enthusiastically, is met with mockery on the part of Fielding, who can't help but see the British Empire as protective rather than oppressive. What the reader is made to see is that the arrogance of the imperial outlook has been so thoroughly ingrained that even the most compassionate and friendly of the British can only laugh at the apparent absurdity of any such notion or proclamation of a free India. Blinded by this ideological lie that even Fielding considers to be a self-evident truth, his affection for Aziz comes out just as impotent as the rage Aziz feels himself at not being able to communicate his own truth about India – the righteous claim

that imperial subjection must and will be thrown off if not during or by his generation, then certainly in the future. The very same applies to the truth about their friendship, which for Aziz is just blatantly impossible as long as it stands on unequal terms. Accordingly, the accusation that Forster's own understanding and criticism of the imperial project did not go far or deep enough is perhaps most convincingly refuted in the way he showed why it was impossible for these two people to remain friends, in spite of the strong affection they had for each other.

> "Why can't we be friends now?" said the other, holding him affectionately. "It's what I want. It's what you want." But the horses didn't want it — they swerved apart: the earth didn't want it, sending up rocks through which riders must pass single file; the temple, the tank, the jail, the palace, the birds, the carrion, the Guest House, that came into view as they emerged from the gap and saw Mau beneath: they didn't want it, they said in their hundred voices "No, not yet," and the sky said "No, not there." (Forster, 1987: 289)

Eventually, Aziz and Fielding must go their separate ways, the impossibility of their friendship remaining part of something that is much stronger than their personal affection for each other. The narrative strategy used by Forster makes this painfully clear, in that the tragedy of this companionship which is not to be – not yet and not there – is not seen as the result of any personal deficiencies on their part but the powers that are far beyond their influence or control. As Hunt Hawkins has aptly put it, people cannot establish a friendship of equals when the Raj is based on an inequality of power and all relationships are ultimately subordinated to the political reality (Hawkins, 1983: 56). The image of the two horses going in opposite directions, because it is not yet time for them to stay together, and because there are forces preventing this union which transcend the realm of personal friendship and affection, has the effect of a most powerful indictment of the imperialist enterprise that Forster was able to communicate to his contemporaries and his readers of the future. Surely, the novel would have ended on a much more optimistic note if Fielding had actually managed to step out of the imperialist matrix, but the power of this piercing image is what remains to haunt the reader and is, apparently, the only possible and appropriate closure that Forster was able to come up with. So, it is not ultimately about certain people being intolerant and nasty, or certain British people being intolerant, as the manner in which some critics have chosen to interpret the novel, but rather about showing that intolerance is the result of the unequal power relationship between the English and the Indians – intolerance being at the root of the imperialistic premise itself. The final relationship between England and India, as has been noticed by critics already, is that of the ruler to his subordinate, and the narrative strategy throughout the novel works ultimately to this effect. The corruption of individual relationships

is inevitable because they necessarily must happen within the system which is based on the corrupt premise. Consequently, the novel is not only a lament on the failure of friendship, but is basically about a much more insidious corruption which makes friendship impossible.

GENDER DYNAMICS AS A FORM OF OTHERING: TWO ENDINGS OF THE SAME STORY

There is a certain discrepancy between the novel and the film version in that the ending of the otherwise magnificent film by David Lean (1984) has to a certain extent downplayed this important focus on politics. Significantly, unlike the novel, the film version closes in the spirit of contrition and reconciliation: Aziz having realized his mistake in thinking that Fielding had married the woman who brought the charge of attempted rape against him is presented writing a letter to Adela Quested, back in England, apologizing for his inability at the time to understand the magnitude of her sacrifice, as well as the courage it took her to withdraw the charges and become an exile or outcast herself. It may seem contradictory to claim that David Lean's option for this conciliatory gesture – in a radically different closure – has a political relevance of its own and is far from any involuntary or deliberate misreading or betrayal of the novel. In fact, his decision to round off the story with the image of Adela taking one quick look at the rain outside and then closing the curtains in a brusque gesture of resignation is not just a powerful poetics of its own, but the two have somehow become complementary endings to the same story, which Lean presumably believed to be the kind of ending Forster himself would not have objected to. The film director's focus on Adela in the ending scene is justified not only because she has been the catalyst for the events throughout the story – leading to the charge of rape, the subsequent humiliation of the Indian doctor, and the spectacle of superiority and hypocrisy of the British administrators revealed in its most obtuse and brutal form. The crucial significance of this different ending is in the fact that Adela herself is rendered a victim of the very same ideological matrix, the pattern which turns Aziz into the other – the one who is guilty because he is not *one of us*, just because he is different. The imperialist strategy of *othering* has acquired an important gender aspect reflected in the way Adela is treated in court when, in a moment of epiphany, she declares Aziz innocent while, at the same time, her overwhelming feeling is that of her breakdown being essentially related to her inner conflict about marrying her fiancée, the stuffy and passionless city magistrate, Heaslop. It is also significant that her mental collapse in court is initially triggered by the ridicule she receives after the prosecutor could not resist the urge to touch upon his favourite topic – *oriental pathology* – proclaiming what in his words is the general truth that the dark races are physically attracted

by the fair, but not really *vice versa*.[3] In this mockery of a trial presided, apparently, by the Indian judge who is desperately trying to assume some pretense of authority, the enunciation of a blatantly racist stereotype – proclaimed to be an indisputable fact of science – is met by an unexpected remark which seems to be coming from nowhere, from the ceiling, as the text says, or from nobody in particular – *Even when the lady is so uglier than the gentleman?* (Forster, 1987: 202).

Significantly, this humiliating comment is no other than a reflection of what Aziz felt with relation to the charge, the kind of feeling that Fielding is justified in naming *sexual snobbery* since the doctor was not offended so much by the charge itself as he was enraged by the accusation coming from a woman who, according to the standards he holds, had no personal beauty. And here comes one of the crucial parts in the novel, with the words that Fielding does not say aloud, but which – unspoken – proclaim the most devastating truth. The words are meant for Aziz and his misguided notion about the true cause of his humiliation, and even if they are not said in connection to the imperial mission, Fielding has touched upon the very heart of the matter:

> Sensuality, as long as it is straightforward, did not repel him, but this derived sensuality – the sort that classes a mistress among motor-cars if she is beautiful, and among eye-flies if she isn't – was alien to his own emotions, and he felt a barrier between himself and Aziz whenever it arose. It was, in a new form, the old, old trouble that eats the heart out of every civilization: snobbery, the desire for possessions, creditable appendages; and it is to escape this rather than the lusts of the flesh that saints retreat into the Himalayas. (Forster, 1987: 220)

Just because she doesn't meet the standards of macho requirements, Adela seems to Aziz to be equally repellent as he is made repellent himself because he does not meet some other standards and is, therefore, worthy only of contempt in the eyes of the white oppressor. The humiliation he feels is, unfortunately, not so much about the charge of rape as it is about the seemingly unworthy object of rape. The imperialist othering

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[3] This is just one among many instances in the novel of imperial gestures of appropriation, showing how closely related knowledge is to power. In his analysis of Forster and the politics of interpretation, Armstrong mentions the importance of the fact that in his first encounter with the British Aziz is dismissed with the very same disparaging gesture of objectification, denying his status of a fellow human being. The behaviour of the two ladies who take his carriage while ignoring his very existence – *being full of their own affairs* – is paradigmatic of the way the British in the novel establish the hegemony of their own privileged position. "Whether in the form of regarding others as beneath notice or of categorizing them according to present ideas, knowing is an act of taking power over others if it is not a reciprocal recognition which respects each person's right to self-definition" (Armstrong, 1992: 368).

which has turned him into a victim – the object lacking integrity and deserving no respect – has been at work there already, and it is precisely why David Lean cannot be charged with losing focus on politics and imperialism, having changed the ending to be not just about Fielding and Aziz, but even more essentially – about Aziz and Adela. In her study of the ways the imperial projects of the West actually functioned, Anne McClintock (1995) shows precisely that imperialism is not something that happened elsewhere – a disagreeable fact of history external to our sense of identity – but had its own gender dynamics with the underlying idea of the subdued feminine as the central element although it has been traditionally ignored in the overall picture of imperial plunder and racial dispossession.

THE STRATEGIES OF OTHERING IN CONRAD'S HEART OF DARKNESS

The reader's expectations that he will be offered a story which makes clear distinctions between good and evil, civilization and savagery, and ultimately the self and the other are frustrated from the very beginning here. There are unmistakable signals blurring all the expected boundaries and they appear already in the prologue, setting the scene (Marlow and his friends waiting for a turn of the tide on a boat on the Thames) and describing the place where narration is going to happen. And not surprisingly, the place chosen by the author is London, the greatest city in the world, and the very heart of civilization as it used to be seen by the first readers of Conrad.[4] The story unfolds while the sun is setting and when in the midst of light and tranquility there appear the first glimpses of darkness introducing a sense of an ominous but undefined threat.

> A haze rested on the low shores that ran out to sea in vanishing flatness. The air was dark above Gravesend, and farther back still seemed condensed into a mournful gloom, brooding motionless over the biggest, and the greatest, town on earth (Conrad, 2007: 3).

Darkness, it seems, is more than just the setting of the sun because all of a sudden, just as the story is about to start, the mournful gloom hints to a darkness that relates to the human spirit, suggesting that it is not coming from some particular place beyond what is here and now, and neither is it something that will stay safely out of reach. It is not long before the reader understands that the tale which is already on its way is not going to be the usual seafaring adventure; there is a warning in the way the atmosphere has changed dramatically, a sinister gloom apparently approaching out of nowhere, so it could be here that it starts, or here that we should

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[4]Actually, the very same terms were used by the mayor of London after the gruesome attacks that happened on the Westminster bridge in recent history.

start looking for it, and see it for what it really is about. To the innocent reader, this unexpected twist of perception, the gloom that is seen to approach, mournful and brooding, in the midst of light – clear and unstained at first, and in the very heart of civilization – may just be vaguely disturbing; he could still choose to ignore it. But choosing to ignore would actually repeat the response of Marlow's listeners – all people of trade and business, sitting aboard and waiting for the weather conditions to change favorably so they can resume their work undisturbed.

As far as gender dynamics is concerned, some critics seem to have reproduced the same gesture of averting their gaze from this mournful gloom, focusing instead, as Elaine Showalter has done, on the way Marlow deliberately misleads Kurtz's Intended into believing that his last word was her name and that his overall mission in Africa has been that of a dedicated civil servant on his noble duty to his country. Showalter's reading of Conrad's tale (Showalter, 1997: 1495-99) has the intention of deconstructing or laying bare Marlow's deceptive objectivity, which in her reading is only a mask of hidden contempt for the woman who, unlike man, cannot handle the brutality of realistic presentation. She should, therefore, be spared the truth and for the sake of her weakness should be offered a comforting lie. The girl stays convinced that her fiancée was a paragon of virtue and high ideals, and Marlow's words seem to encourage this interpretation even more: "It's queer how out of touch with truth women are," says the narrator to his male audience sitting on a boat, "they live in a world of their own, and there had never been anything like it, and never can be" (Conrad, 2007: 14). Showalter, however, does not stop to question if Marlow, an intradiegetic narrator[5] who is both outside and inside the events being narrated, should be identified with the author himself; his perspective is justly defined as prejudiced and misogynist, but there is nothing in the text to suggest that the reader is encouraged to identify with him or take this limited perspective as that of the author himself[6]. Actually, by focusing on Marlow's sexist remarks about women and his equally patronizing treatment of Kurtz's Intended, we are bound to miss the most subversive aspect of the tale. By showing Marlow to be an advocate of the patriarchal values of masculine domination, and then

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[5] The term was proposed by the French literary theorist Gerard Genette in *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method* (1980), and has become an important conceptual distinction in contemporary narratology.

[6] Cedric Watts mentions other critics in this regard insisting at the same time on the importance of what Edward Said wrote about the function of a truly critical analysis: "It is the critic's job to provide resistances to theory, to open it up to historical reality, toward society, toward human needs and interests" (Watts, 2012: x). These words gain additional significance in light of Said's own attempt to read a certain politics into Conrad, folding the novel into a dogma of culture and imperialism.

proclaiming him the mouthpiece for the author, the critic has in a way repeated the gesture of not seeing – the one we see in the way Marlow's listeners remain curiously untouched, mentally paralyzed, and quite unable to respond to the horror he has been telling them about.

The narrative strategy applied is one of the subtlest features of the text and it has to do with the dramatization of Marlow's uncertainties, of his tentativeness, his groping for affirmations that his own narrative subsequently questions. Through Marlow, this luminal and protean novella stresses the importance of negotiating alternative viewpoints, which, hopefully, will end up generating more profound ways of understanding. This is why Watts goes on to claim that a commentator who declares Conrad racist or sexist could be just imposing on the writer the readily available stereotypes but that, "at its best, the tale questions the process of imposing stereotypes" (Watts, 2008: 31). It is even more so because a pathology of domination has been most visible in some of the crucial passages of *Heart of Darkness* – when the reader is almost shocked into realizing, or intuiting at the very least, that behind the greed and the plunder, behind all the suffering that comes out of this rapacious desire for more ivory, there is something even more sinister and disturbing about the whole project. In light of Conrad's suggestive writing, this geographical, but at the same time metaphysical heart of darkness could be approached on two different levels – one which allows the reader to react following the pattern of those who are given the role of a fictive addressee – they listen, but do not hear – and the second which is more demanding – urging the reader to make a step beyond, where darkness does not remain safely out of the picture.

Marlow's gradual and difficult progress towards the Inner Station – the place where Kurtz is to be found and returned to Europe, because he has betrayed the mission he was entrusted with and regressed to the savagery of those he had come to enlighten – is just one possible approach to how we can interpret the metaphor of darkness. His betrayal is deplorable, but we may still opt to see it as the failure of one particular individual, somebody who once used to be a decent man, the way Ronny Heaslop is said to have been in *A Passage to India*. In truth, the text insists that Kurtz was even more than that – he was quite exceptional in this regard, the torchbearer and the best representative of what Europe had to offer. And still we may decide to blame this failure on the consuming savagery of *the other*, and the moral deficiency of this particular individual who did not know how to handle the dark forces of this other element. Sadly, he proved unequal to the lofty ideals he had been entrusted with, the spark of the sacred fire he was supposed to bring to the realm of darkness having burnt out all too quickly and this enlightening mission just failed miserably. And yet, the problem with this approach is that it is shown to repeat the gesture demonstrated by the narrative pattern itself because that

is precisely how Marlow's audience would have reacted if they had even bothered to hear the tale. We learn from the frame narrator that most of them have actually fallen asleep before the tale ended, but what is certain is that these people go back to their business pretty much unimpressed by the tale of horror that Marlow has been narrating.

But what if this *other* has actually been part of the self all along and this (metaphysical) heart of darkness is present already in the very endeavours to identify the self with reason and light only[7]. Marlow himself cannot communicate this message in words which are strong enough to shock his audience out of their self-complacency, but his failure is precisely why we can still claim, together with Watts, that the text has retained its brilliant capacity to outsmart the critic. It is because his own complacency seems to mirror that of the business people who choose to stay unruffled by the story, which they regard as irrelevant for both the world they inhabit and their own sense of identity. This unstated irony is inherent to the text and Marlow seems to be aware of it all, both the terrifying unreality of the story he has been telling and his inability to articulate any clear or straightforward meaning, which makes him stop at one point to cry in despair at his own impotence:

> Do you see the story? Do you see anything? It seems to me I am trying to tell you a dream – making a vain attempt, because no relation of a dream can convey the dream-sensation, that commingling of absurdity, surprise, and bewilderment in a tremor of struggling revolt, that notion of being captured by the incredible which is of the very essence of dreams… (Conrad, 2007: 32-33)

Part of his confusion and rage stems from his own uncertainty, his insights clashing with the way he was taught to look and perceive, so that some of what he says comes to contradict what he has just said before; his own uncertainty matches the urge to recount this compelling experience in a way that reminds one of Coleridge and his *Ancient Mariner*, narrating endlessly while desperately seeking redemption which he knows will not come. So, with the setting of the sun, the greatest town on earth has unex-

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[7] McClintock's views are actually quite in line with the approach exemplified by Said and Showalter (she quotes and follows Homi Bhabha here), but the central thesis of her book is still relevant in its effective demystifying of the hidden mechanisms underlying the imperial projects. So, even if she claims that Conrad's mimic man – meaning the African who works the ship's boiler – is less disruptive of colonial authority than he might at first appear, and that "his parodic imperfection is consistent with the colonial narrative of African degeneration" (McClintock, 1995: 66), her theory about the othering – as being inherent to the imperial conquest and complicit with the gender dynamics which is always simultaneously at work as well – is much broader in scope and can be put to good use in this context regardless of the interpretative stand going in the opposite direction when it comes to reading *Heart of Darkness*.

pectedly been referred to as that *monstrous town*, its place marked ominously in the sky and the brooding gloom corresponding strikingly with the way, we learn, Marlow is different from ordinary seamen who like telling their stories of adventure. Theirs are stories that possess direct simplicity, whereas to him, we read, the meaning is not inside like a kernel, but somehow enveloping the tale "which brought it out only as a glow brings out a haze" (Conrad, 2007: 6). In this narration within narration, Marlow's and the frame narrator's, boundaries seem to blur imperceptibly with the hypnotizing impression that one has been listening to a menacing dream, in which a frustratingly elusive darkness is suddenly being transferred to the space where we do not wish to find it, but which seems to have been there from the very beginning, and has now begun to envelop the tale altogether.

Another significant aspect of Conrad's exquisite narration is making a parallel and then undoing some of it to make a point which is presented as important, which is itself being undone dramatically in what follows. Marlow's comparisons, however, seem to have a kind of lulling effect on the audience, and Marlow has a feeling that he has to proceed cautiously because too much truth at once would frighten his listeners into choosing some other entertainment instead. The narration works to the effect of actually contradicting its basic premise of the redeeming idea of efficiency, and it goes to pieces pretty soon when Marlow starts to recount the building of the railway and the detonation of the cliff which was not in the way, the objectless blasting appearing to be all the work that is going on. The redeeming idea crumbles away at this appalling spectacle of "efficiency", which in truth is just the utter misery of the natives. The reader, however, has already been prepared for this ironic twist of perception in a striking image of the French ship shelling into space with no obvious reason. The image is so devoid of sense and filled with such insane absurdity that Marlow describes it as the point when he felt he no longer belonged to the world of straightforward facts – it was his first glimpse of the hypocrisy and waste camouflaged as the bringing of progress, and the first step of initiation into the oppressive domain of civilized selfhood that he can no longer identify with or attach any meaning to it.

The space which the other inhabits is a silent wilderness– and the invasion is "fantastic" not only because it brings such devastating misery all around, but also because it is seen to be ultimately senseless and futile. Back to the Company's headquarters in Belgium (*the sepulchral city*), Marlow has to face Kurtz's fiancée, who is in deep mourning (although more than a year has already passed since his death), overcome with grief and full of elevated sentiments about the man she believes she knew best. All that remains for him is to repeat the gesture of Eliot's Prufrock and not dare disturb the Universe. The truth is shown to be too horrible to be revealed to those who are either too immersed in their own lives to care,

or because their mistaken convictions are so strongly ingrained in their own sense of identity that such confrontation could prove ruinous. And this truth is not just about Kurtz and his tremendous failure (to live up to the lofty ideals of his self-image), but the fact that he was deemed the best that the civilized world had produced – and the best has proved to be hollow to the core.[8]

THE MOST HORRIBLE REVERSAL:
THE OTHER AS THE HOLLOW CORE WITHIN

Through this effective strategy of reversal, the reader is left to deal with the paradox that Marlow's listeners have remained so shockingly unresponsive[9] to the tale of such strength and impact. The horror of it all is that by failing to meet the other on equal terms, the abysmal hollowness that Kurtz is plunged into is not just the consequence of his own personal deficiency – because all Europe has contributed to his making. And Marlow doesn't hesitate to declare that. It is this same Europe still boastful of all its progress, democracy, and achievements in spite of all the atrocities done to the other on behalf of its ideals and the noble dedication to human rights and freedom. The unambiguous message of the last words in the commissioned report which Kurtz never sent – *Exterminate all the brutes* – is what eventually stays naked when the tiny veneer of civilized morality has come off. These are the terrifying remains of what once seemed to be the redeeming idea, as well as the last articulate sentence this man is sending back to Europe. It is a horribly ironic reversal of the proclaimed objective to spread the light of nobility and civilize those who are still in the dark. The addition to this ironic reversal (of what was meant to be the sacred fire of the civilizing project) is that the lingering image is that of Marlow sitting in the dark, no longer able to see the audience he is addressing. His story is finished, but his audience is oddly unaffected by the horror of what has been narrated. So, it is just himself and the reader who remain to be haunted by the image of Kurtz, who in his final moments

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[8] T. S. Eliot actually referred to Conrad explicitly by inserting the words "Mistah Kurtz—he dead" at the beginning of his poem *The Hollow Men*, quoting the "manager's boy" when he announced the death of Kurtz to the crew.

[9] Staying unresponsive is, however, also possible in criticism and it is precisely how Richard Rorty described the attitude of the critics who wrote on Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* in an anthology demonstrating various methods and approaches to literature. What he says was evident in these texts is that none of the readers had been enraptured or destabilised by *Heart of Darkness*: "I got no sense that the book had made a big difference to them, that they cared much about Kurtz, or Marlow, or the woman with 'helmeted head and tawny cheeks' whom Marlow sees on the bank of the river. These people, and that book, had no more changed these readers' purposes than the specimen under the microscope changes the purpose of the histologist" (Rorty, 1992: 107).

looked into the abyss of his own ideals, pronouncing his final judgment about it. It is a judgment of the man devastated by the hollowness of his own heart, being also the heart of the best part of the world which he had been chosen to promote, glorify, and represent.

One final twist of the narrative strategy is that Marlow eventually refrains from revealing this horrible truth to Kurtz's Intended even though the text, through his narrator's closing act of withdrawal, does exactly the opposite. This chivalrous gesture becomes one last irony because the act of dethroning her hero, and everything that she used to hold sacred, may have proved disastrous for the one whose idealized image of her beloved, and the noble sacrifice he was committed to, had fossilized into her only spiritual shelter. So finally, it seems that apart from Marlow, who has eventually thrown off the burden of carrying this truth alone, the reader is the only one who is left to face and deal with this shocking reversal, and hopefully find redemption in the courage to act upon it.

A similarly unsettling subversion of the mechanism which keeps producing comfortable but (self)-destructive certainties is at work in Forster and his novel, too. The incident which is at the heart of the novel's plot has remained a mystery to date and Forster, who was living until 1970, was plagued by readers for decades with the question of what really happened during the ill-fated visit to the Marabar Caves. His response was always frustratingly adamant, definitive and immovable: "I don't know". It is only fitting that we should appreciate Forster's eagerness to remain silent and let the reader find his own way of coping with the pervasive reverberation of the ou-boum sound (and its extraordinary nullifying effect) of the caves, which remains to haunt the reader and may just succeed in "trivialising the systems and structures that we use to provide order and reassurance" (Symondson, 2016). In a letter to his friend and fellow author, William Plomer, Forster connected the plot's mystery with that of India itself, Miss Quested's experience in the cave remaining an unexplainable muddle just as India is to the white man. With the author's final refusal to provide conclusive answers, lift the veil off his narrative, and spell "the truth", it becomes more than ever up to the reader to engage his imagination and stay tuned to the subtle echoes of both narratives which, in showing so much else, do not fail to show that truth is always at least one step ahead, and has never been meant to be something one could ever hope to take hold of and possess.

Apart from Mrs Moore, who is shown to have always been in tune with this knowledge of the final mystery of human existence and the human need and obligation to supply what the universe itself is lacking, Adela is the one who is given a chance to bring redemption by rising above the trite, the conventional, and the greedy. She is forced to come face to face with a brutal legacy of her culture's misconceptions and deal with her own hollow heart – in its regrettable inability to relate to the other. And in

spite of all the havoc that she has brought along in her misguided attempt to understand India (but not really the people who inhabit it), she eventually proves equal to the task of learning that if the heart stays unresponsive in the equally unresponsive universe, then nothing good can ever come out if. If there is to be a journey towards accepting and embracing the other, and both novels are wonderfully eloquent on its importance, part of it is always bound to be about disillusionment and disquiet. And yet, embracing the idea of a common bond or kinship is the only way which may bring us a step closer to relating with the *Other* in ways which are not destructive. By demonstrating all the tragic consequences of the failure to establish these meaningful connections, both tales succeed in suggesting that this redeeming possibility has always been about learning the most crucial lesson in empathy, humility and imaginative involvement.

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ПРОСТОР КОЈИ НАСЕЉАВА *ДРУГИ*:
ПОЛИТИКА ИМПЕРИЈАЛИЗМА У РОМАНИМА
СРЦЕ ТАМЕ И *ЈЕДНО ПУТОВАЊЕ У ИНДИЈУ*

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Резиме

За разлику од Едварда Саида, који тврди да је Џозеф Конрад, и поред тога што је настојао да демистификује лицемерје империјалне владавине, остао до краја одани упосленик империјалног система, и у својој бити колонијални писац, приступ који овде следимо полази другачијим смером. Рад заговара тезу по којој наративне стратегије – успешно спроведене кроз оба романа – функционишу тако што разоткривају начин на који делује погубна политика измештања која генерише другост. Ову политику препознајемо кроз механизам у коме се супериорност према идеолошки конструисаном *Другом* вешто успоставља као универзални образац који се не доводи у питање. У оба романа, управо је империјални механизам тај кроз који се каналишу радња и значења, а ликови су профилисани кроз своју позицију у односу на политику репресије коју, након успешно спроведене интернализације, и сами заступају и бране, или је доводе у питање – показујући себи и другима, као и самом читаоцу, да она није ни неопходна, нити пожељна. Неки од њих, као Адела Квестид и доктор Азиз из романа *Једно путовање у Индију*, одабрани су као ликови који ће морати да прођу искушење веома потресног суочавања са собом и другима. Оно за последицу има просторно измештање оба учесника, али је то уједно, као што се у роману сугерише, и први неопходни корак ка признавању пуне субјективности другог. Овде се процес конституисања другости одвија у оба правца – начин на који империја конструише *Другог* преклапа се са начином на који бела Енглескиња у роману такође постаје *Други*. Крајњи циљ је у томе да се покаже како овај механизам не дозвољава увек чисту и неупитну транспарентност, или до краја јасно и недвосмислено разграничење између онога ко спроводи репресију и саме жртве.

BREAKING THE SILENCE OF CAGED BIRDS: MAYA ANGELOU'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY, BLACK FEMINISM AND THE #METOO MOVEMENT

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Abstract

The paper offers an analysis of Maya Angelou's autobiography *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings,* published in 1969 as an expression of some of the major ideas of the black feminist movement and a precursor of the contemporary #MeToo movement. The argument is that Angelou's autobiography verbalizes several major concerns of black feminism and the #MeToo movement, thus drawing attention to group experiences through a personal account. Furthermore, Angelou's narrative is also considered a part of a broader tradition of African American women's autobiographies, with a special emphasis on Angelou's reappropriation of the genre. It is argued that she uses her autobiography to speak for all the oppressed through a personal account, similar to contemporary #MeToo activists and public testimonies of sexual abuse. The theoretical background is provided by the works of well-known black feminism theoreticians, activists and critics such as Angela Davis, bell hooks, Patricia Hill Collins, Joanne Braxton, Tarana Burke, etc. An attempt is made to trace the tradition of "silence-breaking" across several decades: starting from one of the central ideas of the 1968 protests, Angelou's autobiography as a forerunner of the black feminist movement and the contemporary #MeToo initiative. Maya Angelou's narrative is considered both as a medium of speaking out about and against abuse, racism, segregation, gender oppression, as well as a literary masterpiece with a peculiar and powerful style – even termed "literary autobiography" by some critics, in line with both the black feminist tradition and contemporary feminist initiatives and efforts directed towards (self)empowerment.

Key words: Maya Angelou, black feminism, African American studies, American literature, #MeToo.

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КАДА ПТИЦЕ У КАВЕЗУ ПУСТЕ СВОЈ ГЛАС: АУТОБИОГРАФИЈА МАЈЕ АНЂЕЛОУ, ЦРНИ ФЕМИНИЗАМ И ПОКРЕТ #МЕТОО

Апстракт

Рад представља читање аутобиографије Маје Анђелоу „Знам зашто птица у кавезу пева" објављене 1969. године као израза неких од најважнијих идеја црног феминизма и претходницу савременог покрета #МеТоо. Главна теза је да наведена аутобиографија исказује неке од главних идеја црног феминизма и покрета #МеТоо јер кроз лично искуство описује и скреће пажњу на искуства читаве групе жена. Такође, аутобиографија Маје Анђелоу се посматра и као део шире традиције аутобиографија афроамеричких ауторки а посебна пажња придаје се њеној употреби овог књижевног жанра. Наиме, Анђелоу кроз своју аутобиографију приказује не само сопствено искуство, већ и говори у име свих који су прошли кроз сличне трауме, баш као и активисткиње покрета #МеТоо кроз своје исповести о претрпљеном насиљу. Теоријски оквир заснива се на увидима чувених теоретичарки црног феминизма, активисткиња и књижевних критичарки, попут Анђеле Дејвис, бел хукс, Патрише Хил Колинс, Џоан Брекстон, Таране Берк, и сл. Покушавамо да традицију „проговарања о трауми" испратимо у периоду од неколико деценија, од протеста 1968, преко аутобиографије Маје Анђелоу која је претходила црном феминистичком покрету у САД, све до савременог покрета #МеТоо. Аутобиографија Маје Анђелоу разматра се и као медијум којим се разоткрива и критикује сексуално насиље, расизам, сегрегација, родне предрасуде, али и као књижевно ремек-дело писано особеним и импресивним стилом (неки критичари називају ово дело и „књижевном аутобиографијом") у складу са традицијом црног феминизма и савременим феминистичким иницијативама усмереним ка самоостварењу.

Кључне речи: Маја Анђелоу, црни феминизам, Афроамеричке студије, Америчка књижевност, #МеТоо.

INTRODUCTION

The work of Maya Angelou[1], an African American writer best known for her autobiographies, poems and political activism is characterized by a strong personal note, but also by her remarkable public influence. On the one hand, her writing is firmly rooted in the female African American literary tradition and the activism of the 1960s and 1970s; on the other hand, it strongly resonates with the present moment and contemporary issues and movements. This is why this article considers her first autobiography published in 1969 as a link between the female tradition in African American literature, the era of protests which started in 1968, some of the basic tenets of black feminism and the contemporary

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[1] Born Marguerite Johnson, 1928-2014. She was the first African American female poet invited to recite her poetry at the Presidential inauguration of Bill Clinton in 1993, the second ever poet after Robert Frost in 1963 to be awarded such an honor.

#MeToo movement. As one of the most important demands of the 1968 protests was for the voices of the oppressed to be heard, a highly popular book on breaking the silence about a personal trauma seems like a forerunner of more contemporary forms of expression on social media and elsewhere, directed towards exposing violence and celebrating survivors. Angelou's autobiography *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (hereafter cited as *CB*) is appreciated and read as a peculiar case of genre reappropriation in which a mode conventionally used for portraying an individual is used to voice a collective experience, thus creating a community of fellow-survivors very much like the #MeToo movement of the 21ˢᵗ century. Furthermore, an attempt is made to trace some of the major ideas and concepts of both black feminism and the #MeToo Movement in Angelou's book and create a critical dialogue stretching across several generations up to the present moment.

ANGELOU AND WOMEN'S ACTIVIST MOVEMENTS

Black Feminism in the 1960s and 1970s

Angelou's writing and activism have often been connected with the concerns raised by the proponents of black feminism, although her first autobiography precedes some of the most important writings by black feminist critics. Nonetheless, the themes she deals with in her books mostly fall within the scope of black feminism and its area of interest and activism. It is also possible to trace a connection between Angelou's autobiography and contemporary activism directed towards empowering the survivors of sexual abuse.

One major distinguishing feature of the black feminist movement has always been "the convergence of race, class and gender oppression," i.e. the emphasis on the mutual conditioning and interconnectedness of these points of discrimination for the African American women in U.S. society (Collins 2002: 4). Consequently, a significant portion of African American women's writing illustrates the racism and discrimination African American women had to face, and Angelou's testimony of growing up in segregated America is no exception. At one point, she describes the segregation as so complete and unequivocal that she even doubted the very existence of white people: "I remember never believing that whites were really real" (*CB*: 25). By her own admission, Angelou wanted to deal with the detrimental effects of racism, sexism and poverty on her life using the medium of memory (Braxton 1999: 7).

The power of self-definition is another important concern of black feminist activism. The quest for identity and self-validation in African American literature and culture stems from "the 1960s ideology that promoted cultural and racial self-discovery and self-awareness as well as the celebration of blackness" (Williams 2009: 72). Whether it entails finding

a voice and speaking out, or examining mutual relations of black women, the oral and written traditions of African American women, or the strategies for improving self-valuation, self-definition is a major step in the process of de-victimization and challenging, deconstructing, decoding and re-coding negative stereotypes (Collins 2002: 97-121).

Rape, violence and sexual abuse have been common themes in both African American (women's) literature and black feminism, given the socio-historical circumstances from the earliest periods of American history, including the practice of institutionalized rape and its twofold purpose: fortifying a master's absolute physical and psychological dominance over his (female) slaves and securing him profit from the sale of the slaves' offspring. Angela Davis' (1983: 177) well-known thesis that sexual coercion as an expression of a racist ideology was in fact a "weapon of mass terrorism" has been reiterated by many feminist writers because it emphasizes the connection between two oppressive ideologies: racism and sexism. bell hooks (1982: 52-3) further develops this idea, claiming that years of unpunished sexual abuse of African American women contributed to "a devaluation of black womanhood", promoting the controlling image of the Jezebel – a negative stereotype of black women as promiscuous and "fallen" women. Therefore, few authentic preserved slave narratives that testify of rape were among the pioneering female narratives in which the victims finally had their voices heard.

Contemporary Contexts: the #MeToo Movement

An important thread that connects Angelou's autobiography, black feminist movement(s) and contemporary contexts is empowering the victims by hearing their voices and their sides of the story. In our contemporary society, speaking out against sexual abuse and harassment has taken center stage, especially in social media. A popular social media hashtag #MeToo, the phrase initiated by African American women's rights activist Tarana Burke (Mendes, Ringrose & Keller, 2018: 236), has come to stand for an entire movement against the abuse of (male) power, attracting thousands of followers (of all genders) around the world. According to her own testimony, Burke, herself a survivor of two sexual assaults, found Angelou's book a source of comfort during difficult times as it reminded her that "she was not alone" (O'Brien, 2018). Burke coined the phrase in 2006 with a twofold purpose of warning the public of an almost everyday presence of sexual violence in the lives of (especially) women of color, and empowering the survivors "through empathy" (Ohlheiser, 2017). In 2017, Hollywood actress Alissa Mylano turned the phrase into a viral Twitter hashtag #MeToo thus initiating a series of confessions of mostly female victims of sexual violence usually perpetrated by men in positions of great power. This resulted in numerous accusations, court cases and verdicts against sexual predators all over the world, bringing

down some very powerful Hollywood officials and public figures (File-born & Loney-Howes, 2019: 4). Some authors describe the snowball effect of dozens of accounts of sexual abuse in Hollywood and elsewhere as a "whisper network" (Jaffe 2018: 81) which started from individual hush-hush reports, but became a widespread action-oriented, vocal and global movement which has brought down many high-powered executives. What is more, new reports and accounts are constantly emerging, as survivors' stories continue to encourage more and more people to come forward. The fact that the primary focus of the #MeToo movement is on sexual abuse, a notion inevitably connected to gender issues, makes it somewhat different from the black feminist movements in the previous century which highlighted the interplay of race, gender and class as the decisive factors of discrimination. However, many contemporary authors also point out the importance of race and class in the contemporary contexts, especially bearing in mind the fact that the phrase itself originally came from an African American activist, but only became viral and universally popular when it was used by famous rich white women to describe their experiences (Fileborn & Loney-Howes, 2019: 6).

The whispers have grown into loud cries for equality similar to Angelou's silence growing into a powerful account of a personal experience which has been an inspiration for many generations of young women to come. The most important result and the greatest victory of the #MeToo initiative is, however, enabling the victims to become survivors – "renaming" itself was a particularly powerful and empowering symbolic gesture – who can speak freely of their traumatic experiences and be sure their voices are heard all over the world. The fact that many survivors of sexual violence chose to share their stories finding both comfort and support in their mutual traumatic experiences, while at the same time opening an important public debate with tangible repercussions for the perpetrators makes this movement one of the most successful and most important ones in recent history. This achievement very much resembles that of their 1960s and 1970s counterparts, (black) feminist activists, who opened both public and intellectual debates on the discrimination of women of all colors, ages and marital statuses and managed to make that subject an ever-present concern in all spheres of human existence.

The initiator of the #MeToo movement emphasizes that the entire idea is about including as many different people as possible, transcending gender, color, or any other barrier, focusing on the survivors and claiming agency (Rowley, 2018; Brockes, 2018). In their study, Mendes *et al*. (2018: 238) report of a woman who started to identify herself as a feminist only after sharing her #MeToo story on social media; and report their findings that "solidarity often transforms into a feminist consciousness amongst hashtag participants, which allows them to understand sexual violence as a structural rather than personal problem." This shows a con-

nection between a personal traumatic experience, the ability to talk about it, and a sense of connectedness to other humans with similar experiences enabled by the process of silence breaking. Angelou's narrator goes through a similar experience – she manages to break the silence and tell her tale of survival, and in the process becomes a spokesperson for other survivors as well, thus uniting the personal and the collective. At one point, she announces that intention when describing a typical segregated Southern town: "The answer must be the experience shared between the unknowing majority [they] and the knowing minority [you]" (*CB*: 20). The idea of bridging the gap between the "unknowing majority" and the "knowing minority" can also be considered as one of the key intentions of both the black feminist and #MeToo movements. bell hooks (1989: 43) insists on "women finding a voice" as a key black feminist concern. This is in line with both Angelou's autobiography and the #MeToo movement which place the utmost importance on the very act of speaking from the position of an active subject and on being heard (and believed).

Another important issue connected with the survivors of abuse speaking up and finding their voice is finding the proper language to share their stories and experiences. Angelou's narrator goes through a period of silence after which she emerges ready to tell her tale of survival. The very act of writing an autobiography is an effort to articulate one's memories and find the proper language to do so. Tarana Burke (Brockes, 2018) also draws attention to this when explaining the effects of the #MeToo movement she inadvertently started:

> "When I first started Me Too, young people had no language to talk about this. And that's something I've seen change; young people have a way to talk about it now. Hearing the words 'rape culture' doesn't seem foreign to them." (Burke in Brockes, 2018)

Some authors identify this as the "power of storytelling", i.e. the idea that, once told and articulated, negative and traumatic experiences become a means of liberation (Villacorta 2019: 65). Thus, the former victim is transferred into a position of control, even resembling the Emersonian ideal poet – "the seer" and "the sayer", and, we might add, the survivor.

ANGELOU'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND (SELF-)EMPOWERMENT

I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings

Angelou wrote seven autobiographies but *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* remains her most often quoted, best-known and most critically acclaimed work. The title is a verse from Paul Laurence Dunbar's poem *Sympathy* (1899) which metaphorically represents the desire of his African American ancestors for freedom, be it physical freedom, or the free-

dom of self-actualization. Angelou herself expressed her intention to write a story that resonates with the collective experience, rather than merely a personal account: "When I wrote *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings,* I wasn't thinking so much about my own life or identity. I was thinking about a particular time in which I lived and the influences of that time on a number of people" (quoted in Gilbert 1999: 105).

The book recounts the story of Angelou's fictionalized child-persona Marguerite Ritie Johnson from her earliest childhood memories up to the age of 17 and the birth of her son. The central spot of the auto-biography is occupied by the account of the rape she had suffered at the age of eight by her mother's partner at the time, a man ironically called Mr. Freeman. Throughout the book Marguerite struggles to find her own voice, as well as her place in the society of both her African American peers and within a broader U.S. context. It is a coming-of-age story, but a very brutal and violent coming of age, accompanied by a number of wor-ries and concerns she had to face, many of them directly related to the color of her skin: from physical violence, various manifestations of rac-ism in everyday, educational and social contexts, teenage pregnancy, a lack of education and work opportunities, up to the idea of self-definition and empowerment, and the successful survival of a childhood trauma. What made the book extremely popular is the fact that Marguerite's deep-ly personal experience was also the experience of many young African American girls, and also, in a way, an echo of the group experiences of their African female ancestors taken by force to America and subjected to physical and psychological violence.

One peculiar quality of Angelou's book comes from the fact that it is told through a double-voiced narration. Many critics (see for example, Gilbert or Braxton 1999) notice that some parts of the autobiography are filtered through the perspective of a child slowly coming to awareness of herself and the world around her, whereas other parts are comments and afterthoughts of a grown-up Maya who has obtained a sort of a post-traumatic wisdom and knowledge of the world through experience. The book begins with an insecure narrator child-persona and ends with a grown-up narrator nursing her own son. This could also be interpreted as a powerful metaphor for the writer's proverbial "firstborn child" – a book that is both a testimony of survival and a successful attempt of articulat-ing one's own voice. The path that Angelou's fictional narrator takes very much resembles the experiences and outcomes of both black feminists and #MeToo activists: moving from the state of silence and the position of the object to that of an active "sayer" and survivor.

Early on in the book, Angelou establishes a pattern based on the dynamics between the two narrator voices: first we see the situation through the eyes of innocent younger Ritie, who, just like the lamplight in her grandmother's store gives "a soft make-believe feeling to [the]

world," (*CB*: 7) and then we hear a comment from a grown-up Maya who paints the picture of harsh reality without any embellishment. Thus, in Chapter 1, it is Ritie who describes the cotton-pickers in the morning as filled with hope, "touched with the supernatural", whereas in the afternoon, grown-up Maya reveals "the harshness of Black Southern life," because she "had seen the fingers cut by the mean little cotton balls, and […] had witnessed the backs and shoulders and arms and legs resisting any further demands." (*CB*: 8-9) Angelou succeeds not only in producing an effective narrative pattern but also in using it to represent both the development of her narrative self and the condition of the people in her community. This resonates with some of the major ideas of black feminism and the #MeToo movement as will be discussed further.

Silence and Silence Breaking

Although finding one's own voice is one of the major concerns of feminism in general, black feminism is rather focused on being heard, moving from the state of "being object to being subject" (hooks 1989: 33-4). The subject-object distinction here is, of course, the post-colonial theoretical concept pertaining to the state of transition from the state of passivity – object – to the state of active doing – subjectivity (Ashcroft *et al.* 2006: 201-2). As previously mentioned, the notion of articulating the subject's own voice is also often described as central to the African American tradition in literature (Gates 1988: 239). The #MeToo activists also emphasize agency and "being heard" as the key goals of the Movement (Brockes 2018). Black feminist critics often draw attention to the fact that a lot of discriminatory behavior stems from within the African American community itself, e.g. the church. As hooks (1989: 23-4) points out, African American girls were usually not discouraged from speaking, but were seldom actually listened to and heard – their voices were considered to be irrelevant, and any kind of backtalk was discouraged and punished. Both in private and in public spaces (the church, for example), men were the ones encouraged to speak, whereas women had to go through a long process of struggle for recognition and under those circumstances acquiring one's voice was considered to be "an act of resistance" (*Ibid.*: 12). Angelou's fictional narrator goes through a similar experience, except that the direction is different – after the rape, she goes silent and although she is pressured to speak, even ostracized from her immediate surroundings, she refuses to speak until she feels ready. Partially motivated by the guilt she feels over the death of her rapist, presumably inflicted by her uncles, she suppresses her voice fearing it might bring about someone else's death. Instead of speaking, she focuses on listening and reading and manages to find beauty in the sounds of other people speaking or in the words she reads on paper. Ultimately, just like the titular caged bird, she conquers her state of captivity by releasing her voice. What is more, her point of

view also becomes a basis for a "group-based, collective standpoint", i.e. the idea that individual experiences that happened to many women also in a way shaped the collective standpoint of an entire oppressed group (Collins 2002: 24). In other words, she speaks for all of them, generations of rape victims, thus helping to break the silence of all the "caged birds." Angelou's repurposing of the autobiography genre so as to reflect a collective experience besides a personal one can be seen as a sort of precursor of Tarana Burke's "community-based approach to healing," directed towards creating "a built-in group of people who automatically gets you, who automatically believes you, who automatically wants to hear you. That's the wildfire of it" (Rowley 2018). One of the purposes of the #MeToo movement is to focus on the individual who will voice the problem and concerns shared by many, so this dialectics between the personal and the collective in which an individual articulates a group experience is something that Angelou's work has in common with contemporary activism.

Promoting black people's silence by the church is introduced early on in the book when children are taught to pray to god to help them "put a bridle" on their tongues (*CB*: 7). As mentioned earlier, talking back, or simply talking, was not encouraged in children, especially female children and they were indoctrinated from the earliest age, both by the family in the private space, and by the church in the public space to "know their place" and not to overstep the boundaries imposed by their surroundings. Angelou effectively uses her grown-up narrator's voice to express what she feels to be a collective strategy employed by the African American community in the South, condoned by the black church, of rejecting "whiteness," and with it, the values associated with the segregated Southern society:

> "They basked in the righteousness of the poor and the exclusiveness of the downtrodden. Let the whitefolks have their money and power and segregation and sarcasm and big houses and schools and lawns like carpets, and books, and mostly – mostly – let them have their whiteness." (*CB*: 131)

Yet, the discernible tone of irony reveals the narrator's, and, arguably, Angelou's opinion that such a strategy is ineffective and contributes to keeping the *status quo* in the society: in other words, the silence of the oppressed works in favor of the oppressors.

Silence becomes a key word in the description of the most traumatic event of her childhood. After being raped by her mother's partner, Marguerite decides to remain silent and not to speak to anyone but her brother. The scenes describing the rape exhibit the above mentioned characteristic of Angelou's writing: the episode possesses a dreamlike quality, so that at certain points the reader is almost uncertain as to whether it is a factional or a fictional account. This could be interpreted as the author's

own way of dealing with a personal trauma, and a means of informing the readers that the experience was so horrible that it was difficult to find the adequate language to describe it. Mary Vermillion (1999: 59) identifies this notion as "negation of the body," a syndrome common in rape victims who, in order to protect their psyche from the detrimental consequences of the rape, often resort to denying their very physical existence during the act of rape, building a sort of alternate consciousness. Angelou here translated the post-traumatic behavior into a literary style. However, the scene also follows the previously mentioned rhythmical pattern of narration that Angelou establishes from the beginning: after a sequence told in "a soft make-believe [...] whisper" what follows is the harsh reality of pain and suffering described in vivid detail: "I thought I had died…" and foreshadowed in the chapter prior to the rape in which Mr. Freeman's molestation is compared to "the inside of a freshly killed chicken" (*CB*: 7, 73, 78). The traumatized victim manages to find the words to describe a horrible crime committed over her body and her mind and resorts to the power of metaphor. Again, it is possible to draw a parallel between Angelou's book and #MeToo activism: the previously mentioned social media "whisper network" also in a way represents a covert way of telling one's story to the whole world (survivors are sometimes protected by their social media pseudonyms and the relative anonymity they provide), but also a powerful tool for producing specific political and legal consequences for the perpetrators.

It is significant that the rape was committed by an African American man, her mother's partner, and that the punishment he received in court was almost minimal. It is, however, implied, that he was punished by being beaten to death by Marguerite's cousins. What contributes to her decision to remain silent is the education she received in her early childhood. She feels that she had lost her place in heaven, blames herself for what happened and is unable to bring herself to publicly accuse her attacker: "I had sold my soul to the Devil and there could be no escape. The only thing I could do was to stop talking to people other than Bailey" (*CB*: 87). It becomes clear that her religious education which discouraged public speaking affected her way of thinking and at least indirectly drove her to silence. She also realizes that words have the power to condemn and blames herself for having enjoyed the cuddling prior to the assault, mistaking it for a normal expression of fatherly love. Angelou was at times a target of severe criticism for having included the rape scene in her narrative. Her response was that she "wanted people to see that the man was not totally an ogre" (Moore 1999: 53), i.e. she wanted to warn any potential victim that it is not always easy to identify a potential attacker.

One important characteristic of her silence is that it is also, at least partially, a deliberate choice and a strategy of dealing with the traumatic experience, as explained earlier. Her self-imposed silence enables her to

focus on her inner life as well as to become more connected to the people around her. She spends her time reading Shakespeare and other classics and listening to people, thus becoming more sensitive to the world around her until she ultimately manages to find her voice in writing. She learns to listen to the sounds of spoken language around her, which makes her come into closer contact with her own community. Like Zora Neale Hurston, her predecessor and another important African American female writer, she listens to and collects various dialects and sayings of the African American vernacular. She realizes "That in those homely sayings was couched the collective wisdom of generations" (*CB*: 100). Extensive reading and listening to other people also make her more sensitive to the communicative function of language. Thus, her written account can be interpreted as an act of empowering the (former) victim, an act of rebellion, resistance and endurance, a deeply human act, but also an individual voice coming from the multitude of collective experience.

When it comes to spoken language, Angelou explicitly mentions the importance of the black vernacular for the education of young African Americans: "In the classroom we all learned past participles, but in the streets and in our homes the Blacks learned to drop *s*'s from plurals and suffixes from past-tense verbs. We were alert to the gap separating the written word from the colloquial" (*CB*: 226). She makes a distinction between the demands of formal education and the everyday context emphasizing the necessity to codeswitch and, similar to Hurston (1934), recognizing the importance of the black vernacular for the expression of black authenticity. Furthermore, this is in line with one of the original intentions of Tarana Burke when coining the famous phrase – creating a specific language, a specific phrase that would connect all those who survived through similar life circumstances.

Angelou approaches the subject of silence on several other occasions as well. In Chapter 25, Maya quotes an old saying: "If you ask a Negro where he's been, he'll tell you where he's going," in order to illustrate the African American collective strategy of telling partial truth or avoiding to fully disclose the information asked (*CB*: 194). She explains this as one of the consequences of a prolonged period of slavery during which it was often unwise to talk. Therefore, slaves and their descendants adopted silence and telling partial truth as protective strategies: "Thus direct denial, lying and the revelation of personal affairs are avoided" (*CB*: 194). This is a stylistic approach called "masking", also defined by Zora Neale Hurston in her autobiography and analyzed by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. as a literary strategy of "signifyin(g)" (Werner&Shannon 2011: 244). Gates (1988: 131) uses the examples of Hurston and Walker to illustrate this literary trope, focusing on the notion of "revision [that in Walker's novel] manifests itself as a literal representation of a protagonist creating her self by finding her voice, but finding her voice in the act of writing."

This is exactly what Angelou's narrator achieves with her story told in writing. What sets the #MeToo movement survivors apart from Angelou's fictional persona is the insistence on unmasking the violence perpetrated by those who grew up and, often thrived, in a system based on violence, by using overt, rather than covert narration.

CONCLUSION

The importance of Angelou's first autobiography in the context of (African) American literature and for contemporary (black) feminist activism is manifold. Her autobiography can be read as a powerful personal testimony of survival and endurance, as well as an individual story that tells a collective experience, a part of a communal legacy. Transforming a deeply personal and extremely painful experience into a work of art, being able to find one's voice after a long period of silence and using silence as a strategy for survival are all means of self-assertion and self-liberation, which are some of the major concerns of (black) feminism. What is more, through her own liberation, Angelou manages to liberate and empower others who have been silenced. Angelou's goals are often appropriated by the #MeToo activists as the goals of the Movement. Thus, her personal effort and account provide means of survival not only for an individual, but also for an entire group of those who were discriminated against based on their skin color and their gender, which is a major legacy of both black feminism, the 1968 protests and the #MeToo phenomenon. Angelou's work can also be seen as a link between the 1968 legacy and contemporary feminist and activist movements focused on breaking the silence and enabling voices of the long-oppressed to be heard. She bravely challenges and exposes the racism and hypocrisy of the segregated South, as well as the shortcomings and delusions within the African American community itself: "The Black female is assaulted in her tender years by all those common forces of nature at the same time that she is caught in the tripartite crossfire of masculine prejudice, white illogical hate and Black lack of power" *(CB*: 272). A silent young African American girl who manages to transform her silence and her pain into a means of speaking up against abuse everywhere, Marguerite becomes a powerful metaphor for the strength of individual efforts to change the world for the better. Angelou's double-voiced narrator makes a transition "from being ignorant of being ignorant to being aware of being aware" (*CB*: 272), which can also be considered a major goal of black feminism in the 1960s and 1970s, as well as of the contemporary #MeToo movement: raising awareness among people and identifying and exposing patterns of discriminatory and violent behavior in our everyday lives, while celebrating surviving individuals.

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КАДА ПТИЦЕ У КАВЕЗУ ПУСТЕ СВОЈ ГЛАС: АУТОБИОГРАФИЈА МАЈЕ АНЂЕЛОУ, ЦРНИ ФЕМИНИЗАМ И ПОКРЕТ #МЕТОО

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Резиме

Рад представља читање аутобиографије Маје Анђелоу „Знам зашто птица у кавезу пева" објављене 1969. године као израза неких од најважнијих идеја црног феминизма и претходницу савременог покрета #МеТоо. Главна теза је да наведена аутобиографија исказује неке од главних идеја црног феминизма и покрета #МеТоо јер кроз лично искуство описује и скреће пажњу на искуства читаве групе жена. Такође, аутобиографија Маје Анђелоу се посматра и као део шире традиције аутобиографија афроамеричких ауторки, а посебна пажња придаје се њеној употреби овог књижевног жанра. Наиме, Анђелоу кроз своју аутобиографију приказује не само сопствено искуство, већ и говори у име свих који су прошли кроз сличне трауме, баш као и активисткиње покрета #МеТоо кроз своје исповести о претрпљеном насиљу. Теоријски оквир заснива се на увидима чувених теоретичарки, активисткиња и књижевних критичарки, попут Анђеле Дејвис, бел хукс, Патрише Хил Колинс, Џоан Брекстон, Таране Берк, и сл. Покушавамо да традицију „проговарања о трауми" испратимо у периоду од неколико деценија, од протеста 1968, преко аутобиографије Маје Анђелоу која је претходила црном феминистичком покрету у САД, све до савременог покрета #МеТоо. Аутобиографија Маје Анђелоу разматра се и као медијум којим се разоткрива и критикује сексуално насиље, расизам, сегрегација, родне предрасуде, али и као књижевно ремек-дело писано особеним и импресивним стилом (неки критичари називају ово дело и „књижевном аутобиографијом") у складу са традицијом црног феминизма и савременим феминистичким иницијативама усмереним ка самоостварењу.

ПОЛИТИКА И ПРАВО
POLITICS AND LAW

RECONCILIATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AS A(N) (IM)POSSIBLE MODEL FOR THE POST-YUGOSLAV AREA

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Abstract

The concept of reconciliation as a political-psychological concept came into being at the beginning of the nineties of the last century. It took a lot of time for the experts, who were engaged in peacebuilding in the post-conflict period, to understand that political, economic and other social processes were not sufficient for the reconciliation process, but that psychological aspects of reconciliation should also be included. In such a way, the process of reconciliation, in which subjects of reconciliation are race, people, nations, was lowered from the collective to the individual level. An example of such an attempt relates to the events after the apartheid in the South African Republic and the establishment of the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation. In this regard, this paper aims to identify the basic ideas and principles of the reconciliation process in the South African Republic and try to place it in the context of reconciliation between formerly warring parties in the former Yugoslavia. In the analysis of the concept of reconciliation that has been relatively successfully applied in the South African Republic, three key ideas have been identified. The first idea suggests that the process of reconciliation from the level of "political elites" should be lowered to the level of "ordinary people". The second, it is necessary to have a so-called Third party for the reconciliation process that will manage the whole process. And the third, that the truth is an unavoidable factor in the process of reconciliation. In this paper, a proposal for a possible model of reconciliation among the countries and nations of the former Yugoslavia is given on the basis of analysis of the post-conflict processes in the South African Republic and current events in the post-Yugoslav space.

Key words: South African Republic, Post-Yugoslav area, Reconciliation, Third Party, Truth.

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ПОМИРЕЊЕ У ЈУЖНОАФРИЧКОЈ РЕПУБЛИЦИ КАО (НЕ)МОГУЋИ МОДЕЛ ПОМИРЕЊА НА ПОСТЈУГОСЛОВЕНСКОМ ПРОСТОРУ

Апстракт

Концепт помирења као политичко-психолошки концепт настао је почетком деведесетих година прошлог века. Дуго је требало стручњацима који су се бавили изградњом мира у посткофликтном периоду да схвате да политички, економски и други друштвени процеси нису довољни за процес помирења, већ да је потребно укључити и психолошке аспекте помирење. Тиме је процес помирења са колективног, у коме су субјекти помирења раса, народ и нација, спуштен на индивидуални ниво. Пример једног таквог покушаја односи се на догађаје након апартхејда у Јужноафричкој републици и формирање Комисије за истину и помирење. С тим у вези, овај рад има за циљ да идентификује основне идеје и принципе процеса помирења у Јужноафричкој републици и покуша да исте постави у контекст помирења између некада зараћених страна на простору бивше Југославије. У анализи самог концепта помирења који је релативно успешно примењиван у Јужноафричкој републици, идентификоване су три кључне идеје. Прва идеја указује на чињеницу да процес помирења са нивоа „политичких елита“ треба спустити на ниво „обичних грађана“. Друга, да је за процес помирења потребна тзв. *трећа* страна која ће управљати читавим процесом. И као трећа, да је истина незаобилазан фактор у процесу помирења. Дакле, у овом раду дат је предлог могућег модела помирења међу државама и народима бивше Југославије на основу анализе постконфликтних процеса у Јужноафричкој републици и тренутних дешавања на постјугословенском простору.

Кључне речи: Јужноафричка република, постјугословенски простор, помирење, трећа страна, истина.

INTRODUCTION

Philosophical, religious and phychological discourses have tried to understand the nature of war and modalities of stopping conflicts since antiquity. Saint Augustine and Spinoza spoke in that manner when they said that man is the root of evil and thus responsible for the evil of war (Petrović, 2005). Similar to them, Hobbess (2004) argued that when there is no supreme authority, such as the state, then people are in their natural state that "we call war, and that is the war of all against all„. Clausewitz (von Klauzevic, 1951) wrote that war is an act of force that barely has any limit. Fromm considered that most of the wars were not caused by aggravated aggression, but by the interests of political and military forces (Petrović, 2005), and psychological experiments such as Asch's experiment on conformity, Milgram's experiment on obedience to authority figures and Zimbard's prison experiment, helped to understand to a certain degree the "dark side" of human behavior.

However, understanging war and the nature of human evil was deprived of answers to a number of questions, among which was not only the one of how wars may be stopped, but also how to build peace between

warring parties. Namely, the problem is that for most people peace means victory, the victory of their side (Coker, 2010). It is a fact that it required much time to understand that stopping a war and signing the ceasefire did not necessarily mean the creation of a lasting and stable peace, especially not for ethnic and national groups that were "condemned" to live together. This is testified by numerous experiences after the conflicts, as illustrated by the relations between Israel and Palestine, between ethnic and religious communities in the former Yugoslavia, events in Rwanda and South Africa, etc. In this regard, some authors have seen a solution to this problem in the idea of formulating a new theoretical concept - the concept of reconciliation.

The first reconciliation studies emerged during the 1990s (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004), and it can safely be said that they were spurred by the events in South Africa after the apartheid period. Namely, the unconventional idea of Nelson Mandela to reconcile victims and perpetrators before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has prompted many theorists to move the issue of reconciliation from the "political arena" and place it within the framework of other scientific and social disciplines. Previous practices have confirmed that many intractable conflicts have denied the view that political, economic, security and structural factors alone can solve long-standing and violent conflicts (Wilmer, 1998). Perhaps Petrovic (2005) gives the best explaination when he says that political and social systems are not *sui generis*, that they do not exist outside the individuals who make them, nor function without human dynamics. Therefore, in order to understand war and its ending, it is not enough just to understand the political, but also the psychological context, because in the preamble of the UNESCO Statute it is stated: "Since wars begin in the minds of people, it is in the minds of people that the defence of peace must be constructed."[1]

In this regard, this paper aims to consider the reconciliation process as a political-psychological issue and to extract the basic ideas of reconciliation from the model of reconciliation in South Africa and consider their applicability in the context of reconciliation on the territory of former Yugoslavia. Although it was believed that the process of reconciliation would be simpler because the conflicts on the territory of former Yugoslavia were aimed at creating ethnically homogeneous states and thus reducing the threats from national minorities (Penev, 2012), current events show that the process of reconciliation has not yet been completed and that everything might have been simple, but not the reconciliation. Therefore, the search for new models of reconciliation, as applied in the South African Republic, can represent a new initiation for the common and peaceful life of ethnic communities in former Yugoslavia.

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[1] See http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/UNESCO_E.PDF.

Bearing in mind that the model of reconciliation in South Africa is complex and therefore its consideration cannot be comprehensive, this paper will focus on three key ideas that characterize this model: (1) From the contact of the "ordinary people" to reconciliation, (2) The Third party - a necessary factor of reconciliation and (3) From truth to reconciliation.

FROM THE CONTACT OF THE "ORDINARY PEOPLE" TO RECONCILIATION

After the end of the apartheid, the South African society was seeking its path to national reconciliation. After a lengthy parliamentary debate (more than 300 hours of parliamentary session) and numerous consultations conducted with representatives of human rights organizations, associations of victims and survivors, their families, all church communities, academics and the general public, the parliament passed the decree by which it appointed Truth and Reconciliation Commission (in the further text: Commission).

As a national instrument, the Commission was aimed at implementing the idea of a policy of amnesty and collective apology at the level of the local community, i.e. at bringing reconciliation to "ordinary people". This state's approach "from the top to the bottom" is based on the belief that national intervention is necessary for changes in the local community (Bloomfield, Barnes & Huyse, 2003), but that there should be such an intervention that will enable the victim and the perpetrator to meet, which will further lead to reconciliation. Giving responsibility to victims and perpetrators in the process of national reconciliation is a movement towards Lederah's organic view of reconciliation in which the energy of the system is focused on finding ways to involve and inspire many people to feel their own responsibility and importance (Petrović, 2005). That is also supported by the fact that this contact must happen in the local community because changes in the local community are necessary, since the main function of the community is to mediate between the individual and society (Ajduković, 2003). Without a functional local community, the individual is alienated from the state, and then the society falls apart (Durkheim, 1964 in Ajduković, 2003).

Post-war and conflict circumstances leave, at the foundations of a divided community, serious psychological consequences, such as massive traumatization and huge personal and collective losses, disturbing self-esteem and self-image, etc. Therefore, bearing in mind that community has not only territorial, but also psychological and social characteristics (Ajduković, 2003), it was necessary to create conditions for the direct contact of ordinary people in order to recover the communities in South Africa. Namely, it is not enough for people to live side by side, but among the residents there must be a sense of belonging to that community, i.e. people must be emotionally attached to it (Ajduković, 2003). So, in order to solve this "large-scale

problem", it was not enough that the South African aspiration of peace was considered only and exclusively in political circles, because, as Bloomfield and colleagues (Bloomfield et al., 2003) claim, although the work of politicians is vital to the transformation of the situation from the existing conflict to future peace, the greatest effort will be undermined if disrupted community relations are not taken into account. Moreover, political processes must leave room for other processes, including psychological (e.g. healing, ending of a grieving process, overcoming negative feelings, etc.).

However, it is difficult to imagine that reconciliation at the lower levels of society can come without the consent and will of political elites, especially those who actively exercise power. In the case of states that emerged after the break-up of Yugoslavia, it can be seen that even after thirty years, the authorities continue, sometimes openly, and sometimes covertly, to propagate destructive nationalism, insisting on the specificities of their ethnic community, giving no space for the understanding of ethnic differences, and therefore giving no space for reconciliation itself. Manipulating fears and often referring to a one-sided interpretation of events from the past, the political, military, and religious elites were presenting themselves as the only protectors of "endangered national interests," which put reconciliation in the background and for some "better times". Holding their positions, both political and economic political elites[2] showed that they did not want true reconciliation, although they declared decisive support for it.

Since all the countries of the region are trying to or have already become full members of the Union, it can be expected that all of them fully support and implement the European Union's peace and values policy. However, some researches suggest that those who promote EU policies are at the same time the ones who sabotage the implementation of these same policies, through established informal networks at the local level (Adamović, Gvozdanović & Kovačić, 2017). In practice, this means that social elites, with the help of state apparatus and state resources, contrary to publicly expressed commitment to peace and reconciliation, do not allow reconciliation, obstructing even those initiatives and attempts that come from the local or individual levels.

An obvious example for the analysis of this situation in post-Yugoslav areas is an example from Bosnia and Herzegovina that refers to the deeply divided inter-ethnic community in Mostar. After so many years, the topic of the multiethnic division of Mostar into two parts - Croatian-Catholic and Bosniak-Muslim, does not cease to be a hot topic, and it is testified by the monograph by Gulia Carabelli from 2018 under

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[2] The term "elite" is used in the context of classical theory, which implies that elites are an organized minority that necessarily possesses the means and mechanisms of power (Pavlović, 2012). When it comes to political elites, they conduct their power through the institutions of the state, for whose control they fight in the political game.

the title *The divided city and the grassroots*, as well as by numerous journalistic reports and articles from television and news agencies[3]. Observing the community of Mostar, Carabelli (2018) realizes that creating fear in a community, in which another ethnic community is seen as an enemy, is in fact nothing more than a political project that aims to deprive the ordinary people of political power and to maintain the separation of communities (social space of the city) in order to diminish the capacity for social connection.

This example of Mostar confirms the thesis that one of the main preconditions in the process of reconciliation has to be the political elite's abandonment of its own political projects defined at the time of the conflict and giving enough space to "ordinary people" to enter into contact. In support of this, there are also claims that on the path to peacebuilding there are (war and political) elites who want to retain their positions of power and privileges, but also to avoid responsibility for what had happened (Petrović, 2007). Only after the political elite has mastered its resistance to reconciliation, it could be possible, as Lederach (1997) says, to create physical and social space in which ordinary people will meet and develop their relations.

THE THIRD PARTY – A NECESSARY FACTOR OF RECONCILIATION

In the context of the reconciliation process in the South Africa, it was not enough to provide conditions for the contact of a victim and a perpetrator, but it was also important to manage this relationship in order to build mutual trust and understanding. In this respect, the Commission had to be, as Galtung (2001) called it, the Third Party. Namely, according to Galtung (2001), the Third Party is "above a victim and a perpetrator" and as a source of grace, law and justice, can have the form of: State (International Communities), God (Church) or Society (People). In essence, the Third party manages the relationship of the former warring parties (Galtung, 2001) and aims to facilitate, encourage and support reconciliation actions (Kriesberg, 2004).

In South Africa, the Commission as the Third Party was in the form of Church. Although it was a state instrument, the Christian principles and beliefs, on which its work was based, pointed to the fact that the hearing of the victim and the perpetrator resembled a confession rather than a judicial-criminal process. Therefore, the Commission was not a judicial body, and its aim was not to establish the perpetrators' guilt,

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[3] See video BBC: https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-europe-44970561/is-mostar-still-a-divided-city.

but to enforce the justice of compassion and peace, i.e. to promote reconciliation (Bloomfield et al., 2003). Although, at first glance, the functions and tasks of the Commission seemed easy, its work was delicate and complex. Analyzing the numerous activities that the Commission conducted (hearing the victim and perpetrators, informing the public, conducting investigations, giving a final report with recommendations, etc. (Bloomfield et al., 2003)), it could be said that the most difficult task was to be impartial in its work, i.e. not to be "the long arm of the victim's will," as this could lead to "the fiction of nationalism"[4].

Apart from the bias in the work of the Comission, Bloomfiled and colleagues (Bloomfield et al., 2003) cite other potential risks that may have adverse consequences, one of them being the establishment of the Commission with inadequate motives and unrealistic expectations of its work. These are not the risks for the Commission only, but for the Third Party in general. In this regard, Kriesberg (2004) states that reconciliation elements and activities could be carried out by those who are not involved in a destructive conflict, in a way that does not lead to the creation of a stable peace. In his view, in the context of the conflict in former Yugoslavia, such case is The International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

In the territory of former Yugoslavia, from the the end of the nineties of the last century to the present time, it could be said that there were different forms of the Third Party, which had international character and which participated in the process of reconciliation, but which failed to stop the "war rhetoric" even among ethnic communities that existed in separate border entities. It is clear that the Third Party must represent some kind of authority in whose intentions the opposing parties will believe, and who will be able to manage a very sensitive and complex process of reconciliation. Therefore, the Third party should be accepted by all sides in the conflict, otherwise its work and results in the process of reconciliation, as well as the building of lasting peace, are condemned to failure.

The choice of the Third party depends on several factors, but one is definitely the type of conflict. It is not the same when the conflict is intra-state and when it is inter-state. In a process of reconciliation that takes place within the borders of one state, the Third Party can be formed under the influence of the state authority itself, without international participation. Such was the case with the Commission in South Africa. Contrary to this model, the reconciliation of conflicting states requires a Third Party that would not belong to any of the the conflicting parties, i.e. that would have

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[4] A fiction of nationalism is a phenomenon which takes place at the moments when ethnic minorities start feeling insecure because they believe that the ethnic majority will use its privileges to transform state institutions into instruments for ethnic dominance. (Ignatieff, 1998).

an international base. Thus, the European Union appears as the Third Party in the process of reconciliation after the conflict in former Yugoslavia, as well as the International Criminal Tribunal in the Hague, and numerous non-governmental organizations. All of them, except perhaps some non-governmental organizations, had a role in the process of reconciliation at the political level.

The European Union, as a supra-state creation, was originally created as a peace project aimed at reconciling European states and nations after the Second World War, but also at preventing future conflicts. At the beginning, this process was developed through economic co-operation, and afterwards this co-operation was expanded into all spheres of social activity. The peacemaking character itself of the UN that is embedded at the basis of the values of its founding and existence, gives the European Union the legitimacy to be the Third Party in the process of reconciliation in the territory of former Yugoslavia. However, the structure of the European Union, the decision-making process and different, sometimes completely opposite interests of the Member States, represent limitations because of which the EU cannot be fully acomplished as a global player, nor, by extension, as a Third Party in peace processes. In addition, the influence of the European Union is quite limited, because by the so-called Policy Conditionality, it can have dominant impact only on those countries that are striving to become its members, while the impact on those countries that cannot or do not wish to become members of the Union, it is significantly weaker (Живковић & Миленковић, 2015).

It is precisely in the case of the European Union mediation between Belgrade and Pristina in the process of reconciliation, that all restrictions and weaknesses of the EU as the Third party can be observed. Namely, besides the aforementioned problems within the Union itself, the weakness of the EU as a Third Party in this process is also reflected in the fact that it seeks to be status-neutral in the negotiations, despite the fact that most of its members have recognized the unilaterally declared independence of the so-called Kosovo, while one smaller part of it has not. Thus, it happens that EU member states, independently, and contrary to the efforts of the joint EU bodies participating in this process, implement policies that are not in the interest of reconciliation and the establishment of lasting peace in this post-conflict region. In addition, under the pressure of its influential members who recognized the legitimacy of Kosovo, it sometimes seems that the entire process is not actually status-neutral and aimed at achieving a more sustainable solution that will secure peace in the long run, but that the Union's common institutions are used to promote Kosovo's independence, which reduces the level of confidence of Serbian negotiators in the EU as a neutral and objective mediator.

On the other hand, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in The Hague, did not contribute to the process of reconciliation among the former Yugoslavian constituents and its citizens,

as originally expected. The fact that can hardly be disputed is that its existence and activity raised awareness, not only of the regional but also of the international community, that there occurred crimes in the conflicts on the territory of former Yugoslavia, and that the individuals who had committed them or who had been responsible for them had to be prosecuted. The individualization of guilt is certainly a good way not to transfer responsiblity for crimes to the whole nation and religious communities, which as a principle undoubtedly contributes to the process of reconciliation. However, despite the unfulfilled desire of the court to ensure justice for all victims, regardless of their side in conflict, by naming and punishing all perpetrators, there are serious restrictions that do not allow The Hague Tribunal to be legitimized as the Third Party in the reconciliation process.

This limitation is not only indicated by statistical data about the disproportionate number of defendants and convictions in relation to national affiliation, but also by the impression that certain processes were guided by political influence, which led to the fact that the perpetrators or the responsible persons were not found for the proven crimes.[5] Moreover, the way in which court proceedings were conducted at The Hague tribunal contributed to the fact that persons from the warrant were seen as national heroes, which again offended the victims and further slowed down the already difficult and slow process of reconciliation. In addition, The Hague Tribunal restrictions are also reflected in the uniformity of judicial processes, which are focused solely on the identification of crimes and criminals, including their punishment, but not on the help and support to victims. Therefore, one of the side-effects of such an approach is the maintenance and enhancement of an identity of a victim, which further favours the development of revenge and hatred (Nikolić-Ristanović & Srna, 2008).

As already mentioned, the role of the Third Party in the process of reconciliation can also be given to different non-governmental organizations, primarily those more influential, which are part of certain broader peace movements. Although their role in peace processes is valuable, it is sometimes insufficient to prevent armed conflicts or completely heal war wounds in post-conflict societies. The statement made by the political scientist Vukašin Pavlović is that the efforts of the peace movements on the ground of the former Yugoslavia to prevent or stop the war remain futile (Pavlović, 2009). The reason for the failure resulting in the bloody civil war is seen in the fact that the majority, who had been against the war, didn't succeed in resisting the well-organized efforts of all others who were willing to use the worst means to start it

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[5] See http://www.icty.org/bcs/cases/spisak-presuda.

(Pavlović, 2009). Unfortunately, the same war elites and profiteers do not allow the true reconciliation among the peoples of former Yugoslavia today. Under such conditions, the success of the Third Party becomes more than questionable.

FROM TRUTH TO RECONCILIATION

One of the prominent messages during the process of reconciliation in the South African Republic was that the truth would set people free. The Archbishop Desmond Tutu (Tutu, in Cohen, 2001) notes that if the truth does not come to the surface, it will haunt society as a "ghost". Therefore, the past has to be named in order to reach the future (Bloomfield et al., 2003). It is impossible to forget the past and start everything anew as if nothing had happened (Bloomfield et al., 2003). Namely, victims seek adequate punishments for criminals, in order to satisfy justice at least in part. St. Augustine believed that peace was rooted in the concepts of justice and goodness and that it stemmed from the claim for injustice to be sanctified, and for the evil to be corrected (Coker, 2010). However, it should be borne in mind that justice does not have a universal meaning and significance, but that it is a concept that depends on the cultural context. This in fact means that the way of "satisfying justice" in South Africa does not necessarily have to be a model that could "satisfy justice" in post-Yugoslav cultural space, and vice-versa.

Since the paths and effects of truth are complex, they can have healing impact only if the interpretation of truth is directed towards self-healing, reconciliation and recovery (Cohen, 2001). However, truth-related activities can also manifest themselves in a way that does not contribute to reconciliation (Kriesberg, 2004), and therefore some authors state that the act of apology must fulfil other conditions: the truthfulness of gesture, the full and unconditional acceptance of responsibility, and the avoidance of any justification for what has been done (Bloomfield et al., 2003). Accordingly, it is not enough to recognize the crime factually, but to unambiguously show embarrassment and repentance, because embarrassment is a sign that the damage done by the perpetrator has been recognized (Long & Brecke, 2003, according to Petrović, 2005).

In the process of reconciliation in South Africa, it could be said that the truth was the main element of reconciliation. Namely, it was believed that the spiritual-psychological interaction of victims and perpetrators would contribute to the closure of old relationships in a way that they would never repeat again. According to Galtung (2001), spiritual-psychological interaction is performed in four acts:

1. The perpetrator: "I apologize" (meaning "I'm sorry for what I did and I promise no more.");
2. Victim: "I accept apology" (meaning "I believe in what you said, let's continue to live on.");
3. The perpetrator: "Please forgive me" (meaning "Please release me from my guilt.");
4. Victim: "I forgive you" (meaning "I release you from guilt.").

At first glance, this "drama" seems simple. However, it hides many obstacles in itself, because whether it will come to reconciliation depends on the fact whether everyone has "played" their script, both the victim and the perpetrator (Minow, 1998). This is why this interaction is vulnerable (Galtung, 2001).

Govier (2003) believes that the perpetrator must admit to himself that he had committed the crime before the confession (telling the truth to the victim). The main obstacle to self-discovery is denial, which is not only an individual, but also a collective mechanism. Thus, denial functions not only as an unconscious defense mechanism at the level of the human psyche, but also at the social level that aims to maintain the existing social climate in which the crime is not recognized or, what is more, appears as normal and justified (Cohen, 2001). Namely, Cohen (2001) speaks about entire societies and states that use numerous methods to avoid truth: cover-up, deception, concealment, rhetoric, embellishment, etc.

Only when the perpetrator recognizes the crime, interaction can begin. However, self-confession is not enough (Cohen, 2001) because things can be made known, but not admitted (Govier, 2003). Therefore, it is necessary for the knowledge to be publicly verbalized or emphasized in some other form of consciousness (Govier, 2003). It is not enough to merely overcome one's "inner speech", but it is necessary to confess in a manner that reaches and is received and accepted by the victim (Govier, 2003). Like self-confession, admission is a painful and difficult process, which can be the reason for ignoring the crime (Govier, 2003). The inner discomfort that the perpetrator feels can also come from the concern about the way society and the local community will accept the admission of guilt. And the mentioned circumstances can compel the perpetrator to admit the crime in part, or even as a compromise[6]. An example of a compromise admission can be the presence of the then Serbian Prime Minister Aleksandar Vucic at the 20th anniversary commemoration in Potocari marking the crimes in Srebrenica.

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[6] Compromised confession means that someone who confesses to a crime does that as the expression of a mixed message, which consist of both admissional and denial elements (Govier, 2001).

        Therefore, it is not only important to confess, but the admission of guilt must lead to its acceptance (Govier, 2003). While the main obstacle to recognizing a crime for a perpetrator is denial, for a victim it is anger that may escalate into the desire for vengeance. Revenge is an impulse to attack (to commit a new crime) the one who had committed the crime (injustice) (Minow, 1998). Revenge undoubtedly has psychological significance for the victim, because it restores self-esteem, returns the feeling that justice was served and thus brings satisfaction (Minow, 1998). But this temporary satisfaction can have far-reaching consequences at a personal and social level. On a personal basis, the result can be futile and increase pain and suffering, while at the social level, vengeance can escalate into intergroup violence again (Minow, 1998). Therefore, it is necessary to overcome the desire and not allow the victim to become the perpetrator (Nadler, 2002, in Petrović, 2005).

        After the perpetrator admits his crime, everything is in the hands of the victim (Nadler, 2002 in Petrović, 2005). The victim chooses to give or deny forgiveness (Nadler, 2002 in, 2005). Accepting an apology does not mean forgiveness. Forgiveness requires much more than an apology. Forgiveness implies a changed view of oneself, as well as of the other side of the conflict (Long & Brecke, 2003 in Petrović, 2005). Forgiveness means self-transformation in which the person does not see oneself as a victim any more and sees the perpetrator as someone with a new identity (Long & Brecke, 2003 in Petrović, 2005). Through the process of forgiveness, emotions are transformed (from anger to benevolence) and certain beliefs about the self and the other side are overcome, thereby creating the possibility for new, effective relationships (Long & Brecke, 2003 in Petrović, 2005).

        The spiritual-psychological transaction was the basic model of victim and perpetrator interaction in the process of reconciliation in South Africa. However, the question arises as to whether the transaction can be " applicable " to relations between the people on the territory of former Yugoslavia, especially bearing in mind the fact that it is not clear who the victim and who the perpetrator has been. This is because perpetrators from post-Yugoslav countries are presented not only as national heroes, but also as victims who only defended themselves and their people from the aggressor. It is obvious that in this representation of the perpetrator, there are serious political manipulations of the victims, because it was understood that in that way it was easier to get some benefit, whether political or economic. For political interests, the media is used as a scene of conflict, not to promote the ideas of tolerance and understanding (Milenković, 2020). In fact, the basic problem in these kinds of manipulations lies in the fact that both aggressors and victims are hiding behind collective identities. In addition, there are major disagreements

today about the causes of the war in Yugoslavia, as well as the time period in which these causes are sought.[7] In order for the process of reconciliation to take place at all, it is important to find and prosecute responsible individuals because there can be no justice in the war if there are no men and women to whom responsibility can be attributed (Volzer, 2010). The processes conducted at the International Court in the Hague should have contributed to the individualization of the crimes in which every criminal would have been marked by their full name, , but this did not happen. Unlike the process of recognizing the crimes in South Africa, where it was known who the individuals who committed the crimes were, the burden of crimes on the territory of former Yugoslavia was borne, or is still borne, by the ethnic communities.

There are numerous examples of denying crimes in post-Yugoslav territories, as evidenced by the political rhetoric about the Croatian military-police operation "Storm", the pogrom of the Serbs in Kosovo in 2004, the events in Srebrenica and Bratunac in 1995, etc. In this context, the important question is whether recognition and repentance are expected only from arrested and convicted war criminals or from those who call themselves heroes today? In any case, the problem of "proven" and celebrated national heroes admitting to a crime without getting amnesty, but a punishment for that confession, remains. Can one hope for repentance, if there is no place for recognition in this post-Yugoslav process of reconciliation? Obviously not. Given that national identity is built on their "heroic deeds," it actually means that if they ceased to be "heroes", the whole system of values that had been built upon those values would start to collapse. Therefore, if the perpetrators wanted to admit their guilt, the war elites would not allow them to, because they still have a strong social impact. If there is no confession, there is no repentance, so there is no forgivness. This, in fact, means that one can hardly come from truth to reconciliation in the post-Yugoslav space.

CONCLUSION

It is clear to everyone that the process of reconciliation in post-Yugoslav space is followed by numerous difficulties and, in addition to being tediously long and without any clear indication of when it would end, its final outcome is uncertain. In order to achieve the general

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[7] Recalling the events from the beginning of the 19th century, General Ratko Mladic in the statement on the occasion of the taking of Srebrenica just confirms that temporal confusion. "Here we are on 11th July, 1995, in the Serbian Srebrenica. On the eve of another great Serbian holiday, we give this city to the Serbian people. It's time that, after rebellion against dahia, we took revenge on the Turks in this area." See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=edFQTZpf8yM.

progress of all social communities living in this area, it is necessary not only to persevere in this process, but also to seek new models that will have a greater chance of success. For the reconciliation in and among the countries of former Yugoslavia, the model of reconciliation in the South African Republic, developed after the apartheid period, serves as a starting point. Analyzing the events and mechanisms that were developed during the 1990s in the South African reconciliation process, three basic principles (ideas) on which the model was resting could be observed, which, in the context of possible application to the process of reconciliation in post-Yugoslav space, are discussed in greater detail.

The first principle is based on the assumption that the success of reconciliation is conditioned by the movement of the process itself from a higher, elitist level, to "ordinary people". The current political situation in the countries of former Yugoslavia, as well as the role of political subjects in the post-conflict period, has proven to be insufficiently effective in the process of reconciliation. Therefore, in accordance with the model of reconciliation in South Africa, the idea is to bring down reconciliation to the level of the local community and allow ordinary people to participate in the creation of social life in that community. Of course, for such an undertaking, several important prerequisites must be fulfilled. The first is that there is an agreement by the state power to bring the process of reconciliation down to "ordinary people", and the second, that "ordinary people" are really interested in actively participating in that process, not waiting for the state and political elites to give ready-made solutions with instructions on how to apply them.

This actually means that political elites and other powerful social subjects, both nationally and internationally, must "disarm" themselves from their political and other interests (intentions) that do not lead and do not aim at reconciliation. The proof that the top of the political authority is undermining the process of reconciliation can be perceived in the general attitude of the respondents, in the recently conducted research, who believe that the state aggravates reconciliation processes in order to protect particular interests (Adamović et al., 2017). In addition, the research also shows that the citizens' lack of interest in politics is seen as an obstacle to reconciliation. How could one expect "ordinary people" to be the bearers of this process if the layer of society which should be the main initiator of progressive social trends shows apoliticism and apathy? De Tocqueville (2002), at the time, warned us of the importance of the problem of apolitical and apathetical citizens, and saw it as a greater danger then despotism and anarchy as the two extreme forms of rule. Therefore, these phenomena should be understood very seriously and thoroughly in order to work on their overcoming institutionally.

The second principle is based on the fact that it is not enough to return reconciliation to "ordinary people", but rather that it is a process

that needs to be managed. Therefore, it is necessary to have a political body that will actively and impartially work on the process of reconciliation and that will therefore have the role of the Third party in the process. Active participation of the Third party involves constant presence and reaction to events and statements of the parties in the process that should lead to reconciliation. In South Africa, the Commission had the role of the Third Party. In the post-Yugoslav space, several actors of international character and significance have taken their chances playing the role. Namely, the Third Party's impartiality is a mandatory assumption that has often been missed by favoring a particular community to the other. Sometimes this was done with intent, and sometimes it was caused by the absence of the Third Party's reaction to certain inappropriate statements and actions taken by one of the parties in the process. An obvious example of the Third Party's passive attitude was apparent in the attitude of the international community and the EU towards the dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina, which was particularly noticeable when the Kosovo government introduced additional taxes for the import of products from central Serbia. Therefore, the passive role of the EU as the mediator in the talks between Belgrade and Pristina cannot contribute to reconciliation.

The third principle is based on the view that reconciliation can only come with truth. However, it is important that this truth is not only presented as factual information, but rather expressed in a way that reflects the apologetic attitude. Previous practice in the territory of former Yugoslavia, which was predominantly reduced to mutual accusations for crimes, obviously did not give any results, and therefore it was necessary to seek new solutions. There was no real and comprehensive truth about the events and crimes committed on the post-Yugoslav territory, nor in the processes conducted before the International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia in The Hague. This suggests that this process must be carried out at the political level, i.e. assuming responsibility, admission of guilt, and the apology for crimes should be taken over by political representatives. Given that the crime and victims were on all sides in the conflict, the apology must be mutually agreed upon, or pronounced by representatives of all states, ethnicities and religious communities in the region. Otherwise, if this process is one-sided, with the apology of only one community, there may be a new imbalance in the relationship, in which the roles of "aggressors" and "victims" will again be highlighted and strengthened.

In the end, the analysis of all three principles on which the process of reconciliation in the post-Yugoslav space should be based, and which were modelled on the reconciliation model in South Africa, as well as the problems and constraints that accompany this process, point to the conclusion that none of these principles, and therefore the process of

reconciliation itself, cannot be implemented without clear political will. Therefore, political will is *conditio sine qua non* for reconciliation.

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ПОМИРЕЊЕ У ЈУЖНОАФРИЧКОЈ РЕПУБЛИЦИ КАО (НЕ)МОГУЋИ МОДЕЛ ПОМИРЕЊА НА ПОСТЈУГОСЛОВЕНСКОМ ПРОСТОРУ

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Резиме

Дуго времена требало је да се схвати да обустава рата и потписивање примирја не значи нужно стварање дуготрајног и стабилног мира. Стога је почетком деведесетих година прошлог века формулисан концепт помирења, када су започете и прве студије о помирењу. Посебну заслугу за развој концепта помирења сигурно имају и догађаји у Јужноафричкој републици након периода апартхејда. С тим у вези, у овом раду разматране су основне идеје модела помирења у Јужноафричкој републици и могућности њихове примене између етничких заједница и бивших зараћених страна на подручју бивше Југославије.

Пошто је модел помирења у Јужноафричкој републици по својој природи комплексан, те се стога не може разматрати у целини, екстраховано је само неколико кључних идеја и то: да је за процес помирења важан контакт „обичног света", да је за помирење неопходна нека Трећа страна која ће управљати процесом помирења, и да је истина незаобилазан фактор помирења.

Идеја да је важан однос (контакт) између самих грађана локалне заједнице заснована је на идеји да би партиципација „обичног света" у процесу помирења подстакла укључивање и инспирисање што већег броја људи који би осетили сопствену одговорност и важност. Међутим, није довољно само вратити помирење међу „обичан свет", већ је потребно да наведеним процесом управља нека Трећа страна, слично улози коју је имала Комисија за истину и помирење у Јужноафричкој републици. И на крају, говорење истине и признавање кривице о

почињеним злочинима у којима треба да учествују све бивше зараћене стране, је незаоставни и незаобилазни пут до помирења и на простору бивше Југославије.

Анализа сва три принципа (идеја) на којима би процес помирења на пост-југословенском простору требало да се заснива, а који су рађени по узору на модел помирења у Јужноафричкој републици, као и проблема и ограничења који прате тај процес, упућују на закључак да ни један од тих принципа, па самим тим ни процес помирења, није могуће спровести без јасне политичке воље. Дакле, политичка воља је *conditio sine qua non*, и она не мора нужно да се огледа у активном деловању влада, већ је довољно да постоји прећутна сагласност и одсуство потеза власти инспирисаних деструктивним национализмом, што би дало довољно простора другим друштвеним актерима да се процес помирења успешно приведе крају, посебно „обичном свету" у локалној заједници.

HUMANITARIAN CRISES AND CONTEMPORARY NATO IDENTITY: PAKISTAN EARTHQUAKE 2005 CASE STUDY

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Abstract

Shifting from the military and defense alliance to the political organization brought changes to NATO's traditional roles. The humanitarian field and actorness in humanitarian crises has been a field of interest for NATO ever since the 1990s. As this new NATO role has been constantly disputed, NATO is involved in framing humanitarian crises as NATO task making strategic changes, and changing public discourse in order to support that task. The aim of this paper is to explain how NATO framed humanitarian crises and its participation in the international response to them on the example of the Pakistani humanitarian crisis caused by the devastating earthquake in 2005. The paper focuses on three stages of the process: identifying the humanitarian crisis as a NATO task of cooperative security; presenting NATO's contribution to problem solving in the form of coordinating role and logistical support, and finally, explaining incentives for action which encompass a narrative of solidarity. The Pakistani 2005 crisis has paved the way for the development of this role of NATO, thus transforming its Cold War identity based on the role of a military and defense actor.

Key words: NATO, identity, framing humanitarian crises, Pakistan, national and international security.

ХУМАНИТАРНЕ КРИЗЕ И ЊИХОВ ЗНАЧАЈ ЗА САВРЕМЕНИ ИДЕНТИТЕТ НАТО-А: СЛУЧАЈ ЗЕМЉОТРЕСА У ПАКИСТАНУ 2005. ГОДИНЕ

Апстракт

Трансформација од одбрамбено-војног савеза до политичке организације довела је до промене традиционалних улога НАТО-а. Једно од области у којима се НАТО обрео од деведесетих година прошлог века је и учешће у решавању хуманитарних криза. Како је ова улога увек оспоравана НАТО-у, настојао је да

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стратешким изменама и јавним дискурсом уоквири хуманитарне кризе као једну
од својих најважнијих постхладноратовских улога. Циљ овог рада је да, на
примеру пакистанске хуманитарне кризе, изазване разорним земљотресом 2005.
године, објасни на који начин је НАТО уоквирио ову хуманитарну кризу и
учествовање у међународном одговору на њу. У раду је фокус стављен на три
фазе овог процеса: идентификовање ове хуманитарне кризе као задатка сарадње
у безбедности; представљање сопственог доприноса у решавању проблема у ви-
ду координаторске улоге и логистичке помоћи, и најзад, рационализацију
сопственог ангажовања и позивањем на сопидарност која лежи у основи вредносног
система ове организације. Пакистанска криза 2005. отворила је пут развоју и
продубљивањеу ове улоге НАТО-а, трансформишући на тај начин његов хладнора-
товски идентитет заснован на улози војног и одбрамбеног актера.

Кључне речи: НАТО, идентитет, уоквиривање, хуманитарне кризе, Пакистан,
                    национална и међународна безбедност.

INTRODUCTION

The changes in the international system after the end of the Cold War
between the USSR and the USA denoted the beginning of a new era in
international relations. These changes have particularly affected the fields of
security and defense. The deterrence and defense role of NATO, directed
mostly against military threats, was called into question. To ensure its
survival, NATO has turned to a broader interpretation of the Washington
Treaty seeking to prove that NATO's purpose goes beyond territorial defense
and that it is a value-based security organization of all the North Atlantic
peoples based on democracy, individual freedoms and the rule of law.

Shortly after the end of the Cold War, NATO started a wide range
of activities of interests of the Alliance as a whole or some of its mem-
bers. Over time, these activities demanded for the adaptation of capabili-
ties and the development of new procedures. Technologies that have been
developed for military purposes for decades have been put to use in
peacekeeping operations, humanitarian operations, in the fight against pi-
racy, against terrorism, etc. The necessity of NATO's adaptation to the
new environment imposed another great challenge, and that is the issue of
(re)building the Alliance's identity in the conditions of identity crisis. All
the changes in strategic conceptions including goals, tasks and capabili-
ties have led to the transformation of NATO's Cold War identity which
was grounded in the role of a defense actor.

Given that the previous research mainly put their focus on reasons,
directions and political implications of NATO's transformation (Ciuta,
2002; Cornish, 2004; Adler, 2008; Dinev Ivanov, 2011), this paper aims
at explaining the transformation process itself, so the main question in the
paper is how NATO framed humanitarian crises and its own role as an ac-
tor in resolving humanitarian crises after the Cold War, and what the im-
plications of that process were for the transformation of the Alliance's
identity.

Thus, the paper tackles the framing of humanitarian crises by NATO. This is the process that led to the creation of a completely new role for NATO and transformed its role identity. Since the framing process is explained from a dramaturgical perspective, this paper will focus on how certain ideas and meanings about a specific segment of reality are created through the discourse of NATO officials and how they shape NATO practices that are becoming part of its identity.

The contribution of this paper is twofold. First of all, it is theoretical, and it consists of furthering the concept of dramaturgical action to issues beyond microsociology, international relations and international security issues, and to interaction in a broader context than "face to face". It theorizes dramaturgical action as a virtual interaction with the audience in the form of carefully selected content that is posted on the official website and other communication platforms of NATO. This corresponds to Goffman's concept of the front stage on which the actor engages in the presentation of self in front of others. The creation of certain beliefs, impressions and notions, as well as face-saving and staying in the role is done by addressing the audience not only face to face, but in the virtual world. The fact that Goffman's microsociological approach implied individuals as actors is not an obstacle to applying his theory to organizations, because there are individuals who speak on its behalf, such as the NATO Secretary General, the NATO Spokesperson, the NATO Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, etc. The second contribution of the paper is analytical, and it consists of positioning NATO in the global security architecture, because thanks to the process of identifying humanitarian crises as a NATO task, NATO not only transformed its identity, but also expanded the sphere of action from the regional to the global level.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The theoretical framework of this research relies on Erving Goffman's theory of dramaturgical action, and especially on his concept of framing. The theory of dramaturgical action conceptualizes actors as "performers engaged in manipulative presentations of self and framing who are, at the same time, constrained by the script and the consistency requirement of their roles" (Schimmelfennig, 2002: 417). According to Entman, to frame is "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993: 52). The issues are framed through communication, when the text communicated to the public has the strength to create political power. Framing is the process through which identities and interests of the communicator are projected onto the targeted public.

Goffman defines a frame as a principle or set of principles that make sense out of events and organize human experience (Goffman, 1974: 10)[1]. Frames are conceptualized also as mental structures that shape the way we see the world (Lakoff, 2004). In the political realm, our frames shape our social policies and the institutions we form to carry out policies, which means that every change of frame is social change at the same time (Ibid). The basic form of the frame is the primary frame, which is an interpretative scheme for interpreting, giving meaning and sense to information on the basis of which actors process and classify new information (Goffman, 1974: 21). The primary frameworks are schemes that rely on tradition, culture, beliefs, mythology and the popular culture of the society to which they belong. In order to change the perception of an object, event, actor, etc., it is necessary to influence the primary framework by which the meaning of those objects, events, actors is interpreted. The possibility for NATO's identity transformation therefore arose from the fact that primary frameworks can be influenced and changed. Transformation can be conducted either through fabrications (misleading participants about what is happening in a given situation) or through a keying, which was the case in NATO's transformation (actors are fully aware of what is happening in a given situation). Keying means that certain activity that is already meaningful for the audience through the lenses of the primary frameworks changes into something that is modeled after that activity, but the participants view it as something completely different. The types of keys most commonly used in society are dramatization, competitions, ceremonies, technical re-doings such as exercises and rehearsals, and re-founding activities, such as charity, re-education, etc. (Goffman, 1974: 48–74). Whatever type of key is used, what they all have in common is that they have a strategic purpose, and they are used in a planned, focused way, with a clear initiative and a defined goal that is planned to be achieved by it.

As framing is an activity of creating meanings, actors attribute meaning to events and conditions and interpret them in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support and to demobilize antagonists (Snow & Benford, 1988: 198). Drawing on Erving Goffman's, Snow and Benford suggested three core framing tasks: diagnosis, prognosis and motivation. More specifically, these tasks include: the diagnosis of some particular aspect of social life as problematic and in need of change; the proposed solution to the diagnosed problem that specifies what needs to be done; and finally, a rationale for action, including motives and incentives for engaging in ameliorative or corrective action (Snow & Benford, 1988: 199).

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[1] Goffman especially emphasizes that his work is about the organization and structuring of experience, not about the organization of social life.

In order for a certain performance to be created and a certain definition of the situation imposed, it is necessary for the framing efforts to be successful. How successful framing efforts would be depends on the four types of constraints that determine the mobilizing potential of framing (Snow & Benford, 1988): the first are the robustness, completeness and thoroughness of the framing effort; the second is the internal structure of a larger belief system; the third type is the relevance of the framework for the participants: how much the framework resonates within the personal experience of the participants and the events around them; the fourth type is called "cycles of protest" and refers to whether the framework is part of a broader, social process taking place on regional or world stage. For framing, as well as for the entire self-presentation, the consistency and fidelity of the actors to a predetermined definition of the situation that requires corrective action is of the highest importance.

The main sources of data for this research were official speeches, spokesmen statements and press briefings. These documents were obtained through the on-line database of this organization available at the official website. In analyzing these documents, I relied principally on the method of discourse analysis, because it was most suitable to explain the way discourses create meanings and representations, and how those meanings and representations affect social practices that result from them and eventually influence the definition of what/who someone is. Basic discourses on NATO's specific position in the humanitarian field and NATO's role in the network of humanitarian actors have been identified. In addition, the case study method of the 2005 Pakistani earthquake is introduced in order to show the process of framing humanitarian operations within NATO on a practical example.

HUMANITARIAN CRISIS CAUSED BY THE 2005 EARTHQUAKE IN PAKISTAN

NATO's engagement with crisis management has been a trend since the 1990s and is mostly linked to human caused crises. But, NATO has also been engaged in over sixty natural disaster relief operations. The earthquake in Pakistan in 2005 is one of the biggest natural disasters that NATO has been engaged in so far considering the duration and the consequences of the disaster. This operation might be regarded as a milestone (in addition to the catastrophe caused by Hurricane Katrina in the USA, which occurred the same year), for building and consolidating NATO's role in humanitarian crises caused by natural disasters.

Opposite to the controversial humanitarian action of NATO in complex crises, international actors in the humanitarian field have recognized that military actors play a significant role in responding to natural disasters. They evaluate cooperation in this area as a positive experience

facilitated by the Oslo Guidelines that stipulate that military assistance and funds in response to disasters can be provided only at the request or with the consent of the recipient state and on the basis of a request for international assistance (Guidelines on the Use of Foreign Military and Civil Defense Assets in Disaster Relief, 2007: 13). The leaders of the UN Disaster Assessment and Coordination Team (UNDAC) consider that the role of the military is the most important in situations such as the earthquake crisis in Pakistan, because "only the military has the fastest means of moving the maximum amount of supplies... and therefore it is necessary to maintain communication with military actors" (UNDAC 25 - South Asia Earthquake, 2005).

In order to better understand how NATO found itself in the middle of the international response to the crisis, it is necessary to understand the context of the crisis. More specifically, on October 8th 2005, at 8.50am, local time, a 7.6 magnitude earthquake struck the city of Muzafarabad, a little more than a hundred kilometers north of the capital of Pakistan, Islamabad. According to NATO sources, the total area affected by the earthquake was 30,000 square meters, the earthquake death toll was estimated at 87,000 with about three million left homeless (Pakistan earthquake relief operation, 2010).

The earthquake epicenter was located in the politically unstable region of Kashmir, known for its historic conflict between Hindus (after Pakistan's independence mostly settled in India) and Muslims (concentrated in Pakistan and Bangladesh), which persisted as an international problem even after the demarcation that allowed the division of Kashmir into the Indian governed part and the Pakistani governed part. Factors that made this crisis even more difficult were the multidimensional poverty and difficult living conditions of people in rural areas, harsh mountain conditions with low temperatures and landslides (Ahmed, 2018).

The first steps to reduce the consequences of the earthquake were taken voluntarily by locals, followed by the activities of the Pakistani military forces, who were still strongly relied on by the civilians (Phister et al., 2009: 9). The Pakistani military relief and rescue operation was, according to civilians, too slow and uncoordinated (Abbas, 2005). Immediately after the earthquake, the President of Pakistan emphasized the harshness of the crisis making the public aware that Pakistan would not be able to face it on its own, and sent an official request for help to NATO on October 10th 2005. The North Atlantic Council approved the request the very next day and organized a response to the catastrophe on October 13. The additional request for assistance were received by NATO on October 13 from the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). A significant role in resolving this disaster was played by the Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Center (EADRCC) which, together with the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

(OCHA), coordinated all the assistance coming from either member states or partner countries. A total of 42 countries of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council participated in the NATO operation to provide assistance to Pakistan. NATO ended the operation by February 1ˢᵗ 2006.

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE AS A COOPERATIVE SECURITY TASK

NATO framed its engagement in the Pakistan earthquake crisis as an integral part of cooperative security, which is one of the three most important strategic tasks identified by the latest strategic concept. The special emphasis was made regarding the success of a partnership-based approach in international crisis management and the importance of the military as an actor in international humanitarian crises. The two most prominent discourses used in framing this humanitarian crisis as a NATO task are:

- The Pakistan crisis caused by the earthquake is a cooperative security task that NATO tackles in international humanitarian crises;
- The Pakistan crisis caused by the earthquake is a task for NATO through which it provides a contribution to the international order based on common values.

NATO explained the need for cooperation through a comprehensive approach in crisis management, which implies that NATO contributes with resources and capacities that other military or non-military actors do not have at their disposal and at all times when additional assistance is needed by those who request it:

> Pakistani government, a few days after the earthquake, came to NATO, requested formally through a letter to the Secretary General NATO's assistance as part of the overall international effort in support of the Pakistani government and of course the support of the UN, with a very precise list of areas where Pakistan could use as much international support as possible. Of course, in the circumstances, NATO could do nothing else but to lend its hand to the overall international effort. And the Alliance has done so. (Speech Briefing on current issues by the NATO Spokesman, NATO HQ, 2005)

A NATO spokesman pointed out that, in fact, through cooperation, actors involved in resolving the crisis are complementing each other and filling in the gaps that can potentially occur when actors act independently. On the example of the Russian cargo plane, which was leased with funds coming from one NATO country and which, for the purposes of the UN, transported a donation of another country to Pakistan, Antonov tried to explain that only cooperation can help achieve goals and fulfill NATO's tasks. He explained the role of a military actor in such crises as follows:

> I would say that NATO has done a lot. It has done it very quickly. And continues to do more. So, in fact, I think this is a good news story for NATO and the airlift of UNHCR supplies, for example, is a good example of NATO doing a significant amount of airlift in close cooperation with the UN. I dare say this is probably the most extensive cooperation NATO has had with the UNHCR in the history of either organizations, and that's a good thing. (Press briefing by NATO Spokesman on NATO's assistance to Pakistan, NATO HQ, 2005)

NATO, as the driving force of the international order based on values, committed itself to the protection of it. World's global challenges that pose a threat to values around which NATO is gathered are a legitimate reason for NATO to intervene and assist in any part of the world because there is a strong belief that this promotes and preserves the stability of the NATO's very own community. NATO's posture is that contemporary global security challenges cannot be addressed by a passive-reactive approach and by refraining from action, but only by the strategy of engagement, including multi-dimensional responses and partnership, with a strategy of action that must be firmly based on values (Addressing Global Insecurity, 2005). Therefore, the Secretary General sees the role of NATO in humanitarian operations like these in the future, with an emphasis on the specific role of military actors in the humanitarian field:

> NATO is not a humanitarian organisation, nor should it become one. But if we are asked to help, be it by the United Nations and the African Union, or by the Pakistani Government, and if we have the means to help, then we cannot ignore such a plea. I see this as another contribution to an international order that is based on values. NATO's operations are one important part of our values-based security policy. But they are not the only one. Because the best way to safeguard our values is by nourishing them – by upholding our values at home, and advocating them abroad. By believing in the power of open, democratic systems and liberal economic systems. By encouraging other countries – such as your neighbors to the East – to open up their societies too. And by lending them advice and assistance if they so request. (NATO: Defending Values and Security, 2006; Speech by the Deputy Secretary General, Alessandro Minuto Rizzo at the Law Faculty, University of Zagreb, 2006)

For NATO, its role in the 2005 Pakistan crisis is a partnership and cooperation concept in practice. Finally, this operation represents more than just a short-term task for NATO, taking into account the long-term interest in developing good bilateral relations with Pakistan, primarily in the field of counter-terrorism. During the crisis, NATO simultaneously led the ISAF mission in Afghanistan, and it was extremely important to strengthen the relationship with Pakistan as an ally in the fight against the Taliban.

The post-earthquake humanitarian operation opened some possibilities for NATO to increase the trust among the Pakistani people and thus

make its presence in the neighborhood of Afghanistan more certain and effective. Despite the turbulence in NATO-US-Pakistan-Taliban relations, this was a significant step forward for NATO's strategic goals in that part of the world.

So, in addition to the value-based motivation for NATO to engage at the request from Pakistan, the geopolitical motivation is certainly of great importance. This was openly stated by a NATO spokesman during one of the daily press briefings, just shortly before the end of the operation in Pakistan:

> The relationship that we've built with the Pakistan government, I think, will be a good relationship because we do have, as you point out, an important operation right next door, and moving closer to the Pakistani border. There is an issue of what we call lines of communication, and that is a transit, where we might need or wish to support or supply the ISAF mission most effectively or efficiently through Pakistan. So, there are discussions underway between NATO and the government of Pakistan to formalize an arrangement for transit where necessary. This is of course something that would need to be worked out, and it is very much up to the Pakistani government how it wishes to approach this. But, certainly it would be valuable from a technical point of view for NATO to have that kind of agreement between NATO and the Pakistani government. (Background briefing by the NATO Spokesman, NATO HQ, 2006)

After this first framing task, which includes identifying the problem and putting it in a recognizable framework, there comes the second, and in this case the most important task. It points out a key advantage of NATO over other actors in such crises and, which is interesting, obtain at the same time certain mobilization potential that is particularly emphasized in the third framing task.

NATO CAPABILITIES IN RESPONSE TO THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS: COORDINATION AND LOGISTICS SUPPORT

Although NATO is hardly perceived as a humanitarian relief actor in the public opinion, humanitarian crises require the deployment of a large number of forces and capacities, including even military equipment and established crisis management procedures, which makes NATO relevant in this field (Keeping NATO relevant: A shareholders' report, 2005). NATO forces, originally trained for war and deterrence, have been transformed into rapid reaction forces, and the motives behind that transformation are also seen in possibility to justify the high operational costs of such forces that would otherwise be useless and dysfunctional without such engagements (Americo dos Reis, 2018: 74).

Addressing the Pakistan earthquake crisis, the Secretary General emphasized that "no one doubts that NATO is doing a crucially important

job there" (Keeping NATO relevant: A shareholders' report, 2005). The NATO contribution to ending the crisis was explained through two prominent discourses:

- NATO's contribution to resolving a humanitarian crisis consists in the coordination of the international response to the humanitarian crisis and logistic assistance;
- NATO's contribution to resolving the humanitarian crisis consists in the deployment of NATO troops with the task of providing assistance to civilians and rebuilding the destroyed infrastructure.

The operation in Pakistan was formally launched with the approval of the North Atlantic Council on 11th October 2005, and immediately after that decision an Operations Plan (OPLAN 10305) was agreed on. OPLAN 10305 spelled out a two-staged approach to NATO's support to the humanitarian relief operation (The EADRCC Final Situation Report No. 23 on Earthquake Pakistan, OPS (EADRCC) (2006) 0005, 2006). The Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Center (EADRCC) acting as a single point of contact was tasked to coordinate all offers from NATO and Partner nations that requested NATO transportation assistance.

NATO listed five elements on which the short-term post-earthquake relief mission in Pakistan was based, which was aimed at creating the conditions for other actors to begin long-term aid and reconstruction missions: the coordination of donations from NATO and Partner countries; the air bridge from Turkey and Germany for the transport of relief goods to Pakistan; five helicopters located in the area affected by the earthquake for the transport of supplies to remote mountain villages and the evacuation of victims; engineer and medical support operating in the area around Bagh (Pakistan earthquake relief operation, 2010).

The first phase of the operation was focused on the coordination and airlift of emergency humanitarian aid and funds donated by NATO members and partner countries. NATO air bridge was used by other countries, as well as the UN. Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (SHAPE) was in charge of the operational implementation of the Plan through the SHAPE Allied Movement Coordination Center (AMCC). Rammstein Air Base was used as a central point of the NATO air bridge for sending humanitarian aid. On October 19th 2005, NATO also opened an air bridge at the Incirlik Air Base in Turkey in order to transport supplies donated by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to Pakistan. During the operation, 164 NATO-controlled or coordinated relief flights delivering more than 3.224 tons of relief goods took place. The NATO relief flights constituted the largest single contribution to the airlift relief effort, according to the Pakistani Foreign Ministry Note Verbale No. 1/12/1/2005-ECC, dated 1st December 2005 (The EADRCC Final Situation Report No. 23 on Earthquake Pakistan, 2006). In addition,

NATO provided as many as 130 flights to transport 2,245 tons of funds in support of the United Nations (Ibid).

The second phase of the operation followed the request from the Pakistani authorities on 17th October 2005 to consider sending NATO troops to respond to provide assistance on the ground. The North Atlantic Council decided on 21st October to deploy engineers and medical personnel from the NATO forces in the endangered areas in Pakistan, in order to respond for a maximum period of ninety days. The insistence on the time frame in this case is explained by the fact that NATO wanted to demonstrate to the people of Pakistan that NATO had no intention of staying in the region and was not using the deployment to cover up military encroachment into Pakistan (Wiharta et al., 2008: 113).

During the operation, some 1,000 engineers and supporting staff, as well as 200 medical personnel, worked in Pakistan (Pakistan earthquake relief operation, 2010). In addition to work on rebuilding the infrastructure, the engineers are credited with supporting the Pakistani Army in Operation Winter Race, by constructing 110 multi-purpose shelters for the population living in the mountains (Ibid). Already by November 9th, NATO announced the opening of a completed hospital equipped for complex surgical procedures. The same day, NATO set up the so-called fuel farms, oil depots where civilian and military helicopters were replenished to provide assistance in Pakistan (upon the request of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees from 30 October 2005 (EADRCC Situation Report No. 14, Earthquake Pakistan, 2005)).

During the second phase, the need for transporting humanitarian aid to the vulnerable did not cease, so on October 27th 2005, Foreign Secretary of Pakistan Tariq Osman Hyder addressed a meeting of the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council at NATO Headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, asking for further assistance, explaining that "only NATO could provide continued airlift, funds, logistic and airspace management, mobile fuel tanks, spare parts for helicopters and tactical aircraft, command and control, winterized tents and sleeping bags" (Pakistan and UNHCR ask for further NATO assistance, 2005).

In addition to the mentioned material contributions, the successful framing included the final step, the one concerning the rationalization of NATO's participation in the response to the crisis. This was a very important step, particularly if we take into account the numerous criticisms leveled at NATO.

RATIONALIZATION OF NATO ENGAGEMENT: THE NARRATIVE OF SOLIDARITY

The rationale for NATO's action and development of motivational frames in the Pakistan earthquake crisis was a far easier task than that of certain man-made crises, because, first of all, there were no disputes over

the legality of the action, which increased the level of trust between ad-
dressees and the providers of help. That is why the rationale for participa-
tion is framed in terms of solidarity incentives for action and is directed
not only at the Pakistani public, but mostly to the Euro-Atlantic public.
The solidarity narrative of NATO is created in order to function as a
frame alignment with broader public's beliefs, values and patterns of ex-
perience. The most prominent discourse in the function of the legitimiza-
tion and rationalization of NATO's action in the Pakistani humanitarian
earthquake crisis is:

> ▪ Participation in resolving the Pakistani humanitarian crisis
>   caused by the earthquake is an act of solidarity and support to
>   the partner country that requested for help.

The narrative of solidarity has the function of explaining to the
public why this organization was part of the partnership's response to the
crisis, despite, as NATO officials themselves pointed out "the distance to
Pakistan and the need to transport not just relief supplies but also heavy
equipment and helicopters and despite costs of millions and millions of
dollars" (NATO faces challenge in Pakistan earthquake response, 2005).[2]
NATO stressed that it had responded to this call as an act of support to
the partnership with the country from which the request came:

> We are happy that we could do our part this time in answering positively a
> request made by the Pakistani authorities. (News conference by NATO
> Secretary General, Jaap De Hoop Scheffer following the Meeting of the
> North Atlantic Council in Foreign Ministerial Session, NATO HQ, 2005)

The statements of NATO officials included also news about help-
ing civilians, earthquake victims (Weekly press briefing by NATO
Spokesman James Appathurai, 2008)[3], so the distinction has to be made
between the Pakistani government (solidarity) and Pakistani people (sup-
port) as the addressees of the NATO message. In one of the latest reports
on the Pakistan crisis, the NATO spokesman conjoins solidarity and sup-
port, emphasizing that NATO gave a hand as a "community of nations,
glad to be able to answer the call from the UN, from the Pakistani gov-
ernment, to help where we could the Pakistani people, in what was obvi-
ously an hour of need" (Video Background Briefing by the NATO
Spokesman, 2006).

Therefore, a very important fact in the process of motivational
framing, either for Pakistani or for the Euro-Atlantic audience, is that

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[2] Statement by John M. Koenig, the then Deputy Chief of the US Mission to NATO
[3] See also: News conference by NATO Secretary General, Jaap De Hoop Scheffer
following the Meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Foreign Ministerial Session, 2005;
Statement by the Secretary General on the end of the NATO mission in Pakistan, Press
Release (2006)009, 2006.

NATO did not intervene unilaterally, but at the request of the Pakistani government as a host country, as well as at the request of the UN. NATO clearly points out that the legitimacy and legality of actions are drawn from these official requests. In addition to them, there is another favorable circumstance that NATO finds important and that is the relationship of trust with the Pakistani people. According to NATO officials, the trust of the Pakistani people was gained during the operation itself, although at first glance it did not seem like a simple challenge. Andrew Walton, the Commander of NATO's Disaster Relief team in Pakistan, explained the challenges NATO faced with in Pakistan as follows:

> One of the first things we had to do is to explain to the Pakistani population who NATO is, what we are. Although the government of Pakistan invited NATO it was pretty obvious that the vast majority of the population did not understand what NATO does, how it does it. And so they were a little weary of us, first, but we quickly overcame that by frankly explaining what we do and letting them see what we were doing. So that was the first challenge if you like. But it was a fairly small challenge. (Video interview with Andrew Walton, NATO HQ, 2006)

Referring to sources directly from the Pakistani people, but also from the Pakistani media, Walton concluded that the people were left with the impression of NATO as a "force of good - a capable, professional, and trustworthy organization" and assessed it as a satisfying result (Video interview with Andrew Walton, NATO HQ, 2006).

Another important fact that facilitated the motivational framing in this operation is the absence of overlapping roles, which means that NATO had not practiced both the military and humanitarian role at the same area and avoided thus to be in a complicated and highly unpopular situation to solve humanitarian consequences caused by its own military actions. Previous research showed that when a military force responds to a natural disaster without using force, there is no need to fear a connection between humanitarian assistance and military strategic goals. In these circumstances, military motivations are "eminently humanitarian and are strictly related to the provision of expertise and logistics to civilian agencies" (Americo dos Reis, 2018: 81; see also Kenyon Lischer, 2007: 103), which implies that they should not be called into question when it comes to disaster response.

Resolving the crisis in Pakistan is considered to have had a longer-term effect on NATO's diplomatic relations with this country and on the favorable conditions for NATO's overall presence in that part of the world, but it is also considered an investment in the future of NATO itself. The Secretary General perceives the response to the Pakistani crisis as a model of a well-done task that has a positive effect on a more stable and just global order, thus making a long-term investment in NATO's

own security (Speech by NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer at the Grandes conferences catholiques, 2007). Putting the defense of the values of NATO in connection with strategic interests, and putting efforts to make those values universal, another step was made towards legitimizing NATO's global path, and thus all the operations it includes, including this one from Pakistan 2005.

Given the explanation of the nature of NATO's action in Pakistan, it is accurate to define it as humanitarian assistance, because NATO, formally, assisted the UN. In practice, this can be called into question, and it may be debated whether EADRCC overlaid UN OCHA in coordination role during the crisis. However, since dramaturgical theory is not interested in moral or normative issues behind the performance, but rather in the quality of performance itself, the aim of this paper was to evaluate the successfulness of self-presentation and consistency of framing efforts in order to explain how NATO discursively created the role of actor in the humanitarian field and how it eventually affected the identity change. Questions and dilemmas like whether NATO met the moral standards of this role, whether it got out of it and how consistent it was in the limitations and scope of its role, has to some extent been a subject of previous research, and may certainly be the subject of some future ones.

DISCUSSION

NATO is an organization that emphasizes the adaptability to change as its value, and that is the mainstay of its survival and duration. The greatest impact on NATO's transformation is made by the end of the Cold War, but the transformation is an ongoing process. NATO has been continuously strategically transforming, adapting its goals, tasks and modernizing forces and means in accordance to the new needs. During the first few decades of its existence, NATO built a strong identity based on the most important Cold War role: deterrence and defense. Today, that identity is based on several roles that NATO has taken on in addition to deterrence and defense. NATO's transformation and adaptation are an integral part of NATO's identity and inseparable from "Alliance's ability to provide security well into the future" (De Hoop Scheffer, 2005: 3), and the roles NATO takes on become part of its identity.

The process of identity transformation is a complex process that depends on both the actor and the audience that interacts with them. In that regard, NATO strived to frame every new crisis-management operation in a certain way so the public would be informed why NATO engaged in that operation, under what conditions, what was the contribution it made and why it was the "game changer" both for NATO and other actors. Through this process of communicating its role in the crisis situation, NATO strengthened its position in the humanitarian field, and this

made it recognizable in subsequent operations as an actor that can make a significant contribution to other, traditionally present actors, in the field of humanitarian and other crisis-management operations. In the process of the narrative construction of identity, NATO found its main stronghold in its role of the crisis manager, and on the example of the crisis caused by the earthquake in Pakistan, it was explained how the process of creating the role went through.

As Williams and Neumann, speaking of the narrative transformation of NATO identity in their concluding remarks, leave room for answering the question of "why specific discourses prevail over others and how this is accomplished" (Williams, Neumann, 2000: 384), this paper contributes to the explanation of how and why certain discourses become significant for identity shaping. The paper explains the process of discursive positioning of NATO as an actor in the humanitarian field, in which NATO receives feedback in the form of support from other relevant actors in that field.

Feedback or public reaction, as an important part of the framing process, is analyzed indirectly, based on formal indicators, such as the official requests for NATO assistance from other actors, mainly humanitarian actors from the UN system. The analysis would be more complete by directly examining the attitudes of humanitarian actors about how they see NATO today and whether they perceive it as an actor in the humanitarian field, which leaves room for deepening this research.

The dramaturgical perspective and framing proved to be an exceptional framework for understanding the process through which the transformation takes place, because the process is crucial to understand how certain segments of reality pass through certain frames known to the public in order to influence their perception and interpretation of those segments. Through discourse, NATO has re-framed its place in the modern security architecture and positioned itself as a relevant actor in the field of resolving humanitarian crises. The application of framing as a dramaturgical model taken from sociology has already found its place in the field of international relations and security, but considering that the theory has been tested in a microsociological environment, the disadvantage of its application is that actors are not always in direct "face to face" interaction. Besides, the audience must be precisely defined in order to define indicators and measure the framing effect in that particular audience. In addition to that, framing aims at managing the impressions of the audience, and therefore is deemed to be, and criticized of being, an instrument of agenda-setting, making space for the implementation of those practices that are related to a particular type of identity of the actors. Finally, the application of the theory of dramaturgical action as a theoretical framework is, as Schimmelfennig concluded, adequate only in conditions when there is an international community, which is an international system

characterized by a common cultural ethos and high intensity of interaction (Schimmelfennig, 2002: 434). In such a system that has reached the level of community, actors are obligated to behave in accordance with constitutive values and norms in order to preserve their image as good members of that community, and therefore use framing and other self-presentation techniques explained by the dramaturgical action theory. The NATO-led North Atlantic Community fulfills these conditions because it is an institutionalized integrated community and, therefore, the theory of dramaturgical action is a good theoretical framework for understanding the process of self-presentation and framing through discourse, which leads to the transformation of the identity.

CONCLUSION

This research aimed at explaining how NATO transformed the internal component of its identity, taking on the role of an actor in the humanitarian field in the 2005 Pakistani earthquake humanitarian crisis case study. The very process through which NATO identified this humanitarian crisis as a field of interest and proved that it was not a random mission, added to NATO's identity as a well-positioned actor in the humanitarian field, as explained through the concept of framing. The framing was conducted in three steps: firstly, this crisis was discursively presented as part of NATO's tasks of cooperative security and crisis management; secondly, NATO proposed a contribution to resolving the crisis by using its capacities that other actors were unable to provide; and finally, the final framing task was to provide the *rationale* for action in the crisis for both the domestic and international audience through a narrative of solidarity. Solidarity was very important as a symbolic act, given the global impact NATO strives to achieve, and given that solidarity is the obligation for such a powerful and influential organization.

Can it be concluded that the way NATO framed the humanitarian crises has led to the transformation of NATO's identity, which is now based also on the role of actor in humanitarian crises? Social constructivists claim that identities have been produced through discourses, but Veronica Kitchen adds the crucial statement that "discourses do not form identities simply by being in the air. Actors must mobilize these resources into reflexive arguments about their community and into policy arguments about the kinds of actions they should take" (Kitchen, 2009: 101). This new role fully complements the post-Cold war "practice of doing" that replaced the Cold War "practice of talking," and ended the era of exclusively rhetorical action (Flockhart, 2012). Also, as Jennifer Mitzen's claims, identity is formed and sustained through relationships, and it is through the interaction that certain activities can be routinized so they can be easily attached to actors in order to become their roles over time

(Mitzen, 2006). Therefore, we can conclude that humanitarian activities are not occasional, but continuous activities for NATO that were developed and routinized in interaction, primarily and mostly with the UN, as a key international actor in the humanitarian field, but also with other relevant actors. As Mitzen claims, the question of whether identity associated with some role will be strengthened or undermined depends on the success in maintaining that role, and it can be said that NATO's identity as an actor in the humanitarian field is well-founded and maintained. This can be claimed at least on the basis of practical actions since the 90s of the last century. Humanitarian practices and the humanitarian narrative are a significant part of the NATO public diplomacy nowadays.

Finally, the participation in the resolution of the 2005 Pakistan earthquake humanitarian crisis has broader political significance for NATO. It has led to the increase in the scope of cooperation between NATO and Pakistan, primarily in the counterterrorism field. In addition to that, Pakistan participates in the anti-narcotics training project organized by NATO with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC); participates in the civilian preparedness exercises; in disaster relief through the EADRCC and is part of the NATO Science for Peace and Security Program. NATO, among other things, also provides the occasional training and education to senior Pakistani military officers (Relations with Pakistan, 2019). The development of global partnerships with countries such as Pakistan confirms that NATO is seriously working on global promotion with the aim to overcame the status of a regional organization. The main hypothesis of the research, that humanitarian crises management operations are framed as a NATO task and that these operations create the new role that the complex NATO identity is based on, has been confirmed by this research.

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ХУМАНИТАРНЕ КРИЗЕ И ЊИХОВ ЗНАЧАЈ
ЗА САВРЕМЕНИ ИДЕНТИТЕТ НАТО-А:
СЛУЧАЈ ЗЕМЉОТРЕСА У ПАКИСТАНУ 2005. ГОДИНЕ

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Резиме

Организација североатлантског споразума (НАТО) представљала је, од свог постанка па до окончања Хладног рата, стожер европске и северноамеричке безбедности и противтежу Совјетском Савезу у балансу моћи. Ипак, падом берлинског зида није само дошло до нарушавања баланса у војној моћи и наступања доба Уни поларности, већ је дошло и до великих промена у геополитичком окружењу НАТО-а и природи безбедносних претњи. У оваквим околностима, развила се дебата о опстанку и будућој улози НАТО-а у свету где оружани напад споља није више највећа претња националној и међународној безбедности, а самим тим су пољуљане и основе идентитета НАТО-а као савеза чија је једина улога одбрана и застрашивање. Почетком деведесетих, НАТО је започео стратешку трансформацију кроз коју је настојао да своје снаге, средства и свеобухватне капацитете прилагоди новим изазовима са којима су се суочиле не само НАТО чланице, већ и њихово шире окружење. Из стратешке трансформације су уследили нови задаци и ангажовања, међу којима и учешће у решавању хуманитарних криза на ободима Савеза, као и у било ком делу света где је процењено да су угрожени интереси и вредности НАТО чланица. Како је ова нова улога, тешко спојива са традиционалном улогом војног актера (и коју је, да ситуација буде још компликованија, НАТО често практиковао паралелно са војним деловањем) често била предмет критике, Савез је посебну пажњу почео да посвећује активностима у области јавне дипломатије како би радио на изградњи и очувању слике компатибилне са новим улогама које је преузео. Једна од посебно занимљивих активности јавне дипломатије је и процес уоквиривања хуманитарних криза као једне од најважнијих улога које НАТО има у постхладноратовском свету. Овај специфични облик самопредстављања НАТО-а састојао се из три корака: идентификовања хуманитарне кризе као једног од задатака дефинисаних у стратешком концепту НАТО-а; затим, други корак подразумевао је да, након што се одређена хуманитарна криза стави у оквире неког од НАТО задатака, НАТО представи свој допринос решењу идентификованог проблема, и то је најчешће чињено наглашавањем координаторске улоге и пружене логистичке помоћи коју нико од других актера није могао да пружи (или бар не на тако ефикасан начин захваљујући разрађеним процедурама поступања у случају хуманитарних криза); и најзад, трећи корак подразумева процес рационализације или образлагања јавности зашто НАТО треба да ужива подршку за ту улогу и зашто је оправдано да у конкретној кризи учествује. НАТО се, код овог корака, углавном позива на разлоге солидарности и моралне обавезе која проистиче из интерног вредносног система организације. У раду је овај процес објашњен на примеру случаја хуманитарне кризе изазване земљотресом 2005. у Пакистану. Пакистанска криза отворила је пут развоју и продубљивању ове улоге НАТО-а, трансформишући на тај начин његов хладноратовски идентитет заснован на улози војног и одбрамбеног актера.

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHT STANDARDS AND HIGHER EDUCATION [a]

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Abstract

The right to higher education, as a segment of the more general right to education, is relatively neglected in the literature dealing with the international protection of human rights. Various trends in higher education can negatively affect the realization of this segment of education. Above all, the mass commercialization of higher education, the uncritical use of digital technologies, and the generally reduced participation of the state in this type of education, which is a public good, can significantly affect the exercise of this right. Given the current problems, it is necessary to examine whether the right to higher education in the adopted international documents includes only equal access to higher education. More precisely, whether this right includes some basic requirements regarding the quality of higher education, as well as whether the states have any obligations regarding its financing. Formulations used in human rights instruments are vague. The practice on this issue is insufficient, probably due to inadequate promotion of this segment of the right to education because of the fear that obligations that are unattainable for the states could be gradually formed.

Key words: higher education, human rights, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, free education, capacity.

МЕЂУНАРОДНИ СТАНДАРДИ ЗАШТИТЕ ЉУДСКИХ ПРАВА И ВИСОКО ОБРАЗОВАЊЕ

Апстракт

Право на високо образовање, као сегмент општијег права на образовање, је релативно запостављено у литератури која се бави међународном заштитом људских права. У високом образовању су присутни различити трендови који могу негативно утицати на остваривање овог сегмента образовања. Пре свега

реч је о масовној комерцијализацији високог образовања, некритичкој употреби дигиталних технологија, и уопште у смањеном учешћу државе у овом виду образовања, које представља јавно добро. Имајући у виду актуелне проблеме, потребно је испитати да ли право на високо образовање у усвојеним међународним документима обухвата само једнакост приступа високом образовању. Тачније, да ли ово право обухвата и неке основне захтеве у погледу квалитета овог вида образовања, као и да ли државе имају било какве обавезе у погледу његовог финансирања. Формулације употребљене у међународним инструментима за заштиту људских права су у недовољној мери одређене. У овој области нема ни довољно праксе на међународном нивоу, што је вероватно последица недовољне промоције овог сегмента права на образовање, а и због страха држава да би се постепено могле оформити обавезе које су неостварие.

Кључне речи: високо образовање, људска права, Међународни пакт о економским социјалним и културним правима, бесплатно образовање, капацитет.

INTRODUCTION

Economic, social and cultural rights used to be somewhat of a secondary importance in relation to civil and political rights. However, the importance of economic, social and cultural rights is slowly growing.[1] Skepticism about economic, social and cultural rights, inter alia, regarding the ability of poor states to ensure their realization has long been present (Jovanović, Vujadinović & Etinski, 2019: 212). However, it has been pointed out that this group of rights is not primarily related to the available funds, but to the issues of the adopted policy, although solving the problems is certainly more difficult in poor countries (Tomaševski, 2005: 227). The right to education belongs to the group of economic, social and cultural rights and is recognized in many human rights instruments. At the same time, it has also been pointed out that this is a right of a mixed nature, which is part of the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, but also the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, through the right to freedom of thought, and the prohibition of discrimination (Tomaševski, 2005: 224). As part of the right to education, certain instruments specifically mention the right to equal access to higher education. However, judging by the used formulations, the right to higher edu-

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[1] Until recently, there was a difference in terms of available remedies in case of violation of protected rights between the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Both instruments were adopted in 1966, but only the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights provided an individual grievance mechanism. In 2008, the UN General Assembly adopted the Optional Protocol to the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights introducing an individual complaint mechanism for the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (entered into force in 2013).

cation certainly has less strength than other forms of education because states are not obliged to provide this type of education for everyone.

The right to higher education, as a segment of the more general right to education, is relatively neglected in the literature dealing with the international protection of human rights. It has also been pointed out that this is a peripheral element of the right to education (Coomans, 2004: 91). It is associated with a number of institutions such as universities, faculties, colleges, etc. However, due to the proliferation of various forms of courses in recent years, it is difficult to give a precise list in this regard, but it is certainly a form of education based on prior knowledge and/or skills, commonly intended for adults, and it usually involves a specialization in a particular area of knowledge (McCowan, 2012: 112). Moreover, it could be defined as all types of study programs or sets of study courses at the post-secondary level which are recognized by the competent authorities, or of a constituent unit thereof, as belonging to its higher-education system (Global Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications concerning Higher Education, 2019).

Education in general can be understood as an instrumental value, as a means of realizing other values or rights, for example, reducing inequality in society, achieving adequate employment, and it is often viewed in this sense. However, the instrumental reasons alone are not sufficient to constitute a right, it is necessary that it also has an intrinsic, inherent value (McCowan, 2012: 118). Education is both a human right in itself and an indispensable means of realizing other human rights, and a well-educated, enlightened mind is one of the joys and rewards of human existence (CESCR General Comment No. 13, The Right to Education (Art. 13), 1999, par. 1). In higher education, if this type of education could be singled out, this intrinsic value would represent a desire to acquire knowledge in certain areas, which cannot be achieved within other forms of education (McCowan, 2012: 118). Enhancement of individual creativity and emancipation are also relevant in higher education (Kromydas T., 2017: 9). It is argued that it is not clear why the right to education should apply only to particular types of education, given the same value base. More precisely, the restriction of the absolute right to education to the elementary education is not justified because this restriction is not grounded in the instrumental or intrinsic value of the right to education, although some forms of education can only take place at particular phases of life (McCowan, 2012: 116).

Nowadays, higher education is also perceived simply as an industry, a form of economic activity that operates on a global scale. Currently, one of the main problems is the large-scale commercialization of higher education. The Special Rapporteur on the right to education expressed concern about the privatization of education and its focus on profit. In his opinion, the commercialization of education opened to operators for lu-

crative objectives is in opposition to the international human rights law principle of non-discrimination, equality of opportunity, social justice and equity (Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education, Kishore Singh Protecting the right to education against commercialization, 2015: 6, 9-11). In this process, the disadvantaged are unable to access private higher education institutions, which further marginalizes the poor and aggravates the existing disparities in access to higher education. In many countries where only a few years ago the private higher education sector was insignificant, a remarkable proportion of enrollment is now claimed by private higher education institutions (Kinser et al., 2010: 1). In addition, private higher education now involves new international branch campuses and foreign investment and ownership. This fast-growing industry may also be questionable from the point of the quality of education.

Having in mind the current problems, it is necessary to examine whether the right to higher education in the adopted international documents includes not only the right to equal access, but also the requirements regarding the quality of this type of education, at least in some basic features. Besides, the issue of state participation in financing this type of education is certainly important, given the inequalities among potential students, which arise due to different socioeconomic opportunities. The basic quality requirements of higher education are more neglected, and free higher education as such is considered an unattainable ideal. It should be borne in mind that in the past, there have been systems that provided free higher education (Eastern Europe, USSR), but such systems existed in a strict ideological framework, which did not allow free education in the true sense of the word.

RELEVANT UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights declares: "Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit" (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, Article 26 (1)).

The United Nations International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) of 1966 declares the right of everyone to education in Article 13. First, there is a requirement related to the quality of education in general. Education must be directed to the full development of the human personality, sense of its dignity, and respect for human rights and freedoms. Also, "education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society, promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial, ethnic or religious groups, and further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace" (ICESCR, Article 13. (1)).

This provision is unclear, primarily in terms of the orientation of education to the full development of personality, or a sense of its dignity, because it is not clear how to determine which education exactly has such potential, since these are relative criteria that require further clarification.

Regarding higher education, it is stated that "Higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education" (ICESCR, Article 13 (2) (c)). In this latter document, therefore, a somewhat more specific term "capacity" was used instead of the term "merit" from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. A distinction was also made in relation to primary and secondary education. More specifically, "primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all" (ICESCR, Article 13 (2) (a)), and secondary education in its different forms, shall be made "generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education" (ICESCR, Article 13 (2) (b)).

The provision related to primary education is unconditional and creates an instant obligation for states, while secondary and higher education refers to equal access to this type of education and progressive realization of free education. In higher education, however, this availability is conditioned by the term of capacity, and in secondary education, the wording "made generally available" is used, not just "accessible" (also not generally accessible, due to capacity requirement). General availability means that schools, teachers and teaching materials must be available to all, while accessibility relates to "state's duty to maximize the individual's chances of gaining admission to the one or other school" (Beiter, 2006: 96). The right to access higher education is therefore less important than the essential element of the right to education, which is the right of everyone to enjoy free and compulsory primary education. (Coomans, 2004: 91). States have the primary responsibility to ensure the right to equal access to higher education. However, higher education, as a public good, should be the responsibility of all stakeholders (2009 World Conference on Higher Education, 2009: 1). In the sphere of higher education, responsibility is especially significant with regard to higher education institutions.

It is important to mention four elements of the right to education from the General Comment No. 13, on the right to education from the ICESCR, which relates to education in all its forms and levels. These four elements (so-called '4 - As scheme') are: 1) Availability - functioning educational institutions and programmes have to be available in sufficient quantity; 2) Accessibility - educational institutions and programmes have to be accessible to everyone, without discrimination (this implies non-discrimination, physical accessibility, and economic accessibility which in relation to higher education suggests the progressive introduction of free higher education); 3) Acceptability - the form and substance of edu-

cation, including curricula and teaching methods, have to be acceptable to the students (e.g., relevant, culturally appropriate and of good quality); 4) Adaptability - education has to be flexible, so it can adapt to the needs of changing societies and communities and respond to the needs of students (CESCR General Comment No. 13: The Right to Education (Art. 13), 1999, par. 6). The right to higher education, therefore, implies certain requirements regarding the quality of this type of education.

The exact scope of the right to higher education from the ICESR is not precisely formulated, primarily in terms of the cost of education. The reason for this lies primarily in the realization that the costs of higher education are significant (Gilchrist, 2018: 649). The formulation of the progressive introduction of free education used in the ICESCR, in higher education is far from reality. It seems that since the adoption of the ICESCR, the trend has been quite the opposite. Different institutions anticipate different costs of higher education, and this difference is particularly evident between public and private institutions.[2] Costs are the most common obstacle to the equal right of access to higher education. And when these costs are asked of each candidate equally, respecting the principle of equality, these funds are certainly not available to all candidates who have the capacity to study. This will result in the discrimination of people who do not have required funds. The Provision on the progressive introduction of free education in higher education is introduced having in mind the limited resources which countries can allocate for this type of education. Since the lack of funds has often been used as an argument against the realization of economic, social and cultural rights, the Opinion of the Committee on economic, social and cultural rights on the nature of states parties' obligations can be helpful in this regard.

> "In order for a State party to be able to attribute its failure to meet at least its minimum core obligations to a lack of available resources it must demonstrate that every effort has been made to use all resources that are at its disposition in an effort to satisfy, as a matter of priority, those minimum obligations." (CESCR General Comment No. 3: The Nature of States Parties' Obligations (Art. 2, Para. 1, of the Covenant), 1990, par. 10)

This could imply an obligation to demonstrate that every effort has been made to use all resources that are at its disposition in order to

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[2] Convention against Discrimination in Education from 1960 mentions private institutions explicitly in Article 2, c): "The establishment or maintenance of private educational institutions, if the object of the institutions is not to secure the exclusion of any group but to provide educational facilities in addition to those provided by the public authorities, if the institutions are conducted in accordance with that object, and if the education provided conforms with such standards as may be laid down or approved by the competent authorities, in particular for education of the same level".

achieve the progressive introduction of free higher education. However, this "minimum obligation" was later formulated differently by the Committee on economic, social and cultural rights. In the light of higher education, that minimum implies that the State party is required to adopt and implement a national educational strategy which includes the provision of higher education (CESCR General Comment No. 13: The Right to Education (Art. 13), 1999, par. 52). At the same time, the failure to take "deliberate, concrete and targeted" measures towards the progressive realization of secondary, higher and fundamental education in accordance with article 13 (2) (b)-(d)" is considered contrary to Article 13 (CESCR General Comment No. 13: The Right to Education (Art. 13), 1999, par. 59). Taking all the presented interpretations into account, there is no clear obligation of a state in terms of the progressive introduction of free higher education, which would be the minimum required of states in this regard. However, the lack of funds can be mitigated through the obligation of states "to ensure that an educational fellowship system is in place to assist disadvantaged groups" (ICESCR, Article 13 (2) (e)).

Article 28 of the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child states that the States Parties recognizes the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, and especially "make higher education accessible to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means." There is no obligation regarding the "progressive introduction of free education", although a stronger formulation "by every appropriate means" is used. However, the significance of this provision in the context of higher education is limited, because in accordance with Article 1 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, a child is defined as a human being under the age of 18. Article 4 of the 1960 Convention against Discrimination in Education, also obliges member states to "make higher education equally accessible to all on the basis of individual capacity." This document also lacks the requirement of the progressive introduction of free education. However, there is a provision dealing with the quality of education, which provides the obligation of states "to ensure that the standards of education are equivalent in all public educational institutions of the same level, and that the conditions relating to the quality of the education provided are also equivalent" (Convention against Discrimination in Education, Article 4. (b)). In other universal instruments which mainly deal with the prohibition of discrimination, the right to equal access to education is protected with regard to the area of regulation.[3]

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[3] Article 10 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979, Article 5 (v) of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination of 1969, Article 24 of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities of 2006, Article 43 (a) of the International Convention on the

In some universal instruments, the right to equal access to higher education is therefore conditioned by the term capacity. Some advocate a broad interpretation of the term so that it includes those who did not "benefit from a strong primary and secondary education, but nonetheless have the capacity for further study" (Gilchrist, 2018: 649). According to the official explanation, this term "capacity" of individuals should be assessed by reference to all their relevant expertise and experience (CESCR General Comment No. 13: The Right to Education (Art. 13), 1999, par. 19). This term implies that not everyone has the necessary abilities, or the capacity to have the benefits from higher education, and that certain prior knowledge and skills are required (Harris, 2007: 39). The right to equal access to higher education, according to the conditions prescribed by domestic law, whatever they may be, and in correlation with the capacity of the candidate, is therefore recognized. Discrimination is thus prohibited, except on the basis of a person's capacity. Ensuring equal access in the case of higher education is problematic because educational institutions usually have a limited number of places. By seeking a certain capacity of candidates, the admission of only those students who have the appropriate abilities to complete their studies, and at the same time the number of enrolled students, is limited. The capacity of candidates is determined through various entrance exams, through the proof of successful completion of previous education, an interview, or a combination of these methods (Beiter, 2006: 524). In addition, it should be borne in mind that the principle of equality should also apply to the reasons for expulsion from a higher education institution.

The examination of the fulfillment of the requirements of equal access is also possible through the analysis of data on different abilities and characteristics of candidates enrolled in an institution, as well as candidates rejected, not only through the adopted regulations. Collected indicators can show the existence or non-existence of the unequal treatment between different groups. As the Special Rapporteur on the right to education points out, governments should ensure that the education system is transparent at all levels, in relation to criteria, processes and procedures used to ensure fair, equitable access to higher education (Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education on governance and the right to education, 2018, par 50).

The ICESCR also confirms the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions (ICESCR, Article 13 (4)). When it comes to the issue of the large-scale commercialization of higher education, the recommendation for the states is to develop a regulatory framework governing the privatization of education, inspired by the general principles of social justice, equity and education as a public good,

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Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families, Article 22 of the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951.

subjecting private providers to full accountability for their operations (Right to education: Note by the Secretary-General, 2014, par. 104). It should apply to private education providers at all levels (including cross-border higher education and online or correspondence providers), and private higher education institutions must not operate without prior approval and recognition by the competent public authorities (Right to education: Note by the Secretary-General, 2014, par. 104).

Even though the issue is not explicitly mentioned in Article 13, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights emphasized that staff and students throughout the education sector are entitled to academic freedom, and higher education institutions are entitled to a certain degree of autonomy. Academic freedom includes the liberty of individuals to freely express opinions about the institution or system in which they work, to fulfil their functions without discrimination or fear of repression, to participate in professional or representative academic bodies (CESCR General Comment No. 13: The Right to Education (Art. 13), 1999, paras 39-40). The autonomy of institutions of higher education is also part of the right to education, the "autonomy is that degree of self-governance necessary for effective decision-making by institutions of higher education in relation to their academic work, standards, management and related activities" (CESCR General Comment No. 13: The Right to Education (Art. 13), 1999, par. 40).

There is still no relevant practice of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights on the right to higher education. Given the vagueness of the provisions and the lack of relevant practice, the work of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education is of particular importance. The first appointed Special Rapporteur on the right to education pointed out that during her mandate (1998-2004) only primary schooling was addressed within the UN. The Special Rapporteur tried to introduce qualitative aspects of other forms of education, but with no wider acceptance because the right to education was not mainstreamed throughout the work of the UN (Tomaševski, 2004: 212). There has been some progress in this regard recently, for example, the recognition of the problem of the large-scale commercialization of higher education. The interplay of digital technologies and the forces of privatization, especially in higher education is seen as problematic: "the use of digital technologies carries the risk of undermining human values in education and the quality of education, especially as regards degrees and diplomas that are fraudulently delivered" (Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education, 2016, par 110, 116). For example, the implementation of massive open online courses focuses more on content dissemination and less on learner engagement, students enrolled in massive open online courses are often not assessed properly, and the risk of fraud associated with the awarding of online degrees is present (Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education, 2016, par 60, 52, 53). In light of the ongoing pandemic, it

has been pointed out that an adequate response to the crisis must be provided, which guarantees the right to education for all and the "4As" framework. It is also anticipated that the public-private partnership will expand in the post-crisis period, which will increase existing inequalities in the education system. (Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education, 2020, par 77, 84). In addition, the digitalization of education must be a temporary solution aimed at addressing a crisis, and the distance learning tools must be accompanied by adequate content quality (Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education, 2020, par. 84). Unfortunately, the crisis will likely affect the increased and uncritical use of digital technologies in higher education.

The adoption of the Abidjan Principles on the human rights obligations of States to provide public education and to regulate private involvement in education in 2019, welcomed by UN officials, is also relevant. The adoption of the Global Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications concerning Higher Education in 2019 by the UNESCO is significant in thatit indirectly affects quality issues in higher education. This is the first United Nations treaty on higher education with a global scope that establishes universal principles for recognition of studies and degrees. It confirms the responsibility of states in promoting inclusive and equitable quality education at all levels, lifelong learning opportunities for all, cooperation regarding fair and transparent procedures for recognition of studies and degrees, quality assurance and academic integrity in higher education. These are all positive developments, but there is still no firm position within the UN on higher education as a human right.

The issue of quality is therefore vaguely addressed in Article 13 (1) of the ICESCR, and the above-mentioned acceptability and adaptability criteria in the so-called '4As scheme'. In addition, the examination of the effort in achieving the progressive introduction of free higher education in the states is essentially ignored. Beside the efforts of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education, the UN practice is focused on primary education for all in poor countries. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that the UN Sustainable Development Goal no. 4 deals with higher education. One of the goals is to ensure equal access for all to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university by 2030, and to substantially increase the number of scholarships available in higher education by 2020 (Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, 2015, paras 4.3, 4. b). There are still no available data to support the achievement of the goal of a significant increase in official development assistance flows for scholarships. Results in 2016 do not show a significant difference in this aspect (SDG 4 Data Book: Global Education Indicators, 2019: 59-62).

RELEVANT REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS

The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of 1950 states that no person shall be denied the right to education (European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 1950, Article 2 of the Protocol, no.1). This provision is the most imprecise, and the obligation of the state is negatively formulated. Although the system of human rights protection established by this instrument is accompanied by the reputation of the system that it is the most developed, this provision is the most modest when it comes to the right to education in general. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights played a significant role in its drafting, but it was pointed out that the acceptance of positive rights in this area must wait for the moment when there will be uniform laws in Europe. (Preparatory work on Article 2 of the Protocol to the Convention, 1967: 1,4,8). Such provision was probably adopted "in order to underline that States themselves should have the power to decide to which extent resources are to be spent on educational purposes" (Koch, 2009: 156). However, the case law of the European Court of Human Rights confirms the existence of certain, positive obligations ("Relating to Certain Aspects of the Laws on the Use of Languages in Education in Belgium" v Belgium, Section B, para. 3).

The European Social Charter (Revised), under the right to vocational training, declares that states are obliged:

> "to provide or promote, as necessary, the technical and vocational training of all persons, including the handicapped, in consultation with employers' and workers' organisations, and to grant facilities for access to higher technical and university education, based solely on individual aptitude." (European Social Charter (Revised), 1996, Article 10 (1))

The Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications concerning Higher Education in the European Region of 1997 is also relevant. It aims to facilitate the recognition of qualifications granted in one Party in another Party. However, the quality issue is just vaguely mentioned.

The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, recognizes the right of everyone to "education and to have access to vocational and continuing training" (Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, Article 14 (1)). This right "includes the possibility to receive free compulsory education" (Article 14 (2)). It is not even clear to which type of education this mere possibility refers to. Judging by the Explanations Relating to the Charter of Fundamental Rights, this right is based on the law of the ECHR, the case law of the European Court of Human Rights, and vocational and continuing training from the European Social Charter (Explanations Relating to the Charter of Fundamental Rights, 2007, par. 22,33). It is stated in the Explanations that it does not require all estab-

lishments, in particular private ones, to be free of charge, nor does it exclude certain specific forms of education having to be paid for if the State takes measures to grant financial compensation (Explanations Relating to the Charter of Fundamental Rights, 2007, par. 22). It is the right of access, but even the "equality" of access is nowhere directly mentioned in the Explanations, although it is the essence of this right. Freedom to found public or private educational establishments is also guaranteed, but this right is limited by vague requirement of respect for democratic principles (Explanations Relating to the Charter of Fundamental Rights, 2007, par. 22). In the case law of the Court of Justice of the European Union, there have been no cases dealing with the issue of higher education so far.

In the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, the right to education includes "the right to equality of opportunity in every case, in accordance with natural talents, merit and the desire to utilize the resources that the state or the community is in a position to provide. Every person has the right to receive, free, at least a primary education" (American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, 1948, Article XII). It is clear that free education applies to primary education, as a minimum standard. Also, the right to equality of opportunity is explicitly stated.

The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights simply recognizes the right of every individual to the right to education (African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, 1981, Article 17). The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights recently adopted Resolution no. 346 in which it insists that states fully guarantee the right to education, among other things pre-school, primary, secondary, tertiary, adult education and vocational training, and to ensure equal opportunity and general accessibility, both physical and economic (346 Resolution on the Right to Education in Africa, 2016). The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights found the violation of the right to education in one case, due to the closure of universities and secondary schools for two years (Free Legal Assistance Group and Others v. Zaire, par 48.).

The Arab Charter on Human Rights of 1994 states that "eradicating illiteracy is a commitment and an obligation. Education is a right for every citizen. Elementary education is compulsory and free. Secondary and university education shall be accessible to all" (Arab Charter on Human Rights, 1994, Article 34). However, this version has not been ratified by any country. In a later version of the Arab Charter on Human Rights of 2004 (entered into force in January 2008), it is stated that "the States parties shall guarantee their citizens free education at least throughout the primary and basic levels. All forms and levels of primary education shall be compulsory and accessible to all without discrimination of any kind" (Arab Charter on Human Rights, 2004, Article 41(2)). Unfortunately, this version does not mention other forms of education than primary education, and above all, the equal access for all forms of education, not just for primary education as a minimum.

CONCLUSION

The formulations of the right to education are primarily declarative, without precisely defined rights and obligations, especially with regard to higher education, and due to insufficient practice, these issues are not further clarified. Insufficient practice is probably the result of inadequate promotion due to the fear of states that within this segment of the right to education, obligations that are unattainable could be gradually formed. Documents adopted at the European level perhaps reflect such fears the most, although only the European Court of Human Rights developed some practice on this issue. It is clear that it includes the right to equal access to higher education institutions. This should also apply in the event of sudden changes in the conditions of admission when transitional provisions must be provided. The principle of equality must also apply in the case of reasons for expulsion from a higher education institution. Students should also have the opportunity to review the decisions of domestic higher education institutions. Information relating to the conditions of admission, exclusion, and available scholarships must also be timely, easily accessible, and transparent.

However, in terms of education costs, the situation is less clear. Judging by the chronology of the adopted documents, it seems that the requirement of the progressive introduction of free higher education from the ICESR has been abandoned. The subsequent documents do not mention this requirement, and the ICESR's explanations are not entirely clear on this subject. It is true that the resources-wise, the issue is very complicated. However, the progressive introduction of free higher education must be taken into account when allocating the available funds, although it is clear that the other rights also demand funding, and have the priority (for example primary education). Higher education must not be seen solely as a form of economic activity, without any state effort in terms of providing access to students who do not have the sufficient means. Since free higher education in the true sense of the word has been often far from reality, a certain effect could be achieved by increasing the number of scholarships, or making the costs of higher education more acceptable. If nothing else, an increase in study costs should only be possible in exceptionally justified circumstances. Treaty monitoring bodies should give more attention to this issue. They must question the states' effort to use more actively resources that are at their disposition.

Compromising the quality of higher education is especially relevant today. The requirements from Article 13 (1) of the ICESR must be fulfilled, and acceptability criteria from General comment no. 13 states that form and substance of education have to be acceptable (e.g., relevant, culturally appropriate and of good quality) to students. However, these requirements are vague. Lack of any practice and more decisive action in this regard does not provide any clearer picture of state obligations re-

garding the basic quality requirements. It is indisputable that the right to higher education should include the right to official recognition of completed studies. In addition, private higher education institutions are not simply companies, with no special legal obligations. Higher education is a public good, with human rights implications connected to it. States are responsible for the actions of these entities. For example, states must have effective measures aimed at the elimination of fraudulent practices in higher education institutions, public or private. Unreasonably high fees charged by private providers should also be examined. The capacity of the candidates must be a relevant factor, not just the ability to pay fees.

Quality of education must not jeopardize its intrinsic value and represent an exclusive means of exercising other rights. However, some efforts have recently been made within the UN to identify certain problems in higher education (mainly through the work of the UN Special Rapporteur on the right to education) arising from privatization, the widespread use of digital technologies, and the approach which is generally guided by the idea of making a profit. Besides, the Global Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications Concerning Higher Education can have an indirect positive impact on achieving the basic quality of higher education.

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МЕЂУНАРОДНИ СТАНДАРДИ ЗАШТИТЕ
ЉУДСКИХ ПРАВА И ВИСОКО ОБРАЗОВАЊЕ

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Резиме

Економска, социјална и културна права су некад имала секундаран значај у
односу на грађанска и политичка права, међутим, значај економских, социјал-
них и културних права полако расте. Право на високо образовање примарно
припада споменутој групи права, а уз то, судећи по међународним инструменти-
ма за заштиту људских права, има периферан значај у односу на основни сег-
мент права на образовање. Реч је пре свега о бесплатном основном образовању
за све. Право на високо образовање, као сегмент општијег права на образовање,
је релативно запостављено у литератури која се бави међународном заштитом
људских права. Реч је о праву које представља предуслов за остваривање других
права, на пример смањења неједнакости у друштву, остваривање адекватног за-
послења, али које има и своју унутрашњу вредност, као што је на пример жеља
за стицањем знања у одређеној области, које није могуће достићи у склопу дру-
гих облика образовања, развој креативности и самосталног начина размишљања.

Имајући у виду актуелне проблеме у сфери високог образовања, који углав-
ном настају услед комерцијализације и употребе дигиталних технологија, по-
требно је испитати да ли право на високо образовање у усвојеним међународним
документима обухвата само једнакост приступа високом образовању. Тачније, да
ли ово право обухвата и неке основне захтеве у погледу квалитета овог вида обра-
зовања, као и да ли државе имају било какве обавезе у погледу његовог финан-
сирања. У погледу трошкова образовања, судећи према хронологији усвојених до-
кумената, чини се да се одустало од суштинског поштовања захтева за прогресив-
ним увођењем бесплатног високог образовања који је присутан у Пакту о економ-
ским социјалним и културним правима од 1966. године. Када је реч о питању ква-
литета високог образовања, иако су присутне одредбе које се баве и овим пита-
њем, оне су неодређеног карактера, и не пружају јасну слику о обавезама држава у
овој области. Могло би се рећи и да квалитет образовања не сме угрозити његову
унутрашњу вредност и представљати искључиво средство за остваривање других
права. Додуше, у скорашњем периоду су учињени извесни напори у оквиру УН у
идентификовању одређених проблема у високом образовању, пре свега кроз рад
Специјалног известиоца УН о праву на образовање (проблема који настају услед
приватизације, широке употребе дигиталних технологија, и уопште приступа који
је руковођен искључиво стицањем профита).

SPITE AND STRONG RECIPROCITY IN THE BARGAINING GAME: AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY [a][b]

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Abstract

The subject of this paper is spite and spiteful behaviour from the point of view of behavioural economics. We conducted an experimental study using a 'mini-ultimatum game' with complete information about payoffs and unfavourable outside option. The sample consists of 748 undergraduate students from the Faculty of Law of the University of Niš and the Faculty of Law of the University of Belgrade. In a *between-subjects design*, 604 different participants are tested in the control and treatment group. In the *within-subjects* experiment, 144 subjects served as their own control group. The main finding is that there is a statistically significant relationship between the outside option and the respondents' choice, with roughly one-third of respondents exhibiting spiteful behaviour. Also, we found a statistically significant difference between Belgrade and Niš concerning the insistence on fair treatment, but no difference when examining the share of spiteful respondents - no regional effects on spiteful behaviour. We did not find a difference between gender concerning fair treatment, but females in Niš exhibited weakly significant level of spiteful behaviour. The study opens the door to further research with an emphasis on other subjects aimed at covering different age groups and capturing additional characteristics of the spiteful behaviour.

Key words: spite, reciprocity, fairness, spiteful behaviour, ultimatum offer.

ИНАТ И СТРОГИ РЕЦИПРОЦИТЕТ У ИГРИ ПРЕГОВАРАЊА: ЕКСПЕРИМЕНТАЛНА СТУДИЈА

Апстракт

Предмет овог рада је инат и инацијско понашање из угла бихевиористичке економије. Спроведена је експериментална студија коришћењем „мини-ултиматум игре“ са потпуним информацијама о исплатама и неповољној спољашњој опцији. Узорак је формиран од 748 студената Правног факултета Универзитета у Нишу и Правног факултета Универзитета у Београду. У експерименталном дизајну „између субјеката“, 604 различитих учесника тестирано је у контролној и експерименталној групи. У дизајну „унутар субјеката“, 144 учесника представљало је „сопствену контролну групу“. Главни налаз је да постоји статистички значајна веза између спољашње опције и избора учесника, при чему је око једне трећине њих показало инацијско понашање. Такође, установљена је статистички значајна разлика између испитаника из Београда и Ниша у погледу правичног третмана, али не и разлика у уделу оних субјеката који су испољили инат – без регионалних разлика у погледу ината. Није утврђена разлика према полу у погледу правичног третмана, али су особе женског пола у Нишу исказале статистички незнатно већи ниво инацијског понашања. Студија отвара врата даљим истраживањима са акцентом на субјекте различитих старосних група и додатне карактеристике инацијског понашања.

Кључне речи: инат, реципроцитет, правичност, инацијско понашање, коначна
понуда.

INTRODUCTION

Behavioural and experimental economics have gathered a large body of evidence that a substantial fraction of people is strongly motivated by concerns for fairness and reciprocity (Falk et al., 2005; Fehr et al., 1997; Fehr & Gächter, 2000; Fehr & Schmidt, 2006). These findings are inconsistent with the model of pure self-interest and deviate from the predictions of standard game theory. Individuals are concerned not only with the payoffs allocated to other relevant reference agents, but also about their intentions (Carpenter, 2010; Falk et al., 2003). These concerns about others are labelled as social or other-regarding preferences. These preferences are often difficult to distinguish as they are frequently intertwined. Literature usually differentiates several categories of social preferences: reciprocity (Fehr et al., 1997; Fehr & Gächter, 2000), inequity aversion (Bolton, 1991; Fehr & Schmidt, 1999), altruism (Andreoni, 1990; Fehr & Fischbacher, 2003; Rotemberg, 2008) and spite (Fehr et al., 2008), but besides these four categories, other motives induce people to help or hurt others (Bowles & Polania-Reyes, 2012).

The behavioural economics research that is the most relevant for investigating spite as a social preference and spiteful behaviour, has usually relied on the ultimatum game paradigm (Güth et al., 1982). Other often-used games in the literature are the dictator game and the public

goods game. In an ultimatum game, unfair or inequitable ultimatum offer evokes specific emotions like anger (Pillutla & Murnighan, 1996), pride or envy (Wobker, 2015). In turn, these emotions motivate individuals who feel that the offered payoff is not fair or equitable to behave spitefully. Related research, as one can establish the relationship between the economic concept of social preferences and the psychological concept of personality traits, was conducted by psychologists (Becker et al., 2011; Dohmen et al., 2010). In the psychological literature, authors also examined how traits affect choices in the ultimatum game (Almakias & Weiss, 2012). However, the focus was on other personality measures, while spite and spiteful behaviour were generally a neglected topic (Marcus et al., 2014).

Spiteful behaviour is common in everyday life. Spite and spiteful behaviour represent considerable obstacles for cooperation, exchange and, thus, development (Fehr et al., 2008; Kimbrough & Reiss, 2012). The understanding of spite as a social preference and spiteful behaviour can help us better understand the nature of human coordination and cooperation. Empirical research reveals large individual differences in spitefulness. Kimbrough & Reiss (2012) found roughly 25% of participants in the bidding game behaving spitefully, while Pillutla & Murninghan (1996) found one-third of participants in the ultimatum game behaving consistently spiteful. In the money burning experiment, researchers report that an even higher share of subjects that show spiteful or envious behaviour as two- thirds of participants were ready to give up some of their payoffs to "burn", i.e. destroy others' payoff (Zizzo & Oswald, 2001). Similar results are obtained in the mathematical model of resource allocation games, where based on the rejection rates in the experiment 20% of the players were spiteful (Levine, 1998).

Finally, spite, and spiteful behaviour, is of particular interest in the Serbian context (Jovanović, 2008). In the Serbian language, the word *inat*, borrowed from the Turkish vocabulary during the Ottoman rule, is used for spite and stubbornness. While it is very hard to translate *inat* literally as spite, it can be described as a persistent behaviour that inflicts self-harm as a response to other people's conduct. Most people in Serbia hold beliefs about spite as a personality characteristic typical of members of their society. Spite and spiteful behaviour are generally perceived as a national stereotype. Indeed, anecdotal evidence confirming this stereotype are often invoked in press and literature.

In the next section, we examine the notion of spiteful behaviour and distinguish it from similar and related, but different constructs. Section 3 describes the experimental design and procedure. We use the basic ultimatum game with the outside option that provides the respondent with the opportunity to behave spitefully by rejecting an unequal offer. Section

4 reports the results and assesses gender and regional background differences in spitefulness. Section 5 provides the concluding remarks.

SPITE AND SPITEFUL BEHAVIOUR

Spite and spiteful behaviour are close, but notably separate notions. There is no standard definition of spiteful behaviour since it caught the attention of researchers from different fields (evolutionary biology, experimental economics, anthropology, etc.). To dispel some confusion, in this paper spiteful behaviour represents the individuals' action that satisfies the following conditions:
1. involves a certain degree of self-harm (that does not need to be lower than the harm inflicted on the reference agent).
2. does not generate (either immediate or future) net positive rewards.
3. is driven by social preferences (of a self-interested individual who is also concerned about the payoffs of others) that influence the intensity of emotions and reactions that are highly sensitive to the nature of the decision situation.

The first two elements emphasize the seemingly irrational and self-destructive nature of spiteful behaviour. First of all, one's self-harm may be greater than the benefit achieved by causing harm to another. Hence, this definition does not equate spiteful behaviour with *negative reciprocity* where the respondent's reciprocation of unfair behaviour assumes harming the "unfair" offeror at a substantial cost to himself/herself provided the offeror is harmed relatively more (Fehr & Gächter, 2000). Spiteful behaviour may or may not lead to the outcome where the respondent is more harmed than the proposer, i.e. the change of the relative payoff in favour of the respondent is not essential.

Costly punishment may not necessarily be irrational, especially in the long-term repeated interactions. However, in the strict economic sense, under the second condition, spiteful behaviour is certainly not beneficial, especially in an ultimate game scenario (Cullis et al., 2012). In that respect, the notion of spiteful behaviour in this paper also differs from the evolutionary biologist approach (Sanfey et al., 2003; West et al., 2007). In evolutionary biology, spite is one of the four basic social behaviours. While it is harmful to both the recipient and the actor (who is negatively related to the recipient), it also increases future rewards as it results in a net increase in the actor's genes in the population (Gardner & West, 2004; Hamilton, 1970).

The third element makes a clear distinction between spite as a social preference and spiteful behaviour. Spiteful behaviour may be driven by other social preferences besides spite, like reciprocity or inequity aversion. Therefore, any person can act spitefully in a specific social context.

This notion of spiteful behaviour differs from spite that is often equated with envy. Accordingly, a spiteful or envious person always values the material payoff of relevant reference agents negatively *irrespective of both the payoff distribution and the reference agent's fair or unfair behaviour* (Fehr & Fischbacher, 2002: C4). Hence, spite as a social preference in that respect can be linked to "antisocial punishment" (Herrmann et al., 2008; Sylwester et al., 2013) where some persons are willing to pay a cost to "punish" others irrespective of their cooperative behaviour. On the other hand, spiteful behaviour includes both antisocial and altruistic punishment, as it also contains cases where punishment is meted out to agents that show antisocial (unfair or uncooperative) behaviour. The proximate mechanism that motivates altruistic punishment is negative emotions towards uncooperative or unfair agents (Fehr & Gächter, 2002). Hence, spiteful behaviour is not the same as nastiness (Abbink & Sadrieh, 2009) that requires the absence of motives of reciprocity.

The third element also makes a distinction between spiteful behaviour and strong reciprocity. Spiteful behaviour may be triggered by various social preferences, and strong negative reciprocity or inequity aversion are only possible candidates. Namely, both strict reciprocity due to unfair treatment or perception of the unfair intention of the proponent and inequity aversion due to inequitable outcome may lead to spiteful behaviour. However, there may be other candidates, such as the avoidance of being subjugated to the proposer (Yamagishi et al., 2012).

These notions of spiteful behaviour and spite as a social preference are used in the subsequent experiment. More precisely in the next section we define spiteful behaviour as a rejection of the Proponent's ultimatum offer that inflicts self-harm.

METHOD

The study was conducted during November and December of 2019. Data were collected under supervised conditions in which participants had to make decisions in hypothetical situations that we will refer to as ultimatum offers below. The experiment was carefully explained in class, and a pilot questionnaire elaborating on the procedure and payoff structure was tested to check the participants' understanding. A total of 748 undergraduate students from the Faculty of Law of the University of Belgrade and the Faculty of Law of the University of Niš responded to the questionnaire. Subjects were allotted to groups randomly. Furthermore, to prevent incentives to engage in seemingly other-regarding behaviour, the participants provided their answers under anonymity (Fehr et al., 2013). Anonymity and the one-shot manner of the hypothetical case, together with the provided context of ultimatum offers, aimed to ensure that the participants are not maximizing their long-term individual mate-

rial interests and that the results cannot be explained on grounds of repu-
tation.

We use both the *between-subjects* and *within-subjects* design
(Camerer, 2011; Charness et al., 2012). In a *between subjects* design, 604
different participants are tested in the control and treatment group. In the
within-subjects experiment, 144 subjects served as their own control
group.

To have a better understanding of the interaction between spiteful
behaviour and relevant variables we keep the procedure and payoffs sim-
ple. Students were presented with the following "mini-ultimatum offers"
with complete information about payoffs. Two students, a Proposer and a
Responder, bargain over the used textbook they bought together for RSD
2,500 (app. $25). The current value of the textbook is RSD 2,000, and the
Proposer and Responder have the same reservation price of RSD 1,000.
The Proposer offers RSD 1,000 to the Responder to keep the used text-
book. We also add an outside option to ultimatum game (i.e. both subjects
receive a nonzero payoff if the offer is rejected). Hence, the Responder
can either accept the offer – then the Responder gets RSD 1,000 and the
Proposer keeps the used textbook, or rejects the offer opting for the sale
to the third party for RSD 2,000 and both subjects receive RSD 1,000.
The Responder should be indifferent as they receive RSD 1,000 in both
cases. However, if they feel that selling to the third party is a fairer solu-
tion, putting both students in virtually the same position, the Responder
will reject the first offer and opt for the sale to the third party. In the
treatment group, the outside option is lower, and each participant receives
only RSD 800 from the third party. The Responder driven by self-interest
should always opt to sell his/her share of the textbook to the Proposer.
But in our experiment, we expected that the principle of maximizing one's
own interest would be violated and that at least some respondents would
show other preferences, such as strict reciprocity or spite.

We use the same offer in the *within-subjects* experiment and exam-
ine whether responders are more willing to accept an offer to sell to the
Proposer or third person – the unfavourable outside option. Again, as in
the study by Marcus et al. (2014), the respondents that are simple self-
interest-maximisers should accept the offer that is higher than their out-
side option.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this section, we first show the results of the *between-subjects* experiment.[1] Then we interpret the results of the *within-subjects* experiment in light of preferences for fairness and spitefulness.

Table 1 provides summary measures of variables used in the *between-subjects* case. The respondents reported a mean age of 20.6 (st.dev=2.1). Roughly two-thirds of students (64.2%) were from Belgrade and one-third from Niš, and the sample was 62% female.

Table 1. Between-subjects experiment

Group	Average age	Female	Male	Niš	Belgrade	N
Outside option RSD 1,000	20.8	208	105	112	201	313
Outside option RSD 800	20.4	165	126	102	189	291
Total	20.6	373	231	214	390	604

Table 2 shows the results of the *between-subjects* experiment. In the first group with the outside option of RSD 1,000, 64.5% (202) of the respondents (N=313) reject the Proposer. These respondents do not see the offer in which the offeror keeps the textbook being fair (or perceive it as an inequitable proposal). By opting for the sale to the third person they require to be in virtually the same position as the Proposer. Results also show that roughly *two-thirds of participants* have a substantial presence of social preferences like strict reciprocity, inequity aversion, or spite.

The result is substantially different in the second group, where the outside option is RSD 800. It indicates that there is a statistically significant relationship between the outside option and the respondents' choice (chi-square with one degree of freedom = 54.91, p = 0.00). The number of those who *punish* the Proposer, despite having a personal cost of RSD 200 is 100 (34.4%). Hence, roughly one-third of respondents are ready to incur self-harm.

Table 2. Results of the Between-subjects experiment

		Respondent		N
		Accept	Reject	
Group	Outside option RSD 1,000	111 (35.5%)	202 (64.5%)	313
	Outside option RSD 800	191 (65.6%)	100 (34.4%)	291
Total		302	302	604

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[1] Statistical analysis was performed using STATA version 15.1 (STATA Corp., Texas, USA).

We also analyse regional and gender variables. In Belgrade, 59% of respondents within the first group rejected the offer, and 33% in the second group are spiteful (chi-square with one degree of freedom = 27.29, p = 0.00). In Niš, 74% of respondents within the first group reject the offer - 37% of rejections in the second group (chi-square with one degree of freedom = 29.50, p = 0.00). We find a statistically significant difference between Belgrade and Niš concerning the insistence on fair treatment (chi-square with one degree of freedom = 6.98, p = 0.01), but no difference when we examine the share of spiteful respondents (chi-square with one degree of freedom = 0.58, p = 0.47). These results may indicate that in Niš inequality aversion and/or reciprocity play a more significant role. However, there are no regional effects on spiteful behaviour.

Table 3. Results of the Between-subjects experiment by region

		Belgrade		N
		Accept	Reject	
Group	Outside option RSD 1,000	82 (40.8%)	**119 (59.2%)**	201
	Outside option RSD 800	**127 (67.2%)**	62 (32.8%)	189
Total		209	181	390
		Niš		N
		Accept	Reject	
Group	Outside option RSD 1,000	29 (25.9%)	**83 (74.1%)**	112
	Outside option RSD 800	**64 (62.7%)**	38 (37.3%)	102
Total		93	121	214

Table 4. Results of the Between-subjects experiment by gender

		Female respondents		N
		Accept	Reject	
Group	Outside option RSD 1,000	72 (34.6%)	**136 (65.4%)**	208
	Outside option RSD 800	**101 (61.1%)**	64 (38.9%)	165
Total		173	200	373
		Male respondents		N
		Accept	Reject	
Group	Outside option RSD 1,000	39 (37.1%)	**66 (62.9%)**	105
	Outside option RSD 800	**90 (71.5%)**	36 (29.5%)	126
Total		129	102	231

We do not find a statistically significant difference between gender concerning fair treatment (chi-square with one degree of freedom = 0.19, p = 0.66). Nearly two-thirds of female students (65.4%) reject the offer in the first group, and the share of male students is almost the same (62.9%). On the other hand, compared to 39% of female students that reject the offer in the second group and inflicting self-harm, only 29% of male students state that they would reject the offer (chi-square with one degree of

freedom = 3.31, p = 0.07). Females exhibit a weakly significant (at p = 0.1) level of spiteful behaviour. This is contrary to some previous findings. Fehr et al. (2013) find that males score higher in spitefulness, while Marcus et al. (2014) find that the share of altruistic types is always significantly higher for males than females, but find no gender differences for the fraction of spiteful types.

To test for the robustness of our findings we conducted the *within-subjects* experiment. Table 5 provides summary measures of variables used in the *within-subjects* case. The respondents reported a mean age of 19.9 (st.dev=1.1). The majority of students (60.2%) were from Belgrade and the sample was 72% female.

Table 5. Within-subjects experiment

Variable	Average age	Female	Male	Niš	Belgrade	N
Total	19.9	104	40	57	87	144

In the first group with the outside option of RSD 1,000, 66% (95) of the respondents (N=144) reject the offer compared to 64% in the *between-group* experiment. Similarly, in the second group with the outside option of RSD 800, 32% (46 respondents) reject the offer compared to 34% in the *between-group* experiment. However, the *within-group* experiment based on respondent choices allows us to classify preference types.

Table 6. Within-subjects experiment results

		Outside option RSD 800		Total
		Accept	Reject	
Outside option RSD 1,000	Accept	44 (30.5%)	5 (3.5%)	49
	Reject	54 (37.5%)	41 (28.5%)	95
Total		98	46	144

We define the spiteful type as the one *that rejects the offer in the second ultimatum game* with the outside option of RSD 800. However, there are two preference subtypes. The first is 28.5% of respondents (41 out of 144) who in the first ultimatum game with the outside option of RSD 1,000 opted to reject the offer and sell the textbook to the third person and maintain their choice even when it induces self-harm rejecting the offer with the outside option of RSD 800. This subtype (*reject-reject*) is spiteful.

The second subtype (*accept-reject*) may be spiteful, but it is more likely that it is either irrational or simply responders failed to understand the experiment. Table 5 shows that only 3.5% of respondents in the first round (with outside option of RSD 1,000) accepted the offer, but in the second round (with outside option of RSD 800) rejected the offer. Gener-

ally, respondents should make consistent decisions when playing variants of the same game. The rational choice theory predicts that if a Responder accepts the offer in the first game, then they should also accept this offer in the second game (condition).

The second preference (*reject-accept*) type has either weak inequality aversion or reciprocity type of social preferences, but they also react to monetary incentives as they are not willing to decrease the economic payoff of the Proposer at a personal cost. This egalitarian or reciprocal type prefers allocations that yield equal payoffs for both parties over those with unequal payoffs unwilling to undertake costly punishment. The table shows that 37.5% of respondents reacted to monetary incentives and were not willing to undertake costly punishment.

The third preference (*accept-accept*) type always accepts the offer. This type does not have a pronounced preference for reciprocity or inequality aversion. Hence, 30.5% of respondents may be altruistic (if their payoff remains the same as in the outside option) valuing the other agent's payoff or the joint payoff positively.

Results concerning spiteful behaviour are generally consistent with those from the *between-group* experiment. We did not find a statistically significant difference between Belgrade and Niš concerning the share of spiteful respondents (chi-square with one degree of freedom = 0.08, p = 0.77). Moreover, we did not find a statistically significant difference between gender with respect to spitefulness (chi-square with one degree of freedom = 0.51, p = 0.47). The only weakly statistically significant difference is the gender-related spitefulness in Niš, where females are more likely to behave spitefully (chi-square with one degree of freedom = 3.70, p = 0.05).

Finally, we use logit regression analysing the binary outcome of being spiteful. Table 7 reports the results on the probability of being spiteful (respondents that reject the offer in the second ultimatum game). To test the effect of legal education on spitefulness, we use the respondents' age as a proxy. On the one hand, by attending law school, students may be more prone to act spitefully as they might insist on equity (reciprocity) and be more willing to punish the Proponent. On the other hand, attending law school may have the opposite effect as the students will put more value on the monetary outcome and will take only actions that are in their self-interest. Consequently, the age may be either negatively or positively related to the probability of behaving spitefully. We also examined differences in the expression of preferences other than self-interest between students from Niš and Belgrade. In this regard, we expected that there were no differences since the respondents share the same values. We had the same expectation considering the gender of our respondents (students). However, as noted Fehr et al. (2013) find that males score higher in spitefulness.

Hence, as independent variables, we consider dummies for gender and region, as well as the variable age which measures the age of respondents in years. Specifications (2) and (4) exclude the second subtype (*accept-reject*) as these responses may be problematic. The effect of gender on being spiteful may depend on the region so specifications (3) and (4) add an interaction term.

The age of respondents is statistically significant in all specifications as respondents are acting more spitefully with age. This is opposite to Fehr et al. (2013) who examine subjects aged from 8 to 17 years and show that spiteful types decrease with age (and altruistic types become more frequent with age). However, in our study, the difference between the oldest and the youngest student respondents is only 6 years with low variability of age, so it is hard to draw any firm conclusions. Results also reveal that the interaction effect is weakly statistically significant in the specification (4).

Table 7. Logit regressions with spiteful type as dependent variable

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Female	0.145	0.0259	-0.571	-0.665
	(0.473)	(0.469)	(0.556)	(0.559)
Niš	0.320	0.233	-0.868	-0.880
	(0.395)	(0.416)	(0.834)	(0.809)
Age	**0.491****	**0.419***	**0.490****	**0.428***
	(0.178)	(0.184)	(0.175)	(0.184)
Female x Niš			1.638^{+}	**1.588**$^{+}$
			(0.954)	(0.950)
Constant	**-10.810****	**-9.347***	**-10.220****	**-8.995***
	(3.493)	(3.684)	(3.522)	(3.690)
Observations	144	139	144	139
Pseudo R^2	0.023	0.035	0.072	0.054
BIC	188.0	182.5	192.3	184.2

Robust SE in parentheses. [***] Denotes significance at the 1% level. [**] Denotes significance at the 5% level. BIC - Bayesian information criterion

In the logit model, one cannot base statistical inferences merely by looking at the coefficient and statistical significance of the interaction terms (Ai & Norton, 2003). To provide an easier interpretation of Table 7, we use marginal effects (Williams, 2012) that provide a good approximation of the amount of change in probability of being spiteful that will be produced by a 1-unit change in age (Figure 1).
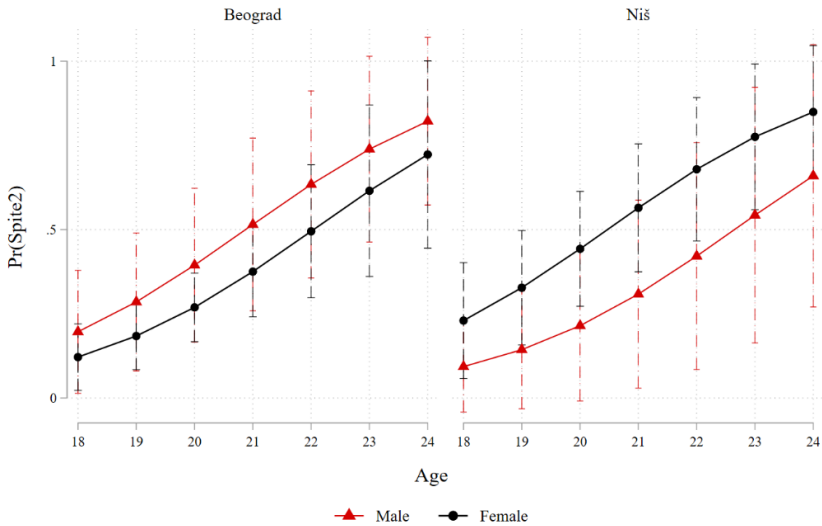
Figure 1 Adjusted predictions with 95% confidence intervals – Model (3)

Figure 1 shows predictions from a specification (3) while manipulating the values of the age covariate. When we obtain marginal effects for different ages, we see that the regional effect of gender on spiteful behaviour differs considerably by age.

CONCLUSION

Our results indicate that a significant fraction of respondents express other than self-interest preferences. In the *between-subjects* design, the share of respondents who express other than self-interest preferences falls from 66% to 34%, but this result is still statistically significant. The same can be said for the *within-subjects* design (the decline is from 68% to 32%). These results confirm previous findings from other countries that spiteful behaviour is a robust phenomenon of a non-negligible minority of respondents (Fehr et al., 2013). This allows us to make, though limited, distinction between different social preferences. However, the paper does not address the question of *why* individuals are spiteful, i.e. we cannot claim that a specific social preference triggers spiteful behaviour. Namely, both strict reciprocity due to unfair treatment or due to perception of the unfair intention of the proponent or inequity aversion due to inequitable outcome may lead to spiteful behaviour in our experiment. There may be other triggers such as the endowment effect (Kahneman et al., 2011, 2018).

There are no significant regional effects concerning spiteful behaviour, thus confirming our initial hypothesis. Contrary to some previous

findings in the *between-experiment*, females exhibit a weakly significant level of spiteful behaviour. However, we only find modest support in the *within-experiment* in the Niš region where females are more likely to be spiteful. The impact of age on the probability of being spiteful may be a consequence of the exposure to legal education, but without additional control variables, it is not possible to draw any firm conclusions. A possible explanation is that students put more value on reciprocity and as a consequence are more prone to spiteful behaviour.

While the sample size is high, there may be several problems with our approach. First of all, the subject pool consists only of students, which may lead to the lack of representation. Furthermore, the subject pool consists of rather inexperienced participants. Hence, replication with different subject pools is consequently important to confirm the generalizability of our findings. Finally, the stakes are small, and consequently, spiteful behaviour may diminish if stakes are rather high. These issues should be addressed in further research. This augmented approach could be easily arranged in multiple locations and expanded to be a large-scale cross-cultural experiment that the field is currently missing.

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ИНАТ И СТРОГИ РЕЦИПРОЦИТЕТ У ИГРИ ПРЕГОВАРАЊА: ЕКСПЕРИМЕНТАЛНА СТУДИЈА

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Резиме

Предмет овог рада су инат и инаџијско понашање из угла бихевиористичке економије. Спроведена је експериментална студија коришћењем „мини-ултиматум игре" са потпуним информацијама о исплатама и неповољној спољашњој опцији. Узорак је формиран од 748 студената Правног факултета Универзитета у Нишу и Правног факултета Универзитета у Београду. У експерименталном дизајну „између субјеката", 604 различитих учесника тестирано је у контролној и експерименталној групи. У дизајну „унутар субјеката", 144 учесника представљало је „сопствену контролну групу". Главни налаз је да постоји статистички значајна веза између понуђене спољашње опције и избора учесника, при чему је око једне трећине њих испољило инаџијско понашање. Такође, установљена је статистички значајна разлика у изборима испитаника (студената) из Београда и Ниша у погледу правичног третмана, али не и разлика у уделу оних субјеката који су испољили инат – без регионалних разлика у погледу ината. Није утврђена разлика према полу у погледу правичног третмана, али су особе женског пола у Нишу исказале статистички незнатно већи ниво инаџијског понашања. Коначно, утврђено је статистички значајно повећање инаџијског понашања са повећањем година, што је протумачено могућим утицајем правног образовања на испитанике будући да оно акценат ставља на правичност (и последично кажњавање и инат) као основну вредност. Студија отвара врата даљим истраживањима са акцентом на субјекте различитих старосних група и додатне карактеристике инаџијског понашања.

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To explain how "culture through language affects the way we think and communicate with others of different background" (Gumperz, 2001, p. 35), Gumperz states:

> "Conversational inference is partly a matter of a priori extra-textual knowledge, stereotypes and attitudes, but it is also to a large extent constructed through talk" (Gumperz, 2001, p.37)."

It is crucial that the in-text citations and references should match the literature listed at the end of the paper. All in-text citations and references must be listed in the References, and the References must not contain sources not referred to or cited in the text. The bibliography listed at the end of the paper should contain author names and source titles in original languages and alphabets, without translation.

Tables, graphs, and figures. Tables, graphs and figures should be numbered (sequentially), with captions explaining their content. Captions should precede tables, but follow graphs and figures. Graphs and figures must be clearly visible in the text, so they should be provided in 300dpi resolution. Graphs and figures must be single objects (no Drawing elements added). Where necessary, mathematical formulas should be added to the text using Microsoft Equation Editor.

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In 'References':
Manouselis, N. (2008). Deploying and evaluating multiattribute product recommendation in e-markets. *International Journal of Management & Decision Making, 9*, 43-61. doi:10.1504/IJMDM.2008.016041

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Subsequent references: (Uxó et al., 2011)
In 'References':
Uxó, J., Paúl, J., & Febrero, E. (2011). Current account imbalances in the monetary union and the great recession: Causes and policies. *Panoeconomicus*, 58(5), 571-592.

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